

KENNETH PEACOCK'S Songs of the Newfoundland Outports:  
THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF A NEWFOUNDLAND  
SONG COLLECTION

PART I

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**Kenneth Peacock's *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports:***

**The Cultural Politics of a Newfoundland Song Collection**

by

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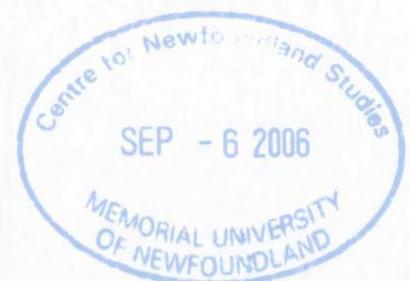
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## Abstract

Between 1951 and 1961, under the influence of anthropologist Marius Barbeau, Kenneth Howard Peacock (1923-2000), a classically trained musician and composer from Ontario, visited Newfoundland six times on behalf of the National Museum of Canada to collect folksongs, later producing a three-volume work, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (1965). While Peacock's work has been celebrated by many, his approach to folk culture documentation has often concerned scholars. This study articulates the socio-cultural impact of *Outports* in Newfoundland and Canada by outlining to persons who have misunderstood Peacock's research what he was trying to accomplish. It takes into account the status of folklore research at the National Museum in the 1950s and the conditions under which Peacock carried out this work. It provides a critical review of Peacock's Newfoundland fieldwork with a view to better understanding his motivations for creating *Outports* and his treatment of the materials he collected.

Along with such peers as Marius Barbeau, Helen Creighton, Edith Fowke, Tom Kines, Sam Gesser and Alan Mills, Peacock is a noted pioneer contributing substantially to our understanding of Canadian folklore and the shaping of Canadian folklore scholarship. He took over the Newfoundland research from former School of Music classmate Margaret Sargent (McTaggart) in 1951. Leaving his composing career in the distance he devoted the next twenty years to researching the country's ethnic and native

musical traditions. This study takes into consideration the cultural politics of the day such as National Museum policies and directions at the time and how the growth of the Canadian folk revival during the 1950s and '60s influenced his work. It considers the dynamic relations between Peacock and other individuals who had a vested interest in documenting and presenting Newfoundland culture including Maud Karpeles and folk revivalist Ralph Rinzler.

Although Peacock's representation of Newfoundland's folk culture tended to be overly-romanticized, reflecting his Toronto upbringing, his work has had a long-lasting impact. It later reshaped Newfoundlanders' views of the extent of their own musical traditions and contributed to the Newfoundland-centered folk revival. As a revivalist Peacock was driven to see that music from his field research would be made available to Canadians. Analysis of his Newfoundland collection reveals, however, that Peacock edited and reworked both texts and music. This is addressed in the thesis through the creation of a scholarly tool called a "Catalogue of Kenneth Peacock's Music Collection" linking his published and unpublished materials into one useable explanatory unit. New knowledge regarding Peacock's life and times facilitates our understanding of this man's immense contribution to both Newfoundland and Canadian folklore scholarship while at the same time allowing researchers to make greater use of the materials he so diligently collected.

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Several of the singers originally interviewed by Peacock kindly spoke of their experiences and were willing to share personal accounts of meeting Peacock. They include Rebecca (Becky) Bennett of St. Paul's, Gordon Rice of Seal Cove, Monica Rossiter of Cape Broyle, Lloyd Soper of Corner Brook, Gordon and Margaret Willis of The Goulds, and Ewart Vallis of Grand Bank. I am also grateful to the families of George Croucher, George Decker and Sara Anne Decker, Leonard Hulan, Amelia Kinslow, Kenneth and Rebecca Monks, Arthur Nicolle, Howard Morry, Nellie Musseau, Joshua Osborne, Clara Stevens, and Annie Walters for taking an interest in this project and for sharing their memories.

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## List of Abbreviations Used

### Institutions and Organizations

AFC-LOC	Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
FR-SI	Folkways Records, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
CFMS	Canadian Folk Music Society
CBCA	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archive, Toronto, Ontario
IFMC	International Folk Music Council
CNS-MUN	Centre For Newfoundland Studies, Queen Elizabeth Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland
LAD-CMC	Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec
MUNFLA	Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, St. John's, Newfoundland
NAC	National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
NFB	National Film Board of Canada Archives, Ottawa, Ontario
NLC	National Library of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
NSARM	Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax, Nova Scotia
PANL	Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, Newfoundland
SAB	Saskatchewan Archive Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
UCLSC-A	University of Calgary Library, Special Collections/Archives, Calgary, Alberta

### List of abbreviations (continued)

#### Journals

<i>B-FSAC</i>	Bulletin of the Folklore Studies Association of Canada
<i>CE</i>	The Canadian Encyclopedia
<i>C&amp;T</i>	Culture & Tradition
<i>CFC</i>	Canadian Folklore canadien
<i>CFMB</i>	Canadian Folk Music Bulletin
<i>DNE</i>	Dictionary of Newfoundland English
<i>ENL</i>	Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador
<i>EMC</i>	Encyclopedia of Music in Canada
<i>Ethnol</i>	Ethnologies
<i>JAF</i>	Journal of American Folklore
<i>JCM</i>	Journal of Country Music
<i>NQ</i>	The Newfoundland Quarterly
<i>NS</i>	Newfoundland Studies
<i>OCM</i>	Oxford Companion to Music
<i>PEPM</i>	The Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music
<i>WF</i>	Western Folklore

## Chapter 1 Introduction and Research Methodology

In 1951, the National Museum of Canada (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) contracted Kenneth Peacock (1922-2000), a classically-trained musician and composer, to survey the status of folk music in Newfoundland (Guigné 2000: 289-294; Tarasoff 2001: 15-17). Through the influence and encouragement of folklorist Marius Barbeau (1883-1969), Peacock agreed to take over the Newfoundland survey work from Margaret Sargent (McTaggart) who had spent the summer of 1950 surveying the folk music traditions of the province for the Museum one year after Newfoundland joined Confederation.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1951 and 1961, Peacock visited Newfoundland six times to collect folksongs. During this period he interviewed 118 individuals in 38 communities, collecting in total 766 songs and melodies: 638 on tape and an additional 128 by hand. Out of this collection Peacock later published 546 songs in a three-volume collection *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (1965) (hereafter referred to as *Outports*) under 411

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<sup>1</sup> Anna Kearney Guigné, "Talking About the National Museum and Folksong Research in Newfoundland: Who is Margaret Sargent Anyway?" Unpublished paper read at the Folklore Studies Association annual meeting, May 27-29, 1998, Ottawa Ontario; *Bulletin of the Folklore Studies Association* 22.1-4 (1998) : 21; David Duke, "Sargent, Margaret (m. McTaggart)," *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, eds. Helmut Kallmann, Gilles Potvin and Kenneth Winters (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1981) 843; and Renée Landry and Denise Ménard, "Barbeau, (Charles) Marius," *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 87-88 (herein referred to as *EMC*).

song titles.<sup>2</sup> Through his research Peacock aimed to create a broad picture of the diversity of the Newfoundland song tradition. As one of the pioneers of the Canadian folk revival movement, he also intended that *Outports* would serve as a general source book for singers, historians, folklorists and other researchers. The work became pivotal to the shaping of the Newfoundland-centered folk music revival, providing source material by way of songs and singers for those interested in their musical heritage.

Favorably reviewed by Doreen Senior in the *English Folk Dance and Song Society Folk Music Journal* and by MacEdward Leach in the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, *Outports* was the largest collection of the folksongs of one province ever published (1966, 112; 1967, 117). As Paul Mercer points out in *Newfoundland Songs and Ballads in Print 1842-1974: A Title and First-Line Index*, Peacock included such “valuable material” as Scottish-Gaelic and French songs previously excluded from other Newfoundland song collections “although their presence in Newfoundland had been noted by Greenleaf as early as 1933” (1978, 128).<sup>3</sup>

This thesis examines the work of Kenneth Peacock in order to understand how *Outports* was received by Newfoundlanders and the ways in which it has shaped subsequent representations and interpretations of Newfoundland culture. By examining

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<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Peacock, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* 3 vols. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 197, 1965). Peacock’s Newfoundland field collection for 1951-1961 is presented in appendix 1, page 746.

<sup>3</sup> Elisabeth B. Greenleaf and Grace Y. Mansfield, *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933).

*Outports* as an ethnographic text I hope to delineate an aspect of folklore scholarship in both Newfoundland and Canada which has yet to be fully explored. I also hope to alter current appraisals of Kenneth Peacock and his Newfoundland work.

The study retraces Peacock's fieldwork and the cultural milieu within which he worked. It also scrutinizes his printed and unpublished collections, and the dynamic interplay between folk culture research and cultural representation. By taking into consideration the broader cultural politics of the day influencing Peacock's research, such as National Museum policies and directions, and the relationships Peacock had with his peers, this examination provides a long overdue critical assessment of the merits of Peacock's research, of his collection, and of the milieu in which he worked.

### **1.1 Background to this Study**

Peacock first started collecting folksongs in 1951 at the height of an active music career which involved teaching, composing and performing. He was already well-recognized by the close-knit Canadian music establishment as an up-and-coming composer and classical pianist. His decision to take up folk music research was not immediate; his entry into the world of folksong collecting took place over a period of years.

From 1951 to 1972, Peacock spent the bulk of his career collecting folk music.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See the Kenneth Peacock Collection: Pea-A-1 to Pea-N 3&4, 1951-1973, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization ( hereafter referred to as LAD-CMC).

With the exception of a brief period of employment at the Museum in 1953 and 1954, he chose to carry out much of this work under contract because it allowed him the freedom to pursue his musical composition and he preferred the independence. As a musician, Peacock was fascinated by folk and primitive music and was drawn increasingly toward folksong research. In addition to collecting folksongs in Newfoundland (1951-52 and 1959-61), he was encouraged by Barbeau to document the musical traditions of the Plains Indians aboriginal groups, mainly in Northwest Saskatchewan (1953-4). Following the completion of the Newfoundland work in 1961, Peacock pioneered the organization of fieldwork among Canada's ethnic minorities. Between 1962 and 1970 he conducted field investigations of the folk music of thirty-three ethnic communities in Western Canada. The results of these findings, which he presented in such landmark studies as *A Survey of Ethnic Folk Music Across Western Canada* (1963), *Twenty Ethnic Songs from Western Canada* (1966), *Songs of the Doukhobors: An Introductory Outline* (1970), and *A Garland of Rue: Lithuanian Folksongs of Love and Betrothal* (1971), are a testament to his belief in the richness of Canada's traditional music heritage.

Through his relentless collecting of songs and music from one end of the country to the other, Peacock made an appreciable contribution to our current knowledge of Canada's musical traditions. As one of the first field researchers at the National Museum of Canada with formal musical training, Peacock was also able to render assistance to others involved in the business of folksong collecting. In the late 1950s and '60s, he

worked with Helen Creighton (1899 -1989) furnishing the musical transcripts for her massive Nova Scotia folksong collection.<sup>5</sup> Peacock also provided the musical expertise for two of her publications: *Maritime Folksongs (1961)* and *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick (1971)*. In 1970, following his work on Canada's ethnic communities, Peacock joined forces with Robert Klymasz, Head of the Slavic and East European Studies section of the Museum, providing him with the musical transcriptions for *The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle (1970)*.<sup>6</sup>

Despite these contributions, little is actually known of Peacock and his activities. Readers discussing his work in folklore and ethnomusicology often struggle with his scholarly identity. Peacock has been variously called a "folklorist," "musicologist," "folk music specialist," "ethnomusicologist" and "multicultural folksong collector." Although these are all titles he has grown into, his first training was in music and it was from this source that all his work flowed.

Most biographical treatments of Kenneth Peacock the composer tend to be incomplete (Ménard 1992: 1026-27; Smith 1995: 260-61). Appraisals of his musical career make casual reference to his work for the National Museum of Canada (Kallman 1972: 191-192; MacMillan and Bethwick 1975: 175-6; 993: 239-40). Similarly descriptions of Peacock's extensive field research on behalf of the National Museum of

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<sup>5</sup> See Clary Croft, *Helen Creighton, Canada's First Lady* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing 1999).

<sup>6</sup> See Gordon K. Green, "Klymasz, Robert (Bogden)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 690.

Canada, make only vague mention of his background as a classical composer and pianist (Mercer 1978: 124-129; Winter 1993: 239-40). As a consequence, bibliographies of his folklore and musical works contain large gaps.

A study of Peacock's life and work affords us an opportunity to look closely at the directions governing folk culture studies in Canada during the 1950s and '60s, particularly in the area of folk music research at the National Museum of Man. As Gerald Pocius observes in "Academic Folklore Research in Canada, Trends and Prospects," during this period the Museum's emphasis was on "fostering folksong scholarship" (2000, 268). Researchers such as Creighton and Peacock focused their attention on this particular genre over other aspects of folklore research. Beyond this tendency, Peacock's activities also typified a growing concern for preserving Canadian culture and heritage in the post-World War II period of the 1950s, one that had earlier motivated him to draw upon Canadian materials for composition in the late 1940s and early '50s. Later throughout the 1960s, Peacock endeavored to build up the National Museum's music collections and to make them more representative of the Canadian cultural mosaic.

To date Peacock's activities have most often been overshadowed by the enterprises of such prolific peers as Marius Barbeau and Helen Creighton. It is exactly because of Peacock's associations with Barbeau, Creighton and other colleagues outside of the Museum, including such individuals as Edith Fowke (1913-1996), Samuel Gesser

(1930- ), Alan Mills (1913-1977) and Tom Kines (1922-1994), who shared a mutual interest in folksong research and presentation, that an investigation into Peacock's life and his work for the Museum can provide new information about the nature of folksong research in Canada in the 1950s and '60s and its link to the Canadian folk revival movement.<sup>7</sup>

Most significant to this study is the impact Peacock's *Outports* has had directly within Newfoundland. Since its publication in 1965, the collection has served as a valuable research tool and resource for those involved in folk music research (Thomas 1978, 1; Mercer 1979, 16; Neilands 1992: 45-74; Halpert and Widdowson 1996, 1: xxxii). *Outports* also provided the inspiration and material for Newfoundlanders engaged in their localized folk revival movement in the 1970s and '80s (Narváez 1982, 11; Saugeres 1991, 94). Material from the publication still turns up in a myriad of locally-produced song books, records, cassettes, compact discs.<sup>8</sup> Songs from the collection have also been placed on the World-Wide Web by the St. John's based, Wordplay Bookstore.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Ruth Pincoe, "Fowke (b Fulton) Edith (Margaret)," ; Suzanne Thomas, "Gesser, Samuel, (Sam)," ; Lynne Hoover, "Mills (b. Miller), Alan (b. Albert)," ; and Mark Miller, "Kines, Tom, (Thomas Alvin)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 494, 525-26, 857 and 684.

<sup>8</sup> For two of many examples of works incorporating material from Peacock's collection in the past ten years see Eric West, ed. and arr., *Catch Ahold This One: Songs of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. 1* (Ladle Cove, Newfoundland: Vinland Music, 1991); and *Sing Around This One: Songs of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. 2* (Ladle Cove, Newfoundland: Vinland Music, 1997). For current recordings by artists who have acknowledged using songs taken from the Peacock collection see Tickle Harbour, *Tickle Harbour: Battery Included* (SingSong 02-50750), Christina Smith and Jean Hewson, *Christina Smith and Jean Hewson: Like Ducks!* (Borealis Recording BCD108); and Anita Best and Pamela Morgan, *The Colour of Amber* (Amber Music ACC 49332).

<sup>9</sup> See [Songs of Newfoundland and Labrador](http://wordplay.com/songs/), 20 May 2000 <<http://wordplay.com/songs/>>.

Inspired by an appreciation for the value of this collection as a document of the Newfoundland folksong tradition, one Newfoundland-based company has now arranged with the Canadian Museum of Civilization to re-introduce the collection on compact disc.<sup>10</sup>

As the Newfoundland Symphony Youth Choir's recent recording of "The Green Shores of Fogo," and "Bonavist' Harbour" ["Feller from Fortune"] illustrates, the Peacock collection continues to be of use and value across the broad spectrum of Newfoundland's musical heritage.<sup>11</sup> Formal music educators also view indigenous collections such as Peacock's as being important. In "Like a Bridge Over Troubled Waters: The Use of Folksong in the Intermediate Music Curriculum," Ki Adams argues that the use of the songs such as "The Ferryland Sealer," collected originally by Peacock in 1960 and later recorded by contemporary musical group "The Punters" (Sound Solutions PFO-007), are a valuable educational tool for connecting Newfoundland students to their cultural past (1998, 1-10). Although Peacock's collection has not been re-printed since 1965, uses for the collection have continued to evolve within the local community and to have meaning for more than one sector of Newfoundland culture.

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<sup>10</sup> Jim Payne, SingSong Inc., interview with Suzanne Woolridge, *Morning Show*, CBC, St. John's Sept. 1997, MUNFLA, Tape, 98-033/C16642.

<sup>11</sup> Newfoundland Symphony Youth Choir, *Rock Within the Sea: Folksongs of Newfoundland* (NSYC 0250564).

## 1.2 Relating Peacock's Field Collection to *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*

I first discovered *Outports* in the 1970s. At the time I was an amateur folksinger performing in St. John's mainly singing songs that were popular and had a "folksy" sound. One evening an American acquaintance doing graduate work at Memorial University's Department of Folklore invited me to dinner. As we talked, the conversation steered toward folk music. She asked me about my repertoire and was surprised to learn that much of my material had come from books and records, as well as through oral tradition. Although I couldn't have appreciated it at the time, my own tradition was typical of many Newfoundlanders, reflecting the interaction between oral tradition, popular culture and print.<sup>12</sup>

Up to the 1970s, I had not placed any great performance value on Newfoundland folk music. Like many "townies" (residents of St. John's) of my generation, I viewed "Newfoundland folksong" as an abstraction based on a small number of commonly known locally-based songs with overly-familiar tunes.<sup>13</sup> These were the fast-paced standard songs made accessible through the songbooks, *Old-Time Songs of Newfoundland* compiled by businessman Gerald S. Doyle (1892-1956) which everyone knew because they had been reprinted so often (1927, 1940, 1955, 1966, 1974).<sup>14</sup> By the

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<sup>12</sup> See Paul Mercer's discussion on this in *Newfoundland Songs and Ballads in Print 1842-1974: A Title and First Line Index*, 1-44.

<sup>13</sup> On "townie" or "towny" see G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin, and J. D. A. Widdowson, eds., *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) 576.

<sup>14</sup> Marjorie Doyle, "Gerald Stanley Doyle, O.B.E., K.S.G.," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 84 (1989) : 32.

1970s, as Michael Taft illustrates in *A Regional Discography of Newfoundland and Labrador 1904-1972* (1975), songs from Doyle's songbooks had been extensively recorded by both Canadian and Newfoundland musicians. Through their far-reaching popularity, Neil V. Rosenberg argues, the Doyle songbooks are today considered "key texts" and function as "a popular canon for Newfoundland folksong" (1991a, 46).

My attitudes toward Newfoundland music shifted dramatically that evening when my American friend hauled out her three-volume set of Peacock's *Outports* for me to view. Excited by the magnitude of this collection, I acquired my own copy. Poring over the books with delight and awe, relishing the wonderful texts and music, I quickly added several songs from *Outports* to my repertoire. By this time, like many local musicians, I was increasingly aware of the burgeoning interest in traditional music. Although I would not have spent much time differentiating between what might have been perceived to be "authentic" traditional music or contemporary folksong related material, at that time in St. John's I recall hearing renditions of English and Irish songs by such groups as "Fairport Convention," "Steeleye Span," "Clannad" and "Horse Lips." As Lise Saugeres points out in her Masters thesis "Figgy Duff and Newfoundland Culture," it was this music which had begun to inspire the Newfoundland urban folk revivalists of the 1970s to turn to their own musical traditions (1991, 106). I soon discovered that using the Peacock collection, I could emulate some of the musical sounds of these groups while linking them to my Newfoundland heritage.

As with many urban youth during the mid 1970s in Newfoundland, my beliefs about my own identity and about the need to protect and preserve our culture was considerably shaped by the cultural politics of the period. Like other urbanites of the '70s, I placed a high value on the revival of folk traditions through music, literature, arts and crafts, and theater. I also perceived that the industrial and economic developments brought about by Confederation were a threat to our culture and heritage and, in this sense, my cultural identity was infused with a strong sense of Newfoundland nationalism. Hearing music from my own culture, being played locally by such groups of the day as Figgy Duff, Red Island, and the Wonderful Grand Band was cause for celebration and pride. As Saugeres notes, Figgy Duff, in particular, drew extensively from the Peacock collection (1991, 254-56).

Toward the end of the 1970s, I stepped back from public performance, preferring to focus on academic work. From the sidelines I watched as Newfoundland's folk revival movement expanded, mainly in St. John's. Throughout the 1980s local musicians readily took advantage of new technological developments in recording and cassette production to produce albums that offered their renditions of traditional material. Singers and musicians continued to view *Outports* as an important source for Newfoundland folk music.

Despite the collection's popularity, by the late 1980s a disparate view of Peacock's work had also emerged. I first became aware of this when, as graduate student

in folklore, I was introduced to the Peacock collection within the context of the world of academia. In 1987, the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) acquired a copy of Peacock's Newfoundland field tapes and his inventory itemizing the recordings from the National Museum of Canada.<sup>15</sup> Typical for the period in which it was created, the inventory outlined only the most rudimentary details of Peacock's field activities in Newfoundland, i.e., the tape number, the song-title number, the singer, as well as the year and month in which Peacock had recorded the material. MUNFLA had not received a copy of those materials which Peacock acquired through methods of hand-transcription or any other details of his field activities.

As graduate students and researchers started to listen to Peacock's field tapes, stories abounded about his fieldwork. One well-circulated criticism pertained to his transcription of "The Emigrant from Newfoundland" (1965, 2: 360-1). In this instance Peacock had wrongly transcribed the word "Regatta," an annual event held every year in St. John's, as "Unregretted." Most individuals couldn't tell me the song which contained the error, but many students at the time had begun to call into question Peacock's credibility as a collector.<sup>16</sup> This error occurred in line 4, stanza 5 of the song. Having listened to the original recording I would argue that Andrew Nash may have sung "Unregretted." Those who had been in a position to actually listen to his recordings

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<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Peacock Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 87-157.

<sup>16</sup> See MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11098A.

commented that Peacock wasn't much of a folklorist because he apparently had the habit of turning the tape recorder on and off after each song, thereby eliminating any additional contextual information. Since the early 1960s, folklorists had been emphasizing the importance of documenting circumstances of performance as being integral to the business of collecting and analysis (Dundes 1963: 251-65; El-Shamy 1997: 144-45).

Scholars had begun to criticize his treatment of the field data and his selection of songs for publication. Carole Carpenter noted in *Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture* that: "The single most damaging deficiency in Canadian folklore scholarship is the all-too-common propensity shown by students of tradition to standardize or to 'correct' their collections in their recording, or for publication" (1979, 415). Here Carpenter drew particular attention to Kenneth Peacock's work remarking:

[his] influence has also gone beyond his own work, for he has served as musicologist in the transcription and presentation of other collectors' materials, for example, Helen Creighton's National Museum work. He admitted the difficulties of transcribing slurs, grace notes, and other individual improvisations, especially in Newfoundland material, and indicated that he largely disregarded these in his musical notations (415).

Paul Mercer also addressed Peacock's methods of transcription commenting, "While Peacock's collection is to be admired for its extent and variety, it is regrettable that he edited his published texts, and some suspect also his tunes, in order to create good singable versions" (1979, 16).

In 1994, I decided to look at Peacock's collection to see for myself what all the

rumblings were about. I evaluated the first seven of fourteen tapes which Peacock had made in 1951 during his initial foray into field collecting. Comparing individual singers performances to the versions published in *Outports*, I too picked up editorial changes such as the re-ordering of verses and lines, the inclusion of lyrics which the singer had not provided, the re-structuring of phrases and whole stanzas as well as the misinterpretation of words. I also took note of songs which Peacock had chosen not to publish. Although Howard Morry had given Peacock seventeen songs, Peacock had left five Irish numbers unpublished (8-55, 9-57 and 9-58, 10-62 and 10-66) and, although Ewart Vallis of Grand Bank had provided two songs, (4-25 and 26), the only reference to this singer was a cryptic note under “Feller from Fortune” in *Outports* about “a cowboy type singer who also sang a variant” and that the “guitar drowns out most of the words” (1965, 1: 54).<sup>17</sup>

Listening to Mike Kent sing a spectacular rendition of “My Old Dudeen” (3-20), I also recognized the challenge of recording a singer’s performance and then somehow condensing it onto a page. Hearing children laugh as Monica Rossiter performed the comic song “The Old Grandma” (6-38) I realized that Peacock had recorded something particular to a time and a place. At that point I took on a new appreciation for the Newfoundland singing tradition Peacock had started to document that first summer and the extent of his work. It was a powerful moment when, at long last, I matched the voices

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<sup>17</sup> Throughout this thesis I use the original numbers Peacock assigned to each song without the “Pea” prefix.

with the texts in the three volumes. I realized how easy it is to dismiss valuable research when we know little about the conditions or contexts in which that work was done.

I also learned something of Peacock's early field collecting efforts. Comparing Mike Kent's delivery of "Lady Margaret" (4-23) with the printed text in *Outports*, I was taken aback that several stanzas had indeed come from elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> Turning the page and looking at Peacock's note, I realized that he had produced a composite and that this was actually the result of an editorial decision. As Peacock explained, "Instead of giving the complete texts which are all very similar I have made a collation based largely on Mr. Kent's variant which is the most complete" (1965, 2: 392). I puzzled over Peacock's rationale for these kinds of treatments.

That February, thanks to a letter which archivist Philip Hiscock showed me, I learned Peacock was still alive.<sup>19</sup> I approached him by telephone to see if he would be interested in discussing his fieldwork. He was delighted to be asked and I started the first of what would eventually become numerous interviews continuing over the course of six years and which became the focus of this doctoral study.

To come to some understanding of the long-term cultural impact of Kenneth Peacock and his work on Newfoundland folksong, I decided to construct a reasonable chronology of his fieldwork activities and ultimately his own and others' uses of the

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<sup>18</sup> Mike Kent, "Lady Margaret," MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11032B

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Julia Bishop, 29 Feb. 1988; Julia Bishop Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 91-42, pg. 9. I am grateful to Philip Hiscock for calling this correspondence to my attention.

folksong material he had collected. As I wanted to look at the trends of the day which ultimately helped to shape his research, I decided to look also at the milieu within which he worked. I also explored Peacock's connections to others engaged in the business of collecting and disseminating information pertaining to Canadian folksong.

Folklorist Laurel Doucette observes in "Voices Not Our Own," that much of the research which has governed folklore studies in Canada has been done according to a small number of intellectual paradigms which have limited the growth and direction of folklore scholarship (1993: 119-137). Arguing that the discipline is lacking in "appropriate and intellectually stimulating theoretical analysis," (133) Doucette calls for new models that are based not on "a positivistic explanation but rather an intellectual and attitudinal framework within which to pursue our own research goals" (134). In presenting her ideas for a new "paradigm shift" she notes that we need to keep in mind that "all scholarly work is culture based" and that there can be "more than one valid view of a social/cultural event" and finally "our approach must be "grounded in experience, our own and that of the subjects of our study" (134-35).

I argue that a new constructive strategy must be employed when considering Kenneth Peacock's work for the National Museum and especially his Newfoundland research. Although musicians have placed a high value on Peacock's *Outports*, the publication has been viewed by folklorists and researchers as having limited scholarly use mainly because they have encountered problems with Peacock's particular treatment of

the materials he collected and then published. Understandably, this is because most researchers work exclusively with Peacock's published work without attempting to link this material to his field collection or to determine what influenced his personal judgement. As Peacock said so little about his activities in Newfoundland, researchers have simply been forced to make assumptions based on scant information.

As Peacock's *Outports* is so comprehensive, it cannot readily be dismissed by simply calling it a collection. Musicians continue to draw upon this work for song material, and even though it is out of print, as it is a major resource pertaining to the Newfoundland song tradition, scholars cannot ignore it despite their frustrations with Peacock's editing. We need to devise a practical approach for relating this work to the cultural context and the time period in which Peacock assembled and published his findings. I believe that rather than seeing the activities of our predecessors as being outmoded and old-fashioned we should come to a more fruitful appreciation of how their activities were shaped. By broadening our boundaries to include the processes at work for them, we learn more about those issues which have affected the development of folklore scholarship in Canada. The study which ensues is the end-result of that process.

### **1.3 Research Approach**

Richard M. Dorson observes that "The folklorist obtains his primary data in three basic ways: through fieldwork, from archives, and by way of printed sources"; Goldstein

says “there is no one definition of folklore” and “there is no one approach to folklore studies” (1972, 465; 1964, 2). To create a document of Peacock’s life and work, and to have some means of assessing his contribution, I proposed a research plan which involved four main tasks:

1. A chronological examination of Peacock’s six visits to Newfoundland between 1951 and 1961 to better understand his approach to folk culture research and documentation, including his selection of locations, informants and methods of soliciting information.
2. A comparative study of both his published collection and his unpublished materials to determine Peacock’s overall treatment of the collection based on his theoretical orientation toward the documentation and analysis of these materials and the aesthetic which characterized this approach.
3. A critical review of the cultural milieu within which Peacock worked at the National Museum that ultimately directed his assumptions toward fieldwork in Newfoundland.
4. An examination of subsequent cultural responses to and uses of this collection to establish the repercussions of Peacock’s work.

The main part of this study took place between 1996 and 2000 and two discrete strategies of data collection were used: (1) open-ended interviews and (2) historiographic searches.

### **1.3.1 Open-ended Interviews**

I conducted and recorded approximately forty interviews with individuals in Newfoundland and elsewhere across Canada. These exchanges consisted of:

- (a) Interviews with Kenneth Peacock to ascertain more about his life and work.
- (b) Interviews with colleagues of Peacock, including individuals who worked with him or in his extended musical network.
- (c) Discussions with those possessing some historical knowledge of other activities relating to folk music documentation in Newfoundland prior to and during the period that Peacock carried out his fieldwork.
- (d) Discussions with individuals who had been informants of Peacock.
- (e) Interviews with individuals who have drawn extensively on the collection to determine its value and its function for them.<sup>20</sup>

#### **A. Interviews with Kenneth Peacock**

I launched this research with an initial field visit to Peacock's apartment in Ottawa on 30 May, 1996 and again on 25 November, 1997 to gain information on Peacock's career and his work on Newfoundland folksong. Since his home was in

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<sup>20</sup> A list of these interviews and any additional field notes are contained in appendix 2, page 832 with materials pertaining to Peacock placed first. All interviews are referenced by first using the name of the informant and then according to date and year.

Ottawa and I live in Newfoundland, most of our later discussions took place over the telephone. I would call Peacock and determine if the time was convenient and, if he didn't want to talk, it was agreed that I should set up a new time. As I learned more about the biographical details of his life story, I was able to map out his life history and create a chronology of the events of his career.

I regularly sent Peacock materials related to his work, which I thought would interest him and facilitate our discussions. Typically, following a telephone interview, correspondence would be exchanged. My letters to him provided me with a chance to ask candid questions and his letters in response were always detailed. When I attempted to introduce discussions regarding the activities of his colleagues, Peacock was sometimes vague about specific details of events. Often he simply couldn't remember what had transpired so many years ago. Once I forwarded him archival correspondence that I had located relevant to his work with Helen Creighton. I decided he should have the time to examine this correspondence and then respond by letter. I found that this gave Peacock a chance to reflect upon the comments without being under pressure to answer immediately. This approach often proved more fruitful allowing him to elaborate and to clarify.

Peacock agreed to look at his personal papers for material that might be relevant to my study. He passed me a small number of letters and photographs he had taken while in Newfoundland, articles he had written for various conferences, transcripts of a number

of radio broadcasts, and film footage he had shot in Newfoundland between 1958 and 1959. From these discussions and my own searches, I was able to create a bibliography of his published and unpublished works.<sup>21</sup>

From our discussions I learned much about Peacock's early career as a composer. He was often shy about singing his own praises. Nevertheless, he was grateful to have his compositional material documented once humourously remarking, "Well, before I kick the bucket."<sup>22</sup> Peacock had composed much more than he has been credited with in current descriptions of his work. From time to time Peacock provided me with copies of various compositions he had written as well as three audio recordings of performances of two of them. I decided to create a list of this material which I shared with him to determine the total number of works he had composed during his lifetime.<sup>23</sup> Through this process I learned much about Peacock's distinctive position within the classical music establishment in Canada at mid-century.

I asked Peacock if he had retained any field notes from his trips to Newfoundland and he replied that he placed little emphasis on such things:

No, I've never been the diarist sort of person. I know people do that sort of thing but I never did. It's like trying to record your dreams, you know; you have these wonderful dreams. And I went through a period where I

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<sup>21</sup> Peacock's published material is in the bibliography. His reports, radio programs and other unpublished documents are contained in appendix 3 "Unpublished Works Created by Kenneth Peacock" page 839.

<sup>22</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 Oct. 1996.

<sup>23</sup> A list of this material is contained in appendix 4, "Musical Works by Kenneth Peacock," page 842.

was writing everything down and then you read them a few months later and there's just this stupid story. The dream is really an emotional experience and you can't retrieve that from just reading about it.<sup>24</sup>

Peacock did keep some documentation on his informants, but in the fall of 1961 on his last field trip, he lost a large file containing all the correspondence from his Newfoundland informants, including biographical details, and information on their activities and ancestors.<sup>25</sup> Although Peacock did have a series of binders in which he kept information on the songs he had recorded, he told me that in the move to his apartment several years before, this material was probably thrown out. Some material had also been lost owing to a house fire.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1996 and 1997, I listened to MUNFLA's copies of Peacock's audio collection and cross-checked it with his field inventory. I was able to relate his unpublished collection to materials contained in *Outports*. This proved to be an effective guide for asking Peacock questions about places he had been and people he had visited. I soon discovered that Peacock was also meticulous about itemizing songs, recordings, photographs and manuscript transcriptions associated with his fieldwork. Our conversations on his photography and his visual documentation of informants and places offered new details of his activities.

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with Kenneth Peacock, Ottawa, 30 May 1996.

<sup>25</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 13 Dec. 1966, Edith Fowke Papers, University of Calgary Special Collections/Archives, Calgary Alberta.

<sup>26</sup> This was recently confirmed by Peacock's friend and colleague; Koozma Tarasoff, letter to author, 4 Nov. 1999.

In May of 1998, while attending the Folklore Studies Association annual conference in Ottawa, I visited Peacock to bring him the Marius Barbeau medal which he had been awarded by the Association in recognition of his lifelong contribution.<sup>27</sup> By this time he had become quite frail. Sometime after this, a lengthy illness set in which eventually forced Peacock to spend the better part of the year in hospital. From there he was moved to a long-term care facility in Ottawa. During this time, through the assistance of Koozma Tarasoff and two other longtime friends, Helen and Herman Saltsman, Peacock's personal papers were shipped to the Saskatchewan Archives Board in Saskatoon.<sup>28</sup> Shortly after this, Mr. Tarasoff kindly forwarded me a "Preliminary List" of the contents by box number.<sup>29</sup> This document provided detailed information on Peacock's career, supplementing my own knowledge. The Saskatchewan archive also made available documents from Peacock's papers.

In July 1999, I visited Peacock at St. Vincent's hospital in Ottawa. This was our last face-to-face conversation. Through Herman Saltsman, I learned that Peacock had found our conversations enjoyable and stimulating and that they provided him with an opportunity to talk and reminisce about his work. During this visit I asked Peacock if he would like me to call him on the telephone as I had previously been doing. He agreed I

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<sup>27</sup>. See "The Marius Barbeau Medal for 1998," *B-FSAC* 22. 1-4 (1998) : 7-9.

<sup>28</sup>. Kenneth Peacock Collection, Accession 599-68, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, Saskatchewan.

<sup>29</sup>. "A Preliminary List: Kenneth Peacock Papers as collected from his Ottawa Apartment (900 Dynes Road, Suite 2502) by Koozma J. Tarasoff August 20, 1999"; Koozma Tarasoff, letter to author, 9 Nov. 1999.

should continue to contact him, and when he felt fit, we would converse over the phone. From that time up to the fall of 2000 these conversations, although often brief, helped me to clarify details about his work and life. The last of these discussions was held on 9 November, 2000.

### **B. Interviews with Peacock's Colleagues**

Many of Peacock's peers who could have enlightened me on his activities are long since deceased, although I did locate and interview several colleagues of Peacock, among them Margaret Sargent McTaggart (herein referred to as Margaret Sargent), Renée Landry, Robert Klymasz and Samuel Gesser.<sup>30</sup> These discussions proved to be most fruitful, helping me understand the workings of the National Museum from the late 1940s up to the time of Peacock's retirement in 1972.

Margaret Sargent outlined her first contact with Marius Barbeau and her experiences at the National Museum between 1949 and 1950. She discussed her connections to Kenneth Peacock and the research on Newfoundland's song traditions which she initiated between 1949 and 1950. She also granted me access to field notes and photographs she had taken in Newfoundland in 1950 and agreed to have the photographic part of this material deposited at MUNFLA.<sup>31</sup> I also created a chronology of Sargent's work at the same time filling in a major gap in the history of folksong

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<sup>30</sup> A list of these interviews and the dates on which they were carried out is contained in appendix 2, page 834 following a list of the interviews I conducted with Kenneth Peacock.

<sup>31</sup> Margaret Sargent McTaggart Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 98-237.

research in Newfoundland.

Interviews conducted with Peacock's colleagues Renée Landry and Dr. Robert Klymasz provided background information on the growth of folklore research at the Museum which shaped Peacock's activities from 1951 to his retirement in 1972. Landry described her initial years at the Museum in the 1950s assisting Marius Barbeau, shortly after the formation of the Canadian Folk Music Society (CFMS) in 1956. This society was an outgrowth of both the National Museum and Barbeau's links to the British folksong collector Maud Karpeles (1886-1976).<sup>32</sup> She also provided details pertaining to the planning behind the 1961 International Folk Music Council (IFMC) meetings in Quebec which involved Peacock, Creighton and other members of the Canadian society. Prior to his recent retirement, for a number of years Robert Klymasz held the position of Curator of the East European Program at the Museum of Civilization. Klymasz discussed his first years at the National Museum and his initial contact with Peacock in 1961 just as the Museum was shifting its interest to multicultural research.

Sam Gesser of Montreal, Quebec, another long-time associate of Peacock, also provided assistance. Gesser has been a key promoter of Canadian talent for several decades. Having closely followed the activities of the American folk revival movement in the late '40s, Gesser became the central distributor of the American-based Folkways records in Canada between 1951 and 1963. During this time he was responsible for the

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<sup>32</sup> For a brief biography see Bertrand Harris Bronson, "Maud Karpeles," *Journal of American Folklore* 90 (1977) : 455-464.

dissemination of folksong materials from such collectors as Peacock, Barbeau and Creighton. Through his association with Peacock and such singers as Alan Mills, and Tom Kines, Gesser provided a venue for Canadian-made and Canadian-performed folk music. Our discussions on these activities helped fill in additional gaps with respect to the Canadian folk revival movement.

### **C. Interviews of Historic Relevance**

My conversations with Howard Cable and Robert Weaver provided background detail on life in Toronto and some of the cultural developments in Canada during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Discussions with Carla Emerson Furlong, Judge Lloyd Soper, Tom Doyle, and Dr. Robert Macleod Junior provided historical information on folk music research in Newfoundland prior to the 1950s.

Dr. Neil Rosenberg encouraged me to listen to an interview he had conducted with musician Howard Cable in connection with his extensive research on Newfoundland folksong (1994: 55-73).<sup>33</sup> I then contacted Cable myself, and in addition to discussing his trip to Newfoundland in 1948, he shared his memories of living in Toronto in the 1940s. His description of experiences with the School of Music program at the University of Toronto provided additional information on the musical training Peacock had received there.

Robert Weaver, a friend of Peacock's from his days at the University of Toronto

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<sup>33</sup> Neil Rosenberg, interview with composer and musician Howard Cable, 10 Nov. 1993, MUNFLA, Tape, 93-370/C-15067. Also see "Cable, Howard (Reid)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 182-83.

in the 1940s, also agreed to talk to me. Shortly after completing his university degree Weaver joined the CBC working with radio producer Harry Boyle to produce the Wednesday night cultural series.<sup>34</sup> This program was one of the few media outlets for Canadian culture and talent in the early 1950s. Weaver helped me to appreciate the limitations facing musicians in Canada during this period. He also outlined his own role in helping Peacock find employment with the CBC in the 1950s.

Carla Emerson Furlong's father, Frederick Rennie Emerson (1892-1972), was a St. John's lawyer, amateur composer and pianist (Frecker 1972, 2; Riggs 1981, 775; Woodford 1988, 174). Educated first at Bishop Feild College and then in Birmingham England, Emerson was a gifted linguist, serving as the consular agent in Newfoundland for Norway and as vice-consul for the Netherlands. His pivotal role politically and culturally in the growth of folksong research in Newfoundland is less understood.

Mrs. Furlong supplied me with biographical information on her father and his upbringing, helping me to establish his interests in the British folksong movement and his connections to Maud Karpeles when she visited the province to do fieldwork in 1929 and 1930. She also furnished copies of several lectures her father had given in St. John's during the 1930s and '40s on classical and folk music.<sup>35</sup> This new information reveals the extent of Emerson's role in promoting interest in Newfoundland folk music. From the

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<sup>34</sup> See "Boyle, Harry J.," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 1: 213.

<sup>35</sup> Carla Emerson Furlong, Frederick Emerson, *Lectures and Musical Compositions*, circa 1930-45; MUNFLA, Accession 98-125.

1920s onward Emerson played both an influential and supportive role to those interested in the documentation of Newfoundland folksong. In the 1940s and '50s, many Canadian musicians and folksong collectors made their way to Emerson's door looking for information on Newfoundland and its folksongs among them Howard Cable, Margaret Sargent and Kenneth Peacock.

Following his first fieldwork in 1951 and 1952, Peacock passed Gerald S. Doyle several songs which he had collected and transcribed (Peacock 1963, 213).<sup>36</sup> Among the songs given to Doyle were ones Peacock had collected from Doyle's close friends Judge Lloyd Soper and musician Robert (Bob) Macleod (1908-1982).<sup>37</sup> I visited Soper at his son's home one afternoon where we discussed his connections to Macleod and Doyle. As the first of Peacock's informants, Soper also provided me with his account of that initial meeting in 1951. I also met with Dr. Robert Macleod in Corner Brook. He provided details regarding his father's musical activities in St. John's shortly before Confederation and explained his association with Gerald S. Doyle.

#### **D. Interviews with Peacock's Informants and their Family Members**

I also focused on individuals who had been interviewed by Peacock to learn about their experiences, hoping to discover more about Peacock's fieldwork activities and how

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<sup>36</sup> See as well Neil V. Rosenberg's account "The Gerald S. Doyle Songsters and the Politics of Newfoundland Folksong," *Canadian Folklore canadien* 13.1 (1991): 45-57.

<sup>37</sup> For brief biographies see Laura B. Morgan, "Soper, Lloyd Pleman," *ENL*, 5: 232 and Carla S. Krachun, "Macleod, Robert Ferguson (1908-1982)," *ENL*, 3: 418-9.

he came to choose his informants. I eventually contacted a small number of Peacock's original informants. In addition to Judge Lloyd Soper, these included Monica Rossiter of Cape Broyle, Gordon Willis, originally from Fogo and residing in the Goulds; Becky Bennett of St. Paul's; Ewart Vallis of Grand Bank, and Gordon Rice of Baie Verte. Through these conversations I filled in many gaps about Peacock's field work activities and I gained new information on many of his informants.

I occasionally made contact with family members who had been present at some of Peacock's interviews. These included Howard Morry, son of Howard Morry of Ferryland; Amelia Nicolle Laing, wife of Arthur Nicolle of Rocky Harbour; Milton and Jessie Walters, son and daughter-in-law of Annie Walters also of Rocky Harbour; and Bertha Croucher, wife of George Croucher and daughter of Annie Walters. Additional telephone conversations were held with Harold Monks, the son of Kenneth and Rebecca Monks of Kings Cove; Aaron Cobb, the son of Chris Cobb of Barr'd Islands; Eliza Haynes of Cow Head, the sister of Clara Stevens of Bellburns; Phyllis Billard, daughter of Amelia Kinslow of Isle aux Morts; William Hulan, son of Leonard Hulan; and Frank Samms, the grandson of Mary Ann Galpin. Initially I had a certain amount of trepidation about whether I would gain anything by re-visiting Peacock's informants, however, I always came away enlightened. In some instances individuals recounted their experiences with Peacock and their connections to other singers Peacock had interviewed. I also learned how Peacock located at least some of his singers. I gathered new details on

many locally-composed songs contained in Peacock's collection as well as information on community singing traditions and singers' personal preferences for certain songs. I also gained valuable biographical details on many of the singers, thereby filling in gaps in Peacock's collecting.

### **E. Interviews with Users of the Collection**

Through archival researches I discovered that in the intervening years, a surprising number of Peacock's informants had been interviewed by undergraduate and graduate students and folklorists working at the Folklore Department.

Dr. Diane Goldstein provided background information on her father Kenneth Goldstein's (1927-1995) efforts to contact several of Peacock's informants for his research on Newfoundland singing traditions. This highly respected American folklore scholar, served as Head of Memorial University of Newfoundland's Department of Folklore between 1976 and 1978. From this period up to 1990 (often in collaboration with local collectors) he traveled across the island in search of folksongs and interviewed several of Peacock's informants.<sup>38</sup> His wife Rochelle Goldstein also discussed her husband's early connections to Edith Fowke at the beginning of the Canadian folk revival in the 1950s.

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<sup>38</sup> Under the Performers' Index see the accession numbers and tape numbers for Gerald Campbell, Lucy Cormier, Josephine (Josie) Costard, Amelia Jane (Millie Jean) Kinslow, Gordon G. Rice, Cyril M. Robin, Guillaume (Willy) Robin and Mark Gordon (Gordie) Willis in Carol Pelletier, comp. "Kenneth S. Goldstein MUNFLA Song Collections Finding Aid," (Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) : St. John's, Newfoundland, 1996).

Drs. Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson discussed their use of *Outports* and permitted access to their 1966 field collection, field notes and interviews with several people Peacock had previously contacted.<sup>39</sup> Dr. Widdowson also granted me access to his field collection containing sound recordings of versions of songs by Philip Foley which Peacock had previously copied in manuscript in 1951 and '52.<sup>40</sup>

Researchers who had also interviewed Peacock's informants granted me access to their materials. Sheila Greene provided me with a copy of a discussion she conducted with Philip Foley of Tilting.<sup>41</sup> Terry Stapleton gave me access to his interview with Paddy Rossiter of Aquaforte.<sup>42</sup> Richard Tallman permitted me to hear his interview with Clara Stevens of Bellburns.<sup>43</sup> In each case this material provided new information on Peacock's interactions with these people.

Musicians Kelly Russell, Pamela Morgan, and Jim Payne discussed their uses of Peacock's collection. Since the 1970s, they have all contributed greatly to the

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<sup>39</sup> Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson Collection, Great Northern Peninsula, MUNFLA, Accession 66-024. They also interviewed several of Peacock's informants including Becky, Freeman, Everett and Clarence Bennett of St. Paul's, Charlotte Decker of Parsons Pond, Clara, Leonora and William Stephens of Parsons Pond.

<sup>40</sup> John Widdowson and Fred Earle Field Collection, Interviews with Philip Foley, Mrs. Dwyer, Fred Earle Jr., Guy Simms, and Fred Earle Senior, MUNFLA, Tape, 64-13/C87.

<sup>41</sup> Sheila Greene, "Folksongs of Tilting, Philip Foley, John McGrath," MUNFLA, ms 72-108. Unpublished research paper, MUN, 1972.

<sup>42</sup> Terrence Stapleton, "Patrick Rossiter: The Man His Life, Songs and Stories," MUNFLA, ms 73-182. Unpublished research paper, MUN, 1972.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Tallman Field Collection, Interviews with Clara Stevens, MUNFLA, Tapes, C1933, C1935, Acc. 74-3222.

development and growth of the Newfoundland-centered folk revival movement. In the ensuing years they have also gained recognition outside the province for their music, performing nationally and internationally. Russell and Morgan are former members of Figgy Duff which emerged throughout the 1970s as a key band playing Newfoundland folk music. The members of this musical group were, according to Saugeres, part of the urban intellectual community which underpinned much of the Newfoundland nationalist sentiment during this period (1991). In the late 1960s members of Lukey's Boat, the precursor to this group were already exploring their Newfoundland roots and performing Newfoundland traditional songs "because it was the product of their own culture as opposed to British or American folksongs" (Saugeres 7-8).

Today these individual performers share something in common, they all own Newfoundland-based recording companies. Russell launched Pigeon Inlet Productions in 1977 (Rosenberg 1982, 56). Morgan launched Amber Music in 1991, and Payne's company SingSong Productions has been in business since 1989. These pioneers have contributed much to the professionalization of the Newfoundland folk music industry which has emerged as part of the ongoing folk revival. In each case Peacock's work has had an impact on their music and their professional careers as musicians.

Both Russell and Morgan used *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* early in the 1970s, later visiting several informants contacted initially by Peacock. Morgan discussed her efforts to make contact with such singers as Becky and Freeman Bennett, Charlotte

Decker and Philip Foley, to hear them sing and to learn songs directly from these singers.<sup>44</sup> Russell gave me an account of his efforts to bring out an album *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (1984, PIP 7319) after leaving Figgy Duff. He also kindly provided me with correspondence pertaining to the development of the album and of Peacock's and Edith Fowke's participation in this project.

Jim Payne discussed his production of a new CD ROM version of *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* which is being produced on the SingSong label in collaboration with the Canadian Museum of Civilization. His interest in seeing the Peacock Collection now made available in digital form illustrates that, despite scholarly criticism, Peacock's work is still held in great esteem by many Newfoundland musicians.

### 1.3.2 Historiographic Searches

To gain insight into Peacock's activities at the Museum during the 1950s and '60s and his extended musical networks, required that I extend my searches to archival institutions for additional data and correspondence relative to that time period. As indicated earlier in this chapter, many of Peacock's contemporaries with whom I would have wished to talk regrettably passed away several years ago. I therefore focused my time on locating archival materials which might contain relevant information about the activities of Peacock and his peers. My investigations eventually cast a wide net and I

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<sup>44</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Pamela Morgan, 9 Nov. 1998.

visited several institutions either in person or by electronic mail. Material was successfully located at the following repositories: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archives (CBCA); the Canadian Music Centre (CMC), Toronto, Ontario; the Library and Documentation Services of the Canadian Museum of Civilization Archives (LAD-CMC); the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS), Queen Elizabeth Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland; Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA); The National Library of Canada (NLC), Ottawa; the University of Calgary Library Music Division, Special Collections (USLS C-A), Calgary, Alberta; The Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress (AFC-LOC); Folkways Records Archives, at the Smithsonian Institution (FR-SI); the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL); Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (NSARM); and the National Archives of Canada (NAC). This material consisting of personal correspondence, reports and other primary documents, provided additional detail regarding the milieu within which Peacock worked at the National Museum and about activities he was engaged in during this period.<sup>45</sup>

Through these interviews and searches I have learned much about Peacock's life and times, particularly his Newfoundland collecting activities. This comprehensive examination with its focus on his Newfoundland fieldwork provides the first important step forward for considering his lasting impact as a folk music specialist. Through his

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<sup>45</sup> This material is listed in the bibliography, parts 1 and 2, on pages 670 and 728.

work for the National Museum of Canada, Peacock pioneered many new areas of folklore research. As a member of a small network of folksong enthusiasts he did much to document and disseminate information on Canadian folksong during the folk revival period. In the case of Newfoundland, his work was viewed as an essential source book for the province's own localized revival movement. Prior to 1965, Peacock's Newfoundland collection was a valuable resource to those involved in researching and disseminating Canadian folk music. During the 1950s and '60s, the emphasis was on Newfoundland song as part of the Anglo-Canadian folksong repository. Later during the 1970s and '80s, the published collection *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* was viewed as a source for regenerating a tradition perceived to be threatened. In examining Peacock's collection and the milieu in which it was made, this study breaks new ground by allowing us to re-appraise his contribution to Newfoundland's cultural heritage and better appreciate his long-term contributions to folklore studies in Canada. In the following chapter a new theoretical framework is offered for reconsidering his work and a critical evaluation made on the basis of a significant body of new evidence unearthed by this research.

## Chapter 2 A Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* -Beyond the Text

In “Ethnography as Narrative” Bruner observes that any ethnographic text is a reflection of its creator’s experiences and there is often a dominant narrative which underlies such interaction between story and involvement (1986: 139-158). Over a twenty-year career of collecting for the National Museum Peacock created a wide range of ethnographic documents based on his research: audio field recordings, photographic and film images, short journal articles, books, radio programs and two vinyl recordings. All these research materials reflect Peacock’s approach to the documentation of folk cultures in Canada but the products of his Newfoundland fieldwork allow us to examine more closely his ideas about folksong, and the aesthetic which shaped his field collecting. The work in Newfoundland was Peacock’s first fieldwork; it launched him upon a life-long association with the National Museum of Canada. Newfoundland and its singers served as the early training ground for this composer-collector and it was primarily from this point that he established his career. Using *Outports* as the departure point, this chapter provides a critical framework within which to consider the essential aspects of Peacock’s approach to research as well as the long-term outgrowths of his work. Between 1951 and 1971, Peacock made 3,336 individual field recordings on 544 reels of tape for the National Museum; the Newfoundland collection consists of 157 tapes or 28

percent of the total.<sup>1</sup> So began Peacock's collecting career with the National Museum, and ultimately his contribution to folklore research in both Canada and Newfoundland.

When Peacock's three volume work was published in 1965 it was met with much enthusiasm. As one reviewer noted in the literary journal, *Alphabet*, "It is by far the best collection of Newfoundland songs ever made, a brilliant combination of scholarship and genuine understanding of the people from whom the songs came [ . . . ] (Devereux 1966, 75). Initially, Peacock says, he hadn't planned to publish anything. In 1951 he was aged 29 and the fieldwork was just a summer job he had acquired through his predecessor, Margaret Sargent. Eventually he became so interested that "it finally took over my life."<sup>2</sup>

As a musician Peacock was captivated by the diversity of the music he encountered and expressed this view in his first essay "Nine Songs from Newfoundland," published in *The Journal of American Folklore* (1954: 123-136). In this work Peacock identified two large categories of songs that he had collected in 1951 and 1952, those from the "Old World," which he considered musically to be the best because of their age,

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<sup>1</sup> The textual and musical transcriptions for Peacock's field tapes for 1951-1971, numbered Pea B-1 to Pea-B-554 are in boxes 277-302 at the LAD-CMC and the textual and musical transcriptions of the songs he collected by hand are numbered Pea C-1-128 and are contained in boxes 302-304. The actual recordings numbered by tapes Pea 1 to Pea 554 are contained in the Audio Visual Division. The figure 28 percent is derived from a "Breakdown of Peacock's Tapes (1951-1971)" provided by the Museum; Benoit Theriault, letter to author, 29 Mar. 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Mar. 1994.

but also a category of “local songs”:

The local song tradition is still flourishing, and each year brings a new crop of ballads about the sea and the ships, and about life in the outports, the new industrial towns, and the lumber and road-gang camps. Many of these local songs are equal to anything I have heard surviving from the Old World, and occasionally they possess a tragic insight or sardonic humor that is unique in English-language folksong (1954,123).

Peacock devoted much of his discussion in this first work to the older type of songs, although later in “Native Songs of Newfoundland” which he published in *Contributions to Anthropology, 1960 Part II* he elaborated further on the local material defining them as “native” to distinguish them from “traditional ones inherited from Old World folk cultures” (1963a, 213). Observing the presence of “one in five” native songs in the National Museum’s collection, he remarked that these included sea disasters, comic ditties, love songs, sea songs, fishing songs, construction songs, lumbering songs, political songs, smuggling songs, and a catch-all category referred to as miscellaneous (214). As Peter Narváez points out in “Newfoundland Vernacular Song,” Peacock’s impressionistic figure of five traditional songs to one native song was later taken to be the standard and therefore “widely accepted and quoted ever since” (1995, 217).

Peacock was intrigued by the local song-making tradition but felt that melodically and poetically the native songs were somewhat inferior to the so-called “traditional” material:

Many tunes, for example, are diatonic and even modulatory. This presupposed a harmonic structure quite alien to the basically melodic

configuration of English folksong. And a folksong stands on its melody or it does not stand at all (1963a, 238).

Peacock's preference was toward older songs which he perceived to be of higher musical quality; nevertheless, he saw the importance in collecting local songs:

Far from evolving meekly from traditional sources, they often represent a revolution against the formal and stylized sentiments of the traditional ballad and love-lyric. Moreover, what they lack in beauty and poise, they often make up for in spontaneity, insight, and humour (239).

This kind of commentary regarding the local material was typical of Peacock's attempts to provide a more balanced description of the Newfoundland tradition.

Over the course of six visits Peacock collected an enormous amount of material on tape and in manuscript. He was particularly excited about the impact his research would have on the then current knowledge of Newfoundland song. Later in *Outports*, referring to the works of Maud Karpeles (1934), Elisabeth Greenleaf (1933), and Gerald S. Doyle (1927, 1940, 1955), he observed that "previous research" had been "rather limited and haphazard" (1965, 1: xxi). Peacock intended for *Outports* to be an all-encompassing publication serving many needs, not just those of folksong scholars, observing in his introductory comments "My purpose has been to provide a balanced selection which will be of interest and use to the greatest number of people" (1965, 1: xxi). He was also determined that *Outports* would be a true reflection of the vibrant folk music tradition in Newfoundland serving many interests:

It is intended as a source book for musicologists, students of traditional verse, professional singers and musicians, historians, and not the least of

all, for the general reader and that growing army of young folksong enthusiasts who are finding new meanings in old traditions (xx).

Although *Outports* is a fine document of the province's singing traditions, the Newfoundland Peacock described did not include the modernizing and sweeping changes which were also a part of the lifestyle and culture he was attempting to document.<sup>3</sup>

Despite his tremendous contribution, Peacock's collecting aesthetic was often distanced from the modern-day realities of Newfoundland culture. Peacock made few comments about the places he visited and information regarding the many singers he recorded are sparse. Through his images and comments Peacock instead tended to provide more of a romanticized and pastoral view of old-time outport life. When the photographs in *Outports* are closely scrutinized though, one begins to notice in the picturesque views small details which hint at the more arduous aspects of life in outport Newfoundland at mid-century: the weather-worn faces and clothing of the fishermen, the labor-intensive activity reflected in images of young boys carrying fish and fishermen engaged in the splitting and drying of fish on a wharf (*Outports* 1: 107, 116, and 117).

Newfoundland's entry into Canada was an exciting event; the extension of the country's east coast boundary was something to commemorate. The Ottawa Government and the media of the day greatly shaped Canadians' perceptions of the new province through an information campaign. Howard Cable, who had visited the province with

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<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of photographic interpretations of Newfoundland between 1919 and 1983 see Stuart Pierson, "Newfoundland in Photographs," *Newfoundland Studies* 1.2 (1985) : 211-233.

Leslie Bell in 1948, was hired by the National Film Board (NFB) to prepare a score for *Newfoundland Atlantic Province* (1949). External Affairs publications such as *Newfoundland: An Introduction to Canada's New Province* (1950), contrasted the province's new Canadian status with its 400 year history as a British colony, accentuating the mutual advantages of the Union. In film and on radio, both Newfoundland's musical traditions and its dialect were highlighted.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike many Canadians who depended on such sources for their information, Peacock experienced the society and culture first-hand during his six visits. Traveling around the island by car, train and boat, visiting numerous small communities in search of folksongs, he stood in a position to discuss Newfoundland from his personal experience. Shortly after his first fieldwork trip Peacock began to interpret Newfoundland's musical traditions and culture and to disseminate his interpretation to Canadians and Newfoundlanders alike. His activities were diverse. He gave interviews to the newspapers. He broadcast on radio and wrote reviews of Newfoundland recorded music. From the onset of his research, Peacock maintained the perspective that traditional Newfoundland culture was endangered because of the changes sweeping across the province. In 1951, shortly after returning from his first summer's fieldwork in the province, he spoke to Ottawa newspaper columnist Laretta Thistle on his findings,

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<sup>4</sup> The Film Board had prepared films on Newfoundland prior to 1949 but, following Confederation, a formal arrangement was established with offices and staff being officially set in place in St. John's in June of that year; see Diane P. Janes, "Film Board of Canada, National," *ENL*, 2:68.

drawing her attention to the wealth of ballad material and local compositions (Thistle 1951, 24). He also informed her that he viewed the influences of country and western music on juke boxes and radio as detrimental to the older tradition.

Peacock spoke regularly of his work in Newfoundland during the series of radio talks aired nationally over the CBC in 1953, 1954 and 1957. Drawing upon field recordings, which he had made in 1951 and '52, he introduced Canadians to the variety of folk music he had encountered during his fieldwork. In one talk he emphasized to Canadians that Newfoundland was a special repository of older folk material:

Here you can find ballads hundreds of years old existing side by side with local songs composed last year. The people who sing them make no distinctions. The songs of their Elizabethan ancestors are just as fresh as the latest ditty. For they live in a world we have left behind, the timeless world of tradition.<sup>5</sup>

Peacock often represented Newfoundland as a world apart from the rest of the country. At the end of his fieldwork in 1961, Peacock had also developed strong views regarding Newfoundland. In *Outports* he described Canada's newest province as both "maverick" and "masterless" (1965, 1: xix). *Outports* serves as an encapsulation of Peacock's personal experiences with Newfoundland and its culture. It also provides a basis for exploring the attitudes and ideas influencing his Newfoundland research as well as the manner in which folk culture research was carried out in Canada during the 1950s and '60s.

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<sup>5</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music*, by Kenneth Peacock; transcript, talk 3; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Pea-E-3, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

### 2.1.1 Folk Culture Research and Folk Revival

In *Many Voices* Carole Carpenter observes: “throughout Anglo-Canadian folklore scholarship there is a persistent romanticism regarding the past or to the primitive” (1979, 85). She also argues, “major international and theoretical paradigms have been less significant than the internal factors in determining the specific nature and course of folklore activities in Canada” (87). Carpenter attributes the direction which folklore research and activities have taken in Canada to issues of nationalism, bilingualism, biculturalism and fear of being absorbed by the United States. Anglo-Canadians, she points out, have been less interested in documenting their own activities instead preferring to turn “their attention to the traditions of subcultures in the nation since they have tended to see themselves as developed beyond the state of possessing oral traditions” (152).

Carpenter’s observations raise questions about the nature of folklore research in Canada at such institutions as the National Museum where the documentation of the country’s folk cultures was first initiated by Marius Barbeau at the beginning of the century, eventually stimulating the growth of appreciable research on folksong traditions in the ’50s and leading to a fully fledged research program in the late 1960s (205-263). Carpenter also points out that while Barbeau is credited with accomplishing much, he has held a dominant position and his philosophical perspective has been almost too influential (85-86).

Certainly many of the same underlying beliefs related to such trends as romantic nationalism and an interest in survivals informed the work of Barbeau, Creighton, Peacock and other pioneer collectors during this period. But individual researchers also differed dramatically in their own approach; Peacock indicates in *Outports* that he was presenting his work in a manner which would appeal to many different audiences (1965, 1: xx). The North American folk revival of the 1950s and '60s set the tone for much of the folklore work carried out by a loosely-connected group of people interested in preserving and disseminating Canadian folksong.

As Miller (1992, 483), Goldie (1978: 16-19) and Bartlett and Ruebsaat (1980: 3-15) all note, the endeavors of Fowke, Peacock, Creighton and others of this milieu did much to nurture the beginnings of the Canadian folk revival movement. The revival influenced how Peacock presented his material. He aimed for *Outports* to be used as much by "professional singers and musicians" as by scholars (1965 1: xx). It also shaped the research interests of many of his peers. Edith Fowke is a good example; her entry-point into folklore research was her folksong-based radio work in the late 1940s and her awareness of the American folk revival movement (Fowke 1997, 2). Fowke's highly-successful publication *Folksongs of Canada* (1954), the first of many, was created primarily to "open Canada's treasure store of folksongs to a wider public" (Fowke and Johnston 1954, 9). Fowke built her career by being able to produce books and programs.

## 2.2 Revivalism as an Operative Model

In *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, Neil Rosenberg points out that until recently revivals were considered to be outside the mainstream of tradition; they were not viewed to be authentic events worthy of study (1993, 10). As early as 1966 in “The American Concept of Folklore,” folklorist Alan Dundes suggests that revival movements are worth documenting. In contrast to a survival, a revival is “a conscious and artificial phenomenon” which folklorists have often looked at disapprovingly, “considering them to be somehow spurious” (235). Although some folklorists have conceived of folklore as “consisting of survivals,” a more fruitful direction for study is to consider it as “a living art” where new forms emerge from old forms (235).

This is certainly the case throughout the 1940s and '50s where the very nature of folksong collection and presentation was being reconfigured by new recording technology and the commercialization of folk music through recordings, coupled with the growth of a folk consciousness and the emergence of a mass market urban folk revival movement. Such developments created an unusual cultural environment which shaped the direction of folk music research in the United States, Canada and Great Britain.

### **Recording Technology, the Commercialization of Folk music**

In the first decades of the twentieth century assessments about the authenticity of

a folksong and of folksong performance developed according to the criteria of orality (Rosenberg 1993, 10). Folk music scholars placed much of their emphasis on the text, and appraisals of the musical and textual quality of a folksong were measured by factors of age and anonymity of authorship (11). With the introduction of recording technology, authenticity was then redefined “to include aural dimensions” and, so with this, notions of the authenticity of certain performances of folk music and what constitutes a genuine folksong have continued to evolve along with the ability to preserve performances through field recordings (12). With the dissemination of folksongs to the mass market through recordings, a repositioning of folksingers and their repertoire also emerged according to new conceptions of authenticity based on performance, audience response and a host of other criteria.

The ability to record sound greatly altered the nature of folksong research in the first half of the twentieth century, though indirectly at first. As D. K. Wilgus points out in *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (1959), although folksongs had been recorded commercially by the late 1880s, improvements in technology in the early twentieth century enabled companies to make recordings of “race,” and “hillbilly” folk music available at an economical price on labels such as the Victor Recording Company and Columbia Records (Wilgus 232-233). Harry Smith’s landmark *Anthology of American Folk Music* (1952), recently re-released by Smithsonian-Folkways (1997), chronicled these developments, particularly the period between 1927 and 1932. Although

such activities were largely unnoticed by the “sophisticated public or the folklorists,” what did emerge was the establishment of a “commercialized tradition” and eventually a “market for folksong” (Wilgus 1959, 233-234).

In *A Spiral Way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography*, Erika Brady remarks that the advent of the phonograph had “profound implications” for field research (1999, 50). In the area of folk music research, Australian composer and pianist, Percy Grainger (1882-1961), gives an account of using a Standard Edison-Bell Phonograph as early as 1906 to make field recordings of English folksongs (1908: 147-169). Grainger readily appreciated the value of this technology observing that “the phonograph puts valuable folk-song, sea-chanty, and morris-dance collecting within the reach of all possessed of the needful leisure and enthusiasm” (149). Grainger’s interest was not shared by other British collectors of the period such as Cecil Sharp and Vaughan Williams who for “ideological” reasons perceived the phonograph as being too commercial but the situation in the States differed considerably where collectors readily embraced the technology (Brady 1999, 85).

The American collector, John Avery Lomax (1867-1948) employed recording technology early on in his career reporting in “Field Experiences With Recording Machines” that he had first used an Edison recorder between 1907 and 1910 on his field trips in Texas and the western United States enabling him to publish *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (1910) (1937, 57). Canadian folklorist Marius Barbeau used an

Edison Standard Phonograph as early as 1911 to record French singers in Lorette, Quebec (Nowry 1995, 99-101).

From the 1930s onward, disc recording technology enabled folklorists to package for release and presentation, material which had been recorded in the field. In his dissertation "A History of the Archive of Folksong at the Library of Congress: The First Fifty Years" (1982), Peter Bartis points out that in 1938, John Lomax channeled his findings in the form of "experimental 'documentary' radio broadcasts" (98). Between 1939 and 1940 the American public could also learn about its folk music heritage through a "twenty-six program panorama of American folksong" developed by Alan Lomax through the Columbia Broadcasting System's American "School of the Air" (99). In 1941, the Library of Congress Archive of Folksong established a recording laboratory with Alan Lomax as its coordinator. By 1942, with the emergent market for folksong, the first of what would eventually become dozens of field recordings of folk music became available commercially, thereby making this material accessible and enabling people to acquire copies of individual sound recordings (Shirley 1978, 1).

Recording technology and the Lomaxes use of it helped to give shape to a distinct approach to folksong research in the United States which, by the early 1950s, would have an appreciable bearing on folklore-related activities already emerging in Canada and Great Britain. In the early 1940s Alan Lomax established a working relationship with Marius Barbeau who also supplied him with both singers and field recordings from the

National Museum of Canada's collection for a couple of radio programs devoted to Canadian folk music.<sup>6</sup> In 1950 Lomax again approached Barbeau to serve as editor for the Canadian volume of his larger project *Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music* (1954).<sup>7</sup> For the Canadian album, Barbeau supplied both folk and native material again from the archival holdings of the Museum with contributions by himself and such Museum staff as Kenneth Peacock, Helen Creighton, Carmen Roy and Marcel Rioux. For folk culture workers in Canada exchanges such as this signaled the potential for new methods of folk culture presentation.

Lomax also did much to stimulate the British folk revival while in that country in the post war period (1950-58) (Gregory 2002, 10). In addition to his extensive collecting, Lomax produced several BBC programs and issued a number of albums which "brought listeners up to speed on the American folksong revival" (10). In "The Impact of Recording Technology on the British Folksong Revival," Kenneth Goldstein points to the influence of radio on the revival (1982: 3-18). The BBC productions "Ballads and Blues" (1953) created by Lomax, the folk music scholar Albert (Bert) L. Lloyd (1908-82), Jimmy Milly (more commonly known by his stage name, Ewan McColl) and "As I Roved Out" with producer Peter Kennedy, were dependent for their success on field

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<sup>6</sup> For one of Lomax's programs "School of the Air" devoted to voyageur songs Barbeau supplied the names of several French singers and helped coordinate the recording logistics; see the communication between Alan Lomax and Marius Barbeau for 19 Nov. 1940 to 3 Feb. 1941; Barbeau correspondence, Alan Lomax Collection 1940-1948, AFC-LOC.

<sup>7</sup> Marius Barbeau, ed. *Canadian Folksongs*. Vol. 8., *Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music* (SL-211, 1954) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

recordings (Goldstein 5).<sup>8</sup> Programs such as these provided living “source” singers and at the same time altering the notion that folksong was a survival of the past (6). They also stimulated an interest in folksong collecting and presentation.

### **Revivalism, Urban Folk Singing and the Development of a Folk Consciousness**

In his study of the relationship between politics and popular song Dave Harker also comments on the cross fertilization of revival ideas in the 1950s which came out of these kinds of interactions (1980,151). From the mid 1940s, Bert Lloyd, created a more-inclusive concept of British folksong through his research but also by his performances. From a working class background, a strong believer in Marxism and closely affiliated to the Workers’ Music Association, Lloyd’s influential publications such as *The Singing Englishman* (1944), *Coaldust Ballads* (1951), *Come All Ye Bold Miners* (1952) intentionally highlighted earlier British folksong collectors’ disregard for the working class. Through his many folksong performances and albums released through Topic records and such works as *The Penguin Book of English Folksongs* (1959), Lloyd also inspired a young generation of Britains to rediscover their musical roots. Marxism greatly influenced Lloyd’s research perspective and his later work *Folksong in England* (1967) led to critical reevaluations, by Harker and others, of Cecil Sharp and the later work of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (Porter 1993, 67). Central to this

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<sup>8</sup> See Roy Palmer, “A. L. Lloyd and Industrial Song,” *Singer Song and Scholar*, ed. Ian Russell (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986) 133-146.

critique is Sharp's rejection of the music of the massive working-class culture which emerged throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century alongside that of rural Britain (Harker 1985). As Dave Russell points out in *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914* (1987) many cultural forms of music have existed on the streets, in music halls, and public houses, through musical comedy linked to the working class.

In his discussion on revivals Neil V. Rosenberg points out that the act of reviving something is deliberate and largely linked to a conscious need to use "folklore as folklore to express or represent ideas about identity and/or art" (1997a, 723). What is of interest to folklorists are the motivations, activities and attitudes of the individuals doing the reviving. C. J. Bearman argues, for example, that the first British folk revival movement of 1903-14 spear-headed by Cecil Sharp and the English Folk Dance Society was inspired by "patriotism and nationalism" (2000, 12). The second revival, which commenced in the 1950s in Great Britain, was a "left-wing" radical rejection of the values of the earlier revival (12).

In *Sing a Song of Social Significance*, a discussion of the North American folk revival, R. Serge Denisoff makes a connection between "folk consciousness" and "commercial revival" (1972, 107). He takes the notion of revival to refer to "the transfer of folk music from an esoteric series of publics to that of a mass audience which in turn changes the original product into 'an emergent reality' " (107). The idea of a so-called conscious folksong movement emerged concurrently with the development of

commercial recordings and alongside political trends of the late 1930s and '40s period. Left-wing politics and the emergence of a counter-culture movement at the time helped give shape to the mass interest in folksong in the '50s and '60s. As Richard A. Reuss has documented in "American Folksongs and Left-Wing Politics: 1935-56," leftist politics in United States contributed significantly to the development of urban folksinging (1978: 9-31). R. Serge Denisoff, who also discusses this period in *Great Day Coming: Folk Music and the American Left*, points out that the period of the late '30s and early '40s was a " 'folk music revival' in miniature" representing "a subculture and a style of life which fitted into the working-class ethos of the Communist party" (1971, 68).

By the late 1940s folk music had also become available in the United States on a mass market scale through records, radio programs and concert performances by folksingers such as Huddie Ledbetter (Lead Belly), Woody Guthrie, Molly Jackson and interpreters such as Pete Seeger and Burl Ives, heralding the beginnings of a new folksong movement. This movement, which Bill C. Malone distinguishes as being urban-based, emerged from "the province of a dedicated and intelligent minority, mostly intellectuals and social workers who saw in the music an expression of social conscience" (1968, 334). Through their performances these singers, some such as Guthrie with strong rural ties, helped to popularize this music "on college campuses, in night clubs, and before union rallies" (334). By 1958, through performers such as the Weavers, Harry Belafonte, and the Kingston Trio (who delivered folk material in a style that had mass

popular appeal), the music of the folk was to gain respectability and become “just another facet of America’s popular music” (335).

The availability of American folk material through records, radio and television also did much to develop a popular interest in folk material in the 1950s in Britain. Skiffle music, a kind of home-made folk music on improvised instruments which originated in the United States in the 1920s and '30s with links to jazz and blues, had mass appeal in Britain during the 1950s (“Skiffle”1998, 1198). It was popularized most notably in Britain by Lonnie Donegan (1931-2002) who released a Lead Belly classic “Rock Island Line” in 1956. As Boyes argues in *The Imagined Village: Culture Ideology and the English Folk Revival*, exposure to Woody Guthrie, Big Bill Broonzy and other American folk heroes, “awakened the consciousness of young people in Britain to lead them on to the folk music revival” (1993, 216).

### **Folk Romanticism and Grass-roots Preservationism**

R. Raymond Allen points out in his study “Old-Time Music and The Urban Folk Revival,” (1981) that revivals in music happen on an ongoing basis and each revival is the product of a unique set of factors and ideology (67-68). The post-World War II urban folk revival with strands in United States, Canada, and Western Europe, is important for folklorists to study as a cultural phenomenon and should be worthy of serious consideration especially because of the “cultural forces which shaped it” (66). As Allen

notes, the post-war revival was not a homogeneous phenomenon but it contained many different strands; commercialization of traditional folksong; the politicization of folksong; the release of both field and commercial recordings such as Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music* (1952) under the Folkways label, followed by the release of records by new pioneer recording artists able to accurately emulate both singing and instrumental styles (67-69). For city musicians these activities, coupled with new performance contexts, were important means of learning old-time fiddling. Ultimately, what emerged was the re-generation of old time music, this time, though, with greater diversity. In essence the period of the 1950s and '60s also served as a cultural launching pad for other kinds of revival activities. Allen sees such musical change and variation as being part of a long historical continuum of folk revival and therefore worthy of investigation (79).

In "Rethinking Folk Revivalism: Grass-Roots Preservationism and Folk Romanticism," Richard Blaustein makes a similar connection between folk revival activity and the "cultural revitalization" of music traditions (1993, 258-74). He draws a link between old-time fiddling; the 1920s, and a second revival in the '50s and '60s. The conditions for both revivals were much the same: a period of post-war growth with increased modernization coupled with new commercial musical sounds. Urban folk revivalists in the later period were simply recognizing and placing new value on a tradition which had been ongoing for some time. The revival of this music was actually

“a genuine grass-roots preservationist movement” emerging, he suggests, “because they fulfill enduring expressive needs and desires that mainstream popular entertainment and mass media cannot satisfy” (Blaustein, 260).

Blaustein also demarcates two kinds of folk revivalism: the first, leading to folk romanticism, has as its source, “alienation from an unsatisfactory cultural identity” and a second form, evolving out of a biased perception of a “deteriorating tradition,” leads to “grass-roots preservationism” (264). Blaustein argues that there is a connection between these two movements and it is the interaction between them which should be of interest to folklorists. Allen’s emphasis on the importance of considering the post-war revival and Blaustein’s two forms of revivalism are a useful framework for considering the cultural environment which first shaped folk culture research in Canada in the ’50s and early ’60s when Peacock carried out his work. It is also useful in studying the growth of the Newfoundland-centered folk music revival.

### **Revivalism Trends in Canada**

Historically what is in cultural vogue in the United States tends to be diffused across to Canada because of geographical proximity and easy access to American markets and technology. Mark Miller notes that the Canadian folk revival had “direct parallels” to the activities in the United States in the late ’40s and ’50s (1992, 483). This “broad cultural movement,” characterized by Rosenberg as the “great boom” because of its size,

diversity and “its extensive social and economic dimensions,” inevitably provided a template and a starting point for Canadians to launch a folk music revival distinct to this country (1993, 2). What is interesting are the methods and means by which the Canadian revival occurred and more importantly its motivations.

In “Rethinking ‘Revival’ of American Ethnic Music,” Mark Slobin comments that we can never really revive something exactly the way it was; what occurs is “something new” (1983, 37). Noting the influence that small socially connected networks have on a revival, Slobin suggests we need to be concerned about who the revivers are and their aspirations. He argues that it is usually possible to link revival activities back to “key individuals” who are part of a core group (39). I argue that Kenneth Peacock was part of a small network which substantially influenced the direction of folk music research in Canada, but also contributed to its popularization in the 1950s and ’60s. By the 1970s Newfoundland revivalists discovering *Outports* started to expand their own perspective of the province’s musical traditions. As a “key individual” Peacock’s activities are worthy of consideration and provide us with a means of looking at this period in Canadian folk music scholarship, helping us to understand the cultural processes and motivations at play.

Commencing in 1951 with his Newfoundland fieldwork, Peacock slowly emerged as one of a loosely-connected and dedicated group of pioneer enthusiasts who aspired both to document and disseminate Canadian folksong materials. Through his position at

the National Museum, he was regularly drawn into collaborations with Edith Fowke, Samuel Gesser, Tom Kines, Helen Creighton, and Alan Mills, all of whom were actively involved in the production of folk revival-related materials. Although many of them lacked professional training as folklorists, their work helped to structure the discipline within Canada. The Canadian public also became aware of the wealth and diversity of their own traditional and cultural heritage through their collective research and their eventual popularization of folksong. During this period, like others involved in cultural pursuits, Peacock was motivated by a strong sense of nationalism and it was this which eventually led him to collect and disseminate Canadian folksong. He was keenly interested in ensuring that the music he collected would be made available to the Canadian public, a public which he believed was more influenced by American music than by its own traditions or culture. In hindsight, in his 1969 article "Folk and Aboriginal Music," Peacock expressed this view well into the sunset of his folksong-collecting career:

The musical life of a nation depends heavily on its folk-music resources. We in Canada have been blessed with a particularly rich array of folk music materials. However, the mere preservation of a resource has no significance in itself. The resource must be used constructively and creatively on a national scale. Only a small proportion of our traditional folk music has been made available to the academic community, the creative musician, and the public at large [ . . . ]. What we need now is not only a continuation of basic folk-music research but the establishment of some sort of network of communication whereby the results of these researches can be made available to institutions of higher learning, to creative musicians and to the public at large. Only then will the folk

music of our disparate cultures receive the scientific, creative, and popular attention it deserves (88-89).

Peacock's view of the nation's music was, however, selective. He was interested in folksongs of age and quality. This was often the guiding principle for his research. He was less interested in documenting other traditional musical forms such as country and western or other popular music also present within communities. Although Peacock contributed greatly to our knowledge of the country's ethnic musical traditions, he was not interested in community bands, fiddle traditions, dance hall music or musical productions within cultures or the blending of musical traditions across cultures.<sup>9</sup> Such views suggest that there are some important connections to be made between folklore, nationalism and romanticism pertaining to folklore research carried out by Peacock and others during this time.

At the commencement of World War II, Canada was primarily an agrarian country economically dependent on its trade with Britain and the United States. When the war started in 1939, the country was still reeling from the economic and social impact of the Great Depression. Throughout the late '30s the country started the slow transformation away from its dependence upon agricultural, and by the end of the war emerged as an urbanized industrial country with a new sense of nationhood. Feelings of nationalism filtered into every corner of Canadian society, and, in the post-war period

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<sup>9</sup> For one interesting portrayal of the interchange between folk and popular culture in ethnic, Anglophone and Native communities in Alberta see George W. Lyon, *Community Music in Alberta: Some Good Schoolhouse Stuff* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 1999).

anti-Americanism and the protection of Canadian culture became critical issues for Canadians and the Canadian government.

Edelgard E. Mahant and Graeme S. Mount note in *An Introduction to Canadian-American Relations* (1984), that historically Canada and the United States had developed certain economic and military ties, a relationship which was reinforced during World War II through various bilateral agreements. Following the war differences between Canadian and American ideologies emerged over issues such as the Cold War. Canada viewed itself as the “peaceable kingdom” and the United States as the “Cold Warrior” (Mahant and Mount, 173). In the post-war period, anti-American sentiments were also linked to the perceived impact of American radio and television on Canadian culture. Canadians had always been predisposed toward American popular culture through film, print and radio, but with the introduction of television in the 1950s and ’60s Canadians were “being overwhelmed with new technologies that had far more pervasive influences” (Bumstead 1986, 401). From the late 1940s, the conditions were ripe for the rise of a nationalistic fervor which swept over the country. In *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission*, Maria Tippett notes that by this time a “fundamental shift in thinking about culture” arose and along with it the “beginning of a co-ordinated artistic life in Canada” (1990, 158). Moved by a sense of pride and nationalism, Canadians attempted to carve out their cultural identity. Music, theatre, art, and literature and issues surrounding the organization of Canada’s scientific and cultural

community were assigned a high priority. As groups and organizations pondered how best to protect, preserve and promote their Canadian identity, the call for government action led, in 1949, to the establishment of a Royal Commission. This was headed by Vincent Massey and he was mandated to investigate the state of Canada's culture.

In July 1949, among dozens of organizations making presentations that year, the National Museum of Canada made its views known to the Commission. The director, Dr. Alcock, pointed out that the Museum was poorly funded and lacked a space of its own; Marius Barbeau argued that, although the Museum had accumulated huge collections of Indian, French-Canadian and English-Canadian folk materials, their classification "lagged far behind, for the lack of time and competent personnel."<sup>10</sup> When the Commission summarized its findings in the *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences* (1951) folklore and its dissemination were officially recognized as an important asset. As the Commission stated "Canadian folklore forms an important though neglected part of our history and our tradition" (232). Folklore was seen to be a valuable cultural commodity--but one under threat.

### **2.3 Revivalism, Romantic Nationalism and the Representation of Folk Culture**

There is often a complex relationship between revivalism, culture and nation-

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<sup>10</sup> F. J. Alcock, "Brief of the National Museum of Canada for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences," and Marius Barbeau, "The Fountain-Heads of Canadian Culture," box 117, Marius Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

building. Folksong and other aspects of folklore collecting have repeatedly been stimulated by nationalism. As William A. Wilson observes in "Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism," nations have historically been built more on folklore and myths of the past than the "political realities of the present" (1989, 23). In *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, Philip V. Bohlman also notes that folk music was presumed to be at the "cultural core" of one's nation (1988, 54). Romantics looking for their "nation-state status" turned toward the rediscovery of a "primitive" and "savage" past perceived to be uncorrupted by higher levels of civilization. Underlying the roots of much of this early work was the notion that one's culture and nationality were to be found in the folk or peasantry in the rural areas far removed from modern towns and industrialized areas.<sup>11</sup> The folk was commonly envisioned as being the antithesis of modernity and therefore the opposite of urban life.

Just as folk exemplified the past history of a nation, so too did the music of the folk (Bohlman, 54-55). For the first half of the century, folklorist Regina Bendix points out, ascription of authenticity was based not on process but on the text and item (1997, 74). Collectors were far less interested in documenting any other dimensions of a particular folksong tradition, i.e., the circumstances of which might include current folksong creations, or the performance and function of folksongs to the individual and the

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<sup>11</sup> As one of the most celebrated examples of this particular perspective see Cecil Sharp, *English Folksong: Some Conclusions* (London; Taunton: Simpkin and Co., Novello & Co.; Barnicott & Pearce, 1907).

community. The authenticity of a folksong was judged by whether it had been orally transmitted. Collection and classification were based on such criteria as continuity over time, variation, and age (Sharp 1907, x; Karpeles 1951, 10-16). In instances where collectors disseminated their findings in the form of published collections, they frequently accompanied this with their personal interpretations and assumptions about the culture, often saying little about how they were led to formulate these conclusions.

This approach, which typified the works of many song collectors in the first half of the twentieth century has drawn much criticism. In *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (1983), a critical examination of the activities of culture workers at the Hindeman Settlement School in the southern Appalachians, David Whisnant uses the concept of “systemic cultural intervention” as a way of isolating and describing those actions by institutions and individuals (missionaries, clergy, government officials) who through their status and power “within a culture” intentionally set out to bring about some change (13-14). As Whisnant points out, “The ‘culture’ that is perceived by the intervener (even before the act of intervention) is rarely congruent with the culture that is actually there”; rather what is presented is “a selection, an arrangement, an accommodation to preconceptions” (260).

Whisnant’s study draws our attention to issues of cultural intervention and representation which emerge from the realities of modernization and its impact on traditional culture and the nostalgic view of the folk and folk culture as a cultural treasure

which should be preserved and revived. Cecil Sharp, who had much contact with the culture workers of this area in the early twentieth century, left a legacy of work on folksong in the southern Appalachians. Although Sharp broadened our understanding of folksong traditions his “essential neglect of social context and his concept of a ‘racial heritage’ ” created a less than accurate picture of southern mountain life and singing traditions (Whisnant 118-19).

In English Canada, still largely under British influence, Sharp’s work and the British Romantic nationalist model provided an effective precedent for others to draw upon. In her thesis “A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folksong and Handicraft Festivals 1927-1930 ” (1982), Janet McNaughton argues that John Murray Gibbon of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Marius Barbeau of the National Museum, who collaborated on the Canadian Pacific festivals in the 1920s, drew extensively on the British revival model for their romantic nationalist activities. They aimed to create a Canadian-based folk revival coupled with the “parallel emergence of a national school of music compositions based on folk music themes” (21).

In *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (1994), Ian McKay also observes that romanticism and nationalism in Helen Creighton’s folklore work have led to the creation of images of the folk which were anything but accurate. Creighton is an interesting case because of the duration of her work for the National Museum. When she first started collecting in the late 1920s,

Creighton was influenced by the British folksong revival but by the 1940s her research eventually shifted to a more inclusive American model through exposure to other theoretical approaches. As McKay points out, "The world of folklore scholarship to which Creighton had access as a new researcher into the Folk was by the 1920s, emphatically Anglo-American in its orientation" (18). McKay argues that Helen Creighton was frequently guided by notions of the "Folk" as characterized by their "own distinctive culture and isolated from the modern society around them" (9). In Creighton's accounts traditional society or the "Folk of the country side" was depicted by urban culture producers as "the romantic antithesis to everything they disliked about modern urban and industrial life" and therefore essentially Antimodernist (4).

As she is a celebrated heroine who championed the documentation of Nova Scotia's folk culture, since the early 1980s there has been some healthy discussion regarding her life and fieldwork but considerable disagreement as to her contribution and her approach. This is reflected by the works of Beck (1985: 5-20), Webb (1992: 159-70), Tye (1993: 107-117), Greenhill and Tye (1994: 167-183) and McKay (1994). Webb promotes her more as an interventionist while Tye views her as a "lone worker" pioneering new and difficult territory in a male-dominated field. In his recent biography, *Helen Creighton: Canada's First Lady of Folklore*, Croft comments:

Critics have accused Helen of overplaying the rural aspect of folk culture. Perhaps she did, but the understanding of folklore as urban is a relatively recent tangent to folk studies (1999, 5).

He argues Creighton was “not alone in her way of thinking” and that her approach reflected folklore research trends in Canada for the time (5). When she started collecting songs at the beginning of her career she was very much an amateur. Throughout her career, as Diane Tye points out, Creighton continued to seek the advice of those whom she perceived to be experts in the field (1993, 110). It was for this reason that her theoretical perspective during this time was influenced first by Sharp’s folk-revival movement and then later by the American model (110). A major turning point for Creighton’s career took place in 1942 when she attended the first Folklore Institute held during the summer at Indiana University. Here she encountered several of the leading scholars in academic folklore studies including Herbert Halpert, Stith Thompson, and Alan Lomax.<sup>12</sup> She returned to the Institute in 1954 as both a lecturer and a participant (Croft 1999, 126). These connections offered her new ways of documenting the folk which she then incorporated into her research.

McKay’s critical study brings to light new information on Creighton’s activities but, his social historian’s perspective also creates an unbalanced and often erroneous view of folklore scholarship in Canada based on an individual case study. He describes Marius Barbeau as a “towering figure at the National Museum” who “came to exert an important influence on the entire field” (56). McKay further adds that Barbeau was “an important

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<sup>12</sup> For an account of this conference see Stith Thompson, *A Folklorist’s Progress: Reflections of a Scholar’s Life*, eds. John H. McDowell et al. (Bloomington: Special Publications of the Folklore Institute No 5, Indiana University, 1996) 259-71.

Creighton ally” who “supported her bids for financial support from various agencies and individuals, including the chief of the folklore section of the Library of Congress” (57). Certainly Barbeau was a key figure, but as Richard Preston points out in his study of the man, Barbeau’s folklore-related activities were generally considered outside the mainstream of much of the research taking place at the Museum (1976: 122-135).

As Gerald Pocius recently remarked with respect to research which originated out of institutions such as the National Museum, “What folklore related work that has occurred in museums has happened largely because of regional priorities rather than any consistent attempt to coordinate documentation and display of folklore items and activities” (2000, 268). It can therefore be argued that folklore research in Nova Scotia and in Newfoundland became a regional priority in part because of the work of Helen Creighton and Kenneth Peacock who created an awareness of these aspects of Canada’s cultural heritage through their own explorations.

The National Museum has made a substantial contribution to the documentation of the country’s folk culture particularly in its capacity as the “national repository for folklore materials” (268). Although Barbeau headed up much of this work, major collections were also created through, among others, the work of Helen Creighton and Kenneth Peacock. More often though, it is the work of Marius Barbeau which has been placed under scrutiny. In recent years, aspects of Barbeau’s activities in anthropology, folklore research and popularization have been variously discussed by Carpenter (1979:

220-233; 1991: 11-21), Creighton et al (1984: 42-59), McNaughton (1981: 67-73; 1984: 60-4 ), Preston (1976: 123-174), and Lewis (1996: 48-62). Each of these authors has brought us closer to understanding his dominant position within Canadian folklore scholarship. As Chris Lewis remarks in his examination of Barbeau's career, "Even after his retirement " Barbeau influenced "the direction that Canadian folklore studies was taking (1996, 57).

Although Barbeau's contribution to Canadian anthropology and folklore is extensive, his activities have yet to receive the critical assessment required to fully understand his impact on Canadian folklore. Nowry's biography *Man of Mana: Marius Barbeau* (1995), is a good account chronicling much of Barbeau's lengthy career, but it contains many gaps. Nowry says little of Barbeau's connections to collectors such as Karpeles, Lomax, Creighton, Fowke and Peacock and almost nothing about the kinds of affiliations which were formed out of these individual relationships.

Peacock notes that in the early years of his career Barbeau "had a profound and still incalculable influence [ . . . ] even to the point of changing its direction" (Creighton et al 1994, 48). Some suggest that Barbeau actually viewed Peacock as his "heir apparent" within the Museum.<sup>13</sup> Although Peacock was a tireless museum worker who spent much of his life documenting Canada's musical traditions, unlike Barbeau he was largely untrained in research methods and folklore scholarship. His research differed from that

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<sup>13</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Sam Gesser, 28 Oct. 1996.

of his mentor by choice. As he once pointed out, “For my part I never had the intellectual bent, the patience or even the slightest interest in following such a career” (48). Peacock offers a more telling perspective of his abilities in *Outports* pointing out, “Each collector is usually self-taught and develops his own style over a period of time, improvising his way among the people and their music” (1965, xxii).

### 2.3.1 Peacock’s Views of Folk Culture and Folk Culture Representation

Like Creighton, when collecting folksongs Peacock learned to draw on his particular strengths. It was his musical training and interest which led him into new areas of exploration. Following the completion of his Newfoundland research (1951-1961), he moved on to document the musical traditions of over twenty ethnic groups in Canada. Recognizing his extensive field experience, the Canadian Folk Music Society (CFMS) commissioned him to write *A Practical Guide for Folk Music Collectors* (1966). The publication was timely. Printed as a photostat and published two years after Goldstein’s *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (1964), it reflected the maturation of folklore and folk music scholarship in Canada.<sup>14</sup> Peacock designed the manual to be a functional reference tool noting its applicability “for researchers interested in the collection, documentation, transcription and publication of Canadian folk music of diverse origins” (1966, 1).

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<sup>14</sup> Peacock was obviously aware of Goldstein’s work for this particular publication was included in his bibliography.

His *Practical Guide* offers us some understanding of Peacock's concepts of folksong and the business of collecting based on his personal aesthetic. He perceived that to collect folksongs the primary field of research should be "any long-established ethnic community" which has tended to be "isolated from the influences of the new technology" (8). From Peacock's perspective oral tradition was the defining mark of an authentic folksong. Though as he observed, historically whenever such music was recorded on paper or by new technological methods, musical change would occur. Peacock's approach to collecting appears to have been a blending of ideas shaped by his exposure to both British and American concepts about the folk, folksong and tradition. He remarks, "An interesting development of the new folk music is the return to 'oral tradition' via recordings and the other mass-media instruments of communication" (5).

Peacock considered rural areas to be a "primary field of research" having the ideal conditions for the survival and development of folk music (5). The city also offered some potential as well from newly-arrived immigrants: "Research among newly arrived immigrants may not be strictly 'Canadian' but it may very well bring to light materials which have been overlooked in the mother countries" (8). He cautioned against collecting music from "semi-professional ethnic groups who play and sing 'folk music' at banquets and weddings" but he also saw urban areas like Toronto as having "research potential" because of the opportunity to connect with ethnic groups (7). These views reflect Peacock's unique experiences with seeking out individuals of musical traditions

other than his own, in particular those from the many ethnic groups he had begun to document starting in 1962, one year after completing his Newfoundland work.

In *A Practical Guide* Peacock also provides us with some indication of his distinct approach to the textual and musical transcription of folk music. He considered audio-recordings as a means to an end; ultimately his aim was to provide transcriptions of field recordings on paper, which he noted was a “medium of proven permanence” (52). By so doing, music could then be disseminated “through the medium of books” and provide researchers a means of being able to quickly view materials “by sight” (52). This view stood in stark contrast to the efforts of collectors such as Alan Lomax who while working in the United States at the Library of Congress, viewed the recording of folk music as an end in itself because it could more accurately document a singer’s performance better than anything on a page.

Peacock recommended that “to achieve the proper structural representation of the song text on paper” transcribers should closely “follow the song’s melodic line” (52). He noted that in the European genres there is a distinct “symmetrical structure” and this can be represented by setting out the songs in “lines and verses”:

I have found it convenient to stop the tape recorder at the end of each line to write it down in my transcription notebook before playing the next line. Perhaps your mind can assimilate two lines at a time. You may occasionally find that a singer has added or deleted a line, giving you an irregular verse. Transcribe it as such. A dotted line is sometimes used to indicate a deleted line (53).

He also cautioned that transcribers should take into consideration the various dialects and

archaic words used by informants which have been preserved by the tape recorder. Using his experiences in Newfoundland as a case example, he illustrated the impossibility of capturing the nuances of the informant's speech patterns, suggesting therefore that "the precise phonetics" should be left to the experts. He cautioned transcribers to be aware that what may pass as poor grammar might be "archaic usages" and "dialect words" that should be included:

You should be careful to transcribe words exactly the way your informants sang them. Exceptions to this rule may occur in songs of literary origin where the fancier words may be beyond the informant's pronunciation ability. Such words as 'spontraneous', 'beautelous' and 'refloogent' (a sampling from Newfoundland) should of course be reinstated in all their spontaneous, beauteous and refulgent glory. It is also permissible to rearrange words if the informant has somehow managed to place the key rhyming word somewhere in the middle of a line instead of at the end. By and large, though, you should transcribe the text exactly as the informant sang it unless there is a very good reason for changing it (55).

Such views bring into question how much variability there was to Peacock's musical transcriptions. He noted that music only comes alive "when it is heard" and that the process of transcribing music is a "frustrating activity" because "the transcriber knows in advance that he cannot possibly indicate on paper" such aspects as "pitch, metre, intensity and timbre of the original performance" (66). When combined with "grace notes and other ornamental symbols" it might be possible to give the "general style" which may be "straightforward or highly complex and ornate" (67).

As an approach, Peacock suggested two types of musical transcription, "literal" and "composite" outlining their "advantages and disadvantages." A composite

transcription is based on material from several verses “and achieves an ‘ideal melody’ portraying” the most interesting features of each verse, where “the basic melodic structure, delineated in regular musical phrases and divided by line bars, will be overlaid with ornaments and other devices used with telling effect in several verses, thus saving space” (69-70). Conversely, in doing a literal transcription, the transcriber selects “a representative verse of a song” and then transcribes it “exactly [Peacock’s emphasis] the way the informant sang it on the recording closely following each nuance of pitch, metre and intensity” (68). A disadvantage of this method, he noted, is that it is “deficient in delineating the formal structure of the melody” but more appropriate for aboriginal and other exotic material and some European materials “with asymmetrical texts or when the transcriber wants to emphasize the singing style of a particular informant” (69). Such comments suggest Peacock had his own agenda of how a song should sound musically and textually and this influenced the manner in which he actually treated the materials he collected.

Peacock also discussed the treatment of informants noting “[they] are the vital link in the chain of research activities which brings folksongs from the relative obscurity of their traditional environment to the printed page” (26). He provided several useful suggestions for collectors in *A Practical Guide*. Summing up he commented:

The proper treatment of your informants will involve both knowledge and respect of their culture. They will be delighted to learn that you are interested in *their* music and in *their* way of life. Try to see the world from their viewpoint; to become a participating observer of the culture. And

don't be disappointed if they sing material which does not fit your preconceptions of what a folksong should be. The musical clichés of one culture may be of rare interest to another (31).

Peacock's views on field collecting had, in all likelihood, evolved over time along with his work experience. Although he had a preference for older material and for collecting in the rural context, having spent much time in Western Canada documenting the ethnic cultures in this region of the country, his ideas on finding new material and various techniques for documentation had somewhat broadened. Peacock actually operated best when in the field collecting folk music. The scope of this activity most often comprised locating informants, collecting data through recorded interviews, processing data collected in the field and the preparation of field inventories. As his *Practical Guide* reveals, in this area he was meticulous and very methodical.

Following the completion of his Newfoundland fieldwork, Peacock played a major role in the expansion of the National Museum's ethnic research in the 1960s. As a natural extension of these activities, Peacock's later investigations extended to the photographing and the collection of musical instruments and other artifacts of many of these cultures.<sup>15</sup> From 1962 up to his retirement in 1970 Peacock became exclusively absorbed with exploring the distinct musical traditions of those cultures which had newly migrated to Canada.

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<sup>15</sup> Examples include Peacock's "Survey of Musical Instruments in Southern Ontario," (1965); "Survey of Ethnic Folk Music Instruments and Artifacts in Western Canada," (1965); "Lithuanian Artifacts," (1967); "Japanese Artifact Survey," (1967) "Norwegian Artifacts," (1966-67); Pea-A-6, Pea-A-7, Pea-A-9.1, Pea-A-10.3 and Pea-A-10.4; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

Peacock's research was assuredly interventionist for the cultures he was attempting to document. Through the collection and dissemination of his research findings, he caused many communities to become aware of their individual folk traditions and often his work had an appreciable impact. As one local resident of Grand Forks, British Columbia noted in a letter to Peacock shortly after *Songs of the Doukhobors* was published:

Initially we ordered 60 copies of the book and they were sold in a few days locally and we ordered some more and of course many order directly. All in all your book is beautiful and what to me is even far more important, [it is] a meaningful piece of work. Thank you Ken.<sup>16</sup>

In his research for the National Museum Peacock regularly ploughed new ground; he was the first to transcribe the traditional folk music of the Doukhobors and to capture their religious songs (Martens 1971, 167). His efforts were often applauded by members of the communities whose folk traditions he documented and presented to the Canadian public. This public often viewed immigrants and their cultures with ignorance and disdain and perceived them as a menace to Canadian society.<sup>17</sup>

His ground-breaking efforts to document previously unexamined areas on behalf of the National Museum also received great praise from the scholarly community. When reviewing Peacock's *A Survey of Ethnic Folk Music Across Western Canada* (1963b),

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<sup>16</sup> Peter P. Legebokoff, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 4 Mar.1970; Pea-D-1.5, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>17</sup> See Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1995).

Josef Brožek remarked in the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, “it brings out Canada’s rich, largely untapped sources of folk music and folklore existing within her ethnic groups other than French, American Indian and English” (1966, 117).

Peacock’s work has received much praise but some reviewers have also questioned his representation of certain cultures. In his review of *Songs of the Doukhobors* Roman Piontkovsky found difficulties with Peacock’s research:

As may be expected with a pioneering work of this nature, the book is not devoid of shortcomings, in spite of the author’s obviously conscientious attempt to document his information. The section on “Doukhobor Origins and Beliefs” contains a number of unqualified assertions which give this reviewer considerable pause [ . . . ]. The translation, while largely accurate, falls short of the quality apparent in the earlier work. The “data” accompanying the songs is interesting and often helpful, but lack of sufficient bibliographic or other substantiation reduces their usefulness to the scholar interested in researching the subject further (1972, 64).

When reviewing *A Garland of Rue* and Creighton’s *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick*, Robert Witmer similarly observed that the musical transcriptions which Peacock had prepared for both publications were adequate though lacking detail:

Among the transcriptional features which I miss are a liberal use of articulation signs, and alternate notations for musical variants occurring in successive strophes. Of course, these omissions are perhaps the result of a conscious attempt to keep the notation as uncomplicated as possible, or possibly there is an assumption that the inclusion of recorded examples renders exacting descriptive transcriptions superfluous. Even if that be the case I think that Mr. Peacock is due some debate on some of his transcriptional procedures (1972, 170).

Likewise, in his evaluation of *A Garland of Rue* for the Lithuanian newspaper *The Lights of Homeland*, Zigmas Lapinas found the book good but in need of more elucidation:

From an historical point of view, one might wish for more details pertaining to the sources of these songs. In many cases the people remember when, where and how they learned these songs. In this way the background of the songs would be documented more precisely.<sup>18</sup>

When one glances through all of Peacock's principal monographs, they take on a similar style and approach. This is partially because much of the work coming out of the National Museum at this point followed the same general layout. The "characteristic folksong publication format" identified by Witmer in his review of both *A Garland of Rue* and Helen Creighton's *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick* was comparable to that which Peacock employed for *Outports* (1972, 169). But even taking into consideration that these works typified the National Museum's outline for such publications, each of Peacock's publications follow a blueprint.

Typically he provides an introductory time-capsule history of the culture being presented followed by the song material itself. Songs are grouped thematically according to content and then presented as individual artifacts within a collection accompanied by the music and transcription along with the name of the singer, the year, and the place of recording. Songs which Peacock had recorded from cultures outside the English tradition are presented in the language of origin along with an English translation. In these instances he has relied on individuals within the communities to do the textual transcription and translations for him.

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<sup>18</sup> Zigmās Lapinas, rev. of *A Garland of Rue: Lithuanian Folksongs of Love and Betrothal* by Kenneth Peacock, *The Highlights of Homeland* 17 May, 1973; Pea-D-1.13. Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

In his larger publications Peacock frequently included photographic images of the many people he had interviewed and of the communities he had visited. In most cases though, he was not inclined to offer much by way of biographical detail or community description. At the end of each song selection he provided a few descriptive remarks on the material he had gathered, along with comparative information on variants found elsewhere in other collections or publications. But the information is scant.

With the exception of *A Practical Guide*, none of his works includes a bibliography; typically Peacock saw no point in rigorous annotation. He regularly shied away from this kind of detail, preferring to let others more qualified fill this role:

I'm not an academic. I kept insisting that I'm not an academic. But they wanted these traditional things where you look up where things come from in England and Ireland way back and analogues of Scandinavia you know and all that sort of thing. Well I was interested in it but I didn't see that it was the be-all and end-all of collecting folk music for publishing.<sup>19</sup>

As late as 1984, when asked to provide a contribution to the liner notes for the Pigeon Inlet album *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, he preferred to provide a “personal reminiscence” of his collecting in Newfoundland, handing the task of annotation to his friend Edith Fowke “one of the most respected authorities on English-language folksong” (1984, 7). Peacock was not inclined to spend much time on these kinds of details simply because they didn't interest him. As a musician he was more concerned with the music and songs and it was this which motivated him to collect and

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<sup>19</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1994.

publish material from Newfoundland and elsewhere in the country.

## 2.4 Re-Evaluating the Past

The re-examination of individual collectors and the products of their research enables us to be clear as to which aspects of previous paradigms have had the greatest overall influence. In the past two decades or so folklorists have attempted to evaluate the kinds of ideologies which guided the activities of major collectors of Newfoundland music including Gerald S. Doyle (Mercer 1978: 82-89; Rosenberg, 1991b: 45-57), Elisabeth Greenleaf (Mercer 1978: 96-100; Peere 1985: 20-31; Rosenberg and Guigné forthcoming; Maud Karpeles (Carpenter 1980: 111-24), MacEdward Leach (Mercer 1978: 113-117; Carpenter [Henderson] and Rosenberg 1971: 2-10), and to a lesser extent Peacock (Carpenter 1979, 386 and 415; Greenhill 1997: 113-130; Mercer 1978: 124-129; Carpenter 1979, 386 and 415 ; Narváez 1995: 215-19). These studies have for the most part been carried out at Memorial University's Folklore Department and, as in the case of Rosenberg's work on Gerald S. Doyle, take a "Newfoundland-centered approach" (1991b, 47). Perspectives such as these have broadened our knowledge of individual collectors' activities at the same time rectifying "current misconceptions" which have grown out of these earlier studies (47).

Although works such as the Gerald S. Doyle songsters (1927, 1940, 1955) made Newfoundlanders aware of their musical traditions, the task of actually publishing

Newfoundland folksongs as Mercer notes was largely driven by either American or British collectors (1979, 13). In “Newfoundland Vernacular Song” Narváez points out that individual tastes and attitudes frequently influenced the ways in which collectors, including Peacock, treated their materials (1995, 215). Of the five major works on folksong in Newfoundland, including Genevieve Lehr’s *Come and I Will Sing You* (1984), the publications by Karpeles, Leach and Peacock, “were extensively influenced by the conservative ideological biases about the ‘folk’ and ‘folksongs’ which developed in ballad scholarship and which were further cultivated by the British folksong revival, foremostly in the person of Cecil Sharp” (215).

Narváez makes five key observations regarding Peacock’s particular ideological inclinations: (1) although Peacock was more open in his collecting attitude, “[he] generally subscribed to elitist aesthetics and Sharp’s patronizing and romantic view of the isolated ‘folk’ ” (217); (2) although Peacock could have “published more native ballads to serve the historian,” by not doing so he was “conforming to the ideological constraints of publication” (218); (3) even though he incorporated many native songs, according to the “legacy of Sharp and Karpeles” because this material lacked the necessary age qualifier, it could not qualify as “traditional” and in turn that “the process of song making itself might be the most vital tradition in a community seems to have been a possibility that eluded Peacock as it did his mentors” (217); (4) that he “felt no obligations to faithfully produce verbatim texts” and that he “refashioned songs, even to the extent of

producing a composite text of *She's Like the Swallow*" so Narváez presumes, citing Mercer, "in order to heighten its sexual symbolism" (217-18; Mercer 1978: 127-28); and finally (5) that Peacock did not take into consideration community response to "his own outsider 'government' status, his gender, and the effects of his reactions as a critical 'audience' to the performances of difficult to understand local songs vis-a-vis the more familiar songs he did enjoy" (218).

Narváez's observations raise many questions about Peacock's personal interpretation of Newfoundland culture and folksong. Sadly, as with all Peacock's encapsulated histories, his eight page "Introduction," in *Outports* begs for clarification (1965, 1: xviii-xxv). Peacock makes casual observations about the numerous songs he collected, offering some clarity on the meaning behind local words (1: 95, 102, 124). But he also makes obscure comments on local customs such as "the cutting out of the living heart of the first seal and eating it raw to give the men courage" (xxiii).<sup>20</sup> Similarly his use of the words "maverick" and "tribalism" and "masterless" to describe Newfoundlanders, and his comments that even after Confederation the "old way of life continues much as it has always done" bring into question Peacock's personal views of the tradition he aspired to document (xix).

Peacock maintained a romanticized view of Newfoundland outport society that

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<sup>20</sup> The practice of drinking blood for strength and courage or for restorative benefits is not uncommon. The problem is that Peacock does not provide a context for such activities; see MacEdward Leach's entry on "Blood," in *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore Mythology and Legend* Vol 1. Ed. Maria Leach (New York: Funk and Wagnalls 1949) 148.

even his colleague Margaret Sargent found somewhat challenging. Although fascinated with the way of life in Branch, which she visited in 1950, Sargent was regularly struck by the health problems, the lack of fresh vegetables and the living conditions which, to her Canadian perception, were far from standard.<sup>21</sup> Peacock experienced comparable conditions in many of the outports but he was not inclined to comment on such things-- that was not his focus.

In fairness to Peacock it is important to keep in mind that the conventions of doing ethnography have changed considerably over the years. He is also to be commended for having the foresight and determination to publish as much of the Newfoundland material as he did, let alone create his vast repository of field recordings covering a particular time-frame. As Narváez recommends we “must look for other correctives to mediated scholarly work” (1988, 218). Only by scrutinizing Peacock’s *Outports* from a broader perspective, can we gain further clarification as to this collector’s ideology and aesthetic, his training and his motivations with regards to Newfoundland folksong and ultimately his treatment of the published and unpublished collection.

Current concern with Peacock’s work highlights the broader issue of how researchers have actually viewed the folk and folksong. Definitions of folksong have been notoriously problematic for folklorists everywhere (Sharp 1907; Herzog 1937: 49-

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<sup>21</sup> I discuss Sargent’s Newfoundland activities in fuller detail in Chapter 5.

55; Halpert 1951: 35-40; Karpeles 1955: 6-7; Wilgus 1959; Lloyd 1967; Porter 1991: 113-130; and 1993: 61-98; and Narváez, 1995: 215-19). Certainly Narváez's assessment of Peacock emerges out of appraisals of the impact of Cecil Sharp's Herder-inspired nationalist-driven folk revival movement. As Narváez notes "folksong" is a loaded word too often "burdened with ideological preconceptions to be successfully employed in analyses that make even modest pretensions to 'objectivity' " (1995, 215). Sharp's concept of folksong was exclusionary, class oriented, and anti-modern in its rejection of popular music or music created by the working class or any other aspect of British society. Narváez, like Archie Green (1993: 35-46) in the United States and Dave Harker (1983) of the British Marxist-Socialist school, employs the word "vernacular" as a more encompassing term because it "refers both to those traits of culture that people make for themselves" and "to indigenous culture, culture that develops in a given locale" (1995, 215). As he points out elsewhere, folksong encompasses more than just texts and melody; it also refers to the "craft of song-making, the skills of singing, the circumstances of performance and the critical response of an audience" (1984, 250).

In his 1993 survey of the scholarship on both side of the Atlantic, Porter argues that scholars have been less than successful at providing a consensus as to a working definition of folksong in relation to popular song, traditional song and folk music pointing out that "these terms have always been polysemic and thus problematic in actual usage" (1993, 61). Definitions have shifted and changed according to the many

theoretical influences and paradigms which have historically shaped the discipline. Perhaps reflecting on his own approach to the whole business of folksong research, Peacock noted in *A Practical Guide* that he preferred to stay away from setting boundaries based on definition, cautiously stating: “Any attempt to define music usually results in heated discussions among the polyglot army of folk music enthusiasts, each of whom views the folk music scene from his own vantage point” (4). When evaluating Peacock’s work as a revivalist, substituting new terms for old ones does little but muddy the waters even further.

#### **2.4.1 Newfoundland and Grass-Roots Nationalism**

Philip Bohlman proposes that we should move away from conservative views of folk music and expand our concepts to include new settings and domains reflective of today’s contemporary world. Folk music should be viewed not as something rooted in the past but rather as “the product of new cultural processes, especially modernization and urbanization” and to include such domains as “cities, the mass media, popular genres” (1988, xix). Bohlman also sees that there is a “dialectical interrelationship between text and context” and by including the processes of modernization and urbanization, a more fruitful understanding of the relationship of the two will emerge. One way of considering Peacock’s contribution is to set his work within the context of the historical developments pertaining to folk music in Newfoundland which led up to

the Newfoundland-centered revival which embraced *Outports* as a key resource.

Peacock evidently preferred depictions of Newfoundland without the modernization and the “international urbanism,” favoring the term ‘outport’ as the operative word for the title of his song collection remarking, “Outport Newfoundland, then, is in a rather special category among white folk cultures” (1965, 1: xx and xix). In using this term Peacock was attempting to highlight a traditional culture that he saw as being distinct and under threat of extinction. Given the island’s historical development it is understandable that Peacock would be captivated by a lifestyle so remote from his urban upbringing.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, despite the various economic diversification programs implemented by the Newfoundland government, the economy of Newfoundland was dominated by the fisheries. The greater part of the island’s population was dispersed around the 6000 miles of coastline and dependent upon the fishing; the traditional economy was controlled from the St. John’s merchant élite. As Neary points out in *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949*, “the outport ideal was the self-sustaining, independent (though in reality, highly dependent) commodity producer” (1988, 9). Historically the island suffered from economic uncertainty and traditionally there was “a long history of poverty and dependence on the state”; the line between “self-sufficiency and need” was a “fine one for many families” (14). While outport life was arduous, as Rosenberg points out in “The Canadianization of

Newfoundland Folksong; or the Newfoundlandization of Canadian Folksong,” stereotypical Canadian perceptions of Newfoundland as a unique distinct culture, simple and isolated, have been cultivated through Newfoundlanders’ own nostalgic view of their heritage (1994: 55-73). To some extent this perspective grew from an idealized middle-class Newfoundland notion of the “outport” and a “nostalgic byproduct of post-Confederation prosperity” (56).

Since the turn of the century images of the outport, folk tradition and a distinct Newfoundland culture depicted as an ideal society have featured prominently in Newfoundland writings. In 1892, local enthusiast Reverend C. Waghorne wrote on “The Folk Lore of Newfoundland and Labrador” for local newspapers such as the *Evening Herald* (2 Dec. 1892; 3 Dec. 1892). This ardent sense of connectedness to the island is reflected in the abundance of indigenous material pertaining to folklore traditions, local history and dialect. From as early as the 1850s, Mercer points out, “newspapers have played an important part in the spread of local poems and songs” (1979, 10-11). Works such as John Burke’s *The St. John’s Advertiser and Fishermen’s Guide: A Racy Little Song Book* (1894), James Murphy’s *Old Songs of Newfoundland* (1912), Gerald S. Doyle’s *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (1927), Burke’s *Popular Songs* (1929), P. J. Kinsella’s *Some Superstitions and Traditions of Newfoundland* (1919), and P. K. Devine’s *Devine’s Folklore of Newfoundland in Old Words, Phrases and Expressions Their Origin and Meaning* (1937) are indicative of the high value

Newfoundlanders have historically placed on their own folklore.

Gerald S. Doyle, who as Rosenberg notes, was pivotal to the beginnings of Newfoundland folksong scholarship and to the “nascent awareness of a national character,” stood prominent amongst those local Newfoundlanders who were filled with nostalgia for the outport way of life (1991b, 45). Doyle’s fervent love of his country was much-influenced by his upbringing; in addition to his strong Irish-Catholic roots, he was closely connected to the Devines, a family well-respected locally for their creative talents (Byrne 1991, 61). Moving to St. John’s from his native King’s Cove at an early age, Doyle launched a highly successful business bottling and retailing, among other products, cod liver oil. A lover of folk music, in 1927 he published his first songster, cleverly incorporating advertising for his products and drawing extensively from the existing local broadside tradition which included folksongs and poetry published in earlier songsters (Rosenberg 1991, 47). Doyle followed this widely-acclaimed publication with a second one in 1940 which included both words and music and a third edition in 1955. Doyle rejected anything that wasn’t locally-made and the Newfoundland music presented to the public through his songbooks was therefore of a particular type. The free distribution of his songsters and Doyle’s subsequent commercialization of materials from the songsters played an important role in shaping “a Canadian stereotype of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders that still exists” (Rosenberg 1994, 56).

The potential for folksong research in Newfoundland has been viewed differently

by individual collectors, depending on their orientation. Karpeles saw the region as being a “general repository” with only a “small proportion of authentic [English] songs” which are “not so easily found” (1970: 17-18). As Narváez notes, Karpeles’s Englishness considerably influenced her notions of authenticity (1995, 215). In many cases outsiders have viewed the Newfoundland outport as being isolated and far removed from the amenities of the modern-day world. Certainly outport life was harsh, with residents frequently suffering from poor accommodations, disease, poverty and a lack of education.<sup>22</sup> It was this kind of environment which was frequently viewed romantically by outsiders as a “pure folk culture” uncorrupted by modern technology.

Many outports were remote and accessible only by boat, but it is erroneous to conceive of them as being unconnected. In the 1870s one traveler to the Lower North Shore of Labrador found “the papering of walls, ceilings, and rafters was so executed with newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines that he found himself, like his hosts, in a sort of metropolitan subscription library” (Story 1997, 177). Tangible evidence of a broader nature exists in the papers of the late Charles Hutton.<sup>23</sup> From the early 1920s and ’30s, Hutton’s Music Store located in St. John’s, received orders from dozens of communities across the island. Hutton handled requests from such places as Clarenville, Cupids, Placentia, Wabana, Bell Island, Twillingate, St. Jacques in Fortune Bay, St. Georges,

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<sup>22</sup> For one account see Ronald Rompkey, *Grenfell of Labrador: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

<sup>23</sup> See Charles Hutton & Sons Collection; MG-590, Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Corner Brook and Norris Point on the Great Northern Peninsula for a wide variety of instruments including the mandolin, banjo, violin and piano. He also shipped to these areas instructional booklets, lyrics and music scores, including the most popular songs from operettas such as the "Mikado." Hutton received requests for arrangements of the "Mass in E Flat" and "The Pope's March," and gospel music, alongside enquiries about recordings of titles such as "Red River Valley," "Tiptoe Through the Tulips," "Hobo's Last Ride," "The Cowboy's Lament," "The Yodeling Cowboy," "When the Moon Comes Over the Mountain (in Hawaiian music)," "My Blue Ridge Mountain Home," and "Who Broke the Lock on the Hen House Door." Many of these items were being paid for at the time with Depression stamps. As this suggests, outport residents were remarkably connected to the outside world.

Studies by Posen and Taft (1973: 17-23), Taft (1974: 99-120; 1975 ), Narváez (1978: 93-101), Mercer and Swackhammer (1978: 36-45) and Hiscock (1991: 177-190) all illustrate that from the early part of this century considerable exchange has taken place between folk music and popular culture by way of themes, performance styles, and the development of new forms. In "A Supplementary Bibliography on Newfoundland Music," Mercer remarks for instance:

In Newfoundland as elsewhere, musical forms influence each other and that influence can be seen in the final product. Locally produced popular music is a blend of both "traditional" and non-traditional materials; traditional will include popular songs and elements of popular styles in their performance (1974, 52).

Materials have been passed down by oral/aural means, but print and phonograph recordings have equally influenced folksong traditions. The *Family Herald*, a Montreal-based weekly publication targeting rural audiences, in print since 1895, carried a regular column devoted to songs and poetry often with the music published alongside the lyrics (Carpenter 1979, 80). This paper, which circulated widely in the province, was but one of many song sources for singers.<sup>24</sup>

Folklorist Philip Hiscock points out that in the 1930s, in the St. John's area radio stations were also an important medium for the dissemination of folksong material (1991: 178). The radio drama, "*Irene B. Mellon*," created, directed and produced by Jack Withers aired on VOGY (later to join with VONF) between 1934 and 1941, held much popular appeal. Listeners could "identify with it" because "it combined many traditional forms and themes with the modern medium of radio" (181). Local musicians serving as the crew of the "*Mellon*" performed a variety of traditional and local music and even some original songs made up for the show including the "Cliffs of Baccalieu" and "My Father's Old Sou'wester" which subsequently entered oral tradition (183).

As Narváez notes, Joseph R. Smallwood's "The Barrelman" also held wide audience appeal (1986: 47-64). This "one-man show" celebrated Newfoundland and its people and it contained much folklore. Listeners were treated to anecdotes and historical

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<sup>24</sup> See as well Elisabeth Greenleaf's observations in *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (1933, xxxvi). From the late 1930s up to the 1950s *The Newfoundlander* also carried various columns devoted to favorite songs and poems. In each case readers were asked to submit examples from their own or others' repertoires.

facts as well as performances of Newfoundland songs and ballads music by the Van Camper singers (48). They could also acquire “Barrelman Song Sheets” distributed by the show’s sponsor, F.M. O’Leary. Narváez points out that as O’Leary had shared a short-lived business partnership earlier with Gerald S. Doyle, “It was a productive competition which served the Newfoundland public well” (48)

Doyle’s music, however, left the greatest impression of Newfoundland folk culture on Canadians. In the early 1940s, as an extension of his interests in promoting Newfoundland folk music, Doyle first financed recordings of Newfoundland music by Art Scammell (1913-1985), a native of Change Islands.<sup>25</sup> Based on the success of these recordings, particularly “The Squid Jiggin’ Ground,” Doyle decided to publicize his own Newfoundland songs. As Rosenberg notes “by having these songs performed by a male quartet familiar to CBC [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] audiences he sought to reach listeners who appreciated ‘cultured’ performances” (1994b, 8).

During World War Two when soldiers were stationed on the island, it was Doyle’s brand of Newfoundland folksong that was presented to Canadians both through his songsters and by way of radio and record (Hiscock 1988: 41-59). In turn, Canadians such as Leslie Bell and Howard Cable, arriving in Newfoundland in 1947 in search of their own national folk music, viewed Doyle’s material as a source. Doyle’s variety of music, a set number of songs aired over the radio, became generally accepted in mainland

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<sup>25</sup> See Iona L. Bulgin, “Scammell, Arthur Reginald,” *ENL*, 5: 97-98.

Canada as the essence of all that was Newfoundland music. Arrangements of this music by Bell and Cable, subsequently given considerable exposure over radio and by the National Film Board, resulted in the shaping of a Canadian awareness of Newfoundland folksong largely based on the Doyle songbooks.

In Canada during this period, the promotion of folk music was largely left up to professional singers such as Ed McCurdy (1919-2000), Alan Mills and Omar Blondahl (1923-1992) who had discovered Newfoundland folksong largely through the work of Gerald S. Doyle (Rosenberg 1991a: 20-27).<sup>26</sup> Blondahl was by far the most successful of these singers because he promoted Newfoundland song to Newfoundlanders by way of radio, record and print. Through his magnetic personality, his marketing and business skills, he had an ability to represent Newfoundland folksong to Newfoundlanders in a fashionable manner that they had not previously experienced.

The impact of Blondahl's work was far-reaching in another important way. As Posen and Taft note in their work "The Newfoundland Popular Music Project," he was primarily responsible for "turning traditional Newfoundland music into popular music" (1973, 23). By the '60s individuals such as Harry Hibbs (1942-1989), John White (1930-1998), Ray Johnson, Dick Nolan and others, "who for a long time had made their living on the mainland singing other types of music, could now find a market for records of

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<sup>26</sup> Lynne Hoover, "McCurdy, Ed (Edward Potts)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 826. See as well "Hewson, Smith Accept Award on Blondahl's Behalf," *The Express* [St. John's, NF.] 9, 15 Feb. 2000: 21.

traditional Newfoundland music” (23).<sup>27</sup> Due mainly to the emergence of both a province-based and enclave-based market for traditional material, the 1960s saw the development of a Canadian commercial industry focused on recording and marketing local Newfoundland talent (Taft 1974, 45). Recordings of this period reflected the diverse interests of the Newfoundland listening public at home and away. At one end of the continuum were “professional singers who in style and intent at least” aimed to “duplicate in the studio, the traditional style of singing which they found acceptable within their own communities” and at the other end were artists recording Newfoundland music in its “most popularized form” and as Taft notes their repertoires were “often highly eclectic, taking in country and western, rock and roll, and Irish music, as well as traditional Newfoundland music” (47).

When Peacock’s *Outports* was released in 1965 in Newfoundland, these were the dominant forces within Newfoundland popular music. As folklorist Gerald Thomas observes, by the 1960s there was also a noticeable split between the kind of music Peacock and other collectors had gathered and that which attracted the attention of the general population at large:

The living tradition of folk music was restricted to field recordings put on disc, or to those usually older performers who had provided the field-workers with their material in the first place. There was in other words a

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<sup>27</sup> See Linda E. Russell, “Hibbs, Henry Thomas (Harry) (1942 -),” and “Johnson, Raymond John (1947),” Robert H. Cuff, “Nolan, Dick (1937-),” and James Moore, “White, John Joseph Francis (1930-),” in *ENL*, 2: 932; 3:120; 4: 88; and 5: 559. For John White see Mark Vaughan Jackson, “How Sweet the Sound,” *The Evening Telegram* 5 June, 1998: 9.

very real dichotomy between on the one hand, traditional singers, collectors, and a fairly small number of professional entertainers who made use of traditional material and, on the other hand, the mass of Newfoundlanders whose tastes were moving ever faster away from the traditional to media-inspired popular music (1981, 3).

Concurrent with these trends both Irish and old-time Newfoundland music were prominent largely through the popularity of the “Big Six” radio program and the appearance of Irish groups such as the McNulty Family and such television shows as “All Around the Circle” (Saugeres, 1991: 90-103; Byrne 1991: 59-68).

By the late 1960s a folk music revival was also taking place in St. John’s which would, to some extent, serve as the catalyst for a renewed interest in the older forms of traditional music as had been collected by Peacock. Young people were being drawn into the larger folk revival movement sweeping North America and Great Britain. As Hart and Murphy note in “Sunday Night at the Ship Inn: The History and Operations of the St. John’s Folk Music Club,” “basic to the revival was the technology of radios, record players, televisions, and tape recorders, as well as the money to buy these things” (1986, 28). Newfoundlanders participating in the larger folk revival movement emulated activities elsewhere:

As in Britain and the rest of Canada, the young urban revivalists in Newfoundland began to copy the American folk revival before rejecting it out of nativistic sentiments. As in the rest of North America in the late ’50s and early ’60s, coffee houses began to appear in St. John’s [ . . . ]. Young people would go there and perform American folksongs which had been popularized by the American and Canadian revivalists such as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Peter, Paul and Mary and Gordon Lightfoot (Saugeres 1991, 103).

The period after Confederation, however, also saw a revival of interest in Newfoundland culture and tradition of a different kind. This local resurgence, which was aimed at cultural preservation, materialized in many different kinds of productions including plays, books, theatrical works, social and cultural research, art, photography, crafts, folksong research, and performance. It shares much with Blaustein's second form of revivalism based on grass-roots preservationism (1993, 264).

#### **2.4.2 Nativism and Grassroots Preservationism**

Anthony D. Smith observes in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* that within nations there are many "elements of culture which both help to bind ethnic communities" and to "separate them from outsiders" (1986, 26). Among the "shared and distinctive traits" considered to be unifying for an ethnic culture Smith lists language, religion, customs, institutions, laws, folk architecture, dress, food, music and art (26). These elements are key to defining and valorizing one's culture and they can be culturally manipulated in times of crisis. Anthony C. Wallace notes that when members of a society feel threatened they often engage in various kinds of activities to perpetuate their cultures as a form of "cultural revitalization" (1956: 264-281). Ralph Linton also discusses conscious attempts to "revive or perpetuate selected aspects" of a culture (1943, 497). Within nations many kinds of cultural tensions exist based on race, religion, language and history. When members of a culture perceive a threat to the status quo, "nativism" which

involves the revival and perpetuation of “selected aspects” of one’s culture may be seen to occur (Linton, 497). Individuals will choose elements which highlight the distinctive nature of the culture and these aspects have considerable symbolic value (498).

There is a direct connection between the Newfoundland nativism of the 1970s as discussed by Saugeres (1991) and the changes to the province in the years following Confederation. Newfoundland’s union with Canada was, for many, a time of great sadness. Union with Canada for them, meant the loss of a nation status combined with much cultural disruption. The early years of Confederation were marked by a re-organization of the province’s infrastructure and a program of modernization that affected every aspect of life.<sup>28</sup> The arrival of the Canadian industrial economy in the post-war period added to the breakdown of traditional social and economic patterns associated with the fisheries (Britan 1996: 153-165). Newfoundland’s union with Canada advantageously increased public health care, education and recreation, industry, transportation and commercial services. Conversely, resettlement schemes, which involved the displacement of whole communities from the coastlines and offshore islands, were viewed negatively.<sup>29</sup>

Seventeen years into Confederation, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador declared “Come Home Year” as a year of celebration, inviting

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<sup>28</sup> See D. Ralph Matthews, “The ‘Modernization of Newfoundland’,” *Interpreting Canada’s Past: Volume 2*, ed. J. M. Bumstead (Toronto: Oxford Press, 1986) 636-661.

<sup>29</sup> See Brian C. Bursley, “Resettlement,” *ENL*, 4: 585-590.

Newfoundlanders who had left the province to return and see the changes that had occurred since 1949. For the occasion the government produced *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province* a publication containing statistics, pictures and figures accounting for the number of miles of road which had been constructed, the new housing and hotels which had been built, the developments in education, health and recreation facilities and the industrial growth (1966). Promotions such as this simply reinforced the idea that Newfoundland brought little into the Confederation deal while creating a state of dependence on Canadian taxpayers. By the mid '60s Canadians watching the events unfold had developed their own views of the changes; the "Newfie Joke" depicting the Newfoundlander as "primarily a numskull figure" was in vogue across the country (Thomas 1976: 142-153).<sup>30</sup> Many Newfoundlanders visiting the mainland in search of work, education or simply for recreation had personal experiences of being the victim of these jokes.

Concurrent with the "Miracle of Confederation in Newfoundland" a strong reactionary undercurrent emerged which critiqued the policies and approach taken by Joseph R. Smallwood's Liberal government.<sup>31</sup> This period signaled the beginnings of a cultural consciousness-raising aimed at both preserving and perpetuating and even

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<sup>30</sup> As Christie Davies argues, these jokes are simply localized versions of ethnic stupidity jokes told elsewhere in other countries; see "The Newfoundland Joke: A Canadian Phenomenon Viewed in a Comparative International Perspective," *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 10.2 (1997): 137-164.

<sup>31</sup> This phrase was used by premier Joseph R. Smallwood in *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province*, (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1966) 5.

reviving aspects of the province's regional culture. Elements of this nativistic movement were most visible in the artistic community through theatre, art, literary and music productions, and craft development.<sup>32</sup>

This activity was encouraged by the research coming out of the newly revitalized and expanded campus of Memorial University of Newfoundland located in St. John's, which through the patronage of the Smallwood Government, placed a great emphasis on Newfoundland studies.<sup>33</sup> From the early '60s onward, anthropologists and sociologists working out of Memorial University's Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), conducted in-depth community studies which ironically placed government policies and activities under scrutiny.<sup>34</sup>

In 1962, within this milieu, American folklorist Herbert Halpert was invited to join the English department as an Assistant Professor "because of his specialty" and because the department "sought to develop expertise in regional studies through literature, dialect, and folklore" (Rosenberg 1980, 10). At the time of Halpert's arrival there was already an active interest in Newfoundland studies to complement his research on place names, dialect, local history and geography (Halpert 1969: 10-22). For the first few years, in conjunction with his student and colleague, John D. A. Widdowson, Halpert

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<sup>32</sup> For a critique of the artistic community's response to the Liberal government's Resettlement Program during this period see Bonaventure Fagan, "Images of Resettlement," *NS* 6.1 (1990) : 1-33.

<sup>33</sup> Memorial University was relocated to a new 120 acre campus on Elisabeth Avenue in 1961; see Melvin Baker "Memorial University of Newfoundland," *ENL*, 3: 507.

<sup>34</sup> The Institute was established in 1961.

carried out extensive fieldwork on the island, amassing an extensive body of material pertaining to Newfoundland folk culture. This eventually led to the establishment of the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) and to the creation of the Department of Folklore in 1968 (Rosenberg, 10). In turn, through publications emanating from this department, students were made aware of the distinctness of their Newfoundland culture.<sup>35</sup> For those doing research on folksong traditions in their own communities, because of its currency, Peacock's *Outports* was a key source of information and a connection to the past.

In 1972 Smallwood's Liberal Government was replaced by the Progressive Conservatives led first by Frank Moores, and then Brian Peckford. As old politicians were exchanged for new ones, Ottawa and the Newfoundland Government came to be viewed by some as being in collusion to destroy Newfoundlanders' way of life in the name of progress. During this time some academics argued that the government's rural development policies were ineffectual and that "Smallwood's great Canadian dream never did materialize" (Canning 1974, 23). Students attending courses at Memorial University were offered alternate views of the changes, particularly those in rural Newfoundland's social and economic structure.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, eds., *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology Folklore and History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

<sup>36</sup> See Tom Philbrook, *Fisherman, Logger, Merchant, Miner: Social Change and Industrialism in Three Newfoundland Communities* (Social and Economic Studies No. 1, Institute for Social and Economic Research: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966); also see Cato Wadel, *Now Whose Fault is That?: The Struggle for Self-Esteem in the Face of Unemployment* (Social and Economic Studies No. 1,

As a younger generation sought to re-examine the effects of Confederation, the revitalization movement focused on Newfoundland patriotism. Theatrical groups such as Codco and The Mummers Troupe symbolically highlighted and politicized Newfoundland culture.<sup>37</sup> Playing to audiences both at home and on the mainland, Codco consciously manipulated traditional material by way of song, accent and humorous drawn-out stereotyped images of their culture, at the same time offering a new Newfoundland twist on the mainland interpretation of Newfoundlanders. The Mummers Troupe, spearheaded by Chris Brookes, combined the Newfoundland folk drama mummering tradition with concepts of live street theatre to produce topical plays focused on such themes as the impact of modernization.<sup>38</sup> In “A Newfoundland Culture?” sociologist James Overton remarks on this culturalist movement:

Culture is on the march in Newfoundland. In the last decade or two it has become one of the most widely used words in the province, particularly, but not exclusively, among what may be called the new middle class. Many lament the loss of a distinctive way of life rooted in the outports. Others complain about the destructive effects of mass culture and North American values on “traditional culture” and attempt to preserve and revive this unique culture (1988, 5).

Within the context of this period of nativistic revitalization, individuals from within the

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Institute for Social and Economic Research: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973).

<sup>37</sup> See Helen Peters, ed., *The Plays of Codco* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); and see Chris Brookes, *A Public Nuisance: A History of the Mummers Troupe*, (Social and Economic Studies No. 36, Institute of Social and Economic Research: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1988).

<sup>38</sup> See as well Gerald L. Pocius, “The Mummers Song in Newfoundland: Intellectuals, Revivalists and Cultural Nativism,” *NS* 4.1 (1988): 57-85.

Newfoundland culture started to assign new values to all aspects of traditional culture, including its folksong and music. As part of this revival Saugeres points out that “Newfoundland traditional songs were collected, revived, and preserved along with other folk traditions in the form of writings, plays, and paintings and were selected to symbolize Newfoundland’s unique culture” (1991, 80).

Some of the incentive for the earliest of the Newfoundland folk music revivalist groups came as a natural outgrowth of the larger folk revival movement which had swept across North American and Britain in the 1950s, '60s and '70s (Saugeres, 80). Anita Best, a folklorist and traditional singer originally from the Placentia Bay area of Newfoundland, recalls how during this period she and others had discovered the folksong collections of Maud Karpeles, Kenneth Peacock, and Greenleaf and Mansfield (1984, xi). Later Best and other folk music enthusiasts sought out Peacock’s informants to interview, eventually incorporating this music into their own performances. As Saugeres also points out, “Figgy Duff and the other Newfoundland revivalists of the 1970s rejected the previous “Doyle based” local revival as well as the American folksong revival of the 1960s, which had been first embraced by the St. John’s artistic community” (81).

Up to the early 1970s, much of the Newfoundland material being performed during the 1960s by groups interested in promoting Newfoundland music originated with the Doyle song books. Part of the reason for this was audience expectation inside the province and outside. In addition to such popular local productions as the Gerald S.

Doyle songbooks, and works by James Murphy (1912), and John Burke (1894, 1928), prior to the release of Peacock's work in 1965, the documentation of Newfoundland folksong was limited to two significant works: Elisabeth B. Greenleaf and Grace Y. Mansfield's *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (1933) and Maud Karpeles' *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (1934). Both these publications were out of print. Although Karpeles published a second work, *Folksongs of Newfoundland* in 1970, Peacock's collection was probably the most accessible in Canada.<sup>39</sup>

Peacock's *Outports* may be viewed as a product of cultural intervention which even today appears to have a lasting effect. Prior to the publication of such works as Genevieve Lehr's *Come and I Will Sing You* (1984) and exclusive of MacEdward Leach's *Folksongs of the Lower Labrador Coast* (1965), it remained the most current publication on Newfoundland folk music for twenty years. From the 1960s onward, the inclusiveness of the publication made it a necessary resource for folklorists and a useful one for amateur collectors, would-be singers, and record producers interested in documenting singing traditions on the Island. The collection was therefore an essential resource for those interested in redefining Newfoundland traditional music.

Narváez recalls that in 1974, when he had visited Noel Dinn, the driving force behind the later nationally-acclaimed Newfoundland trad-rock group Figgy Duff, Dinn was already "developing band arrangements," from material found in Kenneth Peacock's

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<sup>39</sup> Maud Karpeles, *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1970).

*Outports* (1982, 11). Many of the singers which Peacock recorded between 1951 and 1961, and then identified by name and community in his *Outports*, were also sought out by the urban revivalists in the 1970s. They were invited to perform at local folk festivals and they were profiled in local newspapers, thereby gaining recognition for their singing.<sup>40</sup> “Paradoxically” Saugeres points out, “the urban revivalists of the 70s who were part of the nativistic movement and regarded Confederation with Canada as threatening for Newfoundland identity, used the Peacock collection which would not have been made without Confederation” (1991, 94).

The Newfoundland revival which emerged in the 1970s is connected to the Canadian folk revival of the 1950s and '60s. Although inspired by different ideals, they were in many ways similar in aims. On the one hand, Peacock had been inspired to come to Newfoundland because of the nationalist desire to document the country's musical traditions. Peacock's work later provided an effective tool for nativists to put forth their concept of Newfoundland music, one which was closer to Peacock's view; that Newfoundland folksong tradition was far-ranging and more complex than had been previously represented through the Doyle songsters.

Chapter 3 establishes the link between Peacock's field research and earlier attempts to document Newfoundland's folksong tradition.

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<sup>40</sup> See “A Conversation With Becky Bennett, Traditional Singer from St. Paul's,” *The Newfoundland Herald* 6 Sept. 1978: 4-5; and “Traditional Singer Gerald Campbell Likes to Play for Dances Weddings,” *The Newfoundland Herald* 17 May 1978: 6-7.

### **Chapter 3 Folksong Collections and Folklore Research in Newfoundland**

**1920-1950**

Part one of this chapter examines the scholarly work carried out by Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Mansfield, Maude Karpeles and MacEdward Leach. It establishes the precedents for Peacock's own field-collecting activities in Newfoundland between 1951 and 1961. Part two considers the activities of the National Museum leading up to and including the work of Peacock's predecessor Margaret Sargent. Before 1951 when Kenneth Peacock commenced his research on behalf of the National Museum of Canada, much of the major folksong research in Newfoundland and Labrador was carried out as a result of British and American interests. Knowledge of this background is pivotal to understanding how and why Peacock became involved in the Newfoundland research and provides a context for his ethnographic work.

Folklorist Ellen Stekert notes in "Tylor's Theory of Survivals and National Romanticism: Their Influence on Early American Collectors," that there has never been a unified approach to folklore research (1968, 210). As a consequence, "many diffuse often contradictory theories--results of the intellectual trends of different periods--have been responsible for the collecting of the materials which folklorists now study" (210). The mixed literary and anthropological origins of the discipline of folklore have affected

the way folklore materials have been assembled and treated by individual collectors.<sup>1</sup> It is only by coming to some understanding of how our predecessors thought, what they considered to be appropriate material for collecting, and how they went about their collecting that we can begin to use and interpret the products of their researches in an appropriate way.

In North America in the first decades of the twentieth century much of the research into folklore, whether in Canada, Britain or the United States focused on the collection and preservation of materials. Researchers associated with an academic institution or following amateur pursuits were guided by three theoretical schools. The Harvard University-based, Child-inspired ballad scholarship spurred an “enthusiastic band of eager young scholars” to devote their energies toward salvaging “ancient remains” (Bronson 1969, 243). The Herder-inspired British Romantic Nationalist school aimed to collect survivals of British folksongs, thereby restoring “the Englishman’s confidence in the inherent ability of his countrymen to make fine music” (Sharp 1907, x). The anthropological movement, considered folklore to be part of a broad definition of culture which, in the American context, shifted emphasis to “oral tradition and belief handed down from generation to generation without the use of writing” (Oring 1986, 8). The interest in folksong generated by literary scholars and the American discovery of its

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<sup>1</sup> For a critical assessment of this scholarship see Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).

oral traditions at the beginning of the twentieth century led to extensive ballad and folksong research in Canada.

The Harvard professor of English, George Lyman Kittridge (1860-1941) motivated several of his students to carry out ballad research in eastern Canada (Carpenter 1979, 26). Roy Mackenzie pursued folksongs in his native Nova Scotia later presenting his findings in *The Quest of the Ballad* (1919) and *Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia* (1928) and Cyrus MacMillan, a native of Prince Edward Island presented a doctoral dissertation "Songs of Canada" in 1909.<sup>2</sup> This fundamentally literary interest in ballad texts later provided support for the first field work on Newfoundland traditional song, carried out in the 1920s by Elisabeth Greenleaf leading to her *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (Greenleaf and Mansfield 1933).

### **3.1 Elisabeth (Bristol) Greenleaf (1895-1980)**

Elisabeth Greenleaf first came to Newfoundland in June 1920 from New York City. A graduate of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, she was extraordinarily well fitted for the job she was to do. Typical of many Grenfell recruits coming up to Newfoundland from the United States, she arrived with intentions of improving the quality of life for a small population in the tiny remote community of Sally's Cove on the

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Mackenzie's activities see Martin Lovelace, "W. Roy MacKenzie as a Collector of Folksong," *Canadian Folk Music Journal* 5 (1979) : 5-11; for MacMillan see Carpenter, *Many Voices*, 218.

Great Northern Peninsula.<sup>3</sup> For a brief period each summer Grenfell volunteers facilitated to some degree the education of children and young adults in this region.

During this first summer, participating and living within the traditional rural environment, Greenleaf started to observe and record details of daily life which she experienced first-hand. Soon after her arrival she took notice of singing as a traditional activity; her host, Dan Endacott, sang her songs to pass the evening time away and the young men of the community would sing outside her window in the evening along the roadside (Greenleaf and Mansfield 1933, xix and xiii). Initially Greenleaf was unaware of the significance of what she was hearing but, as she was naturally attracted to music, she began to take an interest in the songs. Her curiosity was also piqued in part because of her exposure to folksongs and folksong scholarship prior to coming to Newfoundland. During her university years Greenleaf had heard the Fuller Sisters perform Child ballads from the Cecil Sharp collection “in the bowel of some hotel in New York” and at Vassar she had attended a lecture by the American ballad collector John Lomax.<sup>4</sup>

Greenleaf possessed the rare ability to take down music from dictation and that summer she spent much of her spare time “listening to the songs and writing them down” (xix). In the initial stages of collecting songs Greenleaf drew upon her powerful memory, later attempting to re-create the tune by picking out the notes on her ukelele, then putting

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<sup>3</sup> Carole Carpenter, interview with Elisabeth Greenleaf, MUNFLA, Tape, 78-5/ C6198.

<sup>4</sup> Carole Carpenter, interview with Elisabeth Greenleaf, MUNFLA, Tape, 78-5/ C3965.

the music down on paper. She depended upon her pitch pipe to establish the singer's key.<sup>5</sup>

Upon returning to New York, Greenleaf showed some of her songs to President MacCracken of Vassar College and to Dr. Martha Beckwith of the Vassar Folklore Foundation. They in turn encouraged her to continue her song-collecting work when she returned to the Newfoundland coast again in 1921. Their support and interest was in itself a reflection of an awakening within the United States to the importance of North-American based folksong research. During the summers of 1920 and 1921 Greenleaf collected twenty-nine songs from the Endacott family and from several of the school children she had taught.

For a time she put aside the Newfoundland song collecting and her teaching, marrying William Evans Greenleaf, of Westerly, Rhode Island in 1921 and giving birth to a son, Robert, in 1922. Then in 1928, with the financial support of Vassar's Board of Trustees, she started planning for a folklore exploration party to go to Newfoundland to collect folksongs, even publicizing it in the Grenfell Mission's newsletter *Among the Deep-Sea Fishers* (Greenleaf 1928: 23-25).

Prior to her departure for Newfoundland Greenleaf prepared herself for her fieldwork reading such folksong-related publications as Sir Walter Scott's *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1887). She also took Ralph Vaughan Williams's *Folk-Songs from*

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<sup>5</sup> Carole Carpenter, interview with Elisabeth Greenleaf, MUNFLA, Tape, 78-5/ C3966.

*the Eastern Counties* on the trip (Greenleaf and Mansfield 1933, 80).<sup>6</sup> Although she contemplated using an Edison recorder to aid her in her collecting, Greenleaf eventually rejected this because “the recording apparatus was quite heavy [and], cumbersome and [she] was not at all pleased with the results.”<sup>7</sup> As she planned to be mobile and visit remote communities by coastal boat, this made considerable sense. Instead she asked MacCracken to include as part of the funding the services of a trained musician. Grace (Yarrow) Mansfield, a Vassar alumna, went with her on the expedition. Between 1920, '21 and '29 Greenleaf collected over 200 songs from more than eighty informants. Excluding a small number of songs and song fragments, she published much of this material a short time later in *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (1933) one of the first collections to include both the music and texts together (Carpenter 1979, 5). As D. K. Wilgus observes, because she had the “musical assistance” of Grace Mansfield, Greenleaf was able to provide the melodies for 113 of the 209 texts, or 54 percent of the entire collection, a notable accomplishment for its day (1959, 199).

In carrying out the bulk of her fieldwork in 1929 Greenleaf drew extensively upon well-established Grenfell networks for accommodations and contacts along coastal Newfoundland in the Notre Dame Bay region, as well as along the southern Labrador

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<sup>6</sup> Carole Carpenter, MUNFLA, Tape, 78-5/C 3965. See as well Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Folk-Songs from the Eastern Counties* (London: Novello and Co., 1908). (Book II in *Folk-Songs of England*, edited by Cecil J. Sharp).

<sup>7</sup> Carole Carpenter, MUNFLA, Tape, 78-5/C6198.

coast and the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula (Rosenberg and Guigné in press). Most of her collection is derived mainly from a small number of northern communities, i.e., Sally's Cove, Rocky Harbour, Fogo, Twillingate, Flowers Cove, Fleur de Lys, and Fortune Harbour. In its depth and range *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* reflects Greenleaf's own broad collecting agenda. It also illustrates the diversity of song materials existing within the Newfoundland tradition: Child ballads and broadside ballads from the English and Irish traditions, broadsides from the United States and Canada which singers learned while on fishing and sealing ships or while in lumber camps, local compositions as well as songs which singers had acquired from sources such as Gerald S. Doyle's 1927 songbook, phonograph records, newspapers and song booklets (Greenleaf and Mansfield 1933, xxxvi-xxxvii).

As MacEdward Leach points out, Greenleaf has often been considered an amateur (1968, iii). However, as her folksong collecting and her practical preparations for the 1929 expedition suggest, she was informed about the business of folklore research. Her musical training was substantial enough to allow her to make records of song materials and to supervise and guide Grace Mansfield during their 1929 field trip. She was enlightened enough to know that she had made a major discovery and later, to discuss her fieldwork approach with folklore scholar Martha Beckwith. Scholar George Lyman Kitteredge gave her additional guidance on the analysis and annotation of the collection.

Although only 500 copies of the first edition were printed, *Ballads and Sea Songs*

had an immediate impact upon local folk music enthusiasts in Newfoundland where it was considered a landmark publication providing a “comprehensive view” of Newfoundland folk music (Emerson 1937, 234). Up to 1965 when Kenneth Peacock’s *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* and MacEdward Leach’s *Songs of the Lower Labrador* were published, it remained the most extensive and detailed piece of work on Newfoundland folksong. In 1940, when reissuing an updated version of his 1927 songster, *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland*, Gerald S. Doyle acquired permission to incorporate the lyrics and music of several songs from *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland*.

The long-term impact of Greenleaf’s work was also felt by some of her informants. Gordon Willis, formerly of Fogo, recalled the visit of the two American women to his home in 1929. He made such an impression on Greenleaf that she invited him to return with them to the United States:

They came to Newfoundland, going around Newfoundland picking up songs, see. Now, as happened, they struck on Fogo. Someone told them to look up my father who was a very good singer and he had good songs, stuff like that. So, they came to Fogo got in touch with him. As it happened, I was there too . . . Mrs. Greenleaf, she wanted me to go with her when she left Fogo. Father and mother wouldn’t let me go . . . [She] was going to take me with her and going to teach me all kinds of music, piano lessons and stuff like that, you know, give me all that.”<sup>8</sup>

Willis remained in Newfoundland and was interviewed in 1952 by Kenneth Peacock who recorded the singer on tape later publishing thirteen of his songs including

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<sup>8</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Gordon Willis, 12 Apr. 1997.

“Polly Oliver” and “The Twelve Apostles” which Greenleaf had previously collected (Greenleaf and Mansfield 1933, 51 and 91; Peacock 1965, 2: 344-45 and 3: 800-01).

Willis was eventually sought out by folklorists and revivalists who discovered his songs in Peacock’s *Outports*.<sup>9</sup> Greenleaf’s documentation of one other informant, Annie Walters of Rocky Harbour, prompted a series of interactions between this singer and later collectors including Kenneth Peacock, Ralph Rinzler (1934-1994) of the Newport Folk Festival Foundation and Memorial University folklorists Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson during their field investigations.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.2 Maud Karpeles (1886-1976)

The contribution of Maud Karpeles can only be understood in the context of the work of her associate Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) and other British romantic nationalists which centered on the documentation and revival of British folksong (Karpeles 1967). Sharp’s theories of English folksong and folk culture breathed new life into the English Folk-Song Society, formed in 1898 and by 1911 he had helped to found the English Folk Dance Society which would amalgamate with the Folk-Song Society in 1932 (192).

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<sup>9</sup> See for example Jean Hewson’s recording *Early Spring* (PIP4-7328); also see Carol Pelletier, comp. “Kenneth S. Goldstein MUNFLA Song Collections Finding Aid,” ( Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive : St. John’s, Newfoundland, 1996) 103.

<sup>10</sup> MUNFLA accessions that include recordings and information on Annie Walters include the Kenneth Peacock Collection, Tapes, 87-157/ C11098A, C11062A, and C11038B; the Ralph Rinzler Collection, Tapes, 79-270/ C4239 and C4240; the Shirley Dominie Collection, Tape, 78-449/C4248; Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, “1966 Field Trip Report to the Northern Peninsula,” Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson Field Collection MUNFLA, 66-024, pg. 53.

Sharp was particularly interested in documenting melodies, observing in *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (1907), “far more attention has been paid to the words than to the tunes of old ballads” (1936, ix). Sharp’s theory of British folksong, and therefore Britain’s musical heritage, was based largely on the perceived age of the music which could be delineated over time through the use of modal melodies. In a chapter which he devoted to the subject, Sharp argued that modal folk airs, which he maintained characterize true British folksong, could be traced back to both ancient Greek and medieval Gregorian musical systems (36-52).

At the urging of American folksong enthusiast, Dame Olive Campbell, between 1916 and 1918 Sharp visited the Southern Appalachians three times accompanied by his assistant Maud Karpeles, in search of survivals of English folksong. As David Whisnant remarks in his critical study, *All That is Native and Fine*, Sharp was specifically interested in “the ballads canonized by Francis J. Child” and showed a “consequent disinterest in other materials occurring in profusion in the same ‘field’-- religious music, popular music, instrumental music, and recently composed ballads and songs” (1983, 115). From this research Sharp published *English Folksongs of the Southern Appalachians Comprising 122 Songs and Ballads, and 323 Tunes* (Campbell and Sharp, 1917) and *Nursery Songs from the Appalachian Mountains* (1921-1923). The former was re-edited by Maud Karpeles and released in 1932 under the title *English Folksongs of the Southern Appalachians*. As Bertrand Bronson points out in his account of folksong

research during this period, Sharp's work was widely received in the United States and created an impetus for the collection and publication of other folksong materials (1969, 248).

Prompted by his findings in the Southern Appalachians, Sharp had intended to search other areas of North America for folksongs of English origin. As Karpeles later noted, the most likely starting point was Newfoundland, "our oldest colony, where ninety-eight percent of the population is of British descent" (1934, iii).<sup>11</sup> Sharp died in 1924 before realizing his goal; largely to fulfill his wish, Karpeles decided to undertake this journey herself. His definitions of folksong and the folk-revivalist movement both inspired and guided her activities. As Carpenter notes, Karpeles "had little musical knowledge and no academic training in any related field; her knowledge of folklore came from Sharp first and later from other folklorists through reading and experience" (1980, 115).

After several weeks collecting in Canada and New England, Karpeles arrived in St. John's on 9 September, 1929 by coastal boat, then established herself at the Newfoundland Hotel.<sup>12</sup> Writing back to her friends shortly after her arrival she provided

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<sup>11</sup> The impetus may have actually come from Karpeles herself. While she and Sharp were collecting in the Appalachians, she encountered a servant-girl living in Boston who had told her "of a man who sang folksongs" in Newfoundland; see Maud Karpeles, letter to Douglas, 13 Oct. 1929; Karpeles Collection MUNFLA, Accession 78-003. As W.G. Reeves points out in "Newfoundlanders in the 'Boston States': A Study in Early Twentieth-Century Community and Counterpoint," Massachusetts was a major emigrant destination for Newfoundlanders prior to World War I (1990, 34).

<sup>12</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to My dear Helen, 11 Sept. 1929; Karpeles Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-003; Peter Neary notes in *White Tie and Decorations*, an account of Lord and Lady Hope-Simpson,

them with her initial impressions of St. John's using such descriptors as "shabbiest," "pathetic," "disappointing" and "squalid."<sup>13</sup>

In these initial days she met several prominent citizens who took great interest in her research. Frederick Emerson, the St. John's lawyer and folk music enthusiast, contacted her; she found him to be "a very charming and cultured man" and "most eager to do all he can to help."<sup>14</sup> Emerson, who had been educated in England and visited there regularly, was probably aware of the work of the English Folksong and Dance Society, for he evidently expected Karpeles's arrival in Newfoundland. P. K. Devine, one of a small number of local enthusiasts deeply interested in local song, dialect and other folk traditions since the turn of the century, also paid her a visit.<sup>15</sup> From Devine, originally from King's Cove, she took down her first tune "a little jingle which is sung for the Cushin Dance" and Devine's cousin, businessman Gerald S. Doyle, also made a point of seeing her.<sup>16</sup> These visits provided Karpeles with leads and contacts that she would follow up during her ensuing fieldwork.

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that "Life in the Newfoundland Hotel, with its potted plants, chintz coverings, and lace curtains, was easy and comfortable, and fitted into a pattern that would have been familiar to officialdom throughout the British Empire" (1996, 10).

<sup>13</sup> Karpeles, letter to My dear Helen, 11 Sept. 1929.

<sup>14</sup> Karpeles, letter to My dear Helen, 11 Sept. 1929.

<sup>15</sup> Karpeles, letter to My dear Helen, 11 Sept. 1929. Devine was a contributor to Rev. G. Patterson's "Dialect of the People of Newfoundland-III," *JAF* 10.38 (1897) : 203; see also Ettie L. Gordon Murray, "Devine, Patrick Kevin (1859-1950)," *ENL*, 1: 614-15.

<sup>16</sup> Karpeles, entry for 11 Sept. 'Diary for 1929,' Karpeles Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-003.

As her diary reveals, on 12 September she headed out of St. John's by train to Trinity on the Northeast Coast. She spent the next couple of weeks visiting the communities of King's Cove, Tickle Cove, Stock Cove and Broad Cove. She then headed by train to Clarenville and Shoal Harbour and northward to Lewisporte where she boarded a coastal boat collecting songs from informants at Fortune Harbour and the Exploits area in Notre Dame Bay. Returning eastward by much the same route she arrived in Harbour Grace on 8 October. For the remainder of the month Karpeles spent her time visiting and collecting songs from singers in the communities of the Conception Bay area of the Avalon Peninsula. She wound up her trip with a visit to the Emersons in St. John's. Before heading back to England she gave a public lecture on her work.<sup>17</sup>

That summer Karpeles covered a considerable distance, recording music and texts from over fifty informants.<sup>18</sup> She took down the melodies and texts separately. The songs were written in short-hand in separate field books and later typed into readable copies. Although she found no shortage of singers, Karpeles often expressed disappointment because her informants appeared not to know many of the older traditional songs, offering her instead Irish "Come All Ye's" and locally composed material.<sup>19</sup> This kind of appraisal was markedly different from that of Greenleaf who

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<sup>17</sup> Karpeles, 'Diary for 1929,' MUNFLA, Accession 78-003.

<sup>18</sup> This is a tentative figure is based on an examination of her 1970 publication *Folksongs from Newfoundland*.

<sup>19</sup> Karpeles, 18 Sept. 'Diary for 1929,' MUNFLA, Accession 78-003.

observed, "Folksong in Newfoundland owes a great debt to the people of Irish descent" (1933, xxxii).

Pleased with her first summer of research, Karpeles returned the following year to carry out additional work. She arrived by ferry in St. John's on 30 June, 1930 where Frederick Emerson met her once again at the harbour and provided her with accommodations. This time Karpeles concentrated on the South Coast area. On 4 July she headed out to the community of Placentia, an hour from St. John's, being driven there by Mrs. Emerson, accompanied by her mother-in-law and Mrs. Outerbridge, all very prominent St. John's residents. After collecting some songs in Placentia and Dunville she headed down the Cape Shore to Ship's Cove and Gooseberry Cove. She also took the coastal ferry to Marystown on the Burin Peninsula collecting material from informants in several small remote communities along the way. Before returning to England in early August, she concluded her fieldwork collecting songs in the St. Mary's Bay and the Southern Shore regions of the Avalon Peninsula. Over the course of two field seasons she had interviewed approximately 104 singers and visited forty outports (Karpeles 1970, 15).

In her quest for folksongs, like Greenleaf and Mansfield, Karpeles relied on local people to assist her in her collecting and she was aided by prominent individuals already well-known for their own understanding and knowledge of folklore and folksong, among them Gerald S. Doyle and P. K. Devine. Although she doesn't say, we may speculate that

Devine suggested she visit the area around his home community of King's Cove, probably giving her the names of several potential informants. Her contact with Doyle (also a native of King's Cove) was of equal significance. Besides being well-known for his own interest in folk music, Doyle was well-connected to the outports through his business activities. He provided her with at least one letter of introduction to Mrs. Burdock of Belleoram on the South Coast.<sup>20</sup> Frederick Emerson offered her his house as a basis of operation and facilitated her excursions. She also shared her findings with Emerson who gave her great praise.<sup>21</sup> While she was in Newfoundland Karpeles and Emerson also enjoyed many musical times together. As Emerson's daughter recalls:

He was always interested in music, always interested in folksongs, and then Maud came out, she came to visit us. I don't remember the first one was about 29 and again in 31-32 [1930] those sorts of things. Actually I remember she used to dance with bells around her knees and Skipper would play for her. She was always a family friend.<sup>22</sup>

From her Newfoundland fieldwork Karpeles initially published thirty songs in *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (1934), a two-volume collection with pianoforte arrangements by Ralph Vaughan Williams, Clive Carey, Hubert Foss and Michael Mullinar.<sup>23</sup> This publication typified much of the work of the English Folksong and Dance Society. As Dave Laing notes in *The Electric Muse: The Story of Folk into Rock*,

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<sup>20</sup> Karpeles, 'Diary for 1930,' MUNFLA, Accession 78-003.

<sup>21</sup> Karpeles, entry for 26 Oct. 'Diary for 1929,' MUNFLA, Accession 78-003.

<sup>22</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Carla Emerson Furlong, 19 June 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Maud Karpeles, *Folksongs from Newfoundland*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

“The British collectors, steeped in the art-music of their period, were accustomed to thinking of music in written terms, conforming to scales and tempi of the classical forms” (1975, 3).

Researchers examining Karpeles’s work are quick to point out that her interests and approach differed from Greenleaf and Mansfield. In her search for older material she disregarded anything else presented to her, appropriating only those songs which fit her pre-conceived model of a traditional folksong. When following up leads that community members had provided regarding the talents and repertoire of various singers, she was often disappointed because the material they presented was too mundane or ordinary and of the “non-traditional type.”<sup>24</sup> As examinations by Carpenter (1980: 11-124) Peere (1985: 20-31), and Lovelace (2003) all illustrate, although she had arrived in Newfoundland at the time of the Depression, she showed little concern for her informants or their living conditions. In a new reading of her work Gregory argues, however, that Karpeles was more “cosmopolitan” than “ethnocentric” and she “needed a lot of courage” to make the journey alone as a woman and that she was a true pioneer (2000: 151-165).

Karpeles’s work had an immediate impact within Newfoundland. Her publication, *Folksongs from Newfoundland*, was aimed at the general public and could be readily acquired. As arrangements of Newfoundland folk music were almost non-existent, Karpeles’s folksong fieldwork and the artistic musical arrangements of these

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<sup>24</sup> Karpeles, entry for 3 Aug. ‘Diary for 1930,’ MUNFLA, Accession 78-003.

songs by British composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams and Clive Carey gave much credibility to the business of folksong collecting while at the same time assigning an actual artistic value to Newfoundland folksongs.<sup>25</sup> Her friend and admirer, Frederick Emerson, drew special attention to her work, publishing the music and texts to three songs she had collected, one of which was “She’s Like the Swallow” (1937, 1: 234-238). In succeeding years this song has reached such popularity, it is now considered to be part of the Newfoundland folksong canon.<sup>26</sup>

During the 1930s and ’40s in St. John’s, Emerson often lectured on the British folksong movement. According to Lloyd Soper, a former university student who had attended his music lectures at Memorial University College, Emerson highlighted both Sharp’s work and Karpeles’s Newfoundland collecting activities.<sup>27</sup> In doing so Emerson made many Newfoundlanders aware of the extent of their folk music heritage.

Throughout the 1940s and ’50s Emerson kept in touch with Karpeles, encouraging her to publish more of her field collection. Throughout the 1950s he

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<sup>25</sup> Heidi Stepanek notes in “An Examination of Folk-Music-Inspired Compositions in Canada Through an Analysis of Settings of ‘Dans Tous Les Cantons’, ” that, while Vaughan Williams also collected folksongs and his primary aim was to preserve this material, he had “a second, not unrelated objective: the integration of these works into his own compositions to form the basis for a new, and hitherto absent, national English music” (2001, 43).

<sup>26</sup> Neil V. Rosenberg, “ ‘Following the Swallow’: How a Folksong Took Off,” unpublished paper read at the Folklore Studies Association annual meeting, May 27-29, 1998, Ottawa Ontario; *Bulletin of the Folklore Studies Association* 22.1-4 (1998) : 29.

<sup>27</sup> See Frederick Emerson, “Folksong Lecture,” untitled and unpublished manuscript. n.d. c. 1934-44; Carla Emerson Furlong Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 98-125; Anna Guigné, interview with Lloyd Soper, 19 Oct. 2000.

continued to play an essential role in promoting the research of Newfoundland folksong. In 1957, then premier, Joseph R. Smallwood, invited him to be the representative for the Province of Newfoundland in the Government of Canada's newly established Canada Council. Through his role with this organization Emerson met Marius Barbeau and collectively they helped Karpeles secure the necessary funding to publish the remainder of her Newfoundland collection which appeared in 1970 as *Folksongs from Newfoundland*.<sup>28</sup>

Emerson's role in encouraging folksong research is often underestimated. In later years he offered similar assistance to other collectors when they visited the province, among them Margaret Sargent and Kenneth Peacock. In this sense he may be seen as a culture broker who, because of his love of Newfoundland music, reached out to help anyone who showed an interest in documenting this heritage. His connection to Maud Karpeles, from whom he learned much about the importance of British music in Newfoundland, was a fundamental link for these later connections.

There is also an important connection between Karpeles's work and Peacock's later research. Several King's Cove and Stock Cove singers named in her earlier work *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (1934) were later interviewed by Peacock when he visited the King's Cove region in 1952; these include, among others, Kenneth and Rebecca Monks, William Holloway, Lucy Heany and Elisabeth Mahoney.

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<sup>28</sup> See Frederick Emerson Correspondence 1958-1962; box 192 f.6; Marius Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

### 3.3 MacEdward Leach (1892-1967)

By the 1940s, as Reed Smith notes, through the publications of Greenleaf and Mansfield, W. Roy MacKenzie and such works as Phillips Barry, Fanny Eckstorm and Mary Winslow Smyth's *British Ballads from Maine* (1929), American scholars became increasingly aware of the song traditions in Eastern Canada, subsequently carrying out their own research (1937-38, 13). Of particular interest is the work of MacEdward Leach who had come to view this region as a potential research area, eventually making his way to Newfoundland in 1950.<sup>29</sup>

Leach was a midwesterner born in Bridgeport, Illinois. He took a masters degree at Johns Hopkins in 1917 and a doctorate in Middle English literature in 1930 at the University of Pennsylvania (Coffin 1996, 434). He was first and foremost a medieval English scholar. His interest in folklore was stimulated while at Pennsylvania through his connections to Cornelius Weygandt, a member of the English Department who had been studying German folk culture and through his close friendship to anthropologist Frank Speck who often teamed up with him on collecting trips (Henderson and Rosenberg 1971: 3). From Speck Leach learned much about the necessity of "collecting the whole folk complex" (Beck 1962, viii).

Leach carried out several field trips to eastern Canada; he collected Gaelic songs and folktales in the Pubnico area in 1946 (Rosenberg and Henderson 1971, 3-4) and in

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<sup>29</sup> Leach's first wife, Maria, was a Doan from Shelburne County Nova Scotia and in all likelihood shared his interest in Atlantic Canada.

1949 received support from the Folklore Section of the Library of Congress to carry out a field trip in Cape Breton.<sup>30</sup> Viewing Newfoundland as a largely untapped but fertile source, in 1950 he acquired funds from the American Philosophical Association to carry out research there. He secured additional support from Duncan Emrich, Director of the Folklore Section of the Library of Congress. Making casual reference to Greenleaf's work he remarked, "As you know there is only one important collection and it is taken largely from a few sections and is according to Barry not accurate in transcription" adding, however, that "it does reveal the importance of the region for collectors."<sup>31</sup> With tapes and a tape recorder from the Library of Congress Leach headed to Newfoundland in early July.<sup>32</sup>

Confining his research to areas he could reach by road, Leach carried out his first research season mainly on the Avalon Peninsula in the communities of Pouch Cove and Flat Rock located close to St. John's and then further away down the Southern Shore. Prior to returning home in September he finished up the season on the west coast collecting material on the Port au Port Peninsula and in the Port aux Basques region.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Duncan Emrich, Chief of Folklore Section, letter to Dr. Harold Spivacke, 22 June 1949; MacEdward Leach Correspondence Files, MacEdward Leach Collection, AFC-LOC.

<sup>31</sup> MacEdward Leach, letter to Duncan B.M. Emrich 7 Apr. 1950; MacEdward Leach Correspondence Files, AFC-LOC.

<sup>32</sup> Duncan Emrich, letter to Dr. Harold Spivacke, 22 June 1950; MacEdward Leach Correspondence Files, AFC-LOC.

<sup>33</sup> "Leach Newfoundland Collection (1-1950) Informants listed by place of residence," MacEdward Leach Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-054.

Leach returned in 1951 and between late August and December carried out additional fieldwork concentrating his efforts mainly on the Southern Shore and St. Mary's Bay regions of the Avalon Peninsula.

Over the course of two fieldwork seasons Leach eventually collected more than five hundred folksongs and other items of folklore such as folktales, recitations, and accordion tunes.<sup>34</sup> Although he had intended to write a book about life in Newfoundland, by 1950 he was already working on *The Ballad Book* (1955).<sup>35</sup> Excepting a Folkways album, *Folksongs From the Outports of Newfoundland* (FE-4075) issued in 1966, much of his 1950-1951 collection remains unpublished.<sup>36</sup> Leach maintained an interest in documenting Newfoundland folklore and, in 1960, he received a contract from the National Museum of Canada to collect songs from the Labrador region later publishing his findings in *Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast* (1965).<sup>37</sup> Unlike the research of Karpeles and Greenleaf and Mansfield, all of Leach's 1950-51 materials were collected with the use of a tape recorder and they are the earliest existing sound

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<sup>34</sup> This figure was derived from a cursory examination of Leach's informants lists for 1950 and 51; MacEdward Leach Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-054.

<sup>35</sup> "U.S. Couple Collecting Old Songs in Newfoundland," *Evening Telegram* 2 Oct. 1950; Leach Collection, MUNFLA Accession 78-054; MacEdward Leach, letter to Duncan Emrich, 12 June 1950; MacEdward Leach Collection, AFC-LOC.

<sup>36</sup> MUNFLA and Memorial's newly established Research Centre for the Study of Music, Media and Place have recently collaborated to make available a digital version of Leach's field collection for this period on the World-Wide Web; see MacEdward Leach and the Songs of Atlantic Canada, 4 May 2004 <<http://collections.ic.gc.ca/leach>>.

<sup>37</sup> L.[oris S.[hano] Russell, letter to MacEdward Leach, 28 April 1959; LEA -D-3, Correspondence 1959-1967, box 230 f. 5; MacEdward Leach Collection, LAD-CMC.

recordings of traditional Newfoundland singers performing folksongs (Rosenberg 1994, 61). Leach's use of this recording equipment reflects the rapid technological changes effecting the way by which workers went about the business of doing field research. Commenting on this particular improvement folklorist Richard M. Dorson remarked at the time: "Tape and disc recordings are often headaches for the collector who must painfully transcribe what he could have written down much more quickly, but here the tape accomplishes what the notebook cannot do, and catches a storytelling group in rapid-fire action" (1953, 201).

Connections can also be made between Leach's early recordings and Peacock's field collection based on the inventories of both collectors. Between 1951 and 1952, when visiting Cape Broyle and Fermeuse on the Southern Shore, Peacock tape-recorded songs from several singers previously interviewed by Leach; these include Ned and Jim Rice, Monica Rossiter and Anastasia Ghaney.<sup>38</sup>

### **3.4 The National Museum, Folklore Research and the Anthropological Influence**

By the 1940s the National Museum of Canada, one of Canada's foremost cultural institutions, had established a modest program of folklore research primarily at the

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<sup>38</sup>. See Peacock's "Inventory,"; Kenneth Peacock Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 87-157, pgs. 1-15. See also Leach's "Informants listed by place of residence," for 1950 and 1951; MacEdward Leach Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-054.

instigation of Marius Barbeau, the Quebec anthropologist. Barbeau first joined the Museum in 1911 as assistant ethnologist in the Anthropological Division, formed the year previous under the direction of anthropologist Edward Sapir. At this time the Museum was still part of the Geological Survey of Canada. Barbeau was initially interested in mythology and, as part of the Anthropology Department's mandate to document Native culture in Canada before it died out, he focused his research on the Huron and Wyandot Indians. With the encouragement of Franz Boaz, whom he met at the joint meeting of the American Folklore Society and the American Anthropological Association in 1914, Barbeau also began to collect French-Canadian materials (Carpenter 1979, 223). Barbeau's first foray in this area took place in 1916 along the St. Lawrence River and, according to Landry and Ménard, he was "determined to refute the assumption that Ernest Gagnon in his *Chansons Populaires du Canada* (Quebec 1865) had published all the traditional French folksongs" (1992, 87-88). Shortly thereafter, Barbeau accumulated more than five hundred songs, far surpassing the contents of Gagnon's collection.

As a leading Canadian authority on the country's Native and French-Canadian folk cultures, Barbeau greatly influenced the development of folklore scholarship in French Canada (Lacourcière 1961: 373-382). Anthropologist Richard Preston notes "he was especially successful in bringing ethnology and folklore to the Canadian public through several prize-winning books and tireless lectures and teaching" (1985, 141). He

had published numerous articles on Indian and French traditions and several collections of French-Canadian folksongs including *Come-A-Singing* (1925), *Chansons Canadiennes* (1929), *Chansons Populaire Du Vieux Quebec* and its English translation *Folksongs of Old Quebec* (1935), *Romancero Du Canada* (1937).

Studies of Barbeau and of the National Museum at this period reveal that his French folksong collecting activities received little support from colleagues at the Museum because they perceived that the Museum's work should be documenting "Indian" culture (Darnell 1975, 102; Preston 1975, 130). Edward Sapir, the first director, was, like Barbeau, a student of Franz Boas and believed, in principle, that the work of the Division should not be restricted to aboriginal peoples. He supported Marius Barbeau's work on French Canadians, but in practice "anything except aboriginal research was a threat to the core programs of the Division" (Darnell 102). As Preston points out this "non-support for research on French-Canadian lore" stemmed from "pressures exerted on him from above" and resulted in "a separation of persons and research interests within the division," eventually leading to the "differentiation of folklore from ethnology" (1975, 130 and 123).

A former chief ethnologist with the Museum, Tom McFeat, remarks that some of the friction in the Anthropology Division was also because of the National Museum's precarious position within the Canadian Government (1975, 151). Although the term "National Museum of Canada" was applied in 1927, the institution operated under the

Geological Survey of Canada for most of its early development only becoming separated from that Department and placed with the Department of Resources and Development in 1950. Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century the Museum's growth was unsteady. As the following account illustrates, by the 1940s folklore's position in the institution was even more unsettled.

### **3.4.1 Folklore Research at the National Museum in the 1940s**

In the fall of 1941, shortly after he returned from filming in Quebec with a National Film Board crew, Barbeau received a letter from Margaret Sargent, a third year student in the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto, requesting his assistance.<sup>39</sup> As Sargent advised Barbeau, she had chosen as the subject of her thesis, "The Native and Primitive Music of Canada." Faculty members Sir Ernest MacMillan, Dr. Healey Willan and Professor Leo Smith suggested she consult Barbeau about his Indian material. The anthropologist was known to them for both his scholarly work on French and Amerindian Canadian traditions and for creating a popular interest in this material. Sargent's interest in Native and folk music immediately aroused the anthropologist's interest because it was so unconventional for the time, particularly as the orientation of the School of Music was toward classical and European studies.

When Sargent visited Barbeau in 1942 to consult with him on her thesis topic she

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<sup>39</sup>. Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 11 Nov. 1941; Margaret Sargent Correspondence 1942-49, box B. 237 f. 11; Marius Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

was shocked at the state of affairs:

And then I went over to the Museum . . . . I had written to Dr. Barbeau and he said come along and see my stuff. So I walked into the Museum and Dr. Barbeau wasn't there. It turned out that the Museum wasn't functioning. It was wartime and they had closed down and Dr. Barbeau had been put on a pension board to decide who got soldiers' pensions, their regular wife or their common-law wife. Anyway, I went in and I met Dr. Douglas Liechman in the hall, and I told him what I came to do and I wanted to see Dr. Barbeau, and he said "Oh, he isn't here." I said I'd come to hear some music, and he says, "Oh you can't do that," very brusquely I remember. He showed me where there were these things in the hall. He said "Nobody's working on them they're just getting attacked by mildew." So I was in really quite a state and so I left the building. Dr. Barbeau came sauntering in and so I guess Dr. Leichman told him who I was and he came hurrying up and he greeted me and for the whole week he just gave me everything, all his field notes . . . . On Sunday he invited me to his house where I met a Franciscan monk for the first time, and well, he was just so overwhelmingly generous . . . . Anyway, I took all my stuff to Toronto and I promised [Barbeau] "If this passes I'll send you a copy."<sup>40</sup>

Sargent's visit to the Museum during the war served as a mental boost for Barbeau:

It looked like his stuff would never see the light of day. It was getting mildewed. It was on those soft wax cylinders. That a university student would come up and look at it and work on it, you know, gave him some hope.<sup>41</sup>

Barbeau had good reason to be concerned about the state of his enormous song collection which included over 3000 Indian, 7000 French-Canadian and 1500 English songs all of which had been made using an Edison phonograph machine and soft-wax cylinders (Fowke, 1988, 15). He was getting close to retirement and a large part of his life's work

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<sup>40</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 11 Mar. 1997.

<sup>41</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 21 Apr. 1998.

was lying in the corridors of the Victoria Museum in a fragile state.

Sargent drew upon Barbeau's material for her research, finishing her music degree in 1942. In 1945 she forwarded him a copy of her thesis "Native and Primitive Music of Canada" (1943).<sup>42</sup> Although she wished to further her studies in this area and perhaps pursue a career at the Museum working on Indian music, this was unlikely:

I would have loved to have got a job working in the Museum on Dr. Barbeau's Indian recordings, but there wasn't a hope in hell of doing so in a half-shut institution, in a Canada which had just emerged from a ten-year depression and was in the midst of a costly war. Investigations showed no chance for graduate study on Indian music, which didn't exist in Canada nor in American universities written to. Anyway [there was] difficulty studying in the U.S. because of wartime currency.<sup>43</sup>

Opportunities to work in this area were nonexistent. Throughout the 1940s the National Museum staff were constantly battling uncompromising economies (McFeat, 1975, 163). As the institution shifted from one department to another its budgets radically fluctuated.

Barbeau's situation was symptomatic of the state of cultural development in Canada in the late 1940s. In the post-war period the federal government was simply not in the business of supporting cultural development as part of its reconstruction. Most cultural endeavors in Canada were poorly organized, under-funded and lacking any national structure. As Maria Tippett observes in *Making Culture* much of the support for cultural activity was left to the hands of private sources (1990, 170). Institutions such as

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<sup>42</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Margaret Sargent, 15 Feb. 1945, Margaret Sargent Correspondence, box B 237, f. 11; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>43</sup> Margaret Sargent, correspondence with author, Apr. 1997.

universities, medical schools, drama organizations and art galleries, depended on external funding bodies for supplies and cash grants. Even individuals such as Marius Barbeau, who were working within the government structure, found minimal financial support for research and publications.<sup>44</sup>

As Paul Litt notes in *The Muses, the Masses and the Massey Commission*, the 1949 Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences made apparent the obvious: in comparison to other countries, the national infrastructure for supporting and promoting Canadian culture was sadly under-developed (1992, 186). In the decades prior to World War Two, largely through happenstance, the government had established a small number of cultural institutions including the National Art Gallery, the National Museum, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board. The institutions the government supported were often appended to other departments rather than having a ministry of their own and they lacked operating funds. When compared to such institutions as the Chicago Natural Historical Museum which had an “annual budget of \$1.1 million” the National Museum of Canada was “obviously in the minor leagues” (Litt, 187). Not surprisingly, in its report the Commission identified the need for government support of its cultural and scientific community at all

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<sup>44</sup> Although the Museum did publish various anthropological articles and bulletins over the years, researchers also depended on outside sources. The American Folklore Society furnished Barbeau with an important means of ensuring that Canadian folklore research was published. As the National Museum’s annual reports for the late 1930s and 1940s reveal, guest lectures and radio work provided Barbeau with a much-needed outlet for disseminating his research, in turn giving him a highly visible public image. See under Canada, National Museum of Canada the *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal Year 1938-39* (Ottawa: Dept. of Mines and Resources, Bulletin No. 95) 8-9.

levels and its broad, sweeping recommendations pointed to the necessity for government support at all levels.<sup>45</sup>

Through Barbeau and others most often connected to him, the folklore movement had by the late 1940s taken hold in Canada; however, folklore as a discipline was still in the pioneering stages. No unified approach to collection and documentation existed, nor did any specific funding for research. Individual interests in research were directed by three broad and separate theoretical approaches. As Barbeau indicated in “The Folklore Movement in Canada,” much of the emphasis was on collection, publication and popular presentation (1943: 166-168).

At mid-century several developments were to have an impact on the growth of folklore research at the Museum and the first official Canadian exploration of Newfoundland’s folk traditions began. In the post-war period, along with the new growth of nationalism in Canada, greater importance was placed on Canadian culture and identity through the Royal Commission. Improvements in recording technology, a growing consumer interest in folk music and Barbeau’s response to these events indirectly served as a catalyst for the launching of the National Museum’s first official research into Newfoundland folksong.

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<sup>45</sup> The Commission’s *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-51* (1951) was to become the most influential foundation for the formation of cultural policy for decades to come.

### 3. 4. 2 Margaret Sargent Initiates the Newfoundland Research for the National Museum

Some of the needed changes identified by the Royal Commission were already taking place at the National Museum following World War Two. Under the guidance of the newly-appointed director, Dr. F. J. Alcock, the institution experienced a new period of growth and re-organization: including “field work, staff increases, and expansion of education work” (Alcock 1949,1). Within the context of this renewed interest, and just as he was about to retire, Marius Barbeau decided to take steps to revitalize some of his folklore research.<sup>46</sup>

Realizing that much of his collection still remained untranscribed and on wax cylinders, Barbeau arranged to find someone with sufficient musical ability to do work for him. In 1948 he communicated with Margaret Sargent, whom he had helped seven years earlier, offering her a job. She gladly accepted:

He wrote and told me that the Treasury Board of the government had agreed to fund a position at the beginning of the fiscal year March 1949 for someone to work on his Indian recordings and would I like to do it? Would I ever, the answer to a dream. I accepted, arrived in Ottawa in March 1949 and worked there until I left to get married the end of September 1950.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>. Barbeau officially retired from the Museum in 1948 but, because of his lifelong contribution, he was permitted to retain an office at the Museum and to use its facilities. Considering Barbeau’s extensive knowledge of the folklore collections the director, F. J. Alcock, probably saw the arrangement as one of mutual benefit.

<sup>47</sup>. Margaret Sargent, correspondence with author, Apr. 1997.

Folklore research at the Museum was still in an embryonic stage when Sargent first started there in 1949. The collections were in disarray. The staffing consisted of a small band of workers: Helen Creighton, Carmen Roy (1919- ), and Barbeau's son-in-law, Marcel Rioux (1911-1992), the Chief of Ethnology and Folklore (Croft 1999, 102; Nowry 1995, 349; Ouimet 1985: 42-57). All of these individuals had been recruited by Barbeau and, other than Helen Creighton, who concentrated mainly on Anglophone traditions, much of the research being carried out concentrated on either Native Indian or French-Canadian traditions.

It was within this environment that Sargent started her initial work for Barbeau transferring to tape and then transcribing his Huron Indian songs from Lorette, Quebec originally collected on Edison wax cylinders in 1911. The work Sargent was doing would today comfortably fall within the realm of ethnomusicology, or "the study of music in culture" (Merriam 1963, 206-13). Although, in the late 1940s, she was working in uncharted waters:

There was no name for what I was doing and they finally called me a technical officer . . . When he hired me he said "There's a new type of machine called a tape recorder" and with that he foresaw that we could use it for transcribing songs because soft wax you can only play it once or twice before you destroy it.<sup>48</sup>

Barbeau realized that Sargent's musical training could be of considerable use to him and,

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<sup>48</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 11 Mar. 1997.

because of her thesis research, she was at least casually familiar with the Native materials.

One day, while gathering materials in the Museum's library, Sargent came across a copy of Greenleaf and Mansfield's *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (1933). Intrigued by the findings and enchanted by Barbeau's own pursuits, she proposed to him the idea of going to Newfoundland. As Sargent discovered, the Museum had no material of any kind from this province:

I told him [Barbeau] that I had recently read Greenleaf and Mansfield's American book on their Newfoundland collecting and realized that there was a great deal of material there for us to record. I also added that since Newfoundland was our newest province and the federal government was anxious to do things for them they might look favorably on the idea.<sup>49</sup>

Barbeau responded enthusiastically to her proposal urging Sargent to work out a plan. After receiving the necessary approvals, she subsequently spent a little over eight weeks in Newfoundland doing research on the Avalon Peninsula. Sargent's initiation of folksong research in Newfoundland in 1950 would eventually lead in 1951 to the Museum's asking Kenneth Peacock to continue on with the task.

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<sup>49</sup> Margaret Sargent, correspondence with author, 2 Apr. 1997.

## Chapter 4 Kenneth Peacock's Early Years 1922-1948

Kenneth Peacock recalled very little of his family's early history. His father, Aubrey (1897-1978), was born in Sunderland, England and was one of six boys. The family moved to Africa because his grandfather was involved with railroad construction and repair and worked in Rhodesia. When the family emigrated to the Copperfield area of Sudbury in the latter part of the nineteenth century several of Aubrey's six brothers including Val, Charlie, and Norman, remained in Africa. Many of Peacock's relatives on his father's side are still living abroad.<sup>1</sup>

Peacock's father eventually moved to Toronto because the job prospects were relatively good. In the post-World War I period, shortly before the Great Depression of the 1930s, the city was already a major commercial and industrial center for the rest of Canada. It boasted a population of around half a million. Many of Toronto's workers were employed by the numerous companies which had begun to establish their head offices in the city.<sup>2</sup>

For several years Aubrey worked as an accountant in the finance department at the Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR) office in downtown Toronto. It was here at the main office that he met Goldie Duncan (1898-1975) a Toronto native who was working

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<sup>1</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. S. Careless, "Toronto," *CE*, 3: 1831-1834.

there as a secretary. Peacock remembered little of his mother's early years except to say she was an only child and that her father died when she was fairly young. Peacock's parents were married on 16 December 1920 and they rented a house on Hazleton Avenue, just north of Bloor Street in downtown Toronto. Kenneth Howard Peacock was born two years later on 7 April 1922.<sup>3</sup>

An only child, Peacock grew up in relative middle-class comfort during the 1920s and early '30s. When he was two, his family moved to The Beaches area at the end of the Queen Street line east of Toronto Island where the ships from the St. Lawrence would come into the harbour and where, as he recalls, there used to be an amusement park. When Peacock was five, his parents bought a house at 353 Glebe Home Boulevard in Toronto's Northeast end a couple of blocks from the Anglican Church of the Nativity. Peacock lived here with his family until they moved to Ottawa in the mid-1940s (appendix 5, plate 1, page 845).

As an industrial hub close to the American border, Toronto by the late 1920s, had much to offer culturally. In addition to various cinemas and vaudeville theatres there was the Toronto Symphony, the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir, the Toronto Conservatory of Music, the University of Toronto, a multitude of church choirs, the Hart House String Quartet, Massey Music Hall (later known as Massey Hall), the Canadian National

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<sup>3</sup> The information on Kenneth Peacock's early years is based on interviews I conducted with him on 10 Apr. 1997, 12 Mar. 1998 and 18 Apr. 1999 and on material contained in the Kenneth Peacock Collection, Accession S-A972, SAB

Exhibition Centre and the Royal Ontario Museum. As elsewhere across the country much of the music, art, theatre and other such activities in Toronto were dictated by “cultured amateurism” tempered by access to American markets, goods and services.<sup>4</sup>

Peacock says that both his parents were musical and had light classical tastes. Although his father was not a professional musician, he had studied several instruments including violin, piano and trumpet. Before moving to Toronto, Aubrey Peacock also taught music in the Sudbury area. Peacock recalls that his father may have also studied at the Hambourg Conservatory of Music, a private school established in Toronto in 1911.<sup>5</sup>

Aubrey Peacock played both the piano and the organ and often he and Goldie would have musical evenings at home singing songs. Peacock says his mother played the piano but, just a little, as “she didn’t want to steal my father’s thunder.” Goldie loved to sing “the usual Mother McCree, sentimental Irish stuff” as well as the “pop music of the 1920s” and “she had a nice voice, not beautiful but nice.”<sup>6</sup> Peacock’s early musical tastes were guided by his family surroundings and the environment of the twenties. Thinking back to this period he recalls:

There’d be lots of singing around the piano . . . Well I have all the old

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<sup>4</sup> Helmut Kallman, Carl Morey, and Patricia Wardrop, “Toronto,” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1294-1296.

<sup>5</sup> Lorna Hassell, “Hambourg Conservatory of Music,” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 573; Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 May 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Anna Guigné, interviews with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997, 18 Apr. 1999 and 26 May 2000.

sheet music there: “We’ll build a [sweet] little nest, somewhere in the west and let the rest of the world go by.”<sup>7</sup>

Peacock also recalls seeing the sheet music for *Always* (1925) composed by the popular song writer Irving Berlin (1888-1989) around the house.<sup>8</sup>

As historian Desmond Morton notes, the 1920s were prosperous times for many Canadians, a “golden era suspended between the Great War and the Great Depression” (1997, 188). This was the age when radio came into its own as a powerful medium of communication on a mass scale with the initiation of regular broadcasting in 1920 from stations such as KDKA in Pittsburgh, WWJ in Detroit, WJZ from New York and XWA in Montreal. In the Toronto area, the “seventeen most popular stations were American” (*The Crazy Twenties* 1978, 8).

As a boy Peacock delighted in sitting in front of the family’s console radio listening to the “Eddie Cantor Show” a one hour comedy and variety program consisting of situation skits, orchestral numbers, songs and the violin music of Dave Rubinoff.<sup>9</sup> Peacock’s parents also enjoyed listening to Ted Lewis, the “Guy Lombardo of the twenties,” a vaudeville clarinetist band leader, for whom Jimmy Dorsey, Benny Goodman

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<sup>7</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997; J. Keirn Brennan and Ernest R. Ball, “Let the Rest of the World Go By,” 1919. Historic American Sheet Music. Rare Book, Manuscript and Special Collections Library, Duke University, 9 June 2003, <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/sheetmusic/a/a29/a2962/>>

<sup>8</sup> See “Berlin, Irving,” *PEPM* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 100-102.

<sup>9</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 2000. John Dunning, “The Eddie Cantor Show,” *The Encyclopaedia of Old-Time Radio* (New York Oxford University Press, 1998) 220-225.

and Fats Waller also played.<sup>10</sup> The Peacocks identified more with the popular music of the day than anything specifically Canadian. His family also had a gramophone: “The first one I remember was the old fashioned needle one.”<sup>11</sup> In addition to the usual variety of Irish and classical from his parents, he heard jazz and contemporary popular music and it helped to shape his musical interests.

In 1927, at age five, Peacock started to play on the family piano, picking out tunes which he had heard on the phonograph and the radio. Recognizing that their son was talented, Aubrey and Goldie, on the recommendation of a family friend, arranged for him to take private lessons with Alma Cockburn, a Toronto music teacher known for working with child prodigies.<sup>12</sup> Peacock also enrolled in the music program of the Toronto Conservatory. Over the next several years this institution was to become a focal point in Peacock’s life.

Alma Cockburn regularly encouraged her students to display their talents by performing one or two numbers in public. It was here in 1928 at age six, in the Conservatory’s Recital Hall that Peacock gave one of his first performances.<sup>13</sup> The Royal Conservatory held a place of particular prominence in the musical life of Canada,

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<sup>10</sup> “Lewis, Ted,” *PEPM* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 751; Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 2000.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997.

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth Peacock, perf. Evening, by Low; *Piano recital by Pupils of Alma Cockburn, Saturday Evening Apr. 21 1928, at 8.15 Toronto Conservatory of Music Recital Hall*; box 3A, Peacock Collection, SAB.

typifying much of cultural life in the country; the British approach, tastes and culture dominated. It was, as Green and Wardrop note, one of the few institutions to offer “professional training, a nation-wide examining system, and a faculty which provided much of the leadership for the growth and development of music in Canada” (1992, 1153-56).

Sometime around 1931 or '32, Peacock first met the Conservatory's Principal, Toronto-born Sir Ernest MacMillan, already a major figure in the country's cultural circles as a composer, performer, educator and administrator:

Indeed, one of my first recollections as a boy of nine or ten was being summoned, with more apprehension, to the Principal's Office to discover that it was to be a fun-and-games session, with Dr. MacMillan playing a series of dominant seventh chords in various keys (“no peeking now!”) so I could play the correct resolutions to test my sense of pitch (Peacock 1973, 18).<sup>14</sup>

Although influenced by the British models, MacMillan was a pivotal force behind the development of music in Canada and Canadian music as an entity of its own.<sup>15</sup> In 1927 and '28 he had already collaborated with Marius Barbeau and John Murray Gibbon on the CPR festivals presenting folk music in a popular manner.<sup>16</sup> As folklorist Janet McNaughton points out, both MacMillan and Barbeau's interest in folk music at this

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<sup>14</sup>. MacMillan was named principal in 1926; see John Beckwith, “MacMillan, Sir Ernest (Alexander Campbell),” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 788-791.

<sup>15</sup>. For a biography of MacMillan see Ezra Schabas, *Sir Ernest MacMillan: The Importance of Being Canadian* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

<sup>16</sup>. See Marius Barbeau, “Folk-Song,” *Music in Canada*, ed. Ernest MacMillan (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955) 35.

early period was reflective of an “intellectual and artistic movement in Canada” which “sought to create a greater awareness of folk culture among Canadians and was basically nationalist, romantic and conservative in nature” (1982, 12).

In the 1930s Peacock attended Earl Beatty School, close to his residence on Glebe Home Boulevard. Throughout the years of the Great Depression as Aubrey still worked as an accountant, his family appears to have lived comfortably. His parents purchased a baby grand Steinway piano and they were in a position to afford his extensive regime of piano lessons.<sup>17</sup> Peacock regularly had the chance to hear live performances of one sort or the other at the concert hall in Eaton’s Department Store on College Street. With a seating capacity for 795, it was a main site for recitals by the leading artists of the day.<sup>18</sup> Peacock also went to places like Massey Hall. Gordon Hearn, a benevolent Anglican clergyman from the Church of the Nativity close to his home, often took him. Here he heard performances by Polish-American pianist Arthur Rubenstein (1887-1983), the Russian composer, pianist and conductor, Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873-1943), and the Spanish-born pianist, José Iturbi (1895-1980), who Peacock recalls “had little stubby fingers but he certainly could stretch them out to play crashing chords.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Koozma Tarasoff, letter to the author 4 Nov. 1999.

<sup>18</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 2000; Margorie Hale, “Eaton Auditorium,” *EMC*, 2nd ed., 398.

<sup>19</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Mar. 2000; see also “Rubenstein, Arthur” and “Iturbi, José,” in *The Columbia Encyclopedia* 6<sup>th</sup> ed.; and see “Rachmaninof (Rachmaninov, Rachmaninow, Rakhmaninoff,) Sergie Vassilievich,” *Oxford Companion to Music*, 1970 ed.

At an early age Peacock also took an active interest in jazz, swing and Broadway musicals. This particular music served as a catalyst for Peacock's own passion for Afro-American music, an interest he would cultivate in the 1940s. He heard tunes from the 1927 musical *Showboat* played over the radio:

Well I thought you know, I thought that was, in my naiveté, I thought that was Negro music. Well it sounds something like it but [it isn't].<sup>20</sup>

Peacock notes this was a poor interpretation of the real thing.<sup>21</sup>

Throughout the early thirties Peacock spent much of his extracurricular time either engaged in piano lessons or performances. For these occasions he perfected various classical pieces by European composers such as Schumann, Scarlatti, Melnik and Dussek.<sup>22</sup> Starting with his first concert given at the Heliconian Club in Toronto at the age of thirteen, he also began giving solo performances.<sup>23</sup> As Marie Tippett notes in *Making Culture*, such exclusive private cultural organizations "were considered a main venue for young English-speaking performers" (1990, 5).

Recognizing Peacock's musical talent, Alma Cockburn also lured him into instructional sessions with professional musicians who she felt might have something to

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<sup>20</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Apr. 1999.

<sup>22</sup> Kenneth Peacock, perf. *Sonatina, Op. 20, No. 1* by Dussek; *Two Sonatas* by Scarlatti; *Danse Tzigane*, by Melnik; and *Whims* by Schumann. *Toronto Conservatory of Music Recital Programme* 28 Apr. 1930, 18 Mar. 1932, 25 Feb., 1933, and 12 Apr. 1934; box 3A, Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>23</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 24 Feb. 1998.

offer him by way of new piano techniques:

E. Robert Schmidt [Schmitz] was a pianist and pedagogue from France who traveled about giving master classes. My piano teacher Alma Cockburn arranged for me to be the guinea-pig student to play Chopin's dramatic (and difficult) "Octave Etude" Opus 25, No. 10. Sessions were held, again, at the Heliconian Club. E. Robert S. [Schmidt] was very kind but also very forceful in insisting that my arms be held in what I thought were very uncomfortable positions . . . I never heard Schmidt give a formal recital, but when he demonstrated something at a master class the playing was strangely unmusical. He was primarily a technician.<sup>24</sup>

At about this time, Peacock began to offer private piano lessons while continuing with his own musical training:

KP: Well my first batch of pupils came from somebody called Clifford Pool who later had a dual piano thing with Margaret Parsons. Parsons and Poole it was called, and they played concerts around Toronto and around the area. So he gave up his pupils so I took them over. So I went to them on my bicycle after school. I was 15. It was quite a tour. My goodness, north Toronto and then over to Leaside, over to Leaside--huge bridge.

AG: And you would teach out of their place?

KP: Yes I would teach their sons or daughters, I'd go to their houses.<sup>25</sup>

Peacock was paid a total of fifty cents a lesson and he pocketed the money for his personal use. Although he kept up this arrangement for two years, financially, he notes, it wasn't worth the effort. Private teaching would continue to provide an important source of income but after this Peacock decided to teach out of his own home.

Though classical music and performance dominated much of his time, during his

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<sup>24</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 24 Feb. 1998. A casual reference to Schmitz as a "noted French pedagogue and Debussy pupil" is contained in Kenneth Winters, "Godden, Reginald," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 533.

<sup>25</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Apr. 1999.

last year in Earl Beatty School Peacock organized his first dance band:

We didn't play real jazz . . . . we'd play at school at dances. Well it was just a small group of four. Bert Cunningham played the trumpet, George played the guitar, I played the piano. There was a fiddle too . . . usually we played at each other's houses. That's where we got the most fun from, but one of the teachers was interested, Mr. Cross I think the name was. So he invited us to, if there was special entertainment, to play so people could dance. I think it was for the parents more, if the parents wanted a night [out].<sup>26</sup>

The Peacocks, like many families of the day, were affected by the war in Europe. However, they used their leisure-time in much the same way as they had always done, going to the country each summer for a few weeks of holiday, usually at one of the numerous fresh-water beaches close to the city. Shortly before war broke out, the family rented a cottage near Bala in the Muskoka area where Peacock "went into town to hear the juke box and dance" and "where Howard Cable had a band there at the dance hall, really early Howard Cable."<sup>27</sup>

Typical of many musicians of the period, Cable regularly found employment playing dance music at the various summer resorts in and around southern Ontario including Bala.<sup>28</sup> Though American dance bands dominated the Canadian music scene, musicians such as Cable emulated them by starting their own groups: "Anything they played we played, you know because people requested it; that was the era of the big

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<sup>26</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997.

<sup>27</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Howard Cable, 15 Mar. 1999.

bands with the records.”<sup>29</sup> The youth of southern Ontario, particularly Toronto, were attracted to the musical influences coming up from the States. The younger generation easily availed of the sounds of jazz and swing over American radio, later searching the record stalls at such stores as Eaton’s, Simpson’s and Heintzman’s for records to play at home.

American bands and singers regularly crossed over the Canadian borders providing performances to the younger generation.<sup>30</sup> On occasion Peacock had a chance to see these bands perform:

I love big band music, well I grew up in the Bennie Goodman-Artie Shaw era well I was a teenager then . . . and I remember seeing Frankie singing with the Tommy Dorsey’s band at the exhibition [The Canadian National Exhibition Centre, Toronto]. I took Elaine Forrester on a date. I think we were 16 or something . . . to see Tommy Dorsey and here was this skinny guy Frank Sinatra singing in a huge tent.<sup>31</sup>

In 1938 Peacock moved from Earl Beatty School to Riverdale Collegiate Institute. One year later, at age sixteen, Peacock successfully completed his examinations and became an Associate of the Toronto Conservatory of Music (ACTM), receiving his diploma as a solo performer.<sup>32</sup> His family and friends all assumed he had the potential for

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<sup>29</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Howard Cable.

<sup>30</sup> See Helen McNamar and Jack Lomas, *The Bands Canadians Danced To* (Toronto: Griffin Press, 1973).

<sup>31</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>32</sup> *University of Toronto, Toronto Conservatory of Music. Graduation Exercise and Presentation of Diplomas 16 Oct. 1939*; box 3A, Peacock Collection, SAB.

a brilliant professional career as a pianist. He continued to refine his musical education with Alma Cockburn. He also studied with Mona Bates (1889-1971), between 1939 and 1940 taking instruction at her studio on Jarvis Street in Toronto.<sup>33</sup> In 1940 he received the Ada Wagstaff Harris Scholarship for piano.

During his late teens Peacock acquired much practical experience in performance through various community concerts often arranged by his teachers. The occasions when he could gain exposure to the general public were usually limited to events hosted by organizations which sponsored cultural activities. One performance given at the Toronto Conservatory's Annual Closing Concerts in May, 1940 stands out. Peacock was one of thirty musicians selected to perform for the first time at Massey Hall. The concerts were widely covered by the local newspapers and provided young musicians with much exposure. As reviewer Augustus Bridle noted of Peacock's performance, "He played the weather-beaten old Chopin *Polonaise in A-flat*, which with two speeds for 3-4 measures throughout, a good deal of old-style 'swing' embellishment for the quick sections, and smacking positivism in the heavy processional parades, was a fairly good test of junior virtuosity."<sup>34</sup>

Peacock also developed an early interest in composing, although, at this stage, he didn't formally set down compositions noting: "I can't remember what my first

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<sup>33</sup> Mary Willan Mason, "Bates, Mona (Hazelwood)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 92.

<sup>34</sup> Augustus Bridle, "Male Singers Scarce in Massey Hall Show," Wed. 1 May 1940; n.p.; Peacock Collection, SAB.

composition was, I used to improvise a lot, keeping things in my head, not writing them down.”<sup>35</sup> Peacock had evidently been putting some musical ideas on paper for various friends: “Oh yes I remember, Bob Norgate did a sculpture and I did a composition to commemorate it; that was oh, I don’t know, we were in our late teens.”<sup>36</sup> Although none of these compositions have survived, Peacock’s efforts in this direction were noticed. The announcements for the *Soirée Musicale* at Rosary Hall in December of 1940 referred to him as a “young piano virtuoso and composer with amazing technique and gorgeous color.”<sup>37</sup>

After graduating from Riverdale Collegiate, in 1941 Peacock decided to place an emphasis on performing his own works: “I was going to be a concert pianist, at least my teachers thought I was and my parents, and then I wanted to become a composer.”<sup>38</sup> He entered the University of Toronto Music Program to undertake a two year Bachelor of Music degree.<sup>39</sup> According to Carla Emerson Furlong, who attended the college between 1939 and 41, much of the instruction during the war period emphasized “the three Bs--

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<sup>35</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 24 Feb. 1998.

<sup>36</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview 26 May, 2000.

<sup>37</sup>. *Soirée Musicale at Rosary Hall Ontario, Sunday December 8, 1940*; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>38</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 96.

<sup>39</sup>. As Peacock had acquired a diploma from the Conservatory in 1938, he was exempted from taking the first two years of the Bachelor program.

Bach, Beethoven and Brahms,” reflecting the school’s preference for European music.<sup>40</sup>

The study of Canadian music was not an option offered by the university curriculum.<sup>41</sup>

Peacock recalls that there was a predominance of British teachers, theory and music.<sup>42</sup>

Margaret Sargent, who attended the college during the same time, elaborates on this:

They were very England you know. Our teachers were very English and they were interested in English music but it was always classical type music, Delius, William Walton, Vaughan Williams. We were not encouraged to go into the folk music aspect at all. It was the technical way of writing symphonies, orchestration that type of thing . . . we didn’t have any American composers which I thought was absolutely crazy but there were English ones.

AG: And no Canadian content?

MS: No, and no exposure ever to French-Canadian classical composers; Claude Champagne and those people. We got none of that. French Canada might as well have been in the middle of Europe as far as we were concerned.<sup>43</sup>

Here, in the formal world of music scholarship, with its emphasis on European and British music Peacock was first introduced to folk music as a basis for composition.

As Margaret Sargent recalls, Ralph Vaughan Williams’s (1872-1958) *A London*

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<sup>40</sup> Anna Guigné, field note, Carla Emerson, 3 Dec. 1998.

<sup>41</sup> Although, by this time various Conservatory teachers had created arrangements of folksongs from Barbeau’s collection. See Marius Barbeau, coll. *Chansons Canadiennes--French-Canadian Folksongs*, 2 vols., trans. Paul England, arr. Healey Willan (London: The Frederick Harris Co. 1929); also see John Beckwith, “Smith, Leo (Joseph Leopold),” *EMC* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1227-28.

<sup>42</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Apr. 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 3 Mar. 1999. See “Delius, Frederick (1862-1934),” “Vaughan Williams, Ralph (1872-1958),” and “Walton, William Turner (1903-1983),” *OCM* 1970 ed. 286-87; 1072-73; 1109-1110; and see Louise Bail Milot, “Champagne, Claude,” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 244-46.

*Symphony* was usually on the examinations; students would have been expected to know something of his use of folk-like themes in his compositions:

It [*A London Symphony*] was very difficult because we had to wait the better part of the year to get the original score. This had just been printed, and they had to come from overseas and the war was on.<sup>44</sup>

Copies of Maud Karpeles's *Folk-Songs From Newfoundland* (1934) which included Vaughan William's arrangements also circulated at the Conservatory.<sup>45</sup>

With the outbreak of World War Two in 1939, many departments at the University of Toronto, including the School of Music, suffered difficulties. There wasn't much flexibility for students during the war years and those wishing to graduate were required to produce either a composition or a thesis on some approved topic. Frequently students opted for the latter because professors were quite conservative in their opinions about what made a good composition and there was no provision for students to have their compositions heard afterward. It was for this reason that Margaret Sargent chose to write a thesis under Barbeau's supervision.<sup>46</sup>

In 1942 Peacock opted to compose something but according to his long-time friend, Duncan Robertson, this was a last-minute decision:

Also (he won't thank me for bringing it up) there was his unsuccessful

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<sup>44</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 3 Mar. 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Howard Cable recalls being familiar with this publication from his conservatory days. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 15 Mar. 1999.

<sup>46</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 11 Mar. 1997.

Mus. Bac. composition. This he wrote more or less the night before it was due. It had some primitive rhythms in it. Sir Ernest [MacMillan] didn't think much of it. Nor did Ken.<sup>47</sup>

Peacock decided to apply for graduation the following year and, rather than compose another musical piece, he wrote a thesis:

Well I did a composition first which wasn't accepted. I don't know why they never quite, you know it was too distant for them, avant garde. Next year I did a thesis on West African Music and its influence on Black music in the States. Spirituals.<sup>48</sup>

This work, which he called "Negro Folk Music," was written in two parts "African Origins" and "Africa and America."<sup>49</sup> Peacock's choice of topic was anything but conventional, especially for someone seeking a career as a classical musician and educator.

The dissertations by both Sargent and Peacock were completely out of the norm for the School of Music. (Of the twenty or so theses which were defended for 1942 and 1943, the traditional selection of subjects included such works as "The Growth of the Orchestra from Monteverdi to Wagner," (Dryan, 1943), "Quartette in G Major," (Harrison, 1943) "Quartet in B flat major"(Perry, 1942).<sup>50</sup> The idea of focusing on either folk or Native music was the exception to the rule.

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<sup>47</sup> Duncan Robertson, e-mail to author, 30 Oct. 2000.

<sup>48</sup> Anna Guigné, interview Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997.

<sup>49</sup> Kenneth Peacock, "Negro Folk Music," Bachelors diss., School of Music, University of Toronto, 1943.

<sup>50</sup> Harold Avrill, e-mail to author, 22 Feb. 1999.

There is a simple explanation for Peacock's desire to select a subject falling outside the academic scope of the School of Music. Although he intended to be a classical pianist, he had early developed an interest in contemporary African-American music. He recalls in his late teens acquiring a record of Black musician Earl 'Fatha' Hines, "A perfect piano player" who played such tunes as "Stormy Monday Blues."<sup>51</sup> Hines, who associated with musicians such as Louis Armstrong and Jimmie Noone between the '20s and '40s, developed a reputation as both a big band leader and solo musician.<sup>52</sup> This musician's piano playing abilities naturally interested Peacock.

From 1941 onward, Peacock had also developed some knowledge of the music scene in the United States through his association with an African-American student, Cleon Service, who commuted from Buffalo, New York, once a week to attend courses at the University of Toronto's School of Music. During this period Peacock made trips across the border to visit his friend.<sup>53</sup> Throughout 1941 and '42 Peacock and Service frequented the nightclubs together to listen to Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker and others play jazz and bebop, a "dissonant style of music" which he notes "didn't become popular until later on in the general musical scene."<sup>54</sup>

They also experimented with the new recording technology which had begun to

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<sup>51</sup> Anna Guigné, interviews with Kenneth Peacock, 26 May and 1 June 2000.

<sup>52</sup> "Hines, Earl," *PEPM*, 1998 ed., 582-584.

<sup>53</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 3 Mar. 1999 and with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Apr. 1999.

<sup>54</sup> Anna Guigné, interviews with Kenneth Peacock, 3 Mar. and 18 Apr. 1999.

emerge. In September 1942, Peacock and Service recorded themselves on a disc machine which Service had purchased: “It cut vinyl out just like a professional disc recorder; they had it on the market for enthusiasts like Cleon.”<sup>55</sup> They recorded Service’s “Sextette,” and a friend Madelaine Brown performing African-American spirituals *Deep River* and *City Called Heaven* as well as Peacock’s *Waltz in A, Little White Donkey* by Jacques Ibert, *Nightingale* and “*Spozalizi*” by Franz Liszt.

Peacock’s thesis was an attempt to explore how early African music forms had been “modified after three or four centuries of growth and influence in America” as opposed to “how the music of Africa influenced the music of America” (1943, 8). His selection of this subject was quite relevant to those studying folksong during this period. In *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898*, Wilgus notes that “at the heart of the Anglo-African contention has been the confusion of origin and essence” and “the antithesis of spontaneity and borrowing pervades the air” (1959, 346).

Central to the debate and paralleling arguments about the “the ‘original form’ of the English and Scottish ballads” were two primary concerns: “what elements in Negro spiritual have been borrowed from the music of North American whites and what elements are due to African heritage and/or the Negroes own creation in America?” (346-47). As Wilgus pointed out, “too little is known of African song and analysable elements” to distinguish between that which is borrowed and that which has been handed

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<sup>55</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Mar. 2000; and for the recordings, see Vinyl Disk box C, Item 55, Peacock Collection, SAB.

down for “there are few examples of American Negro tradition that we can accept as pure” (346).

Peacock argued for the African-American genesis. In part one of his thesis he created the foundation for his discussion by identifying the connections between music and culture in Africa. He observed that “the folk music of the African is the basis of all his activities both religious and secular” (1943, 1). In part two, “Africa and America,” he argued that “the Negro and his music” has influenced that of Spain and Portugal” and “the whole Western Hemisphere” (9).

Peacock perceived that African-American music was handed down orally from generation to generation and more likely in some cases “anglicized and modified” along the way remarking: “When more research has been made in Africa perhaps we will discover many more African songs and legends which have found their way to America” (12). Peacock also noted: “To say that the Negro borrowed or even stole the music of the white man and changed it to suit his taste” would be to deny him “even his own music” and therefore his “creativity” (10).

Peacock felt that not enough was known about the origins of African music. As the subject had been examined only in a cursory manner, “to attempt an appraisal or criticism of the Negro spiritual without a realization of the African foundation always results in a superficial theory which concerns itself mostly with Celtic pentatonic scales and ‘Scottish snaps’ ” (13). While the ‘spiritual’ is most-often the form associated with

Black-American folk music he argued, it is but a “fraction of the rich store of Negro folk-music which has been and is being produced” (9).

Peacock evidently favored the survivalists’ view that African-American folksongs were derived purely from African origins and had evolved in North America over a period of centuries. He could not conceive that current forms of this music were the result of processes of acculturation. As Cunningham notes, however, when cultures meet changes do occur and they can be both “dynamic” and “creative” (1997, 12). This might include the union of similar forms into new forms. It might also include borrowing from white culture.

Peacock did not entertain the idea that “parallels in Anglo-American tradition” might be found (Wilgus, 350). Instead, he perceived that when Africans came to America, their musical forms evolved and adapted to the new settings; thus, the “Negro folk-music being produced is completely divorced from the church,” having now “entered the dance-hall and the so-called dive” (16). Modern technology such as the radio and phonograph he argued, have effected African-American music. In popular folk music one could find “white commercializations of the original Negro song form” (17). While the “old traditional spiritual song exists in some places,” since the twentieth century this has been replaced by the blues and boogie-woogie which are forms “unlike any that the Negro has produced in the past” (16-17). This is simply not the case. Folklorists today agree the emergence of new forms is often part of a “complex continuum” with multiple

ranges of expression depending on the context of performance (Narváez 1978, 93).

Peacock concluded by noting that a white person was capable of singing spirituals, but the African-American person would always do a better job because “they are his” and as such “they sprang from the depths of his own soul and he approaches them from within and not from without” (19). His thesis offered no major insights or observations about the evolution and vitality of this music based on current fieldwork.. He was leaning at this stage toward a devolutionary model of folk music (Dundes 1969: 5-19). Its premise was that the essence of a folksong may be judged by its age and oral transmission through time and space. While modern society and conditions may corrupt older forms, if one looks hard enough the origins of the earlier tradition will always be there. In the case of African-American folk music, Peacock perceived that improvisation was the link to the past not something resulting from current exchanges.

Despite all his training as classical musician, in the end it was Peacock’s familiarity with the contemporary music of the day which enabled him to finally graduate from the University. His thesis is pivotal because it dates Peacock’s interest in and views of folk music to 1943, well before his first trip to Newfoundland in 1951.

#### **4.1 Peacock the Composer 1943-1948**

Peacock officially completed his music degree in 1943.<sup>56</sup> The next eight years

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<sup>56</sup> “Issue Results of Music Exams,” *The Globe and Mail* [Toronto, Ontario] Wed. 26 May, 1943: 5.

were a period of creativity and personal development involving a brief return to academia, additional musical studies and the launching of a career as a composer. As the University of Toronto's Music program had been rather specialized and technical in focus, Peacock decided that he needed a little diversity in his academic training. He registered in the Arts program at University College and for the next two years studied courses in English and Philosophy:

Well I had concentrated on music so much that I felt I was deficient in other areas. I was always interested in philosophy so that was the title I found in the curriculum.<sup>57</sup>

During this period Peacock sought out the Newfoundland poet E. J. Pratt, who was by this time a teacher at Victoria College:

I used to go up to the college where he taught and listen to him recite or lecture. He was amazing, those long ballads, his balladry is so similar to the ballads I recorded.<sup>58</sup>

The university provided Peacock with an extensive social and cultural network. As there were few venues at which to perform in Toronto, much of the city's formal musical life had links in one way or another to the University of Toronto. Hart House was a focal point for many cultural activities; the music committee regularly organized events consisting of recitals throughout the year and Sunday evening concerts.<sup>59</sup> In

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<sup>57.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Apr. 1999.

<sup>58.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Oct. 2000; see as well David G. Pitt, "Pratt, Edwin John Dove (1992-1964)," *ENL*, 4: 436-38.

<sup>59.</sup> Peacock had first performed at one of these 'informal recitals' in 1941. See Richard M. Belyer, Sec'y Music Committee, letter to Mr. Peacock, 6 Nov. 1941; Peacock Collection, SAB.

November 1944, Peacock accompanied Robert Graham, a second-year student of medicine and violinist at a Hart House recital.<sup>60</sup> He also teamed up with friends such as

Paul Serson:

[he was a] scientist at Nat.[ional] Res.[earch] Council, and very good amateur violinist and violist. We met at U of T when I entered Philosophy and English after graduating from music. He was in Math and Physics. We gave occasional concerts, sometimes with cello, to play trios. Worked together on U.C. Follies 1944. Univ[ersity] College. I wrote an orchestral piece called "Green Fire," a short chorus dance number. When the lights were suddenly plunged out in the middle, the costumes glowed bright green in the back under the influence of "black" light.<sup>61</sup>

As his friend and university classmate Duncan Robertson recalls:

At all times, Ken played as much jazz as classical, or more. He used to improvise duets with one Harold Andrews (self-taught improviser, couldn't read music). We all listened to jazz 78s by the hour: Ellington, Woody Herman, Count Basie, Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw etc. We dismissed such bands as Glen Miller as 'commercial'.<sup>62</sup>

During the summer of 1946 Peacock and a group of university friends put together a band to play at the "The Long Beach" country club on the shores of Lake Erie

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<sup>60</sup> "Hart House Bulletin Board," *The Varsity* 24 Nov. 1944: 2; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>61</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 24 Feb. 1998. The "Follies" was a form of storyless musical theatre revue patterned after the American based "Ziegfeld Follies" which ran in the United States from 1916 to 1936. This revue was an elaborate affair highlighted by the emblematic Ziegfeld girls wearing striking evening gowns, providing a panoramic backdrop for various settings. Characteristically it was fast-paced, often containing songs of both a romantic and topical nature, dance numbers based on tap, ballroom dancing and ballet as well as little theatrical sketches that were both comic and satirical. See Norman Lloyd, "Musical Comedy," *The Golden Encyclopedia of Music*, 1968 ed. 347-351.

<sup>62</sup> Duncan Robertson, e-mail to author, 23 Nov. 2000.

near Port Colborne, Ontario with a ballroom and cottages nearby along the shore.<sup>63</sup>

Although the band had no specific leader, Peacock says that he arranged much of the music:

I was the oldest one, but I wasn't strictly the leader, nobody was leader really. Somebody heard of this place and arranged it. I did a lot of the arrangements . . . It was a summer resort and a dance hall, quite a large dance hall . . . There was no name for the group . . . I did a lot of arrangements, the Ellington thing--*Holiday For Swing* . . . We would take turns each day, we'd go through the books and some person from the band would choose what we'd play that evening, we always included my arrangement of *Yesterdays*, not the Beatles song . . . Musicians call it the book, book of arrangements, everybody loved this *Yesterdays*.<sup>64</sup>

The group's repertoire consisted mainly of well proven standards tailored to meet contemporary tastes:

Now I shall try and clear up the *Yesterdays* mystery. Most of the pieces we played and I arranged for the Long Beach orchestra were from the 'standard' repertoire, not necessarily pop tunes of the period. *Yesterdays* was from that group of hundreds of songs called 'standards.' (*Body and Soul*, *Sweet Lorraine*, etc. etc.) Standards have survived over the years, decades and generations because of their superiority. Jazz groups used them as the basis for improvisation, singers continued to sing them, and arrangers make ever new arrangements for big-bands. For example K. D. Lang sang Cole Porter's *So in Love* for the fairly recent Porter tribute CD. I remember *Yesterdays* from an old 10-inch 78 r.p.m. disc sung by the inimitable Billie Holiday. I think her back-up group was headed by Teddy Wilson, though I'm not absolutely sure.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr., 1997; *Long Beach Ballroom*, [Brochure c. 1945-56] Wainfleet, Ontario; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>64</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Feb. 1998.

<sup>65</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 24 Feb. 1998. *Yesterdays* (1933), was written by Otto Harbach and Jerome Kern for the musical comedy *Roberta*; *Sweet Lorraine* (1928), was written by Mitchell Parish and Clifford Burwell; *Body and Soul* (1930), was written by Edward Heyman, Robert Sour, Frank Eyton and

For these summer sessions Peacock often took the material directly from records:

No I had been used to, I did Big Band arrangements before that and if some of the guys wanted an arrangement of say *Holiday for Swing*, I'd listen to the recording and do an arrangement for the orchestra. So I was used to doing it, listening to a recording.<sup>66</sup>

Peacock's band also played numbers prepared from pre-scripted chord progression books, which could be easily acquired through music stores:

At that time, they called it [the book or fakebook] they call it charts now since Miles Davis started calling them charts. They're just arrangements really and the whole collection is called "The book" . . . It would be Big Band arrangements for twelve to sixteen players. The style of the Big Band era of that period. So we played commercial, you could buy arrangements, buy famous arrangements and the band . . . somebody's family heard of these kids who played . . . some of them were really excellent. The lead trumpet, we had four trumpets, he had a beautiful tone, sounded like Harry James. Couldn't improvise very well but . . . I didn't do a whole slew of arrangements. I can't tell you how many I did. Somewhere between five and ten.<sup>67</sup>

As Duncan Robertson notes, Peacock's dance band arrangements, "showed (avowedly) the influence of Duke Ellington, and, I think, were more or less beyond the capacities of

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John Green and was the signature song of singer Billie Holiday; *Mood Indigo* (1931), was one of several songs made famous by Duke Ellington the legendary composer, band leader and piano player. The term "standard" is used by jazz musicians and others to refer to songs regularly performed. See Marvin E. Paymer, ed., *Facts Behind the Songs: A Handbook of American Popular Music from the Nineties to the '90s* (New York: Garland, Publishing, 1993) 188, 508 & 369; 369; and 279.

<sup>66</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1997. Peacock's arrangements of several of these instrumentals are contained in box 3 B, Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>67</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997; Harry James was a well-known jazz trumpet instrumentalist who played with the Benny Goodman band in the 1930s up to 1938; see Gunther Schuller, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz 1930-1945* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1989) 744-753. The "book" Peacock refers to is the "Fakebook" which, as Arnold Shaw notes in the *Dictionary of American Pop/Rock*, is "a collection of leadsheets of hundreds of standards, printed generally without permission of the copyright owners" (New York: Schirmer Books, 1982) 123.

the rest of the band.”<sup>68</sup>

By 1944, although he had returned to university, Peacock was unsettled; he hadn't chosen any specific musical occupation. The university atmosphere kept him connected to friends, providing a vital link to his networks at the School of Music. Concurrent with his Arts studies, he decided to broaden his musical training by taking up composition. Between 1944 and 1950 he studied with several musicians including John Weinzweig (1944-46), Reginald Godden (1948-49), Michele Hirvy (1950) and Francis Judd Cooke of the New England Conservatory (1950).<sup>69</sup> Peacock appears to have selected teachers known to be innovative, offering techniques and musical interests which diverged from the mainstream English School at the Toronto Conservatory. This enabled him to experiment with various styles of composition and new kinds of classical music.

Although John Weinzweig had received a large part of his musical education at the Toronto Conservatory of Music as Heidi Stepanek notes, he rejected “his teachers’ grasp on nineteenth century romantic compositional styles, in favour of neoclassicism, serialism, and jazz” (2000, 144). In 1937 he studied at the Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York where he was exposed to new twentieth century music, a subject not customarily taught at the Canadian conservatory. While in the States Weinzweig was

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<sup>68</sup> Duncan Robertson, e-mail to author, 30 Oct. 2000.

<sup>69</sup> See Helmut Kallmann, “Hirvy (b Hirschowitz), Michel (Mischa),” and Richard Henninger, John Beckwith, “Weinzweig, John (Jacob),” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 605 and 1391-1394. There is no record of Peacock having been registered at the New England Conservatory. It is likely that he studied composition privately with Cooke in 1950; Jean Morrow, Director of Libraries, New England Conservatory of Music, e-mail to author, 4 Mar., 1999.

introduced to the work of Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), a Russian composer, and that of Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), a Vienna born composer who emigrated to the United States in 1933.<sup>70</sup> Schoenberg is credited with developing the note-row method of composing with twelve notes first conceived by Joseph Hauer.<sup>71</sup> Wienzweig was particularly interested in Alban Berg's (1885-1935) motivic use of the twelve-tone row in composition.<sup>72</sup> Sometimes referred to as a 'radical romantic,' Weinzweig was the first Canadian to employ these new concepts in his own compositions and to introduce them to pupils while teaching at the Toronto Conservatory between 1939-43 and 1945-60.

Through Weinzweig, Peacock learned some of these techniques and he did write one or two things but the style didn't particularly appeal to him:

He [Weinzweig] taught the so-called serial method of writing which Arnold Schoenberg brought from Vienna . . . He wrote the twelve tone serial method. You use all the notes in a chromatic scale instead of keys, [you] use twelve notes in recurring order. You get a melody, you make different phrases from it, you play it backwards, upside down. [It's] very intellectual, sort of like Bach brought up to date . . . Anyway hardly anybody uses it any more. I never liked it, it's so intellectual.<sup>73</sup>

Nevertheless, as a new contemporary idea, it intrigued Peacock and he later pursued some of the concepts related to this method with Francis Judd Cooke at the New England

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<sup>70</sup>. See "Schoenberg, Arnold," *OEM* 1970 ed., 928; "Stravinsky (Strawinsky), Igor," *OCM*, 1996 ed., 986.

<sup>71</sup>. "Hauer, Josef Matthias," and "Note-Row," *OCM*, 1970 ed., 462 and 692-93.

<sup>72</sup>. "Berg, Alban," *OCM*, 1970 ed., 104.

<sup>73</sup>. A. Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 25 Nov. 1997.

Conservatory in 1950. Weinzweig did influence Peacock in another way, in 1944 during this period of study he wrote his first composition *Two-Part Inventions* for piano, thus signaling the beginning of his career as a classical composer.

Sometime during 1946, Peacock and his parents moved to Ottawa where his father took up a position at Canadian Arsenals Limited. Peacock spent much time commuting to Toronto where, with the assistance of a part-time scholarship, he continued his studies in piano and composition.<sup>74</sup> He also wrote the occasional article from personal interest. In 1946 he authored "The Black Dionysis" for one of the university newspapers *The Undergrad* (1946: 47-51). Building from his earlier thesis on African-American music, he attempted to define the jazz genre for his readers commenting: "It is a species of American folk music resulting from the miscegenation of African and European folk-culture" (47). In this short essay he discussed how jazz was "an American phenomenon" but nonetheless "music" which "received its harmonic mold from the quasi-European folk-music in America" (47). In recent years he noted, through the efforts of Gershwin, Ellington, and others, jazz had received "symphonic influences" (50). Jazz, he observed, is a medium which has much to offer composers but, "insufficient familiarity with the idiom" results in works which are not successful (51). Peacock's discussion of the origins of jazz was linked to the current debates of the period and further stimulated by Charles Edward Smith's *The Jazz Record Book* (1942) which, as Peter Goldsmith notes,

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<sup>74</sup> Laurette Thistle, "Sponsored by Ottawa Music Club," *The Evening Citizen* Ottawa 25 Oct., 1947: 23; Peacock Collection, SAB.

was devoted to an account of historical developments of contemporary jazz (1998, 104). When the book was released in 1942 “Jazz enthusiasts were firmly divided into three camps”: the “revivalists,” the “bebop” group, characterized by “harmonic and rhythmic innovations” and “improvisatory freedom,” as reflected in the work of musicians such as Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, and “swing music dominated by the commercial success of big bands” (Goldsmith 104-05). Peacock’s article reflected a personal interest in the subject, coming down on the side of “the revivalists.” Like his thesis, this essay was a one-off commentary on a subject he found interesting. While jazz may have been his passion, classical music was his chosen career.

In 1947 Peacock performed at various locales in the Ottawa area, frequently introducing new compositions he had created. In November, at the Ottawa Music Club in the Chateau Laurier, in addition to a Beethoven number he played *Epigrams*.<sup>75</sup> In his review of the performance one critic commented, “In the group of moderns, however, Kenneth Peacock revealed himself master of the situation, technically as well as from the interpretive standpoint.”<sup>76</sup>

By the late 1940s Peacock had produced a substantial number of compositions. In 1946 he wrote *Two Little Fugues* for an instrumental ensemble and *Postlude*. He also

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<sup>75</sup> *Ottawa Music Club Season 1947-1948 Chateau Laurier Saturday November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947*; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>76</sup> EBY, “Helen Grand Pleases in Music Club Recital,” *The Ottawa Journal* 3 Nov. 1947: 25; Peacock Collection, SAB.

composed an “Unusual Afro-American Suite” three movements of which he played at the University College musical evening at the Women’s Union.<sup>77</sup> This was followed, in 1947, with *Five Epigrams for Piano*, *Epigram for Strings*, *Sonata for Violin and Piano*, and a piece for piano entitled *Bridal Suite* in four short movements.<sup>78</sup>

In creating *Bridal Suite*, Peacock drew upon well-known musical themes from the classical tradition adding his own blues composition at the end. The wedding proverb “Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed Something Blue” provided the inspiration:

Something old is in the classical Mozartian style [and] something new is rather fast and inane-like. It’s just a saying about nothing and something borrowed [pause] that’s where the *Pavan for a Dead Princess* comes in and then Debussy’s *Submerged Cathedral* and then *Tea for Two* comes in, sort of Tea for Two . . . . Something blue is original based on blues.<sup>79</sup>

*Bridal Suite* was a derisive piece suggested by the British Princess Elizabeth’s marriage during that same year to Phillip, Duke of Edinburgh. As Peacock wryly observed, “I was never really taken with the royal family so I thought it was a good chance to satirize it.”<sup>80</sup> Peacock had actually played Debussy’s *Submerged Cathedral* in earlier performances in

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<sup>77</sup> D. Gordon Ross, “U.C. Concert,” *The Varsity* [Toronto] 18 Feb. 1946: 8; 25; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>78</sup> Copies of these pieces are contained in box 4, Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>79</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 25 Nov. 1997. Claude Achille Debussy (1862-1918) composed *The Submerged Cathedral* and *Pavan for a Dead Infanta* was written sometime before 1905 by Maurice Ravel (1875-1937); see the *OCM*, 1970 ed., 281-282 and 857; the song, *Tea for Two*, was written by Irving Caesar and Vincent Youmans; see “Youmans, Vincent,” *PEPM*, 1998 ed., 1404.

<sup>80</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 Mar. 1999.

1940. The “Something Blue” was based on a jazz piece Peacock had previously written sometime before called *No Show*.<sup>81</sup>

In 1947, shortly after he completed *Bridal Suite*, Peacock showed the piece to Reginald Godden who was in Ottawa adjudicating some piano students at a music festival. At the time Godden was Principal of the Hamilton Conservatory of Music and a special lecturer at the Royal Conservatory of Music. Godden looked it over and was impressed enough with Peacock’s work that he premiered the piece at a Toronto Conservatory Chamber Music Concert on 1 and 11 February, 1948 along with works by Harry Somers, Barbara Pentland, Healey Willan and Leo Smith.<sup>82</sup> Three days later the CBC aired Godden’s presentation on radio. Godden also added the piece to his recitals in Canada and the United States.<sup>83</sup> This high-profile musician’s selection and presentation of Peacock’s composition created quite stir in the local newspapers:

Kenneth Peacock’s urbane *Bridal Suite* is to my knowledge the first contemporary work in these parts to apply a sense of humor to music. It is a rough kind of humor: the Haydn-with-wrong-notes flavor of the Suite’s first movement was done much better by Auric. But the succeeding movements impressed me as clever and polished; and my only impatience was with the audience, who never so much as tittered at hearing humor as cryptic as a Thurber fable and as bald as an Arno cartoon.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> The reference to the jazz piece comes from “Kenneth Peacock Has *Bridal Suite* Recorded on English Decca,” *The Ottawa Journal*, Sat. 3 June, 1950: 11; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>82</sup> “Canadian Composition at Wednesday Five O’Clock,” *The Evening Telegram* [Toronto] 7 Feb. 1948; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>83</sup> “Broadcast Suite by Ken Peacock,” *The Ottawa Journal* 14 Feb., 1948, Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>84</sup> John Beckwith, “More New Music,” *The Varsity* [Toronto] 3 Feb. 1948; Peacock Collection, SAB.

Peacock subsequently undertook piano studies with Godden to improve his proficiency. Although the methods employed by E. Robert Schmitz had irritated him as a child, as Peacock recalls, it was this technique that drew him to Godden for instruction.<sup>85</sup> Godden mentored Peacock encouraging him to submit *Bridal Suite* to Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI) and shortly thereafter, it was released as sheet music.<sup>86</sup> Godden also recorded the piece on a London Decca album along with a composition by fellow Canadian, Barbara Pentland.<sup>87</sup> Godden's use of this composition greatly facilitated Peacock's entry on the Canadian music scene.

Peacock was fortunate to have both a publication and a recording of his work to add to his list of accomplishments. As this was the "first recording of Canadian classical music made in another country" by a major pianist, Canadians had much to celebrate. Eaton's put a special notice to their customers in the *Globe and Mail* advising them of the availability of this record featuring compositions by two Canadian composers of "honour and distinction" and music critics celebrated the achievement. Although radio and phonograph were recognized as important media for the dissemination of Canadian music, a major complaint of Canada's musical establishment during the late 1940s and

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<sup>85</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 May 1999.

<sup>86</sup> *Bridal Suite Piano Solo* by Kenneth Peacock (1948, Berandol Music Limited, 1969).

<sup>87</sup> "Pentland, Barbara," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1032-1034. The recording was released in 1949; see Reginald Godden, *Reginald Godden-Piano Solo: Bridal Suite and Studies in Line*, London Decca (T-5697) LP, 78 rpm.

early 1950s was the lack of government support for the production of recordings in the country.<sup>88</sup>

Throughout the late 1940s Peacock's reputation as a musician and composer flourished as other Canadian musicians of the period regularly added *Bridal Suite* to their performance programs while on tour in the United States and Canada. John Knight, for example, introduced it at his debut performance at Times Hall in February 1949, while George Haddad added it to his performance schedule on a tour of Western Canada in October of that year.<sup>89</sup>

Peacock's only source of revenue at this time was teaching. In April 1947, he placed an official announcement in the Ottawa papers that he had opened a studio.<sup>90</sup> Operating out of the upper part of his family home on 540 Brierwood Avenue, he provided weekly lessons to approximately twenty students. The money was stable but not great. At one point Peacock also ended up commuting back and forth to Toronto to teach at the Hambourg Conservatory:

Reg [Godden] taught there for a while and he was so busy with his students at the Royal Conservatory traveling and playing and everything that he gave up his students at the Hambourg Conservatory. [He] gave

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<sup>88</sup> For a discussion of the problem see John Beckwith, "Recordings," in *Music in Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955) 158-59.

<sup>89</sup> "John Knight Young, Toronto Pianist Given Enthusiastic N.Y. Reception," *Toronto Daily Star* 21 Feb. 1949; "Canadian Composition Introduced by Pianist," *The Leader-Post* [Regina] 4 Oct. 1949; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>90</sup> "Announcement," *The Union*, Westboro 15 Apr. 1947: 3; Peacock Collection, SAB.

them over to me, so I used to commute between Ottawa and Toronto to teach these students in Toronto.<sup>91</sup>

Although teaching at this facility provided a new source of income, Peacock found it hardly worth the effort when the train fare was taken into account.

Teaching did provide Peacock with the stability he needed to develop other aspects of his career and occasionally it served as a building block for other activities. In 1947 through the Hambourg school Peacock met violinist Klemi Hambourg, son of pianist and promoter Clement Hambourg who in 1946 opened the 'House of Hambourg' one of the earliest after-hours clubs devoted to jazz in Toronto. Peacock described his collaboration with the twenty year old Hambourg as "hot for a while."<sup>92</sup> In May 1948, at the Chateau Laurier, Hambourg and Peacock premiered his *Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte*, which he had written in 1947.<sup>93</sup> This was quickly followed by a second performance at the Heliconian Hall in Toronto. As one reviewer of the Toronto performance observed, Peacock's work was definitely in the "modern idiom" successfully bringing together violin and piano arrangements.

When not performing, Peacock spent time composing. In 1948 he produced two new pieces, *Essay No. 1* for clarinet and strings and *Images in Pentagon* described as a

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<sup>91</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 19 May 1999.

<sup>92</sup> Ruth Pincoe, "Hambourg," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 572-73; Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 11 Apr. 2000.

<sup>93</sup> "Klemi Hambourg in Ottawa Recital," and "Klemi Hambourg, Violinist Provides Musical Treat," *The Ottawa Journal* 8 May, 1948: 7; and 13 May, 1948: 29; Peacock Collection, SAB.

piece consisting of five unnamed movements and of “differing treatments of a chord of superimposed fourths.”<sup>94</sup> He dedicated it to his teacher Reginald Godden. By the late 1940s Peacock had developed a moderate reputation in the Canadian classical music circles as an up-and-coming composer. In November 1948, the Collegiate Institute Board of Ottawa and its Advisory Council invited him to perform at its “Concert of Music by Ottawa Composers.” Several contemporary Canadian musicians and composers performed that evening including William McCauley, Robert Fleming and Frederick Karam.<sup>95</sup> Peacock decided to play *Images in Pentagon* and as one reviewer favorably commented:

[It] was the most modern work of the program. Styled somewhat on Schoenberg, it consisted of patterns rather than themes. Mr. Peacock played it himself and imparted full atmosphere to its swiftly-changing moods.<sup>96</sup>

The organization of this music program highlighted a desire within some Canadian music circles to give a higher profile to Canadian composers as well as music made in Canada. But it is likely that composers were getting mixed messages as to what this constituted. Some reviewers of Peacock’s work suggested that much of his musical composition was based on ideas from composers who were mainly European trained but

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<sup>94</sup>. “Ottawa Composers’ Works to be Played at Glebe Recital,” *The Ottawa Journal* 6 Nov. 1948: 13; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>95</sup>. See Louis-Gérard Alberti, “Karam, Frederick,”; Elaine Keillor, “Fleming, Robert (James Berkley),” and F. Michael Barnwell, “McCauley, William (Alexander),” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 674, 468-69, and 824.

<sup>96</sup>. “Ottawa Composers’ Concert Brings Surprised Enthusiasm,” *The Ottawa Journal* 16 Nov. 1948; Peacock Collection, SAB.

experimenting with more contemporary forms of expression. While Peacock was viewed as a Canadian composer, his compositional style was perceived to be heavily influenced by external forces. As one commentator noted

It is perhaps natural that Canadian music of a serious nature should find itself no formal media. Canada has no heritage of musical composition from which it may draw any form. In consequence this work could not help but be patterned after many of the moderns now in popular favour--we thought it more like Russian and Armenian moderns than the Americans. But it was nevertheless music of considerable originality and purposeful outline, not too acrid in quality and far from bereft of melodic outline.<sup>97</sup>

Comments such as this reveal much about the perceived lack of a national musical culture. While composers and musicians such as Peacock might have received certain recognition through performances held at the such places as the Musical Arts Club and the Collegiate, this did not necessarily lead to greater things. As the music conductor and pianist, Jean-Marie Beudet, later pointed out, although there was no shortage of musical composition, the Canadian composer "finds it difficult to get his important works published, for publishers, being business men rather than philanthropists, are generally reluctant to publish works for which they do not foresee a reasonable financial return" (1955, 57). Tastes of the period often dictated that the only good classical music was that which had originated in Europe. Canadians were also fearful that their culture was being overtaken by imported American entertainment and culture in the form of radio, film,

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<sup>97</sup>. "Klemi Hambourg, Violinist Provides Musical Treat," n.p. 12 May, 1948; Peacock Collection, SAB.

television, newspapers and other products and services of the mass media.<sup>98</sup> By the late '40s Canadians were clearly looking for materials and productions which reflected their own culture. This nationalistic desire would motivate Peacock to make a dramatic shift away from composition, toward the documentation of Canadian folk music. In the following chapter I examine how this composer entered the field of folksong research.

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<sup>98</sup> See Paul Rutherford, "Made in America the Problem of Mass Culture in Canada," *The Beaver Bites Back? American Popular Culture in Canada*, eds. David H. Flaherty and Frank E. Manning (McGill's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 1993) 260-280.

## Chapter 5 The National Museum, Folklore Research and the Folk Revival 1949-

### 1951

Throughout 1949 composition continued to be Peacock's chief interest. During this period he wrote *Dance for Violin and Piano*, and a *Quartet for Strings* which he submitted to the McGill Chamber Music Society competition. He won the second prize of \$150 for the *Quartet* and the honour of having the composition performed later by the McGill String Quartet.<sup>1</sup> This award and the publishing of *Bridal Suite* nicely established Peacock's reputation as a composer and rising star on the Canadian music front. He interspersed teaching with performing.

In August Peacock met Margaret Sargent on Metcalfe Street and she spoke of her new job working for Marius Barbeau at the National Museum transferring Native music from wax cylinders to magnetic tape.<sup>2</sup> Sargent invited him to the Museum to listen to some of the Huron music she was currently transcribing.<sup>3</sup> Much to her surprise he turned up the same day and she played him samples of the wax recordings in the Museum's collection. She also introduced him to Barbeau.

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<sup>1</sup> "Honors for Composer," *The Evening Citizen* [Ottawa ] 25 June 1949 sec 3: 25; The date of the performance of the piece was probably 11 Jan. 1950. See "Winners are Named for Musical Awards," *The Gazette* Saturday, 25 June 1949; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau 17 Aug. 1949; Sargent Correspondence, Barbeau Collection LAD-CMC.

<sup>3</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 1 Dec. 1998; see also Margaret Sargent, "Seven Songs from Lorette," *JAF* 63.248 (1950) : 175-180.

Fascinated by the ornateness of the music, Peacock obtained Barbeau's approval to use the sound recordings as a basis for some new compositions. Peacock visited the Museum regularly to use the material and Sargent, in her regular reports to the anthropologist who was away doing fieldwork, updated him on the composer's progress:

Kenneth Peacock has returned from a vacation trip to the States. Yesterday afternoon he spent several hours here, copying out Indian songs for his own use, reading your book on 'Huron-Wyandot Mythology' examining Mrs. Harcourt's theories on the various modes to which Indian pentatonic scales can belong, and acquainting himself with the Wyandot phonetic system. He proposes firstly to use Indian songs as themes for counterpoint exercises to see how they can be manipulated, and then, later, to essay incorporating them in larger forms. It will be fascinating to see what his results will be. If he is able to produce something worthwhile using them, it may be the means of interesting other Canadian musicians in them as you have long desired.<sup>4</sup>

Barbeau was indeed delighted that the young musician had shown interest in his material and offered him much encouragement.

In the meantime Broadcast Music Incorporated promoted Peacock as an up and coming Canadian pianist and composer. Since 1947 the company had aggressively sought to protect and nurture Canadian artists.<sup>5</sup> Peacock, along with several other Canadian composers, was engaged to perform at a special *Concert of Canadian Music in*

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<sup>4</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 17 Aug. 1949; Sargent Correspondence 1941-1949, box B 237 f.11; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>5</sup> "Pro Canada/SDE Canada (Performing Rights Organization of Canada Limited/ Société de Droits d'Exécution du Canada Limite)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1080.

*Honour of the Delegates of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference* in Montreal.<sup>6</sup>

Despite this kind of publicity, with the exception of *Bridal Suite*, all of his compositions remained in manuscript. To give them exposure he had to show them around. In November he submitted six pieces of work to the organizing committee for the Symposium of Canadian Contemporary Music planned for March, 1950.<sup>7</sup> The piece *Images in Pentagon* was selected for the conference.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1949 and 1950, Peacock created a number of works based on Barbeau's Indian music collection. One of these was the *Children's Suite* consisting of five short piano pieces, "War Dance," "Lullaby," "Trek," "Ballerina" and "Streamliner."<sup>9</sup> In March 1950, Peacock performed it at a solo concert sponsored by the Ontario Registered Music Teachers Association at the Ladies Café in the Chateau Laurier.<sup>10</sup>

Peacock's use of Barbeau's field material at this time was typical of a growing

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<sup>6</sup> *The Officers and Directors of BMI Canada Limited Present a Concert of Canadian Music in Honour of the Delegates of the Third North American Regional Broadcasting Conference in the Prince of Wales Salon, Windsor Motel, Montreal, Tuesday October 18<sup>th</sup>. 1949; Peacock Collection, SAB.*

<sup>7</sup> Gertrude L. Elliot; Executive Secretary, Community Arts Council of Vancouver, letter to Mr. Kenneth Peacock, 2 Nov. 1949; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Coates, "Ottawa Composer: Staged and Unstaged," *The Ottawa Journal* 1 April 1950: 11; and "K. Peacock, Composer-Pianist to Play Three of Own Works," *The Evening Citizen* 4 Mar. 1950; Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>9</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 25 Nov. 1997.

<sup>10</sup> "Kenneth Peacock Composer-Pianist to Play New Suite," *The Ottawa Journal* Sat. 4 Mar. 1950: 10; Peacock Collection, SAB.

interest from educators and researchers for access to the Museum's field recordings of folk music. Up to the 1950s Barbeau had been the primary contact for individuals seeking folklore-related information and, as McKay notes in *The Quest of the Folk*, he was the "dominant intellectual figure at the Museum" (1994, 83). Initially through the American explorer and musicologist, Laura Boulton, and then on his own, Barbeau had provided the National Film Board with his expertise and knowledge of folk music for several Canadian-content films (Nowry, 322-23).<sup>11</sup> As discussed earlier, Barbeau had also aided Alan Lomax in 1940 and 1941, supplying him with the names of singers for the radio series, "American Folksongs," broadcast over Columbia Broadcasting.<sup>12</sup> Lomax continued to stay in touch with Barbeau and, in 1950, secured his assistance with the production of a Canadian album of folksongs for the multi-volume collection, *Folk and Primitive Music*, by Columbia Records.<sup>13</sup>

By 1949 the Museum was also being flooded with new national and international requests for Native and folk materials in print and on sound recordings. Typical examples include separate letters from a Dr. Davis and a Herbert Kallman, looking for folksong material and from Tony White Cloud of Bernalillo, New Mexico requesting Indian

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<sup>11</sup> See Ilze Akerbergs, "Rhythms for a Common Purpose: A Look at Laura Boulton's Ethnographical Films on the Peoples of Canada During World War II," *Resound: A Quarterly of the Archives of Traditional Music* 25.3/4 (1998) : 1-6.

<sup>12</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Alan Lomax, 5 Dec. 1940; Lomax Correspondence, AFC-LOC.

<sup>13</sup> Alan Lomax, letter to Marius Barbeau, 1 Oct. 1950; box B 212 f. 49; Alan Lomax Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

recordings and a list of rodeo songs.<sup>14</sup> Sargent, who was assigned to handle the enquiries, described all this activity in "Folk and Primitive Music":

During the past year, outside contacts have been numerous. Iroquois music was recorded on magnetic tape to assist in the preparation of a film on the False-Face and Rain Dances of the Iroquois, by the National Film Board. A Museum lecture was given to the children of Ottawa, showing the collecting of folksongs, their use by the children themselves, and films incorporating them. Both Alan Mills and Edith Fowke of the CBC have visited the Museum to examine the collections and to discuss the possibility of broadcasting the best samples over the radio, Mr. Mills as a singer of folksongs and Mrs. Fowke as a program director (1951, 78).

Sargent had also caused some of this interest herself. In September 1949, she corresponded with Moses Asch (1905-1986) of the American-based Folkways Records about the Museum's collection:

While examining a list of your latest record releases recently, I noticed that there were no Canadian records included [ . . . ]. Although hitherto, recordings have been collected solely for museum use, I am wondering whether you would be interested in obtaining any of these recordings for marketing."<sup>15</sup>

In chronological terms Sargent's contact with Asch is a pivotal link between the beginnings of the Canadian folk revival and revivalist activities south of the border.

Moses Asch, having studied electronics in Germany, was an innovator in sound and recording technology and throughout the 1930s and '40s he became engaged in the

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<sup>14</sup> Memorandums re: Dr. Davis, Herbert Kallman and Tony White Cloud, 22 Dec. 1949, 20 Jan. 1950 and 10 Mar. 1950; box 353 f. 12; Memorandums to Dr. Alcock (1949-1950) Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Sales Manager, Folkways Records and Service Corp., 4 Sept. 1949; Correspondence 1949, box 353 f. 10; Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

record business (Klein 1980, 286). During World War II he sustained himself producing records of various jazz artists but also recording such performers as Lead Belly, Woodie Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Cisco Houston, Sonny Terry, Burl Ives, Josh White and Brownie McGhee.<sup>16</sup> These outstanding singers and instrumentalists became the “pantheon of American folk music” (Goldsmith 1996, 53).<sup>17</sup> In 1948 Asch founded “Folkways Records and Services” which would later be considered “the prototype of small, independent folk-music record companies” (53).

Asch was naturally intrigued by what Sargent had to offer and responded: “We are very much interested in recordings of French-Canadian folksongs and Indian primitive music of Canada and others that you might have”<sup>18</sup> Between 1949 and 1950 Sargent and Asch exchanged letters but nothing came of it immediately. Throughout 1951 and 1952 however, Asch did nurture a relationship with the Museum. *The Annual Report for the National Museum for the Fiscal Year 1951-52* noted Ethnic Folkways of New York had been sent “an album of discs on folk music of Canada” (1953, 11). Some of this material consisted of recordings of French singers which Laura Boulton had made in 1941 under

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<sup>16</sup> Also see Neil V. Rosenberg, “Lead Belly Reissues as Sound Documentary: From Item to Event,” *JAF* 116.460 (2003) : 219-29.

<sup>17</sup> For an extended discussion of Moses Asch’s activities see Peter D. Goldsmith, *Making People’s Music: Moe Asch and Folkways Records* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> Moses Asch, letter to Margaret Sargent, Musicologist, 17 Sept. 1949; Correspondence 1949, Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

Barbeau's guidance.<sup>19</sup> In the ensuing years Folkways would provide the National Museum and its folk music collectors with a means of bringing out on recordings at least some of its massive holdings. It would also develop informal arrangements with Canadian revivalists to bring Canadian folk music to the public.<sup>20</sup>

Asch's pursuit of the Canadian material reflected the explosion of interest in folksong in the United States which, as Dave Laing points out in *The Electric Muse*, had begun to emerge as an "entertainment medium" for the general public (1975, 12). People could see folk musicians, both traditional and revivalist, live at night clubs, cabarets and city concert halls. They could hear them on radio and also purchase their music on records through companies such as Folkways.

This awareness of and appreciation for American folk music led some Canadians to seek out their own musical traditions and to create opportunities for their dissemination. Impresario Sam Gesser is an example. Born in Montreal in 1930, Gesser had been exposed, from youth, to many different cultures. Although he worked as a commercial artist, he had taken an interest in collecting children's games and folksongs as a hobby. He was introduced to the Folkways record label in 1949 while on a visit to Chicago.<sup>21</sup> Finding there were no Folkways albums available in Canada, he decided to

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<sup>19</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Samuel Gesser, 14 June 2000. Some of the material was eventually released on the album *Songs of French Canada* (FE-4482).

<sup>20</sup> For one Canadian viewpoint on the impact of Folkways see Philip J. Thomas, "Moses Asch's Canadian Legacy," *CFMB* 21.2 (1987) :16

<sup>21</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Sam Gesser, 2 Oct. 1996.

alter the situation by taking on a distributorship.<sup>22</sup> Gesser noted that there was not much folk music being played on the radio in Montreal so through the radio station, CFCF, he also launched the Sunday afternoon program, "The World of Music" which ran for thirty-nine weeks.<sup>23</sup> Moses Asch, noticing the dearth of Canadian material available on record, persuaded Gesser to rectify the situation by producing Canadian folk music records himself.

Gesser remained associated with Folkways from 1949 to 1959 and during this time he searched out both collectors and performers and acted as the liaison between them and Folkways Records.<sup>24</sup> By the mid 1950s, Gesser also started making his own field recordings bringing out *Songs of French Canada* (FG-6918, 1955), *Songs and Dances of Quebec* (FG 06951, 1956), *Folksongs of French Canada* (FG-3560, 1957), and *Old Time Fiddle Tunes Played by Jean Carignan* (FG-03531, 1960).<sup>25</sup> Reflecting his own cultured tastes he also produced recordings such as *The Clementi Piano, Vol. 1 & Vol. 2* (FG 3341 and FG-3342) and *Six Montreal Poets* (FG 9805).

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<sup>22</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Sam Gesser, 18 Mar. 1998.

<sup>23</sup> Gesser later did the same program on the CBC using the same name; Anna Guigné, interview with Sam Gesser, 18 Mar. 1998 and 14 June 2000.

<sup>24</sup> Anna Guigné interview with Sam Gesser, 14 June 2000. Shortly after linking up with Folkways he sought out Marius Barbeau with an offer to make some of his material available to the public. Throughout the 1950s they collaborated on a number of record albums including Barbeau's *My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore* (FG 3502, 1957). For Barbeau, who was always interested in popularizing his work and research, Folkways would provide an excellent outlet.

<sup>25</sup> Brendan Kelly, "Gesser Captures the History of Canadian Folk," *The Record: Canada's Weekly Music Business Newspaper* 14.1 (1994) : 1+11.

Gesser remained close to the American folk revival movement in another way. Starting with Pete Seeger, for whom he arranged a performance at L'hermitage in Montreal in 1951, over the next several years Gesser presented American talent to Canada including concerts for Sonny Terry, Joan Baez, Harry Belafonte, and Peter, Paul and Mary (Suzanne Thomas 1992, 526). He also brought Canadian talent across the border to perform in the United States.

Besides Gesser, other individuals, driven by their own revival interests, had begun to enter the picture. Their actions set the pace for the growth of interest in Canadian folksong. Of particular note were the activities of those associated with the CBC.

### **5.1 The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Folk Music**

Since the late 1920s Canadians had been exposed to their own folk music through various radio programs. Nowry notes that Barbeau “was a frequent broadcaster” and “he may have done something on Quebec folklore as early as 1926 in Toronto on CKCL” (1995, 304). Creighton had also been involved with radio, starting with station CHNS, in 1926 under the pseudonym “Aunt Helen” (Croft 1999, 30). In 1938, in conjunction with co-collector, Doreen Senior, she broadcast a series of folksong-related programs using folksong material from her early collection. The demand for Canadian folk music increased dramatically in the post-war years and this was reflected in the CBC's programming. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, radio listeners could avail of

several folk and country music-based programs: *Harmony Harbour* with Frank W. Doyle was a half-hour Halifax-based program devoted to sea chanties, pirate songs and other songs of the rolling main featuring the Acadian Male Quartet, and Marjorie Purdy; there was also *Don Messer and His Islanders* and Max Ferguson's *Rawhide*.<sup>26</sup>

Howard Cable was also influential in disseminating folk music during this period. He started working for CBC Toronto in 1941 composing incidental music but rose, throughout the 1940s, to become the leading conductor-arranger-composer ("Cable" 1992, 182). Cable also composed material for the National Film Board, carrying out numerous collaborations with his former teacher, Leslie Bell (Cowle 1992, 107). He regularly used folk music as the raw material for orchestral and choral arrangements.<sup>27</sup>

In 1947, Cable and Bell visited Newfoundland expressly to collect folksongs. As an educator Bell was primarily interested in obtaining new material for songbooks he was preparing for the Ontario College of Education. Cable recalls:

It was a very odd thing. See, you were a British colony you weren't a province then. It was before Confederation and the publisher here, Canadian Music Sales, was very interested in getting more folksong material out to the schools . . . Leslie Bell was an educator and I was a musician and conductor on the radio, but, I had music published with Canadian Music Sales and so did Leslie Bell. And the publisher thought, "Well we've got all this stuff from England, we've got Gustav Holst's daughter and [Maud] Karpeles and all these people coming over

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<sup>26</sup> "Harmony Harbour," *CBC Times*, 23 Oct. 1949; Richard Green and Mark Miller, "Don Messer and His Islanders," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 850; Knowlton Nash, "Your Old Pal Rawhide," *Cue the Elephant: Backstage Tales at the CBC* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1996) 25-38.

<sup>27</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Howard Cable, 15 Mar. 1999.

with England stuff and pretending that they've been to Newfoundland, why don't we get somebody from Canada to go to Newfoundland and look it up properly." So we got the Gerald S. Doyle book; that was where we started. We started with Gerald S. Doyle and it went from there. The music publishers, it had nothing to do with the government at all there were no subsidies in those days, and the publisher bought our tickets and bought us a reservation at the hotel in Newfoundland and away we went. And then we teamed up with Bob Macleod . . . . We got Bob Macleod and he took us all over the place and he gave us all of the material . . . . We always had lots of French Canadian songs but we were really hard up for anything else; that's why Canadian Music Sales wanted us to go to Newfoundland.<sup>28</sup>

Cable and Bell benefitted copiously from this small foray to Newfoundland.

Shortly thereafter Cable was commissioned by the National Film Board to write the scores for two films highlighting the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation, *Newfoundland Atlantic Province* (1949), and *Inside Newfoundland* (1951). He also composed the orchestral works *Newfoundland Sketches for Strings* (1948) and *Newfoundland Rhapsody* (1958). Just months after Bell and Cable returned from Newfoundland, Bell's choral group, the Leslie Bell Singers, performed an arrangement of "I's the B'y" on a CBC musical entertainment series.<sup>29</sup> This was one of several songs musician Bob Macleod had given them during their stay in Newfoundland (Rosenberg 1994, 59). Throughout the late '40s Cable and Bell's Newfoundland-based compositions were regularly aired on radio.

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<sup>28</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Howard Cable.

<sup>29</sup> Alan H. Cowle, "The Leslie Bell Singers," *EMC* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 744; and see "Lesie Bell Singers," Accession 480416-04/00, CBC-A, Toronto, Ontario.

As Rosenberg points out, their employment of Newfoundland folksongs, which was tied to “an interest in such music as a form of popular entertainment,” was heavily influenced by Cecil Sharp and the English folksong revival (1994, 59). Their use of Newfoundland material contributed greatly to the shaping of Canadians’ impressions of Newfoundland folksong, one formulated on a limited number of songs originating with the Doyle song collection. Revivalist Newfoundlanders, with the help of the Peacock collection, would attempt to reshape this impression in later decades (61).

American-born singer and song writer Ed McCurdy also initiated one of the earliest folksong-based programs at the CBC in 1946-47 (Hoover 1992, 826). Originally from Willow Hill, Pennsylvania, McCurdy first learned folksongs from his parents but mostly from libraries (Lawless 1965, 151). In his early years McCurdy traveled across the States working as a gospel singer, radio announcer, emcee and vaudeville performer.<sup>30</sup> After moving to British Columbia in 1945, he launched out of Vancouver *Ed McCurdy Sings* (1947-48). This was followed, in 1949, by the Toronto program *Singing in the Wilderness* (Hoover, 826). McCurdy performed widely as a folk singer in both Canada and the United States including a year in St. John’s, Newfoundland.<sup>31</sup> Throughout the ’50s and early ’60s, he was at the “vanguard of the folk music renaissance” and closely

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<sup>30</sup>. Fuller Up The Dead Musician Directory. “Ed McCurdy, March 23, 2000 Age 81.” <[Http://Elvispelvis.com/edmccurdy.htm](http://Elvispelvis.com/edmccurdy.htm) 19 June 2001>.

<sup>31</sup>. Anna Guigné, fieldnote, former CBC radio and television producer, Kevin O’Connell, 11 Feb. 1999.

connected to Pete Seeger, the Weavers and others on the American side of the folk revival ( Henshaw "Profile" 1985).

Along with Bell and Cable, McCurdy was selected by CBC radio to perform on the inaugural *Welcome to Newfoundland* program which aired on 1 April 1949 the day after Newfoundland's entry into Confederation. For this event McCurdy chose to sing a version of the comic song "The H'emmer Jane" which he had collected in British Columbia and "Petty Harbour Bait Skiff" a song attributed to John Grace, a native of Riverhead, St. John's (Doyle 1940, 48-49).<sup>32</sup>

In 1947 singer Alan Mills launched the folksong program *Folksongs for Young Folk*, on the CBC and with it a lengthy career as a performer.<sup>33</sup> A Jewish Anglophone from Lachine, Quebec, originally named Albert Miller, Mills developed his first interest in folksongs and ballads between 1935 and 1937 when he toured across Canada and the United States with the John Goss London Singers (Hoover, 857). Sometime after '37, Mills returned to Montreal where he worked as a newspaperman and doing part-time radio. He switched to radio full time in 1944 taking the name, 'Alan Mills,' and by 1946 had also embarked a career as a folksinger (Johnson 1996, 8).

There was nothing specifically Canadian about the initial folksong program; Mills

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<sup>32</sup> Transcript and sound recording, "Welcome To Newfoundland" 1 Apr. 1949; 490401-3, CBC Archives, Toronto, Ontario. Gerald S. Doyle published a text of "Petty Harbour Skiff" in his first issue of *Old Time Songs* without indicating authorship (1927, 155-56). The music for the song was included in the second edition.

<sup>33</sup> *Folksongs For Young Folk*, by Alan Mills. Transcript, Program 1, 3 May 1947; Alan Mills Collection, NLC.

sang such songs as “Billy Boy,” “Reuben Ranzo,” and “Soldier Won’t You Marry Me” and was accompanied by jazz guitarist Gilbert “Buck” Lacombe. It did serve as a springboard for other kinds of folksong-related projects. In 1949 Mills released his first album, *Let’s Sing A Little: Folksongs and Ballads by Alan Mills CBC Folk Singer*, on the RCA Victor label.<sup>34</sup>

Increasingly Mills sought to incorporate Canadian material in all of his work and Howard Cable, who sometimes worked with him, says this singer considerably influenced the popularization of folk music on the CBC.<sup>35</sup> Early on in his performances Mills drew on Newfoundland traditional music. His use of “The Squid Jiggin’ Ground” on his radio program was directly linked to his acquaintance with its composer Art Scammell. An expatriate, Scammell was also editor and co-founder of the *Atlantic Guardian*, “a magazine dedicated to make better known Newfoundland life and customs,” and with whom Mills had become acquainted prior to 1948 (Scammell 1948, 37).<sup>36</sup> Scammell was inspired to write “The Squid Jiggin’ Ground” at fifteen after reading Gerald S. Doyle’s *Old-Time Songs of Newfoundland* (1927) and he was a good source for Mills.<sup>37</sup> As folklorist Michael Taft observes, while Scammell wasn’t a professional performer, in 1943 he had recorded this particular song as a private record on

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<sup>34</sup> RCA Victor (CP-7; 56-0030, 56-0031, 656-0032 31, 32), Music Division, NLC.

<sup>35</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Howard Cable, 15 Mar. 1999.

<sup>36</sup> “Profile-Arthur Reginald Scammell,” Arthur Scammell Collection, Accession MG-969, PANL.

<sup>37</sup> “Profile-Arthur Reginald Scammell.”

the RCA label with the financial support of Gerald S. Doyle (1975, xiii).<sup>38</sup>

For Mills, who saw the Canadian market as an untapped potential audience, Newfoundland songs, as presented by Scammell and Doyle, were essential to any performance repertoire. In 1949 Mills published *The Alan Mills Book of Folksongs and Ballads* which included musical accompaniments devised by Arthur Morrow, a Montreal-based conductor and arranger.<sup>39</sup> The book reflected Mills's awareness of the American folksong movement in that it consisted mainly of singable materials derived from other collections and recordings from the Archive of American Folksong at the Library of Congress (Mills 1949, 2). While much of the content reflected an American influence, Mills acknowledged one number, "Jack the Sailor," as having come from the Gerald S. Doyle collection (1949, 58-59). In 1949 Mills also released this song on RCA Victor.<sup>40</sup>

He recorded other albums with RCA adding additional Newfoundland folksongs: "The Kelligrews Soiree," composed by St. John's balladeer Johnny Burke, "Lukey's Boat" and "She's Like the Swallow" previously collected by Maud Karpeles while in

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<sup>38</sup> The song was popular enough to make it to the Hit Parade, being recorded by Hank Snow in 1957. Snow also advertised the song on a promotional flyer for a Canadian tour from 8 July to 1 Aug. from Sault St. Marie, Ontario to Newfoundland; see Hank Snow, *Squid Jiggin' Ground* (RCA Victor 47/20-6835) and Hank Snow, letter to Arthur Scammell, 24 Apr. 1957; Scammell Collection, PANL.

<sup>39</sup> The publisher was Whitcombe and Gilmour: Montreal; see also Brigitte Hébert and Mark Miller, "Morrow, Art," *EMC* 1992 ed. 890.

<sup>40</sup> RCA Victor (56-0043 and 57-5021, 45 rpm). The other two numbers on this album were "Soldier Won't You Marry Me?" and "Barbara Allen"; see "Folk Singer Mills Has Fine Single," *Advance List of the New Victor Red Seal and Standard Records for the Month of August, 1949*. 6. Music Division, NLC.

Newfoundland in 1930 (Doyle 1940: 16 and 71; Karpeles 1934:112-14).<sup>41</sup> Prior to Confederation, shortwave radio extended Mills's audience beyond the shores of Canada to Newfoundland. Listeners could pick up the program at 2:30 p.m. on Sundays and again on Thursdays at 1:45 p.m. and thus hear their own folksongs being interpreted by a Canadian ( Scammell 1948, 37).

In 1952, along with H el ene Baillargeon and the Art Morrow Singers, Mills launched a second program on the Trans Canada CBC network. Initially called *Songs of Canada* and then *Songs de Chez Nous*, and running up to 1955, this program incorporated both French and English song materials and was a reflection of Mills's intense pride in Canada.<sup>42</sup> Newfoundland material was used for this show as well.<sup>43</sup>

In 1952 Mills's activities attracted the attention of Sam Gesser who approached him to make a Folkways record and, because the company had an international distribution network, Mills jumped at the chance.<sup>44</sup> As he advised Creighton sometime in the early 1950s, RCA Victor in Canada "is just a poor cousin of the American outfit, and

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<sup>41</sup> Alan Mills, "Jack the Sailor," RCA Victor 56-0058; Music Division, NLC; For a discussion of Johnny Burke, see Michael Taft, "The Bard of Prescott Street Meets Tin Pan All y: The Vanity Press Sheet Music Publications of John Burke," *NS* 6.1 (1990) : 56-73.

<sup>42</sup> *Songs of Canada*, by Alan Mills. Transcript, Program No. 1. CBM to Trans-Canada Network, 1 June 1952. Charles Wassermann, Script. Music Arthur Morrow, Production Ken Withers. Alan Mills Collection, NLC.

<sup>43</sup> *Songs of Canada*, by Alan Mills. Transcript, Program No. 1. Alan Mills Collection, NLC.

<sup>44</sup> Anna Guign e, interview with Sam Gesser, 18 Mar. 1998. Mills's first album with RCA Victor was *Let's Sing A Little: Folksongs and Ballads by Alan Mills CBC Folk-Singer* (RCA Victor CP-7; 50-0030, 31, 32; 1949).

more-or-less serves as a distributing agency of American records.” He added that “It does mighty little of Canadian, and even when it does so, it never seems to get very much distribution.”<sup>45</sup> Starting with *Folksongs of French Canada* (Folkways 03663, 1952) and *Folksongs of Newfoundland* (Folkways 06831, 1953) Mills maintained a lengthy recording relationship with this American-based company well into the 1960s, eventually putting out more than twenty Canadian-content albums. Mills was a colleague of folksinger Ed McCurdy and also affiliated with the folk revival circuits on both sides of the border.

Mills made a point of seeking out collectors of Canadian folksong. He developed a close friendship with Helen Creighton before 1950, and was supportive of her efforts to disseminate folksongs, offering her counsel on her own production of a Folkways album in 1956.<sup>46</sup> Through his radio work, recordings, and book publications, Mills became recognized as the “voice of Canadian balladry” and was a key figure in the Canadian folk revival, often working in collaboration with individuals who shared an interest in disseminating Canadian folksong materials to the general public (Lyon 1996, 3).

In 1949, the CBC launched a third folksong-based radio program as the creation of Edith Fowke. Originally from Saskatchewan, Fowke (née Fulton) differed

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<sup>45</sup> Alan Mills, letter to Dear H. n.d. circa 1954; Alan Mills Correspondence, Vol. 2816, file 1, Creighton Collection MG1, NSARM.

<sup>46</sup> See specifically Alan Mills, letter to Miss Creighton, 13 Oct. 1950; also see Alan Mills, letter to Dear Helen, 9 Jan. 1954; Alan Mills correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

substantially from Mills and McCurdy; she was not a folksinger but an educator (Pincoe 1992, 494). Fowke completed her Bachelor's degree in English and History from the University of Saskatchewan and, after teaching briefly, she returned to university to obtain a Master's in English. In 1938 she and her husband moved to Toronto where she became involved with "political and pacifist activities" (Pincoe, 494; Fowke 1997, 39). She developed her life-long interest in folk music through an informal group of friends who met to sing. Through sociologist Martin Lipset, she first heard records from the Library of Congress and material by Burl Ives, Josh White and Richard Dyer Bennett (Fowke, 40).

In 1949 Fowke approached producer Harry Boyle with an idea for *Folksong Time*. Her first show, which aired on 8 October, was devoted to folksongs of England.<sup>47</sup> The content of these initial programs was not specific to Canada. Instead Fowke focused mainly on the musical traditions of Scotland, Europe, South Africa and the United States.<sup>48</sup> She used recordings by folksingers Richard Dyer-Bennett, Burl Ives, Susan Reed and Tony Kraber and material from recording companies such as RCA Victor, London, Decca and Vox.

Increasingly Fowke began to introduce Canadians to material from their country

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<sup>47</sup> *The Folksongs of England*, by Edith Fowke. *Folksong Time*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 8 Oct. 1949. Transcript for program 1. File 4.8, Accession 403/87.10, Edith Fowke Papers, University of Calgary Library, Special Collections/Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

<sup>48</sup> *Folksong Time*, by Edith Fowke. See transcripts 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 for 1949. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation File 4.8 Accession 403/87.10, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A.

including folksongs from Newfoundland. The show “Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland,” which aired as the first program of the 1950 season, was adapted from Greenleaf and Mansfield’s 1933 publication.<sup>49</sup> Throughout the 1950s Fowke carried out extensive searches of the literature educating herself on the folksong materials available in print or on disc, then weaving this information into her radio commentaries. Progressively she merged her radio activities with the production of her folksong-related publications and recordings which included extensive liner notes.

Starting with “Canadian Folksongs” (1949: 177-179 and 201-202), Fowke produced several folklore-related articles and books covering many subject areas pertaining to folksong, childlore and folktale as well as research tools and reference lists for folklorists (Fowke 1997: 39-48; Pincoe 1992, 494). In collaboration with musician Richard Johnston, she published the highly popular *Folksongs of Canada* (1954).<sup>50</sup> The publication consisted of words and music to seventy-six Canadian songs from the collections of Marius Barbeau, Kenneth Peacock, Helen Creighton, Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Mansfield, Ernest Gagnon and Roy MacKenzie. As the authors noted, the publication was intended to show Canadians that “their national heritage of folksongs is almost as rich as that of the United States” (1954, 9). Fowke followed this work with such publications as *Folksongs of Quebec* (1957), *Canada’s Story in Song* (1960) and

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<sup>49</sup> *Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland*, by Edith Fowke. *Folksong Time*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Transcript. n.d., 1950. File 4.8, Accession 403/87.10, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>50</sup> Keith Bissell, “Johnston, (Albert) Richard,” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 663.

*The Penguin Book of Canadian Folksongs* (1973).

In 1956, starting with the radio series, *The Song History of Canada*, Fowke formed an ongoing collaboration with Alan Mills (Fowke 1996, 17). She wrote the scripts and Mills narrated and performed the songs (17). From the thirteen-week half-hour program, *Songs of the Sea*, came a Folkways album by the same title (FA 2312, 1957). The radio program, *Canada's Story in Song*, led to a two-record Folkways album and the book, *Canada's Story in Song* (1960) which the authors observed, "will add to our understanding of our country and its people" (ix).

Fowke was first introduced to traditional folk singers by Creighton whom she met in Nova Scotia in August 1951 (Croft, 116-17). She then initiated her own field collecting in 1956 in Ontario later releasing some of her field recordings under the Folkways albums *Folksongs of Ontario* (FM 4005 1958) and *Lumbering Songs from the Ontario Shanties* (FM 4052, 1961). The publication *Traditional Singers and Songs from Ontario* followed several years later (Fowke 1965).

Fowke was well-connected to the American folk revival movement. She made regular trips across the border to the United States to acquire recordings for her radio programs. Early on she contacted Moe Asch of Folkways and, in the summer of 1954, shortly after *Folksongs of Canada* was published she also met folklorist Kenneth S. Goldstein (1927-1995) while visiting Stinson Records in New York City (Fowke 1997,

42).<sup>51</sup> As Rochelle Goldstein recalls, Fowke and her husband developed a professional relationship that lasted many years:

Since Kenny was an avid reader of books pertaining to folksong and ballad, he was familiar with Edith's work in Canada. Edith used to visit us to listen to Kenny's rapidly growing collection of records at our apartment. She was always interested in finding recordings which she could use on her radio show. Their friendship grew strong very quickly, as they shared their expertise in folksongs and ballads, as well as their interest in politics.<sup>52</sup>

As Fowke informed folklorist Carol Carpenter in the 1970s, she found her conversations with Goldstein to be of much benefit and he in turn encouraged her to get records out.<sup>53</sup>

This led to the production of several Folkways records between 1958 and 1961.<sup>54</sup>

Goldstein also encouraged her with various publications, among them *Traditional Singers and Songs from Ontario* (1965), and *Lumbering Songs from the Northern Woods* (1965).

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<sup>51</sup> Kenneth Goldstein, letter to Edith Fowke, 23 Sept. 1954; Accession 664/992.1, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A. Throughout the 1950s and '60s Goldstein would emerge as a key person in the folk revival movement for his documentation and preservation of folk music in the United States, Canada and Great Britain. For an overview of his far-reaching and far-ranging interest in folk music see the following: Dan Ben-Amos, "Obituary-Kenneth S. Goldstein"; Peter Narváez, "A Tribute: Kenneth S. Goldstein, Record Producer"; Neil V. Rosenberg, "Kenneth S. Goldstein, Producer of Folk Revival and Country Recordings"; Mick Maloney, "Supporter of Folk Artists"; and Nicholas Spitzer, "The Producer-Professor," *JAF* 109. 434 (1996) : 320-23; and 450-463.

<sup>52</sup> Rochelle Goldstein, e-mail to author, 23 June 2001.

<sup>53</sup> Carole Carpenter, interview with Edith Fowke, MUNFLA, Tape, 78-57/ C3964.

<sup>54</sup> See Edith Fowke, *Folksongs of Ontario* (FM 04005, 1958); *Per Norgaard: Jigs and Reels, Vol. 2* (08826, 1960); *O. J. Abbott: Irish and British Songs from the Ottawa Valley* (FM 04051, 1961); *Lumbering Songs from the Ontario Shanties* (FM 04052, 1961) and *Songs of the Great Lakes* (FM 04018, 1964).

Pioneers such as McCurdy, Mills and Fowke, were pivotal to the development of the Canadian folk revival movement throughout the 1950s and '60s, and they did much to make Canadians aware of at least one aspect of their musical heritage. Their activities at the time typified the blossoming interest in Canadian folksong. Lacking any formal folklore training, they learned by doing. This was not surprising as the professionalism of the discipline in Canada lagged considerably behind that of the United States where folklore studies had begun to attain some academic respectability (McKay 1994, 25).

The research, promotion, radio work and publications of Fowke and Mills often complemented or were intertwined with the scholarly research of the day. Folklore research in Canada was at this time a new field where amateurs and academics shared a collective enthusiasm for the documentation of folklore and folksong. With their individual talents (as educator, singer, writer, musician-composer) and with the work of the staff of the National Museum of Canada, this cluster of individuals would create the fabric of much of the revival activity which took place during the 1950s and '60s.

In late 1949, Fowke and Mills separately made contact with Margaret Sargent and Marius Barbeau seeking folksong materials for their radio programs. On 22 November 1949 Sargent wrote to Edith Fowke:

How very nice it was to have you here the other day, listening to records and talking of folk music. [ . . . ] This morning I discussed with Dr. Barbeau some possible means whereby our material might become available to you for your programmes. At the present time it seems premature to consider having commercial records made. However if your contract with the CBC is renewed as I sincerely hope it will be, it might be

possible to develop a plan involving the collaboration of the National Museum and the CBC. We could lend the CBC the tape recordings collected this summer and the vinylite records collected last summer (subject of course to the Curator's approval of such a plan).<sup>55</sup>

Following this visit Fowke remarked in "Canadian Folksongs," that "Those who are interested in the subject [of folksongs] might start by writing to the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa for a copy of the little song book *Come A-Singing* which gives thirty representative Canadian folksongs" (1949, 202). This booklet, compiled by Barbeau in 1947, was an unusual production for the Museum because it was not in the business of publishing folksong material.

Over the next couple of months Sargent and Fowke corresponded on the possibility of a liaison. Sargent proposed the idea of lending Fowke and the CBC some field recordings but Barbeau was not keen on the suggestion because "they kept some records an inordinately long time."<sup>56</sup> Moreover, many of his field recordings were not of broadcast quality.

In the late fall Alan Mills forwarded a copy of his recently released songbook to Barbeau and Sargent. She suggested that Mills drop in for a visit to see their collections which he did. Later writing to Barbeau he commented:

I was not joking when I said I would like to spend a month or two "in your

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<sup>55</sup>. Margaret Sargent, letter to Edith Fowke, 22 Nov. 1949; Correspondence 1949, box 353 f. 10; Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>56</sup>. Margaret Sargent, letter to Edith Fowke, 1 May 1950; Correspondence 1950, 1952; box 353 f. 11; Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

files" [ . . . ]. I will be writing Miss Sargent in a day or two regarding the song information I promised her. Meanwhile I thought you might care to know that ORMES music store in Ottawa have one set of the Karpeles's Newfoundland songs.<sup>57</sup>

By 1951, through this kind of public interest, the National Museum had begun to recognize the demand for folk music within the country and its importance to the national ethos. But Sargent's attempts to establish liaisons and projects also reflected the fledgling state of the Museum's folklore program. Although she was anxious for the field collections to be used, the Museum was not always in a position to accommodate requests because the material was in such poor order. Few procedures existed for the use of the Museum's collections even by Fowke, Mills or Asch. Policies regarding copyright of this material, ethical guidelines for folklore research or remuneration or other obligations to informants were at best fragmentary.<sup>58</sup>

## 5.2 Margaret Sargent and the Newfoundland Field Research-1950

Perhaps Sargent first entertained the idea of doing field research herself because of the numerous requests for information on folksong which she was also required to

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<sup>57</sup>. Alan Mills, letter to Marius Barbeau, 4 Dec. [1949]; Correspondence 1949, Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>58</sup>. This would not have been uncommon for the time. Today most institutions of the federal government work within some kind of ethical framework; see Canada, Medical Research Council of Canada, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, *The Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (Ottawa: Medical Research Council of Canada, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1998).

handle as part of her job. Up to the late 1940s research in the Folklore and Anthropology Division of the Museum had centered mainly on Native and French-Canadian music (Sargent 1952: 75-79). Outside of Helen Creighton's work in Nova Scotia, the National Museum had paid little attention to the folk music traditions of Canada's Atlantic provinces. Intrigued by the idea of doing fieldwork Sargent proposed to Barbeau that she would like to go to Newfoundland:

Well Dr. Barbeau was away working on fieldwork in New England and all the other people who were geologists in the building were going away. The previous summer [1949] I had spent the whole summer in the office alone transcribing Indian songs which was my job. That's why I went there which was fine. But, when you're all alone and your boss isn't there, and all the people you talk to aren't there, (laughter) I just decided to do something during the summer like them. And I thought fieldwork, this is what everyone else is doing. I'd like to do it too. It's as simple as that. And then I thought "How can I do this?" you know. And then I started casting around in my mind and I'd read about Greenleaf and Mansfield and I was interested in their stuff and I thought "Well this seems like a natural." So I talked to Dr. Barbeau about it. He agreed that I should go out and do fieldwork. He was a wonderful boss. Every bright idea I got he encouraged. Even though some of them were probably not that great. He was really very nice to work for. And so he said, "Well you find out about it and then if it's feasible" . . . . He said, "We'll go and see Dr. Alcock. Work out a presentation and we'll talk to Dr. Alcock." He was a geologist who was the head of the National Museum, of our part of the National Museum, although he knew very little about folksongs. He came from the Maritimes, so he was enthusiastic about Maritime and Newfoundland stuff. He usually deferred to Dr. Barbeau on anything that had to do with folklore, folk music, you know, that type of thing and so he agreed.<sup>59</sup>

Having received Alcock's approval, in October 1949, at Barbeau's suggestion, Sargent wrote Premier Joseph R. Smallwood noting, "With the entry of Newfoundland

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<sup>59</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 11 Mar. 1997.

into the Dominion of Canada we in the Anthropological Division of the National Museum are desirous of possessing a collection of Newfoundland folksongs to be preserved and studied with those of other parts of Canada.”<sup>60</sup> Smallwood advised Sargent that he thought the idea a good one.<sup>61</sup> At Smallwood’s suggestion, Leo Moakler, advertising manager for F.M. O’Leary which published a monthly newspaper *The Newfoundlander*, also corresponded with her supplying useful resources and materials which might be of interest. Moakler recommended that she contact among others, the British folksong collector, Maud Karpeles, which she did.<sup>62</sup> Karpeles informed Sargent a short time later that she had learned through her friend, Frederick Emerson that there was “a possibility that the authorities in St. John’s, Newfoundland may invite me to do more collecting.”<sup>63</sup> Karpeles suggested a collaboration of sorts, but indicated she did not want the responsibility of recording the music as she was “not a good musician” and that her own contribution would be her “previous experience of collecting in Newfoundland.”<sup>64</sup> Karpeles planned to attend the Mid-Century International Folklore Conference at Indiana

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<sup>60</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Joseph R. Smallwood, 20 Oct. 1949; Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, file 3.20.021; J. R. Smallwood Papers 1949-1972, coll. 075, CNS-MUN.

<sup>61</sup> J. R. Smallwood, letter to Margaret Sargent, 31 Oct. 1949; J. R. Smallwood Papers, CNS-MUN.

<sup>62</sup> See Gavin M. Will, “Moakler, Leo Patrick (1910-),” *ENL*, 3: 592; Moakler was also Smallwood’s assistant when he was ‘The Barrelman’ (Narváez, 1986, 68). Maud Karpeles, letter to Margaret Sargent, 8 Feb. 1950; box 353 f.12; Memorandums to Dr. Alcock (1949-1950) Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>63</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Margaret Sargent, 8 Feb. 1950; Sargent Correspondence, Memorandums, box 353 f. 12, Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>64</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Margaret Sargent, 8 Feb. 1950.

University from 21 July to 4 August 1950 and advised Sargent that she would be available to go collecting after this.

The idea of a joint research project made sense to Karpeles. Much of the material she had collected in 1929 and 1939 was still in manuscript. Since 1930 she had devoted her energies to editing Cecil Sharp's publications and establishing the UNESCO International Folk Music Council.<sup>65</sup> A partnership with Sargent would give her a chance to renew her research interests with the added benefit of a companion with musical training.

Sargent kept her superiors updated on her efforts to go to Newfoundland. In a memo to Alcock she noted the advantages working with the English collector, adding, however:

At the present time Miss Karpeles and the National Museum do not have identical points of view in choosing material. Instead of looking only for outstanding tunes and songs as she has done, our policy is to go deeper into the field and collect also the folklore of the humble people.<sup>66</sup>

The folklore-collecting protocol at the Museum as followed by Barbeau, reflected his anthropological training. Karpeles's approach was rooted in the idea of collecting only older folksongs. In the end Karpeles couldn't afford to go to Newfoundland but she did

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<sup>65</sup> See Maud Karpeles, "The International Folk Music Council Twenty-One Years," *1969 Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, ed. Alexander L. Ringer (London Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971) 14-32.

<sup>66</sup> Margaret Sargent, memorandum to Dr. F.J. Alcock, 13 Feb. 1950; Memorandums, 1949-1950, box 353 f. 12; Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

recommend that Sargent contact Frederick Emerson and Sargent did so prior to her departure.<sup>67</sup> On 4 July, 1950 Sargent boarded the eastbound Maritime train in Ottawa to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, along the way observing, "Virtually everyone on the train was bound for Newfoundland."<sup>68</sup> After making the ninety mile ferry crossing across the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Port Aux Basques, Sargent arrived in St. John's four days later. From the moment she embarked on her journey, the young woman was fascinated by the people around her. She recorded the names of people she encountered and any observations they made about Newfoundland culture and folklore. Once in St. John's those she had met on her journey helped her to get her bearings (appendix 5, plate 2, page 846).

Many of her first contacts were well-positioned within the city. They included government officials, the clergy, various lawyers, some radio personnel, and the head librarian for Gosling Memorial Library. Aware that she was looking for folklore, they responded with ease, giving her bits of their own folk knowledge on many subjects, including medicinal cures, words, phrases and expressions found in the local dialect, the occasional fairy legend and providing anecdotes about local characters. After meeting Claude Howse, a federal government geologist in the recently established Department of Natural Resources, she commented back to Barbeau, "All at once everything is happening

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<sup>67</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Mr. Emerson, 6 June 1950; Correspondence 1950, 1952, box 353 f. 11, Margaret Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC;

<sup>68</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 9 July 1950; box B 237 f. 11; Margaret Sargent Correspondence, Barbeau Collection LAD-CMC.

and I am making contacts.”<sup>69</sup> Howse in turn guided her to musician Bob Macleod.<sup>70</sup>

Macleod was well-admired in the city for his musical performances which often incorporated anecdotes and humorous Newfoundland stories as well as the music he and Doyle had collected in the 1940s. Sargent was already familiar with the material in the Doyle songbooks through hearing Cable and Bell’s interpretations of this music aired over the CBC. She had also been made aware of the Doyle publications through her correspondence with Leo Moakler.<sup>71</sup>

Macleod was Sargent’s first main informant in 1950. He in turn took her to VOXM radio (Colonial Broadcasting System) introduced her around and played Newfoundland songs for her. Sargent was thrilled with this experience:

July 14-Went to see Mr. Howse again. He couldn’t go with me to Bob Macleod’s so I went over alone. I can’t get over the leisurely way businessmen act here. We talked for about an hour and a half. Then went over to the Colonial Broadcasting Corporation where I met Mr. Schulman and Mr. Murdock. They’re going to let me have some copies of Bidy O’Toole on tape. What a slap-happy gang! For an hour or so Bob Macleod played the organ, I played the piano and everybody sang.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Robert H. Cuff, “Howse, Claude K. (1907- ),” *ENL*, 2: 1097; Sargent had also written to Howse shortly before leaving to come to Newfoundland. See Margaret Sargent, letter to Mr. C. K. Howse. n. d.; and Claude Howse, letter to Margaret Sargent, 23 June 1950; Correspondence 1950, 1952, box 353 f. 11; Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>70</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 12-14 July 1950; Sargent Correspondence 1950-1952, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>71</sup> Leo Moakler, letter to Margaret Sargent, 3 Nov. 1949, box 143, file 3.02.011; J. R. Smallwood Papers, CNS-MUN.

<sup>72</sup> Note Book 1 “Log, Newfoundland” (1950) p. 7; Margaret Sargent McTaggart and Anna Guigné Collection, MUNFLA, Accession Acc. 98-237. Bidy O’Toole was the stage name of a female singer who performed local songs and Irish Come All Ye’s such as “Father Dear Father,” “ O’Brien Has No

Howse also arranged for Sargent to meet up with Frederick Emerson at his law office. As she excitedly informed Barbeau, “[he] knows Maud Karpeles and Vaughan Williams very well.”<sup>73</sup> Emerson sang her some Newfoundland songs and he extended his friendship to her, bringing her to his home where they “discussed music all night--folk music, classical music, everything.”<sup>74</sup> Lacking any comparative experiences with which to connect these kinds of receptions, initially Sargent did not detect that some material being presented to her was in the context of the St. John’s interpretation of rural Newfoundland culture. This we can see in her meeting with Bob Macleod whom she refers to as “an almost unbelievable figure”:

He has gone to all the outports collecting the old songs for Gerald S. Doyle, he can do all the accents [ . . . ]. He learned a great many of these songs right from P. K. Devine an old Irish Newfoundlander. Despite the fact that he is an accomplished musician he sings them like a person from the outports. On either Monday or Tuesday night he is going to sing for me.<sup>75</sup>

Sargent was so impressed by Macleod’s knowledge that she later returned to record him. Reflecting on this experience today, Sargent notes “he wasn’t what I called a folk singer.

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Where to Go” and “The Star of Logy Bay” at the Barn Dance held at the Knights of Columbus Hall in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The “Dance” was aired over VOXM radio on Saturday nights. Anna Guigné, field note Frank Armstrong, 14 Feb. 1999. Sargent’s reference to Mr. Schulman was to Mengie Schulman an important Newfoundland broadcaster in the 1950s.

<sup>73</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 12 July 1950; Sargent Correspondence 1950, 52; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>74</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 12 July 1950.

<sup>75</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau.

They called him 'professor' as a nickname."<sup>76</sup>

By her second week Sargent was anxious to try her hand at fieldwork in the outports. On 17 July she headed for Branch, a small Irish coastal fishing village on the western part of the Avalon Peninsula 130 miles from St. John's and located on the south-western side of St. Mary's Bay.<sup>77</sup> She chose Branch because Claude Howse had suggested this as a potential area and was able to arrange for transportation for her. At the time many communities were inaccessible by road and getting to the outports required coordination. As she discovered, there were no bus routes and "you had to sort of know somebody who was going out."<sup>78</sup> This field experience was quite a contrast to life in St. John's. As was customary, she boarded in peoples' homes in the community thereby experiencing first-hand the outport way of life. First she spent time in St. Brides where she could find accommodation commuting to Branch. A short time later she was able to secure a bed in Branch itself.

Throughout the summer Sargent was often pulled between the business of folklore collecting and her social conscience. While prosperity was certainly present in St. John's, many people living in the outports still suffered from a poor diet and unhealthy living

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<sup>76</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 11 Mar. 1997.

<sup>77</sup> See Catherine F. Horan, "Branch," *ENL*, 1: 240-41.

<sup>78</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 28 Feb. 1998.

conditions:

The teeth of Newfoundlanders are very poor. This is due not only to faulty food, but also due to utter absence of care. Most of them never have their teeth filled but when they decay, have them pulled out. One may often see a child of ten or eleven with either no front teeth, or else just little slivers left. Very few people past their early twenties have their own teeth. A lot of the children have red inflamed eyes. The doctor said this was largely due to the lack of fresh vegetables, I guess it's a kind of scurvy. I haven't had fresh vegetables once. Imagine living like that all the time.<sup>79</sup>

Although Sargent was captivated by the beauty of the area and the people, she found the standard of living dreadful. She was also conscious of the prevalence of tuberculosis in Newfoundland during this period. Having recently recuperated from a severe bout of rheumatic fever she was acutely aware of the fragility of her own health:

Heavens I'm coughing. Being surrounded by tuberculoid people has made my mind more conscious of tuberculosis than I usually am . . . Everyone here has a cold. No wonder it turns to T.B. when they don't stay in bed until it's better.<sup>80</sup>

Shortly thereafter Sargent decided to return to St. John's. Ironically, on the eve of her departure, she finally had a breakthrough in terms of folksong collecting. Describing the encounter later to Barbeau she remarked:

I was writing some poems and folklore. When I mentioned songs one of

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<sup>79</sup>. Margaret Sargent, Notebook 6, containing observations on Branch. *Mines Forests and Scientific Services G.S. 145 S.* 1950, pg. 34; Margaret Sargent McTaggart and Anna Guigné Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 98-237.

<sup>80</sup>. Margaret Sargent, Notebook 5, containing observations on Branch. *Mines Forests and Scientific Services G.S. 145 S.* 1950, pg. 44; Margaret Sargent McTaggart and Anna Guigné Collection. For a discussion of the prominence of the disease in Newfoundland particularly up to the late 1940s see Patricia O'Brien, "Tuberculosis," *ENL*, 5: 430-434.

them asked if I'd like a song called the "Summer Seasons." One of the others said "Oh no she only wants Newfoundland songs, not the old ones." I said I was interested in everything and when I heard it I almost gasped. They all know these songs-one man 140 of them-so I think I've struck a gold mine.<sup>81</sup>

On 25 July Sargent departed Branch for St. John's. Planning to return later to record material, she left her equipment behind.

She returned to the community three weeks later on 19 August to collect her Edison clockwork phonograph recorder and stayed in the community just overnight hoping to contact John Joe English (1896-1991) known for folksongs.<sup>82</sup> As luck would have it English was in the same community taxi she was taking back to St. John's the next day. As Sargent later informed Barbeau:

He returned to town last night so I did too and tomorrow night he's coming over here to sing and I can use the tape machine! He knows all sorts of old ballads he learned from his parents. He says he hasn't sung them for years because he gets laughed at.<sup>83</sup>

Sargent's tapes and field notes for this period show that, except for a quick trip to Branch, she stayed in St. John's. Finding it too difficult to collect in the rural areas and, possibly reluctant to move too far because she was experiencing poor health, she busied herself

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<sup>81</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 25 July, 1950; Sargent Correspondence, 1950,1952, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>82</sup> Anna Guigné, field notes, Margaret Sargent, 28 Feb. 1997 and 3 Mar. 1999. For a brief biography of this individual see "John Joe English: 16 June 1886-6 February 1991," in *The 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Newfoundland and Labrador Folk Festival, August 2, 3, and 4* (St. John's Folk Arts Council: 1991) 4.

<sup>83</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 21 Aug. 1950; Sargent Correspondence, 1950, 1952, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

doing fieldwork recording various people in the city and in the nearby communities.

Sargent took two pieces of recording equipment to Newfoundland, the Edison clockwork recorder traditionally used by Marius Barbeau which could operate without electricity and a new Revere tape recorder which did require electricity. She had attempted to use the Edison recorder in Branch because the community wasn't electrified. As it did not work, she reverted to taking song texts down by hand, a process she found too tedious for both herself and the singers. All the tape recording was therefore done in St. John's on the Revere recorder.

Sargent left St. John's on 31 August and, after a brief stop in Cape Breton, she returned to Ottawa in mid-September. In late October she headed off to British Columbia to marry Kenneth McTaggart leaving her tape recordings at the Museum but no report of her Newfoundland activities.<sup>84</sup> Although she continued to stay distantly linked to the Museum, the Newfoundland field trip was her first and last adventure of this sort.<sup>85</sup> Sargent published nothing from her Newfoundland fieldwork.

Having never been exposed to the Newfoundland culture, Sargent simply documented anything she found interesting. Unlike Karpeles or Doyle, she did not have a preconceived agenda. Her material therefore consists of two very different kinds of information. Much of the material gathered in St. John's reflects her first encounters

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<sup>84</sup> Her field tapes are contained in the Sargent Collection LAD-CMC.

<sup>85</sup> Sargent did stay distantly connected to the Museum. During the 1960s she worked with Ida Halpern transcribing music of the Kwakiutl (Duke, 1981, 843).

which were with well-educated people who consciously used local dialect and folklore to present themselves to her as Newfoundlanders. She also acquired materials from individuals whose musical and folk traditions originated from within rural Newfoundland culture. Her field collection, which consists of a mixture of both popular and traditional renditions of Newfoundland folk music, is actually consistent with two distinct musical traditions of the time period. One half of the material is suggestive of a St. John's interpretation of outport Newfoundland--that is, a select number of usually rollicking humorous songs sung in a style imitative of the Newfoundland outport and having exaggerated qualities of dialect and accent. The second aspect of the collection consists of items which are more representative of the types of folk material one might find in rural Newfoundland tradition including songs from the European tradition, locally-composed ballads, fiddle music and recitations.

Sargent's field notes and photographs encompass surprising amounts of descriptive ethnographic information about life in St. John's and the living conditions in the outport communities of Branch and St. Brides one year after Confederation. Her notes contain references to community activities, drawings of local architecture, stories about local characters, casual references to the history of the area, anecdotes and even recipes. She reflected upon a social and cultural environment which was so strangely different from her own. As her field descriptions reveal, although Newfoundland was undergoing considerable economic change as a result of Confederation, the living

conditions in many communities were forbidding. As she said in 1997 looking back on this period in her life:

To us it was a third world country almost, and I'm sure I was suffering from culture shock. In the outports there was such a contrast. The people were fine and hard working and very good looking and then there was this dire poverty. It was pretty awful.<sup>86</sup>

In late August Sargent advised Barbeau that she had decided to resign to get married.<sup>87</sup> A month after this she proposed the idea of having Kenneth Peacock as her possible replacement:

The day before yesterday I told Dr. Alcock that I was leaving in a month or six weeks time. He was discussing the matter of a successor. I mentioned that you had an idea about someone from Indiana. He said it was difficult to appoint Americans and wondered about a Canadian. I mentioned Ken Peacock, tentatively. He viewed it quite favorably. I enquired of Ken whether he would be interested. He would. What do you think? Would you consider him for the position? He is a fine musician with an excellent ear. If you haven't another in mind, it would be very nice if you were to give him a trial. Also, if I am ever to do transcribing at the coast he would be an excellent person to work with.<sup>88</sup>

Peacock wasn't Barbeau's first choice; the anthropologist had contemplated the musicologist, Andrée Desautels, working at the Conservatory of Music in Montreal.<sup>89</sup> In October Sargent informed Barbeau, "If you think Miss Desautels preferable I shall just

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<sup>86</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Margaret Sargent, 11 Mar. 1997.

<sup>87</sup>. Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 21 Aug. 1950; Sargent Correspondence, 1950, 1952, Barbeau Collection; LAD-CMC.

<sup>88</sup>. Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 28 Sept. 1950; Sargent Correspondence 1950, 1952.

<sup>89</sup>. Gilles Potvin, "Desautel (Marie) Andrée (Carmen)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 357-58.

tell Dr. Alcock that you feel a musicologist would be of more use than a musician.”<sup>90</sup>

Marcel Rioux later contacted Desautels with an offer but she declined. Sargent again pushed for Peacock as her replacement advising Barbeau that, while Alcock felt he had to advertise the position for fear of “comeback from members of Parliament,” Peacock did impress him:

Ken may have some of the weaknesses you point out but he can transcribe, undeniably, is much better in working with erratic rhythms than I am, and may in time develop the qualities he may lack at the beginning. I find myself that he lacks initiative and needs a good push. However, I did also when I came here. He is an only child, living at home, and has never actually stood up to the world. I think a field trip might be the making of him [. . .] [Alcock] was quite taken with him--also with the fact that he might be able to give a recital of compositions derived from English, French and Indian themes. I spoke highly of him as I think he is a fine musician.<sup>91</sup>

Although Peacock was a front-runner, Alcock opted to advertise the position at the Museum. Shortly after leaving in the late fall Sargent asked Barbeau whether Peacock had been selected as her replacement.<sup>92</sup> Although a decision had yet to be made, ultimately Peacock’s extensive use of the Museum’s field material throughout 1950 may have swayed things in his favour.

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<sup>90</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 7 Oct. 1950; Sargent Correspondence 1950, 1952, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>91</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 23 Oct. 1950. Sargent Correspondence 1950, 1952.

<sup>92</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 24 Dec. 1950; Sargent Correspondence 1950, 1952.

### 5.3 Peacock Takes Over From Margaret Sargent

Since November 1949, Peacock had regularly visited the Museum making use of Barbeau's material for his compositions.<sup>93</sup> He produced *Rituals of Earth, Darkness and Fire*, a major work for full orchestra and orchestra based on Iroquois texts, and *Idioms*, a series based on Indian and folk sources. That same year he also composed *Songs of the Cedar*, a cantata for mezzo-soprano and chamber group. His thematic inspiration for the piece was Indian-influenced. For the texts he drew upon *Songs of the Coast Dwellers* (1930), a series of Haida Indian songs translated into English by Constance Lindsay Skinner (1882-1939). Peacock had found the work in Barbeau's personal library.<sup>94</sup>

In June 1950 Peacock corresponded with Walter Herbert, Head of the Canada Foundation, seeking one of two Canadian Amateur Hockey Association scholarships valued at \$2000. This post-war Foundation was the genesis of a British-Canadian wartime educational organization known as the Canadian Committee (Tippet 1990, 177). Barbeau had naturally taken a keen interest in Peacock's compositional work and it is likely that Peacock made the application at his suggestion.<sup>95</sup>

Barbeau and Herbert were old friends and as he informed his colleague at the

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<sup>93</sup> In November 1949 Sargent advised Barbeau that she had run into Kenneth Peacock in the library commenting "He is searching for some Canadian poetry to use in setting a song which would last 7 min. and a cantata about 12 Min., for a CBC contest [ . . . ]. Have you any suggestions?"; Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 8 Nov. 1949; Sargent Correspondence, box B 237 f. 11; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>94</sup> Anna Guigné, conversation with Kenneth Peacock, 21 June 1997.

<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately Peacock did not recall the specifics of this application.

Foundation, he was impressed with Peacock:

I have seen a number of compositions by Kenneth Peacock and heard him in the interpretation of some songs which he had composed and harmonized in the style of Negro singing in North America. My impression of his work and himself is that he is highly gifted, trained and original. His range of musical interest includes both the classical and the very modern. He is equipped with the technical knowledge of the instruments for orchestral composition. I believe that he is one of the most promising of the younger generation of musicians. What is most remarkable in him is his interest in folk and Indian music to be used as a basis for Canadian progress in the arts. This is what has brought him to the Museum many times. I wish a scholarship were awarded to him especially because it would bring together the conventional studies of musical conservatories with an appreciation of the native music of Canada as a starting point for adventure and the growth of modern musical arts in our country.<sup>96</sup>

Peacock was not awarded a scholarship at this time. However the letter reflected Barbeau's keen nationalistic motivations and his desire to nurture those who showed an inclination toward using Canadian folk and Native song materials.

By this time Peacock was discovering first-hand the limitations of the Canadian cultural support system. Like many composers of the period wishing to have a future in Canada, he found it impossible to have his music published and he struggled to have it presented in public. The CBC radio network offered one of the few outlets for composers. Established in 1930s as a counter-measure to the overwhelming influence of American radio, its mandate was to advance Canadian culture; thus, the part it played in

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<sup>96</sup> Marius Barbeau, draft of letter to Walter Herbert, June, 1950; Walter B. Herbert Correspondence 1941-1952, box B 237 f. 12; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

promoting Canadian music in the late '40s and early 1950s was substantial.<sup>97</sup> Through its national and international service, the CBC offered a full program for its listeners ranging from classical, orchestral, and choral music to light music. It was an important venue for presenting new Canadian works. As the CBC regularly exchanged materials with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) a writer, composer or performer could hope for additional exposure through this route.

In late 1950 Peacock attempted to have some of his music aired nationally. He contacted Bob Weaver whom he had earlier met while attending English classes at the University of Toronto.<sup>98</sup> Weaver had visited him on occasion when Peacock was playing in the dance band on Lake Erie.<sup>99</sup> Peacock asked Weaver to put him in touch with Harry Boyle, the key figure behind the CBC's Trans Canada Network's Wednesday night Cultural Series.

Although the CBC was at this time commercial, producers such as Boyle felt that there should be one evening a week devoted strictly to broadcasting without commercials, and allotted to promoting Canadian culture. The program was launched in 1947 as *CBC Wednesday Night* and consisted of "an entire evening of substantial fare each week,

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<sup>97</sup> For a discussion of this see, Geoffrey Waddington, "Music and Radio," *Music in Canada*, ed. Ernest MacMillan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955) 126-132.

<sup>98</sup> Weaver later "nourished and sustained scores of Canadian writers" throughout the 1950s and '60s. See Warner Troyer, *The Sound and the Fury: An Anecdotal History of Canadian Broadcasting* (Rexdale, Ontario: John Wiley and Sons, 1980) 128.

<sup>99</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Robert Weaver, 17 Mar. 1999.

entirely un-sponsored and including much serious music and many musical documentaries, often markedly esoteric" (MacMillan 1992, 164). It was also heard nationally and consisted of uninterrupted programming for three hours. Weaver recalls arranging the meeting between Peacock and Boyle:

He [Peacock] knew who Harry was [and] he wanted to meet him. So I said "Okay, come on." We went around and we met Harry and Ken was on his best behavior, quite nervous. And he was trying to pitch Harry into letting him do something and he produced a score and he handed it to Harry who looked suitably somber. Harry had it for a couple of minutes and said "I don't read music do you?" Turning to me [he said] "Do you read music? and I said "No." He turned to Ken and he said "Is it any good?" And Ken said, kind of taken aback, "Well, actually." Well, so that's fine, so Harry called his producer and assigned Ken to this producer for programs and it was that simple.<sup>100</sup>

Peacock was assigned a half-hour time slot. As he prepared to launch the premiere performance of his piece, *Songs of the Cedar*, he realized he would need more material. He decided to fill up the remainder of the time with three settings of folksongs collected by Helen Creighton. Peacock had encountered Creighton's work through Sargent who had transcribed two of the songs.<sup>101</sup> Writing to Creighton on 5 December 1950 he advised:

I thought you would be interested to learn that three of the folksongs you collected in 48-49 are to be heard in a Wednesday Night recital of some of my compositions. The evening is devoted to an adaption of the new novel with a Maritime setting, 'The Nymph and the Lamp,' and I thought

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<sup>100</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Robert Weaver.

<sup>101</sup>. Margaret Sargent, letters to Helen Creighton, 29 and 30 Sept. 1949; vol. 2817, file 16, Sargent Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

it a wonderful opportunity to have some of these Nova Scotian folk-tunes heard by a greater audience. Two of them "The Baffled Knight" and "The Parrot" are set for male voice, flute and piano and the third "Do you see That Bird" for female voice and piano. The remainder of the program will consist of a cantata for solo voice and studio ensemble called *Songs of the Cedar*.<sup>102</sup>

The program aired 24 January, 1951 and his use of the National Museum's collections received much publicity in the *CBC Times* which noted "Peacock is a young musician who believes that composers in general should find their inspiration in the folk music of their country."<sup>103</sup> No doubt Barbeau and Alcock were delighted to have the Museum's music collections given such a public spotlight. Creighton evidently approved as well, as a letter to her from Peacock shows:

I was very pleased to hear that you liked the program [. . .]. Most of the people I spoke to about the program were surprised to learn that we have folksongs like these in Canada. Now they know! I have not had an opportunity to visit the Museum again to hear and study more of the collection but I shall certainly do so as soon as possible. I have made a note of the song you especially wanted me to listen to on reel 35. It is a shame that such musical wealth should remain unappreciated by most of Canada's people while radios and juke boxes blare almost continuously with inane commercial music. We shall have to fight them with their own weapons. I was also pleased to learn that the settings captured something of the original flavour of the folksongs--it is quite difficult when you have to rely solely on your imagination, (Never having lived in Nova Scotia). Moreover, the tunes sound insipid when set in the traditional diatonic harmony of the past 200 years. Mostly, I used harmony which the tunes themselves seemed to suggest to me rather than try to yank and push them

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<sup>102</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton; vol. 281, file 133, Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, PANL. The songs "The Baffled Knight" and "The Parrot" were sung by Bernard Johnson and "Do You See that Bird" was sung by Jean Marie Scott while Peacock played the piano.

<sup>103</sup> "Works By Three Canadians . . .," *CBC Times* 21-27 Jan. 1951; Peacock Collection, SAB.

into a pre-existing mold. I now know what Béla Bartók meant when he said that it is much more difficult to set a folksong than write a work for full orchestra<sup>104</sup>

This early exchange from Peacock to Creighton marks the beginning of what would eventually turn into a working relationship lasting a lifetime.

Through his connections to Marius Barbeau, by 1950 Peacock was becoming conscious of the wealth of Canada's own musical traditions, recognizing at the same time that this kind of music offered rich creative compositional potential. As Peacock's comments to Creighton also reveal, he had started to assign national value to traditional folk and aboriginal music. Peacock's reference to the work of Hungarian composer Béla Bartók (1881-1945) reflects this. Early in the century Bartók was inspired to use the folk music of his country for compositional music. He recorded folk material in his native Hungary later experimenting with compositions and harmonies reflecting the National folk character of the material.<sup>105</sup>

Of the nine works Peacock composed in 1950, the majority were based on Native-Indian and folk themes. He finished off the end of the year writing *Elegy* a rather large and difficult piece.<sup>106</sup> Throughout the winter and spring of 1951 he continued on with his regime of performing at various concerts, giving piano lessons and doing the occasional

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<sup>104</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 2 Feb. 1951; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection NSARM.

<sup>105</sup> Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music*, trans. M. D. Calvocoressi (1931, London: Humphrey Milford, 1981).

<sup>106</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 15 July 1996.

performance of his work on CBC radio. In March he performed at the Ontario Registered Music Teachers Association playing the *Children's Suite* and a composition called *Idioms* inspired by a "friend's African thumb piano."<sup>107</sup>

Through his creative use of folk music Peacock was considered one of a number of innovative composers in the country. In a new CBC program *Piano Parade* launched in May of 1951, he was one of thirty leading Canadian pianists selected to perform their work over the air in a four-week period.<sup>108</sup> Primarily because of his use of folk music for composition and because Sargent had recommended him so highly, during the spring of 1951, Marius Barbeau asked Peacock if he would be interested in going to Newfoundland at the end of June. Peacock welcomed the opportunity, viewing it as a temporary measure, a stop-gap between engagements:

Well I taught music early on. And then this National Museum business, Marius Barbeau actually started me off and asked me "Why don't you take over the Newfoundland research?" And I said "Well, I--." [pauses] And he said, "Well, when I started [doing fieldwork] I didn't either." He said, "You just sort of improvise" which I did . . . . But, anyway that's how I started, and it was just sort of really a summer project because there wasn't much music teaching [in the summer] . . . Then I got more and more interested. Summer weeks went into months.<sup>109</sup>

Chapter six explores Peacock's first fieldwork for the National Museum of Canada which he carried out in Newfoundland between 1951 and 1952.

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<sup>107.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, Oct. 26 1996.

<sup>108.</sup> "Creative: Our Composers," *CBC Times* 13-19 May (1951): n.p.

<sup>109.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Feb. 1994.

## Chapter 6 Peacock Takes on the Newfoundland Field Research 1951-1952

### 6.1 Peacock's First Fieldwork in Newfoundland-1951

Toward the end of June, 1951 Kenneth Peacock hopped into his small English car at his family home in Ottawa, Ontario and headed eastward for Newfoundland. He decided to use his own vehicle since little public transport was available in the places he wanted to reach. Moreover the cost of taking a car would work out to approximately \$265 for transportation.<sup>1</sup>

He took with him one of the two recently introduced Brush Soundmirror tape recorders which the National Museum had purchased from Crawley's Films in Ottawa.<sup>2</sup>

Peacock recalls:

It was quite a heavy and bulky machine, but with a hinged lid and handy carrying handle. Just like a largish suitcase. It used the tapes (7 inch) horizontally. Margaret Sargent used it in Newfoundland in 1950 and I continued using it in 1951-52. I think it was the first publicly available machine on the market. The quality of the recording was surprising, considering the newness of the technology . . . The 'Soundmirror' came with its own hand-held microphone and perhaps a table-top stand—the memory is vague. It was probably a ceramic mike. It had a green 'cat's eye' sound level.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Marcel Rioux, memo to Dr. F. J. Alcock, 26 Apr. 1951; Ri-D, Marcel Rioux Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>2</sup> By August 1949, Helen Creighton was using one of these machines for her work in Nova Scotia. Margaret Sargent, letter to Helen Creighton, 23 Aug. 1949; Correspondence 1949, Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC. Steven E. Schoenherr. Soundmirror tape recorder 1948. Smithsonian National Museum of American History, 1999 11 Oct. 2003. <<http://history.acusd.edu/gen/recording/exhibits.html>>

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 20 Nov. 1996; Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Feb. 1998.

Despite the weight of the Soundmirror the quality of recording was far superior to anything he had used previously.

Peacock also packed some government-issue notebooks about three dozen seven-inch recording tapes of the kind that still had paper backing, two hundred sheets of Deluxe Brand (No. 42-12 lines) sheet music which the Museum had acquired from the Waterloo Music company for transcribing purposes, some legal-sized yellow paper and large wire-coil note-books. He took, in addition to the Museum's somewhat outdated Kodak folding camera, his Kodak Duoflex with a meniscus (one element) lens because he felt it would be more reliable.<sup>4</sup> At this point Peacock had no experience with folklore research. Although he had not the benefit of reading Sargent's notes, he did have her list of contacts.

Traveling down from Ottawa via Maine to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Peacock boarded the ferry in North Sydney and made the crossing to Port aux Basques, Newfoundland. Peacock aimed to start his field research on the Avalon Peninsula as Sargent had done the previous year. As long-distance travel on the island was restricted mainly to the railway and coastal boat service, he placed his vehicle on one of the train's flatbed cars and made his way to St. John's.<sup>5</sup>

Here Peacock set himself up at a bed and breakfast place at 96 LeMarchant Road

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<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 27 May 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

and for the first few days wandered around the city, photographing the sights, taking in a parade and the view of the harbour from Signal Hill.<sup>6</sup> At Sargent's suggestion he also contacted Frederick Emerson, spending a day with him at his cottage on the Bauline Line. As Peacock recalls, Emerson made some suggestions but "he actually wasn't much help."<sup>7</sup> Peacock instead followed his own leads.

One evening early after his arrival he ended up at the Old Colony Club, 64 Portugal Cove Road, and there he first encountered lawyer Lloyd Soper socializing with some friends.<sup>8</sup> Upon hearing Soper singing some Newfoundland songs, Peacock introduced himself and explained his reasons for being in the province. Soper told him that he was a close friend of Gerald S. Doyle who was out of the city at the time.

The meeting led to a recording session at Soper's office at the corner of MacBride's Hill and Water Street. Peacock turned up the next day at 5:00 p.m. with a bottle of rum and the Soundmirror tape recorder:

I first met Ken Peacock it would have been 1950-51, somewhere around there and I don't know how the meeting came about. In fact it was quite casual, it was at the Old Colony Club. And he was just starting his work then, he was planning his trip around Newfoundland. And I don't know how he got me singing folksongs, but anyway, after we had our conversation he said well he'd like to have me record some of the songs . . .

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<sup>6</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 30 July 1951; Peacock Correspondence, B. 227 f. 74, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>7</sup>. Anna Guigné, interviews with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997 and 21 June 1997.

<sup>8</sup>. At the time the Old Colony Club was considered to be a fashionable place to go in St. John's.

- AG: When he first met you, you said he brought down a bottle of rum.  
 LS: . . . Well he wasn't a Newfoundlander so I didn't expect him to be a rum drinker. Well it showed that he was sociable and he knew how to get people loosened up.  
 AG: But did you guys actually crack open the bottle and have a drink at 5:00 in your office?  
 LS [It was] after hours so, oh yes it was time for a drink then . . . Sun was over the yard arm. And in fact I think it was in those days we still worked on Saturdays and I believe it was a Saturday afternoon. He came after 5:00.<sup>9</sup>

Peacock's first attempt at folksong collecting was really a meeting of two cultures. Soper was somewhat amused that the Canadian had brought rum to his office. But to be polite, he agreed to assist Peacock. This meeting reveals much about Peacock's lack of experience and the often perceived notion that, in Newfoundland, spirits and singing went hand in hand (Mercer and Swackhammer 1978: 36-45).<sup>10</sup>

Peacock set about recording his first Newfoundland folksong, "The H'emmer Jane" (Pea 1-1), announcing it on tape as follows:

This is Ken Peacock speaking from Lloyd Soper's office in St. John's, Newfoundland. {Background noise and the sound of a horn coming from car on the street below} Mr. Soper has been telling me very much about Newfoundland songs and he has quite a knowledge of them. We've been speaking just now about a song called "H'emmer Jane" and Mr. Soper will give a little short history.

{Taking his cue from Peacock Lloyd Soper starts to speak }

LS: Well "The H'emmer Jane" Ken, is a folksong which has come to

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<sup>9</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Lloyd Soper, 20 Oct. 2000. All subsequent quotes from Mr. Soper are taken from this conversation.

<sup>10</sup> Sargent had also used rum when collecting songs in Newfoundland. Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau 25 July 1949; Sargent Correspondence, Barbeau Collection LAD-CMC.

us from the northeast coast of Newfoundland. At least that's where it was picked up several years ago by Bob Macleod who was working with Mr. Gerald Doyle in compiling a couple of books of Newfoundland folksongs. As far as we know this is a Newfoundland folksong. The references are local. {The sound of a car pulling away is heard in the background} The idiom is local and most of all the melody that is followed, is one that has frequently been used in various forms for several Newfoundland folksongs. The only point that causes me to query the authenticity as a Newfoundland song is one reference there to shingles, a boatload of shingles which would indicate that it might have originated probably in {pause} Cape Breton because shingles are not a local product strictly speaking. It is now accepted as a Newfoundland folksong and we have no desire to disown it or let anybody claim the benefit {another horn beeps outside} of the origin of it. So I'll sing it for you.

KP: Fine.<sup>11</sup>

In an overly dramatized voice Soper set about to perform "The H'emmer Jane" which he had learned from musician Bob Macleod and later transcribed by Peacock as follows:

- (1) Now 'tis of a yung maiden this story I'll tell  
An' of 'er yung lovyer and' w'at them befell;  
Now 'er lovyer was a capten who sailed the blue sea,  
And this is the circumstances attendin' the departure of he.
- (2) Now the vissel 'e sailed on was called the H'emmer Jane,  
'Twere in honour of she that he giv' 'er that name;  
That w'ile 'e were sailing all o'er the blue sea,  
The vissel that 'e sailed on might remind 'im of she.
- (3) With a boat load of shingles our captain sailed ayway,  
Sailed ayway from 'e's true love all on a summer day,  
An' 'e ne'er more was heerd of, ner 'es vissel so brave,  
So 'Twas figgered pretty ginrally that 'e foun' ay watry grave.
- (4) On ay col' starmy marnin' all down be the sea  
H'emmer Jane sot aywyaitin', aywaiting fer 'e;  
An' on ay col' starmy marnin' 'er body were foun'  
So 'twas figgered pretty ginrally she'd gonr crazy an' got drowned.

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<sup>11</sup> "The H'emmer Jane" (1-1), Peacock Collection, MUNFLA, Tape 87-157 / C11031.

- (5) They buried 'er up in the buryin' groun',  
 An' sot up a hidstone tellin' how she were foun',  
 An' over 'er 'id they sot out ay willer tree,  
 that the wind in the branches might mind them of she.
- (6) Not viry long after these yer t'ings o-ccured.  
 A stranger com' to town w'ere H'emmer Jane were interred;  
 And 'e axed up a Sixten w'ere H'emmer Jane might be,  
 an' 'e answered be pintin' to the ol' willer tree
- (7) Nix' marnin' they foun' him be the side of H'emmer Jane,  
 They foun' 'e's col' caracass insensibly a-layin',  
 An' in 'e's briast pocket were a hank'cherf of 'ern  
 So 'twas figgered pretty ginrally 'twas the capten returned.
- (8) They buried 'im up n a grave close by 'er,  
 An' over 'e's head they sot out a wil' briar,  
 Now the wind in the willer is in mim'ry of she  
 An' the wil' briar twist all 'roun' 'im is in mim'ry of he.<sup>12</sup>

This first transcription, which was an attempt to approximate Soper's humorous representation of Newfoundland dialect, reflects Peacock's inexperience in dealing with such materials. He soon recognized that such an approach was simply not plausible in the context of what he was expected to produce for the Museum. Thereafter he refined his methods by transcribing the words but avoiding representations of the dialect.

In addition to this parody which mimics more serious traditional sea-disaster ballads, Peacock also recorded from Soper three stanzas of "Feller from Fortune" (1-2) and two of "I'se the B'y" (1-3) two rollicking songs which Soper had also learned from Macleod.

Where possible Peacock aimed to collect complete texts of songs; he began

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<sup>12</sup> Transcript "The H'emmer Jane" (1-1), with Peacock's original punctuation, Pea B, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, 1-554, LAD-CMC.

immediately to rework some of the material he collected.<sup>13</sup> In *Outports* he notes:

The texts of some songs are different from or more complete than their tape-recorded counterparts. This is the result either of notes taken after the recording was made or of correspondence received from informants after I had returned from the field. In such cases the tape and catalogue number is supplemented with an 'MS' (1965, 1: xxiii).

This is the case for "Feller from Fortune" (1: 53-54). Soper provided Peacock with a three stanza variant but the version published in *Outports* consists of six stanzas.

Peacock acknowledges Bob Macleod as being a contributor to the song, although as the field recording reveals, Macleod wasn't present in Soper's office that day. One explanation is that Peacock sought out Macleod while in St. John's in 1951, acquiring from him the additional stanzas.<sup>14</sup> The more likely scenario is that Peacock had access to Margaret Sargent's field recording which contains a five-stanza variant of the song as performed by Macleod in 1950.<sup>15</sup> When the printed text is compared with the two field recordings it is evident that Peacock combined both renditions to produce a composite singable text.

Whether Macleod was there that afternoon or not, it was he who had successfully popularized all three songs through his public performances in and around St. John's in

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<sup>13</sup> See Transcripts "Feller from Fortune" (1-2) and "I'se the Bye" (1-3), Pea B, Textual and Musical Transcriptions; LAD-CMC; MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/ C11031.

<sup>14</sup> Peacock did not actually recall this. He had some 'vague recollection' of seeing Macleod in a kitchen. Soper seems to think that Peacock may have sought out Macleod as well. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Oct. 2000.

<sup>15</sup> "Lot's of Fish in Bonavista Harbour" S-16, audiotape 1, Margaret Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

the 1940s.<sup>16</sup> As it was Macleod's brand of music that Peacock would eventually reject in search of something a little less common, this musician's own background is worth discussing.

Macleod was recognized locally for his renditions of Newfoundland music but as performed within the context of his own activities in St. John's as opposed to the rural tradition. Macleod was really an all-round musician and entertainer. During the 1920s and '30s he had developed a reputation for his musical abilities as a pianist and organist. In 1929 he organized Macleod's Orchestra writing his own arrangements and playing the popular pieces of the day. Throughout the 1930s and '40s, he worked as an organist and choir master first at Wesley United Church and then at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. In 1935, shortly after radio was introduced to Newfoundland, he also worked as an announcer and a musician for VONF radio, the forerunner to the CBC (Wade 1993, 506). Macleod also read the Gerald S. Doyle News and produced the Doyle Amateur Program and the Children's Savings Program, a kind of showcase for local talent and school choirs (Krachun 1991, 418-19; Taft 1974, 102 ). As his son notes, Macleod "had a great ability to play the right thing at the right time."<sup>17</sup>

Macleod first started using folksong material during World War Two:

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<sup>16</sup>. For a discussion of Bob Macleod's role in the early folksong revival movement in Newfoundland see Paul Woodford, *"We Love the Place O Lord" A History of the Written Musical Tradition of Newfoundland and Labrador to 1949* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1988) 216-17.

<sup>17</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Dr. Robert Macleod, Corner Brook, 18 May 1998. All subsequent quotes are taken from this session.

I think it was during the war that the folksong thing came out, because Dad was called upon to play for everything during the war. Every bun fight ever on the go he'd be invited mainly because he could play. And of course there was a lot of concerts going on. When I say concerts, [what I mean is] somebody [would] call them variety shows. On Sunday nights in the churches, especially up by Wesley Church, different musicians or organists would try to organize things. I remember as a boy being taken to those things and all kinds of variety from guys swinging swords, to playing on saws, to dancing to everything that was on the go and usually that would be organized by someone like Dad. They'd sing patriotic songs and all, this kind of stuff, okay. So he would probably know a few Newfoundland songs that he was familiar [with] "Jack was Every [Inch A Sailor]," and these went over. All of a sudden the Newfoundlanders [would say] "This is wonderful stuff. This is our stuff" and so it went. Then ok, the war was over. He went to work with Manufacturing Life selling insurance . . . There he got involved playing for conventions, when conventions would come here what not. So "What are we going to play?" Newfoundland folksongs.<sup>18</sup>

Macleod also developed an interest in folksongs because of his link to Gerald S. Doyle and his role in providing the musical background for the Doyle News Bulletin which started in 1932. Doyle, who was an expert at marketing, combined the provision of a radio-transmitted community message service with commercials for his products. The news bulletin lasted for over 34 years (Lehr 1981, 641). Macleod along with several other friends regularly joined Doyle at his home for musical evenings:

. . . I remember Dad talking about it, where he would invite people like Dad and Nish [Ignatius] Rumboldt and J[ohn] M. Devine and a couple of these guys who were really good poetry readers and all this. So they'd have an evening with Doyle at which, if you were invited to go, you were expected to do something. It wasn't a case of just sitting around idle

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<sup>18</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Dr. Robert Macleod.

prattle you know. And so that's how he got sort of with Doyle.<sup>19</sup>

Rumboldt later emerged as an important figure in the Newfoundland folk revival of the 1960s (Woodford, 1984). Devine was a relative of Doyle's from King's Cove and also a businessman with the fisheries (Bown 1981, 614). As Rosenberg points out this kind of group singing tradition was typical of "upper-and middle-class urbanites who enjoyed drinking and singing together around the piano at social gatherings" (1994, 58).

In 1937, '38 and '39 Macleod accompanied Doyle on his vessel the *Miss Newfoundland* to collect songs for the 1940 edition of *Old-Time Songs*. Through his travels with Doyle, Bob Macleod picked up a considerable material later incorporating this into his public performances in and around St. John's. During the 1940s Macleod played for the military at places such as the Crow's Nest, a pub for naval officers located by the National War Memorial in downtown St. John's. His house also became a focal point for many Canadian and American soldiers, particularly those that had musical abilities.<sup>20</sup> After the war Macleod started playing dinner music at the Newfoundland Hotel incorporating his interpretations of Newfoundland songs into his performances. By 1951, although he was working for Manufacturer's Life as an agent, Macleod regularly

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<sup>19</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Dr. Robert Macleod.

<sup>20</sup> Edith Fowke notes in *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folksongs* that Clyde Gilmour host of *Gilmour's Albums* on CBC radio, learned "The H'emmer Jane" from Macleod while stationed in Newfoundland during the war. Macleod informed her that he had learned the song sometime around 1939 or 1940 while helping Gerald S. Doyle collect songs using it later "for entertainment at convention gatherings both here at home and in the Maritimes" (1986, 204n).

performed at public conventions.<sup>21</sup>

By the 1950s, songs such as those Soper had learned from Macleod and provided for Peacock were well on their way to becoming part of an established Newfoundland folksong canon and thus would be considered “key texts” (Rosenberg 1994: 55-73). While there is nothing specifically displeasing in the Doyle canon of songs, for many Canadians, who know no better, it is this material, much of which is lively, humorous and frolicking and involves group singing, that even today is identified as being representative of the province’s musical traditions. Through the repetitive selection and playing of these songs, a standard image of Newfoundland continues to be conveyed. It is this circumscribed cultural representation of the province’s extensive musical tradition which Newfoundland nationalists have often found objectionable.

As Peacock was aware, the Doyle material had received much exposure on the mainland; he was therefore looking for something less well known. Reflecting upon the quality of these first recordings, he was not impressed with Soper’s playful representations of Newfoundland fishermen and the Newfoundland dialect:

But these were ones that Lloyd had learned, I mean there was no tradition in his family of singing. It was sort of a St. John’s interpretation of outport culture . . . Well these people like Lloyd Soper not to be unkind, but it was a sort of tourist version of outport folksongs . . . The way Lloyd Soper sang it, [it was] like a stage performance.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> “He’ll Probably Keep Going Until He Drops,” *The Daily News* 14 June 1968: article courtesy of Dr. Robert Macleod.

<sup>22</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1994.

Although Soper's versions of songs were not what Peacock was seeking, he spent a couple of days with him taking in the sights in St. John's. Having grown up in Toronto, Peacock was entranced by the rugged beauty of Newfoundland but often felt he was on thin ice when it came to interpreting the actions and conversations of those he met. This happened when he encountered Premier Joe Smallwood at a party one night:

Lloyd Soper, one evening, I forget whose house it was at, it was right in St. John's . . . Anyway, it was a Liberal party and people would drop by. So Lloyd said, "Would you like to come along tonight and meet Premier Smallwood?" And I said "Sure." He [Smallwood] remembered the previous year and asked about Margaret Sargent and asked what was she doing and so on-- amazing man.

AG: What do you remember him talking to you about?

KP: Oh yea [with excitement] I remember [laughter] Lloyd said "He's quite a jokester." So he [Smallwood] drew me aside and said "There's never been a murder in Newfoundland." So I thought it was a joke, so I laughed and he really meant it. [Laughter] People in Newfoundland didn't murder one another.<sup>23</sup>

As this reminiscence illustrates, Peacock was uncomfortably aware of his outside status and while meeting Smallwood was memorable, he was uneasy in St. John's.

Peacock was not looking for impressionistic imitations of rural Newfoundland culture as presented through songs such as Macleod and Soper performed. Shortly after this he headed out of the city. As Soper recalls, Peacock had already had a plan in mind:

But the interesting thing was that at that time, he was going to go around Newfoundland and he would be in many places where there was just no electricity, to start with. So he had to take his recording equipment with batteries and of course he would be talking to people who didn't have any

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<sup>23</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

musical accompaniment. I think this was the interesting thing about it because he would be getting people to sing the folksongs without any accompaniment and in the true style of the folksong.

Probably at Soper's suggestion, Peacock headed thirty or so miles out of the city down the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula to Tors Cove to begin his collecting.<sup>24</sup>

Peacock didn't really know what to expect. Although he hoped to find traditional music in this little fishing community he heard popular music blaring out of a store:

I remember the first day I went out to Tors Cove and there was a huge blast of music from the general store and a juke box. It was country and western and I thought "My God What have I got myself into?" Anyway, I didn't collect though, at that time.<sup>25</sup>

As elsewhere in other parts of North America this material was readily available in stores in Newfoundland. Advertisements in the *Newfoundlander* for that year for example offered "Popular Hill Billy Records" and "all the popular cowboy tunes."<sup>26</sup> This music was popular enough during this period for one local singer, Jimmy Linegar, to develop a

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<sup>24</sup> For one account of community life along the Southern Shore see Gerald L. Pocius, *A Place to Belong Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1991).

<sup>25</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 8 Feb. 1994; Peacock's use of the term "country and western" is significant. Based on the negative connotation of "hillbilly" within the music industry, the term "western" as equated with the cowboy and the western frontier, had been adopted by Billboard in 1949; see "Country Music," *PEPM*, 1998 ed., 307; see also Bill C. Malone, *Country Music U.S.A.* (University of Texas Press, Austin and London, 1968) 159.

<sup>26</sup> *The Newfoundlander* 13.3 Mar. 1951: 13; and 13.6 July 1951: 5. For other aspects of popular culture in the outports also see Michael Taft, "The Itinerant Movie-Man and His Impact on the Folk Culture of the Outports of Newfoundland," *Culture & Tradition* 1 (1976) : 107-119.

professional career traveling from community to community giving performances (Taft 1974: 92-120).<sup>27</sup>

As far as Peacock was concerned, country and western tunes were not representative of the kind of folk music he expected or wished to collect while in Newfoundland. He moved further afield heading another fourteen miles down the shore to Cape Broyle, an Irish Catholic community of about five hundred residents. Peacock asked people in the community who would be likely to know the “old time songs.” Someone directed him to see a fisherman named Jim Rice (1878-1958) :

Oh, I just asked really, “Who knows the old time songs?” and that sort of thing. They said “Oh, you should meet ‘so and so’.” So I would ask where they lived, knock on the door, and just went from one thing to another . . . If it’s a singer who knew a lot of songs, say like Jim Rice in Cape Broyle, I would ask if I could come back tomorrow or the day after. They were always very nice.<sup>28</sup>

Singers such as the Rices hold a place of importance in small communities for their musical talents from which the whole community may benefit.<sup>29</sup> As Peacock would often find, it was these people whose names were frequently offered as potential contacts.

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<sup>27</sup> See also Peter Narváez’s discussion of Harold Skanes and the Buccaneers in “Country Music in Diffusion: Juxtaposition and Syncretism in the Popular Music of Newfoundland,” *Journal of Country Music* 7: 2 (1978) : 93-101.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 8 Feb. 1994.

<sup>29</sup> Several Memorial University students doing folklore papers in the late 1960s and ’70s interviewed members of the Rice family because they were recognized by Cape Broyle residents as good singers. See Willeen Gertrude Keough and Mary Frances Walsh, “Collected Folksongs of Cape Broyle,” and Olive I. Walsh “Impact of the Irish Ancestry and Fishing Industry Upon Folksong of the Southern Shore,” MUNFLA, Ms. 74-226 and Ms. 76-3. Unpublished research papers, MUN 1974 and 1976.

This basic method for identifying singers set the pattern for Peacock's subsequent enquiries in other communities.

In Cape Broyle he secured a place with Ron O'Brien who lived with his mother and sister and managed a fishing business and a family store close to the shore.<sup>30</sup>

O'Brien introduced him to Jim Rice's son Ned (Edward) :

The first person after Lloyd Soper was Ned Rice. The very first tape. And then later on I noticed you were talking about Ron O'Brien and I could never remember his last name. Now, on tape two, [Peacock is referring to his inventory of Newfoundland tapes which he had with him in Ottawa while we were conversing over the phone.] I notice that was, Ron had invited Ned over for a drink. I was staying with Ron's family and he plied us with a couple of whiskies and Ned sang and then Ron sang and they sang "Molly Bawn" together on record two, on tape two. I recorded at Ron O'Brien's house. And later on page three, "The Star of Logy Bay," Ned Rice and Ron O'Brien. So he sang. He wanted to be in on the act too. Everybody seemed to be having so much fun. Oh, and another thing I was thinking about, have you ever heard the expression 'common'? I remember somebody in Cape Broyle said "Ron's such a nice man, so common," and I said "Oh, I see what you mean." Have you heard that? I hadn't heard it before or since. He didn't put on airs or anything and act like a big boss.<sup>31</sup>

Although O'Brien was an employer to several fishermen in the community, in Peacock's estimation he interacted with them as an equal.

Peacock recorded several songs from Ned Rice (age 35 at the time) and from his father Jim. He also recorded material from their neighbor, Mike Kent (1904-1997), who

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<sup>30</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 10 Apr. 1997; "Obituary: O'Brien, Ronald J.," *Evening Telegram* [St. John's, NF.] Fri. 10 Jan. 1997: 8.

<sup>31</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

dropped in for a visit.<sup>32</sup> Kent was a colorful character who could sing, tell stories, tap dance and play the harmonica.<sup>33</sup> Like many Cape Broyle residents he had worked as a boy at the fishery with his father. In 1929 he went to work on a vessel out of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. Throughout the 1940s he also worked on the construction of Fort Pepperell, the American Base located in the east end of St. John's. Kent also spent time in Scotland.<sup>34</sup>

During this first recording session Peacock collected ten songs from Ned Rice, four from his father Jim and seven from Mike Kent. This material was far-ranging and included the "Irish Colleen" (3-22), "Give an Honest Irish Man A Chance" (3-19), the Child ballad, "Lady Margaret" (4-23) (No. 77), the broadside, "Daniel Monroe" (2-11) (Laws J 12), as well as the locally-composed numbers "Old Sailing Fleet" (2-9) and the "The Star of Logy Bay" (3-17). He also recorded "The Six Horse Power Coaker" (1-5) composed by Art Scammell which had recently been popularized through publication in Gerald S. Doyle's *Old-Time Songs* and on phonograph in the 1940s (Doyle 1940, 74; Rosenberg, 1994, 7). They also gave him "Hitler's Song" (1-7) a war song based on the textual and melodic structure of Scammell's "Squid Jigging Ground."

Peacock also learned about the American folklorist, MacEdward Leach, who had

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<sup>32</sup> "Obituary: Michael Anthony Kent," *Evening Telegram* [St. John's, NF.] Tues. 16 Dec. 1997: 8.

<sup>33</sup> Catherine White, "Collection of Folktales in Cape Broyle," MUNFLA, Ms. 72-270.

<sup>34</sup> See Willeen Gertrude Keough and Mary Frances Walsh, "Collected Songs . . ." ms 74-226; and Olive I. Walsh, "Impact of . . ." MUNFLA, Ms. 76-3.

visited the community the previous year and had paid Mike Kent for his singing:

The only time reimbursement of singers came up in the field was in Cape Broyle when Mike Kent (I think) mentioned “that American feller who offered one dollar a song last year (1950).” I didn’t realize it was MacEdward Leach.<sup>35</sup>

Leach’s payment for songs probably enhanced the memories of his informants but, unlike Peacock, he was trained in folklore research.<sup>36</sup> Leach, the more experienced in the field, had visited Tors Cove in 1950 and collected songs and music from seventeen singers, the same community which Peacock avoided because of the influence of radio, country and western music and the juke box.<sup>37</sup>

As this was Peacock’s first trip to Newfoundland, he decided to travel around the eastern end of the island to areas where he could take his car. Leaving Cape Broyle, he back-tracked to St. John’s and from there headed off the Avalon Peninsula and southward down the Burin Peninsula to the town of Grand Bank. The Burin area was first settled first by the French in the 1600s and then by the English in the 1700s; throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth the fishery had become the mainstay of the area (Janes 1981, 292-95). Access to the outports in this region was only possible by coastal boat. The highway, which was constructed in 1949, provided a modern land link to St.

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<sup>35</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 20 Nov. 1996.

<sup>36</sup> This was not uncommon. Kenneth S. Goldstein notes he also offered money to his Jamaican informants in this period; see *A Guide For Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1964) 169.

<sup>37</sup> See “Leach Newfoundland Collection (1-1950) Informants Listed by Place of Residence,” Leach Collection MUNFLA, Accession 78-054.

John's and so Peacock decided to explore this newly opened territory. Driving down the gravel road in his small fragile car designed primarily for paved roads, presented its own challenges for Peacock. It took a full day of rough driving to get to Grand Bank.

Upon arriving Peacock asked around for potential singers and was put in touch with Ewart Vallis a young local singer who accompanied himself on the guitar:

I was enquiring around and somebody said "Oh you should meet Ewart." And I said "Ewart who?" "Ewart Vallis, he's a good guitar player." And so I looked him up wherever he was . . . . Oh he knew these couple of songs and I couldn't get the mike in the right place because the guitar was so loud. And he sang a version of the "Feller from Burgeo." I couldn't get all the words.<sup>38</sup>

Like many rural Newfoundlanders, Vallis listened to the Gerald S. Doyle News and owned one of Doyle's songbooks. It was from this source that he learned the second song he had given Peacock, "The Roving Newfoundlanders" (4-25) (Doyle 1940, 55). As Vallis notes in the following anecdote The Doyle News was important to people around Newfoundland:

Gerald S. Doyle see used to have a news bulletin on every week. So the radio, it gave you all the news about Newfoundland and it gave out the hospital reports and there was a woman from Grand Bank was in the hospital in there and they wouldn't allow her to get out of bed. Right. She was sick. They wouldn't allow her to get out. So this night they caught her coming out into the hallway and the nurse said "Oh I caught ya. Where are you going?" And she said, "I'm going out to hear the Gerald S. Doyle News to see how I am" . . . . But anyhow they had a book out called the Gerald S. Doyle book and I got it here now. A fella called me the other

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<sup>38</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

day and wanted a song from it.<sup>39</sup>

Peacock disliked Vallis's decidedly country and western style of singing and guitar playing. He also believed that radio had a destructive impact on the musical traditions he was attempting to record and that modernization would have a negative impact on folk tradition. As he later noted:

Everywhere there is the feeling that this is the new Newfoundland 'though in many respects it resembles the old mainland with its wide open frontiers. [ . . . ] The music of these transitional areas has been profoundly affected by the new changes. Active participation in Old World and local music has been replaced by an obsession with cowboy music, especially among the young people. The burning ambition of every boy is to own a guitar and be able to sing like Hank Snow. In Grand Bank I met a singer named Ewart Vallis who has spent fourteen months traveling around the outports as a cowboy singer, even billing himself as 'The Texas Ranger'. He occasionally threw in a Newfoundland song for good measure.<sup>40</sup>

Vallis's background actually typified that of many rural musicians. He had grown up in a Salvation Army household listening to his mother play hymns:

We had a room in our house, I guess everybody had it one time. It used to be called the parlor and nobody was allowed in there. That was the place in case somebody died that they lay them out in there right. So, you know, nobody was allowed in there. My ma, that's where she had the organ and every Sunday afternoon everybody would come in and sing, sing hymns Sunday afternoon.

The radio was an important source of music for Vallis:

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<sup>39</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Ewart Vallis, 20 June 2000. All subsequent quotes are taken from this conversation.

<sup>40</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland Peacock* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 6, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1953; Pea-A-15, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

I do a lot of country gospel and country and western . . . . I used to listen to Hank Williams. That was my favorite singer at that time, Hank Williams, and I think he still is probably. And I used to hear him singing songs “Take This Message to my Mother” and “The Wood’s on Fire,” things like that. And at that time, I used to hear a song a couple of times and then I’d know it . . . .

AG: Where did you hear Hank Williams? Was that down in Grand Bank? What radio station?

EV: We used to, my God, it used to be CHNC, New Carlisle and CJFX in Antigonish. Now that was the stations I used to hear mostly.

AG: Where’s New Carlisle is that in Nova Scotia?

EV: New Carlisle is right up in New Brunswick I believe. I’m not sure, New Brunswick or Quebec. And Antigonish--CHFX there. And used to be an old guy on there used to call himself “The Farmer.” The Old Farmer. So he used to be on every afternoon. So, Wheeling West Virginia, WWVA and we used to listen to that. And that’s how I got a lot of my material from that.

AG: So would that be on short wave? You’d pick those channels up down there?

EV: Oh yes no problem.<sup>41</sup>

When performing around Newfoundland it was this music which Vallis brought to his audiences:

AG: Where would you play-just in the bars?

EV: No that’s something I didn’t do, play in bars. No I didn’t have no taste for that at all. Used to do the concerts you know going around different halls and put on a big concert and block everything to capacity. And I remember one night in Ramea, I was up there, and I went in the door and she was full inside and one woman said to me, “There’s no use to try and get in here she’s full right to the door.” And I said “Well If I can’t get in you better tell people to come out of there.” So, we had big crowds everywhere I went. There was no money involved in it. ’Twas only twenty-five and fifty cents, you know. So there was no money involved, ’Twas only because I loved doing it.

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<sup>41</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Ewart Vallis.

- AG: You mentioned you did a lot of gospel music as well.
- EV: Ya I did a lot of gospel. Well I was always, I always soloed in church. I was a church goer. Even when I was on little tours I used to go and visit all the sick people at home and sing a hymn to them and you know, and when you're dealing with people, you don't know how they feel about it. So I used to have to pick a song that would suit everybody like "The Old Rugged Cross" you know. Because we all believe in the cross so that's the song that they all enjoyed.

Vallis remembers meeting Peacock at about the time he started performing around the province. He felt a little let down because nothing came of the encounter:

- EV: I don't know much about Kenneth Peacock but I remember there was a guy came and knocked on my door. I don't even know what year it was. I can't remember what year it was. But he came in and he asked me, he said somebody told him that I was an entertainer because I used to tour Newfoundland as a one-man troubadour for a long time. And this guy came and said "I heard that you're an entertainer." And I said "Well I do the best I can. I know about thirty songs and I tell about thirty stories on my program." And he said "Will you sing me a couple of songs?" I remember I believe he had, it had to be an old-fashioned tape recorder. I think one with a reel I believe. I think it was a reel [tape recorder] he had there. Anyhow I sang a couple of songs. But I can't bring it back sharp. But I remember doing it . . .
- AG: And he never got in touch with you after that.
- EV: No. He never got in touch with me after and I was sort of disappointed about it because, at that time, I was the only entertainer around at that time. Because I was the first one ever to go on the road in Newfoundland. I was the first one to do that.

In 1951 Vallis had begun to make a name for himself singing and performing on the VOCM Barn Dance, thus his locally-recognized reputation as a performer. This program which incorporated country, Newfoundland and Irish music was popular throughout the island:

I played on the Barn Dance and like I say, I used to be in one studio with VOXM and we used to have to wait for Peter Cashin to get finished fighting Joey Smallwood and then when he got finished of course we went on the air 10:30 at night. And the very famous at that time and still is, Biddy O'Toole, she was one of the main singers there and we had Max Simmons. He was a bass player he was with the Police Department, the C.I.D. And Barry Hope. I called him the other day and they told me that he's still living. But his real name was Joe Murphy but they called him Barry Hope. That was his radio name.

AG: When did you start with the Barn Dance?

EV: Oh my God . . . I was very young when I went out to work I sailed with me Dad in the merchant marine and things so. And even when I used to get in port I used to go up to VOXM and they were on Parade Street at the time . . . I went up there one evening with my guitar on my shoulder and told them that I could sing . . . I went on there and I was on there for a long time on VOXM.

Peacock's perception of Newfoundland as being previously untainted by popular music was naive. Ewart Vallis typified the large rural population which actively tuned into stations in the Maritimes and the United States and who sought records of popular music of the day. In not pursuing Ewart Vallis's personal history or repertoire Peacock passed over a unique opportunity to document what might be considered a case study of what has historically been a lively exchange between traditional and popular culture and more specifically between sacred and secular music.<sup>42</sup>

Understandably Peacock was inexperienced. Moreover, Peacock was working with limited recording space which didn't leave much room for biographical interviews

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<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the importance of religious songs and music see Gordon S. A. Cox, *Folk Music in a Newfoundland Outport* (Mercury Series, vol. 32. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, 1980) 153-157.

or details about the songs he was collecting:

I wanted to preserve the tapes for the actual material and I didn't talk so much to the singers. The Soundmirror was not very sophisticated and was capable of taking only thirty minutes of recording.<sup>43</sup>

After a brief stay in Grand Bank, Peacock drove back up the Burin Peninsula and then northeast to the Bonavista Peninsula toward King's Cove and Stock Cove. He headed in this direction because he had seen a photo or postcard of the area and was attracted to the scenery.<sup>44</sup> Maud Karpeles had also visited the area in 1929 taking down folksongs.

As he would often discover, most communities in Newfoundland at this time were either too small or too remote to accommodate a bed and breakfast or hotel service. As was the custom, Peacock usually found lodgings with families in the community who offered a spare room to salesmen and strangers. From this vantage point Peacock often had a chance to learn more about the locality and potential informants. These families facilitated Peacock's fieldwork by making recommendations about who he should see.

In King's Cove he secured a place with the Coffins, who suggested several singers to Peacock. John Coffin encouraged him to visit singer, Pat Maloney, with "a sort of a nice professional Irish tenor voice." Peacock arranged to tape record Maloney singing "The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea" (4-27) by driving him several kilometers down the

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<sup>43</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 Jan. 1997.

<sup>44</sup> Anna Guigné, telephone conversation with Kenneth Peacock, 24 June 2000.

road to Catalina where there was electricity.<sup>45</sup> In King's Cove Peacock also encountered the Monks, an elderly couple who had previously sung the "Bonny Banks of the Vergie-O" (MS 14, and MS 114) for Maud Karpeles (1934, 1: 78-82 and 142n 1) :

Actually that was an interesting song because Maud Karpeles had collected that in '29 or '30 from them, the Monks and they remembered her. I remember we had quite a conversation. They spoke of, you know it was just about two years ago--amazing how long their memories are . . . . That stuck out in my mind, I had crossed Maud Karpeles's path. Of course, as you know, she had collected only old songs of English origin. She didn't bother with local songs.<sup>46</sup>

On a radio broadcast several years later he described his experience with transcribing this song from the Monks:

[It] was collected in King's Cove from an amusing elderly couple who took great delight in arguing about the order of the ballad's verses. Each insisted that the other's version was wrong, and they kept referring to their respective grand-parents as the ultimate authorities. Actually it was fairly easy for a third person to set the verses in order, but they were both surprised when I read the compromise version I had copied in my notebook. Both agreed that it was just what they had in mind all along, though they seemed a bit disappointed that there was no longer a good reason for arguing.<sup>47</sup>

Remarks such as this suggest that Peacock was sometimes just a little patronizing toward his informants. He was often challenged to find a balance between what his singers gave

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<sup>45</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 28 June 2000.

<sup>46</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 8 Feb. 1994.

<sup>47</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript, talk 1, 1957, pg.3. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Pea E-3, Peacock Collection LAD-CMC.

him and his desire to create complete texts. Peacock's information on the couple goes no further than this meager reminiscence.

With the exception of his interaction with the Monks, Peacock wasn't aware of Karpeles's earlier explorations in the area. Had he looked further he would have discovered that she had collected and published materials from several informants in King's Cove and nearby Stock Cove: William Holloway, James Sullivan, Matthew Aylward, Joanie Ryan, Mary Gallahue, and Lucy Heaney (Karpeles, 1934 1 & 2 ). Throughout his stay in the area Peacock would meet some of these people or their relatives. From William Holloway who had earlier given Karpeles "Lord Aiken," Peacock collected four songs in manuscript: "The Banks of Penmanah" (MS-3), "Gerry Ryan" (MS-56), "Maid of the Mountain Brow" (MS-76), and "The Brown Girl" (MS -84) (Karpeles 1934, 1: 88-93 and 142).

During this period Peacock encountered many confusing cultural differences such as the naming of times for meeting informants:

Oh yes, William Holloway, yes, yes I remember [laughter]. At the beginning he said "Well come on over tomorrow evening and I'll sing some more for you." I had to go every time, he'd sing just a song or two. So, I came the next evening and he said "Where have you been? I've been waiting all evening for you." And I didn't realize locally they call evening anytime after noon. It's evening after one o'clock . . . . So I had been just wandering around taking pictures. Poor fellow waiting there.<sup>48</sup>

When reminiscing about his travels in this area, these oddities of language were the kinds

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<sup>48</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

of things Peacock tended to bring up during our conversations, more as a curiosity than anything else. Perhaps because of his age and illness I often found that Peacock had great difficulty recalling the details of his visits or the people he encountered. Despite different lines of questioning more than once I was frustrated that the discussion seemed to lead no further.

Peacock used King's Cove as a base and walked over to Stock Cove where he took down songs from several other singers including James Heaney, John Mahoney, Bill Brennan and John Barker. Peacock found the arrangement of driving his informants to an electrified area simply too time-consuming so he decided to rely on his musical training and take the songs and music down in manuscript. This was often a challenging task:

KP: Well I had musical manuscript paper and [I would] do it on that. It wasn't a full big sheet size. It was about the size of this notebook.

AG: A book about 5x9 inches. And he would sit at the table and you would sit at the table?

KP: Or I would sit like this in a chair and do it on my knee. If a table was handy I'd do it on that. I remember in Stock Cove, talking, writing things down at 10:00 at night. The light was so good I was right by the table . . . It was across the road on the ocean side . . . It would be the Mahoney family . . . Yes because I mean it could cost a lot of money to buy the kerosene to light the lamps. So they didn't use them much in the summer. They just went to bed around 10:00 or 10:30 p.m. I didn't want to stay too late.

AG: So the light was great.

KP: It was great in early July or whenever it was, it was super.<sup>49</sup>

Peacock copied the song texts and the music separately, later combining the two. He notes that, although he was not very organized, he was blessed with a good ear and was

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<sup>49</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

fairly strict with taking down the tunes: "They would sing it right through and usually by the end of the song I would have the melody so then it would be a matter [of the text] because as I said the text took much longer." When transcribing in this manner he aimed to get a finished product: "My main intention was to get the songs down correctly at the beginning in the field so there would be little to do when I returned."<sup>50</sup> Peacock kept his manuscript work organized by listing each item alphabetically in a book, later assigning it with a number prefixed by the letters MS to indicate that these songs had been copied down by hand. The amount of work he did that summer in this manner was impressive.

Peacock remembers being intrigued with the older dialect and local expressions he encountered in this region. Even years later when recounting this period of his fieldwork these aspects stood out as being oddities:

Matthew Brennan sang the "Backwater Side" in Stock Cove. The older son Norman asked about my family "Is your father clever" [I] replied "I suppose so; he's an accountant." Do you know what that means?"

AG: Well, is he in good health?

KP: I didn't--I hadn't heard it before or since."<sup>51</sup>

Peacock was amazed at the resilience of certain speech patterns within Newfoundland and the continuation of a dialect so foreign to his own upbringing. These experiences simply added to his perceptions of Newfoundland as a romantic place far-removed from

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<sup>50</sup> Anna Guigné, interview, 16 Apr. 1997; Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 27 May 1997.

<sup>51</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997. Entry 2 for "clever" defines the usage as "Well; in good health" in Story, Kirwin, Widdowson *DNE*, 98.

the modern world which, in many ways, in the 1950s it was.

With the exception of a short side trip to Keels, slightly west of King's Cove where he recorded the song, "Frozen Charlotte" (MS-40) in manuscript from Charles Elliot, Peacock spent the better part of July in Stock Cove and King's Cove taking down songs. Before returning to St. John's, he headed to the town of Bonavista at the end of the peninsula. Here he encountered Harry Drover who "had this sort of inn so you could stay overnight."<sup>52</sup> As the area was electrified he was able to use the Soundmirror recorder.

When the Drovers learned that Peacock was looking for songs they suggested he might like to record their cleaning lady. Mrs. Way provided Peacock with two songs "Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love" (5-28) and "The Spring of '97" (5-29). As he recalls, while they were "terrific songs," it wasn't the most ideal of conditions as the Drovers put the woman in an uncomfortable situation, forcing her to perform:

Treated their charwoman with terrible ungrace [disgrace]. [It] just made me so mad. But they actually forced her to sing a song for me.<sup>53</sup>

In the future Peacock made a point of never having either himself or his informants placed in such an awkward predicament.

Peacock also encountered Stewart Little who sang him "Bonavista Harbour" (5-30) a satirical song that the informant had composed about the construction of a wharf in

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<sup>52</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 June 2000.

<sup>53</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 June 2000.

1944 by a Canadian company which entailed removing a hill of rock. Little also sang an Irish song "Pat O'Brien" but Peacock appears to have shut off the recorder during this performance for, although he announced the song, after this the tape was blank.<sup>54</sup> This incident was exceptional as Peacock took great care to set up recording situations properly so as to avoid such technical difficulties. He finished off this session recording a variant of "The H'emmer Jane" (5-31) from Harry Drover. As he later noted, Drover's version of this song was "so exaggerated," more so than the version he had first recorded from Lloyd Soper in St. John's.<sup>55</sup>

Shortly after this Peacock returned to the Avalon Peninsula, heading down the Southern Shore to Cape Broyle to revisit the Rices. This time, with a little more experience and confidence, he arranged to go to Jim Rice's home to record more songs. As the family had electricity Peacock was again relieved to be able to make use of his tape recorder. During these sessions he collected several songs from Jim and his son Ned as well as from Jim's daughter Monica Rossiter and also from Mike Kent.

As the tapes for these recording sessions reveal several Rice family members were in attendance, especially children. The "Old Grandma" (6-38) was performed with much gusto by Monica Rossiter and there was lots of laughter as no doubt she sang as much for

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<sup>54</sup> The song is announced just after 5-30; see MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11033A.

<sup>55</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

her listeners as for Peacock's tape recorder.<sup>56</sup>

This large extended family evidently placed considerable value on the process of singing. Monica Rossiter was thirty-eight and married with children when Peacock interviewed her in 1951. Her family had a strong singing tradition; she learned her songs mainly from her grandmother Matilda Rice.<sup>57</sup> Singing was often a means of passing the time in the evenings around bedtime when there was no-one around: "All the time in the night when you go to bed . . . In the evenings before no-one [was] around [and] before we got television you know." Singing was a popular activity for her parents. Her mother would sing when friends came over in the evening: "That's all they used to do years ago, card playing in the night time and singing." There would be usually six people at the house playing "Eights" or "Auction," and then, after a cup of tea, each person would sing. As Peacock discovered during his recording sessions singing was part of the daily life and therefore when someone decided to perform people were interested in listening.

The twenty-three examples Peacock obtained during this visit were an eclectic mixture of English and Irish songs including "Patrick Powers" (7-45), "Henry and Nancy" (7-44) "Banks of Sweet Tralee" (5-32) and "John Mitchell" (5-33) coupled with locally composed songs like "Southern Shore Queen" (7-47) and "Getting Up Late in

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<sup>56</sup> In the larger community singing tradition of Cape Broyle "The Old Grandma" is viewed as a popular performance piece appropriate for local concerts. Monica Rossiter notes that a young man recently asked her for the words for just such an occasion. Anna Guigné interview, 2 Apr. 1997.

<sup>57</sup> Anne Guigné, interview with Monica Rossiter, 2 Apr. 1997. All subsequent quotes from Mrs. Rossiter are taken from this conversation.

September" (6-35). Peacock appears to have established some idea of the singer's repertoire, announcing each song before his informant's performance. Usually prior to recording he was able to filter out the material he didn't want:

Well I would say "Well that's a lovely song but I've already got it," or "I know of it and I was looking for this sort of song," and I'd usually sing them a Child ballad type. I was interested more in the older stuff, though I collected everything, especially the locally composed Newfoundland song. So I would sing two or three verses of a song and they would say "Oh I know one like that." So I would record that.<sup>58</sup>

After each performance he sometimes asked questions about words or places in the songs but he did not let the tape run, instead conserving the recording space mainly for the songs. As Rosenberg notes this technique is more of a "sound shot," focusing on the item (2003, 223).

Leaving Cape Broyle, Peacock went to Ferryland where he was instructed to look up Howard Morry, a fisherman and sheep farmer.<sup>59</sup> Peacock spent time at the Morry's home and, in doing so, developed a close relationship with his informant:

The year was 1951 and an acquaintance in St. John's suggested I get in touch with Howard if I wanted to learn something of the history of Newfoundland that wasn't in the books, especially historic events concerning the Southern Shore. So one day I found myself in Ferryland knocking on his door, greeted with open arms, and launched into a friendship which lasted until his death several years ago. When he showed me into the parlor I was amazed to see a splendid Bechstein grand piano; not in very good condition, mind you, but still a Bechstein. It had

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<sup>58</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 8 Feb. 1994.

<sup>59</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Howard Morry Junior, 10 Apr. 2000. All subsequent quotes are from this conversation.

belonged to his late wife. During the first world war he had been stationed for a time in Scotland, had fallen in love with a Scots girl, married her after the war and brought her back to Ferryland (Peacock 1984, 7).

Morry was an excellent singer and in a clear and precise manner provided Peacock seventeen songs mainly of English and Scottish origin including “The Green Willow Tree” (8-54), “The Hills of Glenshee” (9-57), and “Lord Bateman” (Child 53) (9-56).

Morry also conveyed to Peacock his passion for local history, taking him to visit the lighthouse and Isle aux Bois to see the ruins of the seventeenth century fortifications (Peacock 7). Peacock conducted two interviews with Morry on his family and local history. This kind of documentary discussion was exceptional in Peacock’s fieldwork.<sup>60</sup>

Morry’s son Howard, a teenager at the time, recalls with delight Peacock’s visit to Ferryland:

AG: Can you tell about your Dad meeting Ken Peacock?

HM: Ken Peacock came to Newfoundland he was looking for Irish folklore and of course the Southern Shore being mainly Irish descent, and somebody gave him Dad’s name. So he came to Ferryland. He hunt me Dad up. Well Dad invited him in and told him what he was at, and of course Dad was properly delighted because he was always interested in folklore anyway . . . . Well I drove him around in the boat a lot. Out to the islands, Isle aux Bois, Cape Broyle by boat . . . I was only a youngster. But he recorded a lot of songs . . . he was being from Toronto and me being only a kid you might say, taking him around in the boat, you know out on the stormy ocean. I was as unconcerned as I was sat down here. I think there was times he was kinda scared like; you know when the waves hit the boat. Dad was on the tiller, I was on the engine, I was driving. He had a good look when he was half-scared at times.

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<sup>60</sup> Peacock Collection MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11036A/B.

Morry says that Peacock spent much time in the community visiting local fishermen:

Well Ken told him [Howard senior] he was going to put out volumes see, recording. He was more than happy to help him out, bring him around to all the people like this fella Rice from Cape Broyle and Mike Kent and all those guys. And Ken wasn't a drinker, but everywhere he went that summer he had to have black rum for to get the old fishermen to perform for him. They wouldn't sing unless they had a few drinks and then they'd sing songs for him you know. So Ken started having a few drinks first thing he got awful sick on it. So he didn't bother much after. [laughter] But he didn't mind to pour a drink and he used to go to town and bring up some rum. And we go round, visit people. Go back get some more. Must have cost him a lot of money for liquor that summer.

Peacock has a slightly different recollection; the Morrays were not with him in Cape Broyle and while in Ferryland he recorded only Howard Morry senior.

Peacock did, however, bring a flask with him to interviews. He quickly learned, though, to exercise caution about using alcohol as a technique for collecting because of the poor results.<sup>61</sup> Thinking back he notes "I suppose it got spread around that I sort of lubricated their throats with rum, though I never made it a policy to think that I was bribing them with rum or something like that because the diction gets very sloppy and you bring back the tapes and you can't understand what they're saying."<sup>62</sup> As he wrote several years later in his *Practical Guide*, alcohol was something he handled with care:

Know your informants and their culture before introducing it [alcohol]. Too much alcohol will slur the informant's speech, and you may have difficulty transcribing later on [. . .] be careful not to create the impression that you are trying to get the informant stoned to seduce songs out of him.

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<sup>61</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

<sup>62</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 11 Apr. 2000.

Don't carry a full bottle to a recording session. Use a small, slim flask with a screw-on drinking cap which can be slipped inconspicuously into your brief case. If the occasion seems fitting you may introduce it quite naturally. Alcohol should not be used as a crutch every time the going gets rough. There are after all such devices as wit and charm (1966, 31).

As there was no guide book or orientation manual to direct him in the business of collecting, Peacock simply learned by trial and error. This was just one of the many kinds of situations he had to learn to cope with in the field and which needed to be handled with a great deal of pragmatism.

Newfoundland's outports had a fascination for the young collector. That summer Peacock spent time touring the scenic areas along the Southern Shore photographing many of the communities he visited. Using his Duoflex camera Peacock took shots of activities which were of interest to him: a salmon river, picturesque coastal scenes, young fishermen from Cape Broyle cleaning and filleting cod, the large stage in Cape Broyle, young boys carrying fillets up from the stage, and lobster which he and John Coffin had hauled while in King's Cove. When Peacock availed of the opportunity to go out with the fishermen in a boat, he photographed them having a cook out while taking a break from fishing. To Peacock's delight, these adventures were all part of the job.

Peacock had actually become interested in photography at an early age and he carried this hobby through to all his fieldwork:

As a child I was given a Kodak Box Brownie by my parents, but the activities could hardly be described as a hobby until much later when I made a primitive sort of enlarger from an old folding camera. Later I was able to afford a proper enlarger, and it was sheer magic to see the

enlargements gradually form in the developing tray. Later I was able to afford better cameras with sharper lenses, but the Kodak twin-lens Duoflex camera with its simple meniscus lens took rather nice photos in NFLD in 1951 (see three young fishermen etc. ). Just as guns don't kill people, cameras don't take pictures. People do. The more involved and passionate one gets, the better the picture. Not always, but usually. The Muse must be courted. Sometimes it's almost as though the Muse Himself/Herself takes the picture at the appropriate moment. Very mysterious. It's like a meditation. And then, of course, there is the enlarger Muse who helps creativity. It's something that is drawn forth from inside, not something you can learn in a course; though technique can be taught. [ . . . ] But I mustn't waste your time and my time with these philosophical meanderings, though I hope my photographic 'hobby' is at least partially explained.<sup>63</sup>

Peacock had a natural interest in cameras and as his career progressed, he regularly upgraded his equipment, always seeking to obtain the best results. Barbeau had given him government notebooks to fill out about his experiences, but he disliked the idea of using them for anything other than listing songs and informants.<sup>64</sup> Instead Peacock used a camera, like the recording machine, to document anything he found appealing (appendix 5, plate 3, page 847). Throughout his career Peacock habitually took pictures of his informants and his surroundings. Later in *Outports*, in place of verbal description, photography served as a means of conveying what he had experienced during his fieldwork. The images in *Outports* provided at least some ethnographic detail. He saw photography as a creative process which allows the reader to visually experience something instead of simply reading about it. Then again, Peacock did not easily

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<sup>63</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June 1997.

<sup>64</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 27 June 1997.

describe things. Even during our many interviews he often seemed detached from the places and people he had visited.

The summer of 1951 was exciting for several of the singers along the Southern Shore. Their services were sought once again by MacEdward Leach who returned to Newfoundland that August to continue his fieldwork of the previous summer.<sup>65</sup> From his two field seasons Leach gathered over 700 songs. Some of this material came from communities Peacock had also visited yielding lesser results. Leach, the more inclusive collector, had an interest in everything and, in addition to folksongs, he sought out harmonica and accordion music and stories and he made extensive notes on local dialect. The two collections may be distinguished as well by the variety of songs singers passed each collector. Peacock recorded four songs from Mike Kent, which Leach had previously collected in 1950, plus nine new ones. Leach recorded several songs from Kent previously not recorded by Peacock: "Kate O' Branch," "Lindbergh's Baby," "The Plain Gold Band," and "Down in a Boston Restaurant" plus several harmonica tunes.<sup>66</sup>

We may speculate even without the collectors' notes that the contrast in the collections is partially the outcome of their separate interests and personalities as well as the divergent contexts. Kent regularly played the harmonica at house parties and at dances and he told stories. Examples of these materials wound up in Leach's collection

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<sup>65</sup> MacEdward Leach, letter to Duncan Emrich, 6 July 1951; Leach Correspondence, AFC-LOC.

<sup>66</sup> See "Leach Newfoundland Collection (1-1950) Informants Listed by Place of Residence," Leach Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-054.

but not in Peacock's. Kent may have simply responded differently to Peacock who was looking for older songs in the first place. This comparative information is worth knowing for the two contrasting collections provide us with a fuller appreciation of the repertoires of individual performers and their roles within the community.

At the end of July shortly before returning to Ottawa, Peacock corresponded with Barbeau on his summer's findings:

I have spent a most enjoyable and profitable summer in Newfoundland—some of the songs are quite interesting. I struck a particularly rich region in the vicinity of King's Cove but unfortunately there was no electricity and most of the men were too busy to be driven to a place with power. Transcribed nearly thirty songs on the spot, most of them old Irish and English songs. In addition I have ten reels of songs recorded and two reels of historical information from Ferryland . . . By the way I should like to make a suggestion regarding any subsequent field-trips which the Museum might arrange for someone in the future--the summer is a very bad time for collecting here. It is the height of the fishing season and most people are working from dawn to dusk either on the sea or in their gardens.<sup>67</sup>

Peacock had no plans to carry out further research in Newfoundland; instead he intended to return to his composing. He simply felt that the Museum would benefit from sending someone at a different time of the year.

Before Peacock returned to Ottawa, Frederick Emerson arranged for him to do a piano recital on 3 August at the St. John's studios of the CBC.<sup>68</sup> Peacock's performance

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<sup>67</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 30 July 1951; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection LAD-CMC.

<sup>68</sup> He had similarly arranged for Karpeles to do a lecture of her findings to the local literati after she finished her collecting in 1929; see Karpeles, 'Diary for 1929,' Karpeles Collection, MUNFLA, 78-003.

included the music of Béla Bartók as well as several of his own compositions; *Bridal Suite, Elegie, and Songs of the Cedar*. Of equal interest to Newfoundlanders were the announcer's introductory references to Peacock's folksong researches in the province:

Kenneth Peacock is a composer and pianist whose home is in Ottawa. He came to Newfoundland some eight weeks ago following a commission by the National Museum of Ottawa to collect and record Newfoundland folk music for its archives. During his visit here Mr. Peacock journeyed to many of our better known settlements and there heard the music which is so traditional with our people. Amongst other places, visits were made to King's Cove, Stock Cove, Ferryland, Cape Broyle, Burin and Grand Bank. Using a tape recorder he recorded the music or where this was impossible, transcribed it on manuscript. When he returns to Ottawa at the end of this week, Mr. Peacock will take with him to put it in his own words "many fond memories of the kind welcome and co-operation of the people I met and that wonderful music which is such an integral part of the lives of Newfoundlanders."<sup>69</sup>

Peacock left for Ottawa stopping on the way in the Bras d'Or Lake region of Cape Breton to visit friends Joyce Sands, the cellist, and Morris Cage who worked in the National Research Council and whom he had pre-arranged to meet. He used the opportunity to do a little fieldwork recording Jim Campbell, John L MacDonald, and Norman MacMillan.<sup>70</sup>

With the Newfoundland work now complete, in the fall Peacock turned to composing; however, as he would discover, Barbeau had become interested in seeing him

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<sup>69.</sup> *Piano Recital--Kenneth Peacock, St. John's to Newfoundland Region, 9:30-10:00 p.m. Friday, August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1951*, Program transcript, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; Peacock Collection SAB.

<sup>70.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997. The Gaelic material is contained on reels 13 and 14, Peacock Collection LAD-CMC.

recruited for the Museum because of his musical training. Over the summer Barbeau had already been making arrangements to draw Peacock further into the field of folk music collection and documentation. In July he encouraged Peacock to apply for a new UNESCO musicology scholarship. Under the terms of the award the recipient would be able to undertake six months study working in archives specializing in folk music collections and sound recordings of music. Barbeau had been appointed to make a selection of three Canadian candidates.<sup>71</sup> Peacock advised Barbeau that, although he was interested in applying, he needed to think of a plan of study incorporating his main interests which were Indian and African-American music. Moreover, he added, "Collecting, recording and classifying the music I regard as only the first step in its ultimate diffusion through the medium of composition which is of course my chief interest."<sup>72</sup>

Barbeau saw the fellowship as a potential training ground for new researchers who might be in a position to work on the Museum's music collections. At Barbeau's suggestion Margaret Sargent still living in Vancouver, was also invited to apply.<sup>73</sup> From Barbeau's perspective even at a distance, with the proper training, she could be useful to

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<sup>71</sup> "To Study Folksong," *Daily Star* [Toronto, Ont.] 7 July 1951; UNESCO Correspondence, box 74 f. 39; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>72</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 30 July 1951; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>73</sup> Margaret Sargent, letter to Marius Barbeau, 23 July 1951; Sargent Correspondence 1950-51, box B 237 f.12; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

the Museum. In a letter to the selection committee he provided strong arguments for both candidates. He maintained that Sargent had more experience in terms of transcription and work with the collections, but he also advised the committee that Peacock would be a worthy choice:

Dr. F. J. Alcock the Curator, like myself, would like to see him develop as a musicologist, and he might eventually get an appointment at the National Museum now much in need of an assistant for the keeping of the national collections. The drawback is that he has no experience as yet in this special field and that only the collections in English would be accessible to him—not the larger Indian and French collections, because of his not knowing the language or linguistics. He would accept to study at Cecil Sharp House and at Indiana University. But his unpreparedness would make it a bit difficult to avail himself of the goodwill of specialists who may find him a raw recruit.<sup>74</sup>

The committee eventually awarded Sargent the UNESCO scholarship.<sup>75</sup>

Peacock evidently enjoyed his first summer of field work and he had successfully acquired substantial folksong material. He recognized that there was some merit to his work; through this preliminary investigation he had started to document a strong Anglo-Canadian musical tradition. He had also been able to provide tangible proof that there was much more to Newfoundland music than had been represented through the Doyle material or by Karpeles. This was enough for him to contemplate returning to the field the following year.

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<sup>74</sup> Marius Barbeau, memo to [Archibald] Day or Mr. Garneau, 31 July 1951; Archibald Day Correspondence, B 186 f. 30, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>75</sup> Sargent learned in early January 1952 that she had been selected as the successful candidate; see “Musicology Scholarship for Ottawan,” *The Evening Citizen* [Ottawa, Ont.] 20 Feb. 1952: 22.

Peacock's Newfoundland work did not go unnoticed in Ottawa. Shortly after his return Laretta Thistle, a music critic with *The Evening Citizen*, interviewed him about his summer's experience. Peacock's aesthetic is discernable throughout this lengthy article. As he advised Thistle "The most distinctive and original songs are those that have survived from the great sailing days of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries" (1951, 24). He also emphasized that little was to be found around St. John's and the immediate neighborhood because Gerald S. Doyle had already covered this area previously (24). Peacock deplored the presence of the juke box because of its impact on young people "who would rather listen to ersatz cowboy songs sung by Wilf Carter and Hank Snow" than maintain the tradition of "composing or preserving ballads" (24). Preservationist undertones often pervaded Peacock's opinions; as he informed Thistle the "real" Newfoundland folksongs were to be found in the less accessible outports which could be reached only by boat.

Based on his having also collected several local compositions, Peacock spoke of his appreciation for Newfoundlanders' ability to put together songs about current happenings. He remarked that some older ballads had "remarkably pure texts--of no great literary worth perhaps, but certainly not doggerel" (24). He also indicated his preference for the modal melodies which he found to have "infinitely more expressive power" than the local material. These tunes, he told Thistle were in danger of being lost, partly because they could not be sung to the accompaniment of the accordion: "Most of

the accordions I tried there have only two chords available on them (usually the tonic and the dominant) so the melodies must somehow be made to conform to this basic limitation” (24). Peacock’s collecting agenda simply did not take into account the traditional importance of musical instruments within the context of community and home entertainment. Conversely during her fieldwork Elisabeth Greenleaf had collected and then published several examples of melodies played on the accordion and the violin (1933, 375-381).

Peacock already had plans for several of the songs; he intended to prepare some of them as a basis for composition and to include some in a series of broadcasts at the CBC devoted to regional folksongs. Peacock didn’t compose anything based on this summer’s collecting, but he did learn several of the songs and made recordings of himself singing this material.<sup>76</sup> Having heard Peacock do a rendition of “The Foreman Well Known as Gerry Ryan” (MS-56), Thistle commented “and a very acceptable Dyer Bennett or Burl Ives he is” (24). Peacock also informed the reporter that discussions were under way with businessman Gerald S. Doyle to include about thirty of the songs with piano arrangements in a third edition of one of Doyle’s songsters.

Doyle had earlier approached the Museum for use of Peacock’s material and they

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<sup>76</sup> A recording for 14 Jan. 1952 containing seven unaccompanied songs by an unidentified singer was located at the CBC Archives in Toronto. The transcript, which gives only the first line of each number, suggests that these are songs Peacock collected in 1951 and later learned and then recorded. They include “The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea” (4-27), “Bill Wiseman” (MS-10), “The Dark-Eyed Sailor” (MS-26), “Jimmy Whelan” (MS-57), “Lisa Grey” [Lady of the Lake] (MS-68), “Doran’s Ass” [Paddy Doyle] (MS-96), and “The Bonny Bonny Banks of Vergie-O” (MS-14); see “Newfoundland Folksongs,” Accession 520114-01/00, CBC-A, Toronto, Ontario.

indicated he could have whatever he wanted. Doyle subsequently sought out Peacock in Ottawa in 1952 for this express purpose:

Well he had asked me to, he wanted to do some with piano arrangements and so I did some arrangements for him. Probably he found it was too expensive to publish or something so he just used the melodies. He didn't bother with the piano arrangements.<sup>77</sup>

During their meeting Peacock played Doyle a number of songs from the field tapes. He notes that the Newfoundlander was filled with emotion and “tears came to his eyes” when he heard Jim Rice singing “The Golden Hind.” Peacock remembers that Doyle was interested “almost entirely in locally composed songs; so that was his criterion.”

Peacock cannot recall how many songs he passed to Doyle. It is likely that seventeen of the twenty-eight numbers in the third edition of *Old-Time Songs* originated with his 1951 fieldwork.<sup>78</sup> In subsequent years while collecting in Newfoundland he discovered first-hand the influence of the Doyle publications:

Well I remember after [giving the song to Doyle] I collected “Harbour Le

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<sup>77</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1996. A reference to the piano arrangements is contained in “Here and There: The Squid-Jigging Grounds,” *The Evening Citizen* [Ottawa Ont.] 31 May 1952, sect. 3: 24.

<sup>78</sup>. Peacock identifies eight of these numbers in *Outports*: “Captains and Ships” (1965, 1: 105); “Feller from Fortune” (1: 53); “The Foreman Well Known as Gerry Ryan” (3: 748); “Harbour Le Cou” (1: 198); “Hard Hard Times” (1: 57-58); “It’s the By that Builds the Boat” (1: 64); “Spring of 97” (3: 976); and “Twas Getting Late Up in September” (2: 601-2). A comparison of the texts and music in the two publications suggests that Peacock also passed Doyle “Banks of Newfoundland” (2-12), (1:105; Doyle 1955, 63); and “Bill Wiseman” (MS-10) (1: 40; Doyle 1955,14). My examination of the unpublished texts and music for “Bonavista Harbour” (5-35), “John Yetman” (7-4), “My Father’s Old Sou’wester” (MS - 80), “Prison of Newfoundland” (6-6), “Southern Shore Queen” (7-5), and “When Our Boys Gave Up Squiddin’ ” (1-6) suggests that Peacock also passed these songs to Doyle; see Pea C, Textual and Musical Transcriptions-Manuscript; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC and Gerald S. Doyle, *Old Time Songs* (1955) : 16, 34, 42, 48, 55 and 83.

Cou” from Kenneth Pink on the South Coast, and that was in the ’55 book. And so many singers in ’58 were singing this song and I thought it must be the book. It finally occurred to me that it must be the book.<sup>79</sup>

In *Outports* he also remarked on the ramifications of this exchange observing, “several of the songs have since become quite well known in Newfoundland and on the mainland and in recent years I have had to be careful not to re-collect them” (1965, 1: 59).<sup>80</sup>

For Newfoundlanders who were accustomed to acquiring material from both print and oral tradition, the Doyle publication functioned as yet another song source. Its wide distribution by Doyle across the province virtually ensured the popularity of any published song material. On the mainland it was another matter; the Doyle material was popular because there was no Newfoundland alternative. But as interpreters such as Mills and Fowke extended their activities in search of Canadian folksong material to put into the public domain, Peacock’s collecting activities on behalf of the National Museum, like those of Helen Creighton and Marius Barbeau would soon draw their interest and attention. The national value placed on Canadian folksongs by revivalists and the limited supply of such material in the Museum’s collection would prompt Peacock to return to the field to collect. As Sargent had pointed out a year earlier, with the exception of Creighton’s collection (for which she offered no figures) the emphasis had been mainly on the collection of Indian and French-Canadian material and much of this had been

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<sup>79</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1996.

<sup>80</sup> Peacock evidently rejected Pink’s variant of “Harbour Le Cou.” There is no entry for the song in Peacock’s Inventory.

done with wax cylinders (1950, 75-79).

Shortly after Peacock's return, Barbeau found an immediate use for the audio portion of his field collection. By this time Barbeau was working on the details for the Canadian portion of Alan Lomax's recording project entitled the *World Library of Folk and Primitive Music* (SL-211) for the Columbia Recording Company. As Lomax had earlier advised Barbeau:

I should hope that you will be willing to assemble the material for the Canadian album . . . Most important that the material be recorded with good quality, so that these records can compare technically with the best symphonies etc.<sup>81</sup>

Barbeau had already forwarded Lomax several items which he thought appropriate but Lomax then advised him that the material should consist of dance music comprised of recordings of fiddlers and accordionists in both the British and French tradition, sea shanties from the east coast, Indian material from groups on the West Coast as well as ballads and songs from the Western plains. Influenced by the work of American scholars such as George Herzog and Charles Seeger and through his own broad collecting experiences, Lomax was increasingly interested in encapsulating the expressive traditional music within each culture as a dynamic and artistic process as opposed to

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<sup>81</sup>. Alan Lomax, letter to Marius Barbeau, 1 Oct. 1950; box B 212 f. 49; Alan Lomax Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

simply collecting and analyzing the representative texts and music (Seeger 1949: 825-29; Herzog 1949: 1032-1050).<sup>82</sup>

In the fall of 1951 Barbeau asked Peacock whether any of the Newfoundland material would be of use for the Lomax project. Peacock passed him the field recordings of Lloyd Soper singing "Feller from Fortune" (1-2), and Ned Rice singing "Daniel Monroe" (2-11). He also gave Barbeau some of the taped renditions he had done of the songs which he had collected in manuscript while in King's Cove including "The Bonny Banks of Vergie-O" (MS-14), "The Foreman Well-Known as Jerry Ryan" (MS-58), and "Brown Girl" or "My Name it is Delaney" (MS-84). He also included a field recording of the song "Charlie Yackam" (13-72) which he had collected from Norman MacMillan in Cape Breton:

Since I've already mentioned the Columbia album and Alan Lomax I shall go on. The dubbings were made one evening at Crawley Films by Barbeau and myself. Budge Crawley took us into the sound studio to meet the sound technician and stayed a while to see that things were well under way. Hours passed, and we finally got the songs on tape [. . .]. With regard to my own singing, I don't remember it being done on that long night of dubbing at Crawley films. I might have done it myself on a new tape recorder I purchased in Buffalo, N.Y. in 1952. Quite good, but not up to Lomax's "symphonic" standards. This all seems so amusing now."<sup>83</sup>

When Lomax received this material he responded that "the straight ballad singing of

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<sup>82</sup> The methods by which it might be possible to document stylistic differences were to be pursued by both Lomax and Charles Seeger in the years to come; see Alan Lomax, "Folksong Style," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 8 (1956) : 48-50; Charles Seeger, "Singing Style," *Western Folklore* 17 (1958b) : 3-11; Alan Lomax, "Folksong Style," *American Anthropologist* 61.6 (1959) : 927-954.

<sup>83</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 19 May 1997.

Kenneth Peacock” was acceptable but urged Barbeau to send records of the “actuality kind [Lomax’s emphasis]” with the “breath of the field in them” also noting “the arranged choral pieces-the things accompanied by piano are not for me.”<sup>84</sup>

Barbeau’s correspondence with Lomax reveals the limitations of the Museum’s folklore research carried out mainly through his own efforts. As he advised his counterpart, the best French-Canadian material had been collected in 1941 in conjunction with Laura Boulton and the National Film Board, but Barbeau was denied access to these recordings because of the contractual arrangement she had made with the Film Board. All the Indian material on the Pacific Coast had previously been recorded with an Edison recorder and was therefore not of a quality for the kind of presentation which Lomax intended. The Museum had only begun to use tape recorders, so just a few Iroquois songs had been collected in this manner. Only Helen Creighton’s material had been recorded on magnetic tape.<sup>85</sup>

There were also fundamental stylistic differences with respect to the two men’s presentation of folk culture, linked to differing perceptions of what constituted an authentic folk performance. Barbeau had passed Lomax renditions of folksongs replete with choral accompaniments, which he thought perfectly acceptable. In years previous

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<sup>84</sup> Alan Lomax, letter to Marius Barbeau, 8 Nov. 1951; Lomax Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>85</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Alan Lomax, 10 Jan. 1952; Lomax Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

for nationalistic purposes, Barbeau had channeled material from his field collections to, among others, Sir Ernest MacMillan and John Murray Gibbon for the express purpose of bringing this music to Canadians. It frustrated Barbeau that the material was simply sitting there on wax recordings. Recalling an early meeting with MacMillan, who played around with some of the songs creating arrangements, he later remarked, "I craved for more of this type of musical lining" (1955, 33). As this implies, to Barbeau there was nothing more pleasing than having folksongs interpreted and it was this kind of material which he had from time to time incorporated into popular performances in years previous.<sup>86</sup> Lomax who took more of a documentary approach felt that this was simply not appropriate; it was important to portray the distinct nature of the culture. He accomplished this through making recordings of "authentic" folk singers and musicians mainly in the field. The sound recordings served to encapsulate the cultural style of a country as presented through such criteria as performers' use of instruments, vocal technique and tension, use of melodies, as well as audience behavior.<sup>87</sup>

Later Lomax was even more candid with Barbeau on what he felt would make a better album:

I do not feel that songs sung by trained voices with piano accompaniment,

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<sup>86</sup>. Also see Janet McNaughton's discussion of Barbeau's popularizing activities first with Edouard-Zotique Massicotte in 1919 and later with John Murray Gibbon in "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folksong and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930.

<sup>87</sup>. Alan Lomax, letter to Marius Barbeau, 29 May 1952; Lomax Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

or in harmonizations should be included. This would destroy the whole purpose of the series—which is to publish the various oral musical traditions.[ . . . ] I think I have expressed my pleasure and astonishment at your renditions of Indian songs (I certainly have told many people of that evening at your home when you sat on the floor with your drum and sang), but I know that we would both be open to criticism by the Herzogs if we were to publish such versions alongside those of Huron Miller etc.<sup>88</sup>

Into the spring of 1952 the two men continued to shape the record with Barbeau searching for the materials which Lomax thought would be appropriate. In the fall of 1952 Barbeau would again turn to Peacock for assistance with the completion of the project.

## 6.2 Peacock Returns to Newfoundland in 1952

Having discovered a rich and varied store of Newfoundland songs which had previously not been documented, Peacock returned to the province in 1952 to do more fieldwork. He aimed this time to go to some of the more remote communities. Once again he took the Soundmirror recorder and a German Certosport camera which he had bought from a friend who had acquired it in Germany during World War Two.<sup>89</sup>

Traveling across the island Peacock returned to King's Cove and Stock Cove by way of a branch train line which ran up the Bonavista Peninsula.<sup>90</sup> He had discovered an excellent

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<sup>88</sup>. Alan Lomax, letter to Marius Barbeau, 29 May 1952.

<sup>89</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 24 Feb. 1998.

<sup>90</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

source of songs there the previous summer so he settled in and prepared to transcribe more songs in manuscript. He revisited several of the people he had seen the previous year including William Holloway, and the Mahoneys and Heaneys.

Peacock stayed again with the Coffins and this time they suggested that he visit Michael Aylward because he was a good singer.<sup>91</sup> Harold Monks, son of Ken and Rachel Monks, confirms this:

He was a real balladeer he was. You know you could hear him in the evenings. I remember when I was young and in summer evenings he'd have his window up and across the pond in King's Cove you could walk up and you'd hear, Mike we'd call him. You know you'd hear him singing all sorts of old songs. You know it was a joy to hear him. He was a fairly good singer. He had a good voice.<sup>92</sup>

Undeterred by Aylward's reputation for eccentricity Peacock visited him anyway collecting seven songs including "Cod Liver Oil" (MS-21), "My Gallant Brigantine" (MS-82) and the "Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle" (MS-11). Peacock was fascinated by Aylward's distinct singing style remarking: "Well I asked him how he did all that intricate ornamental singing or where he learned to do that and he said Fogo."<sup>93</sup> Impelled by what he had heard from Aylward, Peacock proceeded directly to Joe Batt's Arm on Fogo Island by a coastal ferry and then walked to the various communities to look up singers.

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<sup>91</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Feb. 1998.

<sup>92</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Harold Monks, 11 Mar. 1998.

<sup>93</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

Peacock spent several days visiting singers on the island. In Joe Batt's Arm he recorded twenty-nine songs in manuscript from five singers: Harry Curtis, Mrs. John Fogarty, Fred Freake, Edward Taylor and Peter Donahue. In Tilting he took down ten songs from Philip Foley and in Barr'd Islands he acquired fourteen songs and three items with no melody from Chris Cobb (1897-1968) .

Peacock found Cobb interesting for various reasons. He was a fisherman and a veteran. During the war he had spent time in Portsmouth, England and in Spain.<sup>94</sup> Cobb's father's family were originally from the south of England. Cobb's son, Aaron, notes that his father was a prolific writer and composed over three hundred songs and poems in his lifetime:

[He was ] only thirteen when he made his own song. He got some ground work in school because there was lots of poetry [and] he was exposed to lots of poetry in his number six books.

This source was probably *The Royal Readers*, a series that students in Newfoundland schools used from the late 1800s to 1935 and which were also a popular source for monologues (Wareham 1984, 255).

Chris Cobb had a well-established reputation for his witty poetry and his love of playing practical jokes.<sup>95</sup> He also liked to play the accordion, although he couldn't play

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<sup>94</sup> Anna Guigné, interview, Arron Cobb, 30 Apr. 1998. All subsequent quotes are taken from this conversation.

<sup>95</sup> For a casual reference to his love of playing jokes on people see Gwen Primmer, "Winter Games and Storytelling of the Inshore Fishery, Fogo Island," *Culture & Tradition* 7 (1983) : 17-36.

jigs. He enjoyed country and western music, hymns and popular tunes and he often made up his own melodies for his songs. Aaron Cobb notes: "He wrote about the way of life you know; he wrote a lot of poetry and day to day life--what happened from day to day."

Cobb believed that a song did not need to have a melody. One example is "The Drifting Song" (MS-28) in which he recounted his personal experience adrift on an ice floe:

Now that's a true story about my Dad. In 1947 that happened. He was a seal hunter too. So he went off land, off shore there hunting seals, and he got stranded on the ice see. My Dad got stranded on the ice pan. He went adrift thirty-eight hours and a schooner the *Frances P. Duke* from Fogo picked him up. It has forty-four verses. It tells the story from beginning to end the song does.

What was important to Cobb and his family was the ability to encapsulate local incidents in a ballad-like form which could be readily recalled. For this reason numbers such as "A Dance to Jim McBoy's" (MS-25) pertaining to an old-fashioned house party, the poem "A Grace" (MS-45) composed for friends working on the highroad at Duncan's Rock near Corner Brook, 1936 which also had no melody, "Little Harbour Bargain Store" (MS-66) and "Brown Flour" (MS 18) were popular in Barr'd Islands because of the link to the community's past.

Peacock was impressed with Cobb's ability to compose songs and in later years spoke of him with great affection:

Chris Cobb had several items he presented as poems, others had melodies like "Brown Flour," etc. He had experienced a horrific several days on an ice floe, presumably during the sealing season, and wrote a long poem

about the experience. Can't remember if it had a tune. Did you find it among his repertoire? Perhaps he asked me not to take it down; too personal perhaps. Anyway, the stress of the experience was probably a major contributing factor in the development of his diabetes.<sup>96</sup>

Peacock enjoyed meeting Chris Cobb and eventually collected seventeen items in manuscript from the singer-poet. His transcribing of songs without melody was unusual for Peacock, and more a reflection of his admiration for Cobb's diverse abilities.

Philip Foley (1902- ) of Tilting also impressed Peacock because he sang in the Irish tradition:

I was really knocked out when I first heard him. It was so beautiful and the quality of his voice was really good too . . . he was very ornate. He was one of the few I would go back to because I wanted to get it as exact as possible.<sup>97</sup>

Foley did have Irish connections; his grandmother came from County Carlow in Ireland.<sup>98</sup> Although Tilting was originally settled in the 1700s by the French, from the 1750s it was occupied mainly by Irish settlers and gained a reputation for being "One of the most 'Irish' of Newfoundland outports" (Cuff 1994, 388).

Peacock was attracted to this older style of singing as represented by Foley's performances. He remarks of "O'Reilly the Fisherman" (MS-91) that Foley had the ability to "embroider an ordinary piece of homespun work into a work of art" (1965, 3:

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<sup>96</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 15 July 1996.

<sup>97</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Mar. 1994.

<sup>98</sup> See the biographical sheet on Philip Foley contained in the John Widdowson and Fred Earle Collection; MUNFLA, Accession 64-13.

699).<sup>99</sup> For “Napoleon’s Farewell to Paris” (MS 86) Peacock also observes that as “song books and broadsides of this song do not give any melody Philip Foley is responsible for preserving or inventing the beautiful melody” (1965, 3: 1011).

When collecting songs by manuscript Peacock discovered that the singing mastery of many of his informants was sometimes difficult to characterize. Taking down the songs by hand was arduous, both for himself and his informants:

I felt sorry for the singers because often they had to go over and over [the song] . . . not so much for the melody but for the words. And, I don’t know short hand, so I copied them down in long hand because of the words in different verses things would be decorated . . . for an eight verse song you’d have to write eight melodies.<sup>100</sup>

Customarily, as for songs like Philip Foley’s “My Bonny Irish Boy” (MS-79), the final transcription was a composite interpretation of the grace notes, slurs and variations imparted by the singer and which Peacock attempted to highlight in an idealized manner (1965, 2: 560-561). If he was going to transcribe a song by hand, he had decided that it should be something which he perceived to be of value and he was often selective. As he once explained to reporter Laretta Thistle:

Of course, getting those two or three meant listening to at least ten to fifteen songs, some of them as familiar as “Silver Threads Among the Gold.” Then out would come a fine old melody (Thistle 1952, 22).

From a practical perspective Peacock was searching for what he perceived to be

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<sup>99</sup> On Foley’s singing abilities Anita Best made a similar observation in Genevieve Lehr, *Come and I Will Sing You* (Breakwater: St. John’s, 1984) xiii.

<sup>100</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 4 Mar. 1994.

traditional Newfoundland material; but the songs had to be ones of a certain quality. Peacock often made these distinctions based on his discerning tastes. He did not appreciate that traditional singers have their aesthetic as well. They either like something or they do not bother to learn it. Moreover singers often acquire their material from a several different sources not just oral tradition.

As Philip Foley explained in 1972 to Sheila Greene, he had learned "My Bonny Young Irish Boy" from a book thirty years previously and, while he couldn't remember where he learned the tune, his father "was a good hand for that he knew the airs to all those songs."<sup>101</sup> Other songs came from men in the community or visitors including Mike Burke and Josh LeDrew of Change Islands who would come to Tilting to fish for the summer. While the words for many of the Irish songs came from books, the airs were acquired within the community. Foley picked up "Johnny Dunlay" (MS 60) from his uncle Mark Foley and "O'Reilly the Fisherman" (MS-91) from Billy Burke; other songs he learned from his father.<sup>102</sup> Foley also informed Peacock that he had learned "White Man Let Me Go" (MS-121) from someone in a lumber camp years ago (1965, 1: 165).<sup>103</sup>

Situated fourteen miles from the mainland and accessible only by coastal boat,

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<sup>101</sup>. Sheila Greene, "Folksongs of Tilting, Philip Foley, John McGrath," Winter 1972-3400 for George Casey MUNFLA, Ms. 72-108. Unpublished research paper, MUN, 1972.

<sup>102</sup>. Sheila Greene, "Folksongs of Tilting, Philip Foley, John McGrath."

<sup>103</sup>. For an audio recording of Foley singing "Napoleon's Farewell to Paris" (MS-86), see the John Widdowson and Fred Earle Collection, MUNFLA, Tape, 64-13/C-86; for recordings of "Johnny Dunlay" (MS-60), "O'Reilly the Fisherman" (MS-91) and "The Bonny Young Irish Boy" (MS-16) see Sheila Greene's collection at MUNFLA, Tapes, 72-108 / C1296, C1297 and C1298.

Fogo Island was in many ways for Peacock an ideal place to collect folksongs. The small island which is fifteen miles in length and ten miles wide was, in 1952, home to no more than four thousand inhabitants. Most of them could trace their family heritage back over several generations. It was here in the isolated outports that Peacock found “older songs of English and Irish vintage” and where he presumed there had been “little contact with our urban culture, and where the old customs and religious orthodoxies still persist.”<sup>104</sup> On Fogo Peacock found a “treasure-house” of Old World songs and a living tradition in “a world held in suspension since Elizabethan times.” Peacock placed both the singers and the music of the Fogo area in a rather special category:

Today, the northeast coast of Newfoundland is one of the few places where these ancient tunes are still sung, and the only place I know of where they are sung with such passion and complexity. Even there the art is dying out but I was able to copy down several examples of this ornate style of singing from Philip Foley of Tilting and Mrs. John Fogarty of Joe Batt’s Arm. [ . . . ] Elsewhere in Newfoundland the singing style is much less complicated more like the music we are accustomed to hearing from our professional folk singers, though not nearly so polished and inflected with meaning. [ . . . ] If there is such a thing as the “grand manner” in folk singing, I’m sure these singers on Fogo Island have closely approached it.<sup>105</sup>

Even years later during our conversations Peacock continued to romanticize outport

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<sup>104.</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Transcript radio program 1, Pea E-10, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>105.</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Transcript radio program 3, Pea E-12, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

Newfoundland culture:

It was so different from urban people I was used to. All the doors were unlocked and I was amazed that people just sort of, well they knocked and then walked in. Even if people were away or something you could walk into somebody's place and borrow something.<sup>106</sup>

This may have been true but, at the time of these first visits, Peacock also witnessed many physical and social changes in Newfoundland because of Confederation. The Smallwood government viewed these developments as necessary for establishing a broader social and economic infrastructure to support the many coastal communities dependent on the fisheries. In the case of places like Fogo, Peacock was attempting to describe an area that was as yet undisturbed, but which would be changed over the next few years.

Missing in Peacock's remembrances are any discussions of the living conditions of these communities. When I once asked about this aspect of Newfoundland, Peacock commented "Well it was quite poor of course in many of the outports, people who were sick or just lying on the sofa, old elderly people lying on the kitchen sofa."<sup>107</sup> Reflections of this nature were rare in our conversations; I was often frustrated that he simply introduced such observations without further elaboration.

If anything Peacock appeared despondent that Newfoundland was becoming so modernized. As he remarked to Laretta Thistle:

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<sup>106.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>107.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

Most of the songs were obtained from elderly people. The young folk, though they knew many of the old songs, were more likely to be humming cowboy 'ballads' (1952, 22).

Peacock saw no point in focusing on these aspects of Newfoundland life as in many ways he had discovered an old-world paradise. He sought out communities undisturbed by modernization because they were of greater personal interest to him. In gathering songs for a national collection Peacock's research perspective was guided by the view that age and maturity were signs of tradition and he simply discounted the musical interests of young Newfoundlanders. Old songs, like antiques, had greater worth than newer traditions.

Toward the end of his stay in Fogo someone in the community encouraged Peacock to look up Gordon Willis (1911-2001) when he returned to St. John's. A native of Fogo, Willis had worked in the community with his father Charles, a fisherman, and then later at Earle's Store.<sup>108</sup> Willis had relocated to St. John's in 1951 with his young daughter Margaret in search of better work. He met Peacock in St. John's at his uncle Artie's house on Pleasant Street in 1952 just shortly after they moved into the city:

Now Mr. Peacock he went around, he was collecting the songs for the library . . . That's what he was collecting most of his songs for, around in

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<sup>108</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Gordon Willis, 10 Apr. 1997. All subsequent quotes from Mr. Willis are taken from this conversation. Aaron Cobb notes that Gordon Willis was a friend of his father Chris Cobb. For a brief biography of this singer see Jean Hewson, "In memoriam: Gordon Willis 1911-2001," *The 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Newfoundland and Labrador Folk Festival Program, 2001*; (St. John's: St. John's Folk Arts Council, 2001).

the library you'll find lots of songs that I give him in the library books.<sup>109</sup>

Peacock found Willis to be an interesting singer but was surprised that his singing style, although clear and direct, lacked the ornamentation he had found so appealing in the Fogo singers he had visited.<sup>110</sup>

Willis's repertoire was a product of his family and work environment. He learned many of his songs while employed in the lumber woods. As Ashton remarks in his study "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," songs were a part of the occupational trades associated with lumbering and could be heard wherever loggers worked (1986, 215). Willis also acquired many songs from his father by just listening:

I learned the most of them, most of the songs I knows I learned from my father. Learned them when I was a boy you know, around thirteen or fourteen around like that growing up.

AG: How would you learn the songs?

GW: He'd sit down and sing them and I'd pick them up as he went along.

AG: Would he teach them to you or would you just listen and pick them up?

GW: I would just listen and pick them up . . . No we never had no music neither one of us, never had. All we done was just sit down and sung the song that's all, neither one of us had no music. Father never had no music. I never had none.

As earlier noted, in 1929 Willis and his father Charles had attracted the attention of Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Mansfield who collected six songs from them and an

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<sup>109</sup> In the 1970s and '80s Willis was sought out by singers after they had discovered his songs in copies of *Outports* in the library.

<sup>110</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

example of chin music, later publishing this material in *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland*.<sup>111</sup> Peacock re-collected two of these songs for the first time on audiotape; “Polly Oliver” (Pea 15-87) and the “Twelve Apostles” (Pea 15-84). Unfortunately he made no mention of the Greenleaf connection when including these later renditions in *Outports* (1965, 2: 344-45; 3: 800-01), nor did Peacock make reference to those materials that Greenleaf acquired from the Willises which add to our knowledge of the singer’s repertoire.

Peacock rounded out the 1952 field season, returning to the Southern Shore for a third time. Revisiting the Rices and Mike Kent he obtained eight new songs. He also paid a visit to Howard Morry recording one song. He then went to Fermeuse where he finished off his research recording three songs from Anastasia Ghaney: “The Herons” (17-5), “False Willie” (17-6) and the “Last Great Charge” (17-7).

Peacock again spent the entire 1952 field season in the eastern part of the province, this time visiting a total of ten communities. Although he collected twenty-five songs on audiotape, an appreciable amount of this season’s field material was in manuscript. Leaving Newfoundland in late August, Peacock stopped off at Grand Narrows in Cape Breton recording two tapes of material from fiddler Hugh MacKenzie

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<sup>111</sup>. In Greenleaf and Mansfield, *BSSN*, see “Polly Oliver,” “As I Roved Out,” “The Twelve Apostles,” “The Crowd of Bold Sharemen,” “Cod Liver Oil,” “Pretty Jessie of the Railway Car,” and “A Hunting We Will Go” (1933: 51; 69; 91; 240-41; 316; 340, and 380).

and some milling songs from a group living in the same area.<sup>112</sup>

The Cape Breton material was shortly put to use by Marius Barbeau who was still trying to bring closure to the Columbia album. Soon after Barbeau communicated to

Lomax:

Now this may be good news to you . . . Kenneth Peacock has just come back from Newfoundland and Cape Breton with a new and splendid harvest. He has recorded a number of fiddle dance-tunes, and at least one hornpipe dance. These could be substituted for those refused so far by the CBC. This afternoon, we are making transfers on tapes.<sup>113</sup>

Lomax eventually selected Mackenzie's "Scots Reels" for the album.<sup>114</sup> Peacock also supplied Lomax with photographs of Ned Rice, Howard Morry and Hugh MacKenzie for the album.<sup>115</sup>

Barbeau's involvement with Lomax was typical of the kind of arrangement he had made over the years for disseminating folklore materials. An opportunity was presented to him and he followed through with it. This was not unusual for, without this kind of

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<sup>112</sup> See audiotapes 18 and 19; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>113</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Alan Lomax, 10 Sept. 1952; Lomax Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>114</sup> See Track 32, *Canadian Folksongs* Vol. 8, World Collection of Recorded Folk Music (Columbia SL-211). Lomax appears to have put Peacock's material to other uses as well. According to David Gregory, while working on the Columbia album in 1953 Lomax also wrote and produced a program for the BBC entitled "The Folk Music of Canada" which then aired on 19 May 1954 (2002, 20). For the program Lomax relied on material supplied by Barbeau from the National Museum's collections. Among the songs named in Gregory's discussion of the Maritimes portion of the program were "Daniel Munroe," "My Name is Delaney," and "Feller from Fortune." These were among the ones Peacock had originally passed to Barbeau.

<sup>115</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 19 May 1997.

activity, much of the Museum's collection would have remained on the shelf. The institution simply did not have any long-term plans developed for the dissemination of researchers' findings nor did it have the resources. Workers such as Peacock and Creighton had the freedom to do what they could to get exposure for their material. The Museum simply requested that it receive due acknowledgment. In the ensuing years substantial folksong material from the Museum's collections would therefore be made available to the public by way of books and records created as part of the revival of interest in folksong and music in Canada and the United States.

By late 1952, the signs of this activity were well under way. Sam Gesser, on behalf of Folkways Records, was attempting to acquire material from the Anthropology Division for a potential album. As Moses Asch commented back to Marcel Rioux:

Our endeavor is to produce as complete a music culture picture of a people as we possibly can within the confines of a record album [. . .]. Mr. Gesser was here last week and he told us that you have very many fine recordings of the nature of what we are seeking (as described above) of such peoples as the Eskimos, Canadian Indians and other Canadian peoples. We have found it best, in the past, to get many more recordings of selections than might be thought usable in order that we here could choose those that we think would best fit the album we have in mind.<sup>116</sup>

Although nothing immediate came out of this specific request, over the next couple of years Gesser would bring out several records incorporating field material from the National Museum of Canada.

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<sup>116</sup> Moses Asch, letter to Marcel Rioux Anthropological Division, National Museum of Canada, 11 June 1952; box 244 f. 7; Moses Asch Correspondence, Marcel Rioux Collection, LAD-CMC.

Since 1950, Edith Fowke had also been in contact with Helen Creighton exchanging song material and resources. In March 1952 she asked Creighton “Have you ever heard of a young Canadian Composer called Peacock who is collecting Newfoundland folksongs”?<sup>117</sup> Shortly thereafter, in addition to using material from Creighton and Barbeau’s collections, Fowke began to draw upon Peacock’s field collection for her own interests using material from his collections for her publications and radio programs.

Peacock’s Newfoundland research also attracted the attention of Tom Kines an eclectic singer as comfortable in the world of art music as he was with folk music (Miller 1992, 684). A native of Manitoba, Kines had a love of folksongs performing them from his youth. This interest was rekindled while serving in Ireland during World War Two. After the war Kines became Director of Administration with the Royal Canadian Legion but in his spare time, having received training in classical music, he performed as a tenor. He was also a soloist in the Toronto Bach Society. In the early 1950s, Kines was a well-known presenter of both folk and classical music. At least part of this interest was influenced by the folk revival movement of the time:

I began to sing folksongs along with classical and other music at that time . . . It was very much of rising interest then, and as I went into it deeper, I

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<sup>117</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 24 Mar. 1952; Vol. 3511, file No 63; Edith Fowke Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

discovered a great deal of folk was beautiful and just as good as composed music.<sup>118</sup>

By 1950 Kines was already giving recitals of Irish folksongs.<sup>119</sup>

Sometime around 1951 or 1952 Peacock met Kines through Kaija Hurme, a Finnish friend working for the Finnish Embassy in Ottawa and who was a neighbor of Kines.<sup>120</sup> Through their mutual training in classical music and interests in folk music they developed a long-lasting close friendship. At this early stage it was Peacock's abilities as a composer and arranger of folksongs which interested Kines. In December 1952, on Radio Canada International he performed a series of folksongs collected in Canada as arranged by five Canadian composers. Among the works Kines sang were Peacock's interpretations of "Do You See That There Bird" from Creighton's collection and "The Foggy Dew" which Sargent had collected in 1950 from John Joe English while in Branch, Newfoundland.<sup>121</sup> In the ensuing years Kines would take a keen interest in Peacock's Newfoundland collection offering much support and encouragement. Peacock's collection, like that of Creighton and Barbeau, would provide a continuing source of Canadian folk music for Kines to draw upon for various folk music-based

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<sup>118</sup> "Tom Kines," *The Canadian Composer* 60 (1971): n.p. ; Tom Kines Files, Music Division, National Library of Canada.

<sup>119</sup> *Tom Kines in a Recital of Irish Folksongs with Lilian Forsyth at the Piano. Convention Hall Chateau Laurier. Tuesday March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1950.* Tom Kines Files, Music Division, National Library of Canada.

<sup>120</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May, 1996.

<sup>121</sup> *Programme CBC International Service-Thursdays, December 11<sup>th</sup> 1952.* by Tom Kines. Transcript, Tom Kines Papers, Music Division, University of Carleton, no accession, courtesy of Elaine Keillor.

projects including radio programs, concerts and records.

Peacock completed his contractual obligation to the Museum by spending the fall of '52 transcribing his Newfoundland material. He had no further intentions of returning to the island. The Newfoundland project had left him with little time for composing. He hoped in the new year to renew work on some Native materials commenting to Creighton, "Since my return from Nfld I have been trying to spend as much time as possible becoming familiar with the Museum's collection of Indian music which I find more interesting than most types of music with the exception of African and Afro-American."<sup>122</sup> Peacock nevertheless found the Newfoundland material to be of interest especially the older Irish songs and the locally composed material:

This year the local songs attracted my attention more and I found a few that are equal to any I have heard surviving from the Old World, both musically and poetically. Without exception they are tragic songs, descriptive of some disaster and have none of that precious coy sentiment which so often mars the Old World songs. The poetry when written out, is very reminiscent of E. J. Pratt's verse (which is of course not surprising).<sup>123</sup>

Despite rejecting certain kinds of folksong material, Peacock did have an instinct for locating both songs and singers. He had gained considerable expertise in fieldwork and could speak with confidence on the wealth of Newfoundland folksong because he had the findings to prove it. Surprisingly, although he would continue to use the Newfoundland

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<sup>122</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 15 Dec. 1952; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>123</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 15 Dec. 1952.

material for various projects, in the ensuing years Peacock shifted his interests toward the documentation of Indian music. He would not return to Newfoundland until 1958, six years later.

## Chapter 7 The Transition Years 1953-1957

After completing the Newfoundland field research Peacock returned to his musical career but he continued to stay in touch with Barbeau. Over the winter of 1953, Peacock expressed an interest in returning to the field principally to make sound recordings of native-American music:

I think Barbeau hadn't done anything on the prairies but I think one of the others, I don't know whether it was [Diamond] Jenness, or somebody else had a few [wax] cylinders. But not that many. So I thought I'd like to go out and see what's left on the prairies . . . I think Barbeau and I were talking and I said "If very little has been done on the prairies I would really like to go out and see what's left." And there was much more left on the prairies in fact than was left on the west coast where Barbeau had been much much earlier. The prairie cultures were still going full blast but they remembered a lot.<sup>1</sup>

As Barbeau had come to realize, Peacock could be an asset to the Museum's folklore research program. He was a capable musician and highly disciplined. He had a natural ability for working in the field and as Barbeau had discovered from the Lomax project, Peacock possessed many kinds of technical skills; he had supplied good field recordings and photographs of informants. Barbeau was appreciative of Peacock's enthusiasm and he saw potential which could be nurtured. So he simply made it possible for Peacock to go out west.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

From the Museum's perspective there are several reasons why Peacock was offered the Plains Indians research. As Rioux advised Dr. Alcock when discussing Peacock's upcoming fieldwork, the Anthropology Division had continued to receive numerous requests for Indian music from both national and international institutions.<sup>3</sup> Most of the Museum's 2,631 recordings of Indian songs, "which represent virtually every Indian tribe in Canada" had been made using wax cylinders (Sargent 1951, 75-76). Although the Museum's mandate included education and the dissemination of materials, its folk music collections were fast becoming obsolete. As Rioux pointed out, "The collections already made are mostly adequate for studying purposes but due to their poor technical quality they are unusable for educational purposes."<sup>4</sup> The Museum needed to change with the times and, as Peacock perceptively remarked several years later, "The vastly superior sound quality of electronic disc and tape recordings heralded a new era in research on aboriginal music in Canada" (1969, 67).

Peacock spent the summer of 1953 in the field traveling by car to reserves which had large populations and making contact with people on the spot. Between June and August he worked his way from Ontario to British Columbia collecting Indian materials from the Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Kootenay, Okanagan, Ojibway and Cree Indians.<sup>5</sup> On

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<sup>3</sup> Marcel Rioux, letter to Dr. F. J. Alcock, 31 Mar. 1953; Ri-D, Rioux Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>4</sup> Marcel Rioux, letter to Dr. F. J. Alcock, 31 Mar. 1953.

<sup>5</sup> See audiotapes 21 to 42, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

the Blood Reserve in Cardston Peacock stayed for several weeks with Emil Wing and his mother and he found the music and the atmosphere captivating:

KP: I stayed with friends in their teepee during the "Blood Sun Dance."  
I forget which year, I guess it was 53-54.

AG: And they didn't object to the recordings?

KP: Well, they had a thing called the Horn Society. I did record some of their sacred songs. I wasn't invited and the drums went on all night. It was a wonderful experience, lying half asleep in the teepee and hearing the drum sort of travel along the ground and into your ears.<sup>6</sup>

For an entire summer he found himself immersed in a cultural community very distinct from his own. He later remarked "I kept thinking I'm being paid for this, not very much, but --."<sup>7</sup> That summer, working through the various Indian missions and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and using interpreters, Peacock collected an appreciable amount of material in the form of songs, stories and instrumental music. When the government's wet-battery recording machine didn't work, he relied on his electrically-operated machine, recording people in places where he could find a source of power. In this way he avoided having to copy so much material down by hand as he had been forced to do in Newfoundland. When visiting one of the Blood Indian reserves out west, out of interest he also brought along a sixteen-millimeter Bolex movie camera, a professional machine which he had purchased in New York for two hundred dollars.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 Jan. 1997.

<sup>7</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Oct. 2000.

<sup>8</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 5 May 1997.

Although he did shoot some footage, he gave up the idea of making moving pictures shortly after this because film was so expensive. Peacock's use of this equipment was, however, characteristic of his fascination with visual and audio technology. By experimenting with new equipment he consistently aimed to achieve better quality documentation.

For his investigations, because of the language barriers, Peacock relied extensively on his informants to explain what they were singing. They translated the songs for him as they went along. By placing himself in the role of participant-observer, Peacock was able to learn more about the culture. His tape inventories from this period include detailed notes related to the songs and comments about the contexts for singing some of the material. The kind of documentation he was carrying out was unusual for its time and, while he was in the field, Barbeau arranged for *Time* magazine to do an interview with Peacock (Peacock 1984, 48). This brief account provides at least some information regarding his activities:

Peacock overcame the Indians' usual reluctance to sing for a white audience by going directly to the chief on each reservation, explaining that he was working on a government project and promising that "I wasn't out to sell things to Hollywood." Reassured, the Indians assembled their choruses and their instruments (deer skin drums, willow-reed pipes, turtle-shell rattles) and staged some of their traditions [ . . . ]. One of Peacock's best records was made on a Stony Indian reserve during the Sun Dance, a ritual so sacred that no white man may witness the most solemn parts. During Peacock's stay at the reservation, a Sun Dance was organized to pray for the soul of a dead child; Peacock was allowed to record most of the music ("Indians..." *Time* 21 Sept. 1953: 33).

Musically this was the experience of a lifetime for Peacock and he was enraptured with what he heard: "It was just a stunning style of singing, just the vocalization itself was different from ours."<sup>9</sup>

Based on his summer's performance, shortly after his return Peacock was offered the position of musicologist at the National Museum. A short time later Marcel Rioux informed Helen Creighton of Peacock's appointment as a "permanent Musicologist" and that he would "look after all the folk music collected."<sup>10</sup> Engaging Peacock made sense for the Museum. He had demonstrated his capability in the field. As a professionally trained musician he had shown an ability to transcribe both native and Anglo-Canadian folk music. As so much of the Museum's folklore collection consisted of sound recordings of songs and music, Peacock's talents were deemed essential.

In the initial stages of his new appointment Peacock continued to work with the Plains Indians music, devoting little time to the Newfoundland material. Sometime in 1953, however, Barbeau asked him to submit an article on his Newfoundland field research to the *Journal of American Folklore*.<sup>11</sup> Barbeau also persuaded Peacock to use the older material in his collection because of the charming melodies. He arranged as well for his Parisian colleague, musicologist Margeurite Béclard d'Harcourt, to do a

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<sup>9</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 19 Apr. 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Marcel Rioux, letter to Helen Creighton, 8 Oct. 1953; CR-K-1.5, Creighton Collection LAD-CMC.

<sup>11</sup> With the exception of its annual reports the Museum still did not have a publishing program. The *JAF* therefore continued to be a key source for Museum staff to present their research activities.

musical analysis of the songs because it would be “sort of prestigious.”<sup>12</sup>

Following Barbeau’s recommendations, in this short essay, “Nine Songs from Newfoundland” (1954: 123-136), Peacock presented the music and lyrics for eight “Old World” songs and one “local composition” that he had collected in manuscript in 1952 from the performances of Mrs. John Fogarty of Joe Batt’s Arm and of Philip Foley of Tilting:

I have selected them from the Museum’s collection not so much for their inherent beauty or great age, but because they reveal a musical content and a style of singing which have survived since pre-Elizabethan times and go far beyond the age of the songs themselves. They also reveal the inadequacies of our system of music notation which unfortunately makes no provision for the melodic and rhythmic subtleties of folksong (124).

Peacock was completely taken with the ornateness of these songs and as he informed his readers, he had taken special care to capture on paper the essence of the music he had only been able to record by hand (124). He also briefly described to his readers the “authentic manner of singing”:

After preliminary apologies for the hoarseness of his voice caused by a bad cold (often miraculously cured by only one drink), the singer clears his throat and begins. [. . .] As the song progresses he loses all personal contact with his audience and fixes his gaze on some vacancy far beyond the confines of the kitchen. [. . .] the folk singer doesn’t express himself but something else. Just as the Indian singer actually becomes the Spirit when he dons the mask, so the singer in this case enters a larger world and becomes an instrument of communication, not merely the center of

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<sup>12</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996; as Nowry discusses in *Man of Mana*, in the past d’Harcourt had done similar work for Barbeau (1995, 232 and 289); see as well Margeurite and Raoul d’Harcourt, *Chansons folkloriques française au Canada; leur langue musicale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956).

attention. In this respect, then, the singing is expressive (124).

Unfortunately descriptions of this sort are rare in all of Peacock's writings. In this article beyond these brief lines he advances this aspect of the Newfoundland singing tradition no further. His ethnological work suffers because of the scarcity of detail regarding the singers whose performances he was trying to encapsulate. He says nothing of where Mrs. Fogarty or Philip Foley learned their material or anything of their personal histories. Each of the nine songs is presented much like an artifact lacking both contextual and bibliographic details to link it back to its supposed "pre-Elizabethan" period. In his desire to accentuate the older material Peacock also distorts the realities of Newfoundland's outport culture by depicting it mainly as a timeless unchanging culture of the past which has simply stood still.

This kind of cultural representation appears elsewhere in his writings for this period. In December 1953 and January 1954 he prepared and presented for the CBC, *Folksongs from Newfoundland*, a series of six talks for a national radio audience mainly to introduce Canadians to the various kinds of folk music which he had encountered: ballads, old world songs and local compositions.<sup>13</sup> For the talks Peacock used both the 1951 and '52 field recordings, interspersed with his personal interpretive renditions of the songs. Once again Newfoundland is depicted as a place far removed from the rest of

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Weaver came up with the idea because it complemented the series he was producing on Canadian history and it fit well with the CBC's production mandate. Anna Guigné, interview with Robert Weaver, 17 Mar. 1999.

Canada and where isolation and remoteness are central to finding ancient beautiful music. In speaking of his trip to Fogo he comments, "Like Newfoundland proper it has remained apart from the cultural developments of North America in general, and has even preserved and developed customs of its own found nowhere else in Newfoundland."<sup>14</sup> Throughout these programs Peacock also expressed his personal sentiment that development in the "new Newfoundland" was beginning to have a detrimental affect on the province's rich and vibrant culture:

In the new industrial towns like Corner Brook, Grand Falls, and Lewisporte, the older customs have fallen into disuse and day to day living is much the same as in the average small town on the mainland. Movies appear at least once a week and there are juke box joints where you can hear the latest hits on the cowboy parade. Taxis are roaring over the new gravel highroads carrying passengers who never before had strayed more than a few miles from the kitchen stove [ . . . ]. In their efforts to catch up as quickly as possible many Newfoundlanders in these newer areas are accepting third-rate material and ideas, not realizing that our culture has much better things to offer [ . . . ]. The music of these transitional areas has also been profoundly affected by the new changes. Active participation in Old World and local music has been replaced by an obsession with cowboy music, especially among the young people.<sup>15</sup>

Understandably Peacock expressed such strong sentiments because he was witness to the rapid changes sweeping across the province. In the early years of the post-Confederation period it was hard to miss the renovating and reconstruction and the new development.

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<sup>14.</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 3, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Dec. 1953.; Pea-E-12, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>15.</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 6, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Dec. 1953; Pea-E-15, Peacock Collection LAD-CMC.

But his sentiments were also strongly tinged with overtones of anti-modernism. Peacock tended to idealize rural society and to view modernization as a disruptive force working to destroy the Newfoundland folk music tradition.

Peacock could not appreciate that, realistically, singers in any setting, rural or urban, often know many kinds of songs and they retain them and perform them according to the contexts they see as most appropriate and because of what the songs mean to them personally. They do not throw out one kind of song and replace it with another because it is more modern. By representing the Newfoundland way of life as being on the verge of destruction, Peacock was shaping other Canadians' perceptions of the province as underdeveloped, unrefined and uncultured.

Newfoundland's social and economic infrastructure was evolving rapidly. The highway of which Peacock spoke, would eventually make a major part of the island's hinterland accessible for development, a transition viewed positively by many Newfoundlanders in the outports who were dependent on the coastal boat services for goods and transportation. As Dona Davis argues in "The Family and Social Change in the Newfoundland Outport," historically, when looking at outport life in Newfoundland, researchers have made the mistake of viewing change through the institution of roads and electricity and other forms of modernization as being negative, creating instability and a disintegration of family life (1983: 19-32). As she points out this kind of modernization has not "undermined the family" instead it has "accentuated it" (28). The Smallwood

government actively engaged in the construction of roads, hospital and educational facilities and the diversification of the economy so that it might break down social and economic barriers created by the province's fundamental dependence on the fisheries. The changes were part of the momentum to align Newfoundland socially with the rest of the country, enabling it to compete within the pan-Canadian economy of the mid-twentieth century. Peacock simply failed to take this into consideration in his cultural construction of the 'new-Newfoundland.'

As the transcripts reveal, an awkward incongruity ran throughout all six radio programs. Peacock seemed uneasy behind the microphone making subjective statements at variance with the material he was presenting. When discussing "Bachelor's Hall" (10-69), a song about courting, he comments:

In Newfoundland and in Ireland too I'm told, marriage often takes place in the thirty to fifty age group, but this is probably due to economic conditions. Another force to reckon with is the idealized mother, not just an Irish phenomenon of course but many a sentimental Irishman weeps at the thought of the dear old head turning to silver. All in all though, I think these are just subterfuges to cover up the plain fact that many Irishmen simply don't enjoy the responsible state of marriage. As one bachelor of forty-four said to me, "Why keep a cow when milk's free?" His choice of symbols is rather startling, but I'll leave it to the students of Freudian psychology to figure out. The anonymous author of this next song even became bored with the free milk, so where the Irish go from here only Dr. Kinsey knows.<sup>16</sup>

This kind of commentary, often delivered out-of-context, was disconcerting for the Museum:

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<sup>16</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 3.

- KP: Yes I did very early [a] three [six] part thing on Newfoundland actually and I told some jokes and things and I was called down to, I don't know whether he was the deputy minister or something. Anyway he was quite indignant that these rather racy things happened in Newfoundland and that I should tell about them on the radio.
- AG: It was the deputy minister of?
- KP: I don't know who it was.
- AG: In Ottawa?
- KP: He was a very nice man actually.
- AG: Was it a Newfoundlander or in Ottawa?
- KP: No it was in Ottawa.
- AG: But he had heard, or somebody had heard the broadcast and asked who was this guy from the Museum?
- KP: Things, well Elvis Presley told this joke ah, {Peacock pauses to think about it} "Why steal milk from the cow through the fence when you can get it free." Little innocent things like that {laughter}. . . .
- AG: You must have been on sensitive ground all the time. Going into any province is very political especially when you're collecting music.
- KP: Well it's not political with the people themselves. But it is with the so-called people in charge, or who think they're in charge.<sup>17</sup>

Canadian government officials certainly did not want to insult the new premier, Joseph Smallwood, and Peacock's off-handed jokes were offensive. When we discussed the incident years later Peacock seemed bewildered that people were upset with his comments. He saw nothing wrong with what he had said and he was unable to appreciate that people might find such statements just a little crude for public radio.

The programs which aired on the CBC's International Service were also picked up

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<sup>17</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

in Newfoundland. Lloyd Soper says he was completely surprised to hear himself performing “Feller From Fortune” (1-2 MS) on national radio:

AG: You heard your voice on the radio?

LS: This was after we were married because one of our nephews, Andy Creighton, was at school in England and at that time there’d be the National News on CBC. Well this would be the radio news. [It] came on I think at 11: 30 and then there would be some programs at 11:45. So it just happened that this particular night I knew that Ken Peacock was going to be on and so we listened for it and Ken played one of the, it might have been “The Fellow from Fortune” I’m not sure. But anyway he played it on this program. And at that time CBC radio, some of the CBC radio programs were broadcast to England. And Andy who is now at the University, Andy was with his grandparents and knowing that there was a Canadian program on they’d tune in. So anyway he was there with them and they came up with this and the next thing he heard Uncle Lloyd singing. [laughter] So that was my introduction to the Creighton family in England.

AG: But you knew nothing about it until [you heard yourself]?

LS: No I didn’t know it was on because the only reason Elizabeth and I were listening to the program [was] because we knew that Ken Peacock was going to be on and to give an account of some of his travels and so on. And to my shock and surprise I was one of the feature soloists. And so I was heard internationally.<sup>18</sup>

Arthur Scammell also listened to one of the first programs, shortly thereafter writing Peacock about the show. Peacock communicated back, “It must be maddening to have an outsider, who has spent only a few months on the island tell his reactions to what he has experienced.”<sup>19</sup> As Peacock informed Scammell, he had resisted including any of

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<sup>18</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Lloyd Soper, 19 Oct. 2000.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Arthur Scammell, 22 Dec. 1953; Arthur Scammell Collection, MG-969, PANL.

his songs even though he had collected them because “they have already achieved a wide popularity.” Instead, Peacock explained, he would mention Scammell’s name in the fifth program but singer Chris Cobb “receives a little more attention because he is unknown.”<sup>20</sup> Peacock’s candor often lacked diplomacy; one can only imagine Scammell’s reaction to such a letter which, in essence, brushed off the importance of his songs. Scammell first learned of Peacock’s research in June 1953 through Edith Fowke.<sup>21</sup> As she informed him, Peacock had collected “Squarin’ Up Time” in 1951 and “the words had already undergone quite a few changes through oral transmission.” Having received this letter, Scammell must have puzzled over Peacock’s later response.

Throughout these radio programs Peacock attempted to convey to Canadians something of his field experiences:

I spent two summers in Newfoundland, the first in the southeast where I traveled by car over the network of local roads which join most of the fishing villages or ‘outports’ as they are called there. The second summer was spent in the northeast where journeys to the more isolated outports required the use of small inboard fishing craft. As you might suspect, the older songs of English and Irish vintage are more numerous in the comparatively remote settlements where there has been little contact with our urban cultures and where the old customs and religious orthodoxies still persist.<sup>22</sup>

His naïve depictions of Newfoundland society gave listeners the impression that outport

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<sup>20</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Arthur Scammell, 22 Dec. 1953.

<sup>21</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Arthur Scammell, 15 June 1953; Scammell Collection, PANL.

<sup>22</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 1.

Newfoundland existed only in the form of a peasant society. Peacock viewed modern society and education as the antithesis of true culture. In one program he comments, “We are too busy to be cultured, not educated, but cultured.”<sup>23</sup> While Peacock loved the music and the people, his cultural descriptions often came out as back-handed compliments.

Peacock may have been a superb musician but, unlike Barbeau, he lacked the formal training for describing that which he observed and experienced in his fieldwork. He was not an anthropologist. Having been given a contract by the Museum he went out and collected music and lyrics and he spent little time attempting to learn about the culture. His reading of Newfoundland society and the musical traditions he encountered ended up being amateur and simplistic. He was not interested in either the contexts for singing or the processes involved.

To be fair to Peacock, this kind of cultural representation was not uncommon for the day. Although ethnomusicologists such as Herzog (1901-83) had been advocating new approaches for the investigation of traditional singing which warranted investigation, such ideas had not filtered into the folksong research at the National Museum (Herzog 1938, 59-64; 1949, 1032-1048). MacEdward Leach, in his account of the musical traditions of the lower Labrador, a number of years later similarly described the region as having a “pure folk culture” lacking “creativity” and serving more as a “repository”

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<sup>23</sup> *Folksongs from Newfoundland* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 5.

(1965, 12). He saw no point in exploring the meaning of folksongs to the culture he was documenting.

For some researchers the collecting of texts was seen as an end in itself. The International Folk Music Council (IFMC), established in 1947, conservatively viewed folk music as a product of the past and confined its research to “rural venues” ignoring any other kinds of contexts such as “bluegrass, urban revivals, and mass-mediated traditions” (Bohlman 1988, xiv). Considerable emphasis was given to the text as the product of the past and something to be salvaged. The shift in emphasis from text to context and therefore toward “living folklore” emerged only in the late 1960s with the influence of performance theorists such as Dan Ben Amos and Kenneth Goldstein who advocated that, without taking into consideration the natural context, the text was simply a fossil (Harvilahti 1997, 787).

## **7.1 Peacock Resigns from the Museum**

In the summer of 1954 Peacock again set out to collect the music of the Plains Indians. This time he was accompanied by Glen Scullion, a piano student recommended to him by a local music teacher from Ottawa. Throughout the summer they worked mainly at the Assiniboine Reserve, Montmartre, Saskatchewan, finishing up on the Blood Reserve in Cardston, Alberta.<sup>24</sup> Through two field seasons Peacock successfully

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<sup>24</sup>. See audiotapes 43 to 69, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

managed to acquire over 500 sound recordings for the Museum's collections and as he later noted this was "the largest single collection in the National Museum's tape archive" (1969, 68).

Shortly after completing the Indian research Peacock resigned from the Museum because, as he told me, he was disgruntled. He simply disliked the structured atmosphere of a government office:

I went out to get a package of cigarettes. Someone had seen me. It was Dr. Alcock. I think he was a very strict disciplinarian. So I was treated like a highschool student was in those days. Incredible. I never took well to authority.<sup>25</sup>

The director's treatment of him may have served as the catalyst for Peacock's leaving but he had also reached a crisis in his career. As he remarked some years later, unlike Barbeau, he didn't see himself as an intellectual and he didn't have the academic drive:

Although we never spoke of it, I felt during the early years of our relationship that he [Barbeau] expected I would eventually become the sort of scholar he was. Possibly it was because we shared a certain zest for exploration of the unknown. For my part, I never had the intellectual bent, the patience or even the slightest interest in following such a career (Creighton et al, 1984, 48).

As a composer and musician he had always been self-employed and therefore relatively independent. Although the Museum offered him financial security and enabled him to explore new frontiers, since beginning the Newfoundland research, Peacock had really existed between two worlds; although he had spent years training to be a composer

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<sup>25</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

and pianist he didn't seem to be doing anything in that direction. He seemed uncertain about which direction he should take his career. By resigning he hoped to reconcile these differences.

In November Peacock returned to teaching and composing. But his life had forever been changed because of the fieldwork. He actually enjoyed the collecting and he had been profoundly influenced by Barbeau. Although he would never be permanently employed by the Museum again, his links with the institution and with Barbeau would remain firm:

What I admired most was the man himself, quite aside from those nuggets of insight he had gleaned as a result of his scholarship. At some point he must have relented, for there were no more *Time*-type interviews or other attempts to further my scholarly career. This did not mean the end of our relationship. Quite the contrary. He continued to show interest in everything I did and supported me in every way possible (48).

Initially Peacock did little with the Newfoundland and native-Indian music collections. Instead, others who had a vested interest in pushing Canadian folk music to the front would seek to use his work for their folk music related projects. Throughout the 1950s though, Peacock would increasingly become recognized in his role as both a collector and spokesperson for Canada's musical traditions.

## **7.2 Fowke, Folkways, Alan Mills and Folk Revival**

By the mid-1950s, primarily because of the pioneering work of people such as Edith Fowke, Alan Mills and Sam Gesser, Canadians were discovering their own (mainly

English-language and French) musical traditions. These revivalists corresponded regularly with Helen Creighton and Marius Barbeau seeking folksong materials from their National Museum collections for radio programs, publications and other ventures. The relationships which grew from these relatively informal associations were mutually beneficial, reinforcing the dissemination of Canadian folk music and gaining exposure for its collectors. In 1952, Fowke planned to publish a Canadian collection of folksongs and she started soliciting the National Museum workers for contributions. Peacock's research would come up as a point of interest.

In December, Fowke informed Creighton of her plan to bring out a publication remarking "I think there should be a collection of Canadian songs printed that would include some French-Canadian, some Nova Scotian, some Newfoundland, and some from the west, if possible."<sup>26</sup> She also informed Marius Barbeau about the project noting that it was to be the kind of book which "will appeal to the general public and yet be reasonably accurate and representative of the different elements in our folk music."<sup>27</sup> She further added, "Is there a list available of the songs in the Museum?" For the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia selections of the book Fowke felt she had considerable

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<sup>26</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 4 Dec. 1952; Fowke Correspondence Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>27</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Marius Barbeau, 9 Jan. 1953; Edith Fowke Correspondence 1949-52, box 194 f. 32; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

choice “because of the excellent collections that have been published.”<sup>28</sup>

Over the next couple of months she communicated back and forth with both Barbeau and Creighton keeping them informed of her work. As Creighton had already gone through the process of publishing two collections, Fowke consulted with her on some of the material she wanted to include and on the annotations for some songs.<sup>29</sup> In January 1953, Creighton learned that Fowke had acquired the services of Richard Johnston of the Royal Conservatory and a prospective publisher, Waterloo Music Company. Fowke also added “I’ve drawn up a tentative list of seventy songs and I’m sending you a copy for your comments.”<sup>30</sup> Fowke also remarked that she had also met Kenneth Peacock who had played several of his tapes for her at the Museum:

I was very much impressed by the wealth of material he had collected: quite a lot of completely fresh songs, and some interesting variants of familiar ones. There are six of his songs that I’m including in the book four that were quite new to me, and then “Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle” with a different tune, and “Bonny Banks of Vergie O” which is much the same as the Karpeles version. One of his I haven’t been able to trace anywhere else “White Man, Let Me Go.” Have you come across it? It is somewhat familiar in type to your “Indian Song” in your first book,

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<sup>28</sup>. Edith Fowke, letter to Marius Barbeau, 9 Jan. 1953; Fowke Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>29</sup>. Throughout the early '50s Fowke and Creighton corresponded regularly however, as McKay notes in *Quest*, this working friendship had become strained by the late fifties through boundary disputes over materials and recognition (1994, 141 and 145).

<sup>30</sup>. Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 14 Jan. 1953; Fowke Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

although there is no resemblance in words.”<sup>31</sup>

Fowke eventually published seven songs from Peacock’s Newfoundland collection in *Folksongs of Canada* (1954) along with other National Museum material from both Barbeau and Creighton’s collections.<sup>32</sup>

The book was assuredly well received by the Museum director, F. J. Alcock, for as Fowke advised Creighton, “if we gave the Museum credit it would be fine, because there were complaints that they were collecting material and no use was being made of it.”<sup>33</sup> *Folksongs* was viewed as a landmark publication because it highlighted the richness of the country’s musical traditions at the same time delineating for Canadians the folk music research already undertaken by W. Roy MacKenzie, Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Mansfield, Maud Karpeles, Gerald S. Doyle, Helen Creighton, Marius Barbeau, Margaret Sargent and Kenneth Peacock (1954, 10). The popularity of the book was such that it impressed upon Canadians the value of their own musical heritage.<sup>34</sup>

As Neil Rosenberg points out, though, of the seventy-seven songs selected for the

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<sup>31</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 10 June 1953; Fowke Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM. Fowke was unaware that Peacock had obtained “Bonny Banks of Vergie O” from the same informants as Karpeles.

<sup>32</sup> The songs published were “Bonny Bonny Banks of Vergie-O” (MS-114), “White Man Let Me Go” (MS-121), “The Loss of the Eliza “(The Herons) (17-104), “Old Grandma” (6-38), “Is’ the Bye That Builds the Boat” (1-3 MS), “Lots of Fish in bonavist Harbour” (Feller From Fortune) (1-2 MS), and the “Star of Belle Isle” (MS-111) which Fowke published as “The Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle”; see Fowke and Johnston *Folksongs of Canada* 18-19, 32, 48, 94, 116, 122 and 144.

<sup>33</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 10 June 1953.

<sup>34</sup> Ann Foster, “Canada’s Songs Collected Broadcasts Spread Folk Singing,” *Christian Science Monitor* 2 June 1955: n.p.; Fowke Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

publication a disproportionate number originated from Newfoundland. Many of the songs included were “chiefly of the already popular, rollicking, comic, singalong type” thereby contributing to the Canadian stereotype of Newfoundlanders as “simple, humourous folk, an unanticipated spin-off from the image of the idealized outport Newfoundlander promulgated in the 1940s that would emerge full-blown in the 1960s in the form of ‘Newfie’ jokes” (1994, 64). As the book was used extensively within Canadian schools for educational purposes, much of this material would become overly popularized in Canada.<sup>35</sup>

In *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* Bohlman notes that when folk music is removed from its ‘primary-group’ context and then circulated among groups that don’t “depend on specific special function” it becomes commoditized and this leads invariably to “specialization and professionalization” (1988, 131). Bohlman speaks mainly of “songwriters, arrangers, sound technicians and festival organizers,” who, he notes, are all “professionals in the modernization of folk music” (132). By implication though, from the moment an item is collected some kind of treatment is brought to bear on the material and new uses emerge with different contexts and needs.

As folklorists today recognize, a continuum exists between folklore and popular

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<sup>35</sup>. Many mainland friends recall using the Fowke and Johnston’s publication and learning their first Newfoundland folksongs from a paperback choral edition created specifically for school use. Versions of this publication were also circulated around the province by Memorial University of Newfoundland’s Extension Service. Field note, Darlene Payne originally of Winnipeg, 25 May 2000; and Deryck Harnett, School of Music, 13 June 2001.

culture (Narváez and Laba 1986). When traditional materials are moved out of the small socially bounded group context to a main-stream context, depending on the aims of the specialist or professional and the method of dissemination, variation and change can occur at several levels (Guigné, 1993). In publishing *Folksongs of Canada* Fowke and Johnston's intent was to popularize or "open Canada's treasure store of folksongs to a wider public by making available seventy-seven representative songs in a form suitable for singing around the piano or campfire" (1954, 99). As they informed their readers, when selecting a song they considered its distribution across the country, its Canadian-ness, regional distribution, suitability for "group singing" and the "literary and musical quality" of the material (11). As Fowke's correspondence with Helen Creighton also illustrates, concerns over the length of a text, copyright, and the perceived superiority of the melody, affected the arrangement of many songs:

One difficulty in clearing rights is to know how the composite versions should be handled. For example in "Brave Wolfe" I've combined parts from both the Greenleaf and Mackenzie texts, and added two verses from another version that I have on record. We're using the Greenleaf tune, so I suppose it might be put as adapted from Greenleaf. Similarly, with "Jam on Gerry's Rock," it's largely your version we're using because it seems to be the most complete, and Richard likes your tune best, but I've made a few minor changes in the text--for example, the usual form seems to be "Rock" rather than "rocks," and the last line in verses three and four is usually "with their foreman young Munroe" rather than "Young Jack Munroe."<sup>36</sup>

In the publication Fowke and Johnston say nothing about the kind of editing which they

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<sup>36</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 5 Feb, 1953; Fowke Correspondence, vol. 3511, file 63, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

carried out on the texts and music which were eventually published in *Folksongs*. But as the authors aimed to produce a singable collection, some editing of the texts was evidently perceived to be a necessity.

Prior to passing Fowke and Johnston the seven songs from his Newfoundland collection for *Folksongs*, Peacock had also started to edit texts. For the “The Loss of the Eliza” (The Herons) (17-104), he had some difficulty transcribing Anastasia Ghaney’s performance because he couldn’t understand her dialect:

KP: I recorded it from Mrs. Ghaney in Fermeuse . . . they took us all down to the fish plant. It had a generator so I could use the tape machine and she sang a thing called “The Herons.” Her version wasn’t nearly as complete. It was basically the same melody but not nearly as ornate as his [the one collected from Paddy Rossiter in 1961], the “Loss of the Eliza.”

AG: What were some of the problems that you were encountering in trying to do transcription . . . what were the things that would frustrate you?

KP: Well trying to get some of the words. I remember [in *Outports*] I don’t give any of Mrs. Ghaney’s text of the song she called “The Herons” which is the “Loss of the Eliza” but I could not [make out] so many words and she said {Peacock pauses} anyway it’s “furrows” in his version that crossed the waves and she said “Herons,” and I asked her after, I said “ ‘Herons’ you mean the birds the Herons?” And she said “Herons.” [laughter] So I thought well that’s some sort of omen you know.<sup>37</sup>

Ghaney sang Peacock a twelve stanza variant but, as he was unable to make out certain words in the beginning he transcribed the first two stanzas as follows:

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<sup>37</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

1. -----  
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Fort Amherst's hardy youthful crew sang cheerily as they passed;  
But ere Fort Amherst little knew that sailing was their last.
2. Only the small birds overhead encircling in the blue,  
Screamed down the wind in fear and dread of some strange terror new;  
For in -----where specters in do flee;  
It's to ensnare some passing ship, another prize to gain.<sup>38</sup>

There is a conspicuous difference between Ghaney's original performance, Peacock's earliest transcript based on this recording, and the final version which eventually ended up in *Folksongs* where stanzas one and two are collapsed together into one:

Fort Amherst's hardy youthful crew sang cheerily as they passed;  
But yet Fort Amherst little knew that sailing was their last,  
Only the small birds overhead encircling in the blue,  
Screamed down the wind in fear and dread of some strange terror new  
(1954, 49).

The entire ten-stanza version published in Fowke and Johnston's *Folksongs*, which contains minor textual changes throughout is a streamlined version of the original and essentially more suitable for singing. Other songs incorporated into this publication appear to have been edited likely by Fowke to make them more singable. For "The Bonny Banks of Vergie O" Fowke drew mainly from Peacock's manuscript but she appears to have taken the refrain "Too re lee, and a lonely O," from the variant published in Greenleaf and Mansfield's *Ballads and Sea Songs* (1933, 10–11).

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<sup>38</sup> See "The Herons," (17-104), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11038A and "The Herons" (17-104) Pea B, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC. When making comparisons I selected only those songs for which Peacock's earliest manuscripts are available. They are usually done in pencil or typed not type-set. They mainly reflect what the singer provided Peacock. As Peacock's published versions of the same songs show editorial changes, I deemed this method a practical means of discussing Peacock's approach to the materials he collected.

Similar editing can also be seen in the songs which Peacock passed to Gerald S. Doyle for the 1955 edition of *Old-Time Songs* another popular market publication. In 1951 Peacock recorded a seven-stanza version of the song “Hard Hard Times” (8-51) from Ned Rice. When Peacock’s transcript based on the recording is compared with the version printed in Doyle’s *Old Time Songs* textual changes are again evident. For stanzas two and three of the published version of the song shown below, the words in bold are the singer’s original phrasing and the words in square brackets contain Peacock’s textual changes:

Stanza 2

Go out in the morning go on a drift still;  
 It’s over **her** [the] side you will hear the line **ring** [knell;]  
 For out flows the jigger and freeze with the cold,  
 and as to for starting, all gone in the hole,  
 and it’s Hard Hard Times.

Stanza 3

**Then next comes the merchant, go get your supply**  
 [The fine sign of fishing we’ll have bye and bye;]  
 The fine side of fishing we’ll have a good **buy** [good-bye]  
 Seven dollars for large and six-fifty for small;  
 Pick out your West Indie, you got nothing at all  
 And it’s Hard Hard Times (1955, 28).<sup>39</sup>

The version published in Doyle’s 1955 *Old-Time Songs* is likely to be a combination of changes made by Peacock with subsequent editing by Robert Macleod who helped Doyle assemble the publication.

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<sup>39</sup>. “Hard Times” (8-51), Pea B, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC; “Hard Times” (8-51), MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/ C-11034A.

This kind of editing produced standardized texts which were less representative of the Newfoundland singing tradition. In the extreme, such alterations actually resulted in ideological changes. In line 1, stanza 3, of “Hard Times,” the original phrase “Then next comes the merchant, go get your supply” which Peacock changed to “The fine sign of fishing we’ll have bye and bye,” completely negates the inherent relationship between merchant and fisherman at the community level. As is the case with the songs Peacock passed to Fowke and Johnston for *Folksongs*, these altered versions have become the more commonly known ones because they have been made widely available through print. Later, when compiling *Outports*, Peacock would attempt to deal with the public’s familiarity with some of this material which, by chance, he had helped to popularize, by circulating it to others for their publications.

Discounting the radio programs and “Nine Songs from Newfoundland,” Peacock had done little else with the Newfoundland song collection. New opportunities did arise in 1954 through Sam Gesser who, by this time, had started producing Canadian albums for Folkways Records.<sup>40</sup> Having seen the *Time* magazine article featuring Peacock’s Plains Indians work, Gesser asked Peacock if he would like to do an album using sound recordings from his field collection.<sup>41</sup> Peacock pulled together a tape of some of the material and accompanied Gesser to New York where he was introduced to Moses

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<sup>40</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 3 Feb. 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Sam Gesser, 12 Mar. 1998.

Asch.<sup>42</sup> This collaboration led to *Indian Music of the Canadian Plains* (FE 4464) issued in 1955.

The *Plains* album was a well-constructed production featuring a diverse selection of field recordings drawing the listener into the recording context. Peacock selected examples which illustrated the wide range of vocal production among the Plains Indians. In the accompanying descriptive liner notes he also included details on their cultural life, highlighting the importance of some of the ceremonies, dances, and games involving music as well as the significance of the songs to the singers. He also discussed the historical context for some of the material. The notes and the recordings introduced urban listeners to a culture they would otherwise have never had the chance to experience. As Kenneth S. Goldstein, one of the pioneers of the liner note concept points out, the inclusion of this kind of detail was a relatively new idea in the early 1950s (Goldstein 1993, 109).

The idea for Peacock's second album came about while he was in New York to discuss the Plains Indians material with Folkways. Asch, who had read Peacock's article in the *Journal of American Folklore* enquired about the material:

I remember in Moe Asch's little office there, manuscripts and recordings all over the walls, and just him saying, "What about a recording of

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<sup>42</sup> Anna Guigné, interviews with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996 and 18 Mar. 2000.

Newfoundland songs?” And I said, “My best material is in manuscript from the northeast coast.” And he said “ Why don’t you sing it yourself?”<sup>43</sup>

Asch was interested in having the album come out at this time because musically Peacock had something distinct to offer and so little was known about the Newfoundland singing tradition in the rest of North America. Peacock subsequently spent 1955 working on *Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland Sung by Ken Peacock* (FG 3503) later released by Folkways in 1956.

For this album instead of using field recordings Peacock decided to sing the thirteen songs a capella because that was the way he had heard them sung.<sup>44</sup> Several of them he had previously given Fowke for *Folksongs*: “The Herons,” (17-104), “Bonny Bonny Banks of the Vergie-o” (MS-14), and “Feller from Fortune” or “Lots of Fish in Bonavist Harbour” (1-2MS). He included Chris Cobb’s composition “Brown Flour” (MS-18) as well as two numbers he had earlier given to Doyle for *Old-Time Songs*: “Bill Wiseman” (MS-10) and “Feller From Fortune.” Only one song, “The Green Shores of Fogo” (MS-47), had previously been published in the *JAF* (1954, 124-25). As had been the case for the *Plains Indians* album, Peacock also provided the photographs and liner notes.

From a documentary perspective *Songs and Ballads* is an interesting chronicle of

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<sup>43</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>44</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Oct. 2000.

Peacock's early Newfoundland fieldwork. Peacock does discuss some of his field experiences and musically he attempts to replicate what he observed. But in some ways the whole production pales when compared to the vividness of the Plains Indians field material which allows the listener to be there at the moment of recording. Although the songs are performed on key and they are adequately sung, his renditions lack the color and ambiance resonating from the in situ performances of his informants. We can appreciate Peacock's desire to present what he perceived to be the best material for the album but by this time he also had one hundred and six field recordings of traditional singers to choose from.

Some of Peacock's comments in the album's liner notes are also incongruent with the material. Peacock notes that he had difficulty in transcribing the songs because they were delivered with considerable skill by his informants. He remarks that this traditional music is analogous to jazz and improvisation and the singers were "merely improvising in the mixolydian mode, using a basic melodic structure" so when singing the songs he "just did the same."<sup>45</sup> Statements like this did little to inform the reader about the distinctiveness of the Newfoundland singing tradition. Graham George of Queen's University's Department of Music simply panned the album:

With all due respect to Mr. Peacock, who gives evidence of being a capable musician, his deduction was disastrous [ . . . ] the sometimes astonishing skill of its performers is beside the point: we are concerned

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<sup>45</sup> Kenneth Peacock, liner notes, *Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland Sung by Ken Peacock*, LP, Folkways (FG 3505) 1956.

with the backgrounds from which its characteristics derive (1958, 47).

George also found Peacock's hermeneutic treatment of the Newfoundland folk music objectionable because it did not represent the tradition: "One has only to call up in imagination the musical style of the elements of this monster and compare it with any true folksinger to foresee the result" (48).

To put George's comments in perspective, he had made a similar point in his critique of *Folksongs of Canada* (Hallmark CS 3), the accompanying album to Fowke and Johnston's recent publication. The renderings of the singers, Joyce Sullivan and Charles Jordon, he pointed out fell "short of authenticity" (48). While Jordan's voice in the performance of "I'se the B'y," was to be admired, the singer "leaves the listener in no doubt that he regards the result as 'art music' based on folksong and so it is" (48). George was really highlighting the distinctiveness of the Canadian approach to the representation of folk culture. Although researchers were influenced by their American counterparts in their desire to both publish and record folksong material, the patterns of replication in Canada took on a unique character of their own. As George's discussion of the "folk-art" dichotomy illustrates, while those involved in the American revival movement provided lasting models for professional performances of folk music, more often than not the Canadians produced impressionistic performances.

In the United States the Library of Congress had created an awareness of the importance of valorizing traditional singers by making its field recordings commercially available to the general public. In Canada the National Museum had done nothing of the sort; its fledgling program was limited to collecting and archiving. The presentation of folksong materials was left to the domain of professional singers who tended to shape their folksong renditions along the lines of the British “art music” tradition or to those who could do a close enough performance of the real thing. Sometimes singers carried this off well and at other times, as in the case of Peacock’s *Songs and Ballads*, it was a poor substitute.

Much of the research on Canadian folksong ended up being disseminated through the popular media and the quality, form and content of the resultant products ranged all over the place.<sup>46</sup> It really came down to differing perceptions of how “the folk” and “folksong” could be represented. For *Songs and Ballads* Peacock selected songs he thought best represented a dying tradition and which he found personally pleasing because of their age or some other attribute. As these songs were ones he had collected in manuscript, he attempted to present the style of singing through plain unaccompanied renditions which he presumed closely matched his informants’ original performances. The end-product was still a revivalist’s interpretation, a commodification of the music and therefore something else entirely different. Graham George, in his review, was

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<sup>46</sup> Throughout her entire career Helen Creighton published only one article in the *JAF*; see “Folklore of Victoria Beach, Nova Scotia,” (1950) : 131-46.

noticeably perplexed with the variance in Peacock's two Folkways productions:

That there will be a great deal of difference between two products of two such widely differing backgrounds cannot be gainsaid. Whether, when the two are combined, you find their incongruity disastrous will depend on whether you regard the two products as being aesthetically comparable (48).

Peacock's renditions on *Songs and Ballads* also departed significantly from his informants' renditions. A case in point is his performance of "Hard Times." He did have a field recording for this song but, for continuity's sake, decided to sing it himself. Although Peacock makes no mention of it in his liner notes, the nine-stanza version he published is a composite text created from a seven-stanza performance by Ned Rice (8-51) and a six stanza performance by Gordon Willis (16-93) in 1951.<sup>47</sup> For the album Peacock employed Gordon Willis's melody but relied mainly on Ned Rice's text. In essence the version published consists of an extended nine-stanza composite text that deviates from both Willis's and Rice's performances and is not an accurate representation of what either man sang. As may be seen in the following re-transcription of the song, when the published composite text is compared with his informants original recordings

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<sup>47</sup> Kenneth Peacock, liner notes, *Songs and Ballads*, 5-6; "Hard Times" (8-51) by Ned Rice and "Hard Times" (16-93) by Gordon Willis, MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/ C11034B and C11037B.

and with Peacock's rendition on *Songs and Ballads* there is considerable discrepancy.<sup>48</sup>

### Hard Times

(1) Stanza 1 Ned Rice

Come all ye [you] good people I'll see ye a song,  
About the poor people how they get along;  
**They'll** [ They] start in the Spring, finish up in the Fall,  
And when it's all over they got [have] nothing at all,  
And it's hard hard, times.

(2) Stanza 2 Ned Rice

Go out in the morning go on a drift still;  
It's over **her** [the] side you will hear the line **ring** [well] [knell];<sup>49</sup>  
For out flows the jigger and freeze with the cold,  
And as to for starting, I'll go on [all gone] in the hole,  
And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times.

(3) Stanza is imported from stanza six of Gordon Willis's performance

\\Poor Fishermen **we've** [ we] been out all the day,  
Come in in the evening full sail up the bay;  
Find Kate in the corner with a wink and a nod,  
Saying, "Jimmy or Johnny, have you got any cod?"  
And 'tis [it's] Hard Hard Times. //

(4) Stanza 3 Ned Rice

**Then next comes the merchant, go get your supply;**  
[The fine sign of fishing we'll have bye and bye;]  
<Now> The fine side of fishing we'll have a **good buy** [good bye];<sup>50</sup>  
Seven dollars for large and six-fifty for small;  
Pick out your "West Indie," you got nothing at all  
And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times.

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<sup>48</sup> The key for reading text is as follows: words or phrases in **bold** indicate the singer's original words which Peacock changed; a square bracket [ ] indicates Peacock's actual changes; words contained in curved ( ) brackets indicates additional text Peacock inserted; words or phrases contained in arrow < > brackets indicates text Peacock deleted from the transcription and text contained in parallel \\ // brackets indicates stanzas Peacock imported from Gordon Willis's performance.

<sup>49</sup> This is printed as "well" in the liner notes to *Songs and Ballads* but, Peacock sings it as "knell." Ned Rice's original use of "ring" compares with the actual sound which would be produced as the rope or line is thrust over the boat rubbing against the gunnel.

<sup>50</sup> Peacock probably misinterpreted the word. A "good buy" reflects the essence of the stanza.

## (5) Stanza 4 Ned Rice

When you <have> got some split and hung out for to dry,<sup>51</sup>  
 'Twill take all your time <for> to brush away [off ] the flies;<sup>52</sup>  
 To keep with [off] the maggots 'tis more than you'll do,  
 And out comes the sun and 'tis [it's] all split in two,  
 And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times.

## (6) Stanza 5 Ned Rice

Then next comes the carpenter to build you a house,  
 He'll build it so snug you will scarce find a mouse;  
 With holes in the roof and the rain it will pour,  
 The **chimley** [chimney] will smoke and 'tis open the door,<sup>53</sup>  
 And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times.

## (7) Stanza is imported from stanza four of Gordon Willis's performance

\\(And now comes) The parson, he'll tell you he'll save your poor soul  
 If you stick to his books, oh and follow the school [rule];  
 Give you his book with a bless, p'rhaps a curse,  
 Put **your** [his] hand in your pocket and walk out your purse,  
 And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times. //

Sung on *Songs and Ballads* as:

\\(And now comes ) The parson [or so I've been told],  
 Each Sunday he says he will save your poor soul;  
 He'll ll give you a blessing or maybe a curse;  
 Put **your** [his] hand in your pocket and walk out your purse.  
 And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times. //

## (8) Stanza 6 Ned Rice

Then next comes the doctor, the worst of them all,  
 Saying, "What is [what's been] the matter with you all the fall?"  
 He says he will cure you of all your disease,  
 When your money he's got you can die if you please,  
 And 'tis [it's] hard, hard times.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>. Although left out in the transcription, Peacock sings "have" and "for" on *Songs and Ballads* as originally sung by Rice.

<sup>52</sup>. The word "off" refers to blow-flies which left maggots if the fish was improperly cured. See the entry for "maggoty," *DNE*, 319.

<sup>53</sup>. This word has widespread pronunciation in Newfoundland; see the entries "Funnelling" and "Mantle," *DNE*, 205 and 322.

<sup>54</sup>. Peacock turns the tape off and then on again to record an additional verse which Ned Rice has remembered.

## (9) Stanza 7 Ned Rice

The best thing to do is to work with a will,  
 For when 'tis [ it's ] all over you're hauled on the hill;  
 You're hauled on the hill and laid down in the cold,  
 And when 'tis [ it's ] all over you're still in the hole,  
 And 'tis [ it's ] hard, hard times.

His a cappella rendition of “Hard Times” on *Songs and Ballads* diverges even further. Peacock eliminates Gordon Willis’s stanza four from his performance. Stanza seven also varies considerably from Peacock’s transcript contained in the liner notes.

The small textual changes throughout essentially erase some of the cultural detail encoded in the song. In stanza two, line two, by substituting the word “the” for “her,” Peacock removes the suggested personification assigned to a fisherman’s boat. In stanza two, line four, by substituting “all gone in the hole” for “I’ll go on in the hole,” Peacock shifts the emphasis away from the ideal of a fisherman attempting to maintain his self-supporting independence to a more general frame of reference. In stanza four, line one, by removing “Then next comes the merchant, go get your supply” and replacing it with “The fine side of fishing we’ll have bye and bye” he diminishes the importance of the mercantile credit system upon which the Newfoundland fishery had historically operated.<sup>55</sup>

Perusal of the composite version of “Hard Times” which Peacock published several years later in *Outports* indicates that he continued to impart changes to the text

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<sup>55</sup> Known as the “truck” system, fishermen traditionally acquired gear, food stuffs and other provisions from the merchant on credit against the season’s season’s catch. A fisherman aimed to have a good fishing season which usually involved the curing of the cod for sale to the merchant. “West Indie” is an inferior grade of dried salt cod sent to the West Indies and which was worth very little; see the *DNE*, 585 and 604.

over a period of time (1965, 1: 58). Comparison of stanza three of Ned Rice's version of the song and subsequent printed texts shows evolving textual alteration in a sequence of transcriptions from 1951 to 1965:

- (1) Author's transcript of Ned Rice's rendition based on the original audio recording;

Then next comes the merchant, go get your supply  
The fine side of fishing we'll have a good buy  
Seven dollars for large and six-fifty for small;  
Pick out your "West Indie," you got nothing at all,  
And 'tis hard hard times.<sup>56</sup>

- (2) Peacock's original transcript of stanza three of Ned Rice's version, based on the same recording:

Then next comes the merchant, go get your supply;  
The fine side of fishing we'll have a good-bye;  
Seven dollars for large and six-fifty for small;  
Pick out your "West Indie," you got nothing at all,  
And 'tis hard hard times.<sup>57</sup>

- (3) The version which Peacock published in *Songs and Ballads* in 1956 was changed to stanza four with additional textual changes:

The fine sign of fishing we'll have bye and bye;  
The fine side of fishing we'll have a good bye;  
Seven dollars for large and six-fifty for small;  
Pick out your "West Indie," you got nothing at all  
And 'tis hard, hard times.<sup>58</sup>

- (4) The version which Peacock published in *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* was changed to stanza five with further textual changes:

Oh now comes the merchant to see your supply  
"The fine side of fishing we'll have bye and bye,  
Seven dollars for large and six-fifty for small."  
Pick out your West Indie you got nothing at all,  
and 'tis hard hard times (1965, 1: 58).

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<sup>56</sup> "Hard Times" (8-51), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/ C11034B.

<sup>57</sup> "Hard Times" (8-51), Pea B, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, Peacock Collection LAD-CMC.

<sup>58</sup> "Hard Times," liner notes, *Songs and Ballads*, 4.

Peacock, like Fowke, was aiming for the creation of representative texts, not verbatim transcriptions. But he consistently tinkered with his transcripts, refining and redefining the material to something which he thought would be more acceptable for singing. This became the pattern throughout all his transcripts.

The *Songs and Ballads* album was Peacock's first and last attempt at something of this nature. He was not well-suited to this kind of medium. It was an opportunity which he had been offered and the whole process was an experiment which he decided not to repeat. Instead, for a while, he left the musical interpretations of the Newfoundland material to others.

In late 1956 Alan Mills approached him with an idea for a collaboration on a songbook. Peacock had first met Mills in 1954 through Sam Gesser. Mills also informed Helen Creighton of the meeting:

Referring back to Peacock, did I tell you I met him. Gesser brought him up to the house one night and we had a fine time, tho' too short. I introduced him to Wade Hemsworth, a LIVE song-maker who plays guitar and sings his own songs about Canada and Canadian themes."<sup>59</sup>

By this time, Mills was "well launched on an American recording career."<sup>60</sup> Mills had successfully completed a variety of folksong-related projects. In addition to the radio

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<sup>59</sup> Alan Mills, letter to Helen Creighton n.d., c. 1954; Alan Mills Correspondence, Vol. 2814, File 1, Creighton Collection, NSARM; see also Mike Regenstreif, "Wade Hemsworth (1916-2002)," 2 July 2003 <<http://www.ckutfolk.com/wade.htm>>; and see Hugh Verrier, ed., *The Songs of Wade Hemsworth* (Waterloo: Penumbra Press, 1990).

<sup>60</sup> "McNamara's Bandwagon," *The Telegram* [Toronto, Ont.] 16 Jan. 1954; Alan Mills file, Folkways Records, Smithsonian Institution.

program, *Folksongs for Young Folk*, he had several albums to his name through RCA Victor and, since 1952, through Folkways. He had often drawn on the collections of Barbeau and Creighton for his recordings and performances. As a key figure in the Canadian folksong revival, Mills also had a hand in the popularization of Newfoundland folksong and he had a clear understanding of his own goals as a folksinger. As Taft notes:

He saw his role as an interpreter; someone who could take traditional material and interpret it so that a wider, cross-cultural audience could appreciate and understand it. Like others in the folksong revival movement, his aim was to translate an esoteric art form into a style of performance in conformity with the conventions of mass media (1996, 6).

Mills had an eye for what would appeal to people. He was always on the lookout for new Canadian material and for innovative ways of presenting it.

Sometime in 1956 through Folkways Mills put out *Songs of Newfoundland* (FW 8771), as a sequel to his first album *Folksongs of Newfoundland* (Folkways 6831, 1953). The earlier record contained material mainly from Gerald S. Doyle's *Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (1940). The publication of Doyle's 1955 edition, which included substantial Peacock material, provided Mills with still another opportunity to capitalize on the popularity of Newfoundland music. On this recording Mills included three numbers from Peacock's collection "Hard Hard Times" (8-51), "Feller from Fortune" (1-2) and "Harbour Le Cou" (MS-48). At the time Mills appears not to have been aware of the specifics of Peacock's contribution to Doyle's *Old Time Songs*. In the album's liner notes he acknowledges that his version of "Feller from Fortune" had been

performed by Peacock on *Songs and Ballads* adding that “Canadian musicologist Kenneth Peacock has recorded the same verses [of *Hard Hard Times*] to a somewhat different tune” and that “the tune recorded here is from the Gerald S. Doyle collection.”<sup>61</sup> The melody which Peacock provided to Doyle was different because it was a transcription of Ned Rice’s performance while that which Peacock sang on *Songs and Ballads* was based mainly on Gordon Willis’s performance.<sup>62</sup>

Sometime around this period Mills asked Peacock to provide the musical arrangements for a new book he planned to publish as *Favourite Songs of Newfoundland*. By design Mills wanted the content to include much of the Doyle material which he had earlier performed on the two Folkways records.<sup>63</sup> Throughout 1956 and 1957 Peacock worked on the musical arrangements for twenty-two songs and *Favourite Songs* was subsequently published in 1958.

Mills intentionally aimed the songbook for the popular market and as he remarked to his readers the songs are “guided by simple harmonies” (Mills 1958, 2). Comparing the songs to food, he also observed “no attempt was made to spice these ‘native dishes’ for sophisticated concert presentation” (2). Instead he suggested “They are simple fare to be tossed off on the spur of the moment for an evening’s entertainment among friends--

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<sup>61</sup>. Alan Mills, liner notes, *Songs of Newfoundland Sung By Alan Mills*, LP, Folkways (FW 8771), 7.

<sup>62</sup> See “Hard Hard Times” (8-51 and 16-93), MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/ 11034B and 11037B.

<sup>63</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1994.

just as often happens in a Newfoundland outpost.” It was an effective way of bringing Newfoundland and its perceived rollicking culture into the kitchen of every Canadian. As Mills noted, “The fact that the songs now have piano accompaniments is merely an added incentive for mainlanders to participate in the fun”.

The songbook also included four numbers from Peacock’s 1951 and ’52 collection: “I’se the B’y that Builds the Boat”; “Harbour Le Cou”; “Feller from Fortune” and “Hard Hard Times” (1958: 20; 32; 44 and 38). Other than supplying the musical arrangements, Peacock did not appear to have much involvement with the publication for Mills again attributes Gerald S. Doyle as the source for “Harbour Le Cou” although it was one of the ones from Peacock’s collection.

As Peacock points out, Mills had an ability to pick something that would appeal to a large audience:

AG: How did you feel about having so much of the Gerald S. Doyle material in the book?

KP: Well I thought it was all right. I mean it was Alan who chose the materials, but my input was the arrangements themselves . . . I must have shown Alan a lot. I used to visit Montreal to see other friends [and] drop in on Alan. We’d meet somewhere at a party or something.

AG: I was wondering why more of your own material didn’t come out in that collection?

KP: Yes well, Alan had a pop approach to things. He wanted things that people could buy and [the] Newfoundland material of course was “Squid Jiggin’ Ground,” “Kelligrews Soiree” and things like that. You know the real chestnuts like that.

AG: Was there money coming up front for this?

KP: No it was just the royalties. I really can’t remember. Maybe he did

get a Canada Council grant. I doubt it.<sup>64</sup>

Peacock often underestimates his personal contribution to these kinds of projects and the subsequent impact on both the Canadian and Newfoundland folk revival. Mills may have chosen the selections but it was his simple, harmonious arrangements along with chord arrangements which instantly made the book so popular and easy to use. As a measure of its success in Newfoundland, shortly after *Favourite Songs* was published Oliver Vardy, then Director of the Department of Economic Development for the province, supplied a copy of the songbook to all the members present at a government meeting.<sup>65</sup>

The Mills songbook was like several of Peacock's other undertakings during this period in that it was a one-off deal. Peacock seems to have simply flowed along with whatever seemed interesting. Rather than push toward creating publications or albums of his own making, Peacock simply ran with opportunities as they were presented to him by others. Peacock did do the occasional radio program and this helped re-affirm his role as a collector for the National Museum. His friend Bob Weaver arranged for him to create two new sets of radio talks for the CBC which ran in May and October of 1957. Peacock was paid two hundred dollars for each series and as he later noted, because he was self-employed at the time, "they [the radio programs] were a windfall."<sup>66</sup> He based three

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<sup>64</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 21 June 1997.

<sup>65</sup> Freda Viau, letter to Dr. Barbeau. n.d. c. 1958; Pea J-2, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC. The publication continues to circulate widely even today in the province.

<sup>66</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 18 Oct. 2000.

programs on his collecting experiences in Newfoundland and the second series on his Plains Indians fieldwork.<sup>67</sup>

The *Newfoundland Folk Music* programs essentially consisted of reworked material from the earlier 1953-54 shows. Once again Peacock highlighted the distinction between local songs and the old-world material, illustrating his discussion with many of the same songs he had selected previously. The Plains Indians series was a little different. While Peacock incorporated recordings which he had used for the Folkways recording, he also elaborated on how these encounters had begun to affect his view of the world:

One of the most rewarding things about studying a foreign culture is that you learn just as much about yourself and your own customs. Most of us look at the world through the distorted lense of our own society. We see only what our customs allow us to see. But when we really become interested in a different culture we begin to compare and contrast. In short, we begin to think. [. . .] I set out to learn something about the Plains Indians and was taught something about my own society-- something my trick glasses might have kept me from seeing had I stayed here.<sup>68</sup>

As he explained to his listeners throughout the three programs, most Anglo-Canadians have a preconceived image of Indian culture which has been shaped through film and books. Peacock was profoundly affected by the Plains Indians “inquisitive knowledge”

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<sup>67</sup>. *Newfoundland Folk Music* and *People of the Plains* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcripts for programs, 1957, Pea E 3-5 and Pea 6-8, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>68</sup>. *People of the Plains* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 3, 1957; CBC, Pea E-8.

and their “spiritual approach to reality” which he had witnessed first hand.<sup>69</sup> The Indian fieldwork had pushed him to look beyond the parameters of his musical education thus far. In the years to come Peacock would develop an insatiable curiosity for sampling dozens of other cultures; the Indian research was just the beginning.

One other event at this time is worth mentioning. In 1956 Dr. Alcock officially stepped down as director of the National Museum. In 1957, as a result of the recommendations of the Massey Commission and after several years of anticipation, the National Museum was finally split into two branches, in effect becoming the National Museums of Canada; Loris Russell took over the Natural History section and Jacques Rousseau an interdisciplinary botanist, ethnobiologist and ethnohistorian was appointed to take over Human History (Russell 1961, 9). In conjunction with the changeover and renovations, a special exhibit, “Irish Yesterdays,” opened on 16 September at the Museum. For the event Peacock was invited to speak briefly about Irish folklore in Canada and his experiences in Newfoundland. Tom Kines was asked to perform four Irish folksongs.<sup>70</sup> The CBC invited Peacock to review the whole event.

Peacock highlighted Kines’s performance of some of the Newfoundland songs including an Irish version of the “Foggy Dew” which, he added, was “not to be confused with the English “Foggy Dew” Burl Ives made so popular here.” The song was actually

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<sup>69</sup>. *People of the Plains* by Kenneth Peacock. Transcript for program 3.

<sup>70</sup>. *Irish Yesterdays: A New Exhibit at the Canadian Museum of Civilization*. n.d. c. 1957. Transcript, courtesy of Kenneth Peacock.

one that Margaret Sargent had collected from John Joe English in 1950 during her visit to the province (Peacock 1965, 2: 520-21).<sup>71</sup> Peacock had earlier prepared an arrangement of it then giving it to Kines along with other materials from his collection. This kind of musical exchange was typical of the relationship Kines and Peacock had started building based on their mutual musical interests. Peacock placed great value in Kines's knowledge of Irish song material and turned to him for advice and the use of musical publications in his extensive personal collection. Kines had drawn his attention to the Irish version of "Foggy Dew" in *Songs of the Irish Harpers* (C. Milligan Fox 1910, 38-40) which he had in his library.<sup>72</sup> Peacock regularly shared material with Kines. He passed the singer a transcript of "The Bonny Banks of Vergie-O" (MS-14) which Kines then performed on his first long-playing album *Of Maids and Mistresses* released that year.<sup>73</sup>

Kines, perhaps more than anyone, was aware of the dilemma Peacock faced with his career in the late 1950s. Peacock hadn't easily warmed up to the idea of being a folksong collector and, as Kines noted some years later, he was a "reluctant convert to folklore":

By this time Dr. Barbeau among others was thrilled to have a skilled

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<sup>71</sup> See John Joe English "Foggy Dew,": audiotape 2, track 2, Margaret Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>72</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

<sup>73</sup> Kines made special mention of Peacock's work in Newfoundland on this album; see Tom Kines, liner notes, *Tom Kines Sings of Maids and Mistresses* LP, Electra, (EKL-137), 1957.

musician and fledgling composer involved in this work [collecting] and several of us tried to convince Ken that this was a tremendous opportunity for him to make his mark in a relatively uncrowded field. But he was not enthusiastic. He was set on playing and composing and I think he was well indoctrinated by the prevailing attitude at Music schools at that time that folk music was junk. Ken, although a serious composer, was interested in jazz and I well remember the night he and Eldon Rathburn of the N.F.B. along with some other of my composer friends took over our piano at a party and gave us a fantastic exhibition of extemporaneous jazz. Fortunately, it wasn't long till the talents that we recognized in Ken Peacock as relevant to the specialized field of folksong collecting, led him deeper and deeper into the field and have enabled him to become probably the foremost collector in Canada today.<sup>74</sup>

By late 1957 Peacock had reached an impasse. He had quit the Museum supposedly to return to his career as a musician, but had performed very little and produced relatively few new compositions. Although Peacock no longer worked for the Museum, he still remained affiliated with the institution because of the various projects related to his collections. Perhaps because of his increased profile as a collector he began to think about returning to Newfoundland. The previous year, shortly after the release of *Songs and Ballads*, Peacock had informed Dr. Alcock of his interest in publishing a book based on his Newfoundland research:

Our telephone conversation the other day about my new record album of Newfoundland songs raised a few thoughts which you might find interesting. As you know the Museum is largely responsible for the recent revival of interest in Newfoundland folksongs. It seems a pity that the work of collection is not being continued, especially since so much of the present collection is now available in books and on records. Would it be possible to plan for more research in Newfoundland? If so, I would be

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<sup>74</sup> *The Collectors for Royal Ontario Museum Dec. 1 & 2, 1970*. Presentation notes by Tom Kines; Tom Kines Papers, Music Division, Carleton University.

more than delighted to be considered for the position, and to continue my researches in the area [ . . . ] . As a matter of fact there's a longer-range aspect of the subject as well. After one or two further field-trips I would hope to have enough material for a book--a really definitive collection of Newfoundland songs.<sup>75</sup>

As the budgetary estimates for that year had already been submitted Alcock politely turned Peacock down but advised him to reapply again.<sup>76</sup> In January 1957 he submitted a new request to Marcel Rioux.<sup>77</sup> There is no documentation to support whether Peacock was awarded this contract but, as he advised Creighton in October, it wouldn't have been possible because he had become too busy with his own projects including the CBC radio series and piano settings for the publication he and Mills were bringing out.<sup>78</sup> Instead Peacock waited until 1958 before returning to the field.

### **7.3 Folklore Research in Transition at the National Museum - 1957**

For several reasons this was also a transitional period for folklore research at the National Museum. Under Rousseau's guidance a special section devoted exclusively to folklore research was set up within the Ethnology Division. Carmen Roy, having acquired a doctorate from the Sorbonne in 1955, was placed in charge (Roy 1973, 48).

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<sup>75</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Dr. Alcock, 6 Sept. 1956, Ri-D, Rioux Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>76</sup> Dr. Alcock, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 6 Sept. 1956; Ri-D, Rioux Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>77</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marcel Rioux, 28 Jan. 1957; Ri-D, Rioux Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>78</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 25 Oct. 1957; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

The section continued to operate with a small staff and much of the work would still be done by contracting out field investigations with “skilled folklorists” reporting directly to Roy and “augmented through the field activities” by others with appropriate qualifications (48). Roy aspired to shape the collections into a more organized form and to make the archival documents more accessible ( Ouimet 1985, 47). She also attempted to bring some discipline and order to the section, making field workers more accountable for the kind of work they produced.

Roy’s drive to re-organize things occasionally led to friction and discontent among those doing folklore research, including Helen Creighton. McKay points out in *Quest* that this “clash” was because of a difference in epistemology. Much of Creighton’s work was based on “intuitive empiricism” while that of Roy was based on “rationalism” (1994, 88). Roy, who aimed to instill a more rigorous approach to folklore collecting saw Creighton’s research activities as outdated (McKay, 89). She also found Creighton’s kind of folklore research, which mainly involved the collection and popularization of folklore through books and radio programs, less than rigorous. Up to this point field researchers were mainly expected to bring back field recordings and to create transcripts and indexes of their collections.<sup>79</sup> As Roy pushed for a more formal approach to folklore research, issues would arise over territoriality and ownership of material, copyright, and the differentiation between activities perceived to be academic

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<sup>79</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Renée Landry, 28 May 1998.

and those which were seen to be overly popularizing because of the folk revival.

Roy was reacting to the dissemination of material from the Museum's folk music collections through more popular routes. A case in point is Sam Gesser who ensured that a considerable amount of Canadian folksong material from the National Museum's collections was published by Folkways. He had encouraged Peacock and Creighton to make albums and he had also collaborated with Barbeau to produce *My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folk-Lore* (1957, FG 3502) an audio account of Barbeau's collecting career. Gesser eventually expanded his activities and make his own field collections:

I said well if these people could record folksongs, you know, field work, so I'll do it too. So, I got myself a tape recorder, it was a wire tape recorder, in those days only a wire Webcore. And I went to the Laurentians and began recording. And it sort of emboldened me to figure I was one of them, the collectors you see. So I contacted Marius Barbeau he was very, very happy to meet me and especially since I told him I wanted him to do a record on his life in folk music. So I ended up doing a record and through him I also contacted other people. But, in general it was a very small world and there wasn't that many people collecting.<sup>80</sup>

Gesser created three albums in 1956: *Songs and Dances of Quebec* (1956, 6951) *Game Songs of French Canada* (1956, 7214) and *Songs of French Canada* (FE 4482) edited by Marius Barbeau. Peacock was asked to review the third one for the *Canadian Music Journal* and his comments are of some interest:

There are twenty-five selections in all; fourteen from Laura Bolton's 1941 collection for the National Film Board (under Dr. Barbeau's guidance), two by Miss Roy, and one sung by Dr. Barbeau himself. The remaining eight come from a dark-horse entry: Samuel Gesser, Folkways' Canadian

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<sup>80</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Sam Gesser, 18 Mar. 1998.

representative in Montreal who took a tape-recorder into the Laurentians in 1955. The trip must have been rewarding, for Mr. Gesser has provided many of the highlights in the album (1959: 66-68).

Having a high-profile folklore scholar such as Barbeau write the introduction, gave Gesser's album and his amateur collecting career a certain boost. It was for this reason that Gesser probably included Barbeau singing the song "Le Mariage Anglais" which Moses Asch had earlier recorded while the anthropologist was visiting the record company in New York City.<sup>81</sup>

Peacock gave the album a warm review, but added that he found Barbeau's one-page commentary "somewhat disappointing," and that more could have been done "in the way of detailed notes" (68). He also pointed out the incongruity between the recordings Laura Bolton made in 1941 and those "souped up from Edison recordings" which he found to be of "the poorest quality" (1958, 67).<sup>82</sup>

Perhaps the inclusion of the two kinds of field material was, for Barbeau, a way of evening out an old score. Boulton, who still had rights to the 1940s material, was able to get credit for her work through Folkways with whom she had already had dealings. In doing the introduction Barbeau was able to point to Boulton's work but acknowledge that the material had been collected under his direction. By giving Gesser permission to

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<sup>81</sup> Side 1, band 8. *Songs of French Canada* (FE 4482).

<sup>82</sup> Barbeau had always used the wax cylinder recording method. As Nowry notes in *Man of Mana*, in 1940-41, when working with Boulton Barbeau admired her "more advanced disc recording equipment" (Nowry 1995, 210).

incorporate his recordings (some of it dating to 1918, albeit in poor audio condition) he was able to affirm his well-established career as a noted collector.

Gesser's use of two numbers by Carmen Roy was a token acknowledgment of her new role as the current specialist for French-Canadian materials at the National Museum. Gesser could not include material by Barbeau without something from Roy as well; he was being diplomatic. Peacock notes that Roy never warmed to the idea of placing field material on albums; such activities were seen as an unprofessional use of archival sound recordings and she disliked the idea totally.<sup>83</sup> Her contribution was the exception to the rule. By having her there Gesser was able to keep the door open for future ventures involving the National Museum collections. In winding up his review Peacock remarked "All in all it is an excellent addition to Folkways' growing library of Canadiana" (69). No one seemed surprised that an American company had been responsible for the dissemination of so much Canadian folk music. But it was a curious collaborative effort between collectors from the National Museum and people in the business of popularizing folk music.

The quality of all the Canadian Folkways albums issued during this period varied considerably. In some instances the supposed professionals such as Barbeau seemed amateur in the presentations of the music they had collected. As one critic of the anthropologist's *My Life* remarked, "Well as Barbeau speaks and sings, this reviewer

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<sup>83</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock 2 Oct. 1997.

would prefer to read the narrative and hear the authentic Indian music.”<sup>84</sup> Carmen Roy saw the move toward professionalism as a necessary step to put some distance between the business of folklore research and the overall presentation of that material to the general public.

Roy was also motivated to bring more order to the Museum’s folklore research because of the new direction coming from Rousseau. Although a professional botanist, Rousseau was sympathetic to the needs of the new folklore section and he was anxious to improve the working conditions at the Museum. As he advised Helen Creighton shortly after his appointment, he hoped to upgrade the storage facilities and to have a permanent musicographer: “only then will it be possible to do useful work.”<sup>85</sup> Rousseau also saw the publication of records with accompanying booklets as a priority for the Museum but as Rousseau advised Creighton, “In your own collection a musicologist will no doubt be in a position to bring to light important discoveries you have made [. . .]. This booklet should contain your own notes as well as the commentaries of a musicologist.”<sup>86</sup> The changes at the National Museum were partially linked to the general move toward professionalism within Canada itself. As Tippett argues in *Making Culture*, during the

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<sup>84</sup> A.L.L[loyd], rev., *My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folk-lore* by Dr. Marius Barbeau Folkways Records. New York; FG 3502. LP. *JIFMC* 10 (1958) : n.p; Barbeau file, Folkways Records, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>85</sup> Jacques Rousseau, letter to Helen Creighton, 8 Mar. 1957; CR-K-1.8; Creighton Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>86</sup> Jacques Rousseau, letter to Helen Creighton, 8 Mar. 1957.

first half of the twentieth century so much of the cultural activity within the country had been largely amateurish, resulting from a lack of government funds and infrastructure. While the Museum was undergoing a reorganization, it still lacked the necessary financial budgets to publish the kind of research materials which would be both scholarly and beneficial to the general public. The establishment of the Canada Council in 1957 and the hefty endowment fund made available, for the first time ever, a dedicated block of monies for individuals and organizations in the arts and humanities and across other sectors of the cultural community. Its existence had everything to do with the promotion of Canadian unity and the protection of Canadian culture.<sup>87</sup>

Over the next few years the Council would have an appreciable effect on folklore research and related activities at the National Museum. For Helen Creighton, and indirectly for Kenneth Peacock, the benefits were immediate. Shortly after the formation of the Council, Creighton applied for funds to assist her make duplicate copies of her field collection and have a musicologist to transcribe on paper the melodies. She asked for \$10,000 because Barbeau had suggested this amount (Croft 1999, 142). In the fall of 1957 Creighton learned that she had received her grant. This immediately placed Creighton in a position to have someone transcribe her music on an ongoing basis.

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<sup>87</sup> The establishment of the Canada Council was one of the Royal Commission's most important recommendations. Officially launched in March of 1957 with Canada Council Act, the organization was provided with the unprecedented amount of one hundred million dollars for cultural development. The Council set up its offices on Wellington Street in Ottawa and appointed a small staff headed up by Dr. Albert Trueman as its Director and began its work on April 1957 with appointments to the board from across the country (Granatstein 1994, 91-2).

Shortly after this Barbeau advised her that she would be wise to contact either “Ken Peacock in Ottawa or Richard Johnston of Toronto” to aid her in the collections adding “good musicologists are extremely rare in our country.”<sup>88</sup>

By this time, having finished the CBC radio programs, Peacock was quite restless. Looking to do some kind of new project, he applied to the Canada Council for a grant to study black music in Ghana. As his proposal fell well outside the nationalistic mandate of the Council, Peacock was naturally turned down.<sup>89</sup> Upon learning of Creighton’s award he sent her a letter proposing that they collaborate on an artistic music publication. He offered to do her transcriptions as well:

The publishers (BMI) now want piano settings of folksongs for concert use, a volume for recitalists. The Newfoundland book is a simple collection for home use. I was hoping we might collaborate on this second volume and make a really artistic production of it [ . . . ]. Ever since this new book became a possibility I’ve been hoping to kill two birds with one stone i.e., transcribe your collection for the National Museum and at the same time pick out songs suitable for concert use, with your approval of course. But as you know, it’s the same old story--the Museum simply hasn’t the funds for such a large undertaking. Dr. Rousseau is more than sympathetic and has assured me that as soon as he has the money the transcribing will be a reality. He told me of your grant from the Canada Council and I immediately jumped for joy hoping you might be using the grant, or at least part of it to complete the musical transcription of your collection. So I decided to write you immediately to see what you think of my idea [ . . . ]. In the months to come I’m sure a very large proportion of

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<sup>88</sup>. Marius Barbeau, letter to Helen Creighton, 23 Oct. 1957; Barbeau Correspondence vol. 2810, file 74, Helen Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>89</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Dr. Trueman, 9 Sept. 1957; Kenneth Peacock File, Record Group 63, series B1, vol. 143, Canada Council Records, National Archives of Canada.

your collection could be put into notation.<sup>90</sup>

Creighton thought the offer a good one and a short time later she and Peacock met with Albert Trueman to discuss the arrangements. As Peacock recalls she actually initiated the process of having him do the transcripts “hundreds and hundreds of them”:

In 1957 she was in Ottawa for a visit, and we went down to the offices of the newly-formed Canada Council headed by Albert Trueman, an enthusiastic amateur singer and fellow Maritimer - - - very important. He was putty in Helen’s hands. She was applying for a grant to have me transcribe the songs in her large collection. Things got a little dicey when Mr. Trueman and his assistant Peter Dwyer began discussing the price of each song with me, a difficult subject because there are so many variables. Anyway, we finally agreed on a price of \$4.00 per song (!) and the first grant went through. I would complete a sizeable group of songs and ship them off to Helen who sent me a cheque from her grant fund. At her request I typed an ‘A’ at the top of the most musically interesting songs for her future reference.<sup>91</sup>

Peacock started working on Creighton’s song collection in the fall of 1957 and, as Bob Weaver recollects, it provided him with considerable stability:

I think what really kept him going of course was, he was an only child; he lived, kept on living, with his parents in Ottawa. I think, if he hadn’t have been doing that, he would have been really stretched. And then I think he got occasional small grants and he was part of that loose link of folklore people, the Helen Creightons’ and so on; so, through that there were connections and I think small amounts of money and short term grants.<sup>92</sup>

Peacock’s plans to create the book of concert settings with Creighton never did come

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<sup>90</sup> The Newfoundland book Peacock was speaking of was *Favourite Songs of Newfoundland* which he had done with Alan Mills. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 23 Oct. 1957; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>91</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 20 Nov. 1996.

<sup>92</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Robert Weaver, 19 Mar. 1999.

together but over the next couple of years they developed a close working relationship. She appreciated his methods of transcribing and his efficiency in processing her material and for Peacock there was the financial stability.

One other Canada Council grant is worth mentioning because of what it represented professionally for the small number of people involved in folklore research in Canada. Ten thousand dollars was also awarded to the newly established Canadian Folk Music Society (of which Marius Barbeau was the self-appointed president). Discussions for formation of the society had first taken place on 26 September 1956 in the office of the Director of the National Museum. The founding meeting had been called by Barbeau acting on the request of Maud Karpeles the Secretary Treasurer of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) to "Bring Canada into line with other countries that have already organized local folk-music societies."<sup>93</sup> The Museum lent its support for the idea offering patronage and cooperation mainly through the personnel of the Anthropology Division's ethnological and folklore sections.<sup>94</sup>

As Nowry notes in *Man of Mana* the CFMS was "as much a creature of the

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<sup>93</sup>. *Canadian Folk Music Society 25 Jan. 1957*; Circular Letter; Vol. 2810 file 74, CFMS Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM. The idea for this had probably come from Karpeles who visited the Museum in 1956 at the time delivering a lecture "English Folksongs in the Old and New Worlds"; see Canada, National Museum of Canada, *National Museum of Canada: Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada For the Fiscal Year 1955-56* (Ottawa: Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Bulletin No. 147, 1957) 3.

<sup>94</sup>. Although this would shortly change, the initial executive included Barbeau, with Dr. Richard Johnston and Dr. Graham George as vice-chairmen with Mr. Ansen Balikçi as secretary-treasurer. See "International Folk Music Society," *CMJ* 1.1(1956) : 56.

National Museum as of Barbeau, its facilities and staff playing a central role; though the connection was inspired by Barbeau” (1995, 380). The revival of interest in folksong and music which had been taking place since at least the late 1940s, had been carried out in an casual manner. The attempt to organize a society was indicative, in its own way, of the impending need for some formal association to represent the various people involved in both research and dissemination. Initially set up as a branch of the IFMC, two of the society’s main objectives were to “achieve further progress in research and the utilization of folk and Indian songs” in Canada and “to uphold the interests of folk music and represent its protagonists with the new Canada Council” currently being established.<sup>95</sup> The society went into official operation in January 1957 and, in the initial stages, Barbeau took the position of Chairperson, Graham George and Richard Johnston served as vice chairmen while Carmen Roy was assigned the role of Secretary Treasurer.<sup>96</sup> The Society became self-governing in 1957 although it continued to remain affiliated with the IFMC.

The Canada Council’s sizable grant helped give a public face to folklore research and, as one of its objectives was to ensure “exchange with other countries knowledge of the arts sciences and humanities,” the CFMS’s plans to host the IFMC conference nicely fitted the Council’s mandate of “Promotion of Canada Abroad.”<sup>97</sup> It also helped that two

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<sup>95.</sup> *Canadian Folk Music Society 25 Jan. 1957*; Circular Letter; Vol. 2810 file 74, CFMS Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>96.</sup> *Canadian Folk Music Society 25 Jan. 1957*; Circular Letter.

<sup>97.</sup> *The Canada Council First Annual Report to March 31, 1958*. Ottawa: The Canada Council, 1958. 31.

of the Council members were Barbeau's old friend, Sir Ernest MacMillan and Frederick Emerson of Newfoundland. In 1958, Barbeau recruited both MacMillan and Emerson to stand as executive members of the CFMS, thus ensuring that this organization was well-represented around the Council's table. As Barbeau commented to Creighton some time later, "these two are great supporters of our society in the Council."<sup>98</sup> Over the next three years, as plans were formed and reshaped for the IFMC conference, anyone having anything to do with folklore research and dissemination would be coerced by Barbeau into playing some role or another. Peacock stayed out of the early stages of the society's development though inevitably by the end of 1958 he would be enlisted by Barbeau.

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<sup>98</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Helen Creighton, 3 Mar. 1958. Vol. 2810 file 74, CFMS Correspondence, MG1, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

## Chapter 8 The Newfoundland Fieldwork 1958-1960

On 19 January 1958, Peacock participated in a special concert of piano music written and performed by members of the Canadian League of Composers.<sup>1</sup> This was a momentous occasion; other invited composers included Talivaldis Kenins, Oscar Morawetz, Paul McIntyre and Harry Somers.<sup>2</sup> The event was hosted at Casa Loma, Toronto by the Canadian Music Associates (CMA) and the League. Both organizations had emerged in the early 1950s as a formal voice for composers in Canada (Kallman 1992, 201-02; Patricia Shand 1992, 204-05). Although not a founding member, through his connection to John Weinzweig, Peacock had been registered with the League almost since its inception. The organization's establishment was "the result of the appearance during the 1940s of a wave of young composers expressing themselves in contemporary idioms" (Kallman 200-01). Composers linked to it were not necessarily attempting to "issue a credo of aesthetic convictions or to forge a distinct Canadian style" (200-01). As the pianist and composer Jean Marie Beaudet observed in 1954: "Even though we have not developed any recognizably national musical idiom, we feel all about us a growing realization that a nation without art is no nation at all" (56).

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<sup>1</sup> *Concert of Piano Music Written and Performed by Members of the Canadian League of Composers 19 January, 1958*. Canadian Programme Concert Collection, NLC.

<sup>2</sup> See "Kenins, Talivaldis,"; Elaine Keillor, "McIntyre, Paul (Poirier),"; Veronica Sedivy, "Morawetz, Oskar,"; Brian Cherney and John Beckwith, "Somers, Harry (Stewart)," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 679-681; 832-33; 883-885 and 1235-1238.

Symptomatic of this period, composers such as Peacock often worked in isolation and had great difficulty in having their music heard and published because it was not in keeping with the conservative English-Canadian predilection for the long-established tradition of British and European music. Since its formation, the League had attempted to address these concerns through the organization of a series of concerts hosted on a regular basis throughout the year (Kallman, 1992, 200-01).

For the occasion Peacock performed three original pieces: a large and rather fiendishly difficult *Elegy* which he had composed in 1950, one of the *Idioms* he had written based on Native American music and a slow forlorn *Toccata* originating out of his love of blues and improvisation.<sup>3</sup> The *Toccata* was hurriedly pulled together at the last minute in pencil causing him much grief during the performance: "I had all the pages strung out and it fell down and Richard Felgrove rushed up from the front floor and saved everything so I could get to the next page."<sup>4</sup> Peacock commented to Creighton a short time later:

The concert in Toronto went off very well. I got a real 'charge' from playing in public again—I should do it more often. There's nothing like creating something and having people appreciate it.<sup>5</sup>

Peacock was honored to have been chosen to participate in the eventful evening.

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<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 27 May 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 25 Nov. 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton. 28 Jan. 1958; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

It also highlighted his distinct position among the small number of Canadian composers who had emerged during the late 1940s and early '50s. This concert, however, was the last of Peacock's major public performances. With the commencement of his work for Helen Creighton, Peacock's career as a pianist and composer faded into the background. While his interests in classical music would always remain, he was gradually being pulled in other directions. The folk music research simply took over and something had to give. Reflecting back on his years as a composer Peacock noted in a pragmatic fashion:

It's not a huge corpus. It's really not that significant; actually I was not a great composer or anything like that.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps Peacock was being humble about this phase of his career; he did produce several remarkable compositions and for that he continues to be viewed by the Canadian music establishment as a composer of some importance (Kallman 1972: 191-92; MacMillan and Beckwith 1975: 175-76; Ménard 1992: 1026-27; Smith 2001, 19: 260-61).

Throughout the winter of 1958 Peacock worked long hours transcribing Creighton's collection. By late April he had completed over six hundred melodies.<sup>7</sup> As a small favor to Creighton during this time he also arranged the song "My Cottage O" composed by Finvola Redden, the daughter of one of Creighton's singers from Middle

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<sup>6</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 Oct. 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 9 Apr. 1958; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

Musquodoboit. Creighton had taken the young woman under her wing.<sup>8</sup>

Around this time Creighton was working on a radio program written by Joseph Schull on the life of a Nova Scotia politician. As the script called for Nova Scotia music she passed several of the finished transcripts to Richard Johnston who then arranged them for choir (Croft 1999, 143). Creighton would come to depend on Peacock's efficiency and, by transcribing her collection, he greatly facilitated her publishing endeavors.

In an incidental way, doing transcription after transcription, Peacock gained much practical exposure to her distinctly Maritime folksong collection. He developed a new appreciation for the diversity of folksongs in this region of Canada. In 1951 and '52 he had only tapped a small area of Newfoundland's musical traditions and working on Creighton's collection he realized that he could comfortably expand his investigations.<sup>9</sup> In late 1957 or early 1958 he approached Jacques Rousseau at the Museum for a contract to resume his fieldwork in Newfoundland. Rousseau agreed with the idea, setting aside \$2500. By March the Museum could only come up with \$1800 because of fiscal restraints related to the conservative policies of the Diefenbaker Government which had recently been elected with a landslide victory.<sup>10</sup> Peacock also contacted Dr. John Robbins, Chairman of the Canadian Social Science Research Council (CSSRC) in the

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<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 13 Mar. 1958; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM. Finvola Redden, *My Cottage-O* arr. Kenneth Peacock (Ontario: Waterloo Music, 1958); and see Croft, *Creighton*, 139-141 and 143.

<sup>9</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 May 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Peacock file, Record Group 63, series B1, vol. 143, Canada Council Records, NAC.

hopes of securing funding from this source. As Robbins explained, the CSSRC was “attempting to leave summer grants to the Canada Council” and although Peacock had missed the deadline, the Council would still consider applications.<sup>11</sup> Shortly thereafter Peacock corresponded with Mr. E. Bussière, the Council’s associate director.<sup>12</sup> Bussière had evidently consulted with the Museum’s director who “highly recommended” the project. Frederick Emerson of Newfoundland also intervened on his behalf:

Research funds were hard to come by in 1958. It was the time of the notorious “Diefendollar.” My meager stipend from the National Museum fortunately was supplemented by a modest grant from the Canada Council, largely through the kind offices of Fred Emerson of St. John’s (Peacock 1984, 7).

Having secured an additional \$700 Peacock made preparations to depart for Newfoundland by car around mid-June. Out of his contract funds he hired a young music student from Oshawa, Ontario to help with the camping gear, the recording sessions and typing:

Yes I had a field worker with me to help with the camping etc. in 1958. Can’t remember which musician recommended him, but he played the viola rather well. Even took it on our camping trip. What a sensitive thing to take camping! His name was Don Parks. I even started writing a piece for viola and piano which eventually became the opening to “Essay on Nfld themes.” Don was very helpful with the texts too, typing them in triplicate after I had transcribed them into one of my wire-ring binders.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Kenneth Peacock file, Canada Council Records, NAC.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Mr. E. Bussière, 18 Apr. 1958; Kenneth Peacock file, Canada Council Records, NAC.

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June 1997.

As Peacock was expected to pay Parks out of the money the Museum awarded to him, camping was a practical austerity measure.

To record the singers Peacock took along a Magnemite recording machine which had “a heavy cast iron fly wheel on top which you had to take off every time you put on a reel.”<sup>14</sup> He had used the machine for the Plains Indians research and found the recording quality to be good. He took a portable Mamiya-6 Automat folding camera which could take 6x6 cm images.<sup>15</sup> While in North Sydney waiting for the ferry, on a whim, he also bought an eight mm colour movie camera. As he had not been to Newfoundland in a while he thought it would be “nice to make a film.” Over the next few weeks Peacock would end up using the movie camera extensively to record his collecting activities and the places and people he visited.

This field season, Peacock decided to concentrate on the west coast of the province. A new gravel highway had been built across the island from Port aux Basques to St. John’s since his last visit, so he decided to drive inland to Cormack. This small agricultural settlement had been established following World War II just eleven miles north of Deer Lake just at the base of the Great Northern Peninsula (Hodgson 1981, 535). Here he met Alvina Coles and Gladys Snow, recording from them the first three songs of

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<sup>14</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 25 Sept. 1997.

<sup>15</sup> The Mamiya was a portable post-World War II camera with a unique focusing mechanism popular among camera users of the period. It used 120 roll film and could take 12 6x6 cm images. See Mamiya 6 Folder Camera. 20 May 2002. 2 Sept. 2003.<<http://medfmt.8k.com/mf/mamiya6f.html> >; Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 5 May 1997.

the season: “Jack the Jolly Tar” (7-656), “The Soldier’s Letter” (70-658) and “The Sailors Alphabet” (70-657).

Peacock was unimpressed with Cormack, later reporting that it was “a rather abortive experiment in labor diversion for families who wanted to escape the precarious rewards of fishing and logging” and that “many of the men are now reduced to working on the Trans-Canada Highway which runs through the community.”<sup>16</sup> Finding little in this community of interest he asked his informants for their recommendation as to which direction he should take. They advised him to head north to Rocky Harbour and look up Annie Walters (Peacock, 1984, 7). Gladys Snow was originally a Shears from Rocky Harbour and quite familiar with the singers along the Great Northern Peninsula. Annie Walters lived just a few houses from her family home.<sup>17</sup>

Following the women’s advice, Peacock headed north via the newly constructed gravel road to Wiltondale. From here he and Parks traveled across the winding forty kilometer Bonne Bay road to Woody Point. En route he tried out his new movie camera recording several small communities along the way. Peacock found the Bonne Bay region most appealing and he took panoramic shots of the scenic Bonne Bay fjord with the Tableland Mountains looming above Woody Point and Gros Morne Mountain on the

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<sup>16</sup> *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock; Kenneth Peacock file, Records Group 63, Series B-1, box 77, box 143 and box 233; Canada Council Papers, NAC.

<sup>17</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Milton Walters, 23 July 1998. All subsequent quotes are from this session.

other side of the bay.<sup>18</sup> Boarding a small car ferry he made the half-hour crossing to Norris Point and as the boat entered the small harbour, he photographed the fishermen and fishing rooms along the shoreline and a crowd of children swimming off the wharf just off the ferry dock. Peacock and Parks traveled another eight kilometers along the Norris Point Road to Rocky Harbour where they then contacted Annie Walters (1896- ).

Peacock developed a friendship with Walters and her family. She gave him permission to use her back yard as a place to set up camp and it was from there that he started his fieldwork in the Rocky Harbour area:

I also regret not being able to find the letters from Annie Walters, perhaps three or four; she always signed them 'Your friend, Annie Walters.' And we were very good friends. We camped briefly in her backyard in 1958 despite her pleas to come inside. I remember she brought us out three huge lobsters from Tom's storage "cage" (what do they call it?).<sup>19</sup>

During that first session she gave Peacock six songs including "The Bird Rocks" (70-659), two performances of "Since Love Can Enter An Iron Door" (70-no number assigned, and 71-661) as well as variants of "The Indian's Lament" (71-660)," "Peter Emberley" (71-662) and "Donald Munroe" (71-663). Peacock later acknowledged Walters connection to Elisabeth Greenleaf who visited the area the 1920s but he provides no details of her background or how the American collector came to meet her (1965, 3: 904). Some of this life history can today be re-constructed through transcripts contained

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<sup>18</sup> The region was designated as Gros Morne National Park in 1973 and declared a world heritage site in 1988; see Alison Bates, "Parks, National," *ENL*, 4: 213-15.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 16 Sep. 1996.

in Gros Morne National Park's Interpretive files, Greenleaf's account and interviews I conducted with her daughter Bertha, her son Milton and his wife Josie.

Walters was originally from Glenburnie on the Woody Point side of Bonne Bay. She came from the family, of at least nine children, of William Young and Bertha Payne. Her father had a trading business between Glenburnie and Halifax, traveling between the two places on his vessel *The Sailor's Home*. When she was six, the Youngs moved into the Lobster Cove Lighthouse in Bear Cove at the head of Bonne Bay where her father took on the position of lighthouse keeper. Annie learned many of her songs from her mother who often sang to keep awake during the nights she was tending the lighthouse:

Mom was a good singer. Pop used to get time off every now and then to go to the country, and Mom wouldn't go to bed while he was gone, if he was gone a week, we had to stay up all night long, well we'd have a nap in the day. And she'd sing songs all night long, to keep us woke. And she never had to sing one over twice. She knew over 250 songs [ . . .]. I learned all my songs from Mom.<sup>20</sup>

Milton Walters notes that Annie's brother was also a good singer and he too had been taught by their mother: "[He] couldn't sing at all as a boy and Grandmother [would] stand up and sing and sing the same song, same verse; [it] took longest time but he got the tune."<sup>21</sup> In 1923 Annie married Thomas Walters junior, the son of Rosa Payne and

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<sup>20</sup> Unidentified interview with Annie Walters, 1975; transcript copy, interview files, Interpretation Department, Visitor's Center, Gros Morne National Park.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Milton and Josie Walters, 23 July 1998.

Thomas Walters.<sup>22</sup> They shared a house with his brother, Jim, married to Susan Young. Thomas's sister Rosa married Eli Knott and Fanny Jane married Daniel Endicott, the postman. Both men were from Sally's Cove, farther up the coast.

When serving as a teacher with the Grenfell Mission in 1920 and '21, Greenleaf stayed with the Endicotts thus coming into contact with various family members.<sup>23</sup> It was through one of Fanny Jane's visits with her family in Rocky Harbour that Greenleaf first met Fanny's brother, Jim Walters, his wife Susan and his mother, Mrs. Walters Senior (Rosa Payne) (1933, xxiii-xxiv). In addition to taking down songs from Daniel Endicott, she collected four songs from Susan Walters: "Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight" (Child 4), "Lord Thomas" (Child 73), "Greenwood Siding" which Greenleaf notes is a version of "Fair Flowers of Helio" (Child 20), and "Gil Morissy" (Child 83) (1933: 5, 15, 18, and 25). When carrying out her folklore expedition in 1929 Greenleaf again visited the Walters family in Rocky Harbour and at that time was introduced to Thomas's wife, Annie, from whom she recorded three songs: "Joan and John Blout" (Child 274), "The Maiden Who Dwelt By the Shore" and "The Bird Rocks" (1933: 41, 63 and 292). Having had the earlier experience with giving Greenleaf songs, Annie Walters immediately appreciated Peacock's motivations for visiting her.

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<sup>22</sup> Unidentified interview with Annie Walters, transcript copy, 1975.

<sup>23</sup> I discuss these connections in Neil Rosenberg and Anna Guigné, foreword, *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland*, by Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Mansfield (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933; Rpt. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, In Press).

For this third field trip there was a noticeable difference in Peacock's collecting methods. Through doing transcriptions for Creighton he had expanded his knowledge of the song traditions of the Atlantic region. This enabled him to be more direct in his enquiries. From the earlier Newfoundland research and the Plains Indians work Peacock had also developed considerable field experience:

Well it was not exactly old hat. I felt more confident in what I was doing, not sort of exploring all the time, making it up as I go along . . . I gave them a title or two or perhaps sang a stanza or two of the sort of old-time songs I was looking for. I didn't say folksongs. I always said old-time songs.<sup>24</sup>

Peacock often exchanged songs with singers as a way of getting them to think of new material. His recollection of a session with Annie Walters reminds us of how often these encounters were really a meeting of two separate cultures:

Because it was an entertainment. I was thinking about that last night. When I knew Annie Walters and her husband John and his brother Jim who lived with them. I had asked her about it ["The Bonnie Banks of the Vergie-O"]. She had already sung "Lord Donald" which is one of my favourite ballads a long, long [song], twenty-nine stanzas or something. Anyway, I asked if she knew "The Bonnie Banks of Virgie-O" and she said, "No I never heard of it." So I sang it for them and there were, they had company and two, a couple of ladies [laughter]; I felt, my God, they were just staring they were so engrossed. It was like looking, kids looking at television, they were listening to this story about the three girls going for a walk and they come across this robber and he takes the first one by the hand, he whips her around with the knife and he kills her. You know the story. And they listened in rapt attention right to the end. I

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<sup>24</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 Oct. 1997.

was amazed it was such an entertainment and I realized that. That's how they, and playing cards, was the other thing.

AG: Was there a lot of discussion after these songs by the singers and by the people present?

KP: No not a discussion just a comment that "It's a sad story."<sup>25</sup>

For Peacock a song was essentially music and text which could be melodious and poetic but beyond this, little else. He seemed perplexed that his listeners should be so emotionally absorbed with the narrative. He simply could not make the connections between communal sharing and cultural interaction in these kinds of contexts. As Milton Walters notes though, singing was a form of family entertainment and often occurred during an evening's social visit by members of the community with one another:

I tell you what, I remember when we were youngsters, that was the most entertainment was singing. You see you had radio, the old battery radio, but that was about it for entertainment. So you sang, you told stories, jokes and whatnot. Mostly it was true stories--anecdotes and what not. And you sang songs--the people that could sing and [tell] you about spirits and ghosts and whatnot because I can remember sitting in the living room and somebody would come in if there was singing. They would, I've often said, they'd talk about the weather for a few minutes. Then they'd tell us a few ghost stories. So, we'd be just there petrified scared to look at the window. And the old kerosene lamps--we always had a lamp left up in the hall. And when it was bedtime, when Mom said it was time for bed, we were just sitting there like stones scared to move. Scary ghost stories I tell you. But I tell you there was some scary ones and they was mostly local ones. Now it's time to go to bed we were upstairs like a shot under the covers.<sup>26</sup>

While in Rocky Harbour Peacock recorded songs from four additional singers:

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<sup>25</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>26</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Milton Walters, 23 July, 1998.

George and Sara Anne Decker, Lawrence Hutchings and Arthur Nicolle (1920-1998) whom he met through the Walters family. Nicolle's mother Elizabeth and Annie's husband, Thomas Walters, were first cousins. Their mothers, Rosa and Elizabeth Payne, were sisters.<sup>27</sup>

Arthur lived only doors down from the Walters in Rocky Harbour Cove and he visited the family on a regular basis. He had married Amelia Hann of Trout River in 1938. At the time of Peacock's visit he and his brother Jim had a business selling groceries and clothing. At one time he also employed twenty men who worked for him in the lumber woods. Amelia Nicolle says that all her husband's family were good singers. Arthur loved to sing and could play the accordion and the organ. Although unable to read, he acquired many songs by hearing them in the lumber camps:

I tell you how he learned those songs. I always heard him say, because people used to say "Well Arthur I don't know ever you learned songs and you couldn't hardly read your own name." He could write his own name on his cheque so hardly but he used to go in the lumber woods working. And when they put the railroad through from Corner Brook to Port aux Basques he worked on the railroad there clear [ing] that. He always worked in the lumber woods. And when he was in the lumber woods he'd pick out [a] song from a man. Like, if a man there could sing a song he'd pick it up. And he picked up all those songs my dear. He'd just sit down and sing on and he never had a word of learning<sup>28</sup>

Arthur Nicolle's experiences were typical of many men along the coast who acquired

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<sup>27</sup> Field note, Amelia and Florence Laing, 1 Nov. 2000.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Amelia Nicolle Laing, 21 July 1998.

songs while working in the lumber woods.<sup>29</sup>

Although unable to read, Nicolle did learn some songs indirectly through printed sources including *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland*. Prior to performing the “Wreck of the Ethie” (74-670) Peacock asked him how the name of the vessel was spelled.<sup>30</sup> Someone present during the recording remarked “E-T-T-I-E, I suppose; I suppose it’s in the book.”<sup>31</sup> Greenleaf had recorded this locally composed song in 1920, also giving an account of the disaster which occurred the year previous just miles from Sally’s Cove (1933, 277). Nicolle’s version closely follows her text. Although Peacock says nothing of using Greenleaf’s publication during his research, he was familiar with the contents of *Ballads and Sea Songs* and it provided him with a template of the kind of material he could search out along this part of the coast. As he continued on with his summer’s work in this region, he would collect several songs which corresponded to those in her collection.

Peacock next headed northward toward St. Paul’s approximately forty miles up the coast passing through the communities of Baker’s Brook, Green Point and finally Sally’s Cove where Greenleaf had spent her summer. Peacock used his movie camera to

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<sup>29</sup>. For a brief discussion of the tradition in this area see Greenleaf and Mansfield *Ballads and Sea Songs*, 322-23.

<sup>30</sup>. Arthur Nicolle, “Wreck of the Ethie” Peacock Collection, MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11040B.

<sup>31</sup>. The song may have been learned from Doyle’s *Old-Time Songs* which contained the lyrics and music with credit being given to Greenleaf and Maude [sic] Roberts from whom she obtained the words (1940, 59; 1955, 88). Perhaps because the song was published both by Greenleaf and later by Doyle, Peacock excluded it from *Outports*.

document both the human activity and the abundant rustic coastal scenery. He filmed fishermen readying their boats and equipment alongside tiny wooden summer fishing sheds and images of small children sitting on fishing stages.

The singers in Rocky Harbour suggested that he should seek out Rebecca (Becky), Freeman and Everett Bennett in St. Paul's, also known for their music. Upon arriving in this community he soon discovered that his presence raised suspicions:

They'd know from my accent. I was often asked if I was from St. John's. I remember the first time I was told where Everett Bennett lived in St. Paul's and I opened the gate and closed it and walked up. And later, he told me, he said, "You know when I saw you coming up the path I thought you were an insurance salesman from St. John's with your briefcase. [laughter] I wasn't going to open the door."<sup>32</sup>

Peacock assured Everett Bennett that he was just looking for songs and later Bennett showed him a place to put up his tent:

Your mentioning of St. Paul's brought back memories of the Bennett families and the tiny charming camping spot Everett showed me down by the shore (complete with wild irises) just to the left of the fjord. No doubt there is a bridge now but in 1958 there was a raft drawn by steel cables to take passengers and a car or two across.<sup>33</sup>

As his 1958 film reveals Peacock found the whole experience just a little magical (appendix 5, plate 4, page 848). He had full view of St. Paul's inlet and the Long Range Mountains in the distance. Using time lapse photography he filmed the early morning sunrises and sunsets, and he took pictures of the wild irises. He photographed crab and

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<sup>32</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 6 Feb. 1995.

jellyfish in the kelp-lined coastal tidal pools. He captured the Bennett's house with the mountain ranges in the background and sheep sleeping untethered next to the car in the yard. It was all part of an incredible summer's camping experience. The Bennetts were keen to show him aspects of their way of life, holding up a seal skin pelt strung out on a rack. Three young Bennett men walked toward the camera hoisting a road sign that read "King's County, Ontario Route 10" which someone had taken as a memento of a trip abroad and which Peacock must have documented because it was so incongruous with the coastal environment of the Great Northern Peninsula.

Peacock discovered an extensive singing tradition within this family and he spent the next several weeks in St. Paul's recording songs from several family members. With his movie camera he documented Everett, Freeman and Becky performing. Although the film contains no sound, the visual images of Becky and Freeman singing provide a nice complement to his field tapes. In his summer's field report he later remarked:

The Bennetts of St. Paul's are a rare phenomenon, even in rural Newfoundland. Centered about two brothers, Everett and Freeman, the whole family eats, lives and breathes folksong. Everett's two sons Clarence and Jim, seem to be growing into the tradition too, in spite of their rather weak musical gifts. And Freeman's wife [Becky] (also a Bennett before marriage) is practically an institution in herself. Her musical sense is highly developed and soon overshadows the somewhat unpleasant nasal quality of her voice, a quality reminiscent of Indian voice production.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock. For short biographical sketches of Clarence, Everett, Freeman and Becky (Rebecca) Bennett and their family connections see Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, *Folktales of Newfoundland: The Resilience of Oral Tradition* 2 vols. (Breakwater and Garland Publishing, 1996) 1062-1066.

Peacock habitually taped the Bennetts in the evenings, leaving the day in which to work on the transcriptions. Don Parks helped with the recording sessions:

- KP: Well it was very handy having Don with me. He ran this Magnemite machine with the cast iron wheel on top which kept the mechanism going steadily so there was no 'wow' or 'flutter'.
- AG: And then?
- KP: It was handy him looking after that and I'd have my notebook and hold the mic [microphone].
- AG: And it seems that there were always a number of people present at those recording sessions, family members.
- KP: Yes especially at, I just remember this sea of faces at Freeman and Becky's place. I guess they were the younger daughters you were telling me about on the phone . . . I just remember one of their daughters singing. I guess the others were younger.<sup>35</sup>

These sessions were often well attended, partially because there were so many Bennett family members. Becky had ten sisters and four brothers. She and Freeman also had several offspring.

The Bennetts evidently enjoyed meeting Peacock and singing for a stranger with a tape recorder created lots of family curiosity. In many ways the recording sessions became an extended form of an evening's entertainment. The Bennetts showed much interest in Peacock's work and they were anxious to remember and perform songs for him. Over the course of several sessions Peacock documented roughly seventeen hours of song material on thirty-four tapes. From Everett he recorded forty-seven songs, while Freeman gave him forty-five and Becky provided an additional twenty-three. Everett's sons, Jim and Clarence, gave him another thirteen songs between them and he also

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<sup>35</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

collected a small number from Becky and Freeman's daughters Rillie, Rhoda, and Marie.

This song material is both eclectic and wide ranging. It includes music hall numbers, Child ballads and songs of Irish origin. There are local compositions, North American lumber ballads, songs of suspense crime and trickery as well as religious and sentimental songs. Listening to the tapes one cannot help but be astounded at the extent of this one family's singing tradition and we are fortunate that through Peacock's dogged determination he was able to create such a massive audio-inventory of their impressive repertoire.

Peacock was appreciative of the Bennett family's knowledge of so many songs and with the quantity and quality of the music. Unfortunately, although he viewed the Bennetts as a prime source of folklore, he was not interested in where these singers learned their materials, the contexts for singing or any additional folklore material which would allow us to have a greater understanding of how they came to have such an extensive musical tradition. His field report contains only passing remarks on the family. This approach was typical of many researchers. As Margaret Yocom points out in her work on family folklore, families have often been seen as a repository to be mined as opposed to a group to be studied (1980, 9). As I have recently discovered, though, through new investigations it is still possible to glean something of the importance of music to the Bennetts of St. Paul's. These findings underscore the value of Peacock's pioneering research and the significance of his field collection in relation to the Great

Northern Peninsula singing tradition.

Becky Bennett (1908 -) came from a large family. Her mother, Martha Jane Payne, was born in Rocky Harbour and moved to St. Paul's at the age of fifteen; she later married John Henry Benoit [Bennett] and they had fourteen children. Many of Becky's songs came from her mother and her mother's family:

- BB: Well I picked them up from this one and that one. I only want to hear a song twice and I know it.
- AG: You've got a great memory.
- BB: So now I learned some from my mother and I learned some from my sister, Old Granny Payne's songs . . . my mother's mother. And this is the one I sung "John Reilly" . . . [my] sister Fanny wrote it off. She give me the ballad, Granny's grand-mother Payne.
- AG: The tune to it is [your] grandmother Payne's?
- BB: Words and all came from [her].<sup>36</sup>

Becky's mother was one of the few literate people in the community and she frequently read song lyrics to her daughter:

The first song I ever learned I was very small. I was not eight. My mother used to read them out of the papers but I have forgot the song, but it was a war song. He was only five verses . . . My mother used to read it off for me and I learned it. I put the tune to it myself.

Becky's father, John Henry Bennett, came from a musical family. He played the violin and taught others in the community to play the instrument. His wife reinforced this talent often encouraging him to perform:

He was a real good player but he had a violin and we weren't supposed to touch that violin. 'Twas his father's violin. And after

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<sup>36</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Becky Bennett, 22 July 1998. All subsequent quotes are taken from this session.

we all leaved he learned Frank [Bennett] Angus {Enos?} Payne, Leonard Hutchings and Kevin Bennett . . . That's quite a heritage to pass on.

AG: What kinds of music did your father play?

BB: Oh, all jigs. And he used to take the violin down and Mom would say "Now John play 'The Pigeon on the Gate'; now John play 'The Old Man and the Old Woman'." She'd name them all out; "Now John play 'The Chords are in Tune'."

As Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham note, within any singing tradition there is often "a very competitive attitude about the uniqueness and size of one's repertoire" (1972, 401). Becky learned songs easily. She says that she could hear a song twice and know it. She recalls with delight the great rivalry for songs in her family, recounting how, much to her brother's frustration, she learned the song "Jimmy Whelan" (96-760) :

BB: My brother he got "Jimmy Whelan" wrote off. So he said "Now missy lady," we was only two children, he said, "Now missy lady," he said, "You won't get that song you won't." So he went and he hide it away . . . And so he went away and I out and I searched and found the song and I learned him. So, after supper, the two of us sang a song. So I started and I sung "Jimmy Whelan." He was going to tear him up and throw him away 'cause I learned him [laughter] . . . He wrote it off from a girl in Cow Head, Aggie Green and she knowed the song and she wrote it off . . . And she had the tune to him.

AG: So you heard the tune and all you needed was the words?

BB: Ya.

Becky's reminiscences reveal something of the process of song acquisition in the community. Melodies could be learned on the spot from another performer at social gatherings. The words could be acquired through hearing the songs repeatedly. For those

who could read and write, song texts could be transmitted from one person to another on paper.

Kenneth S. Goldstein points out that at “any particular time in the life of a tradition bearer (and not only when he is working with a collector) some of the items in his repertory are active and others are inactive” (1971, 63). The actual “movement of particular songs” into either an “active” or “passive” status for the singer is governed by frequency of use (64). Items may also have an “active or inactive status” based on such factors as “ownership and identity,” “topicality,” “taste and esthetics,” “social roles and identity,” and “change or loss of audience” (64-65). These kinds of considerations provide a means of learning more about the singer as well as the factors shaping that singer’s distinct repertory. Extending this further we can also learn something about the musical traditions within the singer’s respective family and community.

At least part of Becky Bennett’s repertoire consists of songs which she acquired when she was quite young. She attended the Grenfell Mission school first in 1916 at age eight. Elizabeth Hamilton, who was appointed to teach in the tiny community in 1915, described the environment:

St. Paul’s is a little village of thirteen families and the houses are widely scattered along the shore [ . . . ]. There were twelve pupils and I found them obedient and very eager to be as nearly like a ‘real school’ as they could. I took a large Union Jack with me, and we had it flying every day. The children learned the “Flag Salute” and were very fond of singing. One of their favorites was our old friend “Tipperary.” There had never before been a school in St. Paul’s so but few of the parents were able to read or write and the children knew very little (1915, 123-4).

The visiting teachers were an important source of music for Becky. From them she learned such children's songs as "Where Are You Going Pretty Bird" and the game song "Jenny Joe" which Peacock did not collect.<sup>37</sup> Her initial education consisted of six weeks each summer from 1916 to 1920 and it was through the Grenfell Mission teachers that she also learned how to read using the Royal Readers series:

I went to school when I was eight and I went to school when I was nine and I used to read the story in the book for my father. I know it all by heart.<sup>38</sup>

At the home of her uncle, Bill Benoit, she received additional education from Maud Amelia Hutchings (Halpert and Widdowson 1996, 2: 1066). For Becky Bennett being able to read meant she could acquire songs from newspapers and books including the ever-popular Gerald S. Doyle songsters:

BB: You'd get a lot of songs from the newspaper and then the books come out--Gerald S. Doyle.  
 AG: The Doyle Books?  
 BB: Do you remember them?  
 AG: Yes, did you learn songs from the Doyle books?  
 BB: Ya.  
 AG: What songs did you learn from the Doyle books?  
 BB: Oh, I learned the P and G. Soap.  
 AG: How does that go?  
 BB: P. and G. You use the P. and G. gets the first clothes on the line. Now, I don't know it all now and "The Ryans and the Pittmans" you knows he?

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<sup>37</sup> For a comparable variant see "Jilly Joe" in John Horby, *The Joyous Book of Singing Games* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1914) 42-43.

<sup>38</sup> Unidentified interview with Becky Bennett, Feb. 1983; transcript copy, interview files, Interpretation Department, Visitor Center, Gros Morne National Park.

- AG: I know that one, yes.
- BB: And the other one. What was he? I'm singing it all the time. Cornelius, { Asks her son} you don't know what's the other one? {He responds "I don't know"} and I'll tell you another one "The Banks of Newfoundland." You remembers that?
- AG: I remember that. So when did you get your first Doyle book?
- BB: Oh my dear, my dear, I was very young when that come out now. I allows it's 75 years.
- AG: And did your Mom have songbooks around the house?
- BB: We had a songbook but I don't know what songs was into it. The only one I know 'twas let me see now, this one was into it "The Faded Coat of Blue." That's the only song I can remember was into him and I learned him, "The Faded Coat of Blue." {Becky then proceeds to sing the song} "Oh tell my sweet sister that I'll meet her up in heaven in the faded coat of blue . . . ."<sup>39</sup>

People in the Bennett family who could sing were appreciated for their talents and for their ability to perform specific songs. Becky's mother, who knew the song "Frozen Charlotte" [Laws G-17] regularly sang it for her nephew, Roger Bennett, when he was a little boy. This family practice continues today. Becky notes that her sister Fanny always asks her to sing "The Herring Gibbers" (79-689) because this is her favorite song. Becky's daughter, Marie, loves to hear her sing "Jimmy Whelan" (96-760).

For Becky Bennett singing in this manner is an essential aspect of keeping a good repertoire. While all her own children know songs, she explains, they never sing them on

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<sup>39</sup> See "The Banks of Newfoundland," and "Song of the P. & G. White Naphtha Soap," in Gerald S. Doyle's *The Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (1927, 21 and 69). "Faded Coat of Blue" is an American civil war song attributed to J. H. McNaughton; see file ACW227, Traditional Ballad Index online. Eds. Robert B. Waltz and David G. Engle, 31 May 2001, California State University, Fresno, California, 2 Apr. 2002 <<http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/BalladIndexTOC.html>>.

a consistent basis. She remembers her songs through regular use: "I sit down and sing all night, sing for my children but they never bother with it."<sup>40</sup> Bennett continues to add to her repertoire today. Taking hold of a well-used copy of volume two of *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* which Peacock forwarded to the family in 1965 she comments: "Now my grandson says "I wants 'The Golden Glove.' Now he's in the songbook." Peacock had actually recorded this song from her brother-in-law Everett Bennett (1965, 1: 340-41).<sup>41</sup> *Outports* contains substantial song material from her now-deceased husband and her brother-in-law; it provides a tangible way of sharing songs by family members no longer present. The books are well-worn from regular use in the Bennett family.

When she was twenty-two, Becky Bennett married her husband, Freeman. Even before this she learned songs from him. When Freeman was visiting her family her father expected a song from him:

Freeman was a wonderful man for singing and he knowed hundreds of songs. So when he came in, well you get a song. They'd have to sing him every night for my father if they come.

Bennett notes that her husband learned many of his songs from his mother and to this day she has a great regard for his musical ability, pointing out that Freeman was able to sing

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<sup>40</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Becky Bennett, 22 July 1998. Recent discussions with her son suggest that several of her children have inherited many of the family's songs and continue to perform them. Field note, Felix Bennett, 15 Aug. 2003.

<sup>41</sup> Peacock Collection, "The Golden Glove" (77-683), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/ C11042A.

“the long Jimmy and Nancy” (104-794). The variant of this song, which he performed for Peacock in 1958, consists of forty-five stanzas, taking more than twenty minutes to sing (1965, 3: 682-86). As she earlier informed Peacock after Freeman had completed the song, “You wants a wonderful memory.”<sup>42</sup>

When in the field, researchers often set their own agendas based on such factors as time limitations, personal interests and simple logistics. Peacock devoted his attention to collecting songs and in this sense he was being pragmatic. Although he provides little information on the singers themselves, Peacock’s effort to record the Bennett material is nonetheless remarkable. In the case of this particular family his initial work has served as a vital link for others to conduct additional research. Based on their reading of Peacock’s *Outports*, in 1966 folklorists Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson decided to pay a visit to the Bennetts at St. Paul’s.<sup>43</sup> They discovered that, in addition to being extraordinary singers, the Bennetts were also avid riddlers and storytellers. Over the course of several sessions they recorded and then later published in *Folktales of Newfoundland* (1996) a series of folktales from five Bennett family members: Everett, Freeman, their brother John Edward, Becky and Everett’s son Clarence. Commenting on the repertoire of two of the Bennetts they note:

The repertoire of Freeman Bennett is the most extensive in this collection. In a series of interviews over a period of some five years we recorded a

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<sup>42</sup> Peacock Collection, MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/ C11055B.

<sup>43</sup> See MUNFLA collections 66-024 and 72-4.

total of nineteen different story types in twenty-six recensions, most of them told only once . [ . . . ] His repertory is comparable with that of his younger brother, Everett who told a total of seventeen story types, also in twenty-six recensions over a similar period (1996, 1: 41-42).

The Bennett family shared many traditional forms of entertainment with Christmas being a highlight for enjoyment. Becky notes that during this period, in addition to mumming, people performed songs which also involved communal participation. Examples include “The Calling in Play,” “The Marrying Play,” “Grandfather Moses,” “Bingo,” “Here I Go Round With My Handkerchief,” “The Bag of Nails,” and “The Old Mare.”<sup>44</sup> Known elsewhere as “play party songs,” they involve both singing and the acting out of parts or role-playing (Botkin 1937). They are considered a form of social or a “social dance” recreation and are often popular in contexts where musical instruments are scarce often “flourishing” in a context where there was a strong “oral” tradition (Cunningham 1997, 53; Botkin 19). In St. Paul’s these performances took place in people’s homes in the evening offering a major diversion during the winter.<sup>45</sup>

Examples of play party material, noticeably absent from Peacock’s numerous recordings, are dispersed throughout the interviews which Herbert Halpert and John

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<sup>44</sup> For a discussion of the mumming tradition see Herbert Halpert and G. M. Story, eds., *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology and History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

<sup>45</sup> This comment is speculative and based on a conversation I had in 1974 with Fanny Bennett’s husband George who is now deceased.

Widdowson conducted with the Bennetts in 1966. Material such as this supplements Peacock's research also providing new information on songs for which he gave little or no information. As a result of this kind of follow-up, we have the advantage of putting a new perspective on this family and the breadth and depth of its distinct cultural traditions.

The Bennett family repertoire also reflects the greater social and kinship network linking residents in St. Paul's to other communities. Both Freeman's and Becky's mothers were from Rocky Harbour. As Milton Walters recalls, this couple was well-known beyond their home community for their singing:

They would travel more you know.

AG: Up and down the coast here?

MW: Ya, visiting, they would do more traveling. Oh ya. And they would sing at parties and "times," we call it in Newfoundland, socials you know, in schools and what not. They were really popular. They were good singers. Well I think as far as Becky and Freeman, [they] would sing much as a local band would sing now, you know. They didn't have the musical accompaniment and so on but they would sing quite a bit.

The size and uniqueness of any singer's repertoire is often influenced by his or her contact with other singers (Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham 1972, 401). As I discovered listening to Peacock's field recordings for this region, there is much cross-over between the Bennetts' repertoire and those of other singers along the coast because of regular visiting with family and friends.

While the Great Northern Peninsula may have been geographically isolated, socially people were very much connected. As Deborah Laing, the daughter of George

Decker notes, years ago people would travel quite a distance for entertainment:

When we were young ones growing up that's what we used to do. If we lived in Parsons Pond and if there was a dance in Cow Head or a concert or something that was about eight, ten miles away and we wanted to get there enough we walked . . . There [would] be dances usually in the night time. You might start a dance around 7: 30 and dance till probably 2:00 or 3:00 in the morning if it was in some public building where you didn't have to get out. We had a lot of house dances too, back in them days.<sup>46</sup>

As Peacock often found out, the reputation of gifted singers carried from community to community. Having heard so much of Charlotte Decker, probably from her brother-in-law, George Decker, of Rocky Harbour and through the Bennetts, Peacock decided to visit her in Parsons Pond about fifteen miles north of Cow Head. Taking his car across St. Paul's Inlet via the small cable ferry, Peacock visited the Deckers in their home:

KP: Apparently in her early days she was quite the lady. Everybody knew her along the shore. She'd be at parties and she used to go up and down the shore playing cards, singing songs . . . Everybody I met mentioned Charlotte. "Oh, Oh, Aunt Charlotte, you should have seen her in the old days."

AG: Her voice is melodious.

KP: Yes, lovely, lovely voice. Of course it's wavering and everything, but you can tell, she had so many love lyrics like "Early Spring." {Peacock quotes a few lines of the song} "Early Spring when I was young the birds so merrily have sung; was there ever a bird so happy as I when my young sailor lad was nigh?" And the tune-- pure pentatonic.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Debora Laing, 1 Nov. 2000. All comments by her are taken from this session.

<sup>47</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 Oct. 1997; see "Early Spring," Peacock, *Outports* (1965, 2: 439-40).

For Peacock recollections such as this always brought back pleasant memories of singers, the quality of their voices and singing skills, and the age of songs but little about their personal life histories.

According to one MUNFLA student paper, based on field interviews Herbert Halpert later conducted with this singer, Charlotte Decker was born in Rocky Harbour in 1877 and her maiden name was also Decker.<sup>48</sup> Becky Bennett also notes that Charlotte Decker was her grandfather Payne's cousin. Charlotte Decker's family moved to Baker's Brook sometime after her father died and from there up to Parson's Pond. She came from a musical family and had learned many of her songs from her mother. Her niece, Debora Laing, notes that Decker was also well known along the coast for her singing and would often perform at concerts and other community events:

AG: What about Charlotte Decker? Would Aunt Charlotte Decker perform in those plays as well? She was a good singer.

DL: Oh Aunt Charlotte, she could sing at all any old time at all. On the road she could sing a song. Oh yes, anywhere Aunt Charlotte would sing a song whether it be at a card game or, they used to have quilting parties in them times and matting parties you know. If a bunch of women get together and do quilts and they'd be singing songs they'd be hooking matts and singing songs. I remembers that well.

AG: So you would remember with your aunt singing?

DL: Oh yes, I mean we were only kids but we were enjoying it. [laughter] We were taking in all the fun that the old folks were having. To us they were old folks back then. We enjoyed that sitting back listening to them, into their big yarns, talking and spinning off four or five yarns but I can't remember any.

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<sup>48</sup> David Boe, "I Must Have Been a Wonderful Woman in Me Time': Charlotte Maria Decker and Her Child Ballads," Unpublished manuscript, MUNFLA, ms, 80-097, 1980.

Peacock was fascinated with the quality of Decker's repertoire and the melodies which she used with many of the songs. Over the course of a couple of afternoons he recorded nineteen songs from her and eight from her husband James. As he also observed in his end-of-season report, despite her age she still had a fine lyrical voice:

While the Bennetts tend toward the narrative and dramatic, Charlotte Decker, in spite of her weak and breathless voice, emerges as a gifted exponent of the lyrical, free-style school of singing. This is especially noticeable in the pure pentatonic tunes for which she has a special affection. One of these songs "Early Spring" is one of the most charming love-lyrics I have ever heard, and a song completely new to me.<sup>49</sup>

During this period Peacock continued to camp at St. Paul's. Often following his sessions with the Deckers, he would return to the Bennetts to record material in the evenings. He eventually finished the 1958 season back at Rocky Harbour recording twelve new songs from Arthur Nicolle and four more from Annie Walters. He shot footage of his gear-laden car outside the Walters' home as well as images of Annie Walters in her back yard. Retracing their route back to Norris Point and over the Bonne Bay Road, Peacock documented the bumpy trip through the windshield of the car and he filmed the roadside picnic he and Don Parks had along the way.<sup>50</sup> From here they headed off to Grand Falls and the Exploits River setting themselves up for a few days to work on the materials they had collected. Peacock transcribed the words and the

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<sup>49</sup>. *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock.

<sup>50</sup>. Film Footage, "1958 Field Trip-Newfoundland, July-August," Video-Tape copy, personal collection, courtesy Kenneth Peacock.

melodies and Parks typed the texts.<sup>51</sup> During slow periods Peacock photographed the rushing river and the river boats, while Parks fished along the shoreline.

By all accounts it was a successful summer. Peacock had collected over two hundred and eight songs from nineteen people. Focusing on the leads that he had been given by Alvina Coles and Gladys Snow in Cormack, he had discovered a small number of gifted singers whose reputations carried well beyond their home communities on the Great Northern Peninsula. He had also begun to document the Bennett family's immense singing tradition.

Peacock informed the Museum that he had also found interesting "speech idioms and archaisms used both in the songs and in everyday speech," reflective of Elizabethan culture, which would offer "a trained linguist" many opportunities for study.<sup>52</sup> That summer he also took an interest in the survival of French traditions on the west coast of the province around the Port-au-Port Peninsula:

If folk traditions do exist, they would certainly make interesting comparisons with French-Canadian traditions on the mainland [ . . . ]. I would like to make a personal survey of the area before stating unequivocally that French folk traditions still survive.<sup>53</sup>

Although Peacock had intended to investigate this potential, he was held back because his Magnamite recording equipment started to fail:

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<sup>51</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 Oct. 1997.

<sup>52</sup> *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report* by Kenneth Peacock.

<sup>53</sup> *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report*.

The sound reproduction was good but the tape-transport mechanism was often unsteady, causing excessive 'wowing' in the pitch of many songs. Many hours had to be spent regulating the clock-work motor before even passable recordings were attainable.<sup>54</sup>

In the end Peacock gave up and returned home but, based on the summer's findings, he fully intended to return the following summer to continue his investigations.

His field report for this season consisted of four pages summarizing his activities. He submitted forty-seven audiotapes and his transcriptions of both the music and the texts. Along with his report Peacock provided several photographs that he had taken of his informants. Later he incorporated many of them in *Outports*. With the submission of these materials to the Museum, Peacock's research obligations for 1958 were fulfilled.

As sources of information, Peacock's field reports were useful up to a point; overall though, they were disappointingly sparse in detail. Moreover, by the 1990s Peacock's ability to recall details or elucidate on his fieldwork was limited. I often discovered that by asking Peacock about his photography, I could reactivate some memories about his experiences in the field. At one point Peacock passed me several negatives of shots he had taken in 1958 with the Mamiya. I forwarded him a contact sheet of this material along with a list of the photographs he had included in *Outports* as a means of discussing his fieldwork. His response reveals something of how he came to take at least some of these images:

Everett is No. 27. The two men are unknown neighbours who dropped by

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<sup>54</sup> *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report*.

for a beer. Glad you liked the interior. They also had a lovely stove which unfortunately couldn't be fitted into the picture. Very little recording was done that evening, it was mostly a beery get-together. Becky and Freeman Bennett were there also - - - see p. 681 in volume 3 of "Outports." [ . . . ] For the book I used separate photos of the Deckers, also taken outside their house, like the one on your contact sheet. I didn't have the heart to refuse to include the neighbourhood boy in the photo, but took separate photos of Aunt Charlotte and Uncle Jim.<sup>55</sup>

Peacock often viewed these reminiscences as incidental. At the end of this letter he remarked:

Well, I mustn't ramble on about these non-academic things. Strange how merciful the memory is at preserving pleasant thoughts.

Through our discussions I also discovered that he eventually made a film of the summer's experiences with the material he had collected from his hand-held movie camera for personal interest and to show friends. In April 1997, I indicated that I was interested in seeing this material and Peacock agreed to forward me the film to be copied to a video format.<sup>56</sup> In a letter he recalled its contents with pleasure:

A short note to let you know that I just mailed my 1958 movie on Newfoundland; it may even arrive before this letter. Spent part of the weekend going through it on my viewer-editor. It seems in quite good condition from opening titles and time-lapse sunrise in St. Paul's through various incidents and people, closing with a time-lapse sunset. Various people and places are titled including the Bennetts who sing silently (though it's nice to see the way they were). Also the Deckers and Annie Walters non-singing. The cold water I plunge into is not the sea but Big Pond, as I remember. Colour is very good--Kodachrome is supposed to

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<sup>55</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 16 Sept. 1996.

<sup>56</sup> A copy of this film is on deposit at the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in the Kenneth Peacock collection, Accession 599-68.

last at least 50 years. Paradise is there, including the blueberries and a couple of pretty jelly-fish. You'll be thrilled by the roller coaster ride on the dirt road returning from Rocky Harbour to Woody Point.<sup>57</sup>

As his Mamiya camera was being used for work-related photography, the movie camera allowed Peacock to step out of his role as a collector and view Newfoundland through the eyes of a tourist, which in many ways he was:

You can get a glimpse of him [Don Parks] occasionally in the film, especially cooking up a lunch at the roadside picnic site. Weren't those sites something to behold? I don't often enjoy traveling with people, but he was very easy-going and affable. Nothing was too much trouble. It was a memorable summer, what with all those 'new' singers on the Northern Peninsula, the filming, the fun (sometimes) of camping. I think I mentioned us camping in Annie Walters' backyard.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to this film, Peacock also located footage which he had previously rejected.

Looking through this material triggered other memories of places he had been in 1958:

And that's where we put the tent up and that's in the film and in this new footage. I don't know why I didn't include it. Toward the end of the reel there's footage going across the cable sort of barge thing that went across the St. Paul's narrows. Then I took a picture of the tent on the other side. So this is all in the new film.<sup>59</sup>

Although Peacock made the film for personal use, when combined with *Outports*, the imagery today provides us with a first-hand view of this area of the northern peninsula as it was nearly fifty years ago. Perhaps most significant of all are the rare (albeit silent)

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<sup>57</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 21 Apr. 1997.

<sup>58</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June, 1997.

<sup>59</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 Oct. 1997.

images of several of his singers performing in front of the camera. This valuable material places Peacock in the field doing more than simply recording folksongs. It shows him interacting with people and connecting with a world he found interesting enough to visually document.

### 8.1 Return to Ottawa - The Fall of 1958 and Beginning of 1959

Peacock returned from Newfoundland at the end of August and then spent the fall processing the remainder of the songs he had collected during the summer but had not yet transcribed. In late October he submitted his report to the Canada Council and the Museum summarizing his research:

All in all, the success of the 1958 folklore investigations in western Newfoundland was much more than I had hoped for. The wealth of both traditional and local material was really surprising, considering the outports are, as a rule, younger and less numerous than those on the east coast. There is every reason to suppose that a great folklore potential still exists in Newfoundland, and will continue to exist for years to come.<sup>60</sup>

As he also informed the Council, Dr. Rousseau of the Museum “was very pleased with the results of the research and has already made plans to have it continued indefinitely.”<sup>61</sup>

He asked the Council director, Dr. Trueman, to consider a grant of \$1500 toward the next field season as the Museum could only come up with \$1000 because its field budget

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<sup>60</sup>. *Folk Music in Newfoundland 1958 Report* by Kenneth Peacock.

<sup>61</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Dr. A.W. Trueman, Director, Canada Council, 29 Oct. 1958; Kenneth Peacock file, Records Group 63, series B1, box 143, Canada Council Records, NAC.

had been substantially reduced. As Peacock pointed out, even this amount barely covered “the added expenses of transcribing, editing and typing.”<sup>62</sup> He paid Don Parks for his work from the contract funds so Peacock had not made much that summer.

In October Peacock advised Helen Creighton that he was again ready to start transcribing her material noting: “I did start a setting of ‘Bonny Wee Angus’ but somehow got bogged down after the first stanza.”<sup>63</sup> At the end of November he updated her on his progress adding:

The CANADIAN MUSIC JOURNAL wants me to do a review article on several recordings, and I’m hoping to include both Diane Oxner’s and your own ethnic recording of Nova Scotian songs (if it hasn’t been reviewed before). It will be interesting to compare the amateur and professional approach.”<sup>64</sup>

During this period Peacock’s peers were also hard at work on various folksong related projects. Having just published *Bluenose Ghosts* (1957), Creighton was again in the field collecting for the National Museum. There were also increasing demands for her to do public performances on radio. Several songs from her collection had recently been used by the CBC and by Canadian composers. The organization, Les Grands Ballet Canadiens, had commissioned the Quebec composer, Michel Perrault, who had begun to

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<sup>62</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Dr. A.W. Trueman.

<sup>63</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 28 Oct. 1958; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>64</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 24 Nov. 1958; Creighton Collection. Peacock was probably referring to Creighton’s *Folk Music From Nova Scotia* (Folkways P 1006) which came out in 1956 and to Oxner’s *Traditional Songs of Nova Scotia* (Canadian Cavalcade CCLP2011; Rodeo Records (RB 1142) LP 331/3 rpm.

develop a reputation for his use of folksongs in composition, to create a ballet based on some of the Nova Scotian material. As Peacock commented to her, “You must be thrilled” (Croft 1999, 150).<sup>65</sup> Both Fowke and Mills were busy with their respective radio programs *Folksong Time* and *Folksongs for Young Folks*. In January Tom Kines appeared on a CBC television production, *Dark of the Moon*, singing Ozark Mountain ballads and folksongs. During the spring he was the central figure in *Magic of Music*, a CBC television children’s program which traced the history of music over the centuries and featuring him playing his guitar.<sup>66</sup>

In early August the CFMS had also finished holding its annual meeting in Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia at which it elected its new executive and ratified a new constitution.<sup>67</sup> In Barbeau’s absence, Creighton served as chairperson. In addition to Barbeau, who took the position of president, six vice-presidents were appointed: Helen Creighton, Frederick Emerson, Graham George, Richard Johnston, Luc Lacourcière and Sir Ernest MacMillan. Renée Landry replaced Carmen Roy as secretary treasurer. Kenneth Peacock, Alan Mills, Carmen Roy, Sam Gesser, and Edith Fowke were among the eleven elected councillors.

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<sup>65</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 28 Oct. 1958; and see Jean Chatillon, “Perrault, Michel (Brunet),” *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1045.

<sup>66</sup> *TV Release # 125 Mar. 21, 1958, New CBC-TV Children’s Show Traces Evolution of Music.* n.d, n.p.; Tom Kines Collection, NLC.

<sup>67</sup> Germain Lemieux, “Annual Meeting of the Canadian Folk Music Society,” 9 Aug. 1958; CFMS Correspondence, vol. 2791, file 1, Helen Creighton Collection, NSARM.

Styled after the English Folk Dance and Song Society, at the executive level the organization reflected both the influence of the Royal Conservatory of Music and Karpeles's Sharp-influenced ideas of folk music research and presentation through the IFMC. The general membership, however, consisted of individuals who were intensely interested in promoting and disseminating Canadian folk music research but were also influenced by the ideals of the American folk revival movement. As the society got on with its plans for the IFMC conference, a perpetual tension would emerge between these two elements. Some of these undercurrents had already begun to play out in terms of the Newfoundland folksong research.

### **The Karpeles-Barbeau-Emerson Project**

Through the good services of Frederick Emerson and Marius Barbeau in 1958 the Canada Council awarded Maud Karpeles \$2000 "to gather folksongs of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia."<sup>68</sup> Although Peacock was not to become aware of Karpeles's plans for several months, the assignment of this grant would cause him to accelerate his Newfoundland research and move closer to publishing his findings.

Sometime before May 1958, just as Peacock was preparing to head off to Newfoundland, Barbeau corresponded with Karpeles regarding her grant. He had learned from Frederick Emerson that she planned to do another book on Newfoundland folksongs

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<sup>68</sup> *The Canada Council First Annual Report to March 31, 1958* (Ottawa: The Canada Council, 1958) 59.

but Emerson had been “vague” about her plans.<sup>69</sup> Since *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (1934) Karpeles had yet to publish anything from her field research and Emerson had long wished to see more of her 1929-30 song material in print. Karpeles had evidently been in touch with Barbeau about the matter prior to May. As he indicated to her, the amount awarded by the Council would not be enough to bring her to Canada:

I told Mr. Emerson that in a letter to me, you had expressed the wish to come to Canada in 1959, on the occasion of our meeting of the IFMC, probably at Quebec. Your idea was to stop over at St. John's, Newfoundland, to direct the work of further research there, as you did not feel like getting into the field yourself. Mr. Emerson told me there is someone there who could collect songs for you. Better still, I told him that Ken Peacock, who goes there to work for us again this coming summer, might very well do it again next year. Besides you expressed the wish to come to Ottawa, to consult our files and see us. I am very much in favour of an enlarged plan of work and publication for you. The Council should grant you \$5000 for the whole project [ . . . ].<sup>70</sup>

Barbeau advised Karpeles to consider publishing two or three hundred songs in two volumes and to include material from the “Old Country transformed and reinterpreted by the Newfoundland singers” as well as “materials of local origin as we still know some of the singers there are still given to composing songs of the present day.” He suggested that she offer the finished manuscript to the National Museum “as private publishers would not feel like going through the expense of publishing such folklore materials prepared in their integrity.” He also proposed that she should consider

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<sup>69</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Maud Karpeles, 13 May 1958; Karpeles Correspondence, box B 207 f. 35; Barbeau Collection; LAD-CMC.

<sup>70</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Maud Karpeles, 13 May 1958.

selecting songs from Peacock's collection as he had "collected as many as three hundred numbers last year, and his collection will grow at a fast pace." As Barbeau pointed out, she had published only "a few of the best pieces of old world origin ballads and songs."<sup>71</sup>

Strategically both Emerson and Barbeau saw the whole plan as a good political move for the fledgling CFMC and the Canada Council. Having such a prestigious international scholar as Karpeles (who was also the secretary-treasurer of the IFMC) undertake such a project with their support made good sense. Through the summer of 1958 the three colleagues continued to bring the project to fruition. In June Karpeles communicated back to Barbeau:

I entirely agree that we should consider an enlarged plan and I suggest that the collection should be published in the form of the two volumes of English Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians [ . . . ]. One would, I think, have to go rather cautiously with the songs of local origin. I should be in favour of including recently composed songs on local events provided that the texts are cast in the folk idiom and that the tunes are authentic folk tunes as distinct from composed popular tunes. I think you will agree that it is seldom that the folk singer will make up a new tune and that he will nearly always uses an existing tune (or an adaptation of one) for his composed words.<sup>72</sup>

Karpeles told Barbeau that she would "dearly like to do more collecting" and approved of having Peacock accompany her or, if she were unable to make the trip, "perhaps copies of Mr. Peacock's transcriptions could be sent me for examination." She also suggested

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<sup>71</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Maud Karpeles, 13 May 1958. Barbeau was evidently referring to Peacock's 1951 and 1952 collection. At that time he had collected 106 songs on tape and an additional 127 by methods of hand-transcription for a total of 223 songs.

<sup>72</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Marius Barbeau, 27 June 1958; Karpeles Correspondence, Barbeau Collection.

using sixty songs from the Greenleaf and Mansfield collection adding that Carmen Roy might be “roped in” to do the French material. Lastly she expressed a desire to have her original collection reprinted. Barbeau responded that he would give it all the support from the CFMS.<sup>73</sup>

On 18 November Karpeles forward an extended outline of the proposal to Emerson, advising him that she had received the full grant of \$5000.<sup>74</sup> She added that it would be advisable to determine the Museum’s commitment and “whether Dr. [sic] Peacock would be able to assist and on what terms [. . . ] to avoid overlapping.”<sup>75</sup>

Frederick Emerson must have already discussed the matter with Peacock in a cursory manner. In early January, before he had seen the actual proposal, Peacock informed Creighton that Emerson’s “suggestion of a possible collaboration between Miss Karpeles and myself is most interesting.”<sup>76</sup> This response was short-lived; once Peacock learned more details about the proposed plan, he wanted nothing to do with it. Emerson must have then conveyed this to Karpeles. As she commented to Barbeau in December:

I heard from him [Emerson] that the material in the National Museum

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<sup>73</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Maud Karpeles, 14 July 1958; Karpeles Correspondence.

<sup>74</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Frederick Emerson, 18 Nov. 1958; Frederick Emerson Correspondence 1958-1962, box B 192 f. 5; Marius Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>75</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Frederick. Emerson, 18 Nov. 1958.

<sup>76</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 14 Jan. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM. Peacock provided this information because Creighton and Emerson were good friends.

would not be available and also that Dr. Peacock did not want to co-operate as he is expecting to publish a collection of Newfoundland songs himself. This, if it is true, will materially alter the plan to bring out a comprehensive collection.<sup>77</sup>

In January 1959 Barbeau corresponded with Peacock and pressured him to help Karpeles:

Would you be willing to co-operate with her in collecting folksongs during one field trip with her, thus enabling her to complete her collection as she wants it for publication. I know you are doing work of your own and you can get published yourself. But you may consider that Miss Karpeles is a noted folklorist, and you may gain from her valuable experience especially in the study of parallels and comparisons. Please think of it and tell me what you will decide, so that I may inform her. [ . . . ] We may discuss this matter with Mr. Emerson, of the Canada Council, when we meet here on January 31.<sup>78</sup>

Barbeau was being political in offering such support for Karpeles at Peacock's expense. Assuredly he was anxious to make a mark for the CFMS, particularly because of his plans for the IFMC conference. This was one way of doing it. Peacock discussed the project again with Emerson but rejected the any idea of a collaboration with Karpeles.

As he informed Barbeau:

I find Miss Karpeles's plan excellent on the whole. Concerning the Greenleaf-Mansfield collection, I doubt if it will be necessary to use it as a source, especially in two or three years time when my own collection will be larger. Even now there is little in it that can't be duplicated in my own collection."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Marius Barbeau, 17 Dec. 1958; Karpeles Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC

<sup>78</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 29 Jan. 1959; Peacock Correspondence 1959-1970, box 3, file 36, CFMS Records, UCLSC-A.

<sup>79</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 11 Feb. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

He added that he would be glad to assist Karpeles but it would be replicating what he had already done. He also viewed Karpeles's concept of a comprehensive collection to be circumscribed:

All I can do is direct her to territory already covered [. . .]. Besides I camp whenever possible, and this can be a rather rigorous experience in nasty weather. [. . .] As you know I have been working toward the publication of much the same sort of book, though I had planned to include as much local material as possible. Some of it is dreadful of course; but there is a sizeable body of quite presentable material, some of it equal to anything I have seen in the traditional field. It seems to me that any comprehensive collection must rely heavily on this local material. Like Miss Karpeles, I usually prefer the traditional folksong, but I think personal tastes should be stretched a little if the book is to be comprehensive. [. . .] Since we have already reached a measure of understanding through the good offices of Fred Emerson I am sure complete agreement is only a matter of time. It is obvious that both collections are necessary if the publication is to be truly comprehensive. And it is equally obvious to me that Miss Karpeles with her vast knowledge of English folksong, should do the scholarly commentary on this section of the book. However, since the book will be largely based on my collection I feel it is fair for me to expect at least equal authority in the choice of the material and the general design of the book. When publication is imminent in two or three years time I expect to have at least 700-800 items to choose from. I want this to be more than a specialists' reference book, more than just another good collection of Newfoundland songs. I want it to be the comprehensive collection, a work which Canada, and especially Newfoundland, will be proud of. It would be a great honor to work with Miss Karpeles on such a publication.<sup>80</sup>

Based on his successful summer of collecting Peacock was able to speak with considerable strength and authority. This letter decisively set out Peacock's personal view for a new kind of publication of Newfoundland folksong. It is also one of the few occasions on which Peacock spoke so forcefully regarding his aspirations and his

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<sup>80</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 11 Feb. 1959.

specific vision. Considering the connections among Emerson, Karpeles and Barbeau, all of whom were prominent people and in a position to stifle his work, he was being diplomatic but assertive.

Barbeau's offer to aid Karpeles was as much an outgrowth of the 'old guard' loyalties to her as a colleague of his generation of collectors as of his willingness to do something for Emerson who was also her friend. In 1997 when I forwarded to Peacock for his comments the correspondence relating to this incident he remarked:

Regarding the Emerson-Karpeles-Barbeau proposal to have me collaborate with her on further Nfld. research and a publication to be overseen by La Karpeles, [sic] I am almost speechless. Her proposal suggests no French songs, for instance. However, I thought my letter to Barbeau was a masterpiece of subtlety and irony. In his brief reply to me about 'Miss Karpeles problem,' Barbeau obviously got the message: my letter was truly a Karpeles kiss-off!<sup>81</sup>

Peacock's response was helpful in clarifying for me just how he felt about Barbeau's idea of a proposed collaboration. Even years later when reminded of the affair he was irritated by the whole matter.

This was the second time Karpeles had contemplated doing fieldwork in Newfoundland in conjunction with workers from the National Museum. This episode reveals her personal limitations and her desire to avoid the difficulties she had encountered while in Newfoundland in 1929 and 1930. Writing Barbeau in the spring of 1959 about the impending IFMC conference, she commented:

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<sup>81</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June 1997.

As regards myself, I am very uncertain whether I shall be doing a collecting trip in Newfoundland that year. I am doubtful whether my health will stand it and also I have not yet had a definite official approach from the Canada Council.<sup>82</sup>

The handling of this proposal was a delicate matter for all involved. Karpeles was, after all, the founding secretary of the IFMC. Barbeau was president of the CFMS and Emerson on its executive. Both Emerson and Barbeau were well-placed and each of them carried a certain amount of political influence as evidenced by the close links between the CFMS and the Canada Council. Emerson was a good friend of Karpeles and he had great respect for her pioneering work. He also appreciated the amount of work Peacock had already invested in his research and in the months to come would continue to offer his support. As Newfoundland's official representative on the Council, he had to tread carefully.

Ultimately Emerson was more interested in seeing something come out in print and because of this he had to deal with both Peacock and Karpeles. The Karpeles proposal for the collaboration was therefore in some respects really a compromise. All Peacock could do was to navigate as well as possible through the murky waters. In the end he realized that he would need to work hard to bring out a publication reflecting his

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<sup>82</sup> Maud Karpeles, letter to Marius Barbeau, 20 May 1959; Karpeles Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC. In the ensuing years Barbeau aspired to help Karpeles get the remainder of her 1929-30 material published. The entire collection appeared as *Folksongs from Newfoundland* (1970). She dedicated it to Barbeau who had died the previous year. The proposal to have Peacock provide assistance was dropped entirely.

broader vision of the Newfoundland folksong tradition, one which also included local songs.

### **The Phoebe Affair**

When working with his colleagues Peacock appears to have gone out of his way to avoid conflict and he rarely got involved in any personality disputes, although, this was not always possible. In January 1959, in addition to dealing with Barbeau, Peacock became embroiled in another struggle, this time with Helen Creighton. While listening to Max Ferguson's satirical CBC radio program "Rawhide," Creighton heard a recording of the song "Phoebe" taken from William McCauley's new album *The William McCauley Choir Sings Canadian Folksongs* (Columbia FL-226) (Nash 1996, 36). Edith Fowke, who wrote the notes for the album, attributed the song to Prince Edward Island but indicated, "Dr. Helen Creighton has found it in Nova Scotia and Kenneth Peacock collected it in Newfoundland."<sup>83</sup> Recognizing that the version which the choir used was the one she had collected in Nova Scotia, Creighton fired off an angry letter to Carmen Roy at the National Museum demanding an explanation:

Do you know who allowed Edith Fowke to go through my collection, both words and music? That she gave this beautiful song to Bill McCauley without my permission or knowledge? That she wrote a commentary with the song that gives no intimation of who collected this particular variant and then instead of asking me for a song from Prince Edward Island, listed

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<sup>83</sup> Edith Fowke, liner notes, *The William McCauley Choir Sings Canadian Folksongs*, LP, (Columbia FL-226).

this as coming from that province. I'm sure there can be no mistake because I have checked words and music with my copies here. But before I write her I want confirmation from Ken Peacock.<sup>84</sup>

In his account of this incident, McKay notes that Creighton's relationship with Fowke was "hardly warm by late 1950s" due to differing political orientations (1994, 145). Having been born and raised in Western Canada, Fowke had come from a socialist background and although she was "not a Communist" she did "have an interest in the left," collecting songs associated with industrial protest (145). Creighton was increasingly distrustful of Fowke's political motivations and there were differences on "territorial and ideological grounds" (145). Creighton took a protectionist attitude toward her material and was guarded about how it was being used. As McKay rightly argues, for Creighton the emphasis here was less on the folk themselves and more on ownership and control of the materials which they produced (144).

Roy advised Creighton that Peacock had given the material to McCauley.

Learning of her annoyance, Peacock provided Creighton with an explanation. As his letter also conveys, he was less than tolerant of her fearfulness:

I'm afraid Bill McCauley and myself might have been inadvertently responsible for the Phoebe mixup. He phoned me before returning to Rochester to say Edith Fowke was doing layout and notes for the album, and he was no longer in sole charge of things. He was desperate for a song which could possibly be attributed to P. E. I. and I suggested Peter Emberly. But for some reason he couldn't use it. He liked Phoebe very much and had originally intended to use it and hoped it might fit the

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<sup>84</sup>. Helen Creighton, letter to Carmen Roy, 3 Jan. 1959; CR-K-1.10, Creighton Collection, LAD-CMC. A fuller text of this letter is quoted in McKay *Quest*, 145-46.

P. E. I. locale. I told him it had been collected only in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The tunes are dissimilar but have the basic outline and harmonic structure. He apparently decided to use the Nova Scotia version because of the interesting metric variations. In giving the two known Canadian sources of the song in the notes both he and Edith Fowke were, I'm sure, honestly convinced that full credit had been given. Nova Scotia should have been mentioned as the source of the tune actually used for the arrangement, however. As I said, I'm sure the oversight had no malicious intent. The important thing is that a first-rate album of folksong arrangements had been made all the better by the inclusion of Phoebe. As far as I know, folksongs are public domain until they have been arranged in some definite manner. You can copyright an arrangement or a book of tunes but not an unpublished folksong. At least that is what I have been given to understand. Perhaps there is some recent ruling to cover collected but unpublished material. I must admit I have been steering clear of the Museum until these personality conflicts have been resolved. The need for personal appreciation seems to vary with different people and should be given as much scope as possible. But when the need reaches pathological proportions everything is forgotten in the desire to win. And of course nobody really wins; and in the meantime the general work suffers. Let's hope things are soon settled by those with the authority to settle them. From what I can gather they have a pretty good idea of the situation. I do hope my explanation of the PHOEBE affair puts the matter in a softer light. The real mistake was attributing the song to an area which was irrelevant. But, pressed for time, they probably took the quickest solution at hand, not realizing that proper credits had been overlooked.<sup>85</sup>

This episode reveals one additional aspect of Peacock's personality. He was not one for conflict, nor did he tolerate possessiveness. When I inquired about the incident several

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<sup>85</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton. 3 Jan. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM. The debate over ownership was inseparable to the folk revival and to the dissemination of folksong material by way of print, recordings and performances. Two years later in a leading article "Who Owns Folklore--A Rejoinder," Charles Seeger would point out that, as Bartók had observed, "The only really true text of a song is the sound-track on a phono graphic record or magnetic tape" and that "Even the singer from whose singing it was made cannot reproduce it" (1962, 93-94). Seeger's article was in response to Gershon Legman's challenge, in "Who Owns Folklore," that collectors acquiring folklore and folksong materials in the field were unjustly being exploitative in using copyright laws to claim ownership over these collections for the purposes of publishing such collections in the form of books, records and other media; see *WF* 21.1 (1962) : 1-12.

years later he commented:

Regarding the letter of Jan.3/59, I think I did a reasonably deft job of explaining to Helen Creighton how 'her' song PHOEBE was not properly attributed by Bill McCauley and Edith Fowke. I had suggested PETER EMBERLEY to Bill as a good representative song for P.E.I. but he preferred PHOEBE which certainly is more beautiful. I sometimes wondered why I didn't do more complaining, but it usually was my role to try and smooth things over, especially when "the need for personal appreciation . . . reaches pathological proportions." I'm sure it would never have occurred to Helen to put herself in this category. And now I even forget what the bloody album or book was. As I've said before, the mind is merciful at sifting out unpleasant memories.<sup>86</sup>

This kind of forthrightness was notably rare in our correspondence. He simply did not enter into discussions about his association with his colleagues. Characteristically Peacock saw himself more as a facilitator and collaborator and was often frustrated that others could be so demanding.

As Creighton made her living collecting and publishing, she was understandably upset about the use of her material. Her concern also reflected the lack of policies at the Museum for the handling of folklore materials and researchers' collections. Recognizing this, Creighton indicated to Roy, "I think there should be a stipulation that they [composers such as McCauley] may not use unpublished material without the knowledge and consent of the collector."<sup>87</sup> As the popular market for books, radio programs and record albums expanded, sorting out uses and ownership became a confusing matter.

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<sup>86</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June 1997. I did not find any correspondence to indicate how Creighton responded to this letter.

<sup>87</sup> Helen Creighton, letter to Carmen Roy, 8 Jan. 1959; Cr-K-1.10, Creighton Collection, LAD-CMC.

Although the National Museum paid collectors to work in the field gathering folksongs, ownership of the material rested between the collector and the institution.

Creighton wanted to be acknowledged for her research. As she had earlier informed Roy, outside of the fees she received from the Museum for collecting, she derived part of her income by marketing her work through public speaking engagements and publications.<sup>88</sup> While she was willing to share songs and other material, its distribution without her knowledge jeopardized her income. Conversely, Peacock saw his role as being more clearly defined within the Museum because, unlike Creighton, he did not market his research to the general public.

### **Folk Revival and Representation of the Folk**

By 1959, the North American folk revival boom launched in the United States had overflowed into Canada and Great Britain.<sup>89</sup> An interdependency between the folk revival movement and folksong research also emerged. One barometer of this activity

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<sup>88</sup> Helen Creighton, letter to Carmen Roy, 13 Nov. 1958; Cr-K-1.9, Creighton Collection, LAD-CMC. At the time the Museum administration was also embroiled in a turbulent transition of its own. This involved much internal friction and dissension among senior employees linked to territorial and management disputes which had emerged since the Museum had effectively split the directorship between two entities, Ethnology and Human History (Nowry 1995, 384-85).

<sup>89</sup> For various accounts of activities in Great Britain see Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993); Kenneth S. Goldstein, "The Impact of Recording Technology on the British Folksong Revival," in *Folk Music and Modern Sound*, eds. William Ferris and Mary L. Hart (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982) 3-18; and Joan Barbara Kosby, "An Ethnography of the St. Albans Folk Music Club," diss., Dept. of Folklore, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978.

was the budding folk festival scene. As folklorist Cheryl Brauner notes in her examination of the first Newport Folk Festival, held in Rhode Island during the summer of 1959, by the 1950s “folk music had become an important force in the commercial music industry” with Newport providing the “meeting ground” for both scholars and performers (1985, 42). Specialists, performers and a range of products all associated with the business of presenting the “folk” to the public emerged concurrent with the various music events. The appearance of The Kingston Trio at Newport in 1959 and their homogenized version of the Appalachian ballad “Tom Dooley” signaled the profitability of commercializing the “folk” sound. The “unprecedented commercial popularity” of this group, Robert Cantwell observes, was such that “they inspired thousands of young middle-class men and women to learn folksongs, to accompany themselves on folk instruments” bringing to birth the postwar folk revival in mass proportions (1993, 36-37).

As an outgrowth of the folk boom in the United States, a commercial market for folksong-related material also materialized in Canada. Unlike the United States though, much of the Canadian material which ended up in the public arena tended to be linked back to a small consortium of people including Alan Mills, Edith Fowke, Helen Creighton, Tom Kines, Sam Gesser, Kenneth Peacock, Marius Barbeau, and Richard Johnston who were socially and professionally connected through their mutual interest in folksong collecting, research and dissemination. While all of these individuals worked independently, this Canadian folksong establishment was responsible for interpreting the

material to the Canadian public and they produced a range of materials by way of books, radio programs. Commercial recordings of Canadian folksong material had also begun to appear with increased regularity.

In 1959 Peacock commented on some of the musical activity associated with the period. In a series of reviews for the *Canadian Music Journal* he examined eight new albums: Edith Fowke's *Folksongs of Ontario* (FM 4005); Wade Hemsworth's *Folksongs of the Canadian North Woods* (Folkways 6821); Sam Gesser's compilation *Game Songs of French Canada: School Children of Montreal* (Folkways FP 714); *Songs of French Canada* (FP 918) a collaboration of H el ene Baillargeon and Alan Mills; *Folksongs of French Canada* (FG 3560) sung by Jacques Labreque; Diane Oxner's *Traditional Songs of Nova Scotia* (Rodeo RLP 6); *Echoes of the Canadian Foothills* (Rodeo 5RLP 17) by Stu Phillips; and *Canadian Folksongs: The William McCauley Choir* (Columbia FL 226) which included the famous "Phoebe" from Creighton's collection. The influence of the American-based Folkways in raising the profile of Canadian folk music was not lost on Peacock:

Even five years ago a reviewer would have been hard pressed for enough material to fill a review of moderate length. Folkways has changed all that. Its library of Canadiana has grown to more than thirty items and other companies are in hot pursuit (1959, 55).

At one end of the continuum were albums comprised of field recordings of singers and at the other end were singers of this material who stood outside of the tradition offering their unique interpretation of the music. In weighing the value of both kinds of

representation of Canadian folksong Peacock leaned toward the musical quality of the product:

Field recordings of authentic folk singers are often of great value and interest to specialists but for a general audience I think a professional performance, even a dull one, is usually kinder to the ears. The warmth and conviviality of a rural kitchen often enhances a poor amateur performance but none of this rapport is conveyed by the recording. A professional, on the other hand, tries to create his own atmosphere, he gives each song a disembodied life of its own--an inflection here, a pause there. If he succeeds we are moved, if he fails we are embarrassed (56).

Peacock praised the albums by Hemsworth, Mills and Baillargeon, Gesser and Labreque but he had several disparaging things to say about some of the other recordings. He felt Oxner's selection of songs "more suited to male singers or earthier female types" (56). He considered the guitar playing of song writer, Stu Phillips, to be "adequate," giving the singer some adulation for the "uniqueness" of his Canadian-content ballad material (56).<sup>90</sup> He noted that William McCauley's choral arrangements were worth some consideration but the "song-for-each-province gimmick has weakened the album considerably" (56). Peacock also took the opportunity to make amends with Helen Creighton pointing out, "the beautiful 'Phoebe' comes from Nova Scotia, not Prince Edward Island" (56).<sup>91</sup> Peacock reserved the greatest criticism for Fowke's album remarking that "as a musical offering it is not memorable" (56). He found her

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<sup>90</sup> For a biographical note see Mark Miller, "Phillips, Stu (Stuart)," *EMC*. 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. 1053.

<sup>91</sup> Shortly thereafter Creighton included the song in her publication *Maritime Folksongs* (1961, 96 and 97).

commentary on the songs “interesting only in so far as they are part of a general socio-historical process,” further adding “In a sense, everything becomes interesting; but nothing is regarded as excellent in itself.”

Fowke’s album really merited more praise. She had been successful in documenting an active singing tradition in Ontario which, as she notes, was “most highly industrialized,” and largely perceived to be devoid of any musical heritage.<sup>92</sup> The album contained songs of local origin as well as those commonly found in the lumber camps or imported to the province through the Irish migrations. Through the inclusion of this material Fowke had attempted to show that traditional singing in this province was not something of the past.

Through her interaction with Kenneth Goldstein and other American colleagues, Edith Fowke also took a more inclusive approach to folksong than some other collectors.

Writing to Helen Creighton in October 1958 shortly after *Folksongs of Ontario*

(Folkways FM 4005) was released she commented:

I was interested in your reactions to “Folksongs of Ontario” and would be glad to have more detailed comments when you’ve had time to go over it again [. . .]. I imagine the songs you wondered about were ones like “The Little Indian Maid” and “The Hobo’s Grave” which are fairly modern and probably composed. Here I must admit I was following American rather than English practice: I’m sure Miss Karples would never pass them! But most of the American collections (*Ozark Folksongs*, *North Carolina Folklore*, etc.) include a great many like this—some I’d consider even more dubious than anything I used. They seem to go largely on the basis of oral tradition rather than origin and as Ontario folksingers were influenced by

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<sup>92</sup> Edith Fowke, liner notes, *Folksongs of Ontario*, LP, Folkways (FM 4005).

the Americans through the lumber camps, I thought it was worth representing this aspect.<sup>93</sup>

While Fowke and Peacock were both in the business of folksong documentation, the aesthetic which helped shape the two approaches differed. For Peacock a “musical offering” needed to be “memorable” and in this sense he felt Fowke might have benefitted from some “gem-searching.” He found the sound recordings of Fowke’s “quality voices” to be “a little raw” (Fowke 1958, 1; Peacock 1959, 57). Although Peacock valued field recordings of traditional singers, at this point he saw little musical value in presenting such material to the public. Fowke, on the other hand, was greatly influenced by American researchers and by this time she had started attending meetings of the American Folklore Society (Fowke 1997, 43). As she later noted “I wanted to make it possible for people to hear the Ontario singers” (42). Field recordings for Peacock were the unsophisticated matter from which to create musical transcriptions which could be used to revive or represent musical traditions. He didn’t see the relevance of presenting field recordings as evidence of an active song tradition linked to regional influences. This perspective would carry over into his treatment of the Newfoundland collection and in his representation of Newfoundland folksingers.

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<sup>93</sup>. Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton, 10 Nov. 1958; Fowke Correspondence, vol. 2812, file 159, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

## 8.2 The 1959 Field Season

Having secured a grant of \$1200 from the Canada Council to offset a small Museum stipend, Peacock returned to Newfoundland in June to carry out his fourth season of research.<sup>94</sup> Based on the previous year's fieldwork he returned to the west coast of the province, concentrating on the south west coast around Port aux Basques and up toward the Port-au-Port Peninsula where he intended to explore the French musical traditions. As with the area around Bonne Bay, historically this region was considered to be part of the old French shore.<sup>95</sup> As a cost-saving measure he made the trip alone, choosing instead to board with families as he had done in 1951 and '52. This year the Museum provided him with a new Swiss Nagra tape recorder.<sup>96</sup> First developed in 1958, this machine soon became popular among fieldworkers of the period. Weighing about fourteen pounds it was a state of the art machine containing an automatic voice level control and three speeds for recording; it was "the ultimate field portable" (Peacock 1984, 7).<sup>97</sup> Along with his still camera he once again brought the movie camera.

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<sup>94</sup>. Peacock learned of the grant in February; A.W. Trueman, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 12 Feb, 1959; Records Group 63, Series B1, box 77, Kenneth Peacock File, Canada Council Records, NAC.

<sup>95</sup>. Two eighteenth century treaties gave the French special fishing privileges on the west coast of Newfoundland. The original boundaries of the French Shore, as set by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, were between Cape Bonavista and Point Riche. The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 shifted the boundaries to Cape St. John in the northeast and Cape Ray in the southwest; see Frederic F. Thompson, *The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland An Imperial Study* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).

<sup>96</sup>. Carmen Roy, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 6 May 1959; Peacock Correspondence, LAD-CMC.

<sup>97</sup>. The Nagra III Recorder. 24 Aug. 2003. <<http://www.bassboy.com/geltreel/samples/european/2.htm>>.

Shortly after arriving in Port aux Basques, Peacock met Emmanuel Osborne and recorded from him “Jimmy Brewster’s Pig” (118-858) and “Fair Fanny Moore” (118-859). He then headed to the tiny fishing community of Isle aux Morts on the south coast of the province about ten kilometers from Port aux Basques. Here he met with Amelia Kinslow (1903-1985).<sup>98</sup> This singer was one of six children born to Harry Lefrense also of Isle aux Morts.<sup>99</sup> She had been married three times. Her first husband died shortly after they were wed. In the late 1920s she then wed Arthur Skinner a widowed fisherman and boat builder from Richards Harbour on the south coast who had four children. With Arthur she had seven children; the youngest, was born in 1943, just after her husband died with cancer. Shortly after this some of the children were sent to nearby communities where relatives cared for them.

Sometime around 1950 Amelia married Wallace Kinslow.<sup>100</sup> At the time Peacock met her, although blind and unable to read or write, she provided for her family by doing small services. When people in the community needed an extra set of hands to wash cloths on the washing board they frequently called on her for help. She had a quick memory and, through attending the United Church services and hearing people sing, she

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<sup>98</sup>. I have drawn in part on the biographical information acquired by Kenneth Goldstein who recorded Mrs. Kinslow in 1984; see MUNFLA Tape, 84-399 / C7208.

<sup>99</sup>. Field note Phyllis Billard, daughter of Mrs. Kinslow, 9 Nov. 2000. According to Seary in *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland*, this surname is associated specifically to Isle aux Morts and originated in Jersey, part of the British Isles (1977, 287).

<sup>100</sup>. Field Note, Phyllis Billard, 9 Nov. 2000.

knew lots of hymns.

Mrs. Kinslow provided Peacock with twenty-three songs, including two she had composed herself: “The Sweet Five Dollar Bill” (121-868) and “The Little *Twenty-Two*” (121-869). She also performed several Child Ballads: “Barbara Allen” (No. 84) (119-863); “The Unquiet Grave” (No. 78) (119-862); “Sweet William’s Ghost” (No. 77) (123-876]; “Bold Lamkin” (No. 93) (123-878); and “Lord Daniel” (123-877) a variant of “Lord Donald” (No. 81). When Peacock asked her if she had acquired the song out of a book she replied: I can’t read you know but they used to read them to me see, and I’d put the tune to them myself”.<sup>101</sup>

Peacock’s recording session with Amelia Kinslow did not go smoothly. She had great difficulty recalling some of the lyrics and was probably somewhat intimidated by the tape recorder. On the recording she is heard to say several times that she was getting “fooled up” in the songs. She had seemingly sung one or two examples for Peacock prior to being recorded for he appeared to be prompting her as she tried to recall various stanzas. As she explained when singing “Wreck of the *Old Spike*” (118-860), “You know, when you don’t sing a song, if you don’t practice; I haven’t sung . . . .”<sup>102</sup> While performing the second song, “Loss of the *Jubal King* [Cain]” (119-861), she struggled to find the words, commenting “There’s another verse, I done pretty good with that one” to

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<sup>101</sup>. MUNFLA Tape, 87-157/ C11063A.

<sup>102</sup>. MUNLFA Tape, 87-157/ C11062B.

which Peacock encouragingly replied “You’re doing fine.”<sup>103</sup>

Peacock had decided to explore new techniques for getting the words to songs in just these situations:

I remember experimenting with adding the missing verse at the end of the song, first playing it through so the singer would get the right pitch. But the singer never did, so my idea of splicing in the missing verse came to nothing. It would stick out like a sore thumb. <sup>104</sup>

This is what occurred with Kinslow’s performance of “Come All You Island People” (122-871). Mrs. Kinslow remembered a couple of stanzas and Peacock advised her that he could cut the tape and put the additional recorded material in the right place. As the recordings reveal today, Peacock probably spliced the original tape to accommodate his commitment to the singer.<sup>105</sup>

That summer Peacock also attempted to devise a system for dealing with thick or difficult dialect which he often encountered. As the conversation following the recording of “George Porter” (120-866) indicates, sometimes he would have his informant repeat the words:

AK: You got that one have ya?

KP: No, I’ve never heard that before. Would you like to word it out, there’s a couple of things there I didn’t understand. Perhaps it would be easier if you worded it out. Would you do that?

AK: Tell ya?

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<sup>103</sup>. MUNFLA Tape, 87-157/ C 11063A.

<sup>104</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 27 May 1997.

<sup>105</sup>. MUNFLA Tape, 87-157/ C 11064B

- KP: Ya, just, if you could word through the song.  
 AK: Oh yes, I dare say I could but you never got what I said did ya?  
 KP: There were a couple of phrases I didn't get.  
 AK: What was that on the first of it or the last of it?  
 KP: Well would you like to try right through?  
 AK: Oh yes. [pause] You got her going now?  
 KP: Yes it's all right now.  
 AK: What you want me to sing it again?  
 KP: No just say it.  
 AK: Just say it.<sup>106</sup>

Mrs. Kinslow did as Peacock requested but following her rendition of the "Little *Twenty-Two*" (121-869), when Peacock once again requested that she repeat the words, she replied that she couldn't "tell a song" like she could sing it.<sup>107</sup>

Amelia Kinslow wasn't prepared to sing Peacock just any song. She was curious to know what material he had previously recorded. After singing him "Barbara Allen" she commented "That like you gotten?" Peacock replied "No, no that's a different air altogether than I've got, that's fine." When he asked her "Do you want to try the "Bouncing Girl in Fogo" (122-873) she again commented "You haven't got that have ya?"<sup>108</sup> In these instances, rather than outrightly refuse a song, Peacock tactfully indicated that he had another version with a different tune or a different text allowing the singer to provide his or her example.

Much to Peacock's delight, Mrs. Kinslow also provided him with two separate

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<sup>106.</sup> MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/ C11063B

<sup>107.</sup> MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/ C11064B.

<sup>108.</sup> MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/ C11064B.

recordings of “She’s Like the Swallow” (122-872 and 122-874). During the second taping of the song she recalled the chorus, which she hadn’t given him previously, noting she had learned it from her aunt, an old English woman. As he would note in his end-of-season report:

The highlight of my visit to Isle aux Morts was the discovery of the complete version of “She’s Like the Swallow,” a superb English love-lyric preserved only in Newfoundland. A three stanza fragment had been found by Karpeles 30 years ago.<sup>109</sup>

The collecting of this “gem” gave him much satisfaction and it was probably a poignant moment for Peacock. Just months before Karpeles had attempted to recruit him for the continuation of her research.

While at Mrs. Kinslow’s Peacock also encountered Kenneth Pink from Rose Blanche a few miles away. Pink just happened to be hanging around the area with some of the men in Isle aux Morts.<sup>110</sup> Peacock remembers little about him except that he liked performing songs about ship wrecks. Peacock subsequently took down from Pink twelve songs including several local compositions about vessels in the south coast area which had encountered some kind of disaster: “The Loss of the *Danny Goodwinn*” (125-883), “The Loss of the *John Harvey* (127-890), “The Search of the *Thomas J.*” (126-888), the “Wreck of the *Green Rocks*” (128-894), and the “Loss of *Barbara Ann Ronny*” (124-881)

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<sup>109</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music 1959 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock; Records Group 63, Series B1, box 77, Kenneth Peacock File, Canada Council Records, NAC. Kinslow’s daughter Phyllis also recalled hearing her mother sing this song before age ten prior to being sent to Burnt Island to live.

<sup>110</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 25 Sept. 1997.

which, according to Pink, was composed in Petites (Peacock 1965, 3: 938).

Prior to leaving Isle aux Morts, Peacock photographed Mrs. Kinslow and her children and with his movie camera he shot film of them and of Kenneth Pink in her kitchen (appendix 5, plate 5, page 849). Having recorded a total of thirty-two songs he was pleased with this first part of the summer's fieldwork. As he later informed the National Museum and the Canada Council "The high quality of this material, plus information regarding singers farther east, indicates that the entire south coast is a most promising area for future research".<sup>111</sup> Peacock left the area beyond Isles aux Morts unexplored because access to communities beyond this point would have required taking the coastal boat. Instead he drove on to the southwest corner of the island to investigate the Gaelic and French material in the Codroy Valley, a large agricultural belt comprising the communities of Doyles, Coal Brook, Upper Ferry, Searston and Codroy.

Although the Codroy region constituted part of the old French treaty shore, from the early 1820s onward the English had also settled in the vicinity alongside a few French families. Following the arrival of the Scots, Irish and Acadians from Cape Breton, after the 1840s it grew to have a mixed population. Peacock probably decided to visit the Codroy region because of his earlier field-collecting in Cape Breton in 1951 and '52. Moreover, Greenleaf had earlier made a cursory exploration of the area without recording anything (1933, xxxv).

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<sup>111</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music 1959 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock.

Arriving in Upper Ferry, he asked local residents to recommend some potential informants and they suggested that he seek out Allan MacArthur (1884-1971), a farmer and piper. In every community there are those who stand out as the cultural historians and keepers of the tradition and MacArthur appeared to play such a role. Margaret Bennett Knight, who later conducted research in the area closely working with MacArthur, confirms this, noting that he was a “singer, accordionist, story-teller, historian, sportsman, guide and craftsman” and an “authority on every subject” (1975, 114).<sup>112</sup>

Peacock recorded a variety of material from MacArthur including several melodies and songs of the Gaelic tradition. He eventually published six items given by MacArthur in *Outports*: “Brughaichean Ghlinn’Braon” (128-895), “Oran Na Caillich” (128-896), “Milling Song” (128-897), “Fhir a Bhàta” (129-898] “Banks of Newfoundland” (129-901) and “The Ghostly Sailors” (130-903) (1965, 3: 773-74; 793-94; 790; 786-87; 854-55; and 873-74). Listening to the recordings, one notices some discrepancy between Peacock’s printed versions of the transcriptions and what MacArthur actually sang on tape. In the case of “The Milling Song” for which he published just the melody, Peacock remarks that he hadn’t been able to acquire the words (1965, 3: 790).

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<sup>112</sup> See Margaret Bennett Knight, “Some Aspects of the Scottish Gaelic Traditions of the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland.” M.A. thesis, Dept. of Folklore, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975; also see Margaret Bennett, *The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions in Newfoundland* (St. John’s: Breakwater, 1989).

Bennett's observations several years later provide a new contextual reading of Peacock's approach to this material, at the same time explaining some of the variance between the published versions and the field recordings. As she notes, MacArthur was unable to read Gaelic but he had a number of books and newspapers containing Gaelic items:

Allan's family said later that Peacock apparently copied some texts from a book that Allan had [Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach] which might indicate that he probably used the printed text rather than the tape transcriptions in the published versions of the songs. In fact I later had access to Allan's book, and the same spelling error of the song title occurs there [p. 320] and comparison of the two books showed them to be identical. There were, however, several textual differences between the versions of another song "Oran Na Caillich," which Peacock published and the version which I collected from Allan (1975, 293).

Peacock provides an indication that he acquired some of this material from print because he includes references to the composers of the songs.<sup>113</sup>

She also notes that "The Milling Song" for which Peacock provided no words, was actually composed by MacArthur and his grandfather:

During the singing of this particular song which Peacock refers to, Allan MacArthur made continuous slapping noises with both his hands on his knees throughout the song to simulate the slapping of the cloth. And, in fact, this same song was called by Allan MacArthur "Oran an Tombaca" [Song of the Tobacco]. Since it was jointly composed by Allan and his

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<sup>113</sup>. Peacock notes that "Brughaichean Ghlinn'Braon" (128-895) was composed by William Rose (1762-1790) and for "Oran Na Caillich" (128-896) it was Allan McDougall (1750-1829) (*Outports*, 3: 773 and 793). Peacock took the textual transcripts from Norman MacDonald, *Sar-obair m nam bard Gaelach, or The beauties of Gaelic poetry and lives of the highland bards: with historical and critical notes and a comprehensive glossary of provincial words* (1863, 262 and 276). My appreciation to Margaret Bennett for providing this reference.

grandfather, it was never written down. Consequently, there were no printed or published texts which Peacock could use to assist him (298).

She further adds that the song contained seven stanzas.

Bennett's comments on one additional song, "Fhir a Bhàta" (129-898), pertain to the issue of cultural change. Peacock indicates it is a milling song common to both Cape Breton and Newfoundland (1965, 3: 787). Bennett points out though, that between Cape Breton and Scotland there is considerable variation "from text to text" (292). In Scotland it is more of a "gentle love song" but, in places such as the Codroy Valley and Cape Breton, the tempo has been adapted for use as a milling song. This quicker tempo was indicated in Peacock's transcription.

Bennett also notes the presence of macaronic songs or "songs in Gaelic and English" that can be "better understood by those who did not speak Gaelic" (298). In relation to this MacArthur actually presented to Peacock two bagpipe performances of the "Banks of Newfoundland" (Pea 129-901 and 902). One was an instrumental performance of the song. The second rendition was also delivered on the bagpipes but MacArthur followed this immediately with the lyrics (appendix 5, plate 5, page 849). As an extension of Bennett's notion of adapting songs to the mixing of Gaelic and English cultures, we may speculate that MacArthur had transferred this song to the bagpipes for similar reasons.

Peacock printed the second rendition (Pea 129-901), but made no reference to either of the instrumental performances on bagpipes (1965, 3: 854-55). He probably

found the bagpipe version distasteful and could not conceive of the Newfoundland song within the Gaelic tradition. He isolated the Gaelic interpretation from the song entirely dealing with the melody and texts as separate entities. I discovered that Peacock had recorded a third performance of "The Banks of Newfoundland." He asked MacArthur to sing the song again and then to recite it, suggesting that he viewed field recordings as raw data which he could later process into something more complete and refined in the form of printed texts and melodies.<sup>114</sup> As Bennett's detective work implies, Peacock's lack of commentary regarding these field experiences has frequently been a source of frustration to later researchers following in his path.

Peacock could have spent more time collecting Gaelic material but he merely made a cursory survey of the area. He made bare mention of his findings in his end-of-summer field report:

The Gaelic material is similar to that in Cape Breton. Milling frolics, rare even in Cape Breton, had passed out of tradition ten or fifteen years ago, although the songs are still remembered."<sup>115</sup>

Peacock did not recommend any additional follow up in the future. As we can appreciate, perhaps he recognized that to do much more would require a working knowledge of the language. Having collected the songs he could at least lay claim to establishing the presence of the tradition in Newfoundland.

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<sup>114</sup> See MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/11068B. Peacock assigned no number to this performance.

<sup>115</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music 1959 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock.

Following this recording session, MacArthur probably put Peacock in contact with Martin Deveau, also of Upper Ferry. Deveau gave Peacock two French songs “Boire un p’tit coup c’est agreable” (130-904), and “Un jour, je m’en vas-t-au marché” (131-908) as well as the “Lumbercamp Song” (130-905). Peacock also recorded two local compositions from him; “Five Boss Highway” (130-906) and “Highway Song” (131-907).<sup>116</sup> Peacock headed then to Doyles, where he briefly recorded two songs from Mrs. Frank Tompkins. He proceeded to Searston, obtaining another two from Mrs. Gale and one from John T. O’Quinn and then on to St. Andrews where he recorded one song from Joseph Bruce and several instrumentals performed by Joseph O’Quinn and John A. MacDonald on the violin (132-195 to 133-192). Peacock generally showed no enthusiasm for any form of instrumental music and his effort to collect these examples was an anomaly. As he was mainly interested in songs and texts, he did not transcribe the melodies.<sup>117</sup> He moved on to Cold Brook recording one song from Madame Au Coin then returned to Upper Ferry where he recorded seven French numbers from Lucy Cormier.<sup>118</sup> The names of many of these singers were probably also given to Peacock by Allan MacArthur whose daughter, Lucy, was married to Leo Cormier (Bennett 13). They were also friends of Mrs. George and Lucy Cormier “prominent bearers of the French

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<sup>116</sup> Deveau was later recorded by Kenneth Goldstein; see MUNFLA, Tapes, 80-134 / C4794 and C4795.

<sup>117</sup> Kelly Russell later included one of Peacock’s recordings of Joseph O’Quinn [Au Coin] on his Pigeon Inlet Production *Close to the Floor Newfoundland Dance Music* (PIP4-7327).

<sup>118</sup> Kenneth Goldstein and Margaret Bennett later interviewed Lucy Cormier ; see MUNFLA, Tape, 80-134/C4791.

tradition in the valley” (20).

Peacock headed on to Cape St. George area on the Port-au-Port Peninsula to locate and record French singers. The French population along this part of the coast dates to the early nineteenth century. The first residents were primarily deserters from the French fishery which sent out vessels from Brittany, Normandy, and St. Pierre, and Miquelon (Thomas 1996, 308). Over the years settlement also grew through intermarriage with the Acadians who established themselves on this part of the island around the same time. With the cessation of the French Shore Treaty in 1904, the English eventually expanded into this region. As folklorist Gary Butler notes in his study of the French in this region, this was a period when “English culture began to exert an increasing influence in the area, doing so through schools, church, and business, and through the majority status which Anglophone settlement of the area gradually established” (1990, 26).

The French nevertheless managed to maintain a strong oral tradition. When Greenleaf visited the area in 1929 she commented: “It was reported that I could find ‘Jack-atars’, or people who spoke a mixed dialect of French, English, and Micmac, but to my surprise, the songs that I heard were sung in literary French which I could understand” (1933, xxxv). While she noted that her “brief visit to a new and interesting section of Newfoundland opened vistas of further study and effort” at the time she didn’t record any material (xxxv). As Butler and Thomas both point out, prior to Peacock’s

research, the region's folklore had yet to be studied (1990, 2; 1978,1).<sup>119</sup> Although the National Museum had been involved in the documentation of French culture in Quebec and the Gaspé, through, among others, Barbeau, Lacourcière and Carmen Roy, Newfoundland had been virtually untouched. This may have been partially because of the perception that little remained of the French culture (Butler 1990, 1).

Aware of Greenleaf's observations, Peacock decided to see for himself what had lasted. His work was a notable pioneering effort. During this initial visit he recorded thirty-five songs from several French singers: Annie Felix, Josephine March, Joseph Le Moine, William Robin, Cornelius Rouges, Jean Ozon, Cyril Robin and Josephine Costard. Peacock evidently collected this material with his publication in mind. Writing to Creighton he remarked:

This year I'm concentrating on variety, the usual songs in English and a few Gaelic and French items. I thought Carmen [Roy] would be interested in comparing her French-Canadian collection with the local French product. Besides, it would be nice to have some French and Gaelic things for my book of Newfoundlandia.<sup>120</sup>

Peacock conveys little information about the circumstances of the French communities other than to indicate in his final report that he was concerned about the preservation of this culture particularly because of the changes sweeping across

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<sup>119</sup> MacEdward Leach made a cursory visit to the area in 1950 at that time recording a number of songs from the Anglo-tradition; see "Leach Newfoundland Collection (1-1950) Informants listed by place of residence," MacEdward Leach Collection, MUNFLA, Accession 78-054, pgs. 30, 31, and 34.

<sup>120</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 9 July 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

Newfoundland following Confederation:

The area is extremely depressed economically, and no effort is being made to develop it as a French-speaking or even bilingual community. School lessons are conducted in English from English text-books, an obvious attempt to completely thwart the natural evolution of French traditions. Young people are leaving to work in Stephenville and Harmon Field, the American military base. People like Mrs. Custard [sic] are the only link with the traditional customs and their material should be taped as soon as possible. Lourdes and Black Duck Brook on the other side of the Port-au-Port Peninsula are also promising areas for research in French folksong.<sup>121</sup>

Through the subsequent work of folklorists such as Gerald Thomas (1977, 1978) and Gary Butler (1985; 1986: 19-26) additional documentation is now available on the French traditional culture in this area. In *Songs Sung by French Newfoundlanders* (1978) Thomas makes reference to a number of Peacock's informants. Annie Felix, who gave Peacock four songs, was born a Louvelle and her family's musical tradition was strong (88). Her brother Frank was evidently a singer as well (61-62). Cyril Robin (1931-), the half brother of William Robin, was also a gifted performer "in the old style, that is, much given to a lively, theatrical interpretation of his songs and tales" (90). One of the two songs Peacock recorded from this informant is also listed in Thomas's *Songs* along with fourteen additional titles and versions (67-69). According to Thomas, William Robin (1901- ), who gave Peacock two songs, was "also a good storyteller, and a fund of knowledge on almost all aspects of traditional life and lore" (91). His repertoire of songs was extensive. Thomas later recorded fifty-five titles from this informant many of which

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<sup>121</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music 1959 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock.

Robin had acquired from his father “When they fished together in the early years of the century” (91).<sup>122</sup>

Peacock also recorded fifteen songs from Josephine Costard in Port-au-Port and he was quite taken with her voice commenting later in his field report:

An unusually gifted singer Mrs. Josephine Custard [Costard] was discovered in Loretto near Cape St. Georges. Every one of her fifteen songs was delivered with great style and musical imagination. When her complete repertoire is on tape Canada’s store of French folksong should be notably enriched. Now a widow, she uses her second husband’s name, probably a corruption of Costo or Costa a Portugese name familiar in nearby outports.<sup>123</sup>

Originally a Dubé from Mainland [La Grand’ Terre] she was known as both a good storyteller and singer with a large repertoire (Thomas 1978, 88; Butler 1985, 20). She was actually known within the French community as Josie La Costa, a derivation of her husband’s Breton family name (Thomas 1978, 88; and 1999, 48 ). Butler points out that Costard’s reputation extended well beyond her community, “[she] was renowned in Cap-St-Georges for her ‘old French songs’; but she was equally known for her talents in the other French communities on the peninsula, La Grand’ Terre and L’Anse-à-Canards” where her old style of singing was particularly popular among the older members of the community (1986, 24). Pleased with the quality of both her voice and her song repertoire

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<sup>122</sup> For additional information on Cyril M. Robin and William Robin see the Kenneth Goldstein collection, MUNFLA, Tapes, 85-245/ C7832 Tape 78-239/C3585.

<sup>123</sup> *Newfoundland Folk Music 1959 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock.

Peacock would return again the following year to record additional material from her.<sup>124</sup>

Peacock headed back up the Great Northern Peninsula spending the remainder of the summer collecting in this region. Returning first to Rocky Harbour he recorded two songs from Arthur Nicolle, two from Mrs. William Nicolle, twenty-three from George Decker and two from his wife, Sara Ann, and two from Annie Walters (appendix 5, plate 5, page 849). This field season Peacock also stayed with Annie Walters and her family:

She would accept no payment since we were now friends. So I bought her a little Coleman stove to use in the entry room to the kitchen on those warm days when the wood stove got very hot. Tom [Annie's husband] immediately set his eye on it and said it would be just the thing to make tea while out on the water checking his lobster traps. I'm not sure how it ended up, but I'm reasonably sure Annie would never desert her trusty stove. Her daughter Bertha was visiting from Burnt Islands and I taught her 'jive' dancing (like jitterbugging) as I bellowed out an up-tempo blues song. Our audience was highly amused and appreciative. . . . Bertha suggested I visit Burnt Islands the following year to meet her husband, George Croucher, and family, a boy about twelve and a younger girl. Bertha was very fond of her brother Milton and named her son after him. He was referred to as "young Milton".<sup>125</sup>

Peacock shared many musical moments with Annie Walters. Once during their conversations about singing he asked her if she knew the song "She's Like the Swallow" which he had collected earlier from Mrs. Kinslow (122-872). She wasn't familiar with it, so instead performed "She Died in Love" (144-965). As Peacock later noted "She immediately sang this song in reply to show how similar they are" (1965, 3: 708).

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<sup>124</sup> For additional songs in this singer's repertoire see Thomas, *Songs Sung* (1978, 49-56); in the Goldstein collection for Josephine Costard see MUNFLA, Tape, 78-239/ C3583.

<sup>125</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 16 Sept. 1996.

Having introduced the song to Mrs. Walters, Peacock promptly attempted to teach it to her. Her daughter-in-law, Josie Walters, who was around for these exchanges recalls that Mrs. Walters loved the words but “she just could not sing it like Peacock would have liked her to sing it;” though “he could sing it beautiful.”<sup>126</sup> Peacock was evidently taken with the song, commenting to Creighton in early July in a letter written while in Bonne Bay:

There has been one good scoop this year so far--the complete version of SHE'S LIKE THE SWALLOW. I have often asked about it, but nobody seemed to have heard of it. Then out of the blue when I was least expecting it a blind woman in Isle aux Morts remembered it just as I was about to leave. She also directed me to another woman further north who knows it.<sup>127</sup>

This other singer was Charlotte Decker whom he had previously visited in 1958 and would once again seek out later in the season (appendix 5, plate 5, page 849).

Peacock had evidently been thinking about how to finance the publication of his song collection which he saw as becoming more and more of a reality. He remarked to Creighton that he had “made the rounds of a few publishers” among them Dr. Pierce of Ryerson.<sup>128</sup> Pierce had apparently suggested that Peacock should see if the Newfoundland Government would assist with publishing. Thinking that he might try this

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<sup>126.</sup> Anna Guigné, fieldnote with Josie Walters, 9 Nov. 2000.

<sup>127.</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 9 July 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>128.</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 9 July 1959.

route to finance the publication he asked Creighton what the cost of her own subsidy had been. Referring to her new publication for which she had recently asked Peacock to write a “Musical Introduction” he also remarked:

I’m afraid the Newfoundland book won’t have such a high musical standard, especially when the section devoted to local song is taken into account. But after much consideration I decided to include as many local songs as possible even if only for their historical interest. After all, they are the things that give Nfld folk music whatever uniqueness it possesses. And they’re not all naive musically damnit.<sup>129</sup>

As the National Museum would eventually come up with funds to assist Peacock, he did not pursue the idea to contact the Newfoundland Government.<sup>130</sup> His off-the-cuff statement regarding the quality of Newfoundland music, however, is revealing of the manner in which Peacock often dealt with Creighton. In 1997 I forwarded him a copy of the letter asking for his comments to which Peacock replied:

You take me too seriously, m’dear, when I appear to regard Nfld music as inferior to that of Nova Scotia. Possibly I was bragging about my Nfld collection to Helen at the May meeting of the CFMS so I sought to compensate by implying that nothing could best Helen’s songs and singers.<sup>131</sup>

As Peacock’s response suggests, he felt a constant need to placate Creighton to ensure that they maintained a good working relationship.

Before heading on up the coast Peacock stopped for a short time in St. Paul’s to

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<sup>129</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 9 July 1959.

<sup>130</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June 1997.

<sup>131</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author.

revisit and record several new songs from Everett Bennett:

When I returned in 1959 I was surprised to find everyone pitching in to build a new house for Becky and Freeman Bennett. Their previous house had been completely buried and partially crushed in a stupendous snowstorm the previous winter. Everett said the only thing visible was the radio aerial sticking out of the snow, so they knew where to dig them out. Luckily no one was injured, but Becky said it was pretty scary.<sup>132</sup>

He next headed to Parson's Pond where he recorded Nicolas Keough and the Deckers.

Charlotte Decker gave Peacock several new songs among them "John Barbour" (152-994), "The Bonny Busk of London" (Child 10), "My Father Was a Shepherd" (Child 112), and the "Alphabet Song" (154-1002) which he had collected the previous summer but this time with a new melody. In *Outports* Peacock made special note of Decker's ability to improvise because she couldn't recall how she had previously sung it for him:

I had asked Aunt Charlotte to sing the alphabet song she had recorded the year before, because two or three words on the tape were unintelligible. Much to my surprise she used a completely different tune. She was not aware of the change (1965, 1: 5).

Peacock also asked Decker whether she knew "She's Like the Swallow." She acknowledged being familiar with it from her childhood but beyond that not much else, adding the "air is just like that man sings on the radio" (3: 714).

Decker promised to send Peacock the words later when she and her husband could recall them. When preparing this song for publication it was one of several to which he

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<sup>132</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 6 Feb. 1995.

devoted special attention based on his discriminating tastes. Peacock eventually published an eight-stanza “A” text in *Outports* (1965, 3: 711-12). When I asked Peacock about how he acquired the song he was somewhat evasive:

My lengthy note on the song on p. 714 explains how I got the rest of the song from Charlotte and James Decker the following winter. Aunt Charlotte had already sort of hummed the melody as she remembered it from her mother. She sent me a later letter when her husband died. Both are now missing.<sup>133</sup>

The history behind the popularity of this song and its treatment by Peacock and others has recently been explored by Neil V. Rosenberg who argues that Peacock’s “A” variant is more of an invention based on “the Decker’s memories, with the help of his own singing and the remainder of the melody from [Omar] Blondahl’s or [Alan] Mills’ radio singing—all based on the familiar Karpeles version.”<sup>134</sup> The version in *Outports* is really Peacock’s conceptual rendition of the melody combined with the lyrics Decker later forwarded to him and a stanza Peacock added from Mrs. Annie Walters’ song “She Died in Love” (714). He also published a six-stanza “B” version consisting of a composite text of Mrs. Kinslow’s two separate performances (122-872 and 122-874).<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 16 Sept. 1996.

<sup>134</sup> See Neil V. Rosenberg, “‘Following the Swallow’: How a Folksong Took Off,” *Bulletin of the Folklore Studies Association* vol. 22, 1-4 (1998) : 29. Conference paper copy courtesy of the author. Blondahl recorded this song on his 1958 Rodeo Records album *A Visit to Newfoundland with Omar Blondahl* (RLP, 34); see Taft *Discography*, 56. Mills had recorded it prior to 1952 along with “Lukey’s Boat” and “Kelligrews Soiree” on RCA Victor (56-0058).

<sup>135</sup> No original manuscript exists in his unpublished collection, just a typeset copy of that which appears in *Outports*, 3: 711-12; The MS number assigned to this song in his collection of materials collected in manuscript is Pea C, MS 128; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

Looked at from a different perspective, as a composer it is likely that Peacock could not resist creating occasional interpretations of songs he dearly loved and “She’s Like the Swallow” most certainly fell in that category.

Peacock next headed to Bellburns just north of Parson’s Pond. This community had been opened up the previous year with the extension of the coastal road. Prior to this residents had depended primarily on the coastal boat service. Although fishing provided an important source of employment, since the 1920s this area had also benefitted from logging and fox farming. At the time of Peacock’s visit the community was unelectrified and contained fewer than two hundred people. Here Peacock encountered Clara Stevens (1896-1973), her husband William and daughter Leonora.<sup>136</sup>

Clara lived in Bellburns all her life. Her mother, Ethel Simmons (? -1958), was from Bonne Bay and her father was the brother of Sam House whose compositions about local events were well-known all along the coast. She inherited the tradition of singing from her father Albert House (1876-1939) and the older people in the community.<sup>137</sup> Albert could “sing like a nightingale” and he was a storyteller. Although unable to write, he could read and he composed songs. Clara also acquired material off the radio and from records. As her sister recalls, they did have old fashioned records and “an old phonograph you had to wind up by hand” which was probably given to her mother by one

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<sup>136</sup> Biographical information and other comments regarding Clara Stevens were obtained during a telephone conversation with her sister Eliza Haynes, 11 Nov, 2000.

<sup>137</sup> Anna Guigné, fieldnote, Eliza Haynes, Cow Head 11 Nov, 2000.

of her sisters living in Montreal. A battery-operated radio also provided communication with the outside world.<sup>138</sup> Clara eventually married William Stevens from Shoal Cove near Flowers Cove and she remained in her home community. Between them they had numerous children, many of whom inherited their mother's love of singing.

Stevens gave Peacock twenty-four songs and as he discovered, her repertoire was diverse. She performed various Child ballads including "Young Johnny From Hazel Green" (No. 293) (160-1025), "Fair Marjorie's Ghost" (No. 74-b) (161-1033), two versions of "Barbara Allen" (No. 84) (164-1043 and 164-1044) and "A True Lover of Mine" (No. 2) (163-1038). She knew British broadsides such as "The Banks of the Ayr" (161-1031) (Laws-034) various children's songs including "The Fox and Goose" (164-1047) and "Butter and Cheese" (164-1046) and a song composed by her uncle, Sam House called "Old Jack" (161-1034).

Clara Stevens was also a witty character and she had a knack for making up songs about local issues. In his discussion of such compositions Paul West says it is no exaggeration to describe local songs in Newfoundland as "the pithiest, the most ingenious and the most evocative of the island temper" (1960, 34). These songs are not always "jolly" rather they also include "disaster, animosity and unlyrical candour" (35). This is the case with three of the compositions Stevens gave to Peacock. "The MacKays of Canada" (162-1037) pertains to a Montreal couple who had come to the community to

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<sup>138</sup> Anna Guigné, fieldnote, Eliza Haynes, Cow Head 11 Nov, 2000.

teach. Clara felt they were inhospitable. The “IWA Strike” (160-1027) concerns the 1958 uprising linked to the unionization of the logging industry which resulted in much turbulence across the island.<sup>139</sup> Skipper George Whiteley” (162-1036) is directed at a local merchant-politician whom Stevens felt did her an injustice cautioning:

Come all you young girls and pay attention to what I’m going to say;  
Never work with Skipper Whiteley, If you do you’ll get half paid.”<sup>140</sup>

Peacock eventually published everything Stevens gave him in *Outports* but these three examples. When having to choose between something like a Child ballad and songs which he perceived to be too obscure or openly libelous, Peacock was inclined to favour the older material.

Although Stevens gave Peacock several songs she later developed a negative opinion of the collector. When Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson interviewed her in 1966 they found “there was some disgruntlement” in the Stevens family.<sup>141</sup> When folklorist Richard Tallman interviewed her in 1974, Stevens informed him that she was annoyed with Peacock because she had heard “Green Grows the Laurels,” (either 160-1029 or 160-1030), on the radio sometime after giving it to him. Perceiving that it was

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<sup>139</sup> See Sean T. Cadigan, “Unions,” *ENL*, 5: 455-56.

<sup>140</sup> Peacock Collection, MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11079A; also see Allison C. Bates, “Whiteley, George Carpenter (1874-1961),” *ENL*, 5: 562.

<sup>141</sup> Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, “1966 Field Trip Report to the Northern Peninsula,” Unpublished manuscript; MUNFLA, 66-024, pg. 26.

her song which had been used, she complained that she hadn't been given royalties.<sup>142</sup>

Peacock was also aware of her sentiments, commenting later to me that Stevens thought he had “made millions” on her. He added that he wouldn't want to put her on a record because, despite the quality of the songs, her style of singing was “blatant [and] forthright.”<sup>143</sup>

Conceivably some mis-communication could have arisen simply because it was unusual to have an outsider come into the community looking for people to record. As her sister Eliza Haynes also observes, “Everything in those days was money and we was just coming on stream with the rest of Canada.”<sup>144</sup> From Clara Stevens's perspective, why would Peacock single her out if not to use her material for some profit or gain? Then too, through the influence of VOCM radio in particular, and the efforts of singer Omar Blondahl, Newfoundland folksong was reaching a new local popularity (Rosenberg 1991b, 21). The availability of magazines coming in from Canada and the United States had a certain influence as well. As Eliza Haynes notes, at that time people in Bellburns started to see advertisements: “especially from [the United] States ‘True Stories’ and all [and] that if you've got lyrics, send your lyrics to Nashville or send your lyrics here.”<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Richard Tallman Collection. Interview with Clara Stevens, MUNFLA, Tapes, 74-3222/ C 1933 and 77-3222/C 1935, 31 July 1972.

<sup>143</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 Oct. 1997.

<sup>144</sup> Anna Guigné, fieldnote, Eliza Haynes, Cow Head 11 Nov., 2000.

<sup>145</sup> On the importance of the mail-order schemes to the development of the country and western tradition in Newfoundland music see Narváez, “Country Music in Diffusion,” 93-101.

Clara had actually sent the lyrics of some of her compositions to the States though nothing came of it. The incident with Stevens was exceptional; overall Peacock appears to have maintained good relations with his informants.

### **Concluding the Season**

Peacock returned briefly to Rocky Harbour where he spent time recording additional songs from George Decker. From here he made his way eastward to the Avalon Peninsula finding accommodations in the community of Chapel Arm, on the southeast arm of Trinity Bay. Here, with his movie camera he documented the traditional slaughter of pilot whales (*Globicephala melaena*). This community was one of several which had sporadically participated in the inshore whale fishery since the mid-nineteenth century. Known locally as “potheads,” the whales were plentiful in early August, arriving with the squid, their primary food. The whales were herded on shore and shot for their blubber (Lien 1991, 544). These drives were an integral aspect of the lives of the residents of the area who combined fishing and farming for a living. As Cranford and Hillier observe in their account of nearby New Harbour, which also participated in the drive:

People reacted differently to the red slaughter. To the author, as a young boy, a pothead drive was both thrilling and saddening. To the locals it was just a break from the everyday routine with a chance to earn some ready cash. Most outsiders shook their heads in wonder at what seemed to them to be a barbaric practice; the men who hauled the carcasses and lugged the fat and meat found it backbreaking drudgery (1995, 11).

In the 1950s the pothead whale fishery provided the main supply of meat to the fox and mink fur farms in the area. In a letter to me Peacock recalled how he came to record the hunt with his movie camera:

The longest most sensational footage is of a whale massacre at Chapel Arm in 1959, a pleasant stopover place to transcribe my tapes. I heard volleys of gunfire and went downstairs to ask the landlady about it. She said the men were confusing the whales and driving them into shallow water to shoot them. I went down with my movie camera to the beach but all the shooting was over. A boy took me out in a skiff to photograph the resulting carnage. Other carcasses had been hauled up on the beach to be cut up for meat, much of it used to feed the minks at a mink ranch the other side of town. The whales were rather smallish, as whales go, not like the monsters you see from your window. There seemed to be dozens of them. Very smooth and dark, almost black. The word 'pothead' comes to mind but I'm not sure [ . . . ] If they were killed at this rate there can't be many left! The footage is really gruesome; I don't know if you'd be interested.<sup>146</sup>

So often Peacock appears to have taken the role of a stranger in a strange land, always observing and taking things in but in the end saying very little about his experiences. He was affected by the whale slaughter, enough to document it on film but as with many other of his adventures, he simply did not feel the need to make any reference to this incident. His mission was to collect songs; Peacock simply registered these other aspects of Newfoundland culture from the sidelines, remaining neutral, viewing their description as irrelevant to the main task at hand. The filming of the slaughter, later spliced together with footage of "cows on highway," "dunes with one sheep," "Ken Peacock talking to water-taxi captain, Bonne Bay," "mists rolling down

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<sup>146</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 27 Sept. 1997.

high escarpment--speeded up by time lapse vicinity of Doyles,” “crossing the cable ‘raft’ at St. Paul’s narrows,” “Grand Falls Central Railway sign” and “Newfoundland again, debarking car from tiny ferry, Norris Point area, Bonne Bay” provide a silent document of his fieldwork activities, filling in gaps where only the barest of narratives has previously existed.<sup>147</sup>

Shortly after witnessing the whale slaughter, Peacock went back to Ottawa. In all it had been a good season. He had collected 187 songs and twenty-two instrumentals. As Peacock indicated in his field report to both the Museum and the Canada Council, he already had ideas for the next summer’s research program:

[. . . ] I would suggest a return to the French areas of the west coast and an exploratory investigation of the south coast. The latter is a huge area to cover, and if the two outports already visited are an indication, then the research might have to be confined to three or four villages at a time, as happened last year on the northwest coast. The opportunities for uncovering new material seem as plentiful as ever, and at present I can see no limit to the possibilities for further research.<sup>148</sup>

Peacock spent the fall transcribing his collection. Carmen Roy arranged for some Francophone women in the office to translate the French texts while Peacock focused on the music. This material drew considerable interest from Barbeau:

Oh yes, when I was transcribing one of Josephine Costard’s songs and he

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<sup>147</sup>. These items refer to footage contained in a second film Peacock forwarded to me during the summer of 1997. Prior to sending the material he viewed the film with a viewer-editor, delineating the contents. This list “Extra Newfoundland Film Footage, 1958-1959” he then sent to me separately. Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 28 Sept. 1997.

<sup>148</sup>. *Newfoundland Folk Music 1959 Report* by Kenneth Peacock.

was passing by in the hall and he said “Who is that ?” He said, “sounds like my famous Madame Dorion.” He had found a singer like her, I forget somewhere along the North Shore, and so he was quite intrigued and even came in and listened to a couple of her songs.<sup>149</sup>

In mid-November Peacock advised Creighton that work on his Newfoundland collection was almost done. After “a short rest” he informed her, he would once again start transcribing her Nova Scotia songs.<sup>150</sup> At the time, Creighton was working toward the completion of her latest publication *Maritime Folksongs* (1961) which would include some of the material Peacock had been transcribing. Earlier in the year she had also asked him to contribute a musical foreword to the publication.<sup>151</sup> Creighton both valued and respected Peacock’s musical abilities. Early on she had asked him to grade the songs as an “A” or “B” and to identify those which he found to be the most musically interesting.<sup>152</sup>

This request reflected Creighton’s mixed theoretical orientation which was the result of first British and then American influences (McKay 1994, 19-20). As Creighton later noted in the postscript to her earlier work *Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia*

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<sup>149</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>150</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 18 Nov. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>151</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 14 Jan. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>152</sup> Anna Guigné, fieldnote with Kenneth Peacock, 5 May 1997.

(1932), when she first started collecting songs, she viewed it much like a “hobby” (1966, xvii). Having no experience in folksong scholarship, when publishing her first collection in 1932 she was advised to seek the advice of Maud Karpeles and others of the English Folksong Society. The Society in turn graded the songs she had forwarded as being either “A” or “B” on their musical qualities. Although she incorporated the Society’s grading system, “to her everlasting credit,” as Croft points out, she published materials of both types (1999, 5). By the 1940s through contact with American scholars, Creighton had also broadened her perspective on the defining qualities of a folksong.

By November the grading system was on Peacock’s mind as he began to think about the musical introduction she had earlier asked him to prepare for her new publication:

About the musical appraisal--perhaps you could call it Notes on the Music, or Musical Note, or simply About The Music. I would treat it as an appreciation with the occasional reference to specific songs for purposes of illustration. And perhaps a few sentences on the manner of singing, structure, etc. For references I will stick to the A’s to make sure I am actually talking about the songs which people can find in the book.<sup>153</sup>

During this time Peacock frequently shared his impressions of both tunes and texts with Creighton. His comments to her in a letter after one meeting, reveal something of his personal preference for the treatment of music and texts:

I have gone over the English ones again and find I really can’t change my original impression of them. Of course being classics, none of them are

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<sup>153</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 18 Nov. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

banal in the way late songs often are, and a good professional singer or choir could make them interesting. But *intrinsically* they haven't that special 'something' which the 'A' songs have. They are like that UNQUIET GRAVE I played for you--the tune is all right as far as it goes, but a beautiful text really should have better music. However I shall probably publish it with a little note of 'apology'.<sup>154</sup>

Peacock had collected two versions of this song the previous summer; one from Mrs. Kinslow (119-862) and the other from George Decker (165-1050). He was probably referring to Kinslow's performance. When he later published the song in *Outports* this variant was given the "A" treatment but the text had been collated with the text and melody of another singer (1965, 2: 410-12). Composite texts of this sort reflected Peacock's personal desire to constantly heighten the quality of the material. If a melody was "good" and the text from another singer of "equal quality," Peacock felt no compunction about marrying the two together into one version.

In early January Peacock forwarded Creighton his musical preface noting, "I hope you are including lots and lots of those beautiful modal A's so my eulogy won't fall flat!"<sup>155</sup> Peacock devoted much of this four-page commentary, which Creighton later included in *Maritime Folksongs*, to a discussion of the importance of modal tunes (1961: ix-xii). As earlier discussed, modality which has its genesis in medieval music, was for British revivalists, the hallmark of age and therefore could stand as authentic British

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<sup>154</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 28 Nov. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>155</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 1 Jan. 1960; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

folksongs (Sharp 1907, 36-53). When grading the songs, Peacock preferred those which were of this tonal orientation. As a revivalist he also placed considerable value on the contemporary use of this material:

The first choices were made purely from personal taste, but when a sufficient number were gathered for examination a definite pattern began to emerge. All the "best" songs were modal or in a modal style suggestive of medieval music. This is not surprising when one considers the medieval origins of our folk music. Not only the music but the texts themselves often revealed a remarkable felicity and strength of image. A mysterious process seemed to be operating that preserved and evolved only material of special significance. [ . . . ] Even so this limited participation in the general scheme of things lends a dignity to contemporary folk arts that formerly was lavished only on the high creations of art, religion and science. In fact these latter remain significant only so long as the folk arts that nourish them are kept in a healthful state of preservation and development (1961, ix-x).

From this brief essay we learn something new about Peacock's unique approach to the business of musical transcription. He remarked that in putting the tune on paper he aimed for a "sort of 'ideal' melody." He also aspired to simplicity in presenting the material, noting that to "include all the distinctive features of each stanza would in some cases have meant overburdening the melody with masses of unintelligible detail" (xii). While Peacock gave preference to modal materials he was also quick to point out that "In folksong the mode is treated as a point of departure, not as an end in itself" (xi). He viewed improvisation by the singer as being just as important. In his desire to see the folksongs continue to be in circulation for amateurs "who like to use piano or guitar" he also included chord arrangements for the songs (xii). Beyond this, as he was a musician

and not an ethnomusicologist, Peacock could not provide any other kind of analysis.

Throughout the winter of 1960, Peacock continued to prepare the transcriptions for *Maritime Folksongs*. In February Creighton expressed some concern over how well the book would be received and Peacock responded with supportive and encouraging words:

I don't think you need have any misgivings about musicians using the material in the new book. Once they hear about it and see for themselves I'm sure those who are interested in using folk material will be arranging stuff left and right.<sup>156</sup>

This was Creighton's fourth publication and it was designed to appeal to folk revivalists who could also listen to nineteen of the songs on a Folkways Records album by the same title.<sup>157</sup> When it was eventually released one reviewer noted that singers trying to learn the melodies to the songs would find the arrangement of chord symbols and the songbook's layout to be appealing (Hull 1962, n.p.). Peacock also received compliments for his "instructive foreword on the musical quality and structure of the songs."

### 8.3 The 1960 Field Season

Peacock spent the winter of 1960 visiting the publisher and performing other related work for Helen Creighton including the never-ending transcriptions. In early

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<sup>156</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 14 Feb. 1960; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>157</sup>. See Helen Creighton, *Maritime Folksongs from the Collection of Helen Creighton*, LP, (FE 4307).

March he advised her that “by my calculations this brings the grand total to 1000 songs!”<sup>158</sup> He also learned of Barbeau’s plans to have someone else do research in

Newfoundland:

Saw Dr. B.[arbeau] during coffee break, and he was quite affable and jolly. Quite surprising, because I had just found out he is pulling strings to have the Museum sponsor an American to do Nfld. research. Fortunately, Carmen [Roy] squelched that plan because he is apparently well-qualified. The point is, Dr. B. recommended him for Nfld. One doesn’t fully appreciate the notorious Barbeau intrigues until they come close to home. Still, I find myself disappointed rather than angry. One doesn’t expect these petty intrigues from a man who has done so many valuable and great things. Oh well, c’est la vie.<sup>159</sup>

Typically Barbeau neglected to inform workers such as Peacock of any plans which might affect their personal research. The American in question was none other than MacEdward Leach who, as discussed in Chapter 3, had visited Newfoundland in the early 1950s. Peacock was understandably miffed because this was the second time Barbeau had attempted to displace him while doing a favour for a colleague.

It was not surprising that Leach should be in contact with Barbeau. At the time he was secretary-treasurer of the American Folklore Society of which Barbeau had been a member for nearly half a century. Barbeau had written Leach earlier in the fall of 1958 advising him and the Society of the proposed plans for the CFMS conference suggesting

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<sup>158</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 2 Mar. 1960; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>159</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 2 Mar. 1960.

they organize a “joint meeting of the International Folk Music Council both in Canada and the United States.”<sup>160</sup>

Barbeau was back in touch with Leach in April of 1959 updating him on the CFMS’s activities.<sup>161</sup> Shortly after this Leach wrote Barbeau expressing his desire to return to Newfoundland to round out his 1950 and ’51 field work for his publication:

Most of the work was done on the Avalon Peninsula. I have the material ready for publication except for notation of the songs, but I hope to make one more trip there to collect on the west coast. That region has never been collected and, from the investigations I have made, I realize it is rich and important.”<sup>162</sup>

Barbeau forwarded Leach’s letter to Dr. Russell noting “I wish to recommend it strongly, as Dr. Leach is foremost in his profession and his work is valuable.”<sup>163</sup> Russell informed Leach of the contractual arrangements with Kenneth Peacock for 1959 but that he would be “prepared to consider an application if it was received before the fall of 1959.”<sup>164</sup> Leach responded by providing more elaborate details on his expertise and qualifications. Russell was impressed with the American’s capabilities but because of

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<sup>160</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to MacEdward Leach, 17 Oct. 1958; Leach Correspondence 1943-1963, box B 212 f. 49; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>161</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to MacEdward Leach, 16 Apr. 1959; Leach Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>162</sup> MacEdward Leach, letter to Marius Barbeau, [copy] 19 Apr. 1959; LEA D-1, box 230 f. 5; Leach Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>163</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Dr. L.S. Russell; [copy] 24 Apr. 1959; LEA D-2, Leach Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>164</sup> L.S. Russell, letter to MacEdward Leach, 28 Apr. 1959; LEA D-3, Leach Collection, LAD-CMC.

Peacock, Leach was offered the Labrador region where research had yet to be undertaken. In early May Leach advised Barbeau of his grant and his plan to go to Labrador.<sup>165</sup>

Peacock may have puzzled over Barbeau's actions but Barbeau had brought the matter up with Russell because he recognized Leach's academic abilities and interests. The Museum was placed in an awkward position because of Peacock's ongoing research in the province since 1951. Carmen Roy also felt somewhat constrained by the situation. Although she was the official section head for folklore research, Barbeau had gone directly to the director. She had no choice but to respond. As she ended up explaining to Leach "We try to avoid sending two parties in the same area, when it is in view of working with the same ethnic group."<sup>166</sup> Leach was awarded a contract of \$1000 and, by 20 June, was in Forteau where he settled in for the summer to carry out his fieldwork, later publishing *Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast* (1965).<sup>167</sup>

This period is significant for the kinds of ideological debates which emerged from the business of folklore research at the Museum. Things had changed from the early days when folklore was just beginning to gain a foothold at the institution. By 1960 Carmen Roy was aiming to introduce a more professional approach to the research. This was not always an easy task, particularly with Barbeau in the background and the added demands

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<sup>165.</sup> MacEdward Leach, letter to Marius Barbeau, 5 May 1960; LEA D-13, Leach Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>166.</sup> Carmen Roy, letter to MacEdward Leach, 16 May 1960; LEA D-15, Leach Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>167.</sup> "Northern Affairs and National Resources-National Museum of Canada Administration, Operation and Maintenance. 1960-61," NMC Branch budgets/statement of estimated expenditure 1957-1962; box 2 f. 9; Richard S. MacNeish Collection, LAD-CMC.

brought about by the popular presentation of folk music to the general public through interpreters and via such public institutions as the CBC. The nature of folklore research at the Museum had, of necessity, begun to evolve in a different direction. The beginnings of this move toward more formal research guidelines were laid down in 1956 when a folklore section was officially set up in the ethnology division. As the manager of this section Roy ambitiously set her sights on having a Folklore Division separate from Native American research and ethnology.<sup>168</sup>

In 1959 Roy set out a five year plan to tackle such areas as office, field and educational work, giving a special emphasis to the necessity of bringing some organization to the Museum's archives.<sup>169</sup> In addition to the materials which Barbeau had accrued prior to the 1940s, the sound recordings and other collections had started to expand through the work of Roy, Peacock, Creighton and other contracted field workers. The establishment of some kind of manageable system had become essential. In this same report Roy also identified the need to bring out scholarly publications, emphasizing that little work had been done among new Canadians.<sup>170</sup> By 1960 the ethnology section had also expanded. In addition to contracts for aboriginal and Inuit studies and the

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<sup>168</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Renée Landry, 28 May 1998.

<sup>169</sup> Carmen Roy, "Five Year Projects-Folklore Division," Dec. 1959; box 453 f. 25; Dr. L.S. Russell Correspondence, Carmen Roy Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>170</sup> Carmen Roy, "Five Year Projects--Folklore Division," Dec. 1959. pg. 8; W. J. Wintenburg had carried out research among the German population of Ontario in the early part of the century but this was exceptional (Fowke 1988, 22-23).

contracts assigned to Peacock and Leach, several new researchers had been financed to carry out work.<sup>171</sup> Although the amounts were not substantial, the awarding of these contracts represented a substantial shift from the days when the Museum would look at only French, Indian and Anglophone material. By this time the Museum had also engaged George Proctor as musicologist.<sup>172</sup>

Roy was increasingly cautious about the distribution of material for purposes which she viewed to be less than scholarly. She was not interested in having the Museum involved in the issuing of field recordings, viewing such activities to be too commercial and unprofessional, nor was she attracted by the lure of popularizing folklore.<sup>173</sup> She was also responsible for sorting out issues of ownership and the rights of collectors as well as those of the Museum and she discovered that there could be many complications.

In late spring, at Barbeau's suggestion, the Museum entered into negotiations with Edith Fowke to purchase the collection of field recordings she had created since 1957.<sup>174</sup> As Roy and Fowke worked through the arrangements for the transfer, they had a

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<sup>171.</sup> Barbara Cass Beggs of Saskatchewan received \$1,000 to study folksongs in the area of Regina, Saskatchewan. Richard Johnston was awarded \$1,000 to continue his research on the music of the Mennonites and Joseph Braun of Ontario was given a contract of \$500 to do work among the Mennonites; see "Northern Affairs and National Resources-National Museum of Canada Administration, Operation and Maintenance 1960-61," Richard S. MacNeish Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>172.</sup> Proctor worked at the Museum from 1 Sept. 1959 until May 1961. Anna Guigné, personal communication with Benoit Therriault, LAD-CMC, 13 Apr. 2000.

<sup>173.</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

<sup>174.</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Marius Barbeau, 23 May 1960; Edith Fowke Correspondence 1949-1962, box B 194 f. 32; Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

difference of opinion as to what rights Fowke would have over the material once the Museum took ownership of the property. Fowke was dependent on access to her collection for various projects including her extensive radio work, record productions and for inclusion in her publications. She wanted clarification as to whether she would have difficulty in using her material “as Helen Creighton and Ken Peacock have done” adding that she had “assumed that permission would be given for such use.”<sup>175</sup> Roy replied that the Museum wanted total control over material not previously published and it wanted no obligations to Fowke over material which she had previously published.<sup>176</sup> An agreement was eventually reached. Roy proposed paying Fowke \$65 for those materials already published and payments of \$100 per double tape for unpublished material. Fowke also had to agree to obtain permission to use material which the Museum had already purchased but which she wanted to publish. She would also have to acknowledge the Museum.<sup>177</sup>

Roy had similar concerns with respect to Creighton’s contractual arrangements with the Museum. Creighton was a stickler over the use of material from her collections. On the other hand, due to the growing popularity of her publications, she was much in demand. As her celebrity grew, Creighton was good publicity for the Museum. In a

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<sup>175</sup>. Edith Fowke, letter to Carmen Roy, 16 June 1960; FO-H-10, Edith Fowke Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>176</sup>. Carmen Roy, letter to Edith Fowke, 13 June 1960; Carmen Roy, letter to Edith Fowke 25 Oct. 1960; FO-H-9 and FO-H-13; Edith Fowke Collection. LAD-CMC.

<sup>177</sup>. This arrangement seems to have been acceptable to Fowke; see Edith Fowke, letter to Carmen Roy, Nov. 1960; FO-H-14, Edith Fowke Collection. LAD-CMC

letter to Roy a year earlier she noted that, through such activities as speaking engagements, she was able to inform the public of the Museum's efforts to preserve and disseminate materials. She also pointed out to Roy that she worked "for a distressingly small fee" and in this sense, her growing popularity had financial and travel perks.<sup>178</sup> Like Fowke she also depended on her rights to publish material.

These kinds of issues were of less concern to Peacock. When asked about his views pertaining to ownership he commented "They paid me, they control it I suppose; though they always try for the collector to be given accreditation."<sup>179</sup> When people requested the use of his material for their publications it was always given freely and without reservation. Peacock's position was also a little different from Creighton and Fowke's; he saw himself more as a collector and less of a publicizer.

Throughout 1959 and 1960, as Roy pushed to tidy up the manner in which material was processed by workers, other battles ensued. Roy had difficulties keeping track of the collections. Peacock would take out Creighton's materials from the Museum to work on at home. Additionally Creighton's methods of filling in index cards was not to Roy's liking. While aiming for a more professional approach to the folklore section, Roy's behavior could be demanding at times and her treatment occasionally upset Creighton. As Peacock recalls:

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<sup>178</sup> Helen Creighton, letter to Carmen Roy, 13 Nov. 1958; General Correspondence, 1958, box 150 f. 9; Creighton Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>179</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 12 Mar. 1998.

I remember once Helen was in tears. If you can imagine Helen Creighton almost in tears. She had stopped to see Carmen out on the Gaspé somewhere I guess it was Cap Chat where Carmen comes from, and Carmen lit into her one evening and she said, "I didn't think Carmen was like that." She had an awful temper. Anyway she told Helen off, her stuff wasn't up to snuff; it wasn't scholarly and it wasn't this and it wasn't that. She was just an amateur. Helen felt so bad about this.<sup>180</sup>

Within this small consortium, linked to the Museum, the debates also extended over to the kinds of material which were appropriate for collectors to document. Fowke, who had recently been doing work on bawdy songs, was being ribbed by her colleagues about the appropriateness of the topic (McKay 1994, 146).

Although the network of folklore specialists who dedicated themselves to folklore research was quite small in Canada, ideas about how the folk should be represented were certainly not uniform. By May 1960, as plans for the IFMC conference emerged, there was more than a little concern about Barbeau's approach to the whole affair. For the conference entertainment Barbeau envisioned a gala performance with professional singers doing high-class interpretations of Canadian folk music. As Fowke explained to Creighton she had some apprehension over this:

About the Folk Music meeting—I agree with you that it's too bad Dr. Barbeau is laying so much emphasis on professional musicians. It would certainly be much more suitable to present traditional singers and dancers. When I was in Ottawa last week I raised the question with him, and I gather he feels there will be a place for traditional music in the actual sessions of the conference [ . . . ]. Perhaps you could pass on your misgivings to Maud Karpeles: if she were to tell him that the international

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<sup>180</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 21 June 1997.

members didn't want to hear concert performances, it might have more effect than anything we can say.<sup>181</sup>

Barbeau's revivalist visions, which harped back to his collaborations with composers during the Quebec Folk Festivals of the 1920s, were out-of-synchrony with current revivalist views. His emphasis was more upon interpretation than actuality (McNaughton 1982). Although collectors such as Fowke and Creighton could have their political differences, they mutually agreed that rather than some kind of interpretation it was better to have actual tradition bearers perform their own material.

In April 1959, Barbeau had also enlisted Peacock for his participation in an evening program devoted to folksongs of the Maritimes along with Helen Creighton adding, "What would you think of having Tom Kines sing some of your songs to your accompaniment?"<sup>182</sup> Barbeau's plan was to do some kind of an interpretation of songs rather than bring in any traditional singers from the region. Over the next few months Peacock gave some thought to what he could offer but Barbeau had also begun to frustrate his colleagues with his dictatorial approach.

After being unexpectedly invited to one executive meeting Peacock reported back to Creighton on Barbeau's reaction to their concerns:

For some strange reason I was invited at the last moment to Dr. Barbeau's

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<sup>181</sup>. Edith Fowke, letter to Helen Creighton 16 Apr. 1960; Fowke Correspondence, vol. 2812, file 159, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>182</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 2 Apr. 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

meeting with Lacourcière, Roger Matton and Mr. Royal of CBC Montreal. But you have probably received the note and know what has been decided. I was afraid I hadn't made much headway with Dr. B. re your singers and dancers but I see they are on the program. I think the others saw him again later and probably put the pressure on. At least I assume they are your singers and dancers. The program says "folk singers and dancers in English and Gaelic" for the evening of August 29. [ . . . ] I'd be interested to know if you received the mimeographed copy of the program. If not perhaps you'd better play dumb or Nfld will be overrun with American musicologists next year!<sup>183</sup>

Peacock's field plans for 1960 were finally confirmed in early March with the awarding of a contract of \$1800.<sup>184</sup> As he informed Creighton, he aimed to collect local songs:

I suppose Carmen has told you of the plans to try and integrate the various types of folklore studies and to have special reports on this and that. I decided on a special study of Nfld sea songs and ballads--it will fit in nicely later on when I am working on the book.<sup>185</sup>

Shortly after this meeting Peacock left for Newfoundland to begin his fifth season of field collecting. He was glad to be far away from the politics of conference planning and Museum management.

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<sup>183</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 19 May, 1960; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>184</sup>. "Northern Affairs and National Resources-National Museum of Canada Administration, Operation and Maintenance, 1960-61," Richard S. MacNeish Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>185</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 2 Mar. 1960; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM. See Kenneth Peacock, "The Native Songs of Newfoundland," *Contributions to Anthropology, 1960 Part II* (National Museum of Canada. Ottawa: Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources) 213-239.

### The 1960 Field Trip

Peacock arrived in Port aux Basques in June, setting out immediately for nearby Mouse Island where he searched out Nellie Musseau (1892-1973).<sup>186</sup> When Peacock first approached her for songs Musseau was outside feeding some of the family's livestock. Her daughter Florence, who was present for the recording session, recalls that things were rather hastily done for Peacock because she was preoccupied with this task:

I can remember the day that he came here . . . he come there and she was feeding her pigs and when she done that thing it seemed like she was in a hurry I suppose. She had pigs [so] she took it off too quick.<sup>187</sup>

Peacock recorded Musseau in her kitchen acquiring from her four examples of "chin music" (167-1056 to 167-1059).<sup>188</sup> As he had done on his four previous collecting trips, Peacock used the local networks to identify singers. Probably through Musseau he met Garland Ford from whom he recorded one song (167-1060) and Martha Osmond of nearby Grand Bay who sang him five songs (167-1061 to 168-1065).

Peacock next headed to Burnt Islands where he stayed with Bertha Croucher, the daughter of Annie Walters, and her husband George. The previous summer the couple had invited him to come see them on his next visit. Croucher, who was not particularly

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<sup>186</sup> Anna Guigné, personal communication with Florence Samms, 28 Feb. 2001. All comments regarding Nellie Musseau's family history are taken from this discussion.

<sup>187</sup> Anna Guigné personal communication with Florence Samms, 28 Feb. 2001.

<sup>188</sup> Also known as "mouth music," this is a descriptive term for "singing or humming nonsense syllables by one person to provide lively, rhythmic accompaniment for others to dance"; see "Chin music" and "Mouth music" in the *DNE*, 92 and 336.

known for his singing, gave Peacock "The Moose Song" (169-1071), a local composition about the slaughter of a tame moose in the community, which had been composed by his friend Jim Keeping. Peacock also met and recorded songs from several neighbors among them Jim Smurridge (169-1066 and 169-1067), Jim Keeping (169-1068 to 169-1070) and Arthur Keeping (170-1072).

As I found out more than once in our interviews, Peacock found the dialect of Newfoundlanders and the cultural traditions always something of a curiosity. Recalling his visit to the Crouchers he remarked:

I was telling you about Bertha who married a man in Burnt Islands; George Croucher. I told you I visited them in 1960, I think. And she said "Just over that hill there are livyers." Have you ever heard that? It means inhabitants. And Bertha being a younger woman, you wouldn't think she'd keep up the older tradition.<sup>189</sup>

After so many years, this was the extent of his personal memories of this visit. He simply went no further despite other lines of questioning. Probably too, as Peacock had spent a lifetime traveling one side of the country to the other interviewing hundreds of people, in many cases the details were simply not there.

Peacock moved on to the community of Jeffrey's on the northwest coast in St. Georges Bay where he met Leonard Hulan (1882-1964).<sup>190</sup> Like many local residents

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<sup>189</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

<sup>190</sup>. Anna Guigné personal communication with William Hulan, son of Leonard Hulan, Jeffrey's, Newfoundland, 20 Feb. 2001. All comments regarding Mr. Hulan's background are taken from this conversation.

Hulan had grown up in the area making his living from mixed farming and logging. Planning to return again later, Peacock stayed long enough in the community to record three songs from Hulan (170-1073-1074a) and one from his cousin Annie Legge (171-1075). He headed next to Baie Verte, White Bay planning to record more songs from Hulan later.

This area had first been used by the French and until 1904 was part of the French Shore. From the mid 1850s English settlers had also begun to reside in the area. Baie Verte itself had experienced some commercial development outside the fishing and logging industries early in its history. A copper and sulfur mine existed in the area from the 1850s to 1916 (Horan 1981, 108). From the beginning of the twentieth century forestry emerged as the primary source of employment, with woods operations being carried out from 1938 by Bowater Pulp and Paper. Peacock's main reason for heading in this direction was more curiosity than anything else. In 1952, a road had been built to the area making the communities more accessible. As Peacock later explained in his field report, he had wanted to "investigate the region for possible future research."<sup>191</sup>

After finding accommodation in Baie Verte at one of the two small hotels in the area, he traveled by car to Seal Cove, fourteen miles away. There he was referred to

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<sup>191</sup>. *Folk Music Research in Newfoundland 1960 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock; Pea A-3, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

Joshua Osborne (1900-1994).<sup>192</sup> This singer was a native of Seal Cove but his family was originally from England. As Lewis Osborne informed me, his father Joshua knew somewhere in the vicinity of one hundred songs. Most of these he had learned in the lumber camps where he worked a good deal of his life.<sup>193</sup> Peacock found Osborne's melodic voice and repertoire most appealing and over the course of a couple of days recorded twenty-two songs from him (171-1076 to 178-1097).

Often Peacock sang for his informants to give them an idea of the kind of material he was seeking. In this way Peacock was able to readily sift out the kinds of songs he was actually looking for and wished to record. After Osborne's first performance of "Bonny Banks of Ardie'O," (173-1084) Peacock commented with delight "Oh, I didn't have that tune before, you sing a different tune" to which Osborne replied "You know you can sing too I tell ya."<sup>194</sup> Peacock probably sang Osborne the version he had first collected from the Monks of King's Cove in 1952. The tune was different from the earlier version which Karpeles had already published and he decided to make a second recording of Osborne performing the song (177-1093).<sup>195</sup> He later published the two

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<sup>192</sup> Biographical information on Joshua Osborne was provided in a personal communication with his son Lewis Osborne, 6 Mar. 2001.

<sup>193</sup> In a later interview with Kenneth Goldstein, Osborne commented after several songs that this was in fact where he had learned most of his material. See MUNLFA, Tape 86-161/C12426.

<sup>194</sup> "The Bonny Banks of Ardie-O," MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/ C11084B.

<sup>195</sup> "The Bonny Banks of Ardie-O," MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/ C11086B.

performances in *Outports* combining them, however, into one extended text (1965, 3: 809-10).

Osborne sang Peacock a range of other material including “The Cow Puncher’s Lament” (174-1086), “Whiskey in the Jar” (174-1087), a variant of “Fanny’s Harbour Bawn” (177-1095) and “The Lovely Cottage Maid” (178-1097); but Peacock was mainly captivated by the older material, later reporting back to the Museum:

Two songs were especially interesting. THE BABES IN THE GREENWOOD is a fine version of the English ballad which Child calls THE CRUEL MOTHER. Another even rarer ballad THE BONNY BANKS OF VERGIE-O has shown up in Newfoundland only once before in my 1951 collection, and nowhere else in Canada or even England since Professor Child’s time. Mr. Osborne’s version is called THE BONNY BANKS OF ARDRIE-O and is even more complete than the previous version from King’s Cove.<sup>196</sup>

Before departing Peacock also spent an afternoon with Gordon Rice (1930- ) from whom he took down two numbers; “Fish and Brewis” (178-1099) and a composition Rice had made up “The Mine at Bay Verte” (178-1099) for which he used his guitar as accompaniment. Rice and Osborne were friends and for the four years that he worked in the woods they often sang in the lumber camps. In 1952 Rice started operating the community’s first taxi. When Peacock met him he had moved on to working for the Department of Transport.

In an interview I did with Rice in 2001 he provided something of his background

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<sup>196</sup> Kenneth Peacock, *Folk Music Research in Newfoundland 1960 Report*, Pea A-3, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

and his musical interests. His family was originally from Bishop's Falls, later moving to Seal Cove after a family crisis.<sup>197</sup> When Rice was three years old his father, a foreman with the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, was severely injured while on the job, "saving another man's life." After this the family moved to Seal Cove because Gordon's father's mother lived there. The Pentecostal preacher, Reverend Gillett, came to their aid, providing transport to the community with his little boat *The Gospel Messenger* which traveled to the Labrador coast.

Rice came from a musical family. His mother liked to sing hymns. He had four brothers and five sisters and they were also musical. Rice obtained his first instrument while in his teens while working in Southern Arm loading the wood aboard ships and barges. He heard a crane operator there play a mandolin and shortly after that ordered his own mandolin through Simpson-Sears mail-order. He later purchased a piano accordion and a guitar by the same method.

Rice's musical talents developed in part through his family and community connections but also by listening to such radio stations as WWVA Wheeling West Virginia where he heard "The Gaters," and performer-disc-jockey "Lee Moore" as "Old Night Hawk." The all-night "World's Original Radio Jamboree" with its cast of characters provided a template for young country and western enthusiasts in Newfoundland to emulate (Narváez, 1978: 93-101). Rice notes that he "wouldn't miss

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<sup>197</sup>. All references to Rice's family are taken from a recorded field conversation with him on 6 Mar. 2001.

that for anything.” The radio offered him a means to develop a repertoire which could then be performed within the local community. His brother Lloyd was also a good guitarist and “could sing just like Hank Snow.” Rice honed his musical talents through networking with other musicians. He and his brother played for “school house” dances. Starting in the 1950s they also played at the clubs and at the Rambler Inn in Baie Verte during “jam sessions” with various bands that would come from St. John’s to play Newfoundland music.

Rice’s music was too contemporary for Peacock. As had happened earlier when he had first started to collect songs, Peacock tended to filter out singers whose music reflected a country and western influence. Despite the popularity of such instruments as the guitar, accordion, mandolin and violin within the province’s musical traditions, Peacock was not inclined to document these forms of musical entertainment either. Throughout his four previous field trips he had recorded only one singer playing the guitar and that was Ewart Vallis in 1951.

Leaving Seal Cove, Peacock returned briefly to Jeffrey’s where he recorded an additional song from Leonard Hulan (178-1100). He then headed off to revisit Josephine Costard whom he had met the previous summer at Loretto. Peacock spent some time with Costard recording sixteen new songs (179-1101 to 183-1116). From here he returned to Leonard Hulan’s where he collected twelve more songs (184-1117 to 186-1128). As he was specifically looking for local compositions Hulan gave him such

examples as “The Spree in St. George’s Bay” (184-1120) and “The Bridge at Robinson’s Brook “ (186-1128).

He next moved on to Codroy recording two songs from Jack Dalton, (186-1129 and 187-1132), two from George Reid (187-1130-1131) and two from Jim Dalton (188-1133 and 188-1134). Peacock closed off the 1960 field season sometime in late July recording two songs from George Samms in the Codroy Valley (193-1144 and 1193-1145) and another twenty from Mary Ann Galpin, a woman of nearly ninety years (189-1135 to 193-1143 and 194-1146 to 197-1158) (1965, 1: 334).

From the season’s work he had accumulated a total of ninety-one items. Reporting back to the Museum in his field report for the season he noted: “Although the traditional folk music of Newfoundland was not ignored in the 1960 research season, special emphasis was placed on locally-composed material in preparation for the special study to follow.”<sup>198</sup>

Out of the total collection for that summer he had acquired about eighteen or so titles of this nature. The topical content ranged widely. Songs such as “Downey’s Our Member” (186-1128) aimed at politicians, “The Bridge at Robinson’s River” (186-1128) and “Mine At Baie Verte” (178-1099) focused on the industrial development affecting the province. Others like “The Moose Song” (169-1071), and “The Moonshine Can” (171-1076) addressed matters of community conventions and were based on incidents

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<sup>198</sup> *Folk Music Research in Newfoundland 1960 Report*, by Kenneth Peacock.

pertaining to poaching and alcohol. Still others such as the “Ferryland Sealer” (184-1118) and the “*Southern Cross*” (186-1129) dealt with the perils of the sealing industry, while songs like “The Loss of the *Bruce*” (188-1133) highlighted the realities of communities dependent on the sea for a living. Later Peacock would publish what he perceived to be the best of these in *Outports*.

### **Peacock and the Representation of Newfoundland Culture**

As Peacock moved closer toward publishing, he had an opportunity to assert his views regarding the diversity of Newfoundland music, particularly in relation to the influence of the Gerald S. Doyle material. In 1955 Ignatius Rumboldt and the CJON Glee Club issued the first of two long-playing records, under the Rodeo label, dedicated to Doyle. The album was so popular that a second one was issued in 1956.<sup>199</sup>

Rumboldt’s interest in Newfoundland folksong was largely the result of his association with Doyle (Woodford 1984, 42). Since first starting his research, Peacock had become acutely conscious of the impact of the Doyle songsters in the province.

In a review of the CJON Glee Club albums for *Canadian Music Journal* he voiced some of these concerns, pointing out that the recordings represented the “official” musical pose that urban Newfoundlanders present to the mainland, one that was actually not an accurate picture at all:

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<sup>199</sup> The albums were *Newfoundland Folksongs and Other Selections CJON Glee Club*, (Rodeo RLP 83); and *Newfoundland Folksongs Volume 2: CJON Glee Club* (Rodeo RLP 84).

After many years of collecting folksongs in Newfoundland I can assure you that these songs are almost never sung by the real folk singers who live in the hundreds of outports that dot the coastline. Their repertoire is much more a varied and usually of greater literary and musical merit. Mainland audiences can be forgiven for not knowing the difference but professional glee clubs from St. John's should take the trouble to look in their own back yard before putting the "authentic songs of Newfoundland" on record (1961, 41).

Having spent five seasons collecting in Newfoundland Peacock was in a position to assert himself and could speak with authority on the wealth and diversity of Newfoundland's musical traditions. His only limitation, of course, was that few people could avail of his collection. He had published very little on the subject outside of one article, one record and a series of radio programs. Throughout the fall of 1960 Peacock completed "The Native Songs of Newfoundland," submitting it to Carmen Roy in early January 1961 (1963a: 213-239). The piece consisted of twelve melodies and texts highlighting the variety of local songs he had acquired during his fieldwork. By Peacock's calculations since 1951 he had collected approximately 145 locally-composed songs concerning a range of topics. Although Peacock gave the titles of several of the songs he had collected during his field research of the previous season, perhaps due to his work load and preparations for his larger work, nine of the songs for the article were taken from the earlier 1951 and '52 research. Nevertheless, Peacock did make the point though that there was much more to Newfoundland folksong than that which was to be found in the Doyle songsters.

In March 1961, Peacock approached George Proctor with an outline of his plan to

publish the Newfoundland collection. He explained that he needed one more field trip to “tie together all the previous research I have done”; this included a visit to the St. Mary’s Bay area, additional time for reference work in St. John’s, at Laval University in Quebec and at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick.<sup>200</sup> As Peacock moved into the final stages of his fieldwork the Museum acknowledged his commitment to conclude the Newfoundland research awarding him \$5600 to complete the work; \$1200 for the final field research and an additional \$4400 for an eleven month contract to finish the writing of a report.<sup>201</sup>

The ensuing chapter focuses on Peacock’s last field trip to Newfoundland leading toward the publication of *Outports*. It details his subsequent shift to ethnic folksong research after this summer. It also examines the impact of Peacock’s collection in relation to the Newfoundland-centered revival which began to emerge in the late 1960s.

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<sup>200</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to George Proctor, 7 Mar. 1961; Correspondence 1959-1964; box 307 f. 2; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>201</sup>. “Northern Affairs and National Resources-National Museum of Canada-Administration, Operation and Maintenance. Estimates 1961-1962,”; box 336 f. 121; George Proctor Collection, LAD-CMC.

## Chapter 9 Publishing *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* 1961-1984

For months leading up to the IFCM conference, scheduled to be held in Quebec City between 28 August and 3 September 1961, Marius Barbeau and other members of the organizing committee of the CFMS busily finalized details of the program. Although the CFMS had received two sizeable Canada Council grants, Barbeau asked executive members to turn to their respective governments to seek additional funding. Frederick Emerson contacted Premier Joseph Smallwood in late 1959 requesting a contribution of \$500 from the Newfoundland Government.<sup>1</sup> Emerson advised Barbeau that he had forwarded the Premier a letter which he had received from Kenneth Peacock containing a song “inspired by the labour situation last year” and that the Premier was “most interested.” Peacock had given Emerson either Clara Stevens’s composition “The IWA Strike” (160-1027) or Arthur Nicolle’s “The Loggers Plight” (145-969) in 1959 to pass to Smallwood because he thought the material would interest the Premier and probably flatter him. As earlier noted, Peacock was also hoping that the Newfoundland Government would help finance his publication.<sup>2</sup> Smallwood informed Emerson that he found the words to the song “amusing,” adding “I am more than curious about the work

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<sup>1</sup> The figure had been established in an earlier meeting with the Premier in late 1959. Frederick Emerson, letter to Marius Barbeau, 12 Jan. 1960; Frederick R. Emerson Correspondence, box 2 file 6; Canadian Society for Musical Traditions, Accession 430/88.11, UCLSC-A.

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 9 July 1959; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

your friend is doing.”<sup>3</sup>

Smallwood made it a point of being informed about any folk music research relating to Newfoundland. Emerson’s appeal for government support for the upcoming IFMC conference was made on this basis. He asked Barbeau for details of Peacock’s plans for the Newfoundland songs so he could inform the Premier.<sup>4</sup> Peacock later told Barbeau, “I assured him [Emerson] that Newfoundland would be well-represented on the Festival concert.”<sup>5</sup> Emerson was anxious to enhance the province’s profile on the Canadian scene. Peacock’s contribution to the documentation of folksong in the province and his intent to produce something for the conference was an important bargaining point:

I have had the formal assurance of Dr.[sic] Kenneth Peacock of Ottawa--a very brilliant collector of folksongs--who has spent a great deal of time in Newfoundland, that Newfoundland songs and music based on them will be prominently featured at the festival.<sup>6</sup>

Emerson advised Smallwood that Maud Karpeles would be among the invited guests and that the province owed her much for collecting songs such as “She’s Like the

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<sup>3</sup> Joseph R. Smallwood, letter to Frederick R. Emerson, 28 Dec. 1959; Music Organizations, file 3.04.14, Smallwood Collection, CNS-MUN.

<sup>4</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Frederick R. Emerson, 12. Dec. 1960; Marius Barbeau, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 12 Dec. 1960; Emerson Correspondence and Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 20 Dec. 1960; Peacock Correspondence, Canadian Society for Musical Traditions, UCLSC-A.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick R. Emerson, letter to Joseph R. Smallwood, 24 Jan 1961; Music Organizations, Smallwood Collection, CNS-MUN.

Swallow” which had gained “world-wide recognition.”<sup>7</sup> He added “I hope you will agree with me that our government should take a special interest in this event as our heritage of folk music is one of the most important contributions that this Island can make to the culture of Canada.”<sup>8</sup> As he reminded the Premier, “We have a unique treasure of Folk Music in Newfoundland” and if the government were to show a “lack of interest” this could “weaken our title to it.”<sup>9</sup> Emerson also pointed out that “She’s Like the Swallow” collected by Maud Karpeles, “was announced as a Nova Scotian song on the radio last summer.”<sup>10</sup>

The conference organizers planned to sponsor two major events profiling Canadian folk music; one with a full orchestra led by Sir Ernest MacMillan and Wilfred Pelletier and a second evening of chamber music based on Canadian folk tunes to be held at the Palais Montcalm in Quebec. As the mastermind behind the whole event, Barbeau was inclined to dictate how the CFMS should present its musical traditions to the outside world. As Peacock remarked to Creighton:

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<sup>7</sup> Frederick R. Emerson, letter to Joseph R. Smallwood, 2 June 1960, Music Organizations, Smallwood Collection, CNS-MUN.

<sup>8</sup> Smallwood had met Karpeles while on a visit to London sometime before 1947. She informed him “that in Newfoundland there had been discovered some of the oldest and most interesting folksongs anywhere on this side of the Atlantic” (Hillier and Harrington 1995, 1: 581).

<sup>9</sup> Frederick R. Emerson, letter to Joseph R. Smallwood, 24 Jan 1961; Music Organizations file, Smallwood Collection, CNS-MUN.

<sup>10</sup> Emerson had a summer cottage in Nova Scotia and had probably heard folksinger Emma Caslor performing the song. Caslor had recorded the version from Karpeles’s *Folksongs of Newfoundland* for the CBC in 1952. I am grateful to Neil V. Rosenberg for bringing this to my attention. Also see Mark Miller, Florence Hayes “Caslor, Emma,” *EMC*, 2nd. ed., 227.

Even now there's no telling who or what is going to be on the program. He smiles and agrees but you know he intends to do as he damn well pleases when everyone is safely at home.<sup>11</sup>

By early 1961 Barbeau had conscripted such accomplished composers as Sir Ernest MacMillan and Graham George to produce a number of thematic compositions for the orchestral concert inspired by both folk and primitive music. Professionally trained singers such as tenor Tom Kines, baritone Charles Jordan, and soprano Elizabeth Benson Guy were recommended as potential candidates to prepare and present vocal arrangements of folksongs.<sup>12</sup>

Peacock expected to be involved with the conference in some musical capacity but had received little direction from the organizers. Finally in March 1961 Barbeau formally requested his participation in an evening of chamber music suggesting that he could either sing some Newfoundland songs or have the tunes performed by "a Miss Benson Guy of Toronto" with "you still at the piano."<sup>13</sup> Peacock also learned that Karpeles was to be there and she should be involved "because of her eminence and her prolonged interest in the songs of Newfoundland."

Several days later Peacock advised Barbeau that he had found several songs

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<sup>11</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Helen Creighton, 25 April 1961; Peacock Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>12</sup> "Jordan. Family of Musicians," and Lorna Hassell, "Guy, Elizabeth Benson," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 666 and 563-64.

<sup>13</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 3 Mar. 1961; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

which he deemed appropriate for a “concert setting” and suggested that it would be “the first opportunity to present Newfoundland French material publicly.”<sup>14</sup> He recommended that Benson Guy perform the songs as she had done this before and would be a good choice. On the matter of Karpeles, Peacock tactfully added that he would be “honoured” to have her alongside and it “would add great interest to the group.”<sup>15</sup> As Peacock had declined Barbeau’s invitation to work for her several months previously, he diplomatically asked Barbeau to ensure that “she is agreeable” adding “It would seem pointless to have her on the platform without having her say a few words about her interest.”

In late May, Peacock learned that Barbeau’s plans for the conference entertainment had been canceled due to financing difficulties and problems encountered with the Quebec members of the CBC.<sup>16</sup> The London office of the IFMC had also raised objections to the program content. Organizers feared their European members, particularly the ethnomusicologists, would not want to hear “newly-composed works played by an orchestra of less than world rank” (George 1961: 33-35). Both the large orchestral evening and the evening of chamber music were scrapped. In place Sir Ernest MacMillan was asked to take over the organization of a “Concert of Symphonic Works

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<sup>14</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 15 Mar. 1961; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Marius Barbeau, 15 Mar. 1961.

<sup>16</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 1961; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC.

Inspired by Canadian Folklore” incorporating compositions by such well-known composers as Roger Matton, Vaughan Williams and Zoltán Kodály.<sup>17</sup> As a cost-saving measure the CBC agreed to broadcast the concert through its Wednesday night cultural series. As part of Canada’s contribution MacMillan commissioned Peacock to compose a classical piece based on Newfoundland folk themes.<sup>18</sup>

Although Peacock had not created anything in several years, he was both excited and honored by the invitation. In July 1961, he set about experimenting with melodies eventually pulling together a short piece for the evening which would become his *Essay on Newfoundland Themes*, a rather soft, romantic twelve minute orchestral composition for harp and strings. As the main musical thread of the piece melody Peacock used Mrs. Fogarty’s “Green Shores of Fogo” (MS-44) one of his favorite Newfoundland tunes.<sup>19</sup> As he later recalled, in between he wove other tunes which had attracted his interest:

I didn’t use obvious ones, one of them was one that Charlotte Decker sang. She had a tune for “Lady Margaret”--very strange sounding--so I used that in the middle part.”<sup>20</sup>

Peacock had sketched out the first few opening bars of the score in 1958 as a piece for

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<sup>17</sup> *Concert D’œuvres symphoniques inspirées du Folklore canadien donné au Palais-Montcalm le mercredi, 30 août 1961 à l’occasion du Quatorzième Congrès de la Société International De Musique Folklorique ten à L’université Laval De Quebec*; Peacock Collection, SAB. See as well Hélène Plouffe, “Matton, Roger,” *EMC* 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. 820; and “Kodály, Zoltán,” *OCM*, 1996 ed., 557.

<sup>18</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 26 May 1961; Peacock Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 8 Feb. 1994.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 21 Apr. 1997.

<sup>20</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

viola and piano; he had been inspired by his field assistant, Don Parks, who brought his viola along for the summer.<sup>21</sup> Peacock spent the remainder of the summer honing the score in preparation for the concert.<sup>22</sup>

By mid-July the CFMS had secured the necessary funding to cover the costs of the conference, although the Newfoundland government appears to have stalled in giving its contribution. Emerson had taken ill and was unable to follow through so Barbeau stepped in to persuade Smallwood to make a financial commitment:

Mr. Emerson I understand, has already recommended this grant. The condition to obtain it, which we are fulfilling, is that representative folk music from Newfoundland should figure on our programme. These numbers are: 1: a suite for orchestra by Ken Peacock, of Ottawa, who has during the past summers collected folksongs for the National Museum, in Newfoundland; 2: Miss Maud Karpeles, our General Secretary in London, who will be present at the Conference and contribute her collection of Newfoundland songs to the National Museum, for eventual publication, toward which the Canada Council is contributing.<sup>23</sup>

The IFMC conference was a monumental affair for the CFMS in that it attracted a broad group of scholars from the United States, Europe and the British Isles. To celebrate the significance of the occasion, Laval University (at the time the only university in the country with a degree-granting program in folklore) bestowed honorary

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<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June, 1997.

<sup>22</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 21 Apr. 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Marius Barbeau, letter to Joseph Smallwood; 26 July 1961; box B 239 f. 65; J.R. Smallwood Correspondence, Barbeau Collection, LAD-CMC. There is nothing to indicate whether Smallwood ever came through with the funds.

doctoral titles on five folklorists, among them Helen Creighton and Maud Karpeles.<sup>24</sup> For those who had worked hard to professionalize the discipline in Canada, this gesture did much to highlight to Canadians the academic importance of folklore research. The “Concert D’œuvres Symphoniques Inspirées du Folklore Canadien” held on Wednesday 30 August, came off without a hitch. To Barbeau’s credit, it was broadcast across the country by way of the CBC’s “Cultural Night” series.<sup>25</sup> In addition to Peacock’s *Essay*, the audience was treated to the premiere performance of original works by Graham George, Sir Ernest MacMillan, Darius Milhaud, Claude Champagne and Roger Matton all inspired by Canadian folk or “primitive” music. Peacock received a \$200 commission for writing the piece. It had been a long time since he had composed anything and as he said, “It felt good.”

As his finalé in the world of classical composition, Peacock’s *Essay* was an interesting creation. As one commentator pointed out following a later performance by the conductor, Frederick Karam, and the Studio Orchestra in the National Gallery, the *Essay* conveyed less of a Newfoundland theme than one might expect:

The final work was by Canadian composer Kenneth Peacock, an “Essay

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<sup>24</sup>. “L’université Laval remet des doctorats d’honneur à cinq folkloristes de marque” *Le Soleil* [Quebec] 2 Sept. 1961; Vol. 2791, f. 13, International Folk Music Society, CFMS Correspondence, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

<sup>25</sup>. *Concert D’œuvres symphoniques inspirées du Folklore canadien donné au Palais-Montcalm le mercredi, 30 août 1961 à l’occasion du Quatorzième Congrès de la Société Internationale De Musique Folklorique à L’université Laval de Québec; Peacock Collection, SAB; Première performance at the Palais-Montcalm, under Sir Ernest MacMillan, in Quebec City, 30 Aug. 1961, off air recording, cassette copy courtesy Kenneth Peacock.*

on Newfoundland Themes.” It was just that--sophisticated in the extreme, and of a languid impressionism which brought to mind some exotic south sea island rather than the ruggedness of Newfoundland. A beautiful work, it was, but Newfoundlanders would be amazed, I am sure (Young 1966: 11).

It reflected Peacock's romanticized views of the province's folk music--ornate and uncommon. Having listened to the off-air recording of the 1961 performance, I was intrigued by Peacock's interpretation of a musical tradition which he had extensively researched for five seasons.<sup>26</sup> Excluding "The Green Shores of Fogo" which is woven throughout, I could not readily identify any other folk themes which he may have used. Instead I found it purposely mournful and somewhat despondent. Peacock also seems to have intentionally avoided any spirited movement which would even hint at the buoyant upbeat tempos people often associated with the Doyle variety of Newfoundland music. Although Peacock found Newfoundland folk music engaging, he seems to have radically interpreted it for a more "cultured" ear.

Two other conference events are worthy of mention in terms of the Society's efforts to put Canadian folk culture on display. On 29 August, participants were treated to a performance of English and Gaelic songs from Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec coordinated by Helen Creighton and Edith Fowke. The hosting of this segment which included "source singers" was the direct result of their campaign to present something

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<sup>26</sup> *Essay On Newfoundland Themes*, composed by Kenneth Peacock for the International Folk Music Conference; Première performance at the Palais-Montcalm, Cond. Sir Ernest MacMillan, Quebec City, 30 Aug. 1961. Off air. Courtesy of Kenneth Peacock.

closer to a folk performance and it was a small victory in terms of new views on how Canada's folk culture should be represented. As a carryover from Barbeau's early days of organizing concerts, the prevailing attitude within the CFMS executive was that Canada's folk music traditions needed to be presented in a refined manner to be acceptable. As Carpenter notes in *Many Voices*, "[Barbeau] and his associates like Sir Ernest MacMillan and John Murray Gibbon were . . . decidedly influenced by the national music theory and the perception of music as an international language" (1979, 335). Even into the 1960s Barbeau's preference was to use tenors and sopranos who could perform artful arrangements of folk music as part of a national music.

On 31 August, as had been planned by Barbeau, the delegates also went on an afternoon excursion to Lorette for a performance of Huron and Iroquois ritual ceremonies.<sup>27</sup> As Peacock recalls, this event was an embarrassment for Barbeau's colleagues who felt it was a distasteful way to portray Canada's native cultures:

Well he had all these famous people coming from overseas and he arranged a thing with the Huron Indians at Lorette outside Quebec City and he had Budge Crawley and his wife Judy. You know they made the Loon's Necklace which won so many prizes. That was their first film. Anyway, he had Budge Crawley filming this and the poor Indians were dressed up in plastic leather outfits. It was pretty cheesy looking actually . . . . He was looking back to the old days when he first recorded this old Indian guy or priest who knew all these Indian songs.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> "Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference held in Quebec," *IFMJ* 14 (1961) : 150-152; also see Piers Handling, "Crawley, Frank Radford, 'Budge'," *CE* 1985, 1: 437;

<sup>28</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

The Huron display signaled the sunset of Barbeau's long illustrious career. Now in his seventies there was a noticeable separation between his approach to the presentation of the folk and that of his successors. Following 1961, although Barbeau continued to write, his involvement with the CFMS and the Museum lessened considerably. As Peacock poignantly observed the conference was really "the crowning achievement of his life, I think, especially having Maud Karpeles there."

The conference was also memorable for Peacock because of the presence of some unusual personalities. The American folksinger, Pete Seeger, made an appearance accompanied by Sam Gesser along with members of "The Travellers," a Canadian folk group formed in 1953, and modeled after Seeger's 1940s folk group "The Weavers."<sup>29</sup> Seeger was on his way to Ottawa to give a concert and The Travellers had just finished performing at the first Mariposa Folk Festival hosted 18-19 August in Orillia, Ontario (Miller 1992, 471 and 805).<sup>30</sup> This outdoors festival, launched at the height of the folk revival movement, is often viewed as the "Canadian counterpart" to the Newport Folk Festival held in Rhode Island. It soon became a focal point for the performance of Canadian folk music and talent. In this first year, in addition to The Travellers the "all-Canadian line up" also included Alan Mills, Ian and Sylvia and Edith Fowke's recent

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<sup>29</sup> Mark Miller, "The Travellers," *EMC* .2nd. ed., 1310; "The Weavers," *PEPM.*, 1998 ed, 1357-58.

<sup>30</sup> Sam Gesser was responsible for bringing Seeger to the conference. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 11 Apr. 1997; see also Neil V. Rosenberg, "Omar Blondahl's Contribution . . ." (1991b, 26).

discovery, the traditional singer O. J. Abbot, who had performed the previous year at Newport (805).<sup>31</sup>

On at least one occasion during the IFMC conference, Pete Seeger, The Travellers, Helen Creighton, Peacock and others gathered in an annex for an informal musical exchange. Seeger had his banjo and sang songs as did The Travellers. Several of them were aware of Peacock's Newfoundland research and asked him to perform something:

I remember the conference in Quebec City in '61, the Canadian Folk Music Society hosted the International Folk Music Council, people from the States and England and so forth and Pete Seeger was there and the Travellers, a Toronto folk group. They asked me to sing a folksong from Newfoundland. So I sang "The Maid on the Shore-O" and The Travellers were recording it with a tape recorder. Helen rushed across the room and she said "That's my song." I said "No, Helen, I got it in Newfoundland." Of course she had a version from Nova Scotia too.<sup>32</sup>

Much surprised by Creighton's response, Peacock was amused that he could lay claim to the song as well.

If anything, the conference provided Peacock an opportunity to reflect upon the Canadian approach to folk culture research as compared to that across the border. As he later remarked:

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<sup>31</sup> Omar Blondahl also attended representing Newfoundland. Irwin Silber, liner notes, *The Folk Music of The Newport Folk Festival: 1959-1960*, LP, Folkways (FA 2431, 2432) 2.

<sup>32</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 11 Apr. 1997. Peacock had recorded the song from both Freeman Bennett and Annie Walters in 1958; see "Maid on the Shore" (92-740 and 117-854) MUNFLA Tapes, 87-157/C11049B and C11062A.

We weren't as advanced as the Americans specializing in folk music. I mean they had Lead Belly and . . . Arlo Guthrie's father, Woody Guthrie. They had all these people who were sort of folk heroes whereas we didn't have any folk singers like that.<sup>33</sup>

These comments, which Peacock made many years after the revival, suggest that his view of the folk revival had evolved with time. Although Peacock had located terrific singers in Newfoundland, he did not see them as performers. Folk music specialists such as he had done much to highlight the existence of the country's folk music traditions but the revival of this music had, for the most part, excluded traditional singers.

Peacock hadn't really considered that "the folk" had a role in the revival other than as a source for songs. As he had earlier commented on Fowke's use of field recordings he thought the singers' performances were a little raw. In the 1960s he preferred to see interpretations by singers who could carry a tune and perform in public.

I once asked Peacock about his views regarding this period of the folk revival and he did make the distinction between people such as Tom Kines and Alan Mills whom he viewed as concert singers, but outside of the tradition; middle ground people such as Wade Hemsworth, who sang their own songs as well as traditional material; and singers like Annie Walters of Rocky Harbour whom he viewed as being within the tradition.<sup>34</sup> He pointed out that much of the awareness of Canadian folk music was the result of the

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<sup>33</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 11 April, 1997.

<sup>34</sup> Anna Guigné, personal conversation with Kenneth Peacock, Aug. 1998 St. Vincent's Hospital, Ottawa Ontario.

concert folk singers and the middle ground people. Peacock referred to it as being “carefully crafted and sophisticated in its own way,” but not real folk music and certainly not within the Canadian tradition. This period of the folksong revival was something which he would later call “The New Folk Music” (1969, 64). Living in an urban environment himself, Peacock had witnessed the influence of the American folk revival on many young Canadians:

One evening back in 1960 I heard an aspiring young Canadian folk singer in one of Toronto’s newly opened coffee houses. I enjoyed her singing very much, but was somewhat disappointed to learn that her repertoire included only American folksongs and variants, no Canadian. Being a rather militant Canadian myself, I asked her afterwards about this strange oversight and received her astonished (and astonishing reply): “Are there any Canadian folksongs?” (1969, 62).<sup>35</sup>

As he headed off for Newfoundland to begin his final field season he took account of the impact of the American folk revival, and of the need for young Canadians to have a greater understanding of their own musical traditions. In collecting Newfoundland folksongs he realized that he had a mission.

## 9.1 Peacock’s Final Field Trip in Newfoundland and Publishing *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*

Peacock left for Newfoundland in late September to finish off what would be his

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<sup>35</sup> Peacock did not recall the name of the singer nor the coffee house. Given the time period it could have been either the Gerrard Street Coffee House or Club 71. See Mark Miller, “Coffeehouses,” *EMC 2<sup>nd</sup>*. ed., 281.

final year of Newfoundland field research. Over the years he had witnessed many changes and in 1961 he recalled: "They'd finished the road; it hadn't been fully paved across, but I traveled right across in my little Volkswagen."<sup>36</sup>

Much of the work that fall was sporadic and largely dictated by an additional project. Gunther Geisler, a film producer for a German Television Company with a North American branch based in Washington, had planned to visit Newfoundland to make a film about its folk music. While attending the IFCM conference he and his wife Eleanor had met Peacock. Impressed with his extensive field experience and intimate knowledge of the province, they enlisted him to assist with the film they were going to make in October of that year.<sup>37</sup> Peacock agreed to meet Geisler's wife in Newfoundland ahead of time and to show her some possible filming sites.

Following his arrival, Peacock proceeded to Codroy on the west coast, re-visiting Mary Anne Galpin and recording thirteen new songs (194-1146 to 197-1158) from her. From here he picked up Eleanor Geisler in Stephenville and they headed to Loretto to visit Josephine Costard, recording from her an additional six songs (196-1159 to 199-1164). Geisler, who appears not to have experienced traditional singing in this manner, was "flabbergasted" and "had a wonderful time."<sup>38</sup> Shortly after this Geisler

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<sup>36</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 1 Oct. 1997.

<sup>37</sup> I was unable to establish how the Geislars had actually acquired Peacock's name.

<sup>38</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock 17 Jan. 1997.

flew from Stephenville to St. John's to await her husband's arrival and Peacock went on to Rocky Harbour to see his friend, Annie Walters, recording one final song, "Bar the Door O" (200-1165) from her. From here Peacock headed across the island to Branch, because this is where Margaret Sargent had conducted her fieldwork in 1950. Here he aimed to look up the singer, John Joe English, who had given Sargent the Irish "Foggy Dew."<sup>39</sup> English was out of the community at the time, but Peacock did locate and record several other informants, including Andrew Nash, Patrick Nash, William Nash and Gerald Campbell (200-1166 to 202-1173).<sup>40</sup>

After this brief visit he headed to St. John's, meeting up with Geislars who had taken accommodations at the newly constructed Kenmount Motel in the northwest part of the city. Acting as a tour guide Peacock took them to various sites he thought would make appropriate film locations. Peacock also assumed the role of culture broker, interpreting for the Germans the way of life in Newfoundland. As he was well aware, people were now enjoying many new amenities which added to their standard of living. Less explainable even for Peacock were some Newfoundlanders' responses to the new changes:

[I] took her around the St. John's area, down the Southern Shore and then her husband came. And we went up in Conception Harbour area and Laurie said "Why do so many people say 'Do you want to wash your hands'?" And I said, "They just got a new bathroom." [laughter] They

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<sup>39</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

<sup>40</sup>. For Andrew Nash also see the Margaret Sargent collection, MUNFLA accession 98-237.

wanted to show off their new bathroom.<sup>41</sup>

Much of St. John's was also undergoing a rapid conversion during this period. As part of the post-confederation re-organization, the provincial government's headquarters had been relocated in 1959 from the city center to a newly constructed Confederation building in the northeast part of the city. The university, which had also outgrown its inner city space, relocated to a more contemporary setting next to the new government offices. Memorial officially opened its new doors that summer in 1961. As St. John's increasingly took on the role of a service provider, its population had begun to expand outward and with it the rural character of the city shifted. Swept away in the process were acres of farmlands which had surrounded the city since the previous century.

Shortly after Peacock arrived at the Kenmount Motel, he met a local physician and businessman, Dr. Harry Roberts, who suggested that he should see Mrs. Mary Doyle, the widow of the late Gerald S. Doyle.<sup>42</sup> Peacock could hardly refuse. As Mrs. Doyle explained sometime later to folklorist Carole Carpenter, Peacock's visit made a lasting impression in that he was not looking for purely Newfoundland material such as might have interested her husband. Instead, Mrs. Doyle noted, he was collecting material which

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<sup>41</sup> Anna Guigné interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

<sup>42</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 17 Jan. 1997. This was Gerald S. Doyle's second wife. After the death of his first wife Marjorie Grace Mershon, of Garden City, New York, Doyle married Mary Foley originally of the Corner Brook area 15 May 1945; see Doyle, "Gerald Stanley Doyle . . .," 32; also see Allison C. Bates, "Roberts, Harry Duncan (1908-)," *ENL*, 4: 609.

was not commonly sung.<sup>43</sup> To her amusement Peacock showed great interest in the song “Lady Margaret” which she had heard her mother sing years ago. As Mrs. Doyle was not a singer, she was somewhat taken aback when Peacock asked if he could record what she could recall, even though it was only a small verse or so. Considering his preference for older material, Peacock was understandably delighted to have collected this fragment. He later published Mrs. Doyle’s melody and stanza as one of six variants of this Child ballad (No. 77) (1965, 2: 395).

Peacock conducted no further interviews in the city because his time was taken up with the Geislars. Sometime before 19 October, the film crew arrived in St. John’s.<sup>44</sup> The Geislars arranged for CBC radio to tape Peacock performing some of the songs he had collected in Newfoundland. They also scheduled John White for recording.<sup>45</sup> This singer was best known for performing mainly Newfoundland Irish material, including such songs as “The Kelligrews Soiree” and “The Trinity Cake” originally written by balladeer Johnny Burke at the turn of the century (Moore 1991, 559). At the time he was a well-known figure on the CBC’s radio program “Saturday Night Jamboree.” He had also appeared on VOXM’s “Barn Dance” in 1958 and in 1959 had released a record (559). White’s style of music, although highly popular with many Newfoundlanders,

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<sup>43</sup> Carole Carpenter, interview with Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle, MUNFLA Tape, 78-57/ C3918B.

<sup>44</sup> “CBC Shooting Schedule, Newfoundland, October, 1961,” Peacock Collection, SAB.

<sup>45</sup> James Moore, “White, John Joseph Francis (1939-),” *ENL*, 5: 559.

contrasted with the kind of material Peacock was likely to collect or perform.

The details of the filming schedule are hazy, but according to one recording schedule for 20 and 23 October, Peacock and the crew visited Petty Harbour, Ferryland, Fermeuse and the mink farm in the community of Whitbourne, an hour outside of the city.<sup>46</sup> Although the Geislars intended to film various parts of the island, due to financial costs the project was scaled down (Peacock 1984, 7). They confined the filming to the Avalon Peninsula, relying mainly on Peacock's suggestions and contacts. Peacock introduced them to Howard Morry of Ferryland and he in turn took them to nearby Fermeuse to meet Paddy Rossiter a well known singer along the southern shore of the Avalon Peninsula. Both men somehow got pulled into the making of the film:

But when the sizeable and hungry film crew arrived in the late summer it became obvious that our grandiose plans to cover the whole Island would have to be scrapped after a realistic look at the tight budget. As a result, filming was confined to the Avalon Peninsula and two singers, Patrick Rossiter and Howard Morry [ . . . ]. For some reason the film producers thought I gave stunning performances of Newfoundland songs whereas in fact they were barely passable imitations. Furthermore the producers had become enamored of certain deserted-off-shore islands with their abandoned houses and old cemeteries (Mr. Smallwood's famous relocation scheme had only recently begun). So the story-line of the film was altered and I was called upon to sing 'ghost' songs such as "Lady Margaret" (Sweet William's Ghost) and "Jimmy Whelan" to a vacuous imported nymphet at one of these spooky locations. In the film I played myself, a folksong collector, and the nymphet dutifully wrote home to daddy in Germany to tell of her strange and wonderful adventures in Newfoundland with the folksong collector (Peacock 7).

Peacock did have a chance to view the film some months later at the National Museum

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<sup>46</sup> "CBC Shooting Schedule, Newfoundland, October, 1961," Peacock Collection, SAB.

and felt it was an unfortunate portrayal of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders, particularly those whose musical abilities he greatly admired. It was not something he wished to repeat.<sup>47</sup> He was embarrassed enough by the whole thing that in 1984 he publically expressed his discomfort:

[. . .] aside from the scenes and singing of Paddy Rossiter and Howard Morry it was pretty awful. This is the first opportunity I have had to apologize to Newfoundland and to any Newfoundlanders who might have had the misfortune of seeing it, especially those singers who also should have been on it ( 7).

Having completed his obligations to the German couple, Peacock paid a return visit to Paddy Rossiter, recording eleven songs from him (203-1777 to 209-1186) including such numbers as "George's Banks," "The Fisher Who Died in His Bed," "The Loss of the *Eliza*" and "Grandma Hones" which Rossiter learned while at the seal fishery (1965, 1: 84). He taped one final song, "The Farmer's Curst Wife" (209-1187), from his friend Howard Morry and then headed back to Ottawa. This field trip deviated considerably from his past years in the field because he was distracted. Much of the time Peacock's schedule was erratic and dictated mainly by the work of the German film company. He visited eight communities collecting just forty-four songs from eleven informants, four of whom he had visited previously.

In late October he began in earnest to prepare the Newfoundland material for his

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<sup>47</sup> Despite several attempts I was unsuccessful in locating the film and so I have no idea about who was included in the final production.

impending publication.<sup>48</sup> From six field seasons of research he had amassed a total of 766 items of songs and music from 118 informants, eighty of these he had recorded on tape.<sup>49</sup> He had been also been successful in documenting large repertoires of music from a number of informants especially in the Great Northern Peninsula region where he had gathered almost three hundred songs from a small number of singers.<sup>50</sup> Throughout his years of field research in Newfoundland Peacock had exercised considerable discipline in the manner in which he collected his material. As a trained musician he had the added advantage of being able to process the music into workable transcripts. For the majority of the recordings he had transcribed both the text and melody for each song in its entirety at the end of each season. He had also indexed individual songs according to the year of collection, by the singer's name and community, assigning an individual Peacock (Pea) number to each item. Through this kind of efficiency by 1961, he was able to access virtually all of his field collection. Even by today's standards this in itself was a remarkable accomplishment. Peacock spent the next several months finishing his transcriptions. As he prepared the manuscript for *Outports* he started making choices

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<sup>48</sup> Sometime in early 1962 he met up with his friend Howard Morry who had come to see his son Tom in Ottawa. During a visit with the family Peacock recorded one final Newfoundland song "The Sealer's Ball (210-1188); see Tom Morry "The Sealer's Ball" (210-1188) sound recording, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>49</sup> I derived these figures from an examination of the tapes and transcripts.

<sup>50</sup> In Chapter 10 I discuss the composition of Peacock's field collection extensively.

about the singers and material he wished to profile and readying his annotative notes and the photographs.

Peacock had originally planned to do additional research on his collection using the library resources in Newfoundland and at Mount Allison University. As time was a factor, he decided to forego these plans instead obtaining much of the information for the end notes from the reference materials at the Museum and from the sizeable personal library of his friend Tom Kines.<sup>51</sup> Initially he intended to put all of the songs he had acquired into print, but as he had collected so much material over the six field trips, he had difficulty figuring out which songs to publish. He decided to organize the material along thematic lines, in alphabetical order, under twenty categories: children's songs, comic ditties, fishing songs, laments, love adventures, love comedies, love disguises and other impersonations, love eulogies and other songs of praise, love ghosts, love laments, love lyrics, love murders, love tragedies, lumber ballads, miscellaneous songs, murder ballads, pirate songs, sailor songs, tragic sea ballads and war songs.

As Peacock worked, the publication grew to an immense size. Eventually he and the Museum's publications editor, Dorothy Burke, met with the director, Dr. Loris Russell, to discuss the matter:

She suggested dividing it into three volumes because a single 'tome' would run to over 1,000 pages; difficult and expensive to produce, especially with substantial and durable paper. I, of course, pointed out that the variety, scope and quality of the songs would make it a unique

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<sup>51</sup> Ann Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

publication devoted to Canada's newest province. Our arguments obviously worked. I don't know how much he had to fight for its publication on his own, but he seemed to take special interest in it, for which I thanked him in the Acknowledgments.<sup>52</sup>

Peacock submitted the three volume work consisting of 1035 pages to the National Museum in the spring of 1962. As the *Ottawa Journal* observed at the time, "This will be the largest single collection of folk music ever published in Canada and one of the largest in the world."<sup>53</sup> When it was finally released *Outports* contained 411 titles, 78 of which included additional variants.

Peacock was excited about the impact *Outports* would have on the then-current knowledge of Newfoundland song. He also envisioned it to be an all-encompassing publication remarking: "My purpose has been to provide a balanced selection which will be of interest and use to the greatest number of people" (xxi). His hope was that it would also be a true reflection of the vibrant folk music tradition in Newfoundland:

The book has been planned as a general collection of traditional and native (locally-composed) Newfoundland songs which are found in the approximate ratio of five to one native. It is intended as a source book for musicologists, students of traditional verse, professional singers and musicians, historians, and not the least of all, for the general reader and that growing army of young folksong enthusiasts who are finding new meanings in old traditions (1965, 1: xx).

To this end he aimed for a publication which was both attractive and serviceable pointing out in his introduction:

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<sup>52</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 11 June 1997.

<sup>53</sup> "Art Notes," *The Ottawa Journal* 14 Apr. 1962; Peacock Collection, SAB.

Possibly the most vexing problems of preparing traditional songs for publication are concerned with editing texts. Some researchers of more scientific bent consider it mandatory to reproduce each and every syllable the way the informant pronounced it. This is next to impossible even within the limitations of a strict phonetic system, but when ordinary written English is used to suggest nuances of a dialect the result is often ludicrous [ . . . ]. I have reluctantly forsaken precision for readability (xxii).

Peacock also noted that he had attempted to capture singers' styles by way of "grace-notes, fiorituras, pause signs," but that he had "made no attempt to indicate pitch distinctions smaller than the usual semitone." He pointed out that the "traditional style of notation" had its limitations because "the little plus and minus signs sometimes put above notes to suggest a minute sharpening or flattening never indicate the degree of modification required" (xxiii). Instead Peacock aimed his transcriptions at a more general audience.

These passing comments about "graphs," "style" and "notation," were probably a means of distancing himself from such musicological research as had been carried out by Bartók (1931), Charles Seeger (1958: 3-11) and Alan Lomax (1959: 927-951).<sup>54</sup> While Peacock was aware of the current trends, this kind of work was beyond his scope. As he implied in his introduction, the intention of his publication was to make the work accessible to many people, not just scholars.

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<sup>54</sup> Peacock may have been thinking of Charles Seeger's device the "melograph." As an update to his earlier work "Toward a Universal Music Sound-Writing for Musicology," (1957: 63-66) Seeger had presented a paper on his machine at the IFMC conference.; see "The Model B Melograph: A Progress Report," *Programme of the Fourteenth Annual Conference International Folk Music Council 28-Aug. 3 Sept. 1961*; Vol. 2791, file 13, IFMC correspondence, CFMS, Creighton Collection, NSARM.

In the end 96 of the 118 individuals he had interviewed between 1951 and 1961 were given some representation in *Outports*. Peacock also published substantial material from a small number of singers among them the Bennetts, Paddy Rossiter, Charlotte Decker, Phillip Foley and Joséphine Costard, all of whom he considered to be “gifted,” and represented “the highest flowering of the tradition and set the standards by which all other performances are judged” (1965, 1: xxiv). Having finally put *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* to rest, Peacock went on to pursue other folk music interests.

## 9.2 The Ethnic Music Research

By 1962 the cultural and political status quo in Canada had started to shift over issues of language and heritage. The rise in nationalism in Quebec, brought about by the “Quiet Revolution,” released along with it a growing discontent, outside of the province. There was little appreciation or understanding of the French language and culture (Carpenter 1979, 147). Concurrent with the increased political attention on Quebec, other minority groups questioned their national status which, for the most part, had received little consideration or representation. In 1963 Pearson’s Liberal government launched an investigation of the situation.<sup>55</sup> As noted in the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: A Preliminary Report*, the Commission was mandated to consider not only the contributions of the “two founding groups,” but also to take into account “the

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<sup>55</sup> Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (Ottawa: R. Duhamel, Queen’s Printer) 1965.

contributions of other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of the country and to suggest measures to safeguard these contributions” (1965, 148). One major outcome was a renewed emphasis on the importance of bilingualism and the recognition of two official languages in the country, but also a greater recognition of the country’s cultural diversity. As Carpenter argues “In effect the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission supplied Canada with a national history suited to the national mythos and folk history” and “the conception of Canada as a cultural mosaic” (1979, 148-49).

In late 1961, as one of probably several internal Government responses to the politics of the day, Carmen Roy and Peacock formulated plans for him to undertake a major ethnic folk music project.<sup>56</sup> Three years previously Roy had contemplated the idea of doing fieldwork in this area.<sup>57</sup> She saw the instigation of ethnic research as a means to diversify the folklore section’s activities while solidifying the role of folklore within the National Museum. As her colleague Robert Klymasz also speculates, Roy saw this move as a way of differentiating the folklore work in the Museum from places such as Laval University.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>. A limited amount of work had been done in the past by researchers connected to the National Museum, largely through personal interests. Throughout her career Helen Creighton conducted notable fieldwork on the Mi’kmaq, African, Gaelic and German cultures in Nova Scotia. W. J. Wintenburg (1876-1941) had also carried out research among the German population of Ontario (McGregor and Croft 1992, 329-30; Fowke 1988, 22-23).

<sup>57</sup>. Carmen Roy, “Five Year Projects-Folklore Division,” box 453 f. 25; Dr. L.S. Russell Correspondence 1959-1961; Carmen Roy Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>58</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Robert Klymasz, 25 Nov. 1997.

In January 1962, Peacock prepared a proposal which he outlined as a “Five-year survey to ascertain the folklore potentialities of various ethnic groups from Ontario to British Columbia” with an emphasis on “smaller ethnic groups of European and Asiatic origin.”<sup>59</sup> As Roy knew, Peacock was an efficient and reliable field man and he could be depended on to complete the project. Peacock launched the survey during the summer of 1962 traveling west to conduct interviews with contacts in several dozen ethnic communities. Shortly thereafter, he submitted a hefty ninety-four page internal report to the Museum, “Ethnic Folk Music Survey in Central and Western Canada” along with forty-nine field tapes of recorded material.<sup>60</sup> Peacock had discovered through these preliminary investigations a huge source of cultural material within the country’s ethnic communities which had yet to be explored. Realizing this potential, Peacock devoted the remainder of his years at the Museum to the documentation of ethnic folk music.<sup>61</sup>

In 1963 he published a condensed summary of his earlier report in the Museum’s Anthropology papers “A Survey of Ethnic Folk Music Across Western Canada,” (1963: 1-13). As he later explained to me, the move re-oriented his world:

I was always interested in something new and going on to the next thing than going over the same thing. That’s what amazed me about people like Helen Creighton and Edith Fowke. They continued on and on and on and

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<sup>59</sup>. “New Project,” internal document prepared by Kenneth Peacock; box 307 f. 2; Correspondence 1959-1964, Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>60</sup>. “Ethnic Folk Music Survey in Central and Western Canada, 1962 Report” by Kenneth Peacock. Pea-A-4, box 76 f.4 ; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>61</sup>. “Ethnic Folk Music Survey in Central and Western Canada, 1962 Report,” pg. 2.

on collecting the same stuff. Well it's a good thing they did of course, but I was sort of driven on to newer things for some reason. I guess I get bored.<sup>62</sup>

The ethnic music research was a natural evolution for Peacock. Outside of the Indian work he had done on the prairies in the early 1950s, much of his career with the Museum had been devoted to transcribing mainly Anglophone material. Fundamentally he also recognized that to pursue further investigations in this area outside Newfoundland would have interfered with the activities of Creighton and Fowke.

As Peacock was rather reserved and not particularly assertive in terms of marketing his research, the ethnic work also offered a certain safe zone of comfort, one where his talents as a musician could be put to use. In the push for professionalism at the National Museum, new standards of academic scholarship had begun to come into play. He notes that Carmen Roy had considerable respect for his sense of organization although adding, she was somewhat "disappointed that I didn't have the proper training and she was always trying to make a scholar out of me."<sup>63</sup>

Peacock was not inclined to do extensive scientific research and documentation of the kind which Roy had been trained to carry out. He did not see himself as a scholar, but rather as a folk music specialist. For Peacock the distinction was clear. When it came to more rigorous scholarly work he knew he was out of his depth. As he commented in his

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<sup>62</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, Apr. 10, 1997, Tape 1B.

<sup>63</sup> Anna Guigné, interviews with Kenneth Peacock, 17 Jan. and 21 June 1997.

“Ethnic Survey”:

Ideally each group should have its own expert researcher to make recordings and gather ethnographic information. But even if the huge sums of money were available I doubt that the necessary experts could be found in Canada. Even for our two largest ethnic groups, the French and the British, we have only a handful of expert researchers. Who is there among the Finns, the Japanese, the Sikhs to do similar work on their cultures?<sup>64</sup>

There was simply no musicologist on staff to handle such work.<sup>65</sup>

Since the late 1950s Roy had worked hard to nurture the growth of the folklore section and to set professional standards, but the Museum’s internal structure was still emerging with the times. In one document regarding the assignment of a contract, the chief ethnologist and head the Anthropology Division of the Human History branch of the Museum, Tom McFeat, discussed the problem of continuity in the collections and methods of documentation.<sup>66</sup> McFeat pointed to the need for more focused collecting and research. A large portion of material of a non-aboriginal, aesthetic-historical nature in the Ethnological collection had been amassed without any provenance and was the result of poor collecting practices. Despite the substantial outlay of funds over the years, many acquisitions were of little scientific value, falling outside the research mandate of

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<sup>64</sup>. “Ethnic Folk Music Survey in Central and Western Canada, 1962 Report,” pg. 3; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>65</sup>. The musicologist, George Proctor, had worked at the Museum from 1 Sept. 1959 to May, 1961 and for this brief period there was some direction; Benoit Theriault, letter to author 19 Apr. 2000; also see Nancy Vogan, “Proctor, George (Alfred),” *EMC* 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed. 1081;

<sup>66</sup>. Untitled memo “Having completed a year of service. . . ,” circa. Oct. 1960; box 419 f.2 ; Tom McFeat Collection, 1-A-267MM, LAD-CMC.

ethnology. McFeat saw considerable merit in displays for the general public, but also pointed out that “the research that would be required is most clearly historical in approach”; he recommended the creation of a division of Canadian History within the Museum.<sup>67</sup> McFeat also sent a memo to Russell in April 1962 arguing for the creation of a folklore section within the Human History branch and along with it a senior position for the division.<sup>68</sup> As he pointed out, folklore was “neither ethnology nor history and folklorists are trained in a system of education which is different from both [ . . . ]. It has its own identity.”<sup>69</sup>

In February 1966, the director, R. G. Glover, advised the chief ethnologist, A.D. Deblois, that Carmen Roy wanted to head a separate section which would require removing folklore from the ethnology division entirely. Glover asked Deblois to think through the benefits of “Folklore becoming an independent division” thereby relieving him of the administrative responsibilities.<sup>70</sup> As Glover recognized, Roy was really a thorough and efficient worker and under her direction the folklore researchers were “doing some of the most useful work that the museum is turning out.” He pointed out that

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<sup>67</sup>. This change occurred in 1964 when the Museum was transferred to the Secretary of State.

<sup>68</sup>. Tom F. S. McFeat, Internal Memo to L.S. Russell, 25 Apr. 1962; Correspondence Re: Creation of Folklore Division, box I-16, Ethnology Division Collection, Institutional Archives Coll No. 98-II 0015, LAD-CMC.

<sup>69</sup>. Tom F. S. McFeat, Internal Memo to L.S. Russell, 25 April. 1962.

<sup>70</sup>. Dr. Glover, letter to A.D. Deblois, 15 Feb. 1966; Correspondence re: Creation of Folklore Division 1963-1966, box I-16, Ethnology Division Collection.

besides the new developments in ethnic research there was much “popular appeal” for folklore: “The great and wide success of recent folklore publications like Helen Creighton’s Gaelic songs and especially Peacock’s Newfoundland songs (very favorably reviewed) has therefore been a great asset to the museum in general and to your division in particular.”<sup>71</sup> Deblois agreed and in November the Division was officially divided into two separate entities, Ethnology and Folklore.<sup>72</sup>

To Roy’s credit she had established Folklore on an equal footing with other major research divisions at the Museum. This required re-organization of collections and the formulation of a plan of research which was separate from other divisions of the Museum. Roy also saw that continued research on ethnic populations was strategic. Having already started the ethnic research, with the government’s new thrust toward multiculturalism, Carmen Roy was well-positioned to lobby for additional funds to expand her new division’s research objectives.

Throughout the 1960s the Folklore Division broadened its scope to incorporate studies of ethnic groups. This eventually led to the hiring of individuals specifically trained in formal methods of folklore research. Peacock’s pioneering work on the ethnic research program served as the catalyst. In 1966, the newly expanded folklore program at

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<sup>71</sup> Dr. Glover, letter to A.D. Deblois, 15 Feb. 1966; Correspondence Re: Creation of Folklore Division 1963-1966.

<sup>72</sup> Dr. Glover, memo to Carmen Roy and A.D. Deblois, 18 Nov. 1966; Correspondence Re: Creation of Folklore Division, 1963-1966.

the Museum was “officially launched” (Roy 1973, 50). In June 1970, with the increased research focus on multiculturalism, the Folklore Division changed its name to Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies (CCFCS) to reflect its expanded research mandate. By this time the Centre had broadened its scope to include artifacts and aspects of material culture--all manifestations of multiculturalism (53). Peacock’s contribution, which provided much of the groundwork, was later described by Roy as “truly remarkable” (50).

### 9.3 The Edith Fowke-Ralph Rinzler Episode

Between 1962 and 1971 Peacock concentrated exclusively on the ethnic research releasing several pioneering works: *Twenty Ethnic Songs from Western Canada* (1966), *Songs of the Doukhobors: An Introductory Outline* (1970) and *A Garland of Rue: Lithuanian Folksongs of Love and Betrothal* (1971). He continued transcribing songs for Helen Creighton for her publications *Gaelic Songs of Nova Scotia* (1964) and *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick* (1971) and for Robert Klymasz’s *The Ukranian Winter Folksong Cycle* (1970). He also provided assistance to the CFMS producing *A Practical Guide for Folk Music Collectors* (1966).

Peacock made no further trips to Newfoundland although, following the release of the publication, he did the occasional talk on his fieldwork there. In 1965, he presented “Newfoundland and Its Folksong,” at a conference hosted by the CFMS (1967: 2-5). His research was also featured on a CBC radio program based on Hellmut Kallman’s work *A*

*History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (c1960, 1987).<sup>73</sup> The release of *Outports* forced his peers to take a new look at his research contributions. Writing to secretary Jeanne Monette at the National Museum, Helen Creighton expressed her pleasure upon receiving a copy:

Yesterday I was thrilled to receive Ken Peacock's three volumes of Newfoundland songs [. . .] There are many songs I have never heard before, and many for which I have duplicates in Nova Scotia.<sup>74</sup>

*Outports* was also seen by the public to be a major contribution to the literature pertaining to Canadian folksong. As one reviewer noted in 1966:

It is by far the best collection of Newfoundland songs ever made, a brilliant combination of scholarship and genuine understanding of the people from whom the songs came [. . .] (Devereaux 1966, 75).

With the release of *Outports* Peacock definitively established the wealth of folksong material in Newfoundland, causing many people to take a new look at the diversity of the province's musical traditions. While the Doyle material continued to be popular, Peacock's representation of Newfoundland folksong had effectually broadened the canon to include dozens of new songs and melodies with tremendous performance appeal.

Within other music circles Peacock's collection was immediately seen as a

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<sup>73</sup> "Folk Music and Its Collectors," *Music in Canada*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 2 June 1965; Accession 650627, CBC-A, Toronto Ontario. Tape copy. MUNFLA Accession 94-058.

<sup>74</sup> Helen Creighton, letter to Jeanne [Monette], 17 Aug. 1965; box 150 f. 16; Creighton Collection, LAD-CMC.

welcome addition to Canada's distinct folk culture heritage. Soon after the collection was distributed, Canadian composers drew upon folksongs Peacock had collected for their own creations. In 1966, Keith Bissell composed an arrangement for full choir based on "Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love" (1965, 2: 453). In 1969, Harry Somers produced *Five Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* based on "Feller from Fortune," "The Old Mayflower," "Si j'avais le bateau," "The Banks of Newfoundland," and "She's Like the Swallow" (Peacock 1965, 1: 53-54; 87-88; 96-97; 108-9; and 3: 711-17).

The release of *Outports* was also timely for those associated with the launching of the 1967 Canadian Centennial celebrations. In conjunction with the many activities taking place across the country, Canadian folk music was being put on display. Professional singers such as Tom Kines, Charles Joyner and Jean Price contributed material from the collections of Barbeau, Karpeles, Creighton and Peacock for Alan Mills's album *Canadian Folksongs: A Centennial Collection* (RCA CS-100). Material from Peacock's collection also appeared on Kines's latest album *Folksongs of Canada* (RCA PCS-1014, 1965).

One year before the publication was released, Peacock's research had also attracted the interest of the American folk revivalist, Ralph Rinzler, then working as the talent coordinator for the Newport Folk Festival.<sup>75</sup> As Brauner notes in her masters thesis, "A Study of the Newport Folk Festival and the Newport Foundation," this event

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<sup>75</sup> See Richard Gagné, "Ralph Rinzler, Folklorist: Professional Biography," *Folklore Forum* 27.1 (1996): 2-49.

was “the nation’s largest and most ambitious presentation of folk music” and in the early 1960s closely linked to the movement to present “folk materials to mass audiences” which had grown to immense proportions (1985, 22-23). Traditional performers, “the source of the material,” were sought out, perceived as “artists—people who performed folk materials in styles indigenous to their region” who could be presented at “the rapidly-expanding folk festival, concert, and urban coffeehouse circuit that linked college campuses and urban centres throughout North America” (Brauner 23).

Rinzler was one of a unique group of individuals closely involved with the revivalist movement. His role was similar to the recording company scouts who had scoured the South in the 1920s and 1930s in search of authentic folk talent. Taking his direction from such Foundation members as Pete Seeger and Alan Lomax, he was also responsible for seeking out traditional singers who he thought might perform at the festival. By 1964 this also involved a field program for locating talent (23-24).

The aims of the festival organizers were also interventionist in that, since 1960, the festival had undergone a reorganization of its internal structure to “counter the popular conception of folk music as merely a type of entertainment” and to “formulate strategies for using the festival’s financial gains to keep folk music alive at its grass-roots, and for educating the public about folk culture and traditions” (60-61). One the specific areas recommended by Alan Lomax included the provinces in Canada (180-180a).

In 1964, Rinzler set off on a scouting trip to the Maritimes. Having visited the

Cape Breton area and Helen Creighton, he decided to go to Newfoundland to identify informants for the 1965 Newport Folk Festival. In late October, before catching the ferry bound for Newfoundland, Rinzler contacted Peacock by phone from North Sydney informing him of the festival and of his interest in making contact with singers. Although Creighton had probably discussed Peacock's work, Rinzler was probably already aware of his research through Alan Lomax whom Peacock had helped in the early 1950s, and through his association to Folkways.

Peacock recommended that Rinzler contact Annie Walters, the Bennetts and Arthur Nicolle.<sup>76</sup> Arriving in Rocky Harbour on 24 October and using Peacock's name as a reference and, with the aid of a Nagra tape recorder, Rinzler recorded fifty-five songs from them over the course of two days.<sup>77</sup> Rinzler was so impressed with the singers that he invited Annie Walters and Arthur Nicolle to go to Newport to perform in August 1965.

For revivalists this particular festival would be looked upon as a landmark event. As Goldsmith notes "Newport 1965 is quite reasonably remembered as the occasion of [Bob] Dylan's 'going electric'" (1998, 327). This new musical "digression" created a furor among fans and several key organizers, in the process signaling that the "dusk had

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<sup>76</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 16 Apr. 1997.

<sup>77</sup> Some of the recordings are repeat performances of specific songs; Ralph Rinzler Collection, MUNFLA 79-270.

started to descend on folk music's day in the sun of American popular culture" (327).<sup>78</sup> Such matters were of little concern to Nicolle and Walters for whom the trip was a rare opportunity to travel outside of their small community of Rocky Harbour to a world far removed from their own. Their performance at Newport was a much-talked about event for years to come.<sup>79</sup>

That summer, while Edith Fowke and Moses Asch were watching the Newfoundlanders perform, they formulated the idea of issuing an album combining recordings made by both Peacock and Rinzler; *Outports*, which had just been released, was at the forefront of the discussion.<sup>80</sup> In September Rinzler suggested to Fowke that she contact Asch and ask whether he would be interested in bringing out a two-volume album of Newfoundland ballads under the Ethnic Folkways series.<sup>81</sup> Rinzler indicated that he could provide biographical information on the informants he had visited adding "With the recent appearance of the Peacock collection, a record of this kind would be particularly timely this season."<sup>82</sup> Fowke then contacted Peacock about the idea, adding

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<sup>78</sup>. For an interesting discussion of ideas about "authenticity" and "acousticity" associated to the ideology of the folk revival of the 1950s and '60s see Peter Narváez, "Unplugged: Blues Guitarists and the Myth of Acousticity," *Guitar Culture*, eds. Andy Bennett and Kevin Dawe (New York: Oxford, 2001) 27-44.

<sup>79</sup>. When I interviewed their family members, Rinzler's visit was mentioned as well as the trip to Newport.

<sup>80</sup>. A short time later Fowke explained to Peacock how the idea had surfaced. Edith Fowke, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 20 Sept. 1965; Peacock Correspondence, box 2, file 3, accession 432/88.13, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>81</sup>. Raph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 8 Sept. 1965; Rinzler Correspondence, box 2, file 2, accession 535/93.10, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>82</sup> Raph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 8 Sept. 1965.

that she would do the notes.

Much to her surprise, Peacock was more than a little miffed about the whole proposal:

I had been trying for years to interest FOLKWAYS in an Ethnic Newfoundland record, all to no avail. It's ironic that an American should under my guidance, re-record the singers I found and then persuade FOLKWAYS to issue a recording. I have no idea what plans, if any Mr. Rinzler has for giving proper credits for such a recording. The only contact I had with him was a telephone call full of sweetness and light from Sydney, N.S. requesting Nfld informants for the Newport Festival. I would be kept posted on developments and issued an invitation to attend the festival. I have yet to hear from him. In consideration of this, I feel Mr. Rinzler should be instructed in the uses of common courtesy. He should be told, if it hasn't already occurred to him, that the original research was carried on by Canadian researchers under the sponsorship of Canadian institutions. After all, from the information I gave him regarding the informants and locations (plus my name as a reference), all he had to do was walk into a house and turn on his tape recorder.<sup>83</sup>

Fowke explained to Peacock that the idea of the album was as much Moe Asch's as anyone else's noting that Asch was impressed with the Newfoundland singers.<sup>84</sup> She informed Peacock that she mentioned this to Rinzler and he then told her about his Newfoundland tapes. He indicated that he would be glad to have Folkways put them out if Fowke would do the editing, as he did not have the time. Quickly backtracking from the situation, Fowke told Peacock, "I didn't know then that you had approached

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<sup>83</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 17 Sept. 1965; Peacock Correspondence, box 2, file 3, accession 432/88.13, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>84</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 20 Sept. 1965; Peacock Correspondence, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

Folkways.”<sup>85</sup> She advised him to contact Asch because she had not committed to doing the project with Rinzler.

Peacock did as Fowke had advised, but as Rinzler later informed Fowke, he and Asch were under the assumption that Peacock wanted to sing the material himself.<sup>86</sup> When Fowke asked Rinzler to check whether this was true, Rinzler replied “I have asked Mary Vernon, my sec [retary], to call Moe to corroborate my belief that Ken had only offered him a record of the material performed by himself” adding “[I] am quite certain that Moe was under the impression that Ken had offered himself and Moe had asked for traditional singers.”<sup>87</sup>

Based on his reading of *Outports*, Rinzler also raised doubts about Peacock’s ability to contribute something meaningful to the album in terms of the writing of notes “on either style or the material itself from the point of view of folklore or literature” adding that “his tapes were probably not recorded on good enough equipment to warrant using them on the same recording with those recorded last year.”<sup>88</sup> Rinzler recommended that Peacock could perhaps write an “Introduction” adding “I do think the records should

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<sup>85</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 20 Sept. 1965.

<sup>86</sup> Ralph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 23 of Sept. 1965; Rinzler correspondence, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>87</sup> Ralph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 8 Oct. 1965; Rinzler correspondence.

<sup>88</sup> Ralph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 23 Sept. 1965; Rinzler correspondence.

be done and I do feel that Ken should have a part in this.”<sup>89</sup> Rinzler’s views, that greater emphasis should be placed on the singer and on performance and style, reflected his affiliations with American revivalists such as Alan Lomax and the Seegers.<sup>90</sup> Lomax had made the same distinction when steering Marius Barbeau in the production of the Canadian album of the *Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music*.

It is questionable whether Peacock ever wanted to sing the material as there is no reference to this in his correspondence to either Rinzler or Fowke. It is more likely that Peacock had reached a point where he too had begun to see the value of bringing out an album of field recordings. For some time he had felt the Museum should have been producing this kind of material instead of “putting it on dusty shelves.”<sup>91</sup> Asch may have simply jumped to the conclusion that Peacock wanted to sing the material based on the fact that he had done a similar album in 1956. Rinzler’s comments might have raised concern in Fowke about the quality of Peacock’s work, but the network within which the Canadian revivalists operated was closely knit and whether she agreed with Rinzler or not, she could not simply dismiss Peacock.

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<sup>89</sup> Ralph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 23 Sept. 1965.

<sup>90</sup> A practitioner of the folk revival, Rinzler had also honed his musical talents and personal repertoire through “close scrutiny of vintage recordings” including Library of Congress material and Harry Smith’s *Anthology of Folk Music* (Folkways 1952, 1997) (Goldsmith 1998, 256-59).

<sup>91</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997. To his credit Peacock later solved this problem by transferring the field recordings to flexidiscs which were placed at the back of his publications; see *Songs of the Doukhobours* (1970) and *A Garland of Rue* (1971). He also helped Helen Creighton do the same for her publication *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick* (1971).

Despite the glitches, discussions between Rinzler, Fowke and Peacock continued back and forth over the next few months with the American emphasizing the quality of his material and guiding Fowke on the approach she should take with Peacock. At the end of May Rinzler commented:

I am certainly pleased to hear that Ken is willing to cooperate on a record of Newfoundland material. I think you should ask him to provide you with samples of all singers whom he recorded on a Nagra. He is not particularly sensitive to singing style and so I don't think you should rely on his judgement but should choose the singers yourself.<sup>92</sup>

Based on his examination of *Outports*, Rinzler already felt Peacock lacked the ability to do proper folksong documentation and he also respected Fowke's work. She had already created several documentary albums for Folkways and had a proven record of doing field research and rigorous documentation.

Once on side with the idea, Peacock set himself to working with Fowke and Rinzler. In June he sent along two tapes of songs for the proposed album commenting:

As you will see the texts of some songs in SNO are different from or longer than their recorded counterparts. This is the result of either of extra interview material or of material sent in later by informants [ . . . ]. As I said before, I do think the National Museum and myself should be given our just due for initiating the first large-scale folk music research in Newfoundland. Rinzler's recordings are actually the "supplementary" ones, rather than mine [ . . . ]. In any case, I am delighted that you will be doing the textual commentaries for my material. No one is more qualified. Since you are acquainted with Rinzler and his work I shall leave it up to you what arrangements can be made with Asch. Perhaps he is not aware of how Rinzler's original introduction to Newfoundland folk music came

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<sup>92</sup> Ralph Rinzler, letter to Edith Fowke, 31 May 1966; Rinzler correspondence box 2, file 2, accession 535/93.10, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A.

about. In any event, it would be a pity to let a 'cult of personalities' destroy what promises to be an important and long overdue release of traditional Newfoundland folk music and folksingers.<sup>93</sup>

As always, Peacock was conciliatory and more interested in seeing projects come to fruition than in getting into personality conflicts. When presented with a good idea he did his best to help further it, even when it involved others taking credit for his research.

Over the next few months Fowke discovered of her own accord that the sound quality of Rinzler's recordings was not up to standard. As she informed Peacock, "they aren't nearly as good as he'd led me to believe."<sup>94</sup> Peacock agreed to supply additional recordings and photographs of the singers. He was satisfied to see his role in the project go no further than this. He was already juggling several projects including the manuscript for *Songs of the Doukhobors*, the music for Helen Creighton's *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick* and the music for Klymasz's *The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada*, all of which were due for December.<sup>95</sup>

In mid-November Peacock forwarded Fowke some photographs for the Newfoundland album along with tapes of songs which he dubbed himself, throwing in a

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<sup>93</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 20 June 1966; Peacock Correspondence, box 2, file 3, accession 432/88.13, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>94</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 6 Sept. 1966; Peacock Correspondence, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>95</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 27 Sept. 1966; Peacock Correspondence, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

Gaelic number and French material for good measure.<sup>96</sup> Peacock also advised Moe Asch that he had received the necessary clearances from the National Museum for the project and that the “proposed double album of ethnic Newfoundland folksongs should be of great interest to both scholars and enthusiasts who want to hear the original singers performing the songs which appear in the book.”<sup>97</sup> The government was willing to carry the album in its bookstores, he said, “Since the album has such a close tie-in with the book and will be an item of great ‘cultural interest’.”<sup>98</sup>

From here plans for the proposed album appear to have gone off the rails. In early January, Asch advised Peacock that he wanted to put the album on hold because of a similar project:

Meanwhile, MacEdward Leach has given me about seven months ago his last work before he retires, which is “Songs From the Out-ports of Newfoundland” which will be issued next week, and I am going to send you a copy of the record. Suppose we let a little time go by, let’s say next winter, before I will consider issuing your album. However, should I get an order from the government bookstore for 250 copies @\$2.00 each, it would be economical for me to release the album.<sup>99</sup>

Neither Rinzler nor Fowke appear to have known about Asch’s change in direction until

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<sup>96</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 18 Nov. 1966; Peacock Correspondence.

<sup>97</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Moses Asch, 30 Nov. 1966; Peacock Correspondence, Edith Fowke papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>98</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Moses Asch, 30 Nov. 1966; Peacock Correspondence.

<sup>99</sup> Moses Asch, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 14 Jan. 1967; Peacock Correspondence, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A; also see MacEdward Leach, *Songs from the Outports of Newfoundland*. Folkways (FE 4075, 1966).

much later. Two weeks later Rinzler wrote Fowke regarding clearances from the singers and acknowledgments, as the material he had provided for the album had been recorded under the aegis of the Newport Foundation.<sup>100</sup> At the end of January Fowke forwarded Asch the master tape for the album along with a booklet also indicating her concerns about some of the recordings and a discussion of payments, adding, "I think you'll be pleased with the tapes--some of the singers are really hair-raising."<sup>101</sup> Then the project simply went flat, sitting for several years in the Folkways offices.

There are probably several reasons why things were shelved. From Asch's perspective, Leach's album of traditional singers along with an extensive scholarly commentary was closer to his ideal of how a recording should be presented. As the rights to the material rested with Leach alone and, as there were fewer people involved, from costs to clearances, it was less complicated. Then again in the late 1960s Asch's business practices at Folkways were also little erratic (Goldsmith 1998, 390-91). He was in the middle of negotiations with Scholastic Books for a lease agreement which would allow them the rights to market and distribute "noncommercial material in his catalogue" (335). As Goldsmith notes the agreement went into effect in the spring of 1966 and it included practically "the entire Folkways inventory and catalogue" (335).

Peacock made no further attempts to bring the album along, simply because he

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<sup>100</sup> By this time Rinzler had taken up a new position with the Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>101</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Moses Asch, 30 Jan. 1967, Peacock Correspondence. Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A

was overwhelmed with his ethnic projects and Asch had made it clear that he thought the idea should wait. Rinzler was only interested in seeing that the Newport Foundation was acknowledged as his field recordings had been made while he was in their employ. With little else to gain, he too simply let things drop. In his present position at the Smithsonian Institution, he was also preoccupied by the Festival of American Folklife and the American Folklife Center Bill (Gagné 1966: 20-49). Fowke, who had invested considerable time and energy co-ordinating the project, writing the booklet, selecting and annotating the songs, also let the thing go for several years. She too had become engaged in various projects, putting out such works as *Sally Go Round the Sun* (1969), *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folksongs* (1973) and *Ring Around the Moon* (1977).

In the fall of 1977 Fowke asked Moses Asch to send back the material, noting that other plans were in the works:

I prepared these for you at your request in 1967, and as ten years have passed since, I think it is time to cancel out. Topic records in England are anxious to have some Canadian material and will probably produce one or two Newfoundland records."<sup>102</sup>

In June 1978 she also advised Peacock that Topic Records were interested in the Newfoundland project and that while she had requested Asch to send back the material, he appeared to have lost the Rinzler tapes:

I think this time we should aim at one record--partly because we now lack the tapes of Arthur Nicolle and Annie Walters that Ralph Rinzler supplied--and I don't want to get involved with him again, and partly because I

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<sup>102</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Moses Asch, 28 Sept. 1977; Peacock Correspondence, Fowke papers.

think it's wiser to concentrate on the very best songs and get out one excellent record rather than aiming at a larger selection.<sup>103</sup>

Although Fowke and Peacock appear to have pulled together this other album nothing came of the project. The material was left again until the 1980s when, as part of the Newfoundland-centered Revival, a new project would emerge and at least a small sampling of Peacock's field recordings would finally be made available to the public.

#### **9.4 Newfoundland Music and the Rise of Newfoundland Nationalism in the 1960s**

Prior to the release of *Outports*, a small number of the songs Peacock had collected were already in circulation in Newfoundland through others' uses of Doyle's 1955 edition of *Old-Time Songs*. The Doyle material was unique because of its mass appeal both inside and outside Newfoundland where, by the 1960s, it came to be viewed by many as an icon of the province's cultural heritage. New uses were being found for this material in such areas as tourism, advertising, and the production of Newfoundland folk music as an art form.

Shortly before his death Doyle granted the Newfoundland government permission to use twelve songs from his 1955 songster for the tourist publication *Historic*

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<sup>103</sup> Edith Fowke, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 12 June 1978; Peacock Correspondence, Fowke papers.

*Newfoundland* (1955) compiled by Leo English.<sup>104</sup> Among other entries, the pamphlet contained information on Newfoundland dialect and folklore and it proved to be a popular marketing device. The same twelve songs were republished by the Newfoundland government with each subsequent edition including two songs Peacock had earlier passed to Doyle: "I'se the B'y" and "Feller from Fortune" (English 1988 54, 58).<sup>105</sup>

Several songs which Peacock had given to Doyle also appeared in other publications in much the same manner. In 1964, as a marketing device for Robin Hood Flour Mills, the Newfoundland marketing firm of E. J. Bonnell Associates, in collaboration with Omar Blondahl, published *Newfoundlanders Sing! A Collection of Favourite Newfoundland Folksongs* (1964).<sup>106</sup> As Bonnell recalls, the firm manager wanted an attractive promotional item which could be distributed at agricultural fairs and as a gift for those who purchased the product.<sup>107</sup> A musician himself, Bonnell suggested the creation of a songbook and commissioned Omar Blondahl to provide the songs and

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<sup>104</sup>. For a brief biography of English see Diane P. Janes, "English, Leo Edward Francis (1887-1971)," *ENL*, 1: 780.

<sup>105</sup>. Up to 1988, when the last edition was published, the Newfoundland Government had reprinted this publication nineteen times with only minor changes in content.

<sup>106</sup>. Bonnell's choice of Blondahl was strategic because he was such a popular figure. Years later Blondahl would be recognized for providing the inspiration for Newfoundlanders to perform their own material "leading to a revival in Newfoundland folksongs and recordings from other Newfoundland singers"; see "Omar Blondahl Honoured by ECMA," *The Telegram* 21 Jan. 2000: 4; also see Ellen M. Dinn, "Bonnell, Edsel (1935-)," *ENL*, 1: 227.

<sup>107</sup>. Anna Guigné, personal conversation with Edsel Bonnell, 8 Aug. 2001. All quotes from Mr. Bonnell are taken from this conversation.

music for the publication.

In part the Bonnell-Blondahl project was motivated by all three Doyle songbooks being out of print. Without attempting to take away from the Doyle publications they hoped to provide an expanded collection of eighty or so songs compiled by Blondahl and based on what was commonly being sung. Blondahl included many of the songs he had collected on his travels around the province and a few numbers he had composed himself. He also acknowledged the use of materials from existing collections such as Doyle's *Old-Time Songs*, Greenleaf and Mansfield's *Ballads and Sea Songs*, and John White's collection of *Burke's Ballads* (1960) as reference material (1964, 7; Kirwin 1982). More than a dozen of the songs Peacock had first passed to Doyle were re-circulated again through *Newfoundlanders Sing*.

Blondahl prepared the book on manuscript paper and incorporated chord arrangements for both guitar and piano. As the first Newfoundland folksong collection to contain this musical scoring, it was readily accessible and useful to singers. As Bonnell points out, Blondahl's arrangements also tended to lean toward "what he heard in kitchens and the way it's generally sung, as opposed to the way it might have been in some other book or something." This included placing the music in keys suitable for male voices and the untrained voice (Blondahl 1964, 2). Bonnell also notes that with the sponsorship provided by Robin Hood Flour, "It suddenly put a Newfoundland song collection back on the market which was our main purpose" and in keeping with

Blondahl's popularity, the publication was a "resounding success."<sup>108</sup>

By the '60s, songs Peacock had earlier given to Doyle and to Edith Fowke, also turned up in the form of formal choral arrangements. The creation of this material was, in itself, directly linked to the professionalization of music studies in Newfoundland through Memorial University and largely at the hands of musician Ignatius A. Rumboldt (Woodford 1984). Deryck Harnett, who worked for Extension Services in 1971, recalls that Rumboldt prepared lists for the Extension Choirs which were forwarded to choir directors in such areas as Stephenville, Goose Bay, Bay Roberts, Grand Falls and Clarenville to be used by choir directors for making their selections.<sup>109</sup> The Extension Service would then ship out to these groups the required material from the scores which it kept on hand for this purpose.

Harnett notes that the material selected by Rumboldt was "rarely serious," but included a combination of church anthems, Broadway, light folk and light popular music. A perusal of the musical scores which Rumboldt distributed during this period to choral groups, now in the Music Performance Library at the School of Music, suggests that the emphasis was on providing groups with singable musical selections crossing over several musical genres. On the shelves next to such well-known standards as Handel's *Messiah*,

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<sup>108.</sup> Based on the success of this publication Bonnell and Blondahl did all the preparatory work for a second expanded edition, but this plan did not succeed as Robin Hood Flour pulled back from Newfoundland in the 1960s.

<sup>109.</sup> Anna Guigné, personal conversation with Deryck Harnett, June 2000.

J. J. Niles's *I Wonder As I Wander*, *Showboat*, *My Fair Lady* and *The Sound of Music* are scores for contemporary American folksongs such as *Lemon Tree*, American spiritual numbers such as *Roll de 'Ol Chariot*, and Canadian contemporary light folk material such as Gordon Lightfoot's *If You Could Read My Mind* and *Cotton Jenny*. Also sitting on the shelves are copies of Keith Bissell's *Twenty-two Songs for SAB* (1957) containing such Newfoundland songs as "Lukey's Boat" and "I'se the B'ye that Builds the Boat." The collection also includes several dozen copies of Edith Fowke and Richard Johnston's *Folksongs of Canada* (1954) which also contains several songs from Peacock's early fieldwork.

Rumboldt took the more familiar Newfoundland folksongs such as had been published in the Doyle song books or the ever-popular "She's Like the Swallow" collected earlier by Karpeles, and from these created "art form" choral arrangements. It was this kind of material which the St. John's Extension Choir of Memorial University of Newfoundland recorded on its 1966 RCA album *Newfoundlanders Sing Songs of Their Homeland* (RCA CC 1024) (Taft 1975, 44-45).<sup>110</sup>

Other musical groups in St. John's drew upon the Doyle material for public performances. The "Cantabury Singers," formed in 1961 by Eileen Cantwell Stanbury,

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<sup>110</sup> Some attempt was made to create an awareness of Newfoundland music through new compositions. In 1965, the Canadian composer, R. Murray Schafer, at that time an artist in residence at Memorial along with Rumboldt, commissioned Keith Bissell to create "Newfoundland" a nine-minute piece for chorus, brass ensemble and narrator based on a text by Newfoundland poet E. J. Pratt (Woodford 61) but, this kind of composition was exceptional; Helmut Kallmann, "Schafer, R. (Raymond) Murray," *EMC*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1186-1189; Keith Bissell "Newfoundland" unpublished master score, MV-17200-B 623 ne, Canadian Music Centre.

performed Newfoundland folk music as art music (Bown 1981, 326).<sup>111</sup> This female group of eighteen voices, which appeared at Expo 67 and elsewhere across Canada, featured the Doyle material prominently in their repertoire. Anne Darcy Bown, a member in 1967 recalls:

We sang lots of NFLD folksongs, some of our arrangements were done by Mrs. Pat Doyle (now deceased) who was our accompanist and others may have been purchased arrangements. Some of the songs I remember (and I realize that they may not be Peacock's work ) are: Feller from Fortune, I'se the Bye, Great Big Sea Hove in Long Beach, The Pink the Lily and the Blooming Rose, She's Like the Swallow, Cape St. Mary's, Bill Wiseman, Jack Was Every Inch A Sailor."<sup>112</sup>

In the mid-1960s through tourism, recordings, publications, choral and festival performances, the Doyle-type material therefore held a prominent place in both Canada and Newfoundland as the quintessential characterization of the province's folksong tradition.

Shortly before *Outports* was released the Doyle family again approached Peacock to provide assistance with the printing of a fourth edition of *Old Time Songs*. The family's decision to re-issue another songbook was directly connected to two events--the nationwide 1967 centennial celebrations and the province's efforts to celebrate its first fifteen years of union with Canada. Coinciding with the opening of the Trans-Canada

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<sup>111</sup> Eileen Stanbury came up with the name "Cantabury" by combining the first part of her maiden name Cantwell with that of her husband, James Stanbury: thus Cant-a-bury. Fieldnote Anne Darcy Bown 13 Oct. 2003.

<sup>112</sup> Anne Darcy Bown, email to author, 22 Sept. 1997. The group's accompanist, Pat (Patricia) Doyle, was the wife of Gerald S. Doyle's son, Tom.

Highway across the island and a new provincial tourist development program, the government scheduled a "Come Home Year Celebration" aimed at enticing expatriate Newfoundlanders to the province (Pitt 1981, 486-87). The two events, federal and provincial, stimulated much local interest with particular emphasis on the display of Newfoundland heritage and culture. Doyle's sons, now managing the firm, recognized the advertising benefits which the three previous editions had brought to the business. With the 1955 Doyle songbook long out of print, requests for the publication were ongoing.<sup>113</sup>

Mrs. Mary Doyle contacted Peacock in February 1965 seeking his assistance: "We don't want just to get more copies printed, but to bring out another edition and perhaps tie it in with 1967 in Canada or what Newfoundland is planning for '66, a sort of 'Newfoundlanders return home year'."<sup>114</sup> Peacock seemed quite interested in the idea adding "If you are looking for an editor [ . . . ] I would be pleased to take on the job."<sup>115</sup> He also noted that if she wished to use only local material as had been Doyle's policy, there were about "150 songs to choose from" and that they should consider using "chord symbols and photographs of traditional Newfoundland singers and/or scenics" to add additional interest because it might be a "Centennial project."

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<sup>113</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Tom Doyle, 22 July 1996.

<sup>114</sup> Mary Doyle, letter to Kenneth Peacock 25 Feb. 1965; Peacock Correspondence, SAB.

<sup>115</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle, 19 Mar. 1965; Peacock Correspondence, SAB.

Though Mrs. Doyle sent back a letter to work out arrangements and fees, nothing came of the proposition, mainly because Peacock had become too involved with the ethnic research at the National Museum.<sup>116</sup> The Doyles went ahead with the 1966 edition of *Old-Time Songs* but kept to the original format. They incorporated a small sampling of songs from the past three editions including three of the numbers Peacock had first given to Doyle for the 1955 edition (1966: 23, 46 and 28). No attempt was made to adopt Peacock's suggestions of photographs and chords symbols. For the first time the Doyles also included Robert Macleod's rendition of "H'emmer Jane" which Peacock had personally found such an abhorrent representation of Newfoundland culture (49). This updated version of *Old-Time Songs* was well-received by the public because so many of the songs had a familiar ring.<sup>117</sup>

The 1966 Come Home Year celebrations were a success for the Newfoundland government, revealing to those who had moved away the progress and development which had taken place in these first years of confederation. The event did much to stimulate the local economy and for those "committed to modernization" it served as a means to "introduce new ideas and activities to Newfoundland" (Overton 1988, 31). By the late 1960s the face of Newfoundland had started to change through several of the government's revitalization plans: industrial growth, resettlement programs aimed at

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<sup>116</sup> Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle, letter to Kenneth Peacock, 4 April 1965; Peacock Correspondence, SAB.

<sup>117</sup> The family published a fifth and final edition in 1978.

centralizing the distribution of government services, the upgrading of roads, the establishment of park facilities, hospital and school construction.

While many Newfoundlanders enjoyed the new prosperity, for others Smallwood's modernistic view of Newfoundland had become a contentious issue because of the sweeping changes. This "culturalist critique of modernization," influenced heavily by the academic regionalism of Memorial University's Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) and the growth and development of regionalist departments such as folklore studies, asserted that the current Newfoundland culture was under threat of extinction through modernizing and progress (Overton 48 ). Parallel to these events cultural preservationists searching for "an alternative to modern urban life" came to place a new value on "the rural parts of Newfoundland" (49). By the 1970s perspectives such as these, largely emerging within the urban areas of the Newfoundland population, resulted in a renewed interest in Newfoundland nativism and a rejection of Confederation (Linton 1943: 230-40; Wallace 1956: 264-281).

This phenomenon, characterized initially by the columnist, Sandra Gwynn, as a "Newfoundland Renaissance," engendered "Newfcult, the miraculous and exciting revival of art and theatre on Canada's poor, bald rock" (1976, 38). Within this milieu, cultural preservationists simply rejected the over-popularization and romanticism of selective traditional aspects of the way of life including its music, as might be represented by Doyle, Blondahl and Rumboldt. Concurrent with this a "distinct Newfoundland style"

materialized within the arts, crafts, theatre and music, folklore and other regionally-based academic studies both reflecting and interpreting a strong local sentiment pertaining to Newfoundland's heritage and culture (41). The celebration of outport culture then, as the antithesis of modernization, was for urban Newfoundlanders a means of both reconnecting with and preserving the past. Peacock's *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, which highlighted a vital element of rural Newfoundland society and culture, i.e., its musical tradition, complemented this mood exactly. It contained evidence of an authentic, living, unspoiled rural musical tradition, easily accessible for those who wanted to rediscover their roots.

### **Revivalism in Newfoundland 1960s-1980s: The Folk Craze, Folklore and the Newfoundland Folk Renaissance**

In his discussion of folk revivalism Blaustein identifies two distinct currents of thought which he calls "grass-roots preservationism" and "folk romanticism" (1993: 258-274). He notes that they are "rarely separable" and complementary processes that "tend to reinforce one another in a symbiotic fashion" (264). Saugeres sees similar links between the nativistic revival of traditional Newfoundland folk music linked to this 1970s movement and the broader North-American folk revival (1991, 92-105). Many urban Newfoundlanders viewed both the more popularized Newfoundland music as embodied in the Doyle songbooks, and Newfoundland country and western style of music much

associated with the Newfoundland working-class, as being boring and uninteresting.

Revivalists longed to make “Newfoundland traditional songs which had not been popularized” appealing to urban Newfoundlanders “in order to show to Newfoundlanders and non-Newfoundlanders that Newfoundland traditional music was as valuable as any other music” (105).

These developments emerged partially out of the post-Confederation consumerism which swept across Newfoundland in the 1950s and '60s. As elsewhere Newfoundland urban youth were attracted by the massive revival of interest in folk music embracing North America. Far from being isolated, the youth of St. John's in the 1960s were well in tune with North American culture and tastes including the “coffeehouse” as a venue for the performance of folk music. By the late 1960s the idea had caught on in several cities in Canada (Miller 1992, 281) and St. John's was no exception. In 1965 the “Café Y” opened in the basement of the YMCA on New Cove Road. Other coffeehouses followed including Café 22 on Hamilton Avenue and later, The Void Café, located in the back of the Church Lads Brigade Armory at the corner of Parade Street and Harvey Road.

Much of the material initially performed in these settings reflected the prevalent North American tastes. Mary McKim, a university student at the time and just starting her career as a folk singer in St. John's, recalls the milieu of the day:

Café Y was going when I was at Memorial. The whole thing started at Memorial in 1965 and they started Café Y around about that time too. And the whole thing at Memorial being, they were bringing in groups like the Christy Minstrel Singers . . . . [and] the Poso Seco Singers . . . . you

know, groups of six or seven people who sang folk music, played their instruments and did “Walk Right In Sit Right Down Baby Let Your Mind Roll On.” Anyway, here was a lot of American influence. I mean, Joan Baez, every time an album came out from Joan Baez I felt I was getting a letter from my older sister.<sup>118</sup>

Overlapping with the popular interest in North American folk music, the formation of the St. John’s Folk Arts Council in 1966 also stimulated local interest in folk music (Dinn 1984, 243).

In its first few months of operation the Council drew its performers mainly from the St. John’s area. The programs reflected an emphasis on popularized Newfoundland folksongs combined with performances of mainstream North-American folk-revival or “swinging-sixties” material. In one effort to stimulate local interest the Folk Arts Council invited Alan Mills to perform at a concert. By this time though, for many of the St. John’s youth, the Mills variety of Newfoundland folksong seemed a little overdone and therefore less appealing. As Mary McKim recalls: “You very quickly get tired of “Jack Was Every Inch a Sailor.”<sup>119</sup>

In the formative years the Council’s early efforts reflected the contemporary North American popular interest in folksong. One 1967 concert included music from the “In Crowd.” For this segment the audience was treated to performances by the

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<sup>118</sup>. Anna Guigné interview with Mary McKim, 17 Sept. 1997. All subsequent quotes are taken from this session. See “New Christy Minstrels,” *PEPM*, 1998 ed., 924.

<sup>119</sup>. In her recollection McKim uses Blondahl to refer to Mills. This association is interesting in that it reflects the prominence of both men in representing Newfoundland folksong.

“Hidaways” performing *Today* and *Cherish is the Word*, followed by Chris Kearney singing the Gordon Lightfoot number, *Roseanna*, and the “Philadelphia Cream Cheese” band (formed just that year) providing a more contemporary folk rock sound.<sup>120</sup>

As the Folk Arts Council matured over the next couple of years, its emphasis shifted to Newfoundland folk material. Organizers commandeered local St. John’s talent to perform in small communities and they recruited traditional performers from across the province to appear in St. John’s. They sponsored Youth Folk Festivals and encouraged entrants to choose and perform Newfoundland folksongs.<sup>121</sup> The Council was also influenced by the revitalized Canadian interest in folksong and folklore. One 1970 report which it submitted to Newfoundland government drew upon quotes from the National Museum’s folklorist Marius Barbeau, interspersed with references to the province’s place in the “Canadian Mosaic.”<sup>122</sup> The beginnings of a regional cultural consciousness were also apparent. As the Council pointed out, from its inception it had aimed to promote and nurture Newfoundland music and culture through concerts, cultural exchanges,

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<sup>120</sup> Some members of “Cream Cheese” later went on to form “Lukey’s Boat” the forerunner of the influential Newfoundland trad-rock group “Figgy Duff” which, during the 1970s and ’80s, developed a reputation for its progressive use of Newfoundland folk music in an electrified style of delivery. See Saugeres, “Figgy Duff and Newfoundland Culture,” 5 and 103; also see *Folk Arts Festival of the Ages Programme* c. 4 Oct. 1967; St. John’s Folk Arts Council, file 3.04.013, Smallwood Collection O75, CNS-MUN.

<sup>121</sup> “Folk Arts Council Will Sponsor Youth Festival,” *Daily News* 14 Apr. 1969; St. John’s Folk Arts Council, file 3.04.013, Smallwood Collection, CNS-MUN.

<sup>122</sup> “St. John’s Folk Arts Council Brief for Government Support Presented to Government of Newfoundland and Labrador,” [circa 1970,] St. John’s Folk Arts Council.

educational sessions, "Old Time Soirees" and "Folk Dance Instruction."<sup>123</sup>

The Council's interest in local folk music was also nurtured through the research of the newly established Department of Folklore at Memorial University headed by American Herbert Halpert. Halpert pointed out to one local newspaper, "The most important contribution of the Memorial Department of Folklore is to show that there is a place for the tradition of the outports and of old Newfoundland in the modern university, and to make Newfoundlanders proud of their traditions."<sup>124</sup> Pointing to the over-popularity of songs like "Squid-Jiggin' Ground" Halpert also noted that "Young Newfoundlanders often hesitate to sing the myriad of lesser-known songs."

Halpert spoke with considerable authority on the subject of folksongs. Well before arriving in St. John's he had developed a reputation for documenting folklore and folk music. In addition to collaborating with the Lomaxes in the late 1930s and 1940s, he traveled in the southern United States collecting folksongs and music for the Library of Congress, working with George Herzog (Halpert 1992: 442-457). As a functionalist Halpert viewed folklore not as a survival from the past, but a dynamic part of the present. As young Newfoundland folklore students started researching the traditions of their own communities, the folklore collections created by Karpeles, Greenleaf and Mansfield,

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<sup>123</sup>. "St. John's Folk Arts Council Brief for Government Support Presented to Government of Newfoundland and Labrador," St. John's Folk Arts Council.

<sup>124</sup>. Rick Starr, "Folklore Belongs to Groups that Have Things in Common," *Evening Telegram* [St. John's, NF.] c. 1970. Folk Arts Council Collection, Coll-51, CNS-MUN.

MacEdward Leach and Peacock served as a guide.

The discovery of Peacock's work, because it was so new, aroused much interest in the local musical community. In her comments on the "Newfoundland" portion of a 1968 summer festival concert held by the St. John's Folk Arts Council, arts reviewer Averill Baker remarked that some Newfoundland songs were just too overworked:

I know for a fact there are many hundreds of Newfoundland folksongs from which to choose--Kenneth Peacock has collected 1, 020 of them in three volumes which are available in most libraries in this province. "Kelligrews Soiree" and other such well-known songs, although they are catchy and popular, do not deserve to hold a monopoly on the performance of Newfoundland folksongs, and it is a monopoly I would like to see broken.<sup>125</sup>

The timely appearance of Peacock's *Outports* in 1965 provided the province's musical community with an extensive resource full of countless lesser known Newfoundland folksongs. Sr. Mary Catherine Bellamy, former director of the Mercy Convent Glee Club, recalls using the Peacock collection for her students attending the 1966 Kiwanis Music Festival because it offered something different from the Doyle material.<sup>126</sup> She was captivated with the music because it was so different from the standard numbers. When one student decided to sing "Our Island is Covered with Fog" (MS 92) she encouraged him to perform the number in the more traditional manner

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<sup>125</sup> Averill Baker, "Averill's Music," *The Evening Telegram* [St. John's, NF.] 23 Aug. 1968; St. John's Folk Arts Council, Smallwood Collection CNS-MUN.

<sup>126</sup> Personal conversation with Sr. Mary Catherine, St. John's, July 2001. The festival is an annual competitive event for music students and school choral groups ongoing since 1952 and coordinated by the Kiwanis International Service club; see *Kiwanis Music Festival of St. John's: Souvenir Booklet* (St. John's: n. p., 2001) 17.

without accompaniment, although, at his request, she ended up doing an arrangement (Peacock 1965, 1: 89).

*Outports* was also an important resource for musician and educator Don Cook. A native of Newfoundland, Cook received his bachelors degree in music at Mount Allison University, later furthering his education at such institutions as the Royal College of Music, London and the School of Sacred Music in New York (Pitt 1981, 514-15). Returning Newfoundland in 1965, by 1968 he was given the position of Specialist in Music at Memorial, and by the mid 1970s, he was head of the newly established School of Music. Musician and university educator Andrea Rose recalls that in the early days of the School of Music she and other violin students were instructed by Cook to create arrangements based on Peacock's collection.<sup>127</sup>

During his tenure Cook directed various university choirs including the Memorial Chamber Choir between 1977 and 1981. In 1979 this group performed music for the album *Winter's Gone and Past and Other Songs of Newfoundland* (WR-18). For the recording Cook took four of the fourteen selections from the Peacock collection: "Farewell to the Green Shores of Fogo" (MS -47 ); "My Father's Old Sou'wester" (MS-80); "Bonavist Line" (MS-13); and "The Banks of Newfoundland" (16-98). Cook later released two additional publications incorporating Peacock material: *Twelve Songs of Newfoundland for Unison Choir and Classroom Instruments* (1986a) and *Sing the Sea: A*

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<sup>127</sup> Personal conversation with Andrea Rose, St. John's, July 2001.

*Collection of Ten Songs from Newfoundland for Junior and Intermediate Choirs* (1986b).

Although Cook does not acknowledge Peacock, a comparison of the texts with the original audio recordings and Peacock's transcriptions indicates that he used *Outports* as the source for much of this material (1986, 2).

*Outports* also became an important source for local folksingers. Mary McKim recalls her early discovery of the collection:

Somewhere I heard about the Kenneth Peacock [collection], probably on CBC radio or else through the newspaper because my Mom was working for the *Evening Telegram* at that point. But somehow or other I became aware of it and went and tracked it down at the university library and just was so excited because it was, here it was. I was just amazed at the breadth and the depth and the variety . . . . There was one song called "Crazy Jane talks to the Bishop." I remember thinking I can just see it, I can just see it . . . . I did perform quite a few of them. But it wasn't the kind of stuff that went down well at the Folk Club at the coffeehouses.

McKim was not comfortable singing these songs at the time because there was too much of a demand for the North American variety of folksong and she didn't see herself as being a Newfoundland folk singer. McKim moved away from the province for a period, but upon returning in 1976, she was struck by the resurgence of interest in the Peacock material:

Here was Figgy Duff. I'm not sure if they had stopped being Lukey's Boat and started being Figgy Duff, anyway the whole thing had evolved. And Anita Best and all those people who had sort of taken that ball and said "Oh Newfoundland folk music" and run with it. And [they have] really done very wonderful personalized creative contemporary stuff with it . . . . I didn't have to say "Where did this stuff come from?" because I already know it was all out there because Kenneth Peacock had shown me in his books. It was there.

Some Newfoundlanders also viewed Peacock's collection as a distinct remedy to the dominance of Irish and country and western music in the province:

Whether we like it or not we are different from other people. Our weakness is that we seem to hide the things that make us different and grab for the culture and traditions of other countries. That is why we owe a vote of thanks to Ireland and to Nashville, Tennessee for most of our songs. By all means let us thank them but we don't have to adopt them do we? It is not as if we are short of songs and ballads . . . Kenneth Peacock published a three volume collection of songs he recorded in Newfoundland. His books cost a total of \$15 and contain over 400 songs which should be plenty to keep a folk singer in material for a long time. He even includes the music. So it should be no trouble getting started (Collins 1974, 12).

Peacock's collection also served as a guide for folklorists who discovered that many of the informants named in his publication were still living. As both professors and graduate students readily discerned, many of these people were receptive to being interviewed more broadly about their traditional culture. The working collections created by Herbert Halpert, John Widdowson, Kenneth Goldstein and Gerald Thomas (to name a few), which were amassed during the 1960s, '70s and '80s, all contain substantial references to Peacock's informants. Many of their names also turn up among the student papers contained in the archival holdings at MUNFLA.<sup>128</sup>

As the "Newfoundland Renaissance" evolved throughout the 1970s, several local musicians re-focused their interests on Newfoundland-centered folk music, putting aside the revival of interest in North American folk music. During this period *Outports* also

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<sup>128</sup> For specific examples see the entries under MUNFLA in Part 2 of the bibliography "Unpublished Sources" page 726.

offered a resource for experimenting with a new musical style linked to the province's distinct traditional music, but in keeping with a more contemporary delivery growing out of the influence of the British folk-rock movement. As Saugeres notes, this revival was comparable to the movement in North America in that it was "also a reaction to modernization and tended to idealize and romanticize the past and rural life" (88).

Initially the British were attracted to American folk, but the emergence of a nationalist sentiment in the 1950s created a demand for British-first music. As accounts by Woods (1979) and Munroe (1984) illustrate, the work of the early British collectors provided the repertoire for singers. Later, the work of the BBC collectors and producers broke entirely new ground presenting this material on radio programs such as "As I Roved Out" and "Radio Ballads" (1979, 45; 1984, 29). By the late 1960s the popular interest in folksong was becoming superceded by the growth of rock. One result was a blending of the two musical forms in the form of "folk-rock or trad-rock" as first represented in 1968 by the group "Fairport Convention" and by "Steeleye Span" (Saugeres 89). It was this kind of music which stimulated some young St. John's musicians to form the first Newfoundland trad-rock group "Figgy Duff" and in turn to make use of *Outports*.<sup>129</sup>

Kelly Russell, who was a member of this group between 1975 and 1977, recalls the influence of "Fairport Convention" in arousing his early interest in playing the violin:

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<sup>129</sup>. See "Fairport Convention," and "Steeleye Span," *PEPM*, 1998 ed., 423-424 and 1237.

I didn't grow up with any sort of folk music or traditional music at all. My dad had the tremendous interest in Newfoundland of course and so did my mother . . . . but not in a folk music sense at all . . . . As a matter of fact, the only exposure I had to fiddle music and that sort of thing was like *Don Messer's Jubilee* on television which I absolutely hated . . . . Fairport Convention, I would have to say, is what inspired me to play the fiddle. The friends that I was hanging around with at the time, you know, Bob Hong and all that crowd from the Student Union Centre. I was very young when I first heard Fairport. I was about sixteen years old. These guys were listening to those groups. And then Steeleye Span came into being and this whole revival, this whole folk-rock thing, started happening coming out of England and Ireland. It was happening here simultaneously with Figgy Duff. But the *Leige and Lief* album, that medley of fiddle tunes Fairport did on that album, I heard that with the bass and the drums and the electric guitar and[?]around with the fiddle and [said] "Yes I want to do that."<sup>130</sup>

When Russell joined Figgy Duff in the 1970s the group's leader, Noel Dinn (1947-1993), was already drawing on material from the Peacock collection to stylize a distinct native Newfoundland regional trad-rock sound:

Shortly after I took an interest in Newfoundland music and traditional music generally and started playing the fiddle, I soon became aware of the fact that there was a Newfoundland repertoire; that there was more to this than Irish songs and Irish fiddle tunes. There was a Newfoundland repertoire as well. And Noel was very instrumental in creating an awareness and that. Even before I started playing with Figgy Duff I was aware of the existence of this folksong collection. Noel had it, had the three volumes. Figgy Duff, some of the very first repertoire that we did was gleaned from those books. It was really the traditional musician's bible at the time. It was the only source. Being here in St. John's it was the only real source that we had until we started traveling out around . . . . I can see Noel now sitting at the piano in the hallway of 13 Power Street. That's where they kept the piano because it couldn't fit into the living room. And [he] was sitting down with one of those Peacock books open.

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<sup>130</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kelly Russell, 29 July 1996. All subsequent quotes are taken from this session. See also Fairport Convention, *Liege and Lief*, Island Records (ILPS 9115, 1969).

He couldn't actually read music, but he'd get someone else to read the notes for him to play in the melody and once he had the melody of the song Noel would start working on piano arrangements. He'd sit there at the piano for hours just working out arrangements to these songs which he would then bring to the band. Something he was doing on his left hand on the piano, he'd try to get the bass to play that. He'd try to get me on the fiddle or a mandolin to play some line, some kind of counter melody line that he had come up with to complement the song. Basically he'd pretty much instruct or teach each one of the musicians approximately what he wanted to play and we'd sort of put it all together and there it was--boom. I guess that's what composers do.

The group's pioneering use of *Outports* paved the way for other Newfoundland revivalist musicians to follow suit, adding songs from this resource to their own repertoire. As Russell recalls:

Early songs from the collection [which we first sang were] "Johnny Cochrane," "Johnny Dunlay" which Pam [Morgan] sang. My goodness just let me get the book . . . {Russell reaches for a volume of *Outports* from a shelf nearby and starts skimming through it.} This is all very early Figgy Duff repertoire. In fact the first instrumental piece Figgy Duff ever played in the way of like a fiddle or accordion tune came from this book. It was a piece of chin music that's in this book called the "Cuckoo's Nest" which I think it was Nelly Musseau who [performed it]. So the "Cuckoo's Nest," we used to play that just as an instrumental and sing the little verse. {Russell hums a few bars} I mean all through Figgy Duff, the late '80s and that, they were still drawing songs from here. I mean stuff on their albums and that, the "Tinker Behind the Door," "The Greenland Disaster" came out of this book. Pam has been singing for years a song which is "My Gallant Brigantine" which is in here . . . "Green Shores of Fogo," that's a song that's become really popular and a lot of other people have done it. Pam used to sing it in the early Duff years, Jean Hewson recorded it on her album *Early Spring* which is another song that came out of here. Charlotte Decker sang "Early Spring." And Jean Hewson recorded that song and in fact as recently as a couple of months ago when we put together this group called Bristol's Hope which includes Pam and Anita and we do a version of "Early Spring" which is out of Peacock. So, as far back as '74, '75 right till now, this book has been, you know, [a] fabulous

source of material, a Newfoundland folk musician's bible. {Russell continues to scan through *Outports* then resumes his discussion. "The Banks of Newfoundland," that's been done. Tickle Harbour recorded that on their very first album *The Hare's Ears* which was done in the late '70s I'm pretty sure they recorded "The Maid of Newfoundland" or was it Red Island? Red Island did it. That's right. "Bright Phoebe" was, in fact this goes back before Figgy Duff. When Lukey's Boat were on the go they used to dabble a little bit in folksongs. Lukey's Boat did, unfortunately the band never recorded, but Lukey's Boat used to do "Bloody Gardener." They used to do "The Bloody Gardener" and "Bright Phoebe" another one that came from Charlotte Decker. I think the first Newfoundland folksong from the Peacock collection that I ever heard was probably "The Bloody Gardener" because that was one that Noel was working on when I came to the first rehearsal.

In the ensuing years many of Peacock's informants also gained recognition through contact with various musicians in search of their traditional roots. Pamela Morgan of the group Figgy Duff recalls:

Well we, after using Peacock for a while, you start to notice the pattern that you know your favourite songs or the favorite melodies came from a certain singer or came from a certain area. So, we just went out to the area to find the singer. If the singer was alive, it was great. If they weren't we'd just sort of ask around who was the singer in the region. But we were very fortunate to have met, we met Charlotte Decker and Freeman Bennett and Becky Bennett and Philip Foley and those were the main ones that I remember. [We] actually managed to find and hear them sing the songs.<sup>131</sup>

Others, including Philip Foley, Gerald Campbell, Guillaume (Willie) Robin, also made contributions to *Come and I Will Sing You* (1984) a collaborative effort by one-time folklore student Genevieve Lehr, along with fellow folklore student and folksinger Anita Best and singer Pamela Morgan. As Best notes, the publication was inspired in part by

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<sup>131</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Pamela Morgan, 8 Nov. 1998.

the works of Peacock, Karpeles and Greenleaf and Mansfield (xi).

Several of these singers were invited to perform as traditional artists at festivals hosted by the St. John's Folk Arts Council and at other celebrations both inside and outside the province. A perusal of the annual St. John's Folk Arts Council Festival programs for the 1970s and '80s indicates that members of Memorial's Folklore Department frequently participated with the planning of this event and its researchers often served as gatekeepers, making organizers aware of singers interviewed by Peacock and other collectors.

In 1975, Lucie and George Cormier along with Frank McArthur, a relative of Allan MacArthur, accompanied folklorist Margaret Bennett to the Mariposa Folk festival performing some of their traditional songs.<sup>132</sup> Gerald Campbell also attended the festival around this same time (Usher and Page-Harper, 1977, 216). The Bennetts of St. Paul's were invited to perform at the "Good Entertainment II" festival held at Lomand, Gros Morne National Park, 1978.<sup>133</sup> One outcome of all this is that several of Peacock's informants have since been profiled in books, film and local newspapers. They have also

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<sup>132</sup> See *Mariposa Folk Festival-1975*, eds. David Essig and Bill Usher, Thunder Sound (RCA-Toronto MS-75-001, 1976) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

<sup>133</sup> In MUNFLA, see material from the "Good Entertainment for Anyone's Not Used to It Festival," St. John's LSPU Hall, 12, 13, Nov. 1977; Accession 78-231, and the MUNFLA and Marie I. Bowman, Collection which contains material from Good Entertainment 2; Accession 78-361. For the second of these festivals also see "Good Entertainment 2: This Year's Newfoundland Folklife Festival to be Held in Beautiful Gros Morne," *Newfoundland Herald* 23 Aug. 1978 : 8-9.

received special tributes.<sup>134</sup> This kind of recognition has signaled a local respect for these and other traditional singers as performers in their own right and worthy of some attention.

### 9.5 Making the Pigeon Inlet Recording *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*

In 1982, musician now turned record producer, Kelly Russell, decided to issue a collection of some of Peacock's field recordings. Russell left Figgy Duff in 1977 and branched out into other folk music activities. He collaborated with various musicians including singer-songwriter Jim Payne and, with a small Canada Council grant, he started collecting fiddle tunes. In 1979, Russell founded the recording company Pigeon Inlet Productions with the aim of producing records of traditional and regional arts (Rosenberg 1982: 30-33+56). Through Russell's efforts new life was given to the Fowke-Rinzler-Peacock project of the 1960s.

In 1982, Russell and Payne were hired by then university professor and musician, Ted Rowe, to perform at the annual meeting of the CFMS being held that year in St. John's (Rowe 1983, 3). It was here that Russell met the Canadian folksong specialist, Edith Fowke. While they were discussing Newfoundland folksongs, she suggested that if

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<sup>134</sup> Allan MacArthur's life became the subject of Margaret Bennett's MA. folklore thesis (1975) and her later work *The Last Stronghold: Scottish Gaelic Traditions in Newfoundland* (1989) is based on this study. See also Colin Low, dir., *The Songs of Chris Cobb*, National Film Board of Canada, 1968; "Traditional Singer Gerald Campbell Likes to Play for Dances Weddings," *The Newfoundland Herald* 17 May, 1978; and "A Tribute to Josephine Costard," *Down the Pond: St. John's Folk Arts Council 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Newfoundland and Labrador Folk Arts Festival*, (St. John's: St. John's Folk Arts Council, 1982).

Russell was ever in Ottawa he should look up Peacock and attempt to listen to his original recordings:

And here we were in Newfoundland and the conversation came around to Kenneth Peacock. And she said "Have you ever met him?" And I said "No." I hadn't really considered him as being a person. He was just the name of the guy who did the collection, right. And she said "Oh he lives in my home town." She said "He lives in Ottawa. I know him quite well. I see him quite often." And I said "That's amazing, I'd love to meet him some time" and we got talking about it." And she said "You know all the recordings of the songs a lot of the recordings he made are in the National Museum. You know you might get in get a chance to get in and maybe listen to them sometime."

A short time later, on a trip to Ottawa with fiddler Rufus Guinchard and Jim Payne,

Russell took Fowke up on her suggestion:

So I thought this was great. So anyway me and Jim Payne and Rufus Guinchard were playing in Ottawa and I got out the telephone book and looked him up and I phoned him and asked him if we could get together and we met. And by this time the whole idea of getting ahold of the recordings and perhaps releasing them had occurred to me and Kenneth Peacock was very open to the idea and he got the tapes out of the National Museum and had them sent to me along with the photographs.

Despite all the research that had taken place since the release of *Outports* none of Peacock's field recordings had ever been made public by the National Museum of Canada. Remarkably, up to the early 1980s MacEdward Leach's *Songs of the Outports of Newfoundland* (1966) was the only existing collection of field recordings of Newfoundland singers to be published.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Two people interviewed by Peacock also appear on this album; Anastasia Ghaney performs "The Lass of Glenshee" while Mike Kent sings "The Nightingale" and "The Tree."

Peacock immediately embraced Russell's proposal. Having left the idea of bringing out any field recordings far behind with the Rinzler effort, he was thrilled that Newfoundlanders themselves were showing an interest in his collection. Writing to Fowke he commented:

The Museum is very sympathetic to this new project [ . . .]. Kelly seemed interested in producing a more documentary and 'homey' type of album which would involve the listeners more [ . . . ]. Many thanks for all your efforts then and now.<sup>136</sup>

Sending a note to Kelly Russell the same day he commented:

It was so good to meet you, Jim Payne and Rufus Guinchard during your recent visit to Ottawa to perform at the N[ational] A[rts]C [enter] in conjunction with the presentation of the Newfoundland play "CFMS." I enjoyed your playing and singing immensely and was pleased to learn that you found my book *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* so useful as source material.<sup>137</sup>

Peacock recounted to Russell the Rinzler episode which had taken place in the late 1960s advising him as well that he would go to the Museum to re-dub the material for the album as some of Rinzler's recordings were mixed in with his. Reiterating his delight at having the project back in Newfoundland, Peacock added:

As you suggested, I would be delighted to provide informal background notes on the singers and their songs [ . . . ] and if you think additional

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<sup>136</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 19 Nov. 1982; Kenneth Peacock correspondence, box 2, file 3, accession 432/88.13, Edith Fowke Papers, UCLSC-A.

<sup>137</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to Kelly Russell, 19 Nov. 1982, Kenneth Peacock correspondence, courtesy Kelly Russell.

notes of a more academic bent are needed, we could approach Edith [Fowke] to do them.”<sup>138</sup>

As the details of the project were worked out over the next few months Peacock agreed to provide a personal reminiscence of his fieldwork with the notes to the songs being left up to Edith Fowke. Funding for the idea was secured through the CFMS, a first for this organization as well (Rogers 1984, 1).

The project was both meaningful and exciting for Russell. He recalls hearing the field recordings of the singers for the first time and that this provided him with an entirely new perspective on the material in *Outports*: “When I heard the original versions, there’s a whole feel . . . . I know that “Early Spring,” what’s written in the book, when she sings it, it’s more free time, there’s a whole feel to the song.”<sup>139</sup>

Released in 1984 the album, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, contained an eight-page liner insert with comments, textual transcriptions and annotations by Edith Fowke, photographs of the singers provided mainly by Peacock, along with a rare personal reminiscence of his collecting experiences.<sup>140</sup> In an attempt to represent the diversity of the singing tradition within Newfoundland, Fowke selected a cross-section of fifteen songs from Peacock’s collection with some suggestions from Russell. One side of

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<sup>138</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Kelly Russell, 19 Nov. 1982.

<sup>139</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kelly Russell, 29 July 1996.

<sup>140</sup>. *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, notes by Edith Fowke and commentary by Kenneth Peacock, Pigeon Inlet (PIP 7319, 1984) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

the album consists of locally composed numbers and the other of materials of mainly British origin. As a total package it reflects both Russell's native interest in bringing a more public persona to the singers and his appreciation for the magnitude of Peacock's work.

As albums go, even though Russell received some financial assistance from the CFMS, it was a costly production. While singers such as those in the Peacock collection are respected and celebrated for their talents, Russell found that at the time there simply wasn't a market for field recordings:

The album really never sold. We made a thousand copies of that and it was done with the assistance of the Canadian Folk Music Society who purchased five hundred. So that helped defray the cost of producing the album, the fact that I had an immediate sale for five hundred. So they took five hundred copies [and] I took the other five hundred. And well, the five hundred I had were distributed around stores and gradually sold very very--it didn't hit the top forty we'll say--far from it. In fact I lost money on it. I'm pretty sure I lost money on it because I wanted to do a really good production. I wanted to produce the book which went inside and some liner notes you know, some comments from Peacock. And I wanted a photograph of every singer and all that and I had to track down some of these photos myself. Some of these came from Peacock. Other ones I had to--this one of Leonard Hulan I got through his family--one or two other ones that you won't see in the book.

At the time Russell's album was a pioneering effort and it led the way for other productions of traditional performances. The album was a welcome contribution both the Canadian and Newfoundland folk revivals in that, for the first time, it allowed the voices of the singers themselves to be heard. The making of *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* also represented a merging of both Canadian and Newfoundland folk revival

interests. As Tim Rogers, a member of the CFMS and editor of their *Bulletin* observed:

I think most every one of us realizes that folksongs rendered in books are a poor substitute for the vital and human expression that can be achieved in live performance. Before the release of this album the songs in Peacock's books suffered this problem. But now that the album is available we can have access to the real McCoy. We can be transported to Newfoundland living rooms and kitchens and hear these songs as they were sung--in their home context. To listen to these performances brings the songs to life with vitality and energy that has to be heard to appreciate (1984, 1).

The release of the field recordings of the singers also brought things full circle for Peacock in terms of the Newfoundland work and he felt a certain sense of closure. As he informed Edith Fowke in the beginning stages of the project:

As I told him [Kelly Russell], I rather like the idea of a Newfoundland record company bringing back to Newfoundland the songs I recorded during the 1951-61 decade. For me, it is all very refreshing that a new approach can be taken with my Newfoundland material after 16 years (!).<sup>141</sup>

Following the release of the Pigeon Inlet recording, Peacock had little to do with Newfoundland. From time to time he would have the occasional visit from some Newfoundland musician interested in meeting him or from someone looking for permission to publish material from his collection. As always, he was very generous with his time and he had a willingness to see anyone and everyone benefit from the use of this material.

In 1996, in recognition of his Newfoundland work, Peacock was invited to be a

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<sup>141</sup>. Kenneth Peacock, letter to Edith Fowke, 19 Nov. 1982; Kenneth Peacock correspondence, courtesy, Kelly Russell.

keynote speaker at the Phenomenon of Singing: Sharing the Voices International Symposium, held in St. John's 20-23 June 1997. When I asked him what he might like to discuss, he commented that he did not want to talk about Newfoundland because "people in Newfoundland know much more about what's going on in Newfoundland than I do now."<sup>142</sup> Having spent a lifetime collecting from so many different singing traditions Peacock thought he might look at how singing influences culture. He was also considering a presentation on the Doukhobors because he was fascinated with their vocal production. Although deeply honored by the invitation, Peacock eventually decided not to come because, by this time, he had too many health issues. He also admitted that after all these years he might find the changes in Newfoundland a little too much to handle.

Over the course of the previous nine chapters I have provided an account of Peacock's contribution to the documentation of Canada's musical traditions, his work for the National Museum of Canada and his distinct role within the Canadian folk revival. Peacock's influence with both the Canadian and Newfoundland folk revivals has been far-reaching. Through his field recordings and his publications Peacock successfully altered Canadians' perceptions of the depth and diversity of Newfoundland's folksong tradition. For Newfoundlanders wanting to learn more about their musical traditions, *Outports* has been an essential guide. For the people of Newfoundland, Peacock's legacy is long lasting. As Peacock once observed, his main intention in printing so much

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<sup>142</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 26 Oct. 1996.

material was to make available “a private archive to the greatest number of people, who otherwise would have to spend much time and effort searching the archives individually” (1969, 77).<sup>143</sup> With *Outports* he effectively did this. Many musicians continue to use *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* as a source for the revitalization of their own musical traditions. His field recordings are another long-lasting gift, providing endless material on singers and songs and regional singing traditions. The value of his work goes beyond this because his research provided a pathway for others to follow, thereby building on his initial explorations in the years to come.

Throughout the course of my research two perspectives of Peacock’s work have emerged. For researchers using *Outports*, Peacock’s editing methods have been an irritant. He was interested in standardizing texts and publishing good melodies and he often collated material. He also showed a lack of interest in folksong documentation simply because it did not interest him. Conversely, through the creation of his massive field collection, Peacock has made an inestimable contribution toward the documentation of Newfoundland folksong. Chapter 10 is a departure in that I offer an analytical method for those who wish to have a clearer understanding of his approach and how *Outports* relates back to his vast field collection of recordings and transcriptions.

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<sup>143</sup>. Volume one contains 132 titles out of which 21 have additional variants. Volume 2 contains 135 titles with 27 additional variants. Volume three contains 144 titles with 30 additional variants.

## Chapter 10 Analysis of the Peacock Collection

*Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* was celebrated by revivalists as the richest-ever treasury of the province's musical traditions, but it was inevitable that with the growth of folklore research at Memorial University from the late 1960s, researchers would begin to discover limitations in Peacock's work. In the fall of 1965, Herbert Halpert was approached by Graham George, then president of the CFMS, in relation to its ambitious plans to institute a nation-wide folksong collecting project. The association aimed to produce research which would involve the collection, transcription and analysis of folk music and the eventual publication of a report. As George envisioned the proposal, it would be funded in part by the provincial governments across the country with additional funds coming from the federal government. Peacock was the natural choice for Newfoundland.

Halpert saw some fundamental weaknesses in both the CFMS project and Peacock's research. In a cautiously worded letter he commented, "It seems to us that the recent appearance of Kenneth Peacock's three splendid volumes of 'Songs of the Newfoundland Outports' and the existence of his extensive unpublished records, suggest that the use of a Newfoundland grant needs to be more precisely defined than simply 'putting a scholar in the field each summer'."<sup>1</sup> He suggested that if the provincial

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert Halpert, letter to Graham George, 25 Nov. 1965; Graham George correspondence, vol. 2813, file no. 14, Creighton collection, NSARM.

government were to be involved with assigning any grant for research, the monies would more appropriately be directed toward MacEdward Leach, who would then be in a position to finish work he had started several years previously.

Leach and Halpert shared a long and close friendship. As Halpert was aware, Leach was professionally trained in his collecting and therefore the more logical choice. He was also anxious to see something done with Leach's earlier fieldwork which remained as yet unpublished. As he pointed out to Graham George, "another season of field-work would provide him with the material for a really valuable comparative study of the folk-music tradition in the communities he studied some ten years ago."<sup>2</sup> In the end nothing came of the CFMS's proposed project. By late 1966 Leach's health was failing.<sup>3</sup> He died in 1967 sadly leaving nothing published from his 1950 and 1951 material except the Folkways record *Songs From the Outports of Newfoundland* (1966).

Halpert's lack of enthusiasm for Peacock's work and his preference for that of Leach largely reflected his impression that Canadian folklore research lagged behind that

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<sup>2</sup> Herbert Halpert, letter to Graham George, 25 Nov. 1965; Graham George correspondence, Creighton collection, NSARM.

<sup>3</sup> Halpert continued to press Leach to publish something on his earlier Newfoundland research. Halpert had begun to encounter individuals whom Leach had earlier interviewed during his own Newfoundland field explorations. He therefore suggested to Leach that he would provide the field assistance needed to complete the Newfoundland book. Leach had intended to take Halpert up on his offer, also making him aware that the National Museum was prepared to arrange funds for the furtherance of his work. In September 1966, as Leach's health had begun to fail, Roy proposed postponing everything until the following summer. See Herbert Halpert, letter to MacEdward Leach, 15 July 1966, and MacEdward Leach, letter to Herbert Halpert, 19 Sept. 1966; Leach correspondence, MUNFLA, 78-054; At the LAD-CMC also see MacEdward Leach, letter to Carmen Roy, 6 Jan. 1966, and "Draft of Contract-Sept. 30, 1966"; Lea-D-92 and Lea-D-108 MacEdward Leach Collection.

in the United States in terms of both theory and analysis. As Halpert was also on the threshold of seeing a folklore department become a reality at Memorial under his direction, he was understandably concerned about both the professional and scholarly nature of any research which might come out of a project such as that being proposed by the CFMS.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s Halpert was one of a number of American scholars who had been endeavoring to professionalize folklore.<sup>4</sup> Several scholars emerged during this period who advocated for more rigorous criteria for documenting folklore. For example, in an article entitled "Standards for Collecting and Publishing American Folklore" Halpert's colleague, Richard M. Dorson, purposefully demarcated the requirements for scholarly folklore research publications so as to make the distinction between this material and publications popularizing folklore. Dorson argued that many folklore collectors treated their materials in such a way as to lead to romantic, quaint stereotypes which he labeled as "fakelore." (1957: 53-57). As one way of locating folklore research within the discipline he advocated that researchers aim for "accuracy and supporting data" in gathering their texts and to provide "sketches of informants and settings" along with "comparative notes." He also made the distinction between edited texts with verbatim transcriptions of informants' words and "rewriting" (56-57).

In the fall of 1966, Halpert had a first-hand opportunity to judge Peacock's work

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<sup>4</sup> The Indiana Folklore Summer Institute sessions, which had been held regularly since 1942, typified this initiative.

for himself. As he advised Leach, he planned to go to the Great Northern Peninsula to investigate mummering traditions following up on a lead supplied by Jane Clouston Hutchings, a nurse at Cow Head. John Widdowson, who accompanied Halpert, noted in his field diary that when Halpert compared their names with those in *Outports* he recognized that they were “some of the great singers of the Northern Peninsula that Peacock had published in his three volume work.”<sup>5</sup> The field trip to Rocky Harbour, St. Paul’s and Parson’s Pond also provided them with an opportunity to see how Peacock actually treated his material:

So a secondary purpose of the field trip was to get samples of these singers, not to replace Peacock in any way but to check out, this is our informal intention, how reliable Peacock was in his transcriptions of songs, texts and music. Did he, as Halpert cruelly suspects, change things, improve things in line with his principle? [sic] of getting out a singable collection of songs.<sup>6</sup>

Through their broad field investigations Halpert and Widdowson had little difficulty re-collecting many of the songs Peacock had earlier gathered along with additional detail on the songs and the singers. They also provided a valuable first-hand account of the influence of Peacock’s work. Charlotte Decker’s volumes of *Outports* were “already dog-eared and dirty where they had been used.”<sup>7</sup> They were also able to

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<sup>5</sup> Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, “1966 Field Trip to the Northern Peninsula,” Unpublished manuscript, Field Collection, Great Northern Peninsula, MUNFLA, accession, 66-024, pg. 001. My thanks to Drs. Halpert and Widdowson for granting access to this material and giving permission to quote from the fieldnotes.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, “1966 Field Trip to the Northern Peninsula,” pg. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, “1966 Field Trip to the Northern Peninsula,” pg. 87.

confirm (at least to themselves) that Peacock's published versions often differed substantively from what the singers had given him. These observations were as a matter of course passed on to their students. From the late 1960s onward students and researchers from the Folklore department made their way across Newfoundland conducting fieldwork. They too encountered several of Peacock's informants, often finding discrepancies between the singers' renditions and what Peacock had actually published.

Errors in Peacock's work were picked up elsewhere. John I. White in *Git Along Little Dogies: Songs and Song Makers of the American West* observed that Peacock's note on the antiquity of "Old Grandma" (6-38), which he had recorded from Mrs. Rossiter, was totally incorrect; White had actually authored the song some forty years before (1975, 183). As White pointed out, the mistake had carried through to others' work. Peacock had earlier given the song to Fowke, she then published it in *Folksongs of Canada* and in an article "American Cowboy and Western Pioneer Songs in Canada" which appeared in *Western Folklore* (183). Knowledge of these kinds of errors quickly filtered back to researchers at Memorial.<sup>8</sup>

In the early 1980s, while working on the Pigeon Inlet album, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, Edith Fowke and Kelly Russell had also noticed incongruities between Peacock's audio recordings and his printed texts. As Russell recalls:

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<sup>8</sup> Neil V. Rosenberg, a member of my supervisory committee, highlighted this error in 1996 shortly after I had begun researching Peacock's activities.

I think mostly it was Peacock's lack of understanding of the dialect of Newfoundland, and where he didn't understand certain words and phrases he came up with what he thought it would be. One perfect example of this is in "The Greenland Disaster" which Figgy Duff recorded "There's two young Quidi Vidi boys, there's Chilly and Court Down" is what he's got here. Right. Those are two names. The guy's name is Chilly and the other guy's name is Court Down. And Edith figured this out years later. She said "No, the lyric is actually 'There's two young Quidi Vidi boys that's chilly and cut down. Is cold and dead.'" Right. And so there's a lot of little things like that. And, if you compare the transcriptions here with some of his, you'll see that these are more accurate. And I took the liberty of getting a more exact translation because I understood the dialect and I checked it with some other people. I know that Anita [Best] said that there's some glaring errors and there's passages where he's changed the melody and he's changed the lyrics considerably. And she thought it was because he thought it would make a better song if he did this which I think is a definite no-no for a folklore collector. Whether he actually did that or not I don't know. I haven't studied it. But I do know that there are occurrences where, and I would say in all fairness would say, that's where he didn't understand the dialect.<sup>9</sup>

In the liner notes to the album *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (1984) Fowke directly addressed Peacock's editing:

Although all the songs on the record are printed in Peacock's books, the texts given here differ somewhat from his. Some of Mr. Peacock's texts are composites from different versions of the songs and some include corrections or additions that the singers gave him later. I have tried to make the texts conform as closely as possible to the versions on the records, although in a few spots the dialect baffled me (1984, 1).

Fowke's corrections point to the need for further examination of Peacock's techniques of transcription.

In 1987, Neil V. Rosenberg negotiated with the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture

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<sup>9</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kelly Russell, 29 July 1996.

Studies (CCFCS), to have the audio portion of Peacock's Newfoundland song collection copied onto tapes and forwarded to MUNFLA.<sup>10</sup> The audiotapes were eventually transferred to 71 audio cassettes and placed under Accession 87-157 along with a copy of Peacock's unpublished Inventory of Field Tapes showing the chronological list of his recordings between 1951 and 1961.<sup>11</sup> Students having access to the collection started comparing Peacock's published transcriptions with the tapes and also found errors. Similar questions also arose among performers with respect to some of Peacock's annotations. One such example is the origin of "The Green Shores of Fogo" (MS-47).

Pamela Morgan observes:

I'll tell you a story about that. Peacock didn't have a tape recorder when he went to Fogo. He just, he remembered; I think that he used the melody for "The Country I'm Leaving Behind," for the "Green Shores of Fogo." But I've never heard anybody use that melody for that song. The melody they have is similar but it's substantially different.<sup>12</sup>

While Peacock acknowledges that the song was "patterned on a much older Irish song" with the title "The Country I'm Leaving Behind," he considers it to be a "native love song" (522). Comparison of the Peacock variant with "The Country I'm Leaving Behind" published in *Irish Emigrant Ballads and Songs* suggests that the song is a variant of the Irish song (Wright 1975, 123). One interesting response is that students using

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<sup>10</sup> Renée Landrey, letter to Dr. Neil Rosenberg, 22 Apr. 1987; Peacock collection, MUNFLA, Accession 87-157.

<sup>11</sup> This did not include any of the songs Peacock had transcribed in manuscript between 1951 and 1952.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Pamela Morgan, 9 Nov. 1998.

MUNFLA copies of *Outports* and Mercer's *Ballads and Songs in Print* which also contains the title and first line of the song, have tended to leave their own marginalia next to such songs as a way of correcting Peacock's mistakes. This kind of activity reflects peoples' frustration with using Peacock's collection. It also leads to ongoing speculation from local folklorists, researchers and singers as to the accuracy of his transcriptions.

Part of the problem for scholars is that they automatically assume that because Peacock created his collection under the sponsorship of the National Museum of Canada he was guided by solid principles of folklore research. Upon first examination the publication appears to have some semblance of a scholarly approach; there are footnotes and Child ballad numbers along with some reference to singers and communities or origin. Upon closer examination its limitations become apparent. Although people know Peacock edited his collection, they are uncertain of the principles guiding his treatment. There is no standard by which to measure Peacock's editing techniques or how he treated the material he assembled for publication.

### **10.1 Historical Precedence for Treating Collections**

The idea of revamping texts and music is an old one linked directly to the literary tradition. Halpert and Widdowson note that we owe much to the "unscholarly" work of Bishop Percy, Sir Walter Scott, and the Grimms" who gave us large collections, inspired

others to follow in their footsteps, leading to the establishment of the folklore discipline (1986, 40). As they also point out, these scholars have had a lasting impact in other ways by preparing “readable texts that would appeal to a wide audience of educated readers” (40). As Reeves observes in *Idiom of the People* (1958), it was this same tradition which Cecil Sharp and his colleagues of the English Folk Dance and Song society inherited and they too re-wrote songs and often supplied new words of their own (8-9). Although Sharp collected upwards of 800 songs, of those he did put into print “scarcely any have hitherto been published exactly as they were taken down” (23). Sharp was constrained in his work by having to shape the music for performance and publication. He had a particular interest in the tunes and he had Victorian notions about word corruptions and the bawdy content of some of the material which might offend public decency (11-13). The consequence of Sharp’s work was such that “a folk product was turned, to a considerable extent into an ‘art product’” (7).

Scholars have tended to group the activities of these collector-antiquaries. As Zug points out in “The Ballad Editor as Antiquary: Scott and the Minstrelsy,” in the inherited tradition individual editors did develop their own style, interests and motivations (1976: 57-73). Scott’s theory of the decay of tradition led him to two specific treatments of materials: “conjectural emendations and the fusion of diverse variants to ensure a complete text” (60). In a comparable example, Frank Kidson, a founding member of the Folk-Song Society, exercised a partiality to tunes while having

little time for folk speech itself (Reeves 1958, 3). This led him to censor material he thought to be inappropriate while at the same time adapting material from broadsides.

The touchstones have changed greatly over the years. As Halpert and Widdowson point out, it would be “historically absurd to apply present standards” to the work of these early antiquaries, yet as they also observe in terms of editing, “some of their practices have not died out completely” (40). While new technology in the form of the tape recorder has greatly facilitated the task of collecting, more often than not “the collector or editor has then taken the manuscript and treated it as he would the rough draft of a hastily-dictated letter that needed revising and polishing” (43). They contend that while “a published text should be an exact record of a tale [or any other] performance,” because of the desire to reach the broader audience “most published collections fail lamentably” (42). It is no wonder that, as Halpert started to use Peacock’s *Outports*, he had already begun to have reservations. As he quickly discovered, Peacock had changed and altered words and he had made composite song texts. In this sense Peacock’s work more resembled the approach taken by these early antiquarians.

Undeniably, Peacock operated under certain limitations while working in the field. At the same time he also brought to bear his personal tastes and discriminating editing standards on the material. His treatment of songs could range from removing a word or phrase to the total reconstruction of a song. Readers of *Outports* are told that published transcripts of songs do frequently vary from the original recordings. Peacock

regularly states in his notes that many printed texts are composites of one kind or the other of the variants which he had collected in the field. Peacock also exercised his personal preferences when selecting the types of materials he included and excluded in the final publication. This has made the use of his published collection awkward for scholars. They simply cannot tell exactly how he shaped the published text.

As Reeves's work on Sharp, and Zug's work on Scott illustrate, re-examination of the materials compiled and published by collectors allows us to understand more clearly the editorial practices used. Even Reeves and Zug have been constrained, because, in the absence of any field recordings, they have been forced to make their comparisons not with the original materials but with only the collector's working papers and field manuscripts. We are fortunate that Peacock used modern technology during the course of his work. For the greater part of his collection we can go back to the source and compare his methods with the raw data so that scholars may make better use of the materials he so diligently collected in Newfoundland. While Peacock's field notes are very sketchy, his audiotapes (and in most cases his earliest transcripts and versions) provide a way to both scrutinize and to make informed judgements about his total collection, not just his published work.

## **10.2 A Method for Analyzing Textual Change in Peacock's Collection**

In order to determine how much of his Newfoundland collection Peacock printed

in *Outports* and to learn how he used the materials he collected, I selected recordings that he made from 1951 and 1961. I compared individual tape copies of all Peacock's audio recordings at MUNFLA in Accession 87-157 with Peacock's original Inventory of Field Recordings.

This Inventory, which contains Peacock's numbering system for registering songs, served as a guide for distinguishing what materials he had included in his book and what materials had not been published. Peacock numbered each of his field tapes consecutively and he also numbered each of the songs he had collected on field tape in the same manner. His first tape, Pea 1, contains eight songs, numbered Pea 1- 1 to Pea 1- 8. His second tape, Pea 2, contains seven songs numbered Pea 2-9 to Pea 2-15.<sup>13</sup> This Inventory he compiled accumulatively for the six field trips. Each individual page in the index matches a specific field tape and it includes, along with title of the song, the name of the informant, the community where Peacock had collected the material and the year. Peacock employed this method of documentation throughout his entire career and it provides an effective means of chronicling his fieldwork.

Peacock also employed this numbering system when publishing texts and music. The second song in volume one of *Outports*, "Alphabet Song" (Pea 108-815), was collected on tape 108 and it is the sixth number on that specific tape and the 815<sup>th</sup> song that Peacock collected during his career (1965, 1: 4). There are instances where the songs

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<sup>13</sup> At MUNFLA the corresponding tapes are 87-157/C11031A and C11031B.

on Peacock's tape index page are simply numbered 1, 2, 3, 4; "Alouette" (Pea 135-929), was collected on tape number 135 and it is number two on the field tape. Comparison with other field tapes reveals that Peacock's published numbers concur with the index contents. It is the 929<sup>th</sup> song that Peacock recorded.

Using the tape index as a guide, I generated two sets of color-coded cards for each audiotape in MUNFLA's collection. I assigned Peacock's field tape number for each tape and I listed all the published songs with their number on a white card. I then listed all the songs and numbers for each page of Peacock's inventory which I could not locate in the publication on a separate purple card. I also identified material not noted in MUNFLA's copy of Peacock's inventory. Based on this initial examination I discovered that tapes 122 to 143 (Peacock's recordings of French material and some fiddle music), had somehow not been forwarded by the CCFCS to MUNFLA along with Peacock's other recordings. These tapes and the relevant inventory pages were secured, thus assuring me of a complete working copy of Peacock's Newfoundland field recordings.<sup>14</sup>

I also compiled a series of field note books in which I entered information on each song and the relevant MUNFLA tape number. As I listened to each tape, I noted irregularities in content and any field recording difficulties or anomalies. As I located unpublished songs I entered their first lines or several stanzas to facilitate the identification and tracing of these materials at a later date.

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<sup>14</sup> Peacock collection, MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/ C16983-16988.

I compared the individual song performances on the audiotapes to the published versions and noted these changes in my personal copy of *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*. This allowed me to identify any textual changes or other treatments which Peacock gave to individual songs. For comparative purposes I also selected a number of Peacock's earliest transcripts from the LAD-CMC so as to appraise more accurately the extent to which Peacock deviated from the original recordings. In this way I might determine whether changes had been for aesthetic reasons or were due to recording difficulties.

I used a similar procedure to identify the songs Peacock collected by hand mainly between 1951 and 1952. In his introduction Peacock says that "an MS occurring by itself indicates the song was collected in manuscript" (1965 1: xxiii). An example would be "Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogene (MS-1)" which contains no reference to a Pea tape (2: 380-82). On a set of index cards I listed all the songs in *Outports* which Peacock had simply designated as an MS with the corresponding numbers which he had assigned. I discovered that Peacock had first arranged these materials alphabetically by song title and then assigned individual numbers ranging from MS-1 to MS-128. I completed my numbered list, and from this determined that there were many songs which Peacock had not included in his three-volume collection. I then acquired transcripts of the missing MS numbers from the LAD-CMC and this made it possible to make a complete and accurate inventory of Peacock's entire collection and to account for all the materials he collected

in manuscript or recorded.

I also compared some of his earliest manuscripts derived from the field tapes with the published versions in *Outports*. I deduced from this that Peacock had made substantial changes and corrections to most of the songs which he eventually published. I also discovered a number of patterns in his editing. Peacock published composite texts of songs which he had created by borrowing words, lines and entire stanzas from one or more unpublished variants. He also combined tunes and texts from different versions of the same song. In some cases he created composites by borrowing material from earlier printed versions. Through his editing Peacock attempted to “improve” the poetic quality of certain songs. He frequently reconstructed entire texts and in so doing altered the structure and the content. For many of the same reasons he occasionally created composites by including phrases and even lines which he invented.

Peacock’s collection is certainly a pioneering effort and it is a primary collection. For this reason folklorists have tended to place *Outports* within the arena of folklore scholarship. Despite this, scholarly appraisals of Peacock’s work continue to view it as having limited value because of his penchant for editing and rearranging. But scholars have neglected to take into account the manner in which the material was collected, as dictated by Peacock’s discriminating tastes as well as those specific influences that shaped the publication. Peacock intended for the music in *Outports* to be performed, and to this end, he skillfully created a product which was well suited to the aims of the

Canadian folk revival movement. Folklorists and folk music enthusiasts in general recognize *Outports* as a substantial ethnographic document, one made even more meaningful by its substantial impact upon the local popular music culture. Yet, anyone who reads with a critical eye soon becomes aware of Peacock's overriding subjectivity and his willingness to make editorial changes in the name of art. So how does the investigator come to terms as a scholar with Peacock's approach and its consequences?

### 10.2.1 An Operative Model For Scrutinizing Peacock's Work

Peacock intended *Outports* to serve many purposes. He reiterated to me in later years: "As I say in the introduction to the books, it's a sort of reference book for historians and students of verse and musicologists and so forth [and I was] trying to cover the whole spectrum of people who might be interested in the material."<sup>15</sup> My challenge was to come to some understanding of how Peacock shaped his material to fit the various uses he envisioned.

The interchange between folklore and other cultural materials is not uncommon. Scholars have been presented with a similar dilemma in the use of folklore in literature. Grobman's work "A Schema for the Study of the Sources and Literary Simulations of Folkloric Phenomena," demonstrates that parallel problems exist when scholars attempt to appraise literary works which use folkloric materials (1979: 17-39). Evaluations of

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<sup>15</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 30 May 1996.

folklore in literature, Grobman notes, have been limited by the “proper critical methodology for investigating the authenticity of each author’s textual sources of folklore” and by the need for “a classification system to judge accuracy by which authors consciously or unconsciously transform or simulate folkloric phenomena (hopefully including text, texture, and context) into literary form (interpretation)” (17). While folklorists may find considerable value in studying literary works containing folklore material, determining the “the relationship of a given work to folklore tradition” is complicated (18). Authors may or may not be highly selective and true to the traditions they draw upon, depending upon their own closeness to the traditions or their acquired knowledge of the materials. There also arises the question of dealing with “literary invention of folklore-like material” (21-22).

To deal with such issues Grobman proposes an “integrated classification system” which situates the writer’s (or in Peacock’s case the song collector’s ) “sources of folklore” within the framework of the individual’s interaction with folkloric materials based on three possible processes: (a) indigenous experience; (b) acquired experience through interaction with the tradition “due to collecting and observing”; and (c) materials which are gathered through no “direct contact with the tradition” and which usually come from “either literary sources or anthologies, or reference works, collections, studies, and indexes of folklore” and which are often “inaccurate” (28-29).

Peacock’s background and training primarily influenced his collecting agenda.

*Outports*, which is essentially a creative effort, describes his own experience with Newfoundland culture and his desire to present a body of work resulting from his visits, framed in a publication designed to have an appeal to a large audience. The kinds of processes at work share similarities with those of literary artists who make various uses of folkloric materials. Peacock's aim was to present both the text and a generalized musical composite scheme of the melody. When the texts in *Outports* are compared with the recordings he made while in Newfoundland, there is a continuum. At one end are songs which he published that, for the most part, closely resemble the field performances. At the other end are songs which are far removed from the performances of individual informants. Somewhere in the middle there are songs which contain part of the original content, as recorded, but which have been considerably reworked. The continuum is from texts which are close to the original performances to texts which are far removed from them.

While Peacock aspired to provide a document of Newfoundland's singing traditions, he also aimed to present the material in a manner in which it could be sung. To a greater or lesser degree, each individual published transcription may therefore be considered a compromise between Peacock's discriminating musical and textual tastes and the wish to reproduce accurately what he had actually documented.

Peacock's treatment of the Newfoundland song collection actually parallels that of the popular media's uses of folkloric materials. Paul Smith notes that contemporary

legends may appear in the media in three general forms: (1) as “existing contemporary legends”; (2) as “transformations, through narratives and/or visual images”; and (3) as “simulations, through narratives and/or visual images” (1999, 148). As Smith’s work on contemporary legend and film illustrates, whenever folklore is used, “a highly complex set of direct and indirect interactions, transformations, simulations and applications are in constant and simultaneous operation” (148). The very processes of change in oral tradition suggest ways of approaching non-traditional changes.

In “A Model for Textual Variation in Folksong,” Tom Burns hypothesizes that textual change in folksong is the result of various combinations of three basic changes: “material can be taken away (subtraction), material can be added (addition) and material can be rearranged (rearrangement)” (1970, 51). Moreover, Burns adds, “A specific type of textual alteration may involve any one type or combination of these three basic changes” (51). These changes may occur at any level. As Burns points out, the subtraction of material may include “The loss of textual material from a word through phrases, line, lines, stanza, stanzas to the point where perhaps only a title or tune is retained” (51). The same might be said for addition or rearrangement.

Burns’s ideas about addition, subtraction and rearrangement, and Smith and Grobman’s ideas on replication, transformation and simulation provide a point of departure for both discovering and analyzing the kinds of changes Peacock made to his Newfoundland collection. Peacock may have brought to bear one or a combination of

these processes on a specific song. Any one published version of a song might reflect multiple changes involving various combinations of replication, transformation or simulation by means of addition, subtraction and/or rearrangement. In most cases Peacock may have changed specific songs in more than one way and many of the individual songs contained in *Outports* could be the subject of separate extended investigations. What follows are case studies which will help provide a means of understanding the overall patterns in Peacock's treatment of the materials he collected and published.

### **10.2.2 Application of the Operative Model**

#### **A: Attempts at Replication**

When approaching any song Peacock actually transcribed material at two separate working levels. On the one hand there are his earliest textual and musical transcripts derived from his field recordings. These are attempts to replicate or accurately duplicate his informants' performances of songs. These transcripts were frequently created in the field shortly after his interviews. It can be argued that they are, in many instances, Peacock's most immediate and spontaneous impressions of what he heard and recorded. On the second level are transcripts which he made with the aim of publishing the material

he collected and which are the result of his attempts to get material into a form for publishing.<sup>16</sup>

Comparison of a number of Peacock's earliest transcripts of songs with audio recordings indicates that, at least in the initial stages, he made a substantial effort to encapsulate on paper the texts of songs as presented to him by the singer, often leaving blank spaces for words and lines he could not pick up or which appear to have been missing. For example, when his earliest transcript of Anastasia Ghaney's rendition of "The Herons" (17-104) was compared with the actual field recording, the transcript corresponded to what the singer had presented.<sup>17</sup> When tapes of field recordings are compared with Peacock's printed variants of these same songs, while small changes are evident, the texts and melodies of examples such as "Kate's Big Shirt" (1965, 3: 691), "The Deserter" (3: 994-5), "The Grey Mare" (1: 278-79), and "Captains and Ships" (3: 865-66) suggest, that in several of these instances, Peacock closely replicated what was given to him by his informants.

In *Outports*, with the exception of a passing reference to "tape-recorded counterparts," Peacock rarely talked about his use of a tape recorder for collecting songs or of the process involved (1965, 1: xxiii). Peacock excluded any discussion of his field

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<sup>16</sup> Peacock's textual and musical transcriptions for songs collected on audiotape between 1951-1961 may be found in his collection under Pea B 1-1 to 210-1188, boxes 277 to 287; LAD-CMC.

<sup>17</sup> See "The Herons," Pea B 17-104, box 279 f. 1; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC; also see MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/ C11038A.

experiences and difficulties from his formal account given in *Outports*. This is not unusual for, as Brady points out in *A Spiral Way*, only recently have folklorists engaged in the kind of self-analysis that includes such information (1999, 59-61). Upon reviewing Peacock's recordings for 1958, particularly the material made with the Bennetts, I was surprised to learn how much the tape-recorded counterparts revealed about his field techniques and about the difficulties he encountered when attempting to transcribe accurately the material he had collected. Singers were highly conscious of the presence of the tape recorder and wanted their renditions to come out right. One such example is Freeman Bennett's rendering of "The Old Chest" (95-757).<sup>18</sup> At stanza three Bennett faltered in his singing and asked Peacock to turn off the tape recorder as he had got the lines mixed up. The machine was duly shut off and then turned on again. Bennett repeated the stanza and continued along with the song.

Clarence Bennett was less successful in his rendition of "Captain Ward" (99-774).<sup>19</sup> Throughout the performance he made various mistakes. Although he pitched his voice too high, he continued to sing on. During this time his father, Freeman Bennett, is heard coaxing him. At one point, realizing that he had put the wrong melody with the stanza, Clarence commented, "Oh I'm long gone now" correcting it about halfway through the performance. Finally, upon finishing, he exclaimed "Oh my God," obviously

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<sup>18</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11051A.

<sup>19</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11053A.

disappointed with what had taken place.

When the younger Bennetts such as Clarence, Jim, and Marie sang for Peacock, it appears that, having more performing experience, their parents were often heard in the background encouraging them to sing. Parents can also be heard giving lines and prompting as in the case of Becky assisting her daughter Marie with “Lonely Waterloo” (80-694).<sup>20</sup>

The recordings also reveal singers’ efforts to piece together songs and to identify them by their correct titles for Peacock. In the case of “As I Walkèd Forth in the Pride of the Season” (91-737), throughout her performance Becky Bennett was assisted by her husband who remembered various words or phrases.<sup>21</sup> As she worked her way to the end of the seventh stanza of the song someone, possibly her sister Fanny, commented that she had left something out. A negotiating process took place as the group attempted to determine the proper order of the stanzas. Becky repeated several lines attempting to account for the stanzas she had already sung. In this manner she identified the stanza she had forgotten. Peacock asked her to sing it and after the performance she received confirmation from Freeman that she had all the stanzas. The negotiation continued and the group eventually confirmed that she had sung the whole thing.

When Bennett felt she had given Peacock all the stanzas, he asked her for the title.

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<sup>20</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11043B.

<sup>21</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11050A.

Once again a discussion ensued between Becky and Freeman Bennett and other members of the group as a way of reaching consensus:

- BB: That's the only verse I leaved out.  
 KP: That's the complete song then. What do you call that? What's the name of it?  
 FB: {shouts} What's the title of it?  
 BB: "Young Men is False" I suppose. I don't know if it's very well known.  
 Female  
 Voice: "Young men are false" isn't it?  
 KP: "Under the Green Willow" is that what it's called?"  
 BB: Well it could be "In Under the Green Willow."  
 FB: Yes. Put that down, that's all right anyhow.  
 {Discussion among the group regarding the title during which someone comments: The first verse, that's the title}  
 FB: Yes "As I walked forth in the pride of the season."  
 {General group consensus}  
 BB: "As I walked forth in the pride of the season."  
 FB: Yes that's the title of it.<sup>22</sup>

Peacock regularly solicited singers' opinions as to the titles of songs. He frequently complimented and encouraged his informants and sought clarification on details in songs.

A typical discussion follows Freeman Bennett's rendition of "Captain Strachan" (87-719):

- KP: Good I never heard that one either.  
 FB: No.  
 KP: In the first verse there was a line "Three leagues from somewhere."  
 FB: Three leagues from Haladin.  
 KP: Where's that?  
 FB: I don't know. Couldn't tell you where that's to. Anyway she come out of France; sea frigate.  
 KP: In the second verse there are quarter-seasons.

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<sup>22</sup> MUNLFA, Tape, 87-157/C11050A.

FB: Well now I couldn't tell you that cause that's the old-fashioned warships they used to have one time [tape off].<sup>23</sup>

Comparison of the song as printed with the field recording reveals that Peacock spelled "Halladin" as "Alladin [?]" and that he left the phrase and the remainder of the text as Bennett had given it to him (1965, 3: 990-91).

We also get some idea from the singers as to which songs they considered difficult to sing. After Everett Bennett performed a variant of "Lord Bateman" (83-707) Peacock commented "That's the best tune I've ever heard." Bennett replied, "Ya, it's hard if you don't pitch him right, if you pitch him a little bit too high you'll go right up you know."<sup>24</sup> At other times singers' concentration was broken by the activity in the household. Throughout Freeman Bennett's performance of "The Banks of the Ayre" (79-690), a complicated and drawn out song, children are heard whining in the background.<sup>25</sup> Following the completion of the fourth stanza one child is heard crying just as Bennett paused trying to recall something. He suddenly burst out "Look, look, look, youngsters look go out." Peacock subsequently replied "May as well get all the words" and Bennett continued on. Orchestrating these recording sessions with children in the room occasionally caused some hardship for Becky Bennett as well. When singing "A Lad and

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<sup>23</sup> MUNLFA, Tape, 87-157/C11047A.

<sup>24</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11045A.

<sup>25</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11043A.

a Lass” (85-714), a song which contains several melodic phrases, she appears to have been distracted because of the children.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps because of the confusion Bennett found it difficult to get the order of the song right and at one point her memory failed her. Pausing she commented “Is that right I wonder?” In an out-of-character voice Peacock sternly replied “Start the verse again please.” The recording session may also have been shifted to another room in the house for there is a comment on the tape “Let’s go to the bay room.”

Peacock evidently struggled in his attempts to capture Becky Bennett’s rendition. As he later noted at the end of his first transcription of the song:

There are five melodic phrases in the song. When a verse has seven lines, lines three and four use the same melody as lines one and two. In verse four, the opening two phrases are repeated, but the last three phrases are omitted. In verse eight, the first two phrases are missing.<sup>27</sup>

When publishing the “A Lad and a Lass” Peacock decided to include only Bennett’s text, presenting it alongside the first stanza and melody of a five-stanza variant (107-806) he had collected sometime later from Charlotte Decker (1965, 2: 542-54).

Although Decker also had memory problems, her rendition was more evenly sung and Peacock apparently had less difficulty attempting to establish the melodic phrases.<sup>28</sup> When the transcripts of the two songs are compared with the published text it is evident

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<sup>26</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11046A.

<sup>27</sup> Pea B 107-806, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, box 282 f. 18; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>28</sup> “A Lad and a Lass,” MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11057A.

that Peacock created a composite text from both performances. He replicated the first five stanzas of Bennett's eight-stanza variant. Though, as the following example illustrates, for stanzas six and seven Peacock used Charlotte Decker's stanza four, consisting of seven lines. He then attached this material to the three lines of Bennett's stanza eight. Bennett's stanza seven was used as stanza eight for the published version.<sup>29</sup>

**“A Lad and a Lass” (Pea 85-714)  
as published in *Outports* (1965, 2: 543).**

Stanza Six

\ I will saddle my horse, I will go to the wedding,  
I will go to the wedding on the sixth day of June,  
To go to a wedding that I might be welcome  
To wait on the table and dress the bridegroom.

Lines taken from Charlotte Decker's stanza four.

Stanza Seven

“If I had have known that you had been gone  
I'd no longer tarry but with you I'd marry,  
So get up behind me and leave him alone.” //  
I told you, you know, and it's not long ago  
The cost of your folly made you melancholy,  
And oftentimes caused you for to lay alone.

Lines taken from Charlotte Decker's stanza four and Becky Bennett's stanza eight.

Stanza Eight

“All for to get married you thought it a pity,  
A pity to part with your sweet single life,  
You said when a man gets married his joys take a fly,  
He's robbed of his liberty, tied unto slavery,  
But now you are free and I'll wish you goodbye.”

Stanza is Becky Bennett's stanza seven

The published text which he attributed exclusively to Bennett was a complex blend.

In essence Peacock compromised the accurate depiction of Bennett's performance by adding to it material sung by Decker. Although Decker's text is shorter, her melody resembles Becky Bennett's. It was not difficult for Peacock to match Decker's melody

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<sup>29</sup> Text in \// parallel brackets indicates material which Peacock imported from Charlotte Decker's performance and combined with Bennett's text for the published version.

with Bennett's text, using whatever of Decker's text he could, to create a longer variant for the book. As Decker's performance went more smoothly and with less interruption, we may speculate that her melody was easier for him to transcribe.

As Peacock's comment in the published version suggests, he evidently felt the Bennett variant had some merit, but he struggled to capture the melody on paper:

This would appear to be quite a rare ballad, for I have not seen it in other collections. The point of the story comes across quite well, despite the rather hopeless confusion of the text. Those who wish to use the song professionally will be able to re-arrange the text and the melody in a more regular form, in the usual ballad quatrain if possible (1965, 2: 544).

The accurate depiction of material was, for Peacock, a matter of balance and practicality. Singers habitually recalled stanzas which they had left out during the recording sessions. Peacock regularly experimented with various techniques to resolve such problems. In some instances he rewound the tape to the appropriate point and had the singer resume where the stanza should have been, hoping that they would use the same voice pitch. As he recalls:

I'd play the song for them and then I'd say "Now you can put that verse in." But they'd never get the right pitch. You couldn't splice it in later because it would be a different pitch.<sup>30</sup>

When this didn't work he later found it simpler to have the singer provide the missing stanza at the end of the recording; such is the case with Tom Morry's rendition of "The Sealer's Ball" (210-1188). After singing the song Morry commented at the end "Turn it

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<sup>30</sup> Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 2 Oct. 1997.

off for a minute I left out one verse, you've got the song" to which Peacock simply replied "Well you can sing it now, [it] doesn't matter."<sup>31</sup>

Peacock's role as an outsider, and his limited understanding of the dialect and speech habits of some singers, posed additional replication problems. Regularly he asked singers to clarify local names and other hard-to-understand words so that he would have some idea of what the singer meant when later transcribing the song. Even after transcribing a field recording of a song, Peacock would often resort to some form of additional editing in order to better represent what the singer had given him. As he once explained to me:

With regard to those recorded songs with a tape and also marked MS, there could be a variety of reasons. Certainly there was no full manuscript for these items, hence the absence of a MS number. I could have asked the singer about something in the text I didn't understand and needed clarifying and just copied the word or phrase or line in a note book. I do remember a singer occasionally saying "There's more to the song" or "I left out a verse." Perhaps a spouse or family member pointed it out.<sup>32</sup>

Peacock evidently had some difficulty deciding on the wording of "Captain Kidd" (82-701) for which he had added an MS. In an early transcription of the song, Peacock presents stanza eight based on Bennett's rendition:

They're an-overtaking at last, I must die, I must die,  
They're an-overtaking at last, I must die;  
They're an-overtaking at last, and into prison cast,

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<sup>31</sup> For this song see Pea 210-1188 in the field recordings for Peacock's collection at LAD-CMC and in *Outports*, 1: 94-95.

<sup>32</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to the author, 27 May 1997.

And sentence being past, I must die, I must die,  
And sentence being past, I must die.<sup>33</sup>

Bennett actually sings: "Being overtaking at last I must die, I must die, I must die."<sup>34</sup>

Peacock came to some kind of a compromise when deciding to publish this song in

*Outports* by streamlining the stanza to the following:

Overtaken now at last, I must die I must die,  
Overtaken now at last, I must die I must die;  
Overtaken now at last, and into prison cast,  
And sentence being past, I must die, I must die,  
And sentence being past, I must die (1965, 3: 838).

With each of his transcriptions Peacock had to make decisions about how to deal with the material as it was presented to him. This was complicated by the singer's mastery of the song and their ability to remember the stanzas during a performance. Peacock had to account for singers' mistakes and his personal limitations in being able to comprehend what the singer was saying.

He sometimes took great pains to interpret for his anticipated (mainly Canadian) readers words found within the local Newfoundland register. This is most noticeable in volume one under the category "Fishing Songs" and where at the end of songs such as "I's the B'y that Builds the Boat," "The Jubilee Guild," "Tom Bird's Dog," "Culling Fish," "Fish and Brewis," "Fisherman's Alphabet" and "Fisher Who Died in his Bed" he

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<sup>33</sup> Pea B 82-701, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, box 281 f. 13; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>34</sup> "Captain Kidd," MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11044B

elaborates on several local terms embedded in the songs.<sup>35</sup> This kind of interpretation though, reflects Peacock's engagement with a culture which he found so foreign to his central Canadian upbringing.

Conversely, at least some textual changes present in the collection are also the result of his not comprehending the Newfoundland culture or misinterpreting the singers' dialects. As Richmond notes in "Some Effects of Scribal and Typological Error on Oral Tradition," no matter how good the recording equipment, when there is "any mass of materials" inevitably collectors "must rely on the printed page and unfortunately the printed page cannot reproduce what the collector has heard with any more than the merest approach to scientific fidelity" (1951, 163). While the modern collector "may be a more efficient collector," corruption of the material still occurs due to "scribal error" and "typographical error" brought about through efforts to "set in print what arises from oral tradition" (163).

By way of illustration, in the song "Labrador" (127-891) the place 'Quirpon' is misunderstood and interpreted as 'Carbonear': "So we arrived in **Quirpon** {pronounced Karpoon} [Carbonear], our skipper he went on shore, for to see the girl he was going with when he was there before" (1965, 1: 138).<sup>36</sup> Traditionally fishermen made their way from several locations on the northeast coast of Newfoundland and from the Conception Bay

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<sup>35</sup> *Outports*, 1: 64, 67, 102, 119, 123-4, 125-6 and 127-28.

<sup>36</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11067A.

area including the community of Carbonear to fishing stations along the Labrador coast to work at the inshore cod fishery (Cuff 1991: 225-230). Historically, the Labrador schooners stopped over in Quirpon located on the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula prior to proceeding on to the fishery.<sup>37</sup> Upon arriving in such places each year people rekindled old relationships and formed new ones. Peacock's misunderstanding changes the sense of the lines completely positioning the location several hundred miles away from of the action of the song.

Peacock also misconstrued local terminology for fish species. In the song "Blow the Wind Westerly" (156-1009) the word "sculpin" for example, was interpreted as "dolphin" in the line "Up jumps a sculpin [dolphin] with his chuckle-head" (1965, 3: 859).<sup>38</sup> He commonly perceived vernacular terms employed by occupational groups as grammatically nonstandard. He changed "We then laid on a fire" in the song "The Loss of the *Sailor's Home*" (144-967) to a more general statement "We then lit up a fire" (962).<sup>39</sup> The verb "lay hold" or "lay up" means among other things "to take in hand or

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<sup>37</sup> See Clara J. Murphy [Rutherford], "Folkloric Exchange Between Labradorians and Newfoundland Fishing Families 'On the Labrador'," *Student Research in Canada's North: Proceedings of the National Student Conference on Northern Studies November 18-19, 1986*, eds. W. P. Adams and P. G. Johnson (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies 1988) 540-544. For an account of one family's activities see Greta Hussey, *Our Life on Lear's Room Labrador*, ed. Susan Shiner (St. John's: Robinson-Blackmore, 1981).

<sup>38</sup> "Sculpin" is an indigenous term for a species of scavenger fish; see *DNE*, 447.

<sup>39</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11070A.

prepare oneself” and is frequently used by fishermen.<sup>40</sup>

Comparison of materials that Peacock gave to Doyle in the early 1950s, and which were later published in *Old-Time Songs* (1955), indicates that errors such as these carried over into print. In other instances Doyle or someone else made some effort to rectify obvious mistakes. Peacock’s earliest transcript of “John Yetman” (7-46) shows “Treno Shore” and “in his dory took a light.”<sup>41</sup> After these were passed to Doyle, someone had correctly altered them to read “Treaty Shore” and “in his dory took delight” (1955, 34).

As such resources as the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* were not available until years later, given the esoteric nature of some of this material, one can appreciate Peacock’s struggles to represent what he heard. The subtlety of a turn of phrase can be particularly hard to pin down. In the song “Hole in the Wall” (MS-50) which Peacock collected from Bill Brennan of Stock Cove, the last two lines of the final stanza read: “And if you’re offended your temper be mended, I may find a three-leg some day I’ll get time.”<sup>42</sup> In his transcript of the song Peacock footnoted the phrase “three-leg” as “2 broken meshes in a net.” I searched the *Dictionary* and finally determined that the composer had used “three-leg” [an uncompleted mesh of a fish-net]. Within the context

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<sup>40</sup> See *DNE*, 299.

<sup>41</sup> Pea B 7-46, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, box 277 f. 7; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>42</sup> Pea C, MS-50, Textual and Musical Transcriptions-Manuscript, box 305 f. 1; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

of the song this expression was used as a metaphor for mending tempers.<sup>43</sup> Peacock gave this song to Gerald S. Doyle for *Old Time Songs*, and when it was published in 1955, someone had altered the particular line in question to read “I may write another some day I’ll get time” (70).

### **B: Editing of Original Field Material: Addition, Subtraction or Re-Arrangement**

In *Outports* Peacock deliberately rearranged and changed phrases, lines and whole stanzas. These textual alterations significantly transformed the original performances of the Newfoundland singers. In his “Model for Textual Variation in Folksong” (1970: 49-56) Burns identifies sixteen specific categories of change:

#### **Addition**

1. sentimentalization
2. moralization
3. merger

#### **Subtraction**

4. expurgation
5. contraction
6. dramatization
7. lyrication
8. fragmentation
9. division

#### **Subtraction plus Addition (Rearrangement)**

10. localization
11. universalization
12. personification
13. bowdlerization
14. conventionalization

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<sup>43</sup> See “Three-leg,” *DNE*, 563. My thanks to Anita Best and Philip Hiscock for their assistance with this phrase.

- 15. literalization
- 16. cross-over

Although Burns directed his discussion mainly toward singers and the processes of variation in oral tradition, his model is also useful for scrutinizing alterations which collectors consciously bring to bear on material. Examination of the Peacock's *Outports* indicates that eight of Burns's types of textual change and variation are present as a result of his editing practices in the following categories:

**Addition**

- 3. merger

**Subtraction**

- 5. contraction
- 6. dramatization
- 7. lyrication

**Subtraction plus Addition (Rearrangement)**

- 12. personification
- 13. bowdlerization
- 14. conventionalization
- 16. cross-over

It must be pointed out that many of Burns's categories of change may be present in any one song in *Outports* as a result of Peacock's editorial decisions. What follows is a discussion, with some examples, of the kinds of transformations Peacock made.

**1. Merger:** "the process whereby two [texts] [. . .] become one either through simple compounding or through fusion of their elements [. . .] and is likely to occur only when the songs are close in content, mood and theme " (Burns 1970, 53).

Peacock regularly created and then published various kinds of composite texts using additional variants obtained from one or more informants. He aimed to combine

what he presumed was the best wording or most extensive variant, often with his preferred choice of melody.

**(i) Transcriptions of performances of the same song by the same singer**

In six instances Peacock recorded the same song from the same singer at different times.<sup>44</sup> Occasionally this is because the tape ran out during the recording session and Peacock re-recorded it. This is the case with Annie Walters's performance of "Since Love Can Enter an Iron Door." Sometimes he also collected the same song at different recording sessions; "Waterloo" (108-810 and 157-1015) was acquired from Charlotte Decker first in 1958 and again in 1959. In *Outports* Peacock usually dealt with these multiple recordings by merging the best of the material from the separate variants. Sometimes, as with Charlotte Decker's two performances of "John Barbour," he indicates that the printed version is derived from two renditions (1965, 2: 534). As with Charlotte Decker's "Waterloo," which is a composite of her two performances (108-810 and 157-1015), Peacock did not always inform his readers of such editorial decisions (3: 1020).<sup>45</sup>

No two performances of one song by the same singer are ever exactly the same. Peacock often attempted to create what he envisioned to be the correct stanza sequence, corresponding to a chronological order of events, by combining separate renditions. A case in point is his editing of the ballad "The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (Child 14), a

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<sup>44</sup> I discuss how these and other composites are identified in the Catalogue of Kenneth Peacock's Newfoundland Song and Music Collection, on pages 636 to 638.

<sup>45</sup> See MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/C11057B and C11076B.

song about three maidens going for a walk who encounter a robber who kills all but the last. Peacock recorded this song twice during his visit with Joshua Osborne in 1960. In his initial rendition (173-1084) Osborne collapsed the sequence of events by eliminating the stanzaic repetition in two instances, though he retained the overall internal structure of the song.<sup>46</sup> Osborne's second performance (177-1093) was slightly longer. The second sister is not approached by the robber until stanza six and the young maiden is approached by him in stanza nine.

**"The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (173-1084)<sup>47</sup>**  
Joshua Osborne's first performance

1. There was three maidens went out together,  
All a-lee and a lonely-o,  
They meet a robber on their way,  
On the bonny bonny banks of Ardrrie-o.
2. He takes the eldest by the hand,  
He wheeled her round till he made her stand.
3. He takes the second by the hand,  
Saying, "Will you be a robber's wife?"
4. "I will not be a robber's wife,  
I'd rather die by your pen-knife."
5. He then took out his own pen-knife,  
'Twas there he ended her sweet life.
6. He takes the youngest by the hand,  
Saying, "Will you be a robber's wife?"

**"The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (177-1093)<sup>48</sup>**  
Joshua Osborne's second performance

1. There was three maidens went out together,  
All a-lee and a lonely-o,  
They meet a robber on their way,  
On the bonny bonny banks of Ardrrie-o.
2. He takes the eldest by the hand,  
He wheeled her round till he made her stand.
3. Saying, "Will you be a robber's wife,  
Or will you die by my pen-knife?"
4. "I will not be a robber's wife,  
I'd rather die by your pen-knife."
5. He then took out his own pen-knife,  
'Twas there he ended her sweet life.
6. He takes the second by the hand,  
Saying, "Will you be a robber's wife?"

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<sup>46</sup> David Buchan proposes in *The Ballad and the Folk* that singers are able to re-create songs because they first learn them in a "stripped down version" (1972, 88). Ballads contain formulaic structural units which traditional singers learn and employ when performing (88-89). It is the manipulation of these traditionally-learned devices which allows the singer to re-create a ballad-story in every performance in either a shorter or more-expanded version (95-99, 105). This is what appears to have been occurring with Osborne's performances.

<sup>47</sup> "The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (173-1084), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11084B.

<sup>48</sup> "The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (177-1093), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11086B.

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| <p>7. "I will not be a robber's wife,<br/>I rather die by your pen-knife."</p> <p>8. He then took out his own pen-knife,<br/>'Twas there he ended her sweet life.</p> <p>9. "If my two brothers were only here,<br/>They would not see my two sisters lying there."</p> <p>10. "Who's your brothers come tell to me,<br/>One of them was a minister and the other one like me."</p> <p>11. "Oh my god, what I have done,<br/>I'll kill my sisters all but one."</p> <p>12. He then took out his own pen-knife,<br/>'Twas there that he ended his own sweet life.</p> | <p>7. "I will not be a robber's wife,<br/>I rather die by your pen-knife."</p> <p>8. He then took out his own pen-knife,<br/>'Twas there he ended her sweet life.</p> <p>9. He takes the youngest by the hand,<br/>Saying, "Will you be a robber's wife?"</p> <p>10. "I will not be a robber's wife,<br/>You have killed my sisters all but one."</p> <p>11. "If my two brothers were only here,<br/>They would not see my sister lying there."</p> <p>12. "Who is your brothers come tell to me,<br/>One of them was a minister and the other was like thee."</p> <p>13. "Oh my god, what I have done,<br/>I'll kill my sisters all but one."</p> <p>14. He then took out his own pen-knife,<br/>'Twas there he ended his own sweet life.</p> |
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Peacock had previously collected a variant of this song from the Monks in 1951 noting that they had earlier given it to Maud Karpeles (1965, 3: 811). He was pleased to have discovered yet another variant commenting, "Fragments of this ballad have been found in the United States, but full credit for preserving it in its entirety must go to Newfoundland" (811). He presumed the song to be so rare that he produced a conflated version consisting of eighteen stanzas based on a merging of Osborne's two performances, also adding for stanza one, the words "sisters" and "green wood" for "maidens" and "robber" from variants in Child's *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, to bring the text closer to the older versions (Peacock 3: 809-10; Child 1882, 1: 175 and 176).<sup>49</sup> The version Peacock eventually published was far-removed from both of

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<sup>49</sup> See as well Pea B 173-1084, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, box 285 f. 23; Peacock collection, LAD-CMC.

### Osborne's performances:

#### Performance One - "The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (173-1084)

1.        There was three maidens went out together,  
All a-lee and a lonely-o,  
They meet a robber on their way,  
On the bonny bonny banks of Ardrrie-o.

#### Performance 2 - "The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (177-1093)

1.        There was three maidens went out together,  
All a-lee and a lonely-o,  
They meet a robber on their way,  
On the bonny bonny banks of Ardrrie-o.

#### Peacock's version-"The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O"

1.        There were three sisters lived alone,  
All a-lee and a lonely-o,  
The deep green wood they called their home,  
On the bonny bonny banks of Ardrrie-o (1965, 3: 809).

### (ii) Transcriptions of songs which include material from another singer's performance

In at least twenty-six instances Peacock created and then published song texts which were credited to one singer but included material derived from the performance of another singer. Composites of this sort could include the incorporation of word(s), line(s), or stanza(s) from another's performance as well as the fusion of texts from one performance with the melody of another.

Peacock occasionally informed his readers of his editing activities in these kinds of composites. For the song "As Susan Strayed the Briny Beach," he notes that, "Line two of verse three in the text is also from Mr. Morry's variant" (1965 3: 647). For "Donald Munroe" he comments, "Verse 12 of A was taken from Ned Rice's text" (3: 816). In many more instances, Peacock makes no mention of such editing. A typical

example is his treatment of “The Bold *Princess Royal* ” (3: 835-36). Peacock recorded two variants of this song in 1958; a six-stanza rendition from George Decker of Rocky Harbour (72-664), and an eight-stanza rendition from Arthur Nicolle (74-667).<sup>50</sup> Peacock published Decker’s performance as the “A” variant and one stanza and the melody of Nicolle’s as the “B” variant (3: 835-36). When the original performances are compared with the printed version, it is obvious that Peacock made substantive changes because he preferred the wording of one stanza over that of another.<sup>51</sup>

“The Bold *Princess Royal*”

George Decker’s Original Performance (72-664)

Peacock’s version published in *Outports* (1965, 3: 835-36) showing material Peacock used from Arthur Nicolle’s variant (74-667).

1. On the fourteenth of March, boys, we sailed down the Strand  
In the bold *Prince of Royal* bound to Newfoundland,  
And thirty bright seamen was our ship’s company,  
And so boldly from the eastward to the westward steered we.
2. We had not long sailed past nights two or three  
Before a large cutter a wind’ard of us lay,  
Come bearing down on us, we soon did her spy  
Looking unto her mizzen black colours did fly.

1. On the fourteenth of March, boys, we sailed down the Strand  
In the bold *Prince of Royal* bound to Newfoundland,  
And thirty bright seamen was our ship’s company,  
And so boldly from the eastward to the westward steered we.
2. We had not **long sailed past nights** [been sailing passing days] two or three  
**Before a large cutter a wind’ard of us lay,**  
\\ Till we saw some lufted brigantine to the wind’ard of us lay.//  
Come bearing down upon us, we soon did her spy,  
Looking unto her mizzen black colours did fly.

<sup>50</sup> For George Decker and Arthur Nicolle’s performances of “The Bold *Prince of Royal*,” see MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/C11030B and C11040B.

<sup>51</sup> The key for reading the printed text of George Decker’s performance with Peacock’s editorial changes is as follows: words or phrases in **bold** indicate the singer’s actual words which Peacock changed; a square bracket [ ] contains Peacock’s editorial changes; text containing parallel \\// brackets indicates complete lines or stanzas which Peacock imported from Arthur Nicolle’s performance.

3. "Oh Lord," said our captain, and "what will we do?  
If this be a pirate he will soon bring us to."  
"Oh no," said our chief mate, "that can never can be  
so,  
We will shake out our close-reefs and from her  
we'll go."

4. Then we loosed our mailsail, main-topsails too,  
Fore-topsail, capricorn-sails (?) and from her to go.  
They fired a shot after us thinking on us to  
prevail,  
But the bold *Prince of Royal* soon showed them her  
tail.

5. Then he cast us to the wind'ard three hours and  
more,  
Till we found this bold pirate he could chase us  
no more;  
And when that he found he could hold us no  
play,  
He reeled up his mizzen and in no delay.

6. So now, my brave boys, the bold pirate is gone,  
There's a full glass of brandy for every man;  
Go down to your dinner and sip quietly  
And a full can of rum like salt water shall fly.

3. "Oh Lord," said our captain, "and what will we do?  
If this be a pirate he will soon bring us to."  
"Oh no," said our chief mate, "that can never can be  
so,  
We will shake out our close-reefs and from her we'll go."

4. **Then we loosened our mainsail, main-topsails too,  
Fore-topsail, capricorn-sails and from her to go.  
They fired a shot after us thinking on us to  
prevail,  
But the bold *Prince of Royal* soon showed them her  
tail.**  
\\ In the course of two hours she luft up 'long side,  
Bold *Madam* [Manone] with his speaking trumpet, "Where  
are you from?" he cried.  
Our skipper stepping forward he answered him so:  
"We have just [come] from Canegra (?) Bound to Bras  
d'Or."// \*

\* Decker's stanza four is replaced with Nicolle's stanza  
four.

5. **Then he cast us to the wind'ard three hours and more,  
Till we found this bold pirate he could chase us no more;  
And when that he found he could hold us no play,  
He reeled up his mizzen and in no delay.**

\\ "Come back to your main topsails [topsail] and heave your  
ship to,  
For I have a letter to send there by you."  
"I will back my main topsails [topsail] and heave my ship to  
When I'm in some safe harbour, not along side of  
you."// \*

\* Decker's stanza five is replaced with Nicolle's stanza  
five.

6. Then we loosened our mainsail, main-topsails too,  
Fore-topsail, Capricorn-sails (?) and from her to go.  
They fired a shot after us thinking on us to prevail,  
But the bold *Prince of Royal* soon showed them her  
tail.

\* Stanza six is Decker's stanza four

7. **Then he cast us to wind'ard three hours and more,  
Till we found this bold pirate he could chase us no more**  
\\ They chased us to the wind'ard for an hour or two,  
They chased to the leeward till they saw 'twould not do.//  
And when that he found he could hold us no play,  
He reeled up his mizzen and in no delay. \*

\* Stanza seven is Decker's stanza five but the first two lines  
have been replaced by lines one and two from Nicolle's  
stanza six.

8. **So now, my brave boys, the bold pirate is gone,  
There's a full glass of brandy for every man;  
Go down to your dinner and sip quietly  
And a full can of rum like salt water shall fly.**

\\ "And now that bold pirate from us she is gone,  
There's a glass of good brandy for every man,  
Go down to your grog, boys, and be all in good cheer,  
**For it's while we at sea roam [While we roam on the sea]**  
there is nothing to fear;  
There's a glass of good brandy and another of port wine,  
So you drink to your true love and I'll drink to mine." //

\* Decker's stanza six is replaced by Nicolle's stanzas seven and eight.

In this instance Peacock created a composite "A" text which involved the incorporation of phrases, whole lines and whole stanzas from Nicolle's performance. When the two variants are compared with the published version it is readily apparent that Peacock edited Decker's performance considerably before setting it to print. Stanzas one, two, and three are as Decker gave them to Peacock but with minor word changes. Stanzas four and five are taken directly from Decker's original performance, but Peacock incorporates stanzas four and five from Nicolle's variant and changes stanzas four and five of the Decker variant to stanzas six and seven in the published version. The first two lines of stanza seven (originally stanza five in Decker's variant) have also been replaced by the first two lines of Nicolle's stanza six. Decker's concluding stanza six has been dropped altogether. In its place Peacock has substituted Nicolle's concluding stanza. Through this kind of re-arranging and editing Peacock achieved a longer and fuller song text finishing off with a more dramatic ending. The version he published showed little resemblance to the song performed by Decker, instead, it more closely resembled that

performed by Arthur Nicolle.

Peacock also made composite versions using material from variants he did not publish. One example is his treatment of the song "Frozen Charlotte" (1965, 3: 735-37).

He collected two variants: one from Charles Elliot of Keels under the title "Frozen Charlotte" (MS-40) in 1951, and another in 1958 from Charlotte Decker who called it "Young Charlotte" (102-784).<sup>52</sup> Peacock published Decker's eleven-stanza variant making only casual reference to the eleven-stanza example provided by Elliot:

Several attempts have been made to relate this American ballad to an actual event, all without real success [ . . . ]. In any event, it has spread all over the continent and is especially popular in Newfoundland where it is sometimes called "Frozen Charlotte" ( 3: 736-37).

When the two variants are compared it is clear that Peacock incorporated phrases and words from Elliot's "Frozen Charlotte" in stanza six of the published text of Decker's performance of the song.

**Decker's original performance of stanza six of "Young Charlotte" (102-784)**

- (1) The musical sounds of those runners as they cut the frozen snow,
- (2) "Such another night I never did spend, my reins I can scarcely hold."
- (3) When Charlotte spoke with a feeble voice, "I am exceedingly cold."

**Peacock's published version of stanza six of "Young Charlotte" (102-784)<sup>53</sup>**

- (1) \\ "What creaking sounds those runners make // as they cut the frozen snow,
- (2) \\ There's music in those merry bells as over the hills we go, //
- (3) Such another night I never did spend, my reins I can scarcely hold."
- (4) When Charlotte spoke with a feeble voice, "I am exceedingly cold."

<sup>52</sup> "Young Charlotte," MUNFLA, Tape 87-157/C11054B; and "Frozen Charlotte," Pea-C-MS-40, Textual and Musical Transcriptions-Manuscript, box 302 f. 13; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>53</sup> Lines and phrases which Peacock incorporated from stanza five of Elliot's performance of "Frozen Charlotte" (MS 40) are in \\ // parallel brackets.

In line one of stanza six, Peacock imported text from stanza five of “Frozen Charlotte” (MS-40) and substituted it for the original phrase used by the singer. In line two of the same stanza Peacock again added material from stanza five of Elliot’s variant to create a balanced four-line stanza which would be in keeping with the remainder of the song. Although the melodic phrase structure is ABBA, for stanza six Decker actually sang ABA or only three lines of text. By adding the fourth line Peacock aimed to harmonize the text with the melody.

**(iii) Transcriptions which are multiple composites of texts created from the performances of three or more singers**

In five instances Peacock combined words, lines and/or stanzas from the variants of three or more performances into composite texts. He used material from variants he had decided not to publish. For the published version of “My Flora and Me,” Arthur Nicolle’s melody and text are both presented as the “A” text (1965, 2: 480-81). Peacock opted to use this because the texts of the four variants were “similar though Mr. Nicolle’s is the most complete” (481). But he also included what he called “a few phrases” from three other variants “to give the best wording” (481). In addition to the “B” variant, of which he published only one stanza and the melody of Michael Aylward’s performance (MS-81), Peacock took material from variants of the song which he had acquired from Everett Bennett and Charlotte Decker, two other singers in Nicolle’s region.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>. “My Flora and Me” (93-744) and (102-786), MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/C11050A and C11054B.

The most extreme examples of merging material from different singers' performances was his attempt to create "ideal" texts for Child ballads "Lady Margaret" (No. 77) and "Barbara Allen" (No. 84) (2: 390-95 and 3: 649-661). Using Mike Kent's performance as the "A" variant, he extended the text of "Lady Margaret" to fifteen stanzas by adding material taken from other singers. Peacock published the six separate melodies but noted "Instead of giving the complete texts which are very similar I have made a complete collation based largely on Mr. Kent's variant which is the most complete" (392). He acknowledged, however, that material had also been taken from the performances of Mrs. Nicolle, Mrs. Galpin and Mrs. Kinslow (2: 392). For the song "Barbara Allen" Peacock created an idealized eighteen-stanza text based on no fewer than four of six variants that he had collected and which "professional singers might find useful" (3: 649-51 and 661).

Peacock's reworking of material in this manner was often intended to accommodate both musicians and researchers. In the case of "Barbara Allen" he said that "the original source texts are also given for those of a more scholarly bent" (661). His personal love of older songs such as the Child ballads often influenced his decisions to make such composite creations. He reproduced all the tunes of "Lady Margaret" because of the unusualness of the song and because "Despite its popularity in Newfoundland, this fine traditional ballad has never been published before (or collected to my knowledge)" (2: 392). This kind of editing ended up being a poorly-presented compromise of the

original performances and it did not work well.

**2. Contraction:** “the most general of the terms for Subtraction, ‘contraction’ can refer to the loss of any type of material at any level. Usually, however, it is implied that materials essential to the storyline remain, while peripheral material is shed” (Burns 1970, 53).

Instances of contraction occur throughout *Outports*. A typical example is Peacock’s treatment of the song “Goodbye My Lovely Annie” (10-61). A comparison of the field recording with the published transcript reveals that Peacock left out the following stanza between stanzas three and four:

Of the secrets of my mind,  
You’re the one I do adore,  
But still I live in hopes to see,  
Old Newfoundland once more.<sup>55</sup>

His decision was probably based on the fact that with the exception of line one, stanza two, “Once more to part from you fine girl” the remainder of the stanza was exactly the same and no great loss to the song’s overall content (1965, 3: 877).

**3. Dramatization:** “a single or climactic act becomes more and more the focus of attention due to the shedding of peripheral action and descriptive material . . . Although this form of change is generally associated with Subtraction, there seems no reason that at the same time peripheral action and descriptive detail is lost, the focal action cannot be somewhat elaborated through the addition of dramatic material” (Burns 1970, 54).

Peacock appears to have inserted material in some songs to achieve a more

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<sup>55</sup>. MUNFLA, 87-157/C11035B.

dramatic effect. Sometimes he borrowed words from another variant or, apparently, simply created them. In the case of the song “Flowery Garden” (174-1085) Osborne’s stanza nine, consisting of six lines (shown on the left) was split creating an additional stanza.

**Osborne’s Original**  
**Stanza nine:**

(9)  
He gave it unto his own true lover.  
She drank it down with a cheerful mind.  
Soon as she drank it, so soon she felt it  
“Oh carry me home, oh my dear,” cried she,  
“The dose of liquor you lately gave me  
Makes me so ill, love as I can be.”<sup>56</sup>

**Peacock’s revised version**  
**Stanza nine:**

(9)  
He gave it unto his own true lover.  
She drank it down with a cheerful mind  
[Not thinking that her own dear loved one  
Put a dose of death in her blood-red wine.]  
  
(10)  
Soon as she drank it, so soon she felt it.  
“Oh carry me home, oh my dear,” cried she,  
“The dose of liquor you lately gave me  
Makes me so ill, love as I can be” (1965, 2: 589).

**4. Lyrication:** “the progressive loss of all kinds of action elements while detail capable of eliciting a particular mood or emotion is retained” (Burns 1970, 54).

A good example of this is Peacock’s removal of a spoken passage of “William Craig and Bold Manone” (146-971) performed by George Decker. The song about a marauding pirate gang contains two small recitations; one after stanza thirteen and the other after stanza sixteen:

(13)      So merrily she played on her harp,  
              So merrily she sung,  
              Knowing nothing of that murder  
              Or anything that was done.

{Decker recites the following in a monotone voice:  
[Home home sweet sweet home,  
I met an old friend I dreamed  
There’s no place like home] }

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<sup>56</sup> MUNFLA, 87-157/C11085A.

(14) Oh some did stand, some more did swear,  
Some said they'd have her for a wife.  
"God damn your eyes, I'll let you know  
I soon will end all strife."

(15) He rushed down to this virgin  
Without any fear or dread,  
And with a naked sword in hand  
He soon cut off her head.

(16) They rushed on board of their own ship,  
So merrily they cracked on,  
With a keg of brandy on the capstan head  
So merrily they sung.<sup>57</sup>

{Decker then recites in a monotone voice:  
[A pirate's life is a merry merry life,  
and a merry merry wind are we  
for today we'll merry merry be  
and tomorrow we'll be free,  
around her flowing dress  
I'll tell a girl I know her,  
for tonight we'll merry merry be,  
in the morrow we'll be sober].}

A comparison of the field recording of Decker's performance with the printed text in *Outports* indicates that Peacock excluded the recitations entirely (1965, 3: 848-51).

Doerflinger published a version of the song in *Songs of the Sailor and Lumberman* which had been collected prior to 1951 from an informant in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia (1972, 139). His example contains a version of these passages. As this suggests the material which Peacock chose to discard was integral to the song whether sung or recited. Laws, who classifies the song under "Bold Manan" (D 15), suggests that "despite its grim subject matter one was not always expected to take it seriously" (1964, 168). In a performance, the inclusion of spoken passages was certainly one way of providing comic relief in a song which described in detail many acts of violence by the pirates including the beheading of the "virgin" on board. Peacock left out

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<sup>57</sup>. MUNFLA, 87-157/C11071A.

the passages because, to his way of thinking, they were unimportant or irrelevant to the song's overall content and the material conflicted with his personal view of how the song should be performed. Alternatively, he may not have known how to present the material in print in this form. In at least one other instance Peacock was presented with a song which contained a passage meant to be recited quickly. In "Goodbye John, But Don't Stop Long" (98-766), which Peacock transcribed but did not publish, the spoken passage was accurately transcribed.<sup>58</sup>

**5. Personification:** "change which involves the substitution of the first person for the third person point of view in a song" (Burns 1970, 54).

In several instances Peacock alters the emphasis of the song from the general to the particular with the changing of a person and/or word here and there. Possibly Peacock was attempting to provide what he assumed was continuity in the stanzas. Clara Stevens performs stanza three of the song "Johnny from Hazelgreen" (160-1025) as follows:

"What kind of a lad **are your Hazelgreen** or whereabouts does he dwell?"  
He is so nice a young fellow as ever my eyes beheld,"  
He was proper, tall, and handsome, his shoulders broad and keen,  
His hair hung down in locks of gold, sweet Johnny from Hazelgreen."<sup>59</sup>

When publishing the song the phrase "are your Hazelgreen" had been replaced in line one

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<sup>58</sup>. See MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11052B and Pea B 98-766, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, box 282 f. 9; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>59</sup>. MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11078A.



Peacock also felt obliged to omit statements which could be too inflammatory or derogatory. Stanza nine, line three, of "Downey's Our Member" (170-1074) was performed by Leonard Hulan as:

Now Thomas is Chairman at Robinson's you know,  
 Dick Legge is at Cartyville, it's all for a show,  
**William Andrews at Jeffrey's is now a relic,**  
**He's only a cripple he jumps with a stick,**  
 Jimmy Pike at Maidstone, he's somewheres the best,  
 He got a few cents more than the rest.<sup>62</sup>

In *Outports* the statement about "William Andrews" has been removed:

Now Thomas is Chairman at Robinson's you know,  
 Dick Legge is at Cartyville, it's all for a show,  
 Jimmy Pike at Maidstone, he's somewheres the best,  
 He got a few cents more than the rest (3: 780).

Alternatively, Peacock may have eliminated the line because this allowed him to keep the four-line stanza structure consistent with the rest of the song.

**7. Conventionalization:** "[ . . . ] familiar, almost formulaic words or phrases (cliches) are substituted for forgotten counterparts" (Burns 1970, 54).

Peacock frequently conventionalized words and phrases in small ways by adding or dropping articles, pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions and by reversing the order of phrases. In stanza five, line one, of the song "The City of Baltimore" (164-1042), Clara Stevens sings "Our mate **at being** a cowardly man."<sup>63</sup> In *Outports* this is changed

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<sup>62</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11083A.

<sup>63</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11080A.

to "Our mate he was a cowardly man" (1965, 3: 861). In stanza ten, line four, of the song "Jimmy and Nancy (197-1157), the phrase "You were watched over" is altered to "Who always watched o'er you" (2: 533).<sup>64</sup> While such changes seem minor, with this kind of editing Peacock has often stripped out or altered simple phrases, which particularly with local compositions, have the momentary effect of situating the listener within the experiences or events being recalled. One such example is his editing of the local song "Loss of the *Bruce*" (188-1133), an account of a major disaster at sea as a result of a storm. The tragedy unfolded when the ship, the *Bruce*, hit a reef in the high seas. In Jim Dalton's powerful and emotional performance the feeling of hopelessness and fear is conveyed in stanza four with the following lines:

And then a great confusion was held, us on board,  
 Poor helpless female passengers chill telled in their face,  
 While little children clinging close beside their mother's form,  
 It sure was a pitiful picture that night with sea and storm.<sup>65</sup>

In *Outports* Peacock slightly altered the characterization dropping a few words and switching a few phrases to read as follows:

And then a great confusion aboard the ship held sway,  
 The helpless female passengers could only kneel and pray,  
 Their weeping children clinging close beside their mother's form,  
 It was a pitiful picture that night with sea and storm (3: 940).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>. MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11096B.

<sup>65</sup>. MUINFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11092A.

<sup>66</sup>. It could also be argued that with the substitution of the words "their weeping" for "while little children" Peacock was also "sentimentalizing," another of Burns's categories wherein "the added material is generally descriptive in nature and functions to heighten the listener's feeling toward an act, scene or

While the essence of the moment is still there, the loss of the words “us on board,” “chill telled in their face,” “poor,” “while little” and “sure” had the effect of shifting the performance away from the singer’s more personal characterization of the tragedy.

**8. Cross-over:** “A process whereby because of similarities in content, mood, theme or tune, material at any level passes from one song to another. Although cross-over usually is a matter of substitution, it may also occur as a phenomenon under addition. Particular types of materials, lyric elements, refrains, and stanzas of generalized or common action are especially subject to this type of movement. When cross-over of materials from one song to another is viewed negatively, the change is termed contamination” (1970, 55).

An example of this type of cross-over is evident in Peacock’s combining of stanza three from Annie Walters’s “She Died in Love” (144-965) with Charlotte Decker’s variant of “She’s Like the Swallow” (MS 128) identified simply as MS in *Outports* (1965, 3: 705 and 708). Peacock’s motivations for combining material from the two songs were purely aesthetic; he used the stanza “to further heighten the symbolism of the apron” (714). Peacock was taken with the lyrics of both songs. In his discussion of “She Died in Love” he says that “some of the most beautiful lyric in the English language is to be found in this traditional ballad and its relations” (708), and for “She’s Like the Swallow” he remarks “Ever since Maud Karpeles collected a tantalizing fragment of this ballad in Newfoundland more than thirty years ago, scholars and singers alike have been

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character” (1970, 53).

fascinated by its elusiveness and beauty" (714).

Throughout his field collecting Peacock had regularly sought out the song. After documenting one variant from Mrs. Kinslow in 1959 he remarked, "for the remainder of the trip I kept pestering singers for more verses" (3: 714). When Annie Walters sang him "She Died in Love" Peacock had attempted to teach her his version of "She's Like the Swallow." He considered the two songs similar enough thematically and melodically, that by taking a verse from Walters's song, he could create a more complete text. His transcription of the "A" version of "She's Like the Swallow" was moreover his distinct conceptualization of the melody combined with words supplied in writing (much later) by Charlotte Decker and the stanza taken from "She Died in Love" (714).

Under the categories of addition, subtraction and re-arrangement, Burns also identifies four overall "inclusive change destinations" (1970, 55). "Oicotypification" [ecotypification] he notes, is "the process whereby song materials are adapted to a particular cultural or subcultural environment" while "recomposition" may be seen as the "complete revamping of song materials" and "degeneration" is "any change at any level of song material which is viewed negatively" (55). The fourth change, "rationalization," involves "textual changes which result from the imposition of the criteria of reason or probability on the contents of a folksong" leading to "certain materials being deleted, substituted or added" and that this could also "be affected through the rearrangement of materials" (1970, 55).

The most pronounced in terms of all these processes are Peacock's attempts to rationalize the field material, in essence "correcting" the singer's grammar, syntax and word use. In "The Cashmere Shawl" (163-1040) Clara Stevens consistently sang "Why that's the same reason **produced** me to wear the cashmere shawl."<sup>67</sup> Peacock changed this to "Why that's the same reason **induced** me to wear the cashmere shawl" (1965, 3: 777-778). In stanza seven, lines three and four, of the same song, Peacock changed the phrase "And there he **a-tempted** the woman for eating the forbidden fruit" to read "And then he **did tempt** the woman to eat the forbidden fruit" (778).<sup>68</sup> Perhaps by eliminating such errors Peacock was endeavoring to avoid having readers ridicule the singers and their dialect. He was also commoditizing the material or translating it for an outside audience. Peacock also aimed for continuity and he regularly altered small details such as the day of the week or even direction. In stanza four, line one, of the song "Monday Morning" (96-758) "Saturday" is shifted to Sunday to follow in sequence with the next day of the week:

"Oh **Saturday** [Sunday] night it will be all my care  
 To comb out my locks and to curl my hair;  
 My two pretty maidens will put me to bed,  
 And I'll bid adieu to my sweet maidenhead  
 And over to my true love my arms I'll spread  
 "Here's adieu to all maidens till Monday morning" (2: 559).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11079B.

<sup>68</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11079B.

<sup>69</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11051B.

In the text of “The Moonshine Can” (Pea 171-1076) (which is also combined with another singer’s melody), in stanza four, lines three and four, the direction “down” is replaced with “cross” as follows:

To travel **down** [’cross] the lonely plain up to my knees in snow  
 To travel **down** [’cross] the lonely plain it was against the grain” (1: 75).<sup>70</sup>

Likewise in stanza seven, lines three and four of “You Roving Boys of Newfoundland” (166–1052), the characterization of direction of the wind as “roared down” is altered from “rose”:

The wind **rose** [roared down] from the east-northeast  
 So **violent** [violently] it **blow** [blew] (3:, 920).<sup>71</sup>

For those accustomed to living close to sea, the shift in wind activity is one of many subtle indications as to what is occurring in the atmosphere of the song. Although Peacock appears to convey the same meaning, it might be argued that this slight change alters one of the cultural clues which contributes to the dramatic build-up of a song.

Peacock often replaced words to enhance phrasing and to allow for a dramatic conclusion. In “He’s Young But He’s Daily Growing” (103-789), which shows severe editing throughout, in the sixth and final stanza he progressively reduced the age of the young boy by one year (1965, 3: 678). In the following example the bolded lines of Charlotte Decker’s original performance on the left and the bracketed lines of the

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<sup>70</sup>. MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11083B.

<sup>71</sup>. MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11081A.

published version on the right illustrate the extremity of this kind of editing.<sup>72</sup>

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|---|---|
| <p>1.       <b>The trees they did grow tall and the leaves were green grow</b> ,<br/>They grew all about the place oh where you and I were seen,<br/><b>It was sitting all alone</b> on a cold winter's day,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing.</p> | <p>1.       [The tree was growing tall and the leaves were growing green,]<br/>They grew all about the place oh where [we have often been,]<br/>[But now they all have fallen ]on a cold winter's [e'en,]<br/>He's young but he's daily growing</p>             |
| <p>2.       "O<i>h</i> father, oh father, <b>so you've done me</b> ,<br/>You have a-married me to a boy <b>very young</b>,<br/>While I am twice twelve he is only thirteen,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing."</p>                                 | <p>2.       "O<i>h</i> father, oh father, [so cruel to me you've been,]<br/>You have a-married me to a boy[ so young and green,]<br/>While I am twice twelve he is only thirteen,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing."</p>                                   |
| <p>3.       "O<i>h</i> daughter, oh daughter, I have done <b>thee no harm</b>,<br/><b>I have</b> a-married you to a rich noble son,<br/>And if you 'll only wait upon him he will be a royal king,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing."</p>          | <p>3.       "O<i>h</i> daughter, oh daughter, I have done[ no such thing,]<br/>[You're] a-married [to a noble boy, and you will wear his noble ring,]<br/>And if you'll only wait upon him he will be a royal king,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing."</p> |
| <p>4.       "O<i>h</i> father, oh father I tell you what we'll do,<br/>We'll send him out to college all for a year or two,<br/><b>We will bind a blue ribbon all around his waist</b>,<br/>To let the girls know that he's married."</p>               | <p>4.       "O<i>h</i> father, oh father I tell you what we'll do,<br/>We'll send him out to college all for a year or two,<br/>[And all around his waist we will bind a blue ribbon]<br/>To let the girls know he's married."</p>                              |
| <p>5.       As she was a-sewing all in her father's hall,<br/>'Twas there she saw the schoolboys a-tossing up a ball,<br/>And 'twas there she saw her own true love, the flower of them all,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing."</p>                | <p>5.       As she was a-sewing all in her father's hall,<br/>'Twas there she saw the schoolboys a-tossing up a ball,<br/>And 'twas there she saw her own true love, the flower of them all,<br/>He's young but he's daily growing."</p>                        |
| <p>6.       At the age of <b>fourteen</b> he was a married man,<br/>At the age of <b>fifteen</b> his eldest son was born,<br/>At the age of <b>sixteen</b> his grave was growing green,<br/>And that put an end to his growing.</p>                     | <p>6.       [He was a married man at the age of thirteen,]<br/>His only son was born [ when he was just fourteen,]<br/>[But] at the age of fifteen [his grave was growing green,]<br/>And that put an end to his growing.</p>                                   |

There was simply no need for this kind of meddling which runs throughout many of the published texts. Peacock regularly substituted pronouns where he perceived it necessary. This often has the effect of removing local referents within songs. In stanza two, lines

<sup>72</sup> He's Young But He's Daily Growing," MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11055A

one and two, of the song "The Young Fisherman" (185-1121) the pronoun which makes the boat feminine is neutralized: "He rowed his boat unto the shore and tied **her** [it] to a stake" (2: 603).<sup>73</sup> In the Newfoundland context the use of the feminine pronoun "her" is but one aspect of folk grammar (Paddock 1975, 25).

Peacock also recast phrases to tighten up the rhyme and meter of a stanza. In "The Milkman's Lament" (120 -864), a song which has only minor changes, for line two of stanza one, the singer says "And love is the cause of a good many's fame."<sup>74</sup> This is altered to read "I worked all my life for honour and gain" thereby eliminating the echo in line four:

I am a young milkman in sad lamentation,  
**And love is the cause of a good many's fame**  
 [I worked all my life for honour and gain,  
 Till at length I courted a pretty young maiden,  
 And love is the cause of a good many's pain.  
 (2: 479).<sup>75</sup>

In many instances Peacock's editing was simply the result of his attempts to make the text more nearly regular by rearranging words, phrases, lines and stanzas and by compensating for material which, to his perception, the singer had left out. In stanza two of "Reid's Express" (83-706) Everett Bennett sings:

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<sup>73</sup> MUNLFA, Tape, 87-157/C11090B.

<sup>74</sup> MUNLFA, Tape, 87-157/ C11063B.

<sup>75</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11063B.

The foreman's there so anxiously a-waiting on the stand,  
 Saying, "I am short-handed, sir, will you come in camp with me,  
 And if you ask the wages we'll promise twenty-three."<sup>76</sup>

Peacock added an extra line rationalizing that "since the first line of verse 2 was missing on the recording, I have used the last line of the previous verse to complete the rhyming scheme" (758). The result is:

[The station's below at Badger's Brook you'll take your grip in hand,]  
 The foreman's there so anxiously a-waiting on the stand,  
 Saying, "I am short-handed, sir, will you come and camp with me,  
 And if you ask the wages we'll promise twenty-three" (757).

Peacock also replaced text he thought inappropriate or that he didn't quite understand. In stanza five, line three, of "The Rosy Banks of Green" (163-1041), the line "The bullet spread its score and so truly aimed at them" was supplanted with "The bullet left the muzzle, its aim so true and keen" (3: 704).<sup>77</sup> On occasion this kind of editing significantly alters the action. In the case of "In Courtship There Lies Pleasure" in stanza three, line four, the phrase "Ten guineas there lies waiting and it's married we'll never be" is changed to "married we will be" (2: 465).<sup>78</sup>

Coming from outside the culture Peacock did not have an easy time dealing with the nuances of language embedded in the Newfoundland folksong, noting in *Outports* that he found the native grammar challenging:

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<sup>76</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11045A.

<sup>77</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11079B.

<sup>78</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11051B.

Possibly the most vexing problems of preparing traditional songs for publication are concerned with editing the texts. Some researchers of more scientific bent consider it mandatory to reproduce each and every symbol the way the informant pronounced it. This is next to impossible even within the limitations of a strict phonetic system, but when ordinary written English is used to suggest the nuances of a dialect, the result is often ludicrous. As an exercise in popular phonetics, I tried this method on one or two Newfoundland songs. For example, the first line of *She's Like the Swallow* in one of the Newfoundland dialects comes out something like this: "Shay's loik de swellah det floiz sa hoigh." Rather than have my poor readers lose their sanity ploughing through several hundred pages of this, I have reluctantly forsaken precision for readability (1965,1: xxiii).

Peacock seems to have been compelled to make compromises using his concepts of speech, meter and rhyming sequences to shape those textual transcriptions which eventually made it into print. Along the way, something of the "Newfoundland character" was lost.<sup>79</sup>

### **C: Simulation of Folksong Materials Based on Invention and Borrowing**

Several composites in *Outports* are the result of material Peacock borrowed from other printed sources or are his own inventions. These kinds of inclusions, while seeming to replicate a folk tradition, distance the printed versions from the informants' performances.

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<sup>79</sup>. As Story notes in "The Dialects of Newfoundland English," language is distinct from region to region and based on such factors as "historical connections" combined with a "complex fusion of social, economic, geographic and cultural factors" which creates on the one hand a "conservatism" but on the other "innovation and change" (1982, 62). Harold Paddock also observes in "The Folk Grammar of Carbonear, Newfoundland," that the "folk" have local idioms, terminology, dialectal features and popular speech (1975: 25-32). As he observes elsewhere in "Newfoundland Dialects of English," "Our dialects have given rise to the most fruitful misunderstandings" (Paddock 1982, 71).

**(i) Invention of material**

For purposes of rationalization, Peacock frequently re-organized material adding extra lines from other stanzas to complete the structure of a stanza. As his end comment for “The Murder of Anne O’Brien” (75-671) indicates, Peacock readily borrowed material to make a text complete: “The second line of verse 5, missing in this version, was taken from another variant by Mrs. Freeman Bennett of St. Paul’s” (1965, 2: 623). In some instances, as for his treatment of stanza 4 of “On Board of the *Victory*” (155-1006), the material appears to have been invented (1965, 2: 484-85).<sup>80</sup> As the singer provided Peacock with only three lines of text, the line “I dreamed I was a-lyin’ all on my true love’s breast” appears to have been Peacock’s interpolation:

As I lay on my pillow I dreamed I was at rest,  
 [I dreamed I was a-lyin all on my true love’s breast,]  
 I dreamed I was enjoying my love’s sweet company,  
 To be pulled close in his arms on board of the *Victory* (485).<sup>81</sup>

This kind of inventive editing occurs elsewhere throughout the three volumes.<sup>82</sup>

A good instance of this is his treatment of “The Mallard” (195-1152) which he collected in 1961 from octogenarian, Mary Ann Galpin of Codroy and later published in *Outports* (1965, 1: 16-17). Galpin performs one stanza of the song for Peacock:

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<sup>80.</sup> Or possibly he could have remembered a fuller version from an earlier performance.

<sup>81.</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11075B.

<sup>82.</sup> A comparison of stanza 4, of the published version of “Fair Eleanor” (109-817) and stanzas 2, 8 and 9 of “Young Chambers” (150-986) with Charlotte Decker and Arthur Nicolle’s original performances on the field tapes suggest that Peacock invented the material here too; see MUNFLA, Tapes, 87-157/ C11058A and C11073A and *Outports* 2: 608-09 and 3: 897-98.

O I have eaten him what did I eat?  
 I ate the toe of the mallard.  
 Toe, toe and wing, wing  
 and back, back and leg, leg  
 and side, side and two, two's and two nonicks and all.  
 I have been to the Finnigan's Ball,  
 and good meat was the mallard.<sup>83</sup>

At the end of this performance Peacock asks Galpin "Is there any more?" and she replies:

No but he [ her father] used to sing it all . . . . "The Mallard," that's the  
 drake. He used to pick'n [him] right to the bones. Bone, bone and wing,  
 wing and back, back and side, side and I couldn't follow it."<sup>84</sup>

From this brief recording, during which Galpin acknowledges she never could follow the song, Peacock creates a singable version starting with the head of the mallard, working down through the neck, back, wing, side, breast, tail, leg, foot and toe setting up the text to follow the traditional cumulative song pattern provided by Galpin (1: 16-17).

Peacock's motives are understandable considering that he intended *Outports* to be used as resource for singers, and so it has been. Newfoundland-based musicians, Jean Hewson and Christine Smith, include a performance of "The Mallard" based on Peacock's version on their "*Like Ducks!*" album.<sup>85</sup>

Peacock may have "improved" several of Chris Cobb's tunes. Cobb's son, Aaron, said that Peacock either created or revised Cobb's melodies for "Brown Flour" (MS-18),

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<sup>83.</sup> MUNLFA, Tape, 87-157/C11095B.

<sup>84.</sup> MUNLFA, Tape, 87-157/C11095B.

<sup>85.</sup> See track 2 *Christina Smith and Jean Hewson: Like Ducks!* Borealis (BCD 108). Peter Narváez suggested they name the album "Like Ducks" because of the inclusion of "The Mallard." Personal conversation 22 Oct. 2003.

“The Fisherman’s Alphabet” (MS-36) and “Lovely Newfoundlander” (MS-73). When asked if Peacock sang at all for his father Cobb recalled:

He sang the melodies, the different melodies that he wanted, that he considered for one song. So he tried them out with my Dad and he was asking my Dad did he think they were okay and so on.

AG: . . . . When you say he put the melody to them, your Dad would sing the song and Kenneth would take down the music? Would he actually change the music around?

AC: Sometimes he did that, just alter it a little, right.<sup>86</sup>

Peacock once referred to Cobb as a “folk poet,” but noted that his “musical sense is rather weak” (1956, 7). In the end-note to “The Lovely Newfoundlander” he says:

Chris Cobb is not much interested in the musical aspect of his compositions, preferring to present them as recitations. When urged to sing, however, he usually uses the first tune that pops into his head, not always with the happiest result. Those who, like myself, find his verse clever and entertaining but would prefer singing it to other tunes are invited to do so. I am sure he would not mind in the least (1: 371).

Peacock was first and foremost a musician so it was quite reasonable that he should have provided Cobb some assistance.

## **(ii) Borrowed material**

### **a. Composites Using Published Sources**

In at least eight instances Peacock derived some or all of the text from another published source. When creating his transcriptions, of the Gaelic songs sung for him by Allan MacArthur, Peacock also used printed materials he found in MacArthur’s home.

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<sup>86</sup> Telephone Interview, Aaron Cobb 30 April 1998.

The texts for MacArthur's melodies for the songs "Brughaichean Ghlinn' Braon" (128-895) and "Oran Na Caillich" (128-896) were taken from *Sar-obair m Nam Bard Gaelach or the Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and Lives of the Highland Bards: With Historical and Critical Notes and a Comprehensive Glossary of Provincial Words* (1863) edited by Norman MacDonald, and the text for "Fhir a Bhàta" (129-898), was most likely taken from a newspaper clipping. Peacock was the first collector to record the Newfoundland Gaelic material and as he did not know Gaelic he probably used the printed sources in order to facilitate transcription of the songs.

When Peacock collected a fragment of a song accompanied by a melody which he thought exceptional, he also turned to book sources for additional text. For his published version of "Sir James the Rose" (202-1175) (Child 213) (1965 3: 715-19), Peacock originally recorded two stanzas from a singer in Aquaforte noting later in *Outports* "one should be thankful for the beautiful and noble tune remembered by Mr. Ryan" (719).<sup>87</sup> He copied the remaining forty stanzas from "a school notebook of the late William Jones of Aquaforte, who copied it from oral tradition in 1893" (719). As the song was a Child ballad and considered very rare, the opportunity to combine it with material from another local source, even if it was a notebook was, for Peacock, an acceptable means of documenting a song in oral tradition. His penchant for presenting material in this fashion reveals once again his desire to make available texts of considerable length and age.

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<sup>87</sup>. MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11099A.

Sadly he says nothing about how he came across the notebook from which he copied the additional stanzas or what other materials might have been in it.<sup>88</sup>

Peacock's literary interests frequently prompted him to incorporate material from other publications. In the case of "Doran's Ass" (MS-96) he had hand-transcribed an eleven-stanza variant from the performance of James Heany. Upon discovering a variant in Manus O'Connor's *Irish Come All Ye's* he subsequently borrowed a stanza from it because "stanza 8 was missing in the Newfoundland variant" (1965, 1: 52; O'Connor 1901, 43). For the broadside "Crazy Jane" (MS-22), which he had collected in manuscript from Edward Taylor's performance in 1952, Peacock notes that he found some similarity between this song and the "Crazy Jane" poems of W. B. Yeats adding "However it does not appear in the Yeats' collection" (2: 437). He found a comparable version in *The Quaver, or Songster's Pocket Companion* so he borrowed stanza five from this printed source because: "This Newfoundland variant follows the printed version quite closely" (1965, 2: 437). I asked Peacock why he had chosen to incorporate material from *The Quaver* and he replied:

Well you know W. B. Yeats the poet, he had a series of songs called Crazy Jane -- well poems -- and I can't remember whether they were from Yeats

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<sup>88</sup>. As others have found, notebooks are a popular way of retaining and re-circulating song materials which appear both in print and oral tradition (Rosenberg 1980: 315-333). Copies of two songbooks owned by singer Linda Slade which are at MUNFLA are typical. Scrutiny of "Songbook No. 2" shows that she obtained "The Green Shores of Fogo" from Peacock's *Outports* (1965, 2: 522). See Debora Kodish and Neil V. Rosenberg, "The Linda Slade Collection," MUNFLA, Ms, 78-008/pp.77.

or the folk source. He obviously got it from a folk source . . . . and so I thought, well . . . . to make it more or less complete.<sup>89</sup>

Peacock saw nothing wrong with this approach. It enabled him to create a fuller text for singing.

In some instances his reliance on published material has reversed the process of dissemination through oral tradition. One example is his treatment of “The *Southern Cross*” (186-1129) which he recorded from Jack Dalton and later published in *Outports* (1965, 3: 973-74).<sup>90</sup> As Peacock was aware, Greenleaf and Mansfield had first published the song in *Songs and Ballads* (1933, 281-2), and they then passed it on to Gerald S. Doyle who printed it in *Old-Time Songs* (1940, 57). Peacock decided to publish Dalton’s version because “[it] has a completely different tune from one noted by Greenleaf and Mansfield” (974).

A comparison of the field recording with the published version indicates that Peacock relied on these earlier sources when transcribing Dalton’s variant. In an earlier unpublished transcript Peacock notes that, as stanza eight was not on the recording, he had “copied [it] from the Gerald S. Doyle booklet.”<sup>91</sup> Moreover, as stanza three of Dalton’s rendition consisted of three lines, he borrowed the missing line from Doyle to complete the quatrain. A simpler and more acceptable alternative would have been to

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<sup>89</sup>. Anna Guigné, recorded telephone interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Mar. 1994.

<sup>90</sup>. MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11091A.

<sup>91</sup>. Pea-B 186-1129, box 286 f.12; Peacock collection, LAD-CMC.

present the song as the singer performed it, adding a note at the end to indicate the shortened melodic line and pointing readers toward the fuller text in Greenleaf and Mansfield. Alternatively, he could have simply incorporated both the additional stanza and line as part of his footnote. Throughout this transcript Peacock additionally replaced Dalton's choice of words in favor of those in the variant published by Greenleaf and Mansfield. In stanza two, line three, "fellas' being" was changed to "All panned" while in stanza seven "put your trust in God above" was replaced with "put your trust in Providence" (Greenleaf and Mansfield 1933, 281-82).<sup>92</sup>

Considering Peacock's objection to the influence of the Doyle songbooks such changes as these are puzzling. Rather than replicating the singer's variant this editing effectively created a standardized version comparable to the variant, Greenleaf and Mansfield published which Doyle reprinted.

#### **b. Complex Multiple Composites**

Determining how Peacock developed composite texts can become a complicated matter as in "Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love" (1965, 2: 453). Peacock indicates that the song is a composite based on a field recording from Mrs. Venus Way in July 1951 (5-28), and a variant he copied in manuscript from Mrs. Lucy Heaney of Stock Cove in July 1952 identified as 'MS' (2, 453). Peacock accounts for the composite in this fashion:

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<sup>92</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11091A.

One of the most poignant laments in the whole Newfoundland collection. A text of this rare item appears in Gavin Greig's *Folksongs of the North East*, and Sharp notes an Appalachian variant called *The Dear Companion*. The Newfoundland version is a composite from two three-verse variants. Verses 1 and 4 were sung by Mrs. Way, and verses 2 and 3 are from Mrs. Heaney. The tunes are almost identical (453).

As the field recording indicates, for her performance Mrs. Way sang just the first two stanzas. Peacock's second variant labeled as "MS" in *Outports*, consists of three stanzas (MS-44) which he collected from Mrs. Lucy Heaney and another informant named Elizabeth Mahoney.<sup>93</sup> As illustrated below when the three texts are placed side by side Peacock's published version shows variance away from the original performances.

Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love<sup>94</sup>

Mrs. Way's performance (5-28)

(1)  
Go and leave me if you wish, love,  
Never let me cross your mind,  
Since you have been with another  
Go and leave me, never mind.

(2)  
Many's a mile with you I walked love,  
Many's a hour with you I spent  
Thinking you was mine forever  
But your love was only lent.

Lucy Heaney and Elizabeth  
Mahoney's Performance (MS-44)

(1)  
Go and leave me if you wish, love,  
Never let me cross your mind,  
Since you have been with another  
Go and leave me, never mind.

(2)  
Many's the tale of love you've told me,  
Many's the long and weary mile  
We have wandered, love, together,  
Talking of life's weary trials.

The version Peacock published in  
*Outports* (1965 2, 453).

(1)  
Go and leave me if you wish, love,  
Never let me cross your mind,  
Since you have been with another  
Go and leave me, never mind.

(2)  
Many's the tale of love you've told me,  
Many's the long and weary mile  
We have wandered, love, together,  
Talking of life's weary trials.

<sup>93</sup> "Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love," Pea-C-MS-44, Textual and Musical Transcriptions-Manuscript, box 302 f.13; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC.

<sup>94</sup> Venus Way, "Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love," Pea-B 5-28, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, box 277 f. 5; Peacock Collection, LAD-CMC; and MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/ C11038A.

(3) \*  
 Go and leave me if you wish love,  
 I will stay and think on thee,  
 Sitting in my chair of sorrow,  
 With your baby on my knee.

(3)  
 Many's the night with him I rambled,  
 Many's the hour with him I spent,  
 I thought his heart was mine forever,  
 But now I find it was only lent.

(3)  
 Many's the night with you I rambled,  
 Many's the hour with you I spent,  
 I thought your heart was mine forever,  
 But now I find it was only lent

\* Stanza three is not on the recording

(4)  
 Go and leave me if you wish love,  
 I will stay and think on thee,  
 Sitting in my chair of sorrow  
 With your baby on my knee.

When publishing stanza three of Mrs. Heaney and Mahoney's performance, Peacock changed some of the wording; "him" becomes "you" and "his heart" becomes "your heart." Peacock notes that the song was published in Gavin Greig's *Folksongs of the Northeast*. It contains a stanza comparable to stanza three published in *Outports*:

Many a night with you I've rambled,  
 Many an hour with you I've spent;  
 I thought your heart was mine forever,  
 But soon I found 'twas only lent (Greig 1963, CLXIX).

Possibly having examined Greig's text he decided to revert to an earlier form.

As the field tape indicates, Peacock tape recorded just two stanzas from Mrs. Way's performance and she may have dictated the third verse to Peacock. As his field books have been misplaced we have no way of knowing if this is the case. From the reference provided in his footnote an equally plausible scenario is that he borrowed the idea of the baby from his second citation "The Dear Companion," in *English Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians* and which contains a stanza with this word (1932, 2: 109).

Peacock's treatment of the material was to first create a longer text from two short ones

and secondly to alter words to bring the text closer to an earlier form. Although he used material from his two informants he borrowed both words and most likely ideas from book sources.

A comparable example of the complexity of the combinations is Peacock's six-stanza composite of "Feller from Fortune" (1-2 MS) which he attributes to Lloyd Soper and musician Bob Macleod (1965, 1: 53-54). As his field recording for this session reveals, Macleod was not present during the singing of this song for which Soper provided a three-stanza variant.<sup>95</sup> But, as Peacock indicates, Macleod was involved. One assumes based on the information provided that Peacock either made a second recording or had taken down additional words by hand. When I asked him about this, Peacock could not recall the details. As I determined, the likely explanation for the inclusion of Macleod is that Peacock had access to Margaret Sargent's field recordings of the song which contains a five-stanza variant that Macleod performed for her in 1950. When the version published in *Outports* is compared with the two field recordings, one by Peacock and the other by Sargent, it suggests that this is how Peacock created a longer, more detailed composite text (1965, 1: 53-54).

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<sup>95</sup>. As earlier mentioned, Peacock had passed Soper's variant to Doyle for inclusion in his third edition of *Old-Time Songs* (1955, 23 ).

Feller from Fortune 1-2 &MS<sup>96</sup>

Soper's rendition for Peacock  
in 1951 (1-2)

(1)  
Oh, there's lot's of fish in Bonavist'  
harbour,  
Lots of fish right in around here,  
Boys and girls are fishin' together,  
Forty-five from Carbonear.

*Oh, catch a-hold this one, catch a-hold that one,  
Swing around this one, swing around she,  
Dance around this one, dance around that one,  
Diddle-dum this one, diddle-dum dee.*

(2)  
Oh, Sally got a bouncin' baby,  
Father said that he don't care,  
'Cause she got that from the feller  
from Fortune,  
What was down fishin' the year.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(3)  
Oh, Sally goes to church every  
Sunday,  
Not, for to sing nor for to hear,  
But to see the feller from Fortune,  
What was down here fishin' the year.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

Macleod's rendition for Margaret Sargent  
in 1950

(1)  
Oh, there's lot's of fish in Bonavist'  
harbour,  
Lots of fishermen there,  
Swing your partner Jimmy Joe Jacobs,  
I'll be home in the spring of the year.

*Oh, catch a-hold this one, catch a-hold that one,  
Swing around this one, swing around she,  
Dance around this one, dance around that one,  
Diddle-dum this one, diddle-dum dee.*

(2)  
Now, Uncle George got home in the  
mornin',  
He got up in a hell of a tear,  
And he ripped the arse right out of his  
bitches,  
Now he's got ne'er pair to wear.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(3)  
Now our aunt Sal goes to church on  
Sunday,  
Not for what she can see and hear,  
She goes to see the feller from Fortune,  
What was fishin' down here last year.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(4)  
Now our aunt Sal got a bouncin' baby,  
Uncle Joe said he don't care,  
He said it belonged to the feller from  
Fortune,  
What was fishing down here last year.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

Peacock's composite published in  
Outports (1965, 1: 53-54)

(1)  
Oh, there's lot's of fish in Bonavist'  
harbour,  
Lots of fishermen there,  
Swing your partner Jimmy Joe Jacobs,  
I'll be home in the spring of the year.

*Oh, catch a-hold this one, catch a-hold that one,  
Swing around this one, swing around she,  
Dance around this one, dance around that one,  
Diddle-dum this one, diddle-dum dee.*

(2)  
Oh, Sally is the pride of Cat Harbour,  
Ain't been swung since last year,  
Drinkin' rum and wine and cassis,  
What the boys brought home from St.  
Pierre.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(3)  
Oh, Sally goes to church every Sunday,  
Not, for to sing nor for to hear,  
But to see the feller from Fortune,  
What was down here fishin' the year.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(4)  
Oh, Sally got a bouncin' baby,  
Uncle Joe said he don't care,  
He said it belonged to the feller from  
Fortune,  
What was fishing down here last year.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

<sup>96</sup>. Lloyd Soper and Bob Macleod, "Feller from Fortune," (1-2 MS) MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11031A; Bob Macleod, "Lots of Fish in Bonavista Harbour," S-16, audiotape 1, Margaret Sargent Collection, LAD-CMC.

(5)  
 Our aunt Sal is the pride of Cat Harbour,  
 Ain't been swung since last year,  
 Drinkin' rum and wine and cassis,  
 What the boys brought home from St.  
 Pierre.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(5)  
 Now, Uncle George got home in the  
 mornin',  
 He got up in a hell of a tear,  
 And he ripped the arse right out of his  
 britches,  
 Now he's got ne'er pair to wear.  
*Oh, catch a-hold*

(6)  
 Oh, there's lot's of fish in Bonavist'  
 harbour,  
 Lots of fishermen here;  
 Swing your partner Jimmy Joe Jacobs,  
 I'll be home in the spring of the year.

This composite arrangement has been widely disseminated in other publications of Newfoundland folksong (Cook 1986,16-17; Fowke 1973, 94-95; West 1991, 8-9).

### 10.3 Appraising Peacock's Musical Transcriptions

*Outports* is essentially a creative attempt to represent the Newfoundland singing tradition but it also highlights the difficulties Peacock encountered when assembling the material for publication. Peacock made no comments in *Outports* as to singers' preferences or what this material might reveal about the regional culture. He approached the matter at hand by simply transmuting the music he encountered into a new readable, singable and therefore usable format.<sup>97</sup> As a revivalist Peacock's central aim was to create a version which could be printed and therefore used by singers. As the foregoing discussion of Peacock's textual editing illustrates, he accomplished this through extensive editing of words, lines and stanzas and by often mixing and matching lyrics to heighten

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<sup>97</sup>. As Seeger notes these kinds of productions are "prescriptive transcriptions" rather than descriptive and as such tell us less "about how [the] music sounds [than] how to make it" (Seeger 1958a 186).

the singability of songs.

Many of the comments in his publication pertaining to the songs deal directly with the supposed musical quality and age of the variants; a key attribute was, more often than not, modality (Sharp 1907, Peacock 1965, 1: ix). He says of "The Banks of Newfoundland" (2-12) that the "Newfoundland variant is a good illustration of the Mixolydian mode" (1: 106). Presumably he published the one stanza and melody of one variant of the Child ballad "Lord Bateman" (No 53) (83-707) simply for the melody:

I am especially fond of Everett Bennett's tune with its 5/4 rhythm and dual modal polarity, Dorian ascending and Aeolian descending. Similar ballads are part of the folklore of Spain, Italy, and several of the Scandinavian countries (1965, 1: 213).

When deciding to publish two or more variants of a song Peacock regularly ranked or gave priority to certain folksongs over others by assigning the letter "A," "B," or "C" but he often provides little explanation as to his personal decisions regarding this ordering. Although he ranks Howard Morry's variant of the "The Flying Cloud" (10-63) as an "A," he notes that Mary Ann Galpin's "B" variant (195-1153), "is superior to A" giving no indication as to why this is so (845).

In some instances Peacock bases his musical transcription on a representative stanza.<sup>98</sup> He also indicates that some songs are arduous to transcribe; for the song "Le

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<sup>98</sup>. For example in the following songs Peacock published a textual and musical transcription of the second stanza, following this with the entire text including the first stanza: "The Sea Ghost" (17-103), "The Foresaken Mother and Child" (105-800), "I Long to Be Wedded" (96-759), and "The Milkman's Lament" (120-864) (1965, 2: 400, 447, 461 and 478).

beau galant" (183-1116), he notes "the unusual fiorituras in bars two and six are rather difficult to put into notation" (2: 663). Peacock was attempting to provide some approximation of the voices of his singers. He also informs us of irregularities which he encountered in their performances and of his method for dealing with them. For the song "Je me mettrai gibier dans un étang" (142-956) he says:

The singer started the song on the second line of the melody. The same words were used for the first line to make the first verse complete (1965, 3: 789).

For "Denis Somers" (111-830) he notes "The relationship between the text and the melodic phrases was rather confused on the recording, and I have had to sort them out as best I could" (3: 824). One can appreciate these kinds of editorial decisions related to transcribing, but Peacock's refined tastes also affected his treatment of the material. He often aimed for completeness and balance in both the text and melody. Thus in his comment for the song "High Times in Our Ship" (MS 78) he suggests:

Both the text and tune of this native song are of the highest quality. I have encountered the tune before in a slightly different version: the E, C, E / G, C of bars three and four given here were E, D, D/D, E/. The latter is perhaps a better-balanced version of the melody (1965, 1: 137).

Peacock's preference was for songs which fell within his notion of the standard four-line stanzaic structure. In the song "A Lad and a Lass" he created a tune and text composite from two separate performances (107-806; 85-714). Peacock recommends the reader to rearrange material also: "Those who wish to use the song professionally will be able to re-arrange the text and the melody in a more regular form, in the usual ballad

quatrain if possible" (2: 544).

Peacock treated songs with irregular stanzas as being somehow incomplete and requiring some treatment to make the text whole. For "Wexford City" (3-21) and "Charles Augustus Anderson" (76-675) he used lines of ellipses to indicate that material was missing (1965, 2: 636 and 3: 867). On occasion to make full quatrains he borrowed a line from elsewhere or copied it from a previous stanza. Peacock often assumed, incorrectly, that if a singer excluded a line, the text was incomplete. But this simply wasn't the case. In the case of "Bar the Door O" (200-1165), Annie Walters sang the nine-stanza song using an AABC melodic structure for eight of the stanzas. But for stanza seven she added an extra melodic line AAABC as follows:

And straight upstairs those travelers went,  
They pulled the old woman out of her bed,  
And kissed her on the floor O,  
But not one word did the old couple say  
For fear they should bar the door O.<sup>99</sup>

As the variant published earlier in Greenleaf and Mansfield illustrates, Annie Walters performed the same song for the American collector in 1929 in the same manner (1933, 41). Peacock chose to split the stanza into two parts at the same time inserting a line from an unknown source to achieve two balanced quatrains:

And straight upstairs those travellers went,  
And cross the bedroom floor O,  
But not one word did the old couple say  
For fear they should bar the door O.

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<sup>99</sup>. MUNFLA Tape, 87-157/C11098A.

They pulled the old woman out of her bed,  
 And kissed her on the floor O,  
 But not one word did the old man say  
 For fear he should bar the door O (1965, 1: 239-40).

As his aim was to have the music used, he felt it appropriate to standardize the stanzas. Preliminary investigations suggest that this also appears to be the case for his musical transcriptions. Peacock arranged the melodies to make the material more singable. A thorough examination of the musical aspect of Peacock's work would require a more extensive study than this one but scrutiny of three case studies of the textual and musical transcriptions of three songs printed in *Outports*, "The Moose Song," "Mary Neal," and "Schooner John Joe" with the original recordings illustrates some of the difficulties Peacock encountered, and the decisions he made as a result of his desire to see this material in print. Although I present additional discussion with illustrations of my findings for all three songs in appendix 6, pages 850 to 862, the key points are presented below.

**Case 1: "The Moose Song" (169-1071)<sup>100</sup>**

In 1960 Peacock collected "The Moose Song" (169-1071) from George Croucher of Burnt Islands noting "This is another example of a song, written by a one-song composer, which has turned out rather successfully" (1965, 1: 78). When performing the song George Croucher used a simple AAAB melody. On five occasions throughout the performance he shifted intermittently from AAAB to AB (appendix 6-1, page 850).

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<sup>100</sup> George Croucher, "The Moose Song," MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11082B.

Peacock found Croucher's melody and the accompanying eleven-stanza text too irregular and mundane (appendix 6, pages 850 and 851). When transcribing the field recording he was not comfortable with the singer's broken manner of singing the lyrics and so he reorganized the melodic line to BAAB ( appendix 6-2, page 852). He also re-ordered the text to suit the BAAB eight-stanza quatrain (appendix 6-3, page 854).

Croucher's singular composition is of interest because it is an account of a community, in need, having access to highly-valued moose meat, largely through serendipity. According to Croucher's account, the meat was shared locally so everyone profited, but one community member betrayed the hunters by conveying the goings-on to the law. The men were brought before the magistrate who was sympathetic to the situation, therefore levying a lenient fine. The song ends with a moral statement about expectations and ethics in a small community where people depend on one another. In his account of the events in stanza eleven, lines one and two, Croucher reveals that the squealer was "Jimmy Wells." Through his editing, and most likely for ethical reasons, Peacock deleted these key lines, altering the local function of the song (appendix 6-4, page 855).

### **Case 2: "Mary Neal" (16-95)<sup>101</sup>**

When transcribing music from the field recordings, Peacock tended to compile all the melodic variation in a performance into one version, instead of selecting one stanza

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<sup>101</sup>. Jim Rice, "Mary Neal" (16-95) MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11031A.

and using it to illustrate how a singer might approach the song. In adopting this approach Peacock often stripped out the subtleties of presentation which might be characterized through the singer's employment of specific timing and phrasal emphasis as reflected in a particular stanza. In *Outports* Peacock drew readers' attention to Jim Rice's singing style remarking that it is "very free; notes are lengthened or shortened to suit the sense of the text" (1965, 3: 924).

Peacock was evidently uncomfortable with melodic deviations, seeking conformity and regularity. When Peacock transcribed "Mary Neal" (16-95) he oversimplified the timing of the singer's rendition (appendix 6-5, page 857). This had to do with practical considerations of publishing the material. As he once remarked: "In the final transcription if it's going to be published you have one shot, one melody, so [I] combined the best features of all the verses or the most common features of all the verses."<sup>102</sup>

Rice also performed the song using an ABBA melodic structure, although at two points during his performance he deviated, singing BA in stanza four and again in stanza nine with the accompanying two lines of text (appendix 6-6, page 858). Peacock was uncomfortable with such irregularities, so he supplied what he perceived was missing material. He does not account for the additional lines or whether he obtained this material from Rice.

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<sup>102</sup> Anna Guigné, recorded telephone interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Mar. 1994.

**Case 3: "On the Schooner *John Joe*" (184-1117)<sup>103</sup>**

Peacock regularly attempted to standardize songs which depended on an irregular melodic structure. Occasionally he altered the melody and text to the point where it deviated substantially from the singer's rendition. One example is his treatment of Leonard Hulan's performance of "On the Schooner *John Joe*" (184-1117) (1965, 1: 140-141).

This is a humorous account of the poor living conditions on board a schooner headed for the Labrador fishery. George Farby, a "half owner," serves up appalling food and good punches in the jaw to those who complain. As the field recording reveals, Hulan's dialect is thick and the words are often hard to pick out. The melody and text were also difficult for Peacock to transcribe because, as with a couple of other songs performed by Hulan, the stanzaic structure doesn't fit neatly into a standard quatrain.<sup>104</sup> Hulan stretches and contracts the melody. In stanza seven of this song, the longest stanza of all, he stretches the melody to two "A" couplets and three "B" couplets and then adds the "C" refrain (appendix 6-7, page 860). When Peacock's text and melody are compared to the field recording, from stanza three onward of the twelve-stanza published version, neither the text nor the melody seem to fit the singer's performance. Peacock re-shaped

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<sup>103</sup>. Leonard Hulan, "On the Schooner *John Joe*" (184-1117), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11090A.

<sup>104</sup>. A similar case is "A Week's Work" (178-1100), MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11090A; Peacock (1965, 1: 322-23).

the song entirely by re-ordering and normalizing both the melody and the text (appendix 6-8, page 862).

Peacock frequently let his cultivated ideas as to the textual and melodic structure shape the final published transcription of his informants' performances. Understandably, as a musician, he aspired to provide the public with a collection of singable songs. He admirably accomplished this goal, but in the process, Peacock often compromised the material. His transcriptions sometimes ended up being stripped down versions of his informants' performances.

### 10.3.1 Peacock's Citations and Citing Peacock

In creating *Outports* Peacock also recognized that some kind of annotative work was required for a publication and yet he didn't have the skills, or perhaps the time and patience, to develop this kind of research to its fullest. Having made a career choice to move from composing to collecting, by the early '60s he felt pressured to get *Outports* to the public. As Peacock also mentioned on at least one occasion, he did not view annotation as an integral part of publishing folksong materials.<sup>105</sup> His comments are more along the lines of personal observations based on the resources he had on hand. In *Outports* he remarks: "My original intention was to use all the available space for the songs themselves and to save scholarly annotations on the texts and music for a separate

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<sup>105</sup>. Anna Guigné, interview with Kenneth Peacock, 20 Feb. 1994.

study [ . . . ] ” but as he also notes, “[ . . . ] many of the songs were so interesting that I could not resist to comment occasionally on their origin, structure or symbolic implications (1965, 1: xx-xxi).

Besides using Reeves’s *The Idiom of the People* (1958), Kidson’s *Traditional Tunes* (1891), and occasional references to materials found in the *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, Peacock primarily relied on publications readily available to him including those by MacKenzie (1928), Greenleaf and Mansfield (1933), Creighton (1932, 1961), Hudson (1936), Cecil Sharp’s *English Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians* (1932) and Francis James Child’s *The English and Scottish Popular Popular Ballads* (1884-1898). Although Peacock collected several French songs, he did not incorporate citations which link any of this material to collections elsewhere. He had depended on others to transcribe the material because he did not have a working knowledge of the language.

Much of this reference material probably came from Tom Kines’s extensive music library. As previously discussed, it was Kines who provided him with a compatible text for Sargent’s variant of “The Foggy Dew”; he cited the publication in *Outports* (1965, 2: 520-21). It is likely that Peacock also acquired from Kines such works as Manus O’Conor’s *Irish Come All Ye’s: A Repository of Ancient Irish Songs and Ballads Comprising Patriotic, Descriptive, Historical and Humorous Gems,*

*Characteristic of the Human Race* (1901) and Colm O Lochlainn's *Irish Street Ballads* (1935).

Peacock gained some awareness of other songs, including "The Golden Glove," "Dog and Gun," and "Gold Watch and Chain" through his transcription work for Creighton (Creighton 1961, 105; Creighton 1932, 51-52). Annotating songs, though, was not something he performed with much precision and there are many gaps which he could have filled using the publications he had on hand. It is curious that he didn't cite Creighton for "The Farmer's Curst Wife," "The Flying Cloud" and several other titles which she had earlier published (1965, 1: 265-68; 3: 844; Creighton 1932, 18 and 126-30). The same could be said for his use of W. Roy MacKenzie's *Ballads and Sea Songs of Nova Scotia*. Although Peacock refers to MacKenzie for "The Golden Glove," "The Bonny Bunch of Roses O," and "The Sea Ghost" he could have made many other connections between this maritime collection and his Newfoundland research (1965, 2: 340-41; and 398-403; 3: 988-89; MacKenzie 1928, 80, 188 and 243).

Unlike such peers as Creighton and Fowke, Peacock shied away from incorporating a bibliography nor was Peacock inclined to devote hours researching song histories. In later years, after he moved away from the Anglophone material, he reached a kind of comfort zone in that, as he proceeded to engage in the documentation of ethnic cultures, he was more inclined to confine his comments to passing observations about the music, occasionally doing cross comparisons with his other areas of collecting (Peacock

1971, 10). Alternatively, as in the case of works such as *Songs of the Doukhobors* (1970), he was able to draw safely upon the work of colleagues such as Koozma Tarasoff and Robert Klymasz who had the necessary expertise to complement his own research.

Although Peacock intended that *Outports* was to be used as a source for many different kinds of interests, including the popular market, researchers have come to see it as a key publication because of its inclusiveness. This has led to inaccuracies when researchers have attempted to establish what he did with the material. Ashton and Bishop, and Mercer, separately note that Peacock's published work contains over 350 songs while Doucette and Quigley observe that the collection contains "some 1020 published songs" (1988, 48; 1979, 16; 1981, 4). All these estimates are based on conjecture as opposed to solid tabulations. Peacock doesn't help the matter, remarking at one point that he had collected almost 1000 items (1967, 4).

Halley has also attempted to clarify Peacock's use of the term "native" to identify materials originating from within Newfoundland (1989, 43-44). As previously discussed Peacock showed great interest in preserving songs pertaining to aspects of Newfoundland culture, as is reflected in his own emphasis on a "native" category with "one song in five" of his own collection (1963, 213-239). In her notes to the Pigeon Inlet album, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, Fowke misconstrued Peacock's figure, commenting: "actually, in the Newfoundland repertoire, the British songs outnumber the native songs about five to one, but we feel that the native ones should be more fully represented

because they are the most characteristic of the island and its people" (1984,1). Peter Narváez argues in "Newfoundland Vernacular Song," in response to Fowke's statement, that by using "native" instead of "European" Peacock was implying that this material did not "qualify as traditional" i.e. Peacock as well as other collectors did not view songmaking as a traditional process (1995, 217).

As Halley suggests, the problem of labeling songs as being of "native" or "local" origin is complicated because there are many considerations (42). All we can say really is that during his field collecting Peacock was able to obtain substantive local material and that he appreciated its cultural importance. This was the point he sought to make in his 1963 article "The Native Songs of Newfoundland," observing that a number of songs, "though often based on traditional models, have a quite distinctive made-in-Newfoundland quality" (213). Judging by the numerous song collections at MUNFLA which contain local subject matter, Peacock had only begun to explore and discern what continues to be a lively tradition of songmaking in Newfoundland. As even Peacock was aware, some songs which he deemed to be local, among them "Hard Hard Times," and "Green Shores of Fogo" are evidently based on examples found elsewhere (1965, 1: 57 and 2: 522).

As with the Greenleaf material, the collections assembled by Creighton and MacKenzie highlight the broader singing tradition along the Atlantic seaboard and they are significant resources. Yet Peacock's efforts to link his work to others' findings in this

area is minimal. The same could be said for his limited use of Edith Fowke's work which he referenced but once (1965, 1: 156). By contrast, as the notes to Fowke's publication *Traditional Singers and Songs from Ontario* (1965) show, she made a concerted effort to link her work to Creighton's research, MacEdward Leach's Labrador work, and that of Peacock.<sup>106</sup> Although Maud Karpeles had collected and published variants of the "Hind Horn," "Fair Margaret and Sweet William," "Reilly the Fisherman," "Sweet William's Ghost," "The Bloody Gardener" and "Lamkin," from her 1929 and 1930 fieldwork, Peacock referenced her work only twice (1965, 3: 714 and 811). Although some overlap also exists with Leach's Labrador work, outside of an oblique reference to "Jimmy Whelan," Peacock made no attempt to make note of this scholar's efforts (1965, 2: 389). Peacock had no interest in corresponding with others on these matters. Although Margaret Sargent's 1950 research initiated the Newfoundland research, outside a casual reference to her having collected a version of "Foggy Dew" from John Joe English he says nothing of her pioneering contribution (2: 521). It is likely that Peacock didn't see the relevance and he simply wasn't inclined to spend the time making such connections because of other pressures. He did not attempt to write anything more or extend his Newfoundland research, because from 1962 onward, the ethnic research took priority.

Within the context of the Newfoundland folk revival of the late 1960s and '70s

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<sup>106</sup> Fowke included references both to songs in *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* and songs in his unpublished collection at the Museum. Among the examples she cites are "The Dark-Eyed Sailor," "Plains of Waterloo," "Come All you True Lovers," "The Lady Leroy" and "Save Your Money While You're Young"; see *Traditional Singers* (1965, 166, 176, 208-09 and 134-35).

Peacock was seen as a champion for having admirably delineated the wealth and diversity of Newfoundland's musical tradition as he experienced it in the 1950s. As a revivalist Peacock did effectively alter the way we look at Newfoundland music. Almost four decades since its release, material from the published collection continues to be incorporated in song publications and it has provided the raw material for musicians interested in Newfoundland folksong. *Outports* is seen as a key text often being referred locally as "the bible."<sup>107</sup>

Co-existing with this view, scholars have been limited in their attempts to use it as a resource because of Peacock's compilations and his unique treatment of the material. Researchers have often commented on Peacock's maltreatment of the texts and songs: for example, his tendency to create composites (Carpenter 1979, 415; Mercer 1979, 16; Narváez 1995, 218 ). Herein lies the problem; considering its inclusiveness *Outports* cannot be easily dismissed by simply calling it an unscholarly collection. Most academics working with the publication reasonably wonder to what extent the texts and songs Peacock selected to publish differ from the original recordings. In doing this they have often disregarded Peacock's aesthetic intent as a folksong revivalist.

The impact of Peacock's treatment of his collection has been far-reaching. As Millington illustrates in his work "Mrs Ewing and the Textual Origin of the St Kitts Mummies' Play," the textual changes that collectors impart on traditional material which

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<sup>107</sup>. Kelly Russell, for example, used the term "Newfoundland folk musician's bible"; Anna Guigné, interview with Kelly Russell, 29 July 1996.

eventually makes its way into print can be seen to endure for some time while also re-shaping existing traditions (1996: 77-89). Material from the Peacock collection continues to be disseminated by way of recordings, books, oral tradition, photocopy machines, computer technology.<sup>108</sup>

The implication of all this is that, as Peacock's material in its present state continues to be published, his versions of songs, which are often far removed from the performers' renditions, become the accepted standard inside and outside the culture. A typical example of the carryover effect of this kind of dissemination is the song "Ferryland Sealer" (184-1118) which Peacock collected from Leonard Hulan of Jeffrey's in 1960 (1965, 1: 120-121). The song is an interesting one for the emic detail it contains pertaining to the work involved in sealing. As Peacock briefly observed in *Outports* this is a "fine old sealing song" and "one of the best native ballads to come out of Newfoundland" (1965, 1: 120). Peacock's published version varies considerably from what Hulan sang: the wording is altered; stanzas are rearranged, collapsed and re-written.<sup>109</sup> Peacock's version of the song has been popularized through recordings by

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<sup>108.</sup> As mentioned earlier, the entire collection is to be released by SingSong records of St. John's in the form of a CD-ROM. At the Canadian Museum of Civilization's request, the texts and music will be reproduced as they appear in the published volumes this time, though, users will have access to one-minute sound bites of Peacock's field recordings. I suggest that as new uses come from the revamped version of his collection, now accessible on CD-ROM, a new generation of Peacock material will also emerge, based in part on sound bites of the field recordings but also Peacock's texts and music. The sound bites may rectify matters of melody and style, but users will still have to rely on Peacock's original transcriptions.

<sup>109.</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11090A.

Great Big Sea, The Punters, and Rik Barron.<sup>110</sup> It has also appeared in print in several local publications (Drake 2000, 1: 18; Ryan and Small 1978, 22-23; West 2000, 2:18-19). Nationally it is available in such Canadian publications as *Folksongs of Canada* (Fowke 1967, 62-63;) and *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folksongs* (Fowke 1973, 50). The song is readily available on the Internet on various Newfoundland, Canadian and International Web sites. It is Peacock's textual and melodic versions of songs such as this which have become the widely accepted versions.

Presently no effective tool exists to link the raw data he collected on audiotape and in manuscript to *Outports*, the material which he eventually published. If any additional use is to come out of the collection, researchers will need to be able to go back to the original material. Although Peacock was known to have edited and collated songs which he published, much detective work is required to sort out the fact from the fiction. To do this researchers need access to Peacock's entire collection. In its present state MUNFLA's copy of Peacock's inventory presents many obstacles because it accounts just for Peacock's audio material. The texts and music Peacock acquired from specific singers may be dispersed over several tapes and it currently takes much time to locate the tape linked to a specific song. One major outcome of my research has been the creation of a "Catalogue of Kenneth Peacock's Newfoundland Music Collection for 1951-1961," an inventory that brings together and cross-references all the published and unpublished

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<sup>110</sup>. *Great Big Sea: Turn* (2 27734), *The Punters* (PFO-007), *Bound for the Ice: Rik Barron* (Pro 101).

materials into one complete usable unit (appendix 1, pages 746- 831). The final section of this examination of Peacock's work is devoted to a description of this research tool.

#### **10.4 Catalogue of Kenneth Peacock's Newfoundland Music Collection 1951-1961**

While Peacock faithfully replicated many of the songs he collected, many other aspects of the collection are the result of his unique rearrangements and/or simulations of folksong material. Like the works of Sharp, Kidson and others of the early British folksong revival movement, Peacock created composite texts and edited material. Throughout his collection are to be found scribal and other errors due to his misunderstanding of Newfoundland folk culture and dialect. At present researchers are unable to distinguish how the unpublished component of Peacock's work relates to the finished product. Unlike in the case of earlier collections of Newfoundland music we are fortunate in Peacock's case to be able to go back to the original recordings. By comparing this raw data to his earliest transcriptions and his published works, particularly *Outports*, we can see both the limitations and the accomplishments of his work.

By working forward from the original field recording sessions of the songs as performed by the singers in context, researchers have a better means of determining the patterns of treatment which emerged in Peacock's work specific to his interests and aesthetic. We can also learn from the field recordings more about the singers and their distinct singing styles. The Catalogue offers researchers a way of locating specific

singers, songs and communities. At the same time it brings together Peacock's published and unpublished materials into one useful source. In assembling the Catalogue I have using the following resources: (1) A copy of Peacock's unpublished Inventory of Field Recordings contained in the MUNFLA collection under accession number 87-157; (2) the field recordings at MUNFLA which include C-Tapes 11031 to 110102; (3) Peacock's published collection *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*; (4) Peacock's original field recordings and inventory, as well as his textual and musical transcriptions, and his manuscript collection, all of which are located at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

The "Catalogue of Kenneth Peacock's Newfoundland Music Collection 1951-1961" was created using a keyword searchable Excel database. Each page of the Catalogue, reproduced in print form in Appendix 1, comprises eleven columns under eight headings delineated as follows: (1) Song Title; (2) Tape and Song Number//Manuscript Number (MS); (3) Singer; (4) Community; (5a) Material Published in *Outports* or elsewhere; (5b) Unpublished Material; (6) Variants of Songs Collected by Others in Published or Unpublished collections; (7a) Peacock's editing; (7b) Comments on editing; (8a) Other variants in Peacock's Inventory; and (8b) Singers of those variants. The following section elaborates on each of these specific headings.

(1) **Song Title**

By the end of his fieldwork in Newfoundland Peacock had collected a total of 766 songs and melodies: 638 on tape and an additional 128 by hand and which are available in the original manuscript.<sup>111</sup> In *Outports* Peacock published a total of 546 items under 411 titles including "Foggy Dew" taken from Margaret Sargent's collection. Songs in the Catalogue are listed alphabetically and follow Peacock's Index of Titles contained in *Outports* (1965, 3: 1027 to 1035).<sup>112</sup> Peacock's alternate titles as given in his unpublished Inventory are identified by square [ ] brackets. If Peacock linked the song to a Child ballad number in *Outports* this number is also included. Occasionally singers provided titles which Peacock did not publish but which turn up in his inventory or on tape. These are included in curved {} brackets.

All the published and unpublished variants for a song title have also been brought together under the main title. For 78 titles Peacock published the music and/or texts of additional variants. The majority of these he ranked as "A," "B" or "C" reflecting his musical and textual preferences. A typical example is the song "Donald Monroe" which includes three variants: A=71-663, a performance by Annie Walters which Peacock recorded on tape in 1958; B=MS-116, a performance by Austin Hardy which Peacock collected in manuscript in 1951; and C=2-11 which Peacock collected on tape from Ned

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<sup>111</sup> This figure was derived from examination of each singer's repertoire. It does not include materials which were destroyed due to faulty equipment.

<sup>112</sup> The addition of Sargent's "Foggy Dew" brings the total number of titles in the Catalogue to 767.

Rice in 1951 (1965, 3: 812-16). Songs are placed in the index according to Peacock's ranking with unpublished material placed after the published material. A typical example is "The Woods of Michigan." Peacock published two variants (147-974 and 97-762) making no reference to (8-52), a variant he collected from Mike Kent. This unpublished example is now identified, listed directly below the foregoing examples.

Several items in Peacock's inventory have no published counterpart. This newly discovered material is incorporated alphabetically into the Catalogue working from Peacock's Index of Titles. Peacock's identifying title in his Inventory is used and the first line of the song is provided. The two variants of "Bad Companions" (6-42 and 111-829) which were not published in *Outports* follow "The Bachelor's Hall" (10-69) which Peacock did publish (1: 237-38). In each case the first line "Come all you bad companions" is included as an additional means of identifying the variant.

Peacock also created and subsequently published composite textual and musical versions from two or more separate recorded performances of the song by the same singer. The reasons for this vary. On occasion he ran out of recording tape, re-recording the song on a new tape. Alternatively, he recorded the song from the same informant during separate years. Often Peacock simply combined the best features of each recording into one version. In some instances Peacock acknowledges that this is the case: in *Outports* he indicates that his version "B" of "She's Like the Swallow" collected from

Mrs. Wallace Kinslow was derived from two recordings (122-872 and 122-874) (1965, 3: 713-14).

Peacock recorded two performances of "Waterloo" from Charlotte Decker: the first in 1958 (108-810) and the second (157-1015) in 1959. He published the second performance in *Outports* as variant "A" (1965, 3: 1020-1021). When I compared the field recordings for both songs with the published variant I determined that Peacock had also incorporated material from the first recording (108-810). Such recordings of songs are flagged in the Song Title column with the bracketed letters [R/R] to indicate that Peacock worked with more than one variant from the same singer.

Peacock combined tunes and texts from different variants to create what he perceived to be the best version. Peacock collected four variants of "The Dark-Eyed Sailor": one from Howard Morry (8-53), two recordings from Charlotte Decker (109-820 and 154-1000), and one from James Heaney (MS-26). He eventually published the tune and one stanza of one of Charlotte Decker's performances (156-1000) combined with Howard Morry's text (8-53) commenting "All the Newfoundland variants of this English broadside song are similar" (1965, 2: 514). These sorts of composites in *Outports* are marked as [T/T] in the Song Title column in the Catalogue.

In *Outports* Peacock also makes casual reference to the existence of other variants indicating that he has incorporated words, lines and/or stanzas from these recordings into the published versions. Peacock published Arthur Nicolle's variant of "As Susan Strayed

the Briny Beach” (74-669) also noting, “Line two of verse 3 in the text” was taken from Howard Morry’s variant (3: 646-47). Peacock would also incorporate material from casually mentioned variants. For his version “A” of “Well Sold the Cow Well” (185-1123 & MS) he notes that he obtained much of the text from James [incorrectly named George] Decker with additions from Mr. Hulan “subsequent to the recording” (1965, 1: 37). Songs identified in this manner are marked in the Catalogue with <CR> to indicate these casual references and the fact that Peacock published material from these variants in some manner.

**(2) Peacock’s Tape and Song Number/or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA  
C Tape number**

**Sound recordings**

Peacock’s recorded Newfoundland material at the Canadian Museum of Civilization is contained on 157 tapes numbered sequentially as follows: 1951 (tape numbers 1-12 ), 1952 (tape numbers 15-17), and 1959-1961 (tape numbers 70-210).<sup>113</sup> He numbered songs on individual tapes sequentially. Peacock’s numbering system is such that there is an integral link between the material he collected and the materials he published. Each song has a unique number. For “Adieu de la mariee á ses parents,” the

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<sup>113</sup>. Tape numbers 13,14 and 18 to 69 contain material Peacock recorded in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and in Western Canada between 195 and 1954.

first song listed in the Catalogue, the number 180-1107 means that Peacock recorded this variant on tape 180 and it is song 1107 in his collection.

As copies of Peacock's Newfoundland sound recordings are at MUNFLA, this institution's unique C Tape numbers are provided below the slanted bars (/). For the song "Adieu de la mariee á ses parents" the MUNFLA C Tape number is C11088A.

### **Material in manuscript**

Sometimes Peacock used the letters "MS" in *Outports* and elsewhere to signify that, for various reasons he had made additional revisions to the text following the field recording. Examples include "Feller from Fortune" (1-2 MS) and "A Week's Work" (178-1100 MS) (1965, 1: 53-54 and 322-23). These designations have been incorporated within the Catalogue because they were assigned by Peacock. In some instances the "MS" designation provides a key to Peacock's use of other variants for creating versions which he decided to publish. One should not infer that only those materials containing an "MS" were edited in some way. Having compared several examples of Peacock's earlier transcripts with the published material it is evident that many other songs were edited in some fashion.

More often, Peacock used the letters "MS" to identify songs he had transcribed by hand and which exist only in manuscript. He collected 128 songs in this manner, listing

them alphabetically and then assigning a unique number for each example. These titles are incorporated alphabetically in the Catalogue retaining Peacock's original MS designation: "Alonzo the Brave" is identified in column 2 as MS-1; while "Annie Dear I Am Called Away" is identified as MS-2.

### (3) **Singer**

Throughout his Newfoundland fieldwork Peacock recorded materials from 118 singers. Although Peacock collected songs in manuscript from approximately 38 singers in the Fogo and King's Cove-Stock Cove areas, the bulk of his collection is made up of field recordings of 80 or so singers. Any sound recording of a singer's performance of a published or unpublished song may now be accessed at MUNFLA by using the C Tape number in column two. For example, Peacock acquired variants of "Bright Phoebe" from Charlotte Decker and Leonard Hulan. These separate performances (154-1001) and (185-1124) can be heard on tapes C11075A and C11090B. As column 1 indicates, Peacock collected but did not publish a third example (88-725) and as column 3 indicates, the singer was Becky Bennett. This unpublished recording can now be heard by searching for the C Tape number C11047B.

While Peacock collected materials from a large number of informants, the balance of the collection, i.e. 307 items or 52%, was derived from just fifteen performers who gave Peacock seventeen items or more (appendix 7-1, page 863). An additional eighteen singers from around the province provided Peacock with six to sixteen songs for a total of 194 items, or 25% of the entire collection (appendix 7-2, page 863). The remaining 175 items, or 23%, were obtained from eighty-seven singers who provided anywhere from one to five songs. Fourteen of the singers who gave seventeen or more songs to Peacock came from the western side of the province, the area where he spent the greatest time. This is further reflected in the areas of concentration for his field collecting for the years 1958-1960.

#### **(4) Community**

Each time a song is listed, the community from which Peacock obtained the song is also identified. Between 1951 and 1961, Peacock collected materials from informants in thirty-eight communities around the province (fig 1. page 621). By 1961, Peacock had acquired materials from nine regions of the province excluding Labrador (appendix 7-3, page 864). The greatest percentage of his collection though, comes from two main areas of concentration: 38 % was derived from the Great Northern Peninsula where he had spent much time in 1958, 1959 and 1960 collecting material from St. Paul's, Bellburns and Rocky Harbour and an additional 15 % had been gathered from singers on the



Fig: 1 The 38 communities from which Kenneth Peacock collected songs between 1951 and 1961

Avalon Peninsula mainly from Cape Broyle, Ferryland and St. John's in 1951 and 1952 and from Branch, Aquaforte and Fermeuse in 1961. The Burin Peninsula was the least represented; Peacock spent less than two days there in 1951 during which time he collected two songs from Ewart Vallis. Statistically, although Peacock spent time on the Avalon Peninsula, Fogo Island, Bonavista Bay and Burin regions, as the totals for the Great Northern Peninsula, Codroy Valley, Port aux Basques and Port aux Port regions illustrate, 67% of the collection was derived from the western part of the province where he spent the greatest amount of time throughout his fieldwork.

**(5a) Material Peacock Published in *Outports*/Other**

Although Peacock published the body of his collection in *Outports*, he disseminated songs from his field collection in two articles (1954 and 1963), two albums (1952 and 1956), a songbook (1958), and via several radio programs aired over the CBC (1953-4 and 1957). As Peacock continually edited his work, the texts of published versions in *Outports* may differ. This column links the material in the field collection to these other sources. For example "The Green Linnet" (MS-46) was first published in the *Journal of American Folklore* and then in *Outports* (Peacock 1954, 129; 1965, 2: 458-560). In some instances materials not published in *Outports* appear elsewhere as song fragments; one stanza of "A Dance To Jim McBrides [McBoy's]" is contained in "The Native Songs of Newfoundland" (Peacock 1963, 218).

Published variants also provide a convenient means of locating unpublished material. For example, Peacock included two variants of "The Loss of the *Atlantic*" (176-1091 and 1147) in *Outports*, also adding "A third variant, not reproduced, is similar to A but has an even more undistinguished tune" (1965, 3: 935). In this instance the third variant (16-99) performed by Ned Rice and the appropriate MUNFLA tape number C11037B would be identified by consulting the Catalogue associated with either of the published numbers for "Loss of the *Atlantic*." Although Peacock did not publish "Captain Ward" (88-723) and made no reference to this variant, as column 5a indicates, a corresponding variant was printed in *Outports* (1965, 3: 840-41). The Catalogue also serves as link for this kind of material.

**(5b) Material Peacock did not publish**

Out of the 766 items in Peacock's collection, I identified 221 unpublished items consisting of songs, documentary material and damaged recordings. The unpublished songs are identified in the inventory with the letters UP. The instrumentals are identified as UP-I. Recordings of a documentary nature are identified as UP-D and damaged materials are identified simply as X. Understandably Peacock could not print everything and his decision to exclude any one item was likely based on a range of criteria including the song's content or topical matter, musical style and patterns of song groupings

emerging across his collection. For discussion purposes these criteria include:

- (A) Other comparable variants published
- (B) Song content pertaining to subject matter Peacock found unappealing
- (C) Songs reflecting the influence of modernization
- (D) Poems with no melody
- (E) Inferior melody and too esoteric a text
- (F) Songs previously given to Gerald S. Doyle
- (G) Excess French material
- (H) Song fragments
- (I) Instrumental music
  
- (J) Material of a documentary nature
- (K) Tapes are damaged or have recording errors

**(A) Other comparable variants published**

Forty-one songs are unpublished variants of songs which Peacock did publish. In some instances Peacock decided that the songs collected were close enough for one example to be printed. Peacock recorded "Bold Lamkin," from both Jim Bennett (112-831) and Mrs. Wallace Kinslow (123-878). In publishing Bennett's variant he casually referred to the second example noting the singer "calls this ballad Beau Lamkin" and "her tune is virtually identical to the one given here" (1965, 3: 807). Although Peacock published Arthur Nicolle's "The Logger's Plight" (145-969) pertaining to the 1959 International Woodworkers of America strike, he did not include Clara Steven's song "The I.W.A. strike" (160-1027) noting in *Outports* "It tells the story from essentially the same viewpoint" (3: 756).

**(B) Song content pertaining to subject matter Peacock found inappropriate**

In 1951 Peacock acquired two variants of the song "The H'emmer Jane" (1-1 and Pea 5-21). As a performance piece it is usually sung in a satirical manner intended to poke fun at the outport Newfoundland accent. Peacock showed considerable distaste for this song commenting "It was so outlandish that I refused to use it!"<sup>114</sup> Perhaps because of this he didn't want to demean his informants.

Throughout the course of his collecting Peacock acquired several songs that he found interesting for their topical content, but he personally felt the items would not be appropriate to publish. This includes recent war material, songs with malicious content, Newfoundland material which was already overly popularized, songs of a religious nature or with religion as the focus, as well as songs of Irish derivation.

Peacock collected several songs dealing with aspects of World War II including "Our boys give up squidding" (1-6) and "Hitler's Song" (1-7). These two war songs are patterned after Arthur Scammell's "Squid Jigging Ground" and Peacock used the same title (Scammell 1990, 231). These examples, listed in the Catalogue under the above titles, are interesting because the popularity of Scammell's song was such that it proved to be highly versatile and adaptable to other local compositions creating, in effect, a parodic song cycle. Although Peacock admired this Newfoundlander's work, as earlier discussed, he felt that Scammell's material had already achieved a wide popularity.

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<sup>114</sup> Anna Guigné, recorded telephone interview with Kenneth Peacock 24 Mar. 1994.

Peacock did publish Scammell's "Squarin' Up Time" (MS-110) referring to it simply as "a native ditty" without identifying the composer (1965, 1: 99; Scammell 1990, 233).

Peacock also excluded "Kaiser's Dream" (106-802), and "Fritzy" (105-798) and two highly sentimental wartime songs "The Boy that Wore the Blue" (86-716), and the "Soldier's Letter" (70-658).<sup>115</sup> Peacock simply viewed this material as being in his words "too new" or too sentimental and therefore unworthy of being published, particularly when he had to choose between the Child ballads or other older examples such as "Bold Wolfe."<sup>116</sup>

Peacock also found any material of a religious nature distasteful.<sup>117</sup> For this reason songs such as "S-A-V-E-D" (84-711) and "The Rose in June" (73-665) were excluded from *Outports*.<sup>118</sup> He also discarded "John the Baptist" (155-1007) and "The Orangemen of Cadiz" (145-970) because the content was prejudiced. As George Decker informed Peacock after his performance of the latter song, "There was a lot of different denominations you know around here that time and you wasn't allowed to sing it; [and] I

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<sup>115</sup> Historically wartime conflict has been a major source of folklore (Schafer 1996, 766). Military songs and songs pertaining to war experiences have been documented since at least the Napoleonic Wars (Cleveland 1985, 81).

<sup>116</sup> Anna Guigné, recorded telephone interview with Kenneth Peacock, 24 Mar. 1994.

<sup>117</sup> In his comments to "The Forsaken Mother and Child" (105-800) Peacock refers to the song as a "tear jerker" and a "half-baked hymn" to "lure away the natives dancing and singing folksongs"; in this instance the song was published probably because as Peacock notes "It appears to be quite rare" (1965, 2: 448).

<sup>118</sup> Leach saw merit in the song "S-A-V-E-D" publishing a variant in *Songs of the Lower Labrador* (1965, 301).

had to get into hot water two-three times.”<sup>119</sup> As Kenneth S. Goldstein illustrates in “A Report On Continuing Research Into ‘Treason Songs’: A Private Newfoundland Folksong Tradition,” it was not uncommon for such songs to be sung in private because the dominant merchant class were for the most part Protestant (1991, 128). Peacock probably excluded Clarence Bennett’s performance of the local song “Raymond Wade” (83-705) for comparable reasons. In this instance the subject matter focuses on the activities of a school teacher in Flowers Cove who dated a female student from L’Anse au Clair, across the straits in Labrador, who was known to be a bit wild. This kind of behavior by a person of authority would have provided ample fodder for community gossip. As the song’s composer notes “the pupils shout and laughed at him for going against the rules.”

Peacock also eliminated several songs of Irish influence. He was highly conscious of the influence of Irish songsters on the Newfoundland singing tradition, noting the similarity between the words to his version “A” of “My Bonny Irish Boy” (MS-79) and a version which “appears almost word for word in Manus O’Conor’s *Irish Come-All-Ye’s*” (1965, 2: 563). As he also commented in a note pertaining to “Slaney Side” for which he published two examples (MS-105 and 201-1171):

Unlike many of the English texts, these Irish songs show a surprising similarity from country to country and from collection to collection, even in orally-transmitted variants. It is probably the result of over-publication; or rather the saturation of rural areas with popular Irish song books.

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<sup>119</sup> MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11070B.

English, Canadian, and American song books of this type have only recently enjoyed a renaissance, whereas the Irish ones have been with us since the nineteenth century. The dissemination of traditional material by printed texts seems to run in cycles, and at the present time we are in the midst of the largest boom in history (2: 593).

Peacock selected those songs which he felt were of a “higher quality” but also older, editing out the Irish material he didn’t like. Many of the numbers excluded were of an overly-sentimental nature or of Irish vaudeville heritage including “Give an Honest Irish Lad a Chance” (3–19), “The Mountains of Mourne” (6-36) and “The Coat That Was Buttoned from Behind” (81-697).

Peacock could not have appreciated the local importance of the Irish-American group, the McNulty family, who on their regular tours of the province in the late 1940s and ’50s performed to sold-out audiences, also holding a popular presence in Newfoundland through record sales. As Byrne notes the group’s popularity was such that “with their particular brand of Irish-American music” they actually gave “legitimacy and respectability to a type of music which had been performed in Newfoundland for generations” (1991, 67).

### **(C) Songs reflecting the influence of modernization**

Peacock was not interested in publishing materials which reflected the influence of modernization and especially songs which might have been acquired from the radio. In his note to “Hush Little Baby Don’t Say a Word” (131-909) published under the title

“Lullaby,” Peacock questioned whether this number had been acquired by “some quicker (and probably electronic) method” besides “the tried and true process of traditional transmission” (1965, 1: 15). As Peacock had found a corresponding variant in Sharp’s *Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians*, he considered this variant worthy of being included. A second children’s song, “David, David Where You Going to Run To” (131-910), was probably left unpublished because he perceived it to be too contemporary.

Although country and western songs often played an important role in the repertoire of several of Peacock’s informants, this music had little appeal for him personally. Peacock notes that he had collected “Feller from Burgeo” (4-26) from a “cowboy-type singer” to show that the material existed in Newfoundland commenting: “Unfortunately the guitar drowns out most of the words on the recording, so it cannot be reproduced here” (1: 54). Although Peacock did publish “Boys of Ninety Five” his comment pertaining to this song reveals that he considered such tunes too contemporary:

‘Ninety-five’ refers to the number of the lumber camp in the Deer Lake area. Cowboy and country music are very popular among young people in Newfoundland, and the tune young Leslie Mahoney used for this lumber camp song was obviously learned from the radio. Mike Brennan [composer] was away during my visit, so I had no opportunity to get the ‘correct’ tune. However, those who want to use a more authentic Newfoundland tune will find many suitable examples scattered throughout this book (3: 746-47).

For this reason he perceived songs such as Vallis’s “You Roving Boys of Newfoundland” (4-25), Gordon Rice’s “Mine at Baie Vert” (178-1099) and Jim Bennett’s “Brave Engineer” (98-768) to lack the necessary quality of age.

Peacock found material derived from older printed songbooks and newspapers more acceptable. He published the "Herring Gibbers" noting that Becky Bennett had acquired it from a newspaper. He included "I'm Sitting on the Style, Mary" (MS- 51) which the Heaneys had learned from *The Family Herald* (1: 135; and 2: 464). Peacock also noted the similarity between the print variants and oral variants of songs such as "The Green Linnett" (MS-46), "My Good Looking Man" (MS-83) and "The Maid of Sweet Gartheen" (190-1138), nevertheless publishing these examples.

#### **(D) Poems with no melody**

Peacock acquired a number of poems from Chris Cobb of Barr'd Island for which there was no melody: "A Dance to Jim McBoys" (MS-25); "Drifting Song" (MS-28); and "A Grace" (MS-45). Generally Peacock did not seek out recitations or material of a poetical nature but he had great admiration for Cobb's ability as a local composer. He noted elsewhere that Cobb has "written scores of songs, many of which are copied out in his daughter's school note-book" (1963, 219). Peacock published much of this singer's repertoire in *Outports* including two of Cobb's compositions "Brown Flour" (MS-18) and "The Fisherman's Alphabet" (MS-36). As the items mentioned above didn't have melodies and therefore couldn't be sung, Peacock saw no need to add this material to the published collection.

**(E) Inferior melody and too esoteric a text**

Peacock appreciated the value of locally-composed material, adding these songs regularly to his collection and publishing one article on the subject (1963, 213-239). As he intended for those songs which he published to be performed, he eliminated examples having little meaning outside of the region which he perceived to contain inferior texts and melodies. Examples include: "Trip to Cow Head" (106-804), a brief account of an outing on boat by local couples; "The Little *Twenty-Two*" (121-869), a song about a small freight-carrying vessel which got caught in a gale and was unable to transport rum; and "The Bellburns Tragedy" (159-1024), a song about a two boys drowning after falling off an ice pan. He also eliminated three songs which pertained to highway construction in the province: "The Bridge At Robinson's River Pea" (186-1128) "Highway Song" (131-907) and "Five Boss Highway" (130-906).

**(F) Songs previously given to Gerald S. Doyle**

As discussed earlier in Chapter 5, after returning from Newfoundland in 1951 Peacock had indicated to Laretta Thistle of the *Evening Citizen* in May 1952 that he had intended to give Gerald S. Doyle about thirty songs. Approximately two-thirds of Doyle's 1955 songbook contains material which Peacock had passed on to him. Several of these songs were excluded from *Outports* as, by this time, many of them had already

been published and widely distributed. Peacock concentrated on giving space to other materials.

#### **(G) Excess French material**

Peacock collected seventy-four songs from eleven French singers, publishing fifty. Each of the eleven singers who had provided songs was given some representation in *Outports*. Josephine Costard, from whom he collected thirty-seven songs, was given the fullest representation of all the French singers. Peacock published all but seven of her songs.

#### **(H) Song Fragments**

Peacock collected a number of song fragments. As he liked publishing complete texts, he did not incorporate any of this material. Examples include "Archie Barrett" (90-731), and "Come All you Island People" (122-871). He also collected a fragment of one bawdy song "The Old Mushroom" (155-1005) containing such ripe lines as: "So Cock your leg over to the bed in the moon, and show your bare ass and your old mushroom." He evidently rejected this song because of the erotic content. Its presence in Peacock's field collection is an anomaly.

#### **(I) Instrumental Music**

In 1959 Peacock recorded several instrumentals. In the Catalogue these items

directly follow the songs. Numbers 129-899 and 129-901 are melodies performed by Allan MacArthur on bagpipes, and numbers 132-915 to 133-922 are fiddle tunes performed by Joseph O'Quinn and John A. MacDonald. As this was not his focus, these materials were not transcribed.<sup>120</sup> In *Outports* Peacock does not make any reference to having collected this material.

**(J) Material is of a documentary nature**

In two instances Peacock spent time collecting historical information from two informants: Howard Morry (tapes 11 and 12) and Everett Bennett (part of tape 96).<sup>121</sup> This kind of documentation was the exception to the rule. None of this material was incorporated within *Outports* or published elsewhere. In the Catalogue these items directly follows the instrumental music.

**(K) Tapes are damaged or have recording errors**

Peacock was unable to transcribe at least seven songs on tapes 72 and 73 because the tapes are damaged. For whatever reason, on tape five, the recorder was shut of (perhaps by accident) after Peacock announced the song "Pat O'Brien." These songs are

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<sup>120</sup> The exception is MacArthur's instrumental number (129-902) which is part of his performance of "Banks of Newfoundland" (1965, 3: 854-55); the singer played the pipes first then commenced singing the song; see MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11068A.

<sup>121</sup> See MUNFLA, Tapes 87-157/C11036A & B and C11051B.

not included in my final total of those materials which Peacock did collect. They are identified at the end of the index in Column 5b with an "X".

## 6. Variants Collected by Others

For the benefit of researchers, some attempt has been made to link Peacock's unpublished songs and some of the published examples to those in other song collections and archives. Corresponding variants for songs which Peacock chose not to publish were also located in Edith Fowke's " 'Old Favorites': A Selective Index" (1979: 29-56); Genevieve Lehr's *Come and I Will Sing You* (1984) Malcolm Laws's key works, *American Balladry from British Broadsides* (1957); and *Native American Balladry: A Descriptive Study and Bibliographical Syllabus* (1964); Paul Mercer's *Newfoundland Songs and Ballads in Print 1842-1974: A Title and First Line Index* (1979); and Gerald Thomas's *Songs Sung by French Newfoundlanders: A Catalogue of the Holdings of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive* (1978).

Some songs which Peacock rejected as being too modern have a special place in the Newfoundland folksong tradition because of the links between print material and oral tradition. Titles such as "Save Your Money When You're Young" (108-811) and "The Brave Engineer" (98-768) were located in the newspaper the *Newfoundlander* by means of MUNFLA's index for this publication. Comparable examples were also located through such Internet resources as *The Traditional Ballad Index On-line* and *The Digital*

*Tradition Folksong Database*. On occasion, additional citations are also provided for some of the material Peacock did publish because of its relevance. Although he rarely mentions his use of it Peacock relied extensively on Greenleaf and Mansfield's *Ballads and Sea Songs* (1933). As there is sufficient overlap, any published or unpublished song for which a corresponding variant also appears in *Ballads and Sea Songs* is noted in this column.

These published materials are cited by the author; along with a shortened version of the book or article title and page number. Complete citations are in the Bibliography. In the case of sound recordings, a short title is given along with the performer's name and the track or side. Full citations are in the Audiography.<sup>122</sup>

Unpublished materials which contain variants of songs are located directly below a double slanted (/ /) line. Since the time of Peacock's research, considerable work has taken place on Newfoundland song traditions particularly through the Folklore Department at Memorial University. Resources such as "The Kenneth S. Goldstein MUNFLA Song Collections Finding Aid" and the Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson field collection (MUNFLA 66-024) serve as a valuable link between Peacock's collection and his informants, providing additional biographical and community information. Many comparable song variants were also located in MUNFLA's Song Title Index (STI) and the Song Annotation Project Files (SAP). The short form of these resources has been used

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<sup>122</sup> The author recognizes that additional work is required to complete some of the citations in column 5a. As with most annotative projects this is a work in progress.

and the complete citations for materials of this nature are contained in Part 2 of the Bibliography which contains all unpublished sources.

### **7a. Peacock's Editing**

Column 7a identifies the kinds of composite texts appearing in *Outports* and which have been identified to date under the following categories:

**C-S** *A composite comprised of recordings from the same singer.*

As earlier discussed, Peacock's treatment of Joshua Osborne's two performances of "Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O" (173-1083 and 177-1993) is an example of this kind of composite (1965, 3: 809). Six cases have been identified in the collection.

**C-A** *A composite which includes materials infused from another singer's performance.*

Twenty-seven examples of this kind of treatment have been identified in the collection. These include songs Peacock casually referenced, such as his text-tune composites [T/T]. As earlier indicated, Peacock doesn't always advise his readers of the kinds of composites he did make. Peacock's version "A" of "Grief is A Knot" is a complex hybrid in that it involves the combining of material from two separate performers, Anastasia Ghaney (17-105) and Becky Bennett (94-753), plus material from a second recording by Bennett (95-753) not noted by Peacock. This list will decidedly expand at a later date when additional research can be done on his unpublished collection.

C-M *A complex composite derived from many singers' performances.*

This category is similar to composites involving another singer's performance but the composite is a little more complex in that Peacock made use of variants from two or more informants. This kind of complex composite text occurs in three instances and involves the improvement of a text Peacock wished to rank first. For version "A" of "Lady Margaret" Peacock drew upon materials from four informants and for the "A" version of "Barbara Allen" he drew upon the performances of four singers, also publishing an ideal text (1965, 2: 390-95; 3: 649-61). For version "A" of "My Flora and Me" he used words from three other variants (2: 480).

C-B *A composite version which includes material taken from a book.*

Several texts examined indicate that Peacock procured song material directly from a book and added it to a variant to create what he perceived would be a better version. These examples were often located by scrutinizing those materials which Peacock cited in his footnotes and comparing them with the published versions. As with composites based on another singer's performance, further research will indicate how often this has been the case.

C-C *Versions which are the result of a complex of composite treatments.*

Several versions of songs in *Outports* are unique creations resulting from Peacock's extracting materials and ideas from books, from another collector's field collection, or from the performance of a different song type. Often these composites

involve a degree of invention and borrowing.

The published version of "Go and Leave Me" (5-28 and MS-44) discussed earlier, is the result of his combining three singers' performances from his field collection, with words and ideas from two previously published collections (1965, 2: 453). The "A" version of "She's Like the Swallow" (MS), also discussed earlier, was derived by borrowing a stanza from a separate song "She Died in Love" and combining it with stanzas verbally provided to Peacock by his informants and later in correspondence. The melody was the result of Peacock's idea of how the song should look musically based on field notes and correspondence (3: 711-12)

The published version of "Feller from Fortune" (1-2) is a composite based on the performance of Lloyd Soper, perhaps correspondence with Bob Macleod and a recording of Macleod made by Margaret Sargent when she visited the province in 1950.

This cursory comparison of the field tapes and Peacock's transcriptions in *Outports* suggests that there are probably more instances of these kinds of complex composites which can only be determined with additional research. Songs such as "A Week's Work" (178-1100) and "The Young Fisherman" (185-1121) show considerable inconsistency from the recorded performances. Peacock notes that there are variants in other publications. Further scrutiny of these materials would be beneficial in understanding how he arrived at his final version.

**7b. Comments on Peacock's editing**

Few of the songs in *Outports* are presented exactly as sung by the performer. In some instances Peacock's editing amounted to altering of a few words here and there. In many more cases there was major editing throughout. This column represents my preliminary effort to elaborate on Peacock's editing based on the current research in relation to examples discussed in the thesis. I also make comments on the relationship between published and unpublished variants.

I have attempted to delineate any incidental errors in Peacock's publication pertaining to the naming of singers, tape and song numbers so as to avoid confusion between the materials in his original Inventory and those materials which he eventually printed. In the case of songs which he referenced in a casual manner or simply did not publish, I attempt to link these songs to other published variants and to identify whether he referenced this material in his footnotes. Any items given to Gerald S. Doyle for his 1955 songbook are also identified. I also note any additional recordings of the song from the same singer and the reasons for this.

**8a. Other Variants Collected By Peacock**

Column 8 includes all the variants of songs which Peacock collected. The specific Peacock (Pea) numbers assigned to the song(s) are also included. Any songs recorded more than once by the same singer [R/R], casually referenced or identified by

Peacock as a composite are identified as in column 1. Any songs which are part of a tune and text composite [T/T] are also identified as in column 1. Any unpublished variants of published songs are identified using the (\$) dollar symbol.

#### **8b. Singers of the Variants**

As this is meant to be a working tool linking Peacock's published materials to his unpublished collection, the singers of any additional published or unpublished variants singers are once again listed. By consulting the Peacock number in column 8a and matching it with the singer in 8b, additional published and unpublished variants can be located.

## Conclusion

Through his twenty years of work with the National Museum of Canada, Kenneth Peacock made a remarkable contribution to Canadian folklore and folk music scholarship. Starting first in 1951, with his field research in Newfoundland, over the course of his career Peacock worked his way across the country collecting both Native and ethnic music, amassing a sizeable audio-record of the diverse folk music traditions found in various cultures within Canada. By way of his many pioneering publications, he was also able to inform Canadians of their vast musical heritage. Despite this contribution, scholars know little about Peacock the individual. They have often queried Peacock's treatment of the materials he collected and the manner in which he represented the cultures he documented.

While *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* is celebrated as a major resource for Newfoundland revivalists re-discovering their musical traditions, Peacock's name has meant very little beyond being its author. My thesis which focused on *Outports* and the milieu in which it was created, has helped to reconsider a portion of Peacock's career, as well as its temporal context. In developing this thesis I have attempted to assess Peacock's place in the history of Canadian and Newfoundland folklore scholarship. Through a closer examination of Peacock's work especially his *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* the influences which guided his research and the factors that shaped his work were elucidated.

This investigation was initiated in 1995 through personal interviews and correspondence with Peacock. Early on in our exchanges I informed Peacock that I was contemplating a thesis on his work and that I had already written a brief paper about him for a folksong course. I forwarded the paper to him for his comments. He remarked:

I was completely unaware of the controversy my collecting methods, collations, etc. had caused in the academic world. Since 1972 I had virtually lost contact with the Museum and its ancillary world, except for the occasional contract to do musical transcriptions. I can't convey to you how blissful my ignorance is. Anyway, I thought you treated the subject in a fair and balanced manner in your section "Peacock and the Politics of Folklore Scholarship" so I shall have nothing to say about it. [ . . . ] If you need any further clarifications do drop me a line. Meanwhile I shall keep this first draft for possible future reference.<sup>1</sup>

Although Peacock was willing to go through the process of having someone write a thesis about him, he also set some parameters. This brief exchange reminded me that as researchers our primary responsibility is to be fair to those we study. This extends to other scholars.

As these explorations developed, I contacted Peacock's colleagues and some of his informants to learn about their experiences. I also examined historiographic material relative to the time period. The facts contained in these accounts and correspondence provided me with a viable means making an informed critical analysis of Peacock's work as a folk music collector and in particular his approach to the documentation of Newfoundland's musical traditions between 1951 and 1961. Since so little had been

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<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Peacock, letter to author, 22 Sept. 1995.

written about Peacock, and as he often avoided the limelight this has been a challenging but rewarding task. What has emerged from this study is a new biographical perspective of Peacock in his role as a folk music collector.

Peacock's parents nurtured his talents giving him private lessons and later enrolling him in the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Despite being reared in the Depression, he grew up in comfortable middle-class circumstances, and through his intensive training, he eventually acquired a degree in music. Although Peacock pioneered new areas of folk music research, he was not an ethnologist or a folklorist. He was a musician and it was this training which both affected and shaped his work.

Outside of his musical studies, Peacock's urban upbringing considerably influenced his frame of reference. From an early age he developed a love of swing and jazz. It was because of his absorption with these musical genres that Peacock sought to do a study on African-American folk music, a most unusual choice of topic for the time, falling well outside the academic scope of the largely British-oriented Conservatory of Music. This musical curiosity became a pattern throughout his life.

Initially Peacock treated any music outside of his classical training as a sideline to his main purpose of developing a career as a classical pianist. Throughout the 1940s, in addition to performing, he branched into composing. Within the small classical music community of Southern Ontario he gained some recognition for his contributions. An underlying theme running throughout this period of Peacock's life is the intense growth

of romantic nationalism linked to Canada's rapid expansion in the postwar period and the country's fear of being usurped by American culture. As Canadians searched to define their identity and nationhood, they placed a high value on the country's cultural and scientific strengths. This was reflected in the Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences which through its research delineated for Canadians their cultural identity and their distinctness as a nation. The details of Peacock's early career as a musician and composer help us to appreciate the limits of Canadian cultural development in the late 1940s and early '50s. These trends certainly guided and inspired Peacock's work.

Although Peacock was educated mainly by British teachers, by the late 1940s he developed an interest in using Native music for composition. In 1949, through a chance meeting with his School of Music friend, Margaret Sargent, who had just started working for the National Museum, he first heard field recordings of various Indian cultures made by Marius Barbeau on wax cylinders. Shortly thereafter, captivated by the sounds, Peacock created a number of thematic works derived from this material. An ardent sense of nationalism inspired Peacock's efforts to reveal the beauty of Canadian music as something culturally distinct. In addition to working with Native music he also created arrangements of folk music from Helen Creighton's collection which he had acquired through Sargent. As he revealed to Creighton in 1950 after creating arrangements of Nova Scotian folksongs from her collections, he found Canadians poorly informed about their musical heritage.

As a musician Peacock was interested in experimenting with Canadian themes, but he could not sustain this work easily. Despite the rise in nationalism, the lack of funding and infrastructure for culture in Canada meant that Peacock's efforts to establish a viable career as a composer and pianist met with limited success. When offered the opportunity to go to Newfoundland Peacock saw it as a change of pace, a temporary summer gap from teaching and composing. The 1951 trip to Newfoundland represented a turning point; it opened his eyes to a vast new musical world. Despite being well-educated, Peacock had traveled very little outside of Central Canada. Perhaps too, at twenty-nine, Peacock was simply looking for change. He had lived at home all his life and he had devoted himself entirely to studying and performing classical music. Canadian folk music provided him with an opportunity to see and experience another side of Canadian culture. What better place than Canada's newest province and as a musician, what better motivation than collecting folksongs?

This period also marks the peak of Peacock's composing career and his transition into folksong research and documentation. After two summers of collecting in Newfoundland, Peacock went west between 1953 and 1954 to collect music of the Plains Indians. After a brief career crisis in the mid-1950s, from 1958 to 1970 he devoted himself entirely to researching Canada's folk music traditions on behalf of the National Museum. Peacock's work in Newfoundland and later in Western Canada filled major gaps in the Museum's folklore collections. In 1962 he carried out the Museum's first

official survey of the ethnic communities in western Canada. That landmark initiative substantially altered the direction of folk culture research for the next several years. While the Museum continued to focus on the French, Indian and Anglo-Canadian traditions, its own agenda was broadened to include other diverse cultures. During his remaining years with the Museum Peacock produced several key studies which then provided the basis for other researchers to step in and expand on his findings with new explorations.

Although Peacock carried out all his work under the sponsorship of the Museum, his efforts were shaped largely by the times in which he lived. A major influence in his thinking was the folk revival movement. By the late 1940s the American interest in its folk music coupled with a post-war period of intense patriotism sparked many groups of people to explore their musical traditions. Distinctive for its dimensions and complexity, this revival, which then overflowed into Britain and Canada, depended in part for its success on various media for disseminating information on folksong. In Canada as elsewhere, this led to the creation of folksong-related radio programs, publications and albums primarily by interpreters. Edith Fowke and Mill's attempts to identify and then use Canadian materials and collections signaled the early beginnings of this interest. By chronicling Peacock's involvement with such individuals as Mills, Fowke, Gesser, and Kines who became specialists in promoting a mediated version of Canadian folksong, we see the foundations of this country's revival being created.

By highlighting various points in Peacock's career this thesis illustrated that the revival as it unfolded in this country, had direct implications for culture workers at the National Museum. It sparked a new era of research on mainly Anglo-Canadian folksong. It helped shape and define the cultural policies for folk culture research. As the discussion of Marius Barbeau's recruitment of Margaret Sargent illustrated, by the late 1940s folk culture research at the National Museum was floundering. Barbeau was about to retire, his wax cylinder collection was in a mess and the research programs were not well established. Barbeau's situation points to a fundamental weakness in the federal government's ability to deal with the issue of funding cultural research of that time. While the country placed a high importance on Canadian culture and its national identity, institutions such as the National Museum were constrained by a lack of financial support and direction. Although Barbeau had done much work on the French-Canadian and Native cultures, exclusive of Helen Creighton's research in Nova Scotia, little had been done on Anglo-Canadian traditions. The ethnic populations were relatively excluded from the National Museum's research agenda until the early 1960s when Peacock pioneered the first initial surveys.

Margaret Sargent's discussions regarding this time period were particularly rewarding, filling in many gaps in the history of Canadian music studies and folk music scholarship. The details of her first-hand account of working with Barbeau, her interactions with Maud Karpeles, visiting Newfoundland and meeting Fred Emerson, Bob

Macleod and others provides a new reading of this time period. It also clarifies the chronology of Canadian investigations into Newfoundland folk culture research and their motivations. Rather than viewing Sargent from the margins, researchers may now consider her as a pioneer and one of considerable merit. Although we often equate the National Museum's folksong research in Newfoundland with her successor Kenneth Peacock, it is Margaret Sargent who through her own preliminary research in 1950, first identified his potential, subsequently recommending Peacock as her replacement.

By hiring her to work on his own collections, Barbeau also set off a series of events which had a dramatic impact on folk culture research in Canada. It also had implications for the Canadian folk revival. As a government liaison she saw a purpose in disseminating Canadian folksong materials. Although Sargent worked at the Museum for less than two years, she identified with such people as Edith Fowke and Alan Mills who were keenly interested in learning about Canadian folksong and in using this material for their own agendas. Sargent appreciated the increased demand for Canadian folksong and it was this issue which caused her to initiate the first contact with Moses Asch of the American company Folkways Records. As this thesis has shown Folkways provided a key mechanism for revivalists to disseminate information on Canadian music inside and outside of the country.

Sargent's contribution as a musician also solidified the need for trained personnel to work on the Museum's ever-expanding folksong collections. Until Barbeau hired her

for his musical transcriptions, he had relied on old friends such as Sir Ernest MacMillan and other musicians at the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Through these associations Barbeau tended to put Canadian folk music on display in the form of interpretive art music. By the early 1950s within international circles this approach no longer sufficed. As Alan Lomax pointed out to Barbeau when he had him coordinate the Canadian volume of the Columbia project, he was looking for good field recordings of source singers. That is why Barbeau placed immediate value on Peacock's field recordings; they were exactly what Lomax was seeking.

As this study illustrated, the 1950s was a transitional period for the folklore program at the Museum driven in part by outside revivalist interests which set a new pace for both folksong presentation and research. A folksong establishment merged under the guidance of a small cohesive group of dedicated people who collectively shared a singular goal--to reveal to Canadians the wealth of their own musical traditions. They shared a similar ideology which was that Canadian folk music could best be highlighted and presented by using more popular routes of dissemination. Their activities by way of creating radio programs, books and albums of folk music formed the nucleus of the Canadian folk revival.

By examining Peacock and his peers we see the importance of this group and the significance of their collaborative efforts especially as it related to folklore research at the National Museum. In the absence of an efficient publishing program and motivated by

the Canadian revival, Museum workers were left to their own devices to exhibit the field materials they had collected. During the 1950s and early '60s there was more than a casual connection between popular culture, folk revival and folk culture research. Several key folklore resources, including *Outports* were created with the express purpose of introducing Canadians to their national traditional heritage. Peacock's activities illustrate this. From the onset of his work at the National Museum, materials from his collection were most often disseminated by way of more popular means including radio programs, records and books. While Peacock published one article in a scholarly journal in 1954, and another in a Museum bulletin in 1960, he mainly disseminated his findings through more popular means: two Folkways albums and a series of radio programs and eventually *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*. Helen Creighton also relied on more popular sources for disseminating her findings. These endeavors were officially sanctioned by the National Museum because Barbeau had essentially established previous precedents. In turn, the popular nature of these venues shaped the treatment of materials being disseminated. As such, the voice of Canada's folk was most often represented through the voice of an interpreter.

The discussion on Peacock's activities demonstrates that this approach was not uniform. As Canadian revivalists developed strategies for the documentation and dissemination of the country's musical traditions they drew from both British and American models. In many instances folk music was packaged and/or re-shaped to fit the

aesthetics of a mass market. As Peacock reminds us in his reviews of several albums, there were frequent variations in the quality of the products which resulted from these efforts.

The Canadian folk revival conclusively contributed to the maturation of folklore research at the Museum. As the demand for folk music grew, the Museum worked to clarify its commitment to folk culture research. Mainly through the activities of Carmen Roy, the manner in which this research was carried out became increasingly structured through the establishment of a long-range research program, the reorganization of the collections and a tightening up of policies and procedures. It led to the creation of a folklore division and a solid identity for folklore within the Museum. The popular demand for Canadian folk music, coupled with revivalists' use of this material, also brought to light differences between the Museum's concept of folklore research and the aims and goals of revivalists, some of whom had begun to collect for themselves. The activities of the Canadian Folk Music Society, and its efforts to host the International Folk Music Council conference, reveal that ideas about representation of folk culture varied even within the small Canadian folksong establishment. Barbeau wanted concert performances of folk music. Fowke and Creighton pushed Barbeau to use source singers. Peacock reminds us that he did not view Marius Barbeau's representation of Native culture as being in good taste. Yet when requested to produce a composition based on his Newfoundland collecting, the end result was far removed from anything he had collected.

Within this context, Peacock's own view of the Newfoundland culture, as seen for example in *Outports*, or through his radio programs, often glossed over its realities. As indicated throughout this study, he was often given to romanticizing and idealizing a way of life which in reality was not necessarily representative. In this sense Peacock's views and attitudes were more reflective of those of a tourist, resenting any signs of progress which he saw as leading to a deterioration of the picturesque outports he frequently photographed.

Although he was driven to see music from his fieldwork published, Peacock's output in terms of publications, programs and records suffered from a lack of uniformity particularly in the early stages of his folk music career. When dealing with Anglophone materials he tended to be influenced by British models. This was certainly the case when he presented music for his radio programs and rendered folksongs on the album *Songs and Ballads*. Peacock often sought to highlight songs of an older time period, presuming that this material was of higher quality. On the other hand, as his album of Plains Indians recordings illustrates, he was capable of providing a more accurate representation of musical traditions. In this instance, due to language barriers, Peacock was forced to inquire about the cultures he was exploring. This inquisitiveness reflected in a positive manner in his presentation.

We now have a better sense of who Peacock was and where he fits into the history of folksong research in Canada and Newfoundland. In recent years, for example,

researchers have discussed Helen Creighton's contributions to the documentation of Canada's folk music traditions. Yet little has been said of her long-standing connection to Peacock and her dependence on him for the hundreds of musical transcriptions which made it possible for so much of her later work to be published. But more important is the effect that transcribing for Creighton had on Peacock.

Peacock's correspondence with Creighton, which starts in 1950, spans three decades. His letters to Creighton (there are few letters from Creighton to Peacock) provide a continuous thread throughout this period of his work for the Museum. The correspondence conveys much about Peacock's personal research interests and his motivations as well as about activities at the Museum. This material opens up the door for new considerations of this time period particularly as it relates to the development of a more professional approach toward folklore research at the National Museum.

Through Peacock's interactions with Creighton we learn, for example, that Barbeau levered Canada Council funds for her to facilitate the transcribing of her collection. He had the foresight to realize that she would need professional help. He arranged for her to get a grant and he advised her to go to either Peacock or Richard Johnston. We learn that Peacock wanted to work for her because it would offer him financial stability. Creighton chose Peacock because he had already done arrangements of folksongs based on her collection. She trusted Peacock's counsel on the quality of songs and he provided her with the musical authority which she needed for her

publications. Peacock helped form her publications and her research. He could be depended on to produce transcriptions which Creighton could then use for other purposes. In the case of *Maritime Folksongs* he added chords to transcriptions to facilitate performance. He placed a high priority and value on her work.

Indirectly, working on Creighton's Maritime collection, Peacock revived his interest in documenting Newfoundland's musical traditions. Transcribing songs for her also provided him with the hands-on training and expertise that he needed to go the next step. The quantity and quality of material he began to acquire was impressive. We discover that as he expanded his collection Peacock and Creighton developed a healthy competitive friendship. He found songs in Newfoundland which she had documented in Nova Scotia. He sometimes delighted in reminding her that he had found musical gems throughout his research.

As Peacock's research unfolded in the 1950s, we also see glimpses of Marius Barbeau's broad influence. Even after his retirement he continued to shape the folksong research at the National Museum. From the onset Barbeau fostered Peacock's career much as he had done with Sargent. He nurtured Peacock's composing interests and thought highly of his capabilities. Barbeau saw that Peacock's unique interest in Indian music and his training as a musician could be assets to the National Museum. He also saw Peacock's weaknesses. He encouraged Peacock to broaden his training through scholarly study. Despite such advancement where Barbeau was concerned, Peacock

realized his own limitations. He did not see himself as a Barbeau protégée or an ethnomusicologist, but rather as a musician. It took Peacock many years to find his niche as a folk music specialist with the Museum. In the end he pursued this research but using his own terms of reference.

Peacock was not given to much fanfare and he always seemed just a little uncomfortable in the public eye. This partially explains why we know so little of the man. While he did several radio programs, such productions did not come naturally. Although he did two folk music albums here too the efforts were more a case of trial and error. Although he did an adequate job on such productions, his representation of the folk and folk music always seemed just a little static and overly romanticized.

Working for the National Museum, Peacock finally found his niche as a music collector; it gave his life purpose and meaning. Peacock was able to record a large quantity of music not only because of his musical training, but also because he was an efficient field operator. Having grown up in an age when companies were progressively developing new means of encapsulating sound to replace the Edison phonograph with its wax cylinders, he had a life-long fascination with technology. Starting in the early 1940s, he experimented with recording his and others' performances on disc. As a fieldworker, Peacock progressively sought to improve his ability to record sound, working with the most current equipment he could acquire. He had an aptitude for field logistics and a winning way with informants. Largely self-taught, he was methodical, organized and

cost-conscious; hence he could quickly collect and process music, at low cost thus making him an asset to the National Museum's folklore program. As he illustrated in his *Practical Guide*, he aimed for quality recordings and he knew his equipment. He was as comfortable with a camera as with a tape recorder. Fieldwork allowed him to independently pursue his musical interests and he accomplished these tasks with acute diligence and dedication.

Typically through his career, if someone needed help Peacock assisted. His transcriptions for the Museum and for Helen Creighton, which number in the thousands, are an indication of this. He was never satisfied to see the material he or others collected end up accumulating dust in an archive, nor was he inclined to be possessive about his material. His desire was to see the songs and music he collected available to the Canadian public in any form. He regularly passed songs on to others; this included Gerald S. Doyle, Tom Kines, Edith Fowke and anyone else who had a desire to promote Newfoundland folksong material. As I discovered he was most willing to assist my research in any way possible. He generously sent me his films, correspondence, photographs or anything else he could find. He was willing to carry on long-distance telephone interviews. Even when Peacock became very ill, he still allowed me to stay in contact and to pursue my enquiries.

Early on in this investigation I realized that while the politics of documenting Canada's folk music traditions most certainly affected Peacock's work, he chose not to

become involved in the Museum's internal politics. Peacock simply removed himself from situations which might cause conflict and he tactfully avoided commitments where he knew he would be out of his depth. The occasions when he did forcefully assert himself stand out as exceptions in his career. He was noticeably irritated when Creighton accused him of giving her song "Phoebe" away. As he pointed out to her, he deplored possessiveness. As the discussion of Ralph Rinzler and Edith Fowke's presumptuous effort to publish a Folkways record of Newfoundland folk music based on the *Outports* collection illustrated, although sometimes unwillingly coerced, Peacock was a collaborator. He was also capable of putting differences in personality aside to ensure the completion of a project which might benefit the Museum.

Other incidents reveal how the ambitions of some of Peacock's peers affected his research. As the Karpeles-Barbeau-Emerson affair indicates, folksong collecting could get very political. Although generous with his material, Peacock did not appreciate having his work handed over gratuitously to Maud Karpeles. Typically Peacock relied on diplomacy to let Barbeau, Karpeles and Emerson know that they overstepped their boundaries in expecting him to pass over his collection. If anything, this incident solidified Peacock's efforts to publish a more extensive Newfoundland song collection. Between 1958 and 1961 he showed remarkable stamina and a drive to continue on with the Newfoundland research and to bring it to completion.

While researchers have discussed Karpeles's early Newfoundland work, few

people have appreciated the subtleties of her ongoing association with Frederick Emerson and Marius Barbeau. As a folk music enthusiast, Emerson was determined to see research take place in Newfoundland. He facilitated Karpeles's research and later that of Sargent and Peacock. Emerson's efforts to work with Barbeau at the federal and provincial level to enhance the profile and work of the Canadian Folk Music Society is a reflection of his dedicated efforts to support and nurture folk music as an integral aspect of both Canadian and Newfoundland culture and identity. One cannot help but appreciate Emerson's personal role in helping Peacock secure the necessary funding to carry out his research between 1958 and 1959.

In 1962, with the completion of *Outports* and building on his experience in Newfoundland, Peacock moved into new uncharted territories by launching the first-ever survey of the country's ethnic musical traditions. Over the next several years he produced several landmark publications including such highlights as his work on the Doukhobors and the Lithuanians. Peacock's work in this area was in many ways a natural evolution. He readily admitted that he did not have either the inclination or the patience for the kind of scholarly annotations which Fowke and Creighton were prepared to do on their collections. He was intrigued that they could be so focused on one kind of musical tradition, especially when there was so much to explore. As his later ethnic research illustrates, Peacock was not a regionalist. He had an insatiable curiosity about the music of Canada's various cultures and his survey work with the National Museum

helped to fulfill his mission to capture the sounds of Canada's musical heritage. Over the years his concept of folksong greatly expanded with his research. In this sense, Peacock took a panoramic view of folk culture documentation and he cast a wide collecting net. Once Peacock realized that there was so many kinds of traditional music to sample and to record, he had a singular purpose. He resolved to explore Canada's musical traditions and the National Museum gave him the mandate and it financed his pursuits.

As a self-taught folklore researcher, Peacock frequently let his personal interests guide his collecting. In this sense *Outports* is an interesting case study of the kinds of intellectual and artistic agendas collectors have always brought to bear on their work. Peacock evidently intended for his Newfoundland research to serve many purposes and he was able to include so much accessible material because he substantially edited the transcripts prior to publication. As a musician he had the ability to rearrange material and make it useful for performance. Peacock often corrected and changed folksong materials because he did not want the collection to be "merely" a scholarly work. As a revivalist he aimed to see the material sung. This also accounts for Peacock's tendency to create complete narrative accounts by rearranging and borrowing stanzas.

Peacock's personal aesthetic also affected his treatment of several songs in that he preferred older texts, good melodies and musical examples which stood out as being exceptional rather than the norm. He was often led to invent lines or borrow published materials. As the re-transcription of both melodies and texts illustrates, Peacock had

considerable difficulty in dealing with or interpreting what he perceived were irregularities in singer's performances. This is understandable because as a trained musician Peacock worked from print not the oral tradition. As such he let his preconceptions as to how a song should look, when transcribed, influence his overall approach.

Having no experience with rural living, Peacock's romantic, anti-modernist and preservationist views of Newfoundland often affected his collecting agenda and his transcriptions. He viewed the post-Confederation advancements within the province adversely, perceiving this as a disruption of a particular way of life embodied in the folk music and culture he was documenting. Certain themes of inclusion and exclusion also run throughout Peacock's publications: i.e., an emphasis on preservation of the old songs, a preference for songs of a higher textual and musical quality, and an absence of country and western music. On the other hand, Peacock did have an appreciation for locally-composed songs and while collecting he specifically sought out this material. He often recognized the historic importance of songs that he judged of a lesser musical quality and he made sure that a sufficient number appeared in *Outports*. In addition to collecting British, Canadian, Irish, and American music, he specifically sought out Gaelic and French traditions in Newfoundland as well. While he disliked country and western, and religious songs, musical hall numbers and instrumental music, these examples do turn up in the unpublished portion of his collection. To Peacock's credit *Outports* is at least

partially representative of the province's vibrant thriving musical tradition in that it does include local compositions, British and American broadsides, lumber ballads, songs of the sea, childrens songs, and music from the Gaelic and French traditions and a myriad of other lesser known songs.

Realistically, we should view *Outports* as an innovative, ingenious, literary work resulting from Peacock's experiences as a Museum civil servant in Newfoundland. The collection reflects his attempts to produce a product to serve many needs. In this context it is also the cultural byproduct of the Canadian government's policies toward folk culture research in the 1950s and early '60s which supported and encouraged such efforts. The impact of his research rebounds even today. As an official representative of the National Museum of Canada, Peacock's initiative as a culture worker was undoubtedly interventionist. This is what is at the heart of *Outports*. By going to Newfoundland in 1951, Peacock carried out the first large scale study of the province's folk music, officially sanctioned by a federal government institution. Through this research he forcefully expanded the Newfoundland canon of traditional songs beyond that which Gerald S. Doyle had presented in his songbooks or which had previously been represented by Maud Karpeles or even Greenleaf and Mansfield. In contrast to these earlier works *Outports* caused Canadians and Newfoundlanders alike to reconsider the many kinds of materials which characterize Newfoundland folksong.

By applying his skills as a musician Peacock was also able to present this material

in a manner in which it could be used for many different purposes. The songs in *Outports* are highly singable and able to be performed by folk musicians but also as art music. In treating the Newfoundland collection in this manner his intentions were revivalist but as this research has shown his approach was not unusual for its time. Much of the research taking place at the National Museum intersected with the ideologies of the Canadian folk revival; his attempts to present Newfoundland folkmusic in a popular useable manner were in keeping with the approach taken by other colleagues who were equally desirous of seeing Canadians learn about their own traditions.

To date, scholars using his work have not had any systematic way of dealing with Peacock's editing and altering of material in *Outports*. A major benefit of my research is that we now have a clearer understanding of Peacock's methods and his motivations. Scrutiny of the published and unpublished materials reveals that patterns exist in terms of his editing and aesthetic. Comparison of the field recordings with the published versions indicates that repeatedly Peacock altered and re-arranged words, lines and stanzas. Analysis of his collection also shows that these changes occurred along a continuum. Ideally, his entire collection should be re-edited and re-printed sometime in the future. In the meantime, by highlighting the general patterns which are evident in Peacock's editing of both the music and the texts, a methodology is now in place for determining how he approached the musical and textual transcription of individual songs.

Peacock's real contribution to the documentation of Newfoundland's musical

traditions extends beyond *Outports* to his numerous sound recordings, which are the lasting legacy of his research. Mindful of this, the catalogue of his tapes and manuscript materials, which stems from this study provides a systematic means of enabling researchers to effectively work with Peacock's total collection, thereby expanding its use as a research tool.

Peacock displayed his informants as being secondary to the main task at hand--collecting folksongs. As I have discovered, his field recordings contain a treasure trove of information on community singing traditions. Listening to the six hundred or so songs in the audio portion of his Newfoundland collection which include his exchanges with informants, their attempts to recall songs, snippets of local history, questions and answers, and background sounds from the places he visited, I gained a new appreciation for the magnitude of his work. Listening to singers render local compositions, logging songs, children's songs, and Child ballads I developed a new appreciation for the musical talent which captivated Peacock. The recordings helped me to place Peacock in the field interacting with his informants.

It is hoped that researchers will appreciate my attempts to chronicle these activities. The details of his field trips help to fill many gaps in his collecting and his routes of travel. This narrative allows us to see aspects of Peacock's personality as well as those of some of his informants. I am especially pleased that Peacock had the opportunity to participate in this process and to provide commentary on events which

were of interest to him.

With this research I was also able to make crucial links between Peacock's Newfoundland explorations and those of other collectors such as Doyle, Karpeles, Greenleaf and Mansfield, and Leach. Most often the collections created by these researchers have been treated as separate entities. In the case of Sargent, this is understandable as she didn't publish her research. The time frame during which much of the initial research on Newfoundland's musical traditions occurred is relatively small, so there are links between Peacock's work and that of those who preceded him. There is considerable overlap in terms of collecting territory and informants. Peacock's work was influenced by previous research. He often visited informants whom Greenleaf and Mansfield and Karpeles had previously interviewed. In some instances the same informants were being mined by different collectors. This is strikingly so in the Cape Broyle area, where there is a notable connection between Peacock's research and that of MacEdward Leach. By making these connections we have an expanded view of singers and singing traditions in such regions as the Great Northern Peninsula, the Southern Shore, King's Cove and Fogo Island area.

Putting Peacock's song collection into a computerized database was essential to this project. It was ambitious and time-consuming, but well worth the outcome. The benefits of having a digital data base to work with are such that I have been able to go beyond creating a song-title index to directly observing individual and community

repertoires. As a continuation of this research I hope that MUNFLA can build on this data base by including other major collections created by Leach, Greenleaf and Mansfield, and Karpeles and building from there.

Peacock also pioneered the way for later researchers to explore cultural traditions. This is evidenced by the subsequent research on many of Peacock's informants carried out by other students and researchers at Memorial University's Folklore Department after 1965. The discovery of so much new information on many of these singers opens up new possibilities for students to explore their repertoires and in some cases the inheritance of singing tradition in some families. As this suggests more fruitful benefits are still to come from Peacock's Newfoundland song collection by considering this material from within its proper context--the lives of singers situated within their communities.

As a result of modernization and urbanization, the Newfoundland which Peacock saw between 1951 and 1961 no longer exists. The communities he visited have changed substantially. That is why his collection is of such relevance to researchers; it chronicles the musical traditions particular to a specific time period in Newfoundland's musical history. A personal highlight was the opportunity to actually meet and interview a number of Peacock's informants. His work with the Bennetts of St. Paul's, combined with Halpert and Widdowson's later explorations, warrants new explorations along this area of the Great Northern Peninsula with respect to the depth of the inherited tradition in this small community. Not surprisingly, in communities such as St. Paul's, Parsons

Pond and Rocky Harbour, people continue to sing songs they learned from their parents and they continue to make up new ones.

This biographical research breaks new ground for students wishing to do additional explorations of the musical traditions which are still vibrant and evolving with the times, but which have sadly been under-documented. As the discussion of Ewart Vallis, and Gordon Rice illustrates Peacock was not interested in country and western singers or in gospel music. Vallis from whom Peacock collected just two songs, went on to make a career of his singing. Through our discussion I came to appreciate that these musical genres which make up a significant aspect of Newfoundland's traditional music have only been minimally documented.

Fruitful rewards will come to those students interested in tackling the biographical details of individual singers. I kept turning up new information on singers and their interests. There was no shortage of material to work with, despite the fact that Peacock completed his investigations more than four decades ago. This has led me to see the importance of creating mini biographies on singers and other tradition bearers. These kinds of explorations offer a training ground like no other. Students gain the hands-on experience of exploring the details on a person's life and tracking the influences which have shaped their individual interests musical or otherwise i.e., why they sing or play the way they do; what music they find important and for what reasons. Investigations of this sort bring collections such as those created by Peacock to life.

Peacock's sound recordings provide a significant resource by way of singers, communities, family and social networks for new investigations of the musical traditions in many areas of the province. For example, I have also begun to learn something about the songs Peacock did not publish. Information about locally composed material continues to be passed down in the community. Investigations of this kind of data moves the song from being an artifact to an individual or community statement which reveals traditional values and ideals.

I believe we can also learn something more about the Newfoundland-centered revival. Kelly Russell's eventual release of Peacock's field recordings under the Pigeon Inlet label and the activities of the St. John's Folk Arts Council illustrate that while the localized factors may vary, revival activities rarely occur in isolation but rather are frequently linked to events elsewhere. From the late 1960s, Newfoundland revivalists' use of material from *Outports* broadened the popular repertoire to include materials other than those which had previously been popularized in Newfoundland and Canada. Today, use of *Outports* by musicians, and the inclusion of songs which Peacock collected on sound recordings, in print and most recently the entire published collection on CD ROM, illustrates that Peacock's work is highly valued.

During this study much new information also came to light on a many aspects of Peacock's life through considerable archival research at several facilities across the country and in the United States. Here too there are many lucrative opportunities for

further exploration. The papers pertaining to such key figures as Creighton, Barbeau, Mills, Fowke, Alan Lomax, and to organizations connected to them illustrate that these scholars were first and foremost personalities who interacted regularly with one another. Delving into materials pertaining to their personal projects i.e., radio programs, publications, albums and concerts offers up the rich factual detail which helps us to see their motivations and aspirations.

In summary, as this biographical study has shown, by today's standards Peacock lacked the rudiments of folklore research. As a musician he imposed the high cultural aesthetic of his training on the materials he collected. Peacock's editing practices are the outcome of his desire to see that the Newfoundland music he so diligently collected appear in a form which could be useful to both singers and scholars. Aiming to see a collection of Newfoundland folksongs used by both scholars and performers, he shaped the material to fit many needs. His approach was one shared by other culture workers at the Museum. Like other Canadian colleagues who also trained on the job, his work serves as the foundation for today's folklore scholars.

From this we may conclude that the greater our ability as researchers to establish how a published collection links back to the field data, the better our ability to work with the entire collection, not just with the product. The collections and publications, which are the result of these early pioneers' interests and labors, continue to be used by the scholarly community. In order to gain the full benefit and access to such resources, we

need to know more about their makers and the time frame during which such materials were created.

Although Kenneth Peacock has contributed to our knowledge of Canada's folk culture, Peacock the person has remained something of an unknown entity. I am glad I took the time to seek him out and to learn as much as I have about his fascinating career and the time period in which this aspect of the history of folklore research in Canada developed. I also recognize that no record of any one person's vocation can ever be complete. However, I can step back and feel some sense of accomplishment knowing that for this man's journey into the outports of Newfoundland, I have been able to connect with his songs and with the spirit of his research.

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**Washington, D.C.**

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Correspondence with Emrich, Duncan. Correspondence Files. 1950-1951.

**Lomax, Alan--Collection.**

Correspondence with Barbeau, Marius. Correspondence Files. 1940-1947.

**Rinzler, Ralph--Collection.**

Recordings made for the Newport Folk Foundation of Cajun folk music from Louisiana, Scottish Gaelic folk music from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and Ballads from Newfoundland. Tapes 13.681-13.702 7 1/2 ips, 22 10" reels.

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"Brief of the National Museum of Canada for the Royal		Box B. 117
Commission on National Development of the Arts, Letters and		
Sciences."		
Canadian Folk Music Society		Box B. 71, f.2
Day, Archibald	1951	Box B. 186, f.30
Emerson, Frederick R.	1958-1962	Box B. 192, f.6
Fowke, Edith	1949-1962	Box B. 194, f.32
Gesser, Samuel	1956-1957	Box B. 197, f.16
Herbert, Walter B.	1941-1952	Box B. 203, f.20
Karpeles, Maud	1957-1963	Box B. 207, f.35
Karpeles, Maud	1947-1956	Box B. 207, f.34
		and f.36
Leach, MacEdward	1943-1963	Box B. 212, f.49
Lomax, Alan		Box B. 212, f.49
Peacock, Kenneth	1950-1961	Box B. 227, f.73

Sargent, Margaret	1941-1961		Box B.237, f.11, f.12, and f.13
Smallwood, J.R.	1961		Box B. 239, f.65
UNESCO			Box B. 74, f.39
Winter, Gerald M.	1961		Box B. 250, f.47
<b>Creighton, Helen--Collection</b>			
Correspondence for the following:			
Barbeau, Marius	1932-1941	Cr-K-2-1	Box 148, f.6
Correspondence	1958	Cr-K-2-9	
Correspondence	1959	Cr-K-1-10	Box 150, f.10
<b>Folklore Division /Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies--Collection</b>			
Newsletter	1968-72		Box 108, f.3
Fowke, Edith--Collection	FO-H-1-55		Box 209, f.7
<b>Institutional Archives--Collection</b>			
Ethnology Division, Correspondence re:		Coll 98-11015	Box 1-16
Creation of Folklore Division			
1963, 1966			
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Science Policy"			
<b>Leach, McEdward--Collection</b>			
Correspondence	1959-1967	Lea D-1-118	Box 230, f.5
<b>McFeat, Tom--Collection</b>			
Ethnological Records			Box 419, f.2



<b>Sargent, Margaret--Collection</b>		<b>AcQ. 97-F0029</b>
Correspondence	1949	Box 353, f.10
Correspondence	1950, 1952	Box 353, f.11
Memorandums to		
Dr. Alcock	1949-1950	Box 353. f.12

**Rioux, Marcel--Collection**

## Correspondence for the following:

Alcock, Frederic James	1948-1955	Box 344, f.3
Asch, Moses	1952, 1955	Box 244, f.7

**Carleton University, School of Art and Culture**

Kines, Tom--Collection	No accession
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**Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives, Queen Elizabeth Library, Memorial****University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland**

Moakler, Leo--Collection	No accession
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St. John's Folk Arts Council--Collection	Coll-051
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Smallwood, Joseph R.--Collection	Coll-075
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Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National	file 3.20.021
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## Resources

Historic Sites and Monuments Board	file 3.02.003
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Music Organizations	file 3.04.014
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National Museum of Man, Canada	file 3.02.011
St. John's Folk Arts Council	file 3.04.013

**Folkways Records, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.**

Files for the following:

Kines, Tom; Leach, MacEdward; Mills, Alan; and Peacock, Kenneth

**Gros Morne National Park, Rocky Harbour Newfoundland.**

Interpretation Department, Visitor's Centre

Unidentified interview with Mrs. Becky Bennett of St. Paul's, 1983.

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- Kodish, Debora and Neil V. Rosenberg. Linda Slade--Collection. Acc. 78-008.
- Leach, MacEdward--Collection. Acc. 78-054.
- Madison, Robert--Collection. Elisabeth Greenleaf Papers. Acc. 82-189.
- MUNFLA-Bowman, Marie I.--Collection. Material from the "Good Entertainment 2 Festival." Acc.78-361.
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O'Brien, A. F. "My Community Cape Broyle and Growing Up in It." Ms. 68-016.

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Peacock, Kenneth--Collection. Acc. 87-157.

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entries for the following: Campbell, Gerald; Cobb, Aaron Nelson; Cormier,

Lucy; Costard, Josephine (Josie); Devoe, Martin; English, John Joe; Keeping,

James; Kinslow, Amelia Jane (Millie Jean); Nash, Henry; Osborne, Joshua;

Rice, Gordon G; Robin, Cyril M.; Robin, Guillaume (Willy); and Willis, Mark

Gordon (Gordie).

Power, Mary. "Folksongs in My Home Community." Ms. 71-26. Unpublished

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of the National Museum of Canada. Acc. 98-237.

Stapleton, Terrence. "Patrick Rossiter: The Man, His Life, Songs and Stories." Ms. 73-

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Tallman, Richard--Collection. Interview with Clara Stevens. Tapes, C1933, C1935,

July 31, 1972, Acc. 74-3222.

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Helen Creighton Fonds

Acc. MG1

Series 3--Correspondence and other material

Correspondence for the following:

Barbeau, Marius

Vol. 2810, file 74

Canadian Folk Music Society

Vol. 2791, file 1  
and 13

Emerson, Frederick

Vol. 2812, file 97

Fowke, Edith	Vol. 2812, file 159
	Vol. 3511, file 63
George, Graham	Vol. 2813, file 14
International Folk Music Council	Vol. 2791, file 13
Karpeles, Maud	Vol. 2814, file 50
Kines, Tom	Vol. 2814, file 80
Lomax, Alan	Vol. 2814, file 173
Mills, Alan	Vol. 2816, file 1
Peacock, Kenneth	Vol. 2816, file 133
Roy, Carmen	Vol. 2817, file 86
Sargent, Margaret	Vol. 2817, file 116

**Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.**

Canada Council Papers	Records Group 63, Series B-1. Kenneth Peacock files.	Box 77, Box 143 and Box 233.
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**Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's Newfoundland.**

**Manuscript Collections**

Hutton, Charles and Sons	Acc. MG-590.
Scammell, Arthur	Acc. MG-969.

**Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan**

Peacock, Kenneth--Collection	Acc. 599-68
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Canadian Society for Musical Traditions Fonds Acc. 430/88.11

Correspondence for the following:

Creighton, Helen	1956-1971	Box 1, file 70
Emerson, Fred R.	1957- 1970	Box 2, file 6
Johnston, Richard	1957-1971	Box 2, file 57
Peacock, Kenneth	1959-1970	Box 3, file 36
Roy, Carmen	1957-1971	Box 3, file 56
Fowke, Edith--Collection		
	1949-1958	Acc. 4-8 to 6.3
Folksong Time, CBC Radio		403/87.10, Box 4, file 9; Box 5, files 2 and 3
Goldstein, Kenneth,	1954	664/99.21, Box 2, file 3
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Rinzler, Ralph		535/93.10, Box 2, file 2
Russell, Kelly		432/88.16, Box 2, file 2

**(B) Unpublished Material in Private Collections**

**Emerson-Furlong, Carla. St. John's, Newfoundland**

Copies of lectures by her father Frederick Emerson along with musical scores and photographic materials.

**Macleod, Robert, Junior. Corner Brook, Newfoundland.**

Copy of a note book used by father while on board the yacht 'Miss Newfoundland,' biographical information and tape-recording of Robert Macleod playing the piano.

**Russell, Kelly. Pigeon Inlet Productions. St John's, Newfoundland.**

Kelly Russell, correspondence with Kenneth Peacock and Edith Fowke;  
30 Jan.-10 Apr.1984.

**Sargent, Margaret McTaggart. Vancouver, British Columbia**

Field diaries from her Newfoundland trip, photographs of Kenneth Peacock, thesis, and other memorabilia.

## Audiography

### 1: Albums and Cassettes

Abbott, O. J. *Irish and British Songs from the Ottawa Valley*. Recorded by Edith Fowke. Folkways (FM 04051, 1961) LP, 33 1/3 rpm..

*Anthology of American Folk Music edited by Harry Smith*. Folkways FP 251-253. Smithsonian Folkways (40090) box set, compact disc.

Barron, Rik. *Bound for the Ice*. Odd Sock (101) cassette tape.

Best, Anita and Pamela Morgan. *The Colour of Amber*. Amber Music (ACC 49332) compact disc.

Baillargeon, Hélène, and Alan Mills. *Chansons d'Acadie Chantées par Hélène Baillargeon et Alan Mills*. Folkways (FP 923, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

—. *Songs of French Canada*. Guitarist, Gilbert Lacombe. Folkways (FW 6918, 1955) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

Bennett, Margaret. *A Céilidh with the MacArthurs Codroy Valley, Newfoundland. A Collection of Songs and Music from the Last Stronghold by Margaret Bennett*. School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, cassette tape.

Blondahl, Omar. *The Saga of Newfoundland in Song*. Rodeo (RPL 5, 1955).

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Barbeau, Marius. *My Life In Recording Canadian -Indian Folk-Lore*. Folkways (FG 3502) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

—. *Canadian Folk Songs. Vol. 8*. Ed. Marius Barbeau, *Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music*. (SL-211, 1954) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

Boulton, Laura, Sam Gesser and Carmen Roy. *Songs of French Canada*. Ed. Marius Barbeau. Folkways (FE 4482, 1957 and 1961) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

Celtic Connection. *Calvert's Dream*. The Roots Cellar (04-50701) cassette tape.

Carignan, Jean. *Old Time Fiddle Tunes Played by Jean Carignan* Folkways (FG-03531, 1960 ) LP, 33 1/3 rpm. .

Creighton, Helen. *Folk Music from Nova Scotia Recorded by Helen Creighton.* Folkways (FM 4006, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *Maritime Folksongs from the Collection of Helen Creighton* (FE 4307) LP, 33 1/3 rpm..

Doyle, Wilf. *Traditional Jigs and Reels of Newfoundland.* Rodeo (RPL 10, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm. .

Fairport Convention. *Liege and Lief '68.* Island Records (ILPS 9115, 1969).

Figgy Duff. *Figgy Duff.* Posterity (9PTR 13014) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *Figgy Duff--After the Tempest.* Amber Music (9800-2) compact disc.

*The Folk Music of the Newport Folk Festival: 1959-1960.* Folkways (FA 2431, FA 2432) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

Fowke, Edith. *Lumbering Songs from the Ontario Shanties.* Folkways (4052, 1961) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *Folksongs of Ontario.* Folkways (FM 4005, 1958) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *Songs of the Great Lakes.* Folkways (FE 04018, 1964) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

Gesser, Sam. *Children's Game Songs of French Canada.* Folkways (FC 7214, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *Songs and Dances of Quebec Party Songs, Reels and Squares Recorded in Canada.* Folkways (FW 6951, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *The Clementi Piano. Vol. 1 & Vol. 2.* Folkways (FG 3341 and FG- 3342) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

— . *Six Montreal Poets.* Folkways (FG 9805) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

- The Glee Club of CJON-TV and Radio, St. John's Newfoundland. *CJON's Glee Club Sings Newfoundland Folksongs and Other Selections*. Rodeo Records (RLP 83) LP 33 1/3 rpm.
- . *The Glee Club of CJON-TV and Radio, St. John's Newfoundland- Vol 2*. Rodeo Records (RPL, 84) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Godden, Reginald. *Reginald Godden-Piano Solo: Bridal Suite and Studies in Line*. London Decca (T-5697) LP, 78 rpm.
- Great Big Sea. *Great Big Sea Turn*. (Wea 2-27734) compact disc.
- Hemsworth, Wade. *Folksongs of the Canadian North Woods*. Folkways (FW 6821) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Jordon, Charles and Joyce Sullivan. *Folk Songs of Canada*. Hallmark (S-3, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Kines, Tom. *Tom Kines Sings of Maids and Mistresses*. Electra (EKL-137) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- . *An Irishman in North Americay*. Folkways (FG-3522, 1962) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- . *Folksongs of Canada: Tom Kines*. RCA Victor (PC/PCS-1014) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Leach, MacEdward. *Songs from the Outports of Newfoundland*. Folkways (FE 4075, 1966) Smithsonian Folkways, cassette tape.
- Labreques, Jacques. *Folk Songs of French Canada*. Folkways (FG 3560) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Memorial University of Newfoundland Chamber Choir. *Winter's Gone and Past and Other Songs of Newfoundland*. World Records (WR-18) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Mariposa Folk Festival -1975*. Eds. David Essig and Bill Usher, Thunder Sound (RCA-Toronto MS-75-001, 1976) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Mills, Alan. *Let's Sing A Little: Folk Songs and Ballads by Alan Mills, CBC Folksinger with guitar accompaniment*. Montreal: RCA Victor Musical Smart Set. CP-7 (56-0030, 56-0031, 656-0032, 1949) LP, 78 rpm.

- The Keeper; Hullabaloo Balay; I Know an Old Lady. RCA Victor (56-0051) LP, 78 rpm.
  - Widdicombe Fair; Cockles and Mussels; Time To Be Made a Wife. RCA Victor (56-0044) LP, 78 rpm.
  - The Kelligrews Soiree; She's Like the Swallow; Lukey's Boat RCA Victor (56-0058) LP, 78 rpm.
  - *French Canadian Folk Songs*. Folkways (FW 6928, 1952) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *Folk Songs of Newfoundland*. Folkways (FW 6831) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *O Canada: A History in Song*. Notes by Edith Fowke. Folkways (FP 3000, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *Songs of the Sea Sung by Alan Mills and the "Shanty Men."* Guitar accomp. Gilbert Lacombe, notes by Edith Fowke. Folkways (FA 2312, 1957) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *We'll Rant and We'll Roar: Songs of Newfoundland*. Folkways (FW 8771, 1958) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *Songs of the Maritimes*. Folkways (8744, 1959) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *Folksongs of French Canada*. Folkways (3663 ) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
  - *Canadian Folk Songs: A Centennial Collection. Documentation, Alan Mills*. RCA Victor (CS 100//5-ACM39, 1967) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Mills, Alan and Hélène Baillargeon. *Songs of French Canada* Folkways (FP 918) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Newfoundland Symphony Youth Choir. *Rock Within the Sea: Folksongs of Newfoundland* (0250564) compact disc.
- Oxner, Diane. *Traditional Songs of Nova Scotia* (Canadian Cavalcade CCLP 2011; Rodeo Records RB 1142) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Payne, Jim, and Kelly Russell. *Jim Payne and Kelly Russell. Pigeon Inlet* (PIP 7314) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

- Peacock, Kenneth. *Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland Sung by Ken Peacock*. Folkways (FG 3505, 1956) LP, 33 1/3 rpm. Smithsonian Folkways, cassette tape.
- . *Indian Music of the Canadian Plains*. Folkways (FE 4464, 1955) LP, 33 1/3 rpm, Smithsonian Folkways, cassette tape.
- Phillips, Stu. *Echoes of the Canadian Foothills*. Rodeo (5Rlp 17) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- The Punters. *The Punters*. Sound Solutions (PFO-007) cassette tape.
- Russell, Kelly. *Close to the Floor: Newfoundland Dance Music*. Pigeon Inlet (PIP 4-7327) cassette tape.
- Smith, Christina and Jean Hewson. *Christina Smith and Jean Hewson: Like Ducks!* Borealis (BCD108) compact disc.
- Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*. Notes by Edith Fowke and commentary by Kenneth Peacock. Pigeon Inlet (PIP 7319, 1984) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*. Coll and Ed. Kenneth Peacock. SingSong Productions compact disc (forthcoming).
- St. John's Extension Choir of Memorial University. *Newfoundlanders Sing Songs of their Homeland*. RCA Victor (CC 1024, 1966) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Sullivan, Joyce and Charles Jordon. *Folksongs of Canada*. Waterloo (CS3, 1955) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- Tickle Harbour. *Tickle Harbour: Battery Included*. SingSong Productions (02-50750) compact disc.
- . *The Hare's Ear*. Clode Sound (CS-7955) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.
- William McCauley Choir. *The William McCauley Choir Sings Canadian Folksongs*. Columbia (FL-226, circa. 1959) LP, 33 1/3 rpm.

**2: Singles**

Mills, Alan. Jack The Sailor; Soldier Won't You Marry Me; Barbara Allen. RCA Victor (57-3021, 1950) 45 rpm.

—. I Know an Old Lady; There's a Hole in My Bucket. Dominion (No. 45-37) 45 rpm.

**Appendix 1: Catalogue of Kenneth Peacock's Newfoundland Music Collection 1951-1961**

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
Adieu de la mariee à ses parents	180-1107// C11088A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 492						
All Hands Away Tomorrow	104-795// C11055B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 416-17			C-A	Peacock notes this variant was used because tune was more interesting; he also adds that lines from Pea 116-850 combined with Pea 104-795 ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 417);	<CR>=Pea 116-850	Arthur Nicolle
All Hands Away Tomorrow <CR>	116-850// C11061B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 416-17			C-A	In <i>Outports</i> Peacock notes lines from this variant combined with Pea 104-795 ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 417);	Pea 104-795	Becky Bennett
Alone on the Shamrock Shore	191-1139// C11093 B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 2: 418-19						
Alonzo the Brave and Fair Imogene	MS-1	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 380-82						
Alouette	135-929// C16984A	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry	<i>Outports</i> 1: 2-3						
Alphabet Song (A) [R/R]	108-815// C11057 B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 1: 4-5				Notes that singer gave him 2 different melodies; Prints full text and melody of (B) and melody and one stanza of (A)	(B) [R/R]=Pea 154-1002	Charlotte Decker
Alphabet Song (B) [R/R]	154-1002 // C11075A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 1: 4-5				Same text used for (A) and (B) by same singer. Recordings made two separate fieldwork years.	(A) [R/R]=Pea 108-815	Charlotte Decker
L'amant à la fenêtre de sa maîtresse	141-952 // C16987 A	Cyril Robin	Cap-St-Georges	<i>Outports</i> 2: 493-94		For other songs by Cyril Robin see MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 101.				
Anchors Aweigh, Love	162-1035// C11079A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 495-96						
Angelina Brown (I tell you what befell me once if you will listen a while and when you hears my tale no doubt my troubles you smile)	170-1074a// C11083A	Leonard Hulan composer	Jeffrey's		UP			No transcript located in Peacock's original files; Peacock notes this was composed by Leonard Hulan		
Anna Gray (Young men and maidens I pray draw near).	114-842// C11060B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour		UP	// Annie Walters: Rinzier, AFS;				

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
Annie Dear I'm Called Away (By a cottage in the twilight)	MS-2	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm		UP	// "Annie Dear I'm Called Away" MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid: 14;				
Annie Franklin [The Bad Girl's Lament]	126-886// C11066B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 2: 420-21						
Archie Barrett (There's lively lads all to my right where on the topsails too and silently his fatal fall was in the briny sludge)	90-731// C11048B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			Fragment-2 stanzas of local (?) song;		
Arthur N'avait pas de richesse	136-932// C16984B	Mrs. Annie Félix	Cap-St-Georges		UP	"Arthur n'avait pas de richesse": Thomas <i>French</i> : 10; //				
L'autre jour avant le mariage (first line)	182-1113// C11089A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto		UP					
L'autre jour dedans la ville (first line)	143-960// C16988A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto		UP					
As I Walkéd Forth in the Pride of the Season [The False Young Man]	91-737// C11049A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 422-23		Christina Smith and Jean Hewson <i>Like Ducks!</i> : track 3; //				
As Susan Strayed the Briny Beach (As Susan Strayed the Sandy Beach)	74-669// C11040B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 646-47		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 206-07//	C-A	Peacock notes line from Pea 9-59 combined with this variant; also notes three variants collected therefore no further recordings made ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 647);	<CR>=Pea 9-59 \$=Pea 98-767	Howard Morry Freeman Bennett
As Susan Strayed the Briny Beach (As Susan Strayed the Sandy Beach)	98-767// C11052B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 646-47	UP	Mrs. Walters: Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 206-07; //		Casual reference; Peacock notes three variants collected therefore no further recordings made ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 647);	Pea 74-669 <CR>=Pea 9-59	Arthur Nicolle Howard Morry

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
As Susan Strayed the Sandy Beach <CR> {As Susan Strayed the Briny Beach}	9-59// C11035A	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 3: 646-47		Sung by Mrs. Walters, Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 206-07; //	C-A	Peacock notes line combined with stanza 3 of 74-669; also notes three variants collected therefore no further recordings made ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 649);	Pea 74-669 \$=Pea 98-767	Arthur Nicolle Freeman Bennett
Babes in the Greenwood [The Cruel Mother; Child 20] (A)	187-1132// C11091B	Jack Dalton	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 804-05		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 15;			(B)=Pea 171-1077	
The Babes in the Greenwood [The Cruel Mother; Child 20] (B)	171-1077// C11083B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 3: 804-05		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 15; Joshua Osborne, <i>Outports</i> : band 1, side A; //		One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea 187-1132	Jack Dalton
Bachelor's Hall	10-69// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 1: 237-38// aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 3; LAD-CMC: PEA -E- 14;						
The Backwater Side	MS-11	Mathew Brennan	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 503-04						
Bad Companions (Come all you bad companions)	6-42// C11033B	Mrs. Monica Rossiter	Cape Broyle		UP	Laws (E15) <i>NAB</i> : 183; Morris <i>Florida</i> 75-80; // Monica Rossiter: Leach 1- 18; MUNFLA 78-054;		One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea 111-829	Becky Bennett
Bad Companions (Come all you bad companions)	111-829// C11059A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Laws (E15) <i>NAB</i> : 183; // Monica Rossiter: Leach 1-18; MUNFLA, 78-054.		One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea 6-42	Monica Rossiter
Banks of Newfoundland [American]	2-12// C11031B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 1: 105-6; "Native" 1963: 225- 26		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 232;		Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> . 1955: 63; A comparison of text and musical transcription contained in <i>Outports</i> with original recording (Pea 2-12) and Doyle text reveals Peacock transcript errors carried over. However, in Doyle surname 'Clowie' corrected to 'Cloure';		

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
The Banks of Newfoundland [Canadian]	16-98// C11037B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 1: 108-09						
Banks of Newfoundland [English] [R/R]	No number assigned// C11068A	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	<i>Outports</i> 3: 854-55	UP		C-S	The second of two recordings by the same singer. When repeated the performance of the song is flat; Peacock notes song is repeated on recording for greater clarity. This song immediately follows 129-902 but no reference to this second recording in <i>Outports</i> and no number assigned;	[R/R]Pea 129-902	Allan MacArthur
Banks of Newfoundland (played with bagpipes)	129-901// C11068A	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry		UP-I			Instrumental		
Banks of Newfoundland (played with bagpipes and then sung) [R/R]	129-902// C11068A	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	<i>Outports</i> 3: 854-55			C-S	The first of two variants by same singer. Peacock does not assign a number to the second recording. Singer plays song first on bagpipes and then sings; no reference to this aspect of the performance in <i>Outports</i>	[R/R] \$=No number assigned	Allan MacArthur
The Banks of Penmanah [Banks of Pondamah] (A)	184-1119// C11090A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 424-25			C-A	Confusion regarding the order of the stanzas; stanza order reconstructed according to discussion between Peacock and informant; stanzas considerably edited; Peacock does not note this but he draws on Holloway's version for additional text; in particular his stanza 2 replaces Hulan's stanza; see Pea C, MS-3, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC;	(B)=Pea MS-3	William Holloway
[Banks of Penmanah [The Banks of Pondmanah] (B)	MS-3	William Holloway	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 424-26			C-A	One stanza with music printed; stanza from MS-3 incorporated into (A);	(A)=Pea 184-1119	Leonard Hulan

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
Banks of Sweet Dundee (It's of a farmer's daughter most beautiful I'm told)	9-58// C11035A	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP	"Undaunted Mary" Laws (M 25) <i>ABBB</i> : 192; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 96; //				
The Banks of Sweet Tralee (Blue trousers and blue jacket young Willie he put on)	MS-5	James Heaney	Stock Cove		UP	Laws (M-25) <i>ABBB</i> : 192; // Leach MUNFLA 78-054;		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 5-32 \$=Pea MS-5	Jim Rice James Heaney
Banks of Sweet Tralee (It's of a jolly ploughboy, Willie Brown is his name; He courted lovely Mary)	5-32// C11033A	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Laws (M-25) <i>ABBB</i> : 192; // Leach MUNFLA 78-054;		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea MS-5 \$=Pea 172-1079	James Heaney Joshua Osborne
Banks of Sweet Tralee (It's of a jolly ploughboy, Willie Brown is his name)	172-1079// C11084A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay		UP	Laws (M-25) <i>ABBB</i> : 192; // Leach MUNFLA 78-054; Joshua Osborne: Goldstein Finding Aid: 100; C		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 5-32 \$=Pea MS-5	Jim Rice James Heaney
The Banks of the Ayr [Burns and His Highland Mary] (Highland Mary) (A)	79-690MS// C11043A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 427-29				Editing of words and lines;	(B)=Pea 161-1031	Clara Stevens
The Banks of the Ayr [Burns and His Highland Mary] (Highland Mary) (B)	161-1031// C11078B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 427-29				One stanza with music printed;	(A)=Pea 79-690	Freeman Bennett
Banks of the Gaspereau	113-837// C11060A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 744-45						
The Banks of the Roses	MS-4	Kenneth Monks	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 497-98						

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Barbara Allen [Child 84] (A)	MS-6	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	Outports 3: 649-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 26-27; //	C-M	Ideal text created from multiple composite of stanzas from variants (A), (B), (C) and (D);	(B)=Pea 164-1044 (C)=Pea 113-839 (D)=Pea 119-863 (E)=Pea 164-1043 (F)=Pea 201-1169	Clara Stevens Freeman Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs. Clara Stevens William Nash
Barbara Allen [Child 84] (B)	164-1044// C11080A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 3: 652-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 26-27; //	C-M	Peacock notes that tune is different; stanzas from this variant combined with A, C, and D to create ideal text.	(A)=Pea MS-6 (C)=Pea 112-839 (D)=Pea 119-863 (E)=Pea 164-1043 (F)=Pea 201-1169	Harry Curtis Freeman Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Clara Stevens William Nash
Barbara Allen [Child 84] (C)	113-839// C11060A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 649-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 26-27; //	C-M	Ideal text created from multiple composite of stanzas from variants (A), (B), (C) and (D);	(A)=Pea MS-6 (B)=Pea 164-1044 (D)=Pea 119-863 (E)=Pea 164-1043 (F)=Pea 201-1169	Harry Curtis Clara Stevens Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs. Clara Stevens William Nash
Barbara Allen [Child 84] (D)	119-863// C11063A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	Outports 3: 649-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 26-27; //	C-M	Ideal text created from multiple composite of stanzas from variants (A), (B), (C) and (D);	(A)=Pea MS-6 (B)=Pea 164-1044 (C)=Pea 113-839 (E)=Pea 164-1043 (F)=Pea 201-1169	Harry Curtis Clara Stevens Freeman Bennett Clara Stevens William Nash
Barbara Allen [Child 84] (E)	164-1043// C11080A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 3: 652-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 26-27; //		Peacock notes tune is different; one stanza and music printed;	(A)=Pea MS-6 (B)=Pea 164-1044 (C)=Pea 112-839 (D)=Pea 119-863 (F)=Pea 201-1169	Harry Curtis Clara Stevens Freeman Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow William Nash
Barbara Allen [Child 84] (F)	201-1169// C11098B	William Nash	Branch	Outports 3: 649-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 26-27; //		One stanza and text printed;	(A)=Pea MS-6 (B)=Pea 164-1044 (C)=Pea 113-839 (D)=Pea 119-863 (E)=Pea 164-1043	Harry Curtis Clara Stevens Freeman Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs. Clara Stevens
La Barbière	138-939// C16985B	Joseph LeMoin	Cap-St-Georges		UP					
Bar the Door O [Child 275]	200-1165// C11098A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outports 1: 139-40		Annie Walters, Outports; band 2, side A; Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 41; //		Stanzas 7 and 8 re-ordered; lines 3 and 4, stanza 8 not on tape, perhaps invented by Peacock;		

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The Beach of Strawblanc	156-1012// C11076A	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 499-500						
Le beau galant	183-1116// C11089B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 3: 662-63						
Le beau militaire	182-1110// C11089A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 1: 168-69						
Le beau monsieur tire ses gants blancs <CR>	137-938// C16985A	Mrs. Annie Félix	Cap-St-Georges	Outports 1: 170-71			C-A	Peacock notes stanzas 3 and 6 of this variant combined with Pea 179-1103; singer named (Outports 1: 171);	Pea 179-1103	Joséphine Costard
Le beau monsieur tire ses gants blancs voir batelière	179-1103// C11087B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 1: 170-71			C-A	Peacock notes stanzas 3 and 6 of Pea 137-938 combined with this variant (Outports 1: 171);	<CR>=Pea 137-938	Annie Felix
The Bellburns Tragedy (On the 13th of April as you all well may know, two boys on a sleigh)	159-1024// C11077B	Leonora Stevens	Bellburns		UP			Composed by her mother, Clara Stevens; pertains to the death of two boys on an ice pan 13 April 1957;		
La belle cherche son amant	180-1106// C11088A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 1: 172-73						
La belle est morte entre les bras de son amant	181-1108// C11088B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 3: 664-65						
Belle Nanon	182-1112// C11089A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 2: 501						
Une belle récompense	179-1101// C11087B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 2: 326						
La belle regrette son amour tendre	134-924// C16983B	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry	Outports 2: 430-31		//For additional songs by Lucie Cormier MUNFLA : Goldstein Finding Aid: 96;		In inventory Peacock notes Lucy Cormier is daughter of Madame Aucoin; also notes this variant is the same as 134-923 but with an extra stanza;	\$=Pea 134-923	Madame Aucoin
Le Belle regrette son amour	134-923// C16983B	Madame Aucoin	Cold Brook, Codroy Valley	Outports 2: 430-31	UP			No reference to this variant in Outports;	Pea 134-924	Lucy Cormier
The Beloved Land	MS-7	Phillip Foley	Tilting	Outports 2: 352-53; "Nine Songs," (1954): 132-33;						
Bergère fait du fromage	143-961// C16988A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 1: 241-42						

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The Best of Friends Must Part (I'll sing to you a little song, contest of my own)	MS-8	Peter Donahue	Joe Batt's Arm		UP	// MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 17; SAP MUNFLA 68-40;				
The Best Things in Life (In a well-known club one evening sat a number of great men)	204-1176b// C110100A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse		UP	// Monica Rossiter: Leach MUNFLA 1-14; 78-054;				
Betsy, Betsy From Fair London	MS-9	Mrs. John Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 666-67						
The Big Roaring Fire (With all the pleasures in this world, the dearest one in life).	2-14// C11031B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	// Tim [Jim] Rice: Leach 1-8; MUNFLA 78-054;				
Bill Wiseman	MS-10	James Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 40-42; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 4; "Native," (1963): 218; [fragment] // aired over radio; see CBC Archives 52-114-01/00; transcript, 1953-54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 6 and "Folkmusic," talk 2 LAD-CMC: PEA -A-15 and PEA E-4;		Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 14; //		Melody and text printed in Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> compares with Peacock's original transcript; see Pea C, MS-10, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;		
The Bird Rocks	70-659// C11038B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 903-04		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 292; //		Local composition; Peacock makes reference to Walters having given this variant in Greenleaf and Mansfield ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 904);		
The Black Devil (The Black)	81-699// C11044A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 856-57				No reference made to second variant; \$=Pea 149-984		George Decker
The Black Devil (The Black)	149-984// C11072B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 856-58	UP			No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> ;	Pea 81-699	Freeman Bennett

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The Black Sheep (In a quiet little village not very far away, there lived an aged man...)	8-49// C11034B	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	"The Black Sheep" <i>Traditional Ballad Index</i> , File: FSC105; Wilson and Pomroy <i>Merashcen</i> (1981): 30; // Mary Whelan: Leach 1-12; Halpert and Widdowson MUNFLA 66-24 c250; MUNFLA-STI Wilf Wareham 70-8;				
Blanche Comme La Neige (A)	140-950// C16986B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 1: 174-78					(B)=Pea 136-931 (C)=Pea 138-940	Annie Félix William (Guillaume) Robin
Blanche Comme La Neige (B)	136-931// C11069A	Mrs. Annie Félix	Cap-St-Georges	<i>Outports</i> 1: 174-78					(A)=Pea 140-950 (C)= Pea 138-940	Josephine Costard William (Guillaum) Robin
Blanche Comme La Neige (C)	138-940// C16985B	William (Guillaume) Robin	Cap-St-Georges	<i>Outports</i> 1: 176-78		// For other songs see Guillaume (Willy) Robin: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 101;			(A)=Pea 140-950 (B)=Pea 136-931	Joséphine Costard Annie Félix
The Bloody Garden	95-755// C11051A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 668-70				Major editing throughout;		
Blooming Mary Ann (A) [Lovely Mary Ann]	132-914// C11069B	Joseph Bruce	Searston, Codroy Valley	<i>Outports</i> 2: 505-07				No reference to unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 127-893 \$=Pea MS-72	Kenneth Pink Austin Hardy
Blooming Mary Ann; (B) [Lovely Mary Ann]	127-893// C11067A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 2: 505-07				One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea 132-914 \$=Pea MS-72	Joseph Bruce Austin Hardy
Blooming Mary Ann [Lovely Mary Ann] (I went to a dance last Sunday night myself for to enjoy)	MS-72	Austin Hardy	Broad Cove, Duntara (Bonavista Bay)	<i>Outports</i> : 505-06	UP			No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> ;	(A)=Pea 132-914 (B)=Pea 127-893	Joseph Bruce Kenneth Pink
Blow the Wind Westery	156-1009// C11076A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 859						

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The Blueberry Ball	80-695// 11043B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 43-44; "Native," (1963); 221;				Peacock notes in index that this is a local composition;		
Blue Jacket and White Trousers	110-821// C11058B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 327-28		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 100-01://				
Boire un p'tit coup c'est agreable	134-927// C16983B	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry	Outports 2: 508-09					\$= Pea 130-904	Martin Deveau
Boire un p'tit coup c'est agreable	130-904// C11068B	Martin Deveau	Upper Ferry	Outports 2: 508-09	UP	// For other songs by Deveau see MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid," : 96.		No reference to this variant in Outports ;	Pea 134-927	Lucie Cormier
Bold Escallion and Phoebe {Bold Escallion}	88-724// C11047B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 510-11						
Bold Lamkin [Lamkin; Child 93]	112-831 [No. in Outports as 12-831]// C11059B	Jim Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 806-07				Casual reference to variant by Mrs. Kinslow; Peacock notes her tune is "virtually identical" to the one provided in Outports: 807;	\$= Pea 123-878	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
Bold Lamkin (Lamkin; Child 93) [Beau Lambkin]	123-878// C11065A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	Outports 3: 806-07	UP			Casual reference and singer named; notes the melody used by this singer is almost identical to Pea 122-831; (Outports 3: 807);	Pea 112-831	Jim Bennett
Bold McCarthy [The City of Baltimore]	164-1042// C11080A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 3: 860-61		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 354; //				
The Bold Princess Royal {The Bold Prince of Royal} (A)	72-664// C11039B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 835-36		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 78-80; //	C-A	Although Peacock doesn't say, stanzas 4, 5, 7 & 8 come from (B)=Pea 74-667;	(B)=Pea 74-667	Arthur Nicolle
The Bold Princess Royal {The Bold Prince of Royal} (B)	74-667// C11040B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 835-36		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 78-80; //	C-A	One stanza and music published; although Peacock doesn't say, stanzas 4, 5, 7 & 8 taken from (B) used in (A)=Pea 72-664;	(A)= Pea 72-664	George Decker
The Bold Tinker (As I was a walking one morning for pleasure As I was walking alone on the fair)	94-750// C11050B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Fowke <i>Traditional Singers</i> 50-51; // Alec Payne Halpert and Widdowson MUNFLA 66-24; c257;				

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The Bold Trooper [The Croppèd Tailor] (A)	MS-12	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 1: 243-48					(B)=Pea 175-1089 (C)=Pea 114-844	Joshua Osborne Arthur Nicolle
The Bold Trooper [The Croppèd Tailor] (B)	175-1089 MS// C11085B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 1: 243-46				Melody and stanzas 1, 2, 4, and 6 published; stanza 6 is edited;	(A)=Pea MS-12 (B)=Pea 114-844	Harry Curtis Arthur Nicolle
The Bold Trooper [The Croppèd Tailor] (C)	114-844 MS// C11060B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 243-48				Melody and 2 stanzas printed;	(A)=Pea MS-12 (B)=Pea 175-1089	Harry Curtis Joshua Osborne
Bold Wolfe	80-693// C11043B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 986-87		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 96-98; //				
The Bonavist Line [The Riverhead Line] (A)	MS-13	John Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 768-71				Peacock notes both texts reproduced for those who wish to make a composite ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 771).	(B)=Pea 150-987	Everett Bennett
The Bonavist Line [The Riverhead Line] (B)	150-987// C11073A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 768-71				Peacock notes the two texts were reproduced for those who wish to make a composite;	(A)=Pea MS-13	John Mahoney
Bonavista Harbour (As they started to make a harbour here quite early in the spring).	5-30// C11033A	Stewart Little composer	Bonavista	aired on radio; see transcript 1957 CBC radio talk 2, "Folkmusic" LAD- CMC: PEA E-4;	UP	Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 16-17; //		Local Composition; Melody and text printed in Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> compares with Peacock's original transcript; see Pea 5-37 B, textual and musical transcriptions, LAD- CMC;		
Le bonhomme tombe de l'arbre	143-964// C16988A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 1: 45						
The Bonny Banks of Ardrie-O [Babylon: Child 14] {The Bonny Banks of Vergie-O} (A) [R/R]	173-1084// C11084B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 3: 809-811		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 10-11; Joshua Osborne, <i>Outports</i> : band 5, side A; //	C-S	Peacock notes in index to see 177- 1093 for full text; printed version is a composite of two recordings of the same song by the same singer; it is likely that some words have been added to the text from a publication.	(A)=[R/R]=Pea 177-1093 (B)=Pea MS-14	Joshua Osborne Mr. & Mrs Ken Monks
The Bonny Banks of Ardrie-O [Babylon: Child 14] {The Bonny Banks of Vergie-O} (A) [R/R]	177-1093// C11086B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 3: 809-11		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 10-11; //	C-S	Peacock notes in index to see 177- 1093 for full text; printed version is a composite of two recordings of the same song by the same singer; it is likely that some words have been added to the text from a publication.	(A)=[R/R]=Pea 173-1084 (B)=Pea MS-14 S=Pea MS-114	Joshua Osborne M. & Mrs. K. Monks M. & Mrs. Monks

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The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O [Babylon; Child 14] {The Bonny Banks of Vergie-O} (B) [R/R]	MS-14	Mr.&Mrs. Kenneth Monks	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 809-11; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 2; // aired over radio; see CBC Archives, Toronto, 52-0114-01/00; transcript, 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 5, PEA -E-14 and transcript, 1957, "Folkmusic" talk 1, PEA E-3.		Peacock did a rendition for Barbeau and Lomax which was included in <i>Folk and Primitive</i> vol 8: track 21; version also given to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 18-19; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 10-11; //		One stanza and music printed in <i>Outports</i> ;	A=[R/R]=Pea 173-1084 A=[R/R]= Pea 177-1093 S=Pea MS-114	Joshua Osborne Joshua Osborne Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth Monks
The Bonny Banks of Ardrrie-O [Babylon; Child 14] {The Bonny Banks of Vergie-O} (B) [R/R]	MS-114	Mr.&Mrs. Kenneth Monks	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> : 809-11; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 2; // aired over radio; see CBC Archives, Toronto, 52-0114-01/00; transcript, 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 5, PEA -E-14 and transcript, 1957, "Folkmusic" talk 1, PEA E-3.		Peacock did a rendition for Barbeau and Lomax which was included in <i>Folk and Primitive</i> vol 8: track 21; version also given to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 18-19; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 10-11; //		First draft of text of MS-14; title reads "Three Young Ladies Went Out For A Walk," and text is hand-written. No change in terms of text.	A=[R/R]=Pea 173-1084 A+ [R/R]= Pea 177-1093 (B)=Pea MS-14	Joshua Osborne Joshua Osborne Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth Monks
The Bonnie Bunch of Roses O	100-775// C11053B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 988-89		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 170-71//				
The Bonny Busk of London [The Twa Sisters; Child 10]	156-1013 MS// C11076A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 1: 179-80		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 9; Best and Morgan <i>The Color of Amber</i> Side 1.6; //		Stanza 4 not sung; some stanzas re-arranged;		
Bonsoir ma catin ma jolie maîtresse (first line)	134-926// C16983B	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry		UP					
Le bon vin	199-1163// C11097B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 1: 249-50		Josephine Costard, <i>Outports</i> : band 8, side B; //				

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The Boston Burglar	126-887// C11066B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts		UP	Laws (L 16B) <i>ABBB</i> : 175; "The Boston Burglar," Huntington <i>Henry's Songs</i> : 119; Leach Labrador: 254; //				
The Bouncing Girl in Fogo	122-873// C11064B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 2: 354						
Bound Down for Newfoundland [The Schooner <i>Mary Ann</i> ]	82-704// C11044B	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 905-06		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 317; //				
The Boy that Wore the Blue (Dear Madam I'm a soldier my speech is rough and plain)	86-716// C11046B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	// "The Soldier's Letter" Linda Stade <i>Songbook</i> 2: 77; Kodish and Rosenberg, <i>MUNFLA</i> 78-008; <i>MUNFLA-SAP</i> 72-2; Mike Kent: Leach 1-15; <i>MUNFLA</i> 78-054				
The Boys at <i>Ninety-Five</i>	MS-75	Leslie Mahaney [Mahoney]	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 746						
The Brave Engineer (On a dark and stormy night not a star was in sight and the north winds)	98-768// C11052B	Jim Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	"Wreck of the No. 9," <i>Frank C. Brown</i> 4: 358; "Wreck of the" No. 9" <i>The Newfoundlander</i> 12.1 July 1949: 8; //				
The Brave Volunteers	195-1149// C11095B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 2: 432-22						
The Bridge at Robinson's River	186-1128// C11091A	Leonard Hulan composer	Jeffrey's		UP			Local composition;		

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In Bright and Bonny Scotland (In Bright and Bonny Scotland where blooming bells do grow)	76-676 // C11041B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour		UP	Laws (N2) <i>ABBB</i> : 202; "The Paisley Office," Ives <i>Folksongs Of NB</i> : 153-157; " and Doerflinger <i>Sailormen and Lumbermen</i> : 308-11; "Blythe and Bonny Scotland," Huntington <i>Henry's Songs</i> : 332-33; // Charlotte Decker: Rinzler, AFS; MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson 66-24;		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 101-781	Charlotte Decker
In Bright and Bonny Scotland ( In Bright and Bonny Scotland there dwelt a lovely maiden fair all in her youth and bloom)	101-781// C11054A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond		UP	Laws (N2) <i>ABBB</i> : "The Paisley Officer," Ives <i>Folksongs Of NB</i> : 153-157; Doerflinger <i>Sailormen and Lumbermen</i> : 308-11; "Blythe and Bonny Scotland," Huntinton <i>Henry's Songs</i> : 332-33; // Charlotte Decker: Halpert and Widdowson Collection MUNFLA 66-24;			\$=Pea 76-676	Annie Walters
Bright Phoebe (A)	154-1001// C11075A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 434-35		Charlotte Decker, <i>Outports</i> : band 7, slide A; //		No reference to third unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 185-1124 \$=Pea 88-725	
Bright Phoebe (B)	185-1124// C11090B	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 434-5				One stanza with music printed;	(A)= Pea 154-1001 \$=Pea 88-725	Charlotte Decker Becky Bennett
Bright Phoebe	88-725// C11047B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 434-35.	UP			Casual reference, singer named; ( <i>Outports</i> 2 : 435);	(A)=Pea 154-1001 (B)=Pea 185-1124	Charlotte Decker Leonard Hulan
British Man-O-War	MS-17	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 1: 181-82						
Brown Flour	MS-18	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island	<i>Outports</i> 1: 46-47; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 8; "Native," (1963): 219;		// For songs by Chris Cobb's son see Arron Cobb: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid" : 96				

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The Brown Girl	MS-84	William Holloway	King's Cove	Outports 2: 355-56		Peacock rendition given to Barbeau and Lomax for <i>Folk and Primitive Music</i> 8 : track 27: [under the title "My Name It's Delaney" ]//				
Brughaichean Ghlinn Braon	128-895// C11067B	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	Outports 3: 773-74		For an extensive discussion of MacArthur's music see Bennett diss. <i>Scottish Gaelic Traditions</i> , 1976; //	C-B	Taken from publication; see MacDonald <i>Sar-Obair Nam bard Gaelach The Beauties</i> 1863: 262-63; Knight <i>Scottish Gaelic Traditions</i> notes this song was not used for milling as noted in Peacock (790) but instead "would have been sung at a ceiliidh" (1976: 292-3);		
Bully Brown	155-1003// C11075B	James Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 3: 862-63						
Bull Yorkens	MS-19	Ron Hoven	Fogo	Outports 3: 907-08						
Burgeo Jail (Come all you good people and listen to me; a short simple ditty I'll sing unto thee)	167-1061// C11081B	Martha Osmond	Grand Bay (Port aux Basques)		UP	// "The Burgeo Jail Song," MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid: 22; MUNFLA 71-2;				
Bury Me Not in the Deep Deep Sea	186-1126 MS// C11091A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	Outports 1: 151-52				Some stanzas edited;		
Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie	116-853// C11061B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outport 1: 153-54						
Butter and Cheese	164-1046// C11080A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 1: 251-52		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 216-17; //		Peacock's footnote adapted from Greenleaf and Mansfield		
C'est à Paris y'a-t- une noce	199-1162// C11097B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 1: 255-56						
C'était trois jeunes garçons	182-1111// C11089A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 2: 512						
C'était z-un petit village de l'Azace (First line: C'était z- un petit village de l'Azace)	138-942// C16985B	Cornelius Robin	Cap-St-Georges		UP	"C'était z-un ptit village de l'Asace " : Thomas <i>French</i> : 19; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 139-945	Jean Ozon

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C'était -z-un p'tit village (First line: Dedans z-un p'tit village de l'Alsace)	139-945// C16986A	Jean Ozon	Cap-St-Georges		UP	"C'était-z-un p'tit village de l'Alsace": Thomas French : 19; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 138-942	Cornelius Robin
Cabbage and Goose	111-828// C11059A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 253-54						
The Cambric Shirt; [The Elfin Knight, Child 2] {A True Lover of Mine; The Old Woman and the Devil} (A)	148-979// C11072A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	Outports 1: 6-8				No reference to third unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 163-1038 \$=Pea 95-754	Clara Stevens Everett Bennett
The Cambric Shirt; [The Elfin Knight; Child 2] {A True Lover of Mine; The Old Woman and the Devil} (B)	163-1038// C11079B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 1: 6-8					(A)=Pea 148-979 \$=Pea 95-754	George Decker Everett Bennett
The Cambric Shirt; [The Elfin Knight; Child 2] {A True Lover of Mine; The Old Woman and the Devil}	95-754// C11051A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 6-8	UP			No reference to this variant in Outports .	(A)=Pea 148-979 (B)=Pea 163-1038	George Decker Clara Stevens
Captain Kidd	82-701 MS// C11044B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 837-39						
Captains and Ships (Old Sailing Fleet)	2-9// C11031B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	Outports 3: 865-66;		"Song of Sealing Ships," <i>Western Star</i> 25 Mar. 1949; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 19; // Tim [Jim] Rice: Leach 1-8; MUNFLA 78-054;		Local Composition; Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> ; see <i>Outports 3</i> : 866.		
The Captain's Lady	110-823// C11058B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 775-76						
Captain Strachan	87-719// C11047A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 990-91						

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Captain Ward [Child 288[7 ]]	99-774// C11053A	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 840-01				stanzas rearranged; Peacock gives wrong Child number; it should be Child 287; no reference to second unpublished variant;	\$= Pea 88-723	Freeman Bennett
Captain Ward [Child 287]	88-723// C11047B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 840-41	UP			No reference to this variant in Outports;	Pea 99-774	Clarence Bennett
Caroline and Her Young Sailor Bold	MS-20	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	Outports 2: 329-30						
The Cashmere Shawl	163-1040// C11079B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 3: 777-78						
Chantons La Gloire (Chantez la gloire, la vaillance)	138-943// C16985B	Cornelius Robin	Cap-St-Georges		UP	"Chantons La Gloire et La Vaillance": Thomas French: 19; //		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 135-930	Lucie Cormier
Chantons La Gloire (Chantons la gloire, la vaillance d'un jeune soldat v'nant d'Italie)	135-930 // C16984A	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry		UP	"Chantons La Gloire et La Vaillance": Thomas French: 19; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 138-943	Cornelius Robin
Charles Augustus Anderson	76-675// C11041B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 867-68		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 319-20; //				
Charming Sally Greer	190-1137// C11093A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 2: 358-59						
Christmas Rum	168-1062// C11082A	Martha Osmond	Grand Bay (Port aux Basques)	Outports 3: 869-70; "Native," (1963): 221; [casual reference]						
Les clairons sonnaient la charge [L'air est pur, la route est large]	139-949// C16986A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 3: 992-93						
The Coat That Was Buttoned from Behind (My name is Mike Snoley I'm just in from town)	81-697// C11044A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			Comic Song		
Cod-Liver Oil	MS-21	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	Outports 1: 47-48		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 47-48; //				

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Coaker's Dream (I had a dream the other night indeed it was an awful dream).	1-4// C11031A	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 171; // STI, MUNFLA 72-1; Ned Rice: Leach 1-14, MUNFLA 7 8-054;		Local composition;		
Come All You Island People (Come all you island people and a warning take by me)	122-871// C11064B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Iste aux Morts		UP			Song fragment; Local Composition		
Come All You Men from Brule (Oh when he saw her coming he called all hands on deck)	151-988// C11073B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Lehr <i>Come I Will Sing</i> : 23-24; // "The Brule Boys" MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid: 21				
The Cow Puncher's Lament (I am an old cow puncher although I'm dressed in rags)	174-1086// C11085A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay		UP	Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 246; //				
Crazy Jane	MS-22	Edward Taylor	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 436-37			C-B	Stanza 5 taken from <i>The Quaver or Songster's Pocket Companion</i> 1865:224-25;		
The Crew From Boston Bay	169-1066// C11082B	Jim Smurridge	Burnt Islands	<i>Outports</i> 1: 110-11						
Crockery Ware	97-763 // C11052A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 257-58						
A Crowd of Bold Sharemen	205-1179/ C110100B	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 1: 113-15		Gordon Willis, Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 240-41; //				
The Cuckoo's Nest (Chin Music)	167-1057// C11081B	Mrs. Nellie Musseau	Mouse Island	<i>Outports</i> 1: 259-60						
Culling Fish	MS-23	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	<i>Outports</i> 1: 118-19						
The Cumberland and the Merrimac	MS-24	Ron & Mrs. Hovan	Fogo	<i>Outports</i> 3: 909-10						

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Currant Island Wedding (The tenth day of October as you may understand we went down to Currant Island)	102-785// C11054B	James Decker	Parson's Pond	"Native," (1963): 221; [casual reference]	UP			Local composition;		
Dance at Daniel's Harbour (We weighed up our anchors and struck up a melody)	91-738// C11049A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	"Native," (1963): 221 [casual reference]	UP			Local composition		
A Dance to Jim McBoys [McBrides] {McCoy's} (They had a dance the other night Over to Jim McCoy's, all the boys were loaded, filled up to the eyes).	MS-25	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island	"Native," (1963): 218 [fragment];	UP			No melody;		
Daniel Sullivan (My name is Daniel Sullivan I am a slight old man)	92-741// C11049B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 623;</i>	UP	// Charlotte Decker: Halpert and Widdowsen MUNFLA 66-24; c262		Casual reference; Song about a murder similar to "Murder of Anne O'Brien"; Peacock notes that the text was badly mixed up so the song was not included in the collection ( <i>Outports 2: 623</i> ).		
Dans les prisons de Nantes [Ah! Sur le pont de Londres]	139-947// C16986A	Jean Ozon	Cap-St-Georges	<i>Outports 1: 183-84</i>						
The Dark-Eyed Sailor [T/T]	8-53// C11034B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports 2: 513-14</i> // aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54 CBC radio talk 4, LAD-CMC: PEA E-13;			C-A	Text only combined with text and music from Pea 154-1000. No reference to two other unpublished variants;	[T/T] + [R/R]=Pea 154-1000 \$=Pea MS-26 [R/R]+\$=Pea 109-820	Charlotte Decker James Heaney Charlotte Decker

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The Dark-Eyed Sailor [T/T]+[R/R]	154-1000// C11075A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 513-14			C-A	One of two variants of the same song by the same singer recorded at different times but no reference to second recording or to other unpublished variant; melody and one stanza from this variant combined with text of Pea 8-53;	[T/T]=Pea 8-53 [R/R] + \$=Pea 109-820 \$=Pea MS-26	Howard Morry Charlotte Decker James Heaney
The Dark-Eyed Sailor [R/R]	109-820// C11058A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 513-14	UP	Laws (N 35) ABBB : 221 //		One of two variants of the same song by the same singer. No reference to this variant in Outports ;	[T/T]=Pea 8-54 [T/T] +[R/R]=Pea 154-1000 \$=Pea MS-26	Howard Morry Charlotte Decker James Heaney
The Dark-Eyed Sailor [As I roved out one evening fair to view the fields]	MS-26	James Heaney	Stock Cove	Outports 2: 513-14 // Peacock rendition aired over radio; see CBC Archives 52-0114-01/00;	UP	Laws N-35 ABBB : 221-22; // "Dark-Eyed Sailor" MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid: 29;		No reference to this variant in Outports	[T/T]= Pea 8-53 [T/T]+[R/R]=Pea 154-1000 [R/R]+\$=Pea 109-820	Howard Morry Charlotte Decker Charlotte Decker
David David where are you going to go-e-o; David, David chewing on your gumeo (Nursery Song)	131-910// C11069A	Mrs. Frank Tompkins	Doyles, Codroy Valley		UP					
The Derby Ram	93-747// C11050A	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 10						
The Deserter (When the Battle is Won)	76-674// C11041B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 994-95						
Desur le pont de Nantes	135-928// C16984A	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry	Outports 2: 331-2						
Diana and Her Sailor Bright	169-1067// C11082B	Jim Smurridge	Burnt Islands	Outports 2: 515-16						
Dixie's Isle	MS-27	Thomas Sullivan	King's Cove	Outports 3: 996-97						
Doctor Fletcher (---?---I hope you'll pay attention to what I'm going to say)	158-1017// C11077A	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond		UP			Recording hard to hear;		
Donald Munro [ Daniel Monroe, or, You Sons of North Britain] (A)	71-663// C11039A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 812-16		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN : 318;//	C-A	Peacock notes stanza 12 taken from (C) combined with (A) (Outports 3: 816);	(B)=Pea MS-116 (C)=Pea 2-11	Austin Hardy Ned Rice

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Donald Monro [Daniel Monroe, or, You Sons of North Britain] (B)	MS-116	Austin Hardy	Broad Cove, Duntara (Bonavista Bay)	<i>Outports</i> 3: 812-15		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 318;//			(A)=Pea 71-663 (C)=Pea 2-11	Annie Walters Ned Rice
Donald Monroe [ Daniel Monroe, or, You Sons of North Britain] (C)	2-11// C11031B	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 812-15		Given to Barbeau and Lomax for <i>Folk and Primitive Music</i> 8: Ned Rice track 24; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 318; // Monica Rossiter: Leach 1-15, MUNFLA 78-054;	C-A	One stanza and music printed; Peacock notes stanza from (C) combined with (A) ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 816);	(A)=Pea 71-663; (B)=Pea MS-116	Annie Walters Austin Hardy
Don't Part True Lovers, Ever (A young man had a sweetheart and he was very poor)	76-677// C11041B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour		UP	// Annie Walters: Rinzier, AFS;				
Doran's Ass [Paddy Doyle]	MS-96	James Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 50-52; // aired on radio; see CBC Archives 52-0114-01/00			C-B	Peacock notes stanza 8 taken from Manus O'Connor's Irish <i>Come All Ye's Outports 1: 52</i> ;		
Downey's Our Member	170-1074// C11083A	Leonard Hulan composer	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 779-80						
Drifting Song	MS-28	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island		UP			This is actually a poem-no melody;		
Drill Ye Heroes, Drill	MS-29	William Holloway	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 781-82; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 11; "Native." (1963): 229; // Peacock rendition aired over radio see transcript, 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 6, LAD-CMC: PEA-A-15;						
The Drunken Captain [In Canso Strait]	100-777// C11053B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 871-72						

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The Dying Soldier (A youth lay on the battlefield in France's blood-stained soil).	6-37// C11033B	Mrs. Monica Rossiter	Cape Broyle		UP	"Dying Soldier." <i>The Newfoundlander</i> 9.3 Aug. 1946: 17; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 65; <i>Mercer NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 220; // Monica Rossiter: Leach 1- 14; MUNFLA 78-054;		Melody and text printed in Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> compares with Peacock's original transcript ; Pea B , 6-37, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC.		
Early Spring [The Young Bride's Lament]	102-787// C11054B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 439-40		"Early Spring" Jean Hewson <i>Early Spring</i> : side 1.2 //				
Eggs and Marrow-Bones (A) {The Cedar Pole; There Lived An Old Woman in Dover}	81-698// C11044A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 261-64				No reference made to third unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 186-1127 \$=Pea MS-113	Leonard Hulan Leslie Mahoney and Andrew Gallahue
Eggs and Marrow-Bones (B) {The Cedar Pole; There Lived An Old Woman in Dover}	186-1127// C11091A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 261-64				Light editing throughout, stanza 8 re-ordered;	(A)=Pea 81-698 \$=Pea MS-113	Freeman Bennett Leslie Mahaney & Andrew Gallahue
Eggs and Marrow-Bones {The Cedar Pole; There Lived An Old Woman in Dover}	MS-113	Leslie Mahaney [Mahoney] & Andrew Gallahue	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 261-64; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 7; // Peacock rendition aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 5, LAD-CMC: PEA E-14;	UP	"Marrow Bones" Purslow <i>English Folk Songs</i> : 55; "The Rich Old Lady or Johnny Sands," Karpeles <i>Cecil Sharpe's Collection</i> 2: 43; //		No reference to this variant in the <i>Outports</i> .	(A)=Pea 81-698 (B)=Pea 186-1127	
The Elderman's Lady (A)	108-812// C11057B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 783-84			C-A	Variant present is actually Freeman Bennett's text.	(B)=Pea 86-718b	Freeman Bennett
The Elderman's Lady (B)	86-718b// C11046B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 783-84			C-A	1 stanza and music printed. Peacock notes that the texts were quite similar. This text is used for Decker's variant A.	(A)=Pea 108-812	Charlotte Decker

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Eleven to Heaven	MS-30	Alfred Israel Mahaney [Mahoney]	Fogo	<i>Outports</i> 3: 785						
The Emigrant from Newfoundland	200-1166// C11098A	Andrew Nash	Branch	<i>Outports</i> 2: 360-61						
En revenant de la jolie Rochelle	198-1161// C11097A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 517						
Erin's Green Shore (A)	MS-31	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 362-65		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 142-43; //			(B)=Pea 173-1083	Joshua Osborne
Erin's Green Shore (B)	173-1083// C11084B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 2: 362-65		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 142-43; //			(A)=Pea MS-31	Mrs. John Fogarty
Erin's Lovely Home (When I was young and innocent my age scare 21)	76-678// C11041B	Freeman Payne	Rocky Harbour		UP	Laws (M6) <i>ABBB</i> : 183; Leach "Seven Links Upon My Chain," <i>Labrador: 48</i> ; Purslow <i>Foggy Dew: 27</i> ; Mercer NF. <i>Songs &amp; Ballads in Print: 176</i> ; Neilands "A Drop..." <i>CFC</i> , 14-2(1992): 63; Fowke "Old" <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 38; //				
Fair Eleanor	109-817// C11058A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 608-09						
Fair Fanny Moore	116-852// C11061B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 610-11				No reference to unpublished variant;	\$=Pea 118-859	Joshua Osborne
Fair Fanny Moore	118-859	Emmanuel Osborne	Port aux Basques	<i>Outports</i> 2: 610-11	UP	Laws (0 38) <i>ABBB</i> : 244-45 ; //		No reference to this in <i>Outports</i> ;	Pea 116-852	Annie Walters
Fair Marjorie's Ghost [Fair Margaret and Sweet William; Child 74-B]	161-1033// C11078B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 383-84						
The Faithful Sailor Boy (On a cold and stormy winter's night the Outports lay on the ground)	MS-32	Mrs. Lucy Heaney	Stock Cove		UP	Laws (K 13) <i>ABBB</i> : 191; The Faithful Sailor Boy," <i>The Newfoundlander</i> Nov. 49: 9; // see LAD-CMC: Mr. Bursey: S-4-1 Sargent Collection; "				
The False Maiden (A)	MS-33	Mrs. Lucy Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 441-42					(B)=Pea 206-1181	Patrick Rossiter

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The False Maiden (B)	206-1181// C110101A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 2: 441-42				One stanza and music printed ;	(A)=Pea MS-33	Lucy Heaney
Fanny's Harbour Bawn (A)	MS-34	Bill Brennan	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 185-88				No reference to fourth unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 145-968 (C)=Pea 151-990 \$=Pea 177-1095	George Decker Everett Bennett Joshua Osborne
Fanny's Harbour Bawn (B)	145-968// C11070B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 185-88				One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea MS-34 (C)=Pea 151-990 \$=Pea 177-1095	Bill Brennan Everett Bennett Joshua Osborne
Fanny's Harbour Bawn (C)	151-990// C11073B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 185-88				One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea MS-34 (B)=Pea 145-968 \$=Pea 177-1095	Bill Brennan George Decker Joshua Osborne
Fanny's Harbour Bawn	177-1095// C11086B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 1: 185-188	UP	<i>Mercer NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print: 118; Lehr Come I Will Sing: 62-63; //</i>		No reference to this variant in Outports;	(A)= Pea MS-34 (B)=Pea 145-968 (C)=Pea 151-990	Bill Brennan George Decker Everett Bennett
Fare You Well, Maggie Darling Across the Blue Sea (Maggie Darling)	164-1045// C110880A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 443-44						
The Farmer's Boy (The sun had set behind the hills)	10-62// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP	<i>Kidson Traditional Tunes: 63; Laws (Q-30) ABBB: 287-88; S. Baring Gould English Minsrelsie 1: 58-59; Kennedy Folksong s:555; Fowke "Old" CFMJ, 7 (1979): 39; //</i>		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 108-814	James Decker
The Farmer's Boy (The sun went down behind the hill across the dairy moon).	108-814// C11057B	James Decker	Parson's Pond		UP	<i>Laws (Q-30) ABBB: 287-88; S. Baring Gould English Minsrelsie 1: 58-59; Kennedy Folksongs 555; Fowke "Old" CFMJ, 7 (1979) 39; //</i>		One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea 10-62	Howard Morry
The Farmer's Curse Wife [Child 278] (A)	148-977// C11072A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 265-68					(B)=Pea 201-1172 (C)=Pea 209-1187	Patrick J. Nash Howard Morry

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The Farmer's Curst Wife [Child 278] (B)	201-1172// C11098B	Patrick W. Nash	Branch	<i>Outports</i> 1: 265-68					(A)=Pea 148-977 (C)=Pea 209-1187	George Decker Howard Morry
The Farmer's Curst Wife [Child 278] (C)	209-1187// C110102B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 1: 265-68					(A)=Pea 148-977 (B)=Pea 201-1172	George Decker Patrick Nash
Feller from Fortune [Lots of Fish in Bonavist Harbour]	1-2 MS// C11031A	Lloyd Soper and Bob Macleod	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 53-54; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 3; "Native" (1963): 222-3; // aired as well on radio see transcript 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" LAD-CMC: Pea E-10;		Fowke and Johnston <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 122-23; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 23 "Bonavist Harbour" (Feller from Fortune) Nfld. Symphony Orchestra <i>Rock Within the Sea</i> : track 7; //	C-C	Local composition; text in <i>Outports</i> based on Soper's field recording with additional stanzas perhaps taken from a recording Sargent did with Bob Macleod in 1950 (Tape S-1, LAD-CMC) and perhaps a discussion with Macleod which could not be confirmed. Peacock's edited version was passed to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 23; given as well to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 122-124; Mills and Peacock <i>Favourite</i> : 38-9; Original field recording also given to Barbeau for <i>Canadian Folksongs</i> vol.8; track 26//	\$=Pea 4-26	Ewart Vallis
Feller from Fortune [Lots of Fish in Bonavist Harbour] {Feller From Burges [Burgeo]} (Our ol' Sal got up in the morning, she got on one hell of a tear)	4-26 // C11032B	Ewart Vallis	Grand Bank	<i>Outports</i> 1: 54; see as well note column 7a to Pea 1-2;	UP			Local Composition; Peacock casually refers to this as a variant of 'The Feller from Fortune' going by the title 'Feller from Burgeo' ( <i>Outports</i> 1: 54). Vallis notes that he always called it "Feller From Fortune" (FN 3 Feb. 2001); as this version is coarser in terms of lyrics he couldn't sing it on the radio but it was still popular in Grand Bank.	Pea 1-2	Lloyd Soper & Bob Macleod
The Female Smuggler	189-1135// C11092B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 2: 333-34						
Ferryland Sealer	184-1118// C11090A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 120-21; "Native," (1963): 226; [casual reference]		Leonard Hulan <i>Outports</i> : band 2, side B; <i>Great Big Sea Turn</i> : track 8; //	C-C	Considerably edited throughout; material taken from George Decker's performance and from Eckstorm et al. <i>Minelstry of Maine</i> 1927: 324-26;	\$=Pea 165-1051	George Decker

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Ferryland Sealer	165-1051// C11080B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	Outports 1: 120-21; "Native," (1963): 226 [casual reference]	UP	Great Big Sea Turn : track 8 //		No reference to this variant in Outports.	Pea 184-1118	Leonard Hulan
Fhir a Bhàta	129-898// C11068A	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	Outports 3: 786-87			C-B	Knight notes that this song [Fhirjhir A Bhata] was used more as a milling song; <i>Scottish Gaelic Traditions</i> (1976, 292); She also remarks that MacArthur could not "read Gaelic but he had a few books and Cape Breton newspapers which contained Gaelic songs" (104); it is likely that this material was the source of the text;		
La fille de la garnison C'etait z-un jeune garçon	131-911// C11069A	Mrs. Gale	Searston, Codroy Valley	Outports 2: 335-6						
La fille soldat de Montcontour; [R/R]	179-1104// C11087B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 2: 338-39	UP			Tape ran out. Recorded again on tape 180; no reference to this variant in Outports; although the recording number missing from Peacock's inventory sheet, the numerical sequencing is in tact;	[R/R]=Pea 180-1104 [R/R]=Pea 198-1159	Joséphine Costard Joséphine Costard
La fille soldat de Montcontour; [R/R]	180-1105// C11088A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 2: 338-39			C-S	The second of three recordings of this song by the same singer; Peacock makes no reference to first recording Pea 179-1104 the version published in Outports is a composite of this variant with Pea 198-1159 also by same singer.	[R/R] \$=Pea 179-1104 [R/R]=Pea 198-1159	Joséphine Costard Joséphine Costard
[La fille soldat de Montcontour; [R/R]	198-1159// C11097A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 2: 338-39			C-S	Third recording of this song by same singer. One of two variants by same singer combined;	[R/R]=Pea 180-1105 [R/R] \$=Pea 179-1104	Joséphine Costard Joséphine Costard
La fille du Maréchal de France (Brave Militaire en revenant de Guerre)	137-936// C16985A	Joseph LeMoin	Cap-Si-Georges		UP	"Brave Militaire En Revenant De Guerre "Thomas French : 13; //				

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Fifteen Years Ago (I'm thinking of the place Tom where oft we used to roam)	MS-35	Phillip Foley	Tiiting		UP					
The Finnigan Lasses	93-748// C11050A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 269-71				Stanzas rearranged from original performance; no reference to second unpublished variant;	\$=Pea 74-668	Arthur Nicolle
The Finnigan Lasses	74-688// C11040B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	Outports 1: 269-71	UP			No reference to this variant in Outports .	Pea 93-748	Freeman Bennett
Fish and Brewis	178-1098// C11087A	Gordon Rice	Seal Cove, White Bay	Outports 1: 123-23		//For other songs by Gordon Rice MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid " : 101.				
The Fish Plant (Come men and fair maidens if you'll pay attention)	MS-37	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island		UP					
The Fisherman's Alphabet	MS-36	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island	Outports 1: 125-26; "Native," (1963); 226 [casual reference];						
The Fishing Trip To Louie's Brook (Nineteen hundred and two boys I'll never forget; We started for Louie's on a fishing trip)	170-1073// C11083A	Leonard Hulan composer	Jeffrey's		UP			Local composition; song recounts men disguising selves as blackened pirates to trick Tom Hall who followed them fishing; composed by Hulan around 1902 when he was 21 years old; Pea B, 170-1073, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;		
Five Boss Highway	130-906// C11068B	Martin Deveau	Upper Ferry		UP	// "Five Boss Highway," MUNFLA, "Goldstein Finding Aid," : 36; MUNFLA, John F. Szwed 64-16;		Local composition; composed by M.F. McNeil.		
The Fisher Who Died in His Bed	205-1180// C110100B	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	Outports 1: 127-28		Patrick Rossiter, Outports: band 7, side B; //				
Flambeau d'amour	181-1109// C11088B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 3: 671-72						

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The Flemmings of Torbay (A)	15-88// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	Outport 3: 912-15					(B)=Pea 149-983	George Decker
The Flemmings from Torbay (B)	149-983// C11072B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 912-15					(A)=Pea 15-88	Gordon Willis
Flora {The Stormy Winds of Winter}	155-1004// C11075B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 445-46						
Flora and Jim	MS-38	Harry Curtis	Joe Bau's Arm	Outports 1: 190-91						
The Flying Cloud (A)	10-63// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	Outports 3: 842-45		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 349-53; //			(B)=Pea 195-1153	Mary Ann Galpin
The Flying Cloud (B)	195-1153// C11095B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 3: 844-45		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 349-53; //		One stanza and music printed. Peacock notes the tune is superior;	(A)=Pea 10-63	Howard Morry
Foggy Dew [English]	112-835 MS// C11059B	Everett and Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 518-19						
Foggy Dew [Irish]	Taken From Margaret Sargent's Collection	John Joe English	Branch	Outports 2: 520-21		// See John Joe English: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 97; and LAD-CMC: John Joe English: tape 2-2, Sargent Collection;		This is the only song Peacock included in the published collection which he himself didn't collect; it was collected by Margaret Sargent in 1950;		
The Foolish Carpenter (Oh once upon a time where me ? I clapped a ladder up to me back and a courting I did go)	99-772// C1103A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			Humorous ditty;		
The Foolish Shepherd [The Baffled Knight; Child 112] {My Father Was A Shepherd} (A)	193-1144// C11094B	George Samms	Codroy	Outports 1: 272-75				Stanzas rearranged from original performance;	(B)=Pea 158-1020	Charlotte Decker

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The Foolish Shepherd [The Baffled Knight; Child 112] (My Father Was A Shepherd) (B)	158-1020// C11077A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 1: 272-75					(A)=Pea 193-1144	George Simms
The Forsaken Mother and Child	105-800// C11056A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 447-48						
For the Fish We Must Prepare	MS-39	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	Outports 1: 130-31						
The Fox and the Goose	164-1047// C11080A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 1: 12-13						
Fritzy (We're just having a hinting trip while jogging along the sea while Jimmy and the old man as a happy as can be)	105-798// C11056A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			World War Two song referring to Nova Scotian fishermen in the "A.J. Lou" seeking to catch a German in his U-boat;		
Galway Town (As I roved out one morning my friends for to go see)	8-55// C11034B	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP					
The Gay Maid of Australia	151-991// C11073B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 276-77				Editing especially lines in stanzas 1 & 2;		
The Gay Spanish Maid (A gay Spanish maid at the age of nineteen)	MS-41	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm		UP	Laws (K 16) <i>ABBB</i> : 148; Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 66-68; Fowke "Old" <i>CFMJ</i> 7 (1979): 40; //				
General Munro	105-796// C11056A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 998-99						
George Bunker	116-849// C11061B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	Outports 1: 192-93		// MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson; 66-24; MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid " : 39;				
George Porter (Come all you men and maidens, come listen to my song)	120-866// C11063B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts		UP			Local Composition;		

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George's Banks [The Shea Gang] {You Roving Boys of Newfoundland} (A)	203-1777// C11099B	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	Outports 3: 916-21					(B)=Pea MS-42 (C)=Pea 166-1052	William Holloway George Decker
George's Banks [The Shea Gang] {You Roving Boys of Newfoundland} (B)	MS-42	William Holloway	King's Cove	Outports 3: 916-21				One stanza and music printed;	(A)=Pea 203-1177 (C) Pea 166-1052	Patrick Rossiter George Decker
George's Banks [The Shea Gang] {You Roving Boys of Newfoundland} (C)	166-1052// C11081B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 916-21					(A)=Pea 203-1177 (B)=Pea MS-42	Patty Rossiter William Holloway
Gerry Ryan (The Foreman Gerry Ryan)	MS-56	William Holloway	King's Cove	Outports 3: 748-49; "Native," (1963): 231-32;				Given to Barbeau and Lomax for <i>Folk and Primitive Music</i> 8: track 25; Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 68.		
The Ghostly Sailors {The Ghostly Seamen} (A)	130-903// C11068B	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	Outports 3: 873-74		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 227-29; //	C-B	Based on conversation on field probably taken from a book. No reference to third unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 90-733 \$=Pea 70-673	Everett Bennett Annie Walters
The Ghostly Sailors {The Ghostly Seamen} (B)	90-733// C11048B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 873-74		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 227-29; //		1 stanza and music printed;	(A)=Pea 130-903 \$=Pea 75-673	Allan MacArthur Annie Walters
The Ghostly Sailors {The Ghostly Seamen}	75-673// C11041B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 873-74;	UP	McNaughton "The Ghostly..." <i>C &amp; T</i> (1982): 21-31; <i>Laws</i> (D 16) <i>NAB</i> : 168-69;		No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> ;	(A)=Pea 130-903 (B)=Pea 90-733	Allan MacArthur Everett Bennett
The Girl I Left Behind (A)	MS-43	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm	Outports 2: 449-52; "Nine Songs," (1954): 128-29;					(B)=Pea 160-1026	Clara Stevens
The Girl I Left Behind (B)	160-1026// C11078A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 2: 449-52					(A)=Pea MS-43	Mrs. John Fogarty
The Girls of Newfoundland	115-847// C11061A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 875-76						

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Give An Honest Irish Lad A Chance (My Name is MacNamara I came from County Clare. in that darling little Isle across the sea).	3-19// C11032A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle		UP	Wright <i>Irish Emigrant Ballads and Songs</i> : 502-03; //			.	
Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love [T/T]	5-28 MS// C11033A	Mrs. Venus Way	Bonavista	<i>Outports</i> 2: 453		The song has been published locally see "Go and Leave," <i>The Newfoundlander</i> , 14:11 Jan. 1953: 10 //	C-C	Stanzas 2&3 combined from Pea MS-44; plus text from Greig <i>Folk-Song of North-East</i> (1963: 169); and idea from Sharp <i>Appalachians</i> , V-2: 109 used to age song and stanza creation.	[T/T]=Pea MS-44	Mrs. Lucy Heaney and Elizabeth Mahoney
Go and Leave Me if You Wish Love [T/T]	MS-44	Mrs. Lucy Heaney & Elizabeth Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 453		"Go and Leave Me" <i>The Newfoundlander</i> 14,11 Jan. (1953): 10; //	C-C	Complex multiple composite; stanzas 2&3 of this variant combined with Pea 5-28; text from Greig <i>Folk-Songs of North-East</i> 1963:169; idea from Sharp <i>Appalachians</i> V-2: 109 used to age song and stanza creation.	[T/T]= Pea 5-28	Mrs. Way
The Golden Glove {The Young Farmer; Waiscoat and Leather Britches or The Dog and Gun }	77-683// C11042A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 340-41						
The <i>Golden Hind</i>	16-97// C11037B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 922-24						
Gold is the Root of Evil (You rambling boys of pleasure give an ear unto those lines I write. 'Tis true I am a rover...)	110-825// C11058B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Creighton <i>New Brunswick</i> : 117-18; Purslow <i>Foggy Dew</i> : 77; //				
Gold Watch and Chain (The Female Highwayman)	87-720// C11047A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 342-43						

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Good-bye John, But Don't Stop Long (Oh my Nan she was a lass my boys of 15 stone 4 weight and her face it was a face my boys)	98-766// C11052B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	William Gooch, "The Good Bye John Comic Song," J.L. Camcross and Co. Philadelphia, 1869, Duke Univ. Rare Book Manuscript and Special Collections Library ; Music B-491. //				
Good-bye My Lovely Annie	10-61// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 3: 877						
A Grace (To Duncan's Rock we are well-stocked)	MS-45	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island		UP			No melody;		
Grand Dieu Que Je Suis A Mon Aise (Ah! Dieu que je suis t-à mon aise)	139-946// C16986A	Jean Ozon	Cap-St-Georges		UP	Grand Dieu, Que Je Suis A Mon Aise": Thomas <i>French</i> : 52-3; //		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 141-953 \$=Pea 143-959	Cyril Robin Joséphine Costard
Grand Dieu, Que je suis A mon Aise (Grand Dieu, je suis t-à mon aise)	141-953// C16987A	Cyril Robin	Cap-St-Georges		UP	Grand Dieu, Que Je Suis A Mon Aise": Thomas <i>French</i> : 52-3; //		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 139-946 \$=Pea 143-959	Jean Ozon Joséphine Costard
Grand Dieu, Que je suis A mon Aise (Grand Dieu, je suis t-à mon aise)	143-959// C16988A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto		UP	Grand Dieu, Que Je Suis A Mon Aise": Thomas <i>French</i> : 52-3; //		One of three unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 139-946 \$=Pea 141-953	Jean Ozon Cyril Robin
Grandfather Bryan	15-82// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 55-56		// For other songs by Willis see MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 103;				
Grandfather's Dead (In the good time ago)	6-41// C11033B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle		UP					
Grand saint Pierre, Ouvre ta porte	136-935// C16984B	Joseph LeMoin	Cap-St-Georges	<i>Outports</i> 3: 878						
The Gray Mare (Roger the Miller)	77-679// C11042A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 278-79		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 59-60; //		Peacock cites version in Greenleaf and Mansfield but no page number:		
Green Grow the Laurels	160-1029// C11078A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 454-55						
Green Grows the Laurel	161-1030// C11078B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 455-56						

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The <i>Greenland Disaster</i>	5-34// C11033A	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 926-27; "Native," 1963: 215-16; aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 1 LAD-CMC: PEA -E-10;				Local Composition;		
The Green Linnet	MS-46	Phillip Foley	Tilting	<i>Outports</i> 2: 458-60; "Nine Songs," (1954): 129-30;						
The Green Mossy Banks of the Lea	4-27// C11032B	Pat Maloney	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 523-24		// CBC Archives 52-0114-01/00		One of several songs Peacock prepared for radio;		
The Green Shores of Fogo	MS-47	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 522; "Nine Songs," (1954): 124-25; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 9; "Native," (1963): 224; <i>Practical Guide</i> : 63.		"Green Shores of Fogo" Jean Hewson <i>Early Spring</i> : side 1.4; "Green Shores of Fogo" Nfld Youth Symphony Orchestra <i>Rock Within the Sea</i> : track 1; //		This is actually a version of "The Country I'm leaving Behind,"; see <i>Wright Irish Emigrant Ballads and Songs</i> 1975: 123		
[Grief is a Knot {False Willie} <CR>	17-105// C11038B	Anastasia Ghaney	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 3: 673-4			C-A	Part of a composite with published variant by Becky Bennett (Pea 94-782 ) and unpublished variant (\$ Pea 95-753) by same singer; one stanza used and singer is named.	[R/R] Pea 94-752 [R/R] + \$=Pea 95-753	Becky Bennett Becky Bennett
Grief is a Knot {False Willie} [R/R]	94-752// C11050B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 673-74			C-A	Part of a composite comprised of two recordings by same singer and this variant and \$= Pea 97-753 plus stanza 11 from Pea 17-105. No reference to second recording by Bennett ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 674);	<CR>=Pea 17-105 [R/R] + \$=95-753	Anastasia Ghaney Becky Bennett
Grief is a Knot {False Willie} [R/R]	95-753// C11051A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 672-74	UP		C-A	Peacock notes this is a continuation of 94-752; Composite variant is comprised of two recordings by same singer Pea 94-752 and Pea 95-754 & stanza 11 from Pea 17-105. No reference to this second recorded variant in <i>Outports</i> .	[R/R]=Pea 94-752 <CR>=Pea 17-105	Becky Bennett Anastasia Ghaney

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The Grounding of the <i>Cabot Strait</i> (Come all you friends and neighbours, come listen to my song; I hope you'll pay attention)	168-1065// C11082a	Martha Osmond Composer	Grand Bay (Port aux Basques)		UP			Local composition;		
Gypsy Laddie-O [Child 22] {Gypsey Laddie} (A)	112-833// C11059B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 194-97		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 38-39; //			(B)=Pea 112-834	Everett Bennett
Gypsy Laddie-O [Child 200] {Gypsy Laddie} (B)	112-834// C11059B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 194-97		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 38-39; //			(A)=Pea 112-83	Freeman Bennett
The Handsome Cabin Boy	191-1140// C11093B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 1: 280-81						
Harbour Le Cou	MS-48	Bill Brennan	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 198-99		"Harbour Le Cou," <i>The Newfoundlander</i> 10: 2 July 1947: 19 & 12.8 Jan. 1950: 11; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 26; Mills and Peacock <i>Favorite</i> 32-33 //		Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> ; ( <i>Outports</i> :1 199); timing was changed in Doyle however from 6/8 to 3/4.		
Hard Hard Times (A) [T/T]	16-93// C11037B	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 57-59; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 5; // aired on radio; see transcript, 1953-54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 1, LAD-CMC: Pea E-10;			C-A	In <i>Songs and Ballads</i> stanzas 3 and 5 are actually stanzas 6 and 4 of (A) respectively and imported and collected with (B); in <i>Outports</i> music printed and stanzas 3, 6 and 8 are stanzas 6, 2, and 4 of (A) respectively and imported and combined with (B).	(B) [T/T]=Pea 8-51	Ned Rice

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Hard Hard Times (B) [T/T]	8-51// C11034B	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 1: 57-59; <i>Songs and Ballads: track 5</i> ; "Native," (1963): 220-21; // aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 1, LAD-CMC: Pea E-10.		Blondahl <i>Nflers Sing</i> 1964:13-14; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 28; Mills and Peacock <i>Favorite</i> : 44-45; Fowke <i>Canadian Folksongs</i> : 52-53 //	C-A	Peacock notes that the "text is a composite of the two variants" ( <i>Outports</i> 1: 59); text and music plus three stanzas combined from Pea 16-93; melody and text of variant printed in Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> compare with Peacock's original transcript; see PEA B, 8-51, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC: Peacock's rendition on <i>Songs and Ballads</i> is a composite of (A) and (B). Music published in "Native" is from Pea 16-93; composite text is same as in <i>Outports</i> . (Peacock 1963: 220-21).	(A) [T/T]=Pea 16-93	Gordon Willis
Harmless Young Jim	165-1049// C11080B	Mrs. George (Sara Anne) Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 282-83						
The Heights of Alma	16-94// C11037B	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1000-01						
Hembrick Town [Katherine Jaffray; Child 221]	99-773// C11053A	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 200-01						
The H'emmer Jane (Now tis of a young maiden this story I'll tell)	1-1// C11031A	Lloyd Soper	St. John's		UP	Fowke <i>Canadian Folksongs</i> : 120; Blondahl <i>Newfoundlanders</i> : 105; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 131; // LAD-CMC: Bob Macleod: tape S1; Sargent Collection S-1;		One of two unpublished variants; local composition (?)	\$=Pea 5-31	Harry Drover
The H'emmer Jane (Now tis of a young maiden this story I'll tell.)	5-31// C11033A	Harry Drover	Bonavista		UP	Fowke <i>Canadian Folksongs</i> : 120;Blondahl <i>Newfoundlanders</i> : 105; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 131; // LAD-CMC: Bob Macleod: tape S1; Sargent Collection S-1, ;		One of two unpublished variants; Local composition (?)	\$=Pea 1-1	Lloyd Soper
Henry and Nancy	7-44// C11034A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 675-76						

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Henry Connors (It's the orders all Royal boys write all bound for Queenstown)	MS-49	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 191; "Henry Connor of Castledawson," <i>Huntington Henry's Songs</i> : 440; //				
Here's Adieu to Old England	93-746// C11050A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1002-03						
Herring Gibbers (A)	79-689// C11043A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 132-35; "Native," (1963): 226; [casual reference]				Peacock notes that this is a local song; Bennett indicates that it is however she got it out of a newspaper;	(B)=Pea 173-1082	Joshua Osborne
The Herring Gibbers (B)	173-1082// C11084B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 1: 132-35					(A)=Pea 79-689	Becky Bennett
He's Young But He's Daily Growing (He's Young But is Dearly a Growing) (A)	103-789 MS// C11055A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 677-78				In <i>Outports</i> this song is incorrectly numbered Pea 103-790. Pea 103-790 is Strawberry Tower.	(B)=Pea 126-885	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
He's Young But He's Daily Growing (He's Young but is Dearly a Growing) (B)	126-885// C11066B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 3: 677-78				Stanza 3 and music printed;	(A)=Pea 103-790	Mrs. Charlotte Decker
Highway Song (As I left home one morning , employment for to find I thought it was to see the crowd upon the highway line)	131-907// C11069A	Martin Deveau	Upper Ferry		UP			Local composition; Peacock notes on the original transcript that like the previous song it was composed by M.F. McNeil ; Pea B 131-907, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC: 131-907;		
High Germany	98-769// C11052B	Jim Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 679-80						

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The High Road to St. Paul's (Come all ye good people and listen to e. A short little ditty I'll sing unto you)	78-687// C11042B	Rillie Bennett Bryan	St. Paul's		UP			Peacock notes that this is a local composition;		
High Times in Our Ship [Martin Hurley]	MS-78	Alan Hoven	Fogo	Outports 1: 136-37; "Native," (1963): 227-28;						
The Hills of Glen Shee (As I went awalking one fine summer's morning)	9-57// C11035A	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP	Laws (O 6) <i>ABBB</i> : 229; Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 98-99; Creighton <i>New Brunswick</i> : 79-80; Anastasia Ghaney: Outports: side 1, track 2; //				
Hitler's Song (A slim little Natzi whose surname was Hitler who woke up one morning).	1-7// C11031A	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Based on Scammell's "Squid Jiggin' Ground," Scammell <i>Works</i> : 231; //Ned Rice: MUNFLA-STI 68-16.		Local composition; Although the melody and structure of the song parallels Scammell's "Squid Jiggin' Ground," the theme focuses on Adolph Hitler.	\$=Pea 1-6	Ned Rice
The Hole in the Wall (On a Saturday night the crowd were invited to be there on Sunday)	MS-50	Bill Brennan	Stock Cove		UP	Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 69; Lehr <i>Come I Will Sing</i> : 93-94; //		Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> ; the text and melody of the original transcript compares with that in Doyle with some alterations; See original transcript PEA C- MS-50, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC;		
Hurling Down the Pine {Lumbercamp Song}	130-905// C11068B	Martin Deveau	Upper Ferry	Outports 3: 750-51		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 321-23; //				
I Got A Bonnet Trimmed With Blue (Chin Music)	167-1056// C11081B	Mrs. Nellie Musseau	Mouse Island	Outports 1: 60-61		Musseau: <i>Close to the Floor</i> , Side 2.10; //				
I Long To Be Wedded (The Old Maid's Song)	96-759// C11051B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 461						

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I Once Knew A Man (I once knew a man I knew his name was <i>D-R- O-W -N</i> )	84-711// C11045B	Jim Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	"S-A-V-E-D," Leach <i>Labrador: 301; //</i> Halpert and Widdowsen 66-24 T-C246				
Il faut voir que je me sauvais	143-963// C16988A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports 1: 62-63</i>						
I'll Be Seventeen Come Sunday (A)	10-65// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports 1: 284-86;</i> <i>Songs and Ballads:</i> track 13 // aired on radio; see transcript, 1953-54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 3, LAD-CMC: PEA E- 12;				(B)=Pea 193-1145	George Simms	
I'll Be Seventeen Come Sunday (B)	193-1145// C11094B	George Samms	Codroy	<i>Outports 1: 284-86</i>				Melody and two stanzas published;	(A)=Pea =10-65	Howard Morry
I'm Bound Away for Canada (I am bound away for Canada sadly we must part)	158-1019// C11077A	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond		UP	"My Dear I'm Bound For Canada," Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN 314-15;</i> Lehr <i>Come I Will Sing :</i> 145-46; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 85-713	Rillie Bennett
I'm Bound Away for Canada (I am bound away for Canada sadly we must part)	85-713// C11046A	Rillie Bennett Bryan	St. Paul's		UP	"My Dear I'm Bound For Canada," Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN : 314-15;</i> Lehr <i>Come I Will Sing :</i> 145-46; //		One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea 158-1019	Nicolas Keough
I'm Sitting on the Stile, Mary [The Irish Emigrant] (A)	MS-51	James and Lucy Heany	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports 2: 462-64</i>			C-A	One stanza and music printed; in <i>Outports</i> Peacock notes stanza from (B) combined with (A) ( <i>Outports 2:</i> 464);	(B)=Pea 157-1016	Nicolas Keough
I'm Sitting on the Stile, Mary [The Irish Emigrant] (B)	157-1016// C11076B	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports 2: 462-64</i>			C-A	One stanza and music printed; in <i>Outports</i> Peacock notes stanza from (B) combined with (A) ( <i>Outports 2:</i> 464);	(A)=Pea MS-51	James and Lucy Heany
In Courtship There Lies Pleasure	95-756// C11051A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 465-66</i>						

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In the Shadows of the Pines (As we wandered in the shadows of the pines my love and I)	7-43// C11034A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle		UP	Fowke "Old" <i>CFMI</i> , 7 (1979): 43; // Mike Kent: Leach MUNFLA 78-054;				
The Indian Lament	77-682 // C11042A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 155-56			C-A	This version incomplete; singer performs stanzas three to 8; remaining stanzas from a later recording \$= Pea 81-700 sung by his brother combined with this recording; No reference to second recording;	\$=Pea 81-700	Freeman Bennett
The Indian Lament	81-700// C11044A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 155-56	UP		C-A	Stanzas from this unpublished variant combined with Pea 77-682. No reference to this second recording in <i>Outports</i> .	Pea 77-682	Everett Bennett
The Indian's Lament	71-660// C11039A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 157-58				Reference to Bennetts singing this version in previous title "Indian Lament: (Outports 1, 156); but no recording is indicated.		
In Duckworth Street There Lived A Dame	10-64// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 1: 287				Local composition ?		
The Irish Colleen (A)	202-1173// C11099A	Patrick W. Nash	Branch	<i>Outports</i> 2: 366-68			C-A	Peacock notes that stanza 3 of (A) is taken from from (B) ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 367);	(B)=Pea 3-22	Mike Kent
The Irish Colleen (B)	3-22// C11032A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 2: 368			C-A	One stanza and melody printed; Peacock notes stanza 3 from (B) combined with (A) ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 367);	(A)=Pea 202-1173	Patrick W. Nash
The Irish Maid (Oh there's many a young man leaves his home bound to Americay	10-66// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP					

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I's the B'y That Builds the Boat [I's the boy that builds the boat]	1-3 MS// C11031A	Lloyd Soper and Bob Macleod	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 64		For a discussion of the song's history see Philip Hiscock "Who Wrote that Song."; "I'se the B'y - Inside Joke or Not?" and "Last Word on I'se the B'y," in <i>Downhomer</i> 10:7 (Dec. 1997): 28-30; 10:44 (April 1998): 36-37; and 11.3 (Aug. 1998): 19; //		Local composition; text in <i>Outports</i> is based on a field recording of Soper singing 2 stanzas; additional stanzas coming perhaps from a discussion with Bob Macleod and perhaps a recording by Sargent (Tape S-2-1, LAD-CMC). This version given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 30 and to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 116-117; Mills and Peacock <i>Favourite</i> : 20-22 //		
The I.W.A.Strike (Our prime minister's name is Smallwood as you may understand, elected here 10 years ago for to rule Newfoundland)	160-1027// C11078A	Clara Stevens composer	Bellburns		UP			Local Composition;		
Jack and Joe (It's a year ago since Jack and Joe sought sail across the foam)	88-727// C11047B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	<i>Traditional Ballad Index</i> : File R813; <i>Frank C.</i> <i>Brown</i> 4: 307; // <i>Leach</i> , MUNFLA 78-054;		On the original transcript Peacock notes Bennett "mixes the song badly" and "only the two complete stanza are given" Pea B, 88-5, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;		
Jack the Jolly Tar (A)	MS-52	William Holloway	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 288-90				No reference to fourth unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 82-703 (C)=Pea 70-656 \$=Pea 91-736	Everett Bennett Alvina Coles Freeman Bennett
Jack the Jolly Tar (B)	82-703// C11044B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 288-90				1 stanza and music printed.	(A)=Pea MS-52 (C)=Pea 70-656 \$=Pea 91-736	William Holloway Alvina Coles Freeman Bennett
Jack the Jolly Tar (C)	70-656// C11038B	Mrs. Alvina Coles	Cormack	<i>Outports</i> 1: 288-90				1 stanza and music printed.	(A)=Pea MS 52 (B)=Pea 82-703 \$= Pea 91-736	Bill Holloway Everett Bennett Freeman Bennett
Jack the Jolly Tar	91-736// C11049A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 288-90	UP			No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> ;	(A)=Pea MS-52 (B)=Pea 82-703 (C)=Pea 70-656	William Holloway Everett Bennett Alvina Coles

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The Jacket So Blue (A ship's crew of sailors as you may understand)	MS-53	Mr. & Mrs. John Mahoney	Stock Cove		UP	"Bonnets so Blue," Karpeles <i>Cecil Sharpe's Collection 2: 556-57; ; //</i> "The Jacket So Blue" MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 49;				
James McGee (Oh James McGee they do call me, this name I'll n'er deny)	MS-55	Ron Hoven	Fogo		UP	Huntington "James Magee," <i>Henry's Songs: 125; //</i>				
The Jam at Garby's Rock	158-1018// C11077A	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports 3: 752-53</i>		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN: 331-33; //</i>				
Je me metterai gibier dans une étang [Les métamorphoses]	142-956// C16987B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports 3: 788-89</i>						
Je suis fille délaissée, (Je suis fille délaissée je suis fille sans amant)	139-948// C16986A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto		UP	" Je Suis Fille Délaissée, Je Suis Fille Sans Amant ": Thomas <i>French: 53; //</i> for additional songs see Josephine (Josie) Costard: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid: 96";				
Jessie Munro	166-1054// C11081A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports 1: 291-92</i>				Light editing throughout;		
La jeune fille sans amant	134-925// C16983B	Lucie Cormier	Upper Ferry	<i>Outports 1: 293-94</i>						
La jeune fille si amoureuse	142-957// C16987B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports 2 : 525-26</i>						
Jim O'Lynn (Jim and Charlie had a quarrel)	91-739// C11049A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	// Clarence Bennett ; MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson Collection 66-24, c252;				
Jimmy and Nancy	104-794// C11055B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 3: 682-86</i>						
Jimmy and Nancy [the departure]	77-680// C11042A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 528-29</i>						

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Jimmy and Nancy [the return ] {The Trial} (A)	114-841// C11060B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 530-33</i>					(B)=Pea 197-1157 \$=Pea 87-721	Mary Ann Galpin Becky Bennett
Jimmy and Nancy [the return ] {The Trial} (B)	197-1157// C11096B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports 2: 530-35</i>					(A)=Pea 114-841 \$=Pea 87-721	Everett Bennett Becky Bennett
Jimmy and Nancy [the return ] {The Trial}	87-721// C11047A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 530-33.</i>	UP			Song fragment (Like a nightingale in spring welcome home my Dearo) on tape.	(A)=Pea 114-841 (B)=Pea 197-1157	Everett Bennett Mary Ann Galpin
Jimmy and Nancy on the Sea {Summer Season} (A)	188-1134// C11092A	Jim Dalton	Codroy	<i>Outports 1: 202-25</i>					(B)=Pea 201-1168	William Nash
Jimmy and Nancy on the Sea {Summer Season} (B)	201-1168// C11098B	William Nash	Branch	<i>Outports 1: 204-05</i>					(A)=Pea 188-1134	Jim Dalton
Jimmy Brewster's Pig (I will sing you a little ditty it's something like a jig)	118-858// C11062B	Emmanuel Osborne	Port aux Basques		UP			Local composition;		
Jimmy Whelan (A)	192-1142// C11094A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports 2: 385-89</i>			C-A	Peacock notes stanza from (C) combined with (A) ( <i>Outports 2: 389</i> );	(B)=Pea MS-57 (C)=Pea 96-760 (D)=Pea 121-867	John Mahoney Becky Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
Jimmy Whelan (B)	MS-57	John Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports 2: 385-89;</i> <i>Songs and Ballads:</i> track 12; // aired over radio; see CBC Archives 52-0114- 01/00; transcript 1953- 54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 2, LAD-CMC: PEA E- 11;					(A)=Pea 192-1142 (C)=Pea 96-760 (D)=Pea 121-867	Mary Ann Galpin Becky Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
Jimmy Whelan (C)	96-760// C11051B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 385-89</i>			C-A	Stanza and melody printed; Peacock notes last stanza of (A) combined from (C) ( <i>Outports 2: 389</i> );	(A)=Pea 192-1142 (B)=Pea MS 57 (D)=Pea 121-867	Mary Ann Galpin John Mahoney Mrs. Wallis Kinslow

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Jimmy Whelan (D)	121-867// C11064A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Moris	Outports 2: 385-89				One stanza and music printed;	(A)=Pea 192-1142 (B)=Pea MS-57 (C) Pea 96-760	Mary Ann Galpin John Mahoney Becky Bennett
Joey Long's Goat	176-1092// C11086A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	Outports 1: 65						
John Barbour [Willie O Winsbury; Child 100] (A) [R/R]	152-994 // C11074A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 534-36		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 28-33; //	C-S	The first of two recordings by the same singer; variant combined with Pea 153-995 to make (A) version;	A=[R/R]=Pea 153-995 (B)=Pea 98-770	Charlotte Decker Everett Bennett
John Barbour [Willie O Winsbury; Child 100] (A) [R/R]	153-995// C11074B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 534-36		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 28-33; //	C-S	The second of two recordings by the same singer. Pea 153-994 combined with Pea 152-994; to make (A) version	A=[R/R]=Pea 152-994 (B)=Pea 98-770	Charlotte Decker Everett Bennett
John Barbour [Willie O Winsbury; Child 100] (B)	98-770// C11052B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 534-36		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 28-33; //		1 stanza and music printed;	[R/R]=Pea 152-994 [R/R]=Pea 153-995	Charlotte Decker Charlotte Decker
John Burke	172-1078// C11084A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	Outports 2: 467-68						
John Mitchell (I am a true-born Irishman, John Mitchell is my name)	5-33// C11033A	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	"John Mitchell's Farewell to His Countrymen," Huntington <i>Sam Henry's Songs</i> : 125-127; // Jim Rice: <i>Leach</i> 1-18 MUNFLA 78-054;				
John the Baptist	155-1007// C11075B	James Decker	Parson's Pond		UP	Treason Song; See Goldstein "A Report On ..." <i>Community and Process</i> 126-153;				
John Yetman	7-46 // C11034A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle		UP	<i>Mercer NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 140; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 34; //		Probably given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> ; the melody in Doyle follows the original transcription; see Pea B, 7-46, <i>Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC</i> . However some correcting has taken place in the printing of the text in the Doyle version.		
Johnny Coughlin	159-1022// C11077B	William Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 2: 469-70						

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Johnny Doyle (A)	MS-58	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 687-90					(B)=Pea MS-59 (C)=Pea 85-712	James Heaney Jim Bennett
Johnny Doyle (B)	MS-59	James Heaney	Tilting	<i>Outports</i> 3: 687-90					(A)=Pea MS-58 (C)=Pea 85-712	Michael Aylward Jim Bennett
Johnny Doyle (C)	85-712// C11046A	Jim Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 687-90				1 stanza with music printed.	(A)=Pea MS-58 (B)=Pea MS-59	Michael Aylward James Heaney
Johnny Dunlay	MS-60	Phillip Foley	Tilting	"Nine Songs," (1954); 133; <i>Outports</i> 2: 471-72						
Johnny from Hazelgreen [Child 293]	160-1025// C11078A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 537-38						
La jolie fille et ses deux amants	142-958// C16987B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 539						
The Jolly Butchermen	109-819// C11058B	James Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 817-18		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 82-86; //				
The Jubilee Guild	170-1072// C11083A	Arthur Keeping composer	Burnt Islands	<i>Outports</i> 1: 66-67; "Native," (1963): 221; [casual reference]						
The Kaiser's Dream (Oh German Kaiser had a dream while resting in Berlin)	106-802// C11056B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	// MUNFLA-STI 75-75; c2162; MUNFLA Eric West 78-236 ; No. 25; MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 53		War song;		
Kate's Big Shirt	146-973// C11071A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 69-70						
Kelly and the Ghost (Maurice Kelly one night when about three parts drunk)	85-715// C11046A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 160; Kirwin <i>Johnny Burke Songs</i> : 28; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 141; // MUNFLA-SAP 68-2;		One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea MS-61	John Walburn
Kelly and the Ghost (Maurice Kelly one night when about three parts drunk)	MS-61	John Walburn	Fogo		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 160; Kirwin <i>Johnny Burke Song</i> s: 28; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 141; // SAP MUNFLA 68-2;		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 85-715	Becky Bennett
Kelly the Pirate	MS-62	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 3: 846-47		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 95; //				

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Kenneth Shephard (Kenneth Shephard from Brig Bay as you all may know)	84-708// C11045B	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 214-15 // David Payne: Halpert and Widdowson MUNFLA 66-24; c259;		Local composition pertaining to rum-running composed by Sam House of Parson's Pond		
The King's Daughter (Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight; Child 4)	MS-63	James Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 206-07		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 3-6; //				
The Knight and the Labourman's Daughter (The Labourman's Daughter)	89-730// C11048A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 540-41						
Labrador	127-891// C11067A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 1: 138-39; "Native," (1963) 226 [casual reference]		Kenneth Pink, <i>Outports</i> : band 6, side B; //				
A Lad and a Lass [T/T]	85-714// C11046A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 542-44				Text from this variant combined music and one stanza from Pea 107-806;	[T/T]=Pea 107-806	Charlotte Decker
A Lad and a Lass [T/T]	107-806// C11057A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 542-43			C-A	One stanza and melody published; Text from this variant combined with Pea 85-107.	[T/T]=Pea 85-107	Becky Bennett
The <i>Lady Baie Verte</i> (Come all ye young... 'Twas the 11 of November as you may all understand)	84-710// C11045B	Rhoda Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			Local composition acomposed by Ed Payne of Green Point about a wrecked barge which is going from North Bay to Lomand in 1954 and salvaging material;		
The <i>Lady Leroy</i>	MS-64	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 1: 208-09		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 220-21; //				
Lady Margaret [Sweet William's Ghost; Child 77] (A)	4-23// C11032B	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 2: 390-95; Aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54 CBC radio "folksongs" talk 4, LAD-CMC: PE A-13;		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 21-22; // Mike Kent: Leach 1-21, MUNFLA 78-054;	C-M	Peacock notes stanzas combined from (C) (D) and (E) ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 392);	(B)=Pea 108-813 (C)=Pea 123-876 (D)=Pea 150-985 (E)=Pea 193-1143 (F)=Pea 202-1174	Charlotte Decker Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs William Nicolle Mary Ann Galpin Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle

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Lady Margaret [Sweet William's Ghost; Child 77] (B)	108-813// C11057B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports 2: 390-95</i>		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN: 21-22; //</i>		One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea 423 (C)=Pea 123-876 (D)=Pea 150-985 (E)=Pea 193-1143 (F)=Pea 202-1174	Mike Kent Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs. William Nicolle Mary Ann Galpin Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle
Lady Margaret [Sweet William's Ghost; Child 77] (C)	123-876// C11065A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports 2: 390-95</i>		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN: 21-22; //</i>	C-M	One stanza and melody printed; in Outports Peacock notes stanzas combined with (A) ( 392);	(A)=Pea 4-23 (B)=Pea 108-813 (D)=Pea 150-985 (E)=Pea 193-1143 (F)=Pea 202-1174	Mike Kent Charlotte Decker Mrs. William Nicolle Mary Ann Galpin Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle
Lady Margaret [Sweet William's Ghost; Child 77] (D)	150-985// C11073A	Mrs. William Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports 2: 390-95</i>		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN: 21-22; //</i>	C-M	One stanza and melody printed; in Outports Peacock notes stanzas combined with (A) ( <i>Outports 2: 392</i> );	(A)=Pea 4-23 (B)=Pea 108-813 (C)=Pea 123-876 (E)=Pea 193-1143 (F)=Pea 202-1174	Mike Kent Charlotte Decker Mrs. Wall. Kinslow Mary Ann Galpin Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle
Lady Margaret [Sweet William's Ghost; Child 77] (E)	193-1143// C11094B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports 2: 390-95</i>		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN: 21-22; //</i>	C-M	One stanza and melody printed; Peacock notes stanzas combined with (A) ( <i>Outports 2: 392</i> );	(A)=Pea 4-23 (B)=Pea 108-813 (C)=Pea 123-876 (D)=Pea 150-985 (F)=Pea 202-1174	Mike Kent Charlotte Decker Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs. William Nicolle Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle
Lady Margaret [Sweet William's Ghost; Child 77] (F)	202-1174// C11099A	Mrs. Gerald S. Doyle	St. John's	<i>Outports 2: 390-95</i>		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN: 21-22; //</i>		One stanza and melody printed; (this is a fragment);	(A)=Pea 4-23 (B)=Pea 108-813 (C)=Pea 123-876 (D)=Pea 150-985 (E)=Pea 193-1143	Mike Kent Charlotte Decker Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs William Nicolle Mary Ann Galpin
The Lady's Waiting-Man	105-797// C11056A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2: 545-46</i>						

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The Lass of Mohee [The Little Mohee] (As I roved out all one morning alone being in some strange country far from my home)	106-801// C11056B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Laws (H 8) <i>NAB</i> : 232; Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 258-59; "The Lass of Mohee," Huntington <i>Henry's</i> <i>Songs</i> : 372-73; //			\$=Pea-MS 67	Mrs. Ron Hovan
The Lass of Mohee [The Little Mohee] (As I was a -walking for pleasure one day)	MS-67	Mrs. Ron Hovan	Fogo		UP	Laws (H 8) <i>NAB</i> : 232; Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 258-59; "The Lass of Mohee," Huntington <i>Henry's</i> <i>Songs</i> : 372-73; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 106-801	Becky Bennett
The Lass of Swansea Town	MS-65	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 547-48						
The Last Great Charge (The Boy with the Curly Hair) [T/T]	17-100// C11038A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1004-06			C-A	Composite variant consisting of music from this variant and text from this variant and and Pea 17-106; Peacock notes text is a composite of the two recordings ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 1006);	[T/T]=Pea 17-106	Anastasia Ghaney
The Last Great Charge (The Boy With the Curly Hair) [T/T]	17-106// C11078A	Anastasia Ghaney	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1004-06			C-A	Text printed without melody; Peacock notes stanzas from this variant combined with Pea 17-100 ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 1006);.	[T/T]=Pea 17-100	Mike Kent
Leather Britches	15-89// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 71-72						
A Leg of Mutton Went Over To France	187-1131// C11091B	George Reid	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 1: 14						
The Letters of Love	185-1125// C11090B	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 549						
The Lily of the West	107-805 MS// C11057A	Freeman and Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 473-74						
The Little Harbour Bargain Store (You may talk on cities large and great men who are in charge)	MS-66	Chris Cobb composer	Barr'd Island		UP					

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The <i>Little Twenty-Two</i> (There's a little ship, she's known by all the crew and now her name I'll tell you is the <i>Little Twenty-Two</i> )	121-869// C11064A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow composer	Isle aux Moris		UP			Local Composition;		
Liza Gray (The " <i>Lady of the Lake</i> ") (A)	97-765 MS// C11052A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 928-29					(B)=Pea MS-68	Michael Mathews
Liza Gray (The " <i>Lady of the Lake</i> ") (B)	MS-68	Michael Mathews	Broad Cove, Duntara (Bonavista Bay)	<i>Outports</i> 3: 929-30// Peacock rendition aired on radio; see CBC Archives 52-0114-01/00				One stanza and music printed; Peacock notes text was somewhat mixed up; ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 930);	(A)=Pea 97-765	Everett Bennett
The Loggers' Plight	145-969// C11070B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 755-56; "Native," (1963): 233-24;						
Lonely Since My Mother Died (As I roved out one morning far down by a running stream)	105-799// C11056A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 367; // Becky Bennett: Rinzier AFS; MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson 66-24;				
Lonely Waterloo (A)	MS-69	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm	"Nine Songs," (1954): 134; <i>Outports</i> 3: 1007-08; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 10; // Peacock rendition aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54 CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 3, and 1957, "Folk music," talk 3, LAD-CMC: PEA E-12, and PEA E-5;		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 178-79; //		Peacock makes casual reference to a third variant which is similar to (B) ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 1008);	(B)=Pea 117-857 \$=Pea 80-694	Arthur Nicolle Marie Bennett
Lonely Waterloo (B)	117-857// C11062A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1007-08		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 178-79; //		One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea MS-69 \$=Pea 80-694	Mrs. John Fogarty Marie Bennett

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Lonely Waterloo	80-694// C11043B	Marie Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1007-08.	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 178-79; //		Casual reference to this third version but singer not named; Peacock notes "all variants have the same five stanzas" ; ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 1008;	(A)=Pea MS-69 (B)=Pea 117-857	Mrs. John Fogarty Arthur Nicolle
Lord Bateman [Young Beichan, Child 53] (A)	9-56// C11035A	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 1: 210-13					(B)=Pea 83-707	Everett Bennett
Lord Bateman [Young Beichan, Child 53] (B)	83-707// C11045A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 210-13				One stanza and melody printed; Peacock notes text matched (A) "stanza for stanza for the whole song" ( <i>Outports</i> 1: 213).	(A)=Pea 9-56	Howard Morry
Lord Donald [Little Musgrave and Lady Bernard; Child 81] (A)	75-672// C11041A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 613-16					(B)=Pea 123-877	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
Lord Donald [Little Musgrove and Lady Bernard; Lord Daniel; Child 81] (B)	123-877// C11065A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 2: 614-16				One stanza and music printed;	(A)=Pea 75-672	Annie Walters
Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor (Child 73) {The Brown Girl} (A)	152-992// C11074A	James Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 617-19		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 18-20; //			(B)=Pea 114-840	Everett Bennett
Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor (Child 73) {The Brown Girl} (B)	114-840// C11060B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 617-19		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 18-20; //		One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea 152-992	James Decker
The Loss of the <i>Atlantic</i> (A)	176-1091// C11086A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 3: 931-35				Casual reference in Outports to a third variant which is "similar to A but has an even more undistinguished tune" ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 935);	(B)=Pea 194-1147 \$=Pea 16-99	Mary Ann Galpin Ned Rice
The Loss of the <i>Atlantic</i> (B)	194-1147// C11094B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 931-35					(A)=Pea 176-1091 \$=Pea 16-99	Joshua Osborne Ned Rice

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The Loss of the <i>Atlantic</i>	16-99// C11037B	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 931-35.	UP			Casual reference, singer not named; see <i>Outports</i> :3 935;	(A)=Pea 176-1091 (B)=Pea 194-1147	Joshua Osborne Mary Ann Galpin
The Loss of the <i>Barbara Ann Ronney</i>	124-881// C11065B	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 3: 937-38						
The Loss of the <i>Bruce</i>	188-1133// C11092A	Jim Dalton	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 939-40						
The Loss of the <i>Caribou</i> (Come old and young come rich and poor and listen to my song)	MS-70	Gerard Mahoney	Stock Cove		UP	For an account of the disaster see <i>Brown The Caribou Disaster and Oth. Shrt. Stories</i> ;: 1-6; // "The Loss of the Caribou" MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 56;				
The Loss of the <i>City of Quebec</i>	195-1148// C11095B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 941						
The Loss of the <i>Danny Goodwin</i>	125-883// C11066A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 3: 942-43						
The Loss of the <i>Eliza</i> [The Herons] (A)	207-1183// C110101A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 3: 944-47		Patrick Rossiter, <i>Outports</i> : band 3, side B; //	C-A	Peacock notes composite of several stanzas from (B) ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 946);	(B)=Pea 17-104	Anastasia Ghaney
The Loss of the <i>Eliza</i> [The Herons] (B)	17-104// C11038A	Anastasia Ghaney	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 3: 944-47 ; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 6; "Native," (1963): 217; // aired on radio; see transcript 1957, CBC radio "Folkmusic" talk 2, LAD-CMC: PEA E-4;		Version given to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 48-50; // Mrs. Ghaney: Leach MUNFLA 78-054, .	C-A	Local composition; Peacock notes stanzas 10, 11 and 12 of (B) combined of several stanzas with (A) ( <i>Outports</i> 3:946); one stanza and music printed.	(A)=Pea 207-1183	Patrick Rossiter
The Loss of the <i>Jewel</i>	146-972// C11071A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 948-49						
The Loss of the <i>John Harvey</i>	127-890// C11067A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 3: 950-51						
The Loss of the <i>Jubal Cain</i> {The Jubal King }	119-861// C11063A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 3: 952-53						
The Loss of the <i>Rannelly</i>	152-993// C11074A	James and Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 954-55						

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The Loss of the <i>Regalis</i>	82-702// C11044B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 956-57						
The Loss of the <i>Riseover</i>	MS-71	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	<i>Outports</i> 3: 958-59						
The Loss of the <i>Sailor's Home</i>	144-967// C11070A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 960-62						
The Loss of the Schooner <i>Arabelle</i> (The first of October last from Francois we set sail)	157-1014// C11076B	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond		UP			Local Composition regarding capsizing of vessel during a storm off Port aux Choix;		
The Loss of the <i>Shamrock</i>	148-981// C11072A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 963-64						
The Loss of the <i>Titanic</i>	2-13// C11031B	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 965-6						
Love's Not Like it Used To Be (Love is written in the book of life about a thousand years, when a man and a woman first found their love)	MS-74	Fred M. Freaque	Joe Batt's Arm		UP					
Love is Lovely	94-751// C11050B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 475-76						
The Lovely Cottage Maid (As I roved out one evening down by sea stormy shore, I there beheld a cottage there with Ivory o'r the door)	178-1097// C11087A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay		UP	// Joshua Osborne: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid" : 101; C- Tape 12426;				
The Lovely Irish Maid	160-1028// C11078A	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 551-52						
The Lovely Lowland Maid	206-1182// C110101A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 2: 620-21						
Lovely Nancy	120-865// C11063B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 2: 477						

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The Lovely Newfoundlander	MS-73	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	Outports 2: 370-71						
The Lover's Trial [Untitled in Peacock's index; (First line: One evening for recreation)]	16-96// C11037B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	Outports 2: 553-54		// Jim Rice: Leach 1:18, MUNFLA 78-054				
Lullaby [Nursery Song]	131-909// C11069A	Mrs. Frank Tompkins	Doyles, Codroy Valley	Outports 1: 15						
The Mackeys from Canada (On Sunday 1955 I'll never forget the day, when the Springdale blowed in Bellburns)	162-1037// C11079A	Clara Stevens composer	Bellburns		UP	//Clara Stevens: Richard Tallman Collection MUNFLA 74-222; c1933;		A rather cutting satirical local Composition about two American teachers and their attempts to fit into local life in Bellburns;		
The Maid and the Horse (A)	92-742// C11049B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 214-15					(B)=Pea 102-788	James Decker
The Maid and the Horse (B)	102-788// C11054B	James Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 1: 214-14				One stanza and melody printed;	(A)=Pea 92-742	Freeman Bennett
The Maid of Newfoundland	200-1167// C11098A	Andrew Nash	Branch	Outports 2: 372-74		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 233-35; //	C-A	This is actually performed as a recitation without the melody. The melody and some of the lyrics were combined from subsequent performance by Patrick Nash?;	\$=Pea 200-	Patrick Nash?
The Maid of Newfoundland	200- // C11098A	Patrick W. Nash	Branch		UP		C-A	There is no reference to this item or the singer in Peacock's inventory; however the name Patrick may be heard on tape. Patrick Nash sings songs for Peacock on tape 201; Peacock used this melody and some of the words as the basis for his transcription of Pea 200-1167;	Pea 200-1167	Andrew Nash
The Maid of Sweet Gartheen	190-1138// C11093A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 2: 375-76						

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The Maid of the Mountain Brow [At the foot of the Mountain Brow] (All you lads and lassies come listen to my song and if you'll pay attention)	MS-76	William Holloway	King's Cove		UP	Laws (P 7) <i>ABBB</i> : 251; Fowke <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 47; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 94; // SAP MUNFLA 79-54;		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 90-734	Clarence Bennett
The Maid of the Mountain Brow (Oh Nancy lovely Nancy oh come along with me) [At the foot of the Mountain Brow]	90-734// C11048B	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Laws (P 7) <i>ABBB</i> : 251; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 153; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 94; Fowke "Old" <i>CFMJ</i> : 47; // SAP MUNFLA 79-54;		1 of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea MS-76	William Holloway
The Maid on the Shore O [The Young Sea Captain]	117-854// C11062A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 296-97		"Maid on the Shore O" Nfld Symphony Orchestra <i>Rock Within the Sea</i> : track 4; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 63 -64 //		Casual reference to unpublished variant in Outports; singer named and one line printed but not combined with variant which was published;	\$=Pea 92-740	Freeman Bennett
The Maid On the Shore O [The Young Sea Captain]	92-740// C11049B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 296--97	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 63-64; //		Casual reference; singer named and one line printed. On recording Bennett's performance of this song was somewhat disjointed;	Pea 117-854	Annie Walters
The Mallard	195-1152// C11095B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 1: 16-17		Christina Smith and Jean Hewson <i>Like Ducks!</i> : track 2; //		The cumulative song given by Peacock is based on one stanza provided by Mrs. Galpin; Peacock builds on the idea based on her illustration on filed recording as to how stanzas would be structured;		
The Mantle So Green [Famed Waterloo] (A)	MS-77	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 555-57		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 175; //			(B)=Pea 175-1088	Joshua Osborne
The Mantle So Green [Famed Waterloo] (B)	175-1088// C11085B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 2: 555-57		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> 175; //		One stanza and music printed;	(A)=Pea MS-77	Harry Curtis
Ma petite Marguerite	183-1115// C11089B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 558						

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Le marché des animaux	131-908// C11069A	Martin Deveau	Upper Ferry	Outports 1: 18						
Le mari de quatre-vingts-dix ans	136-934// C16984B	Mrs. Josephine March	Cap-St-Georges	Outports 1: 298-99						
Mary Had a William Goat	173-1081// C11084B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	Outports 1: 19						
Mary Neal	16-95// C11037B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	Outports 1: 216-17		Greenleaf and Mansfield; BSSN: 187-88; //		Makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;		
Mary Vickery and Connelly Donnelly	15-90// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	Outports 3: 819-20				Peacock notes this is an American song; and that although singer says he didn't learn it from a recording, this tune "sounds contrived and commercial" (Outports 3:820);		
Maurice Crotty	16-92// C11037B	Gordon Willis	St. John's	Outports 1: 73-74						
Micky Milligan's Pup [Pug] (Old Micky Milligan had a fine pug he was reared an English dog)	107-807// C11057A	James Decker	Parson's Pond		UP	Kirwin Johnny Burke Songs : 120; // "Bow Wow Wow " MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid," : 20				
The Milkman's Lament	120-864// C11063B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	Outports 2: 478-79						
Milling Song (Gaelic)	128-897// C11067B	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	Outports 3: 790				Peacock notes he was unable to obtain the text for this; Knight Scottish Gaelic Traditions notes this was composed by MacArthur and his grandfather and called "Oran An Tombaca" and that the song which had seven stanzas circulated in oral tradition "Consequently, there were no printed or published texts which Peacock could use to assist him" (1976: 298);		

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The Mine at Baie Verte (Come ladies and ye gentlemen, come listen unto me I tell you of a city which intend to be)	178-1099// C11087A	Gordon Rice composer	Seal Cove, White Bay		UP	//Gordon G. Rice: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 101;		Rice accompanys self with a guitar; local composition;		
Molly Bawn (Dear I am sad and lonely living in the distant west).	2-15// C11031B	Ned Rice and Ron O'Brien	Cape Broyle		UP	"Molly Bawn," Byrne <i>Ryan's Fancy</i> (1977: 36- 37); <i>Celtic Connection</i> <i>Calvert's Dream</i> : track 1- B //				
Mon hon ami va venir ce soir	143-962// C16988A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 300-01						
Monday Morning	96-758// C11051B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 559						
The Moonshine Can [T/T]	124-880// C11065B	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 1: 75-76; "Native," (1963): 221 [casual reference]			C-A	One stanza and melody of this variant printed with text of Pea 171-1076;	[T/T]=Pea 171-1076	Joshua Osborne
The Moonshine Can [T/T]	171-1076// C11083B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 1: 75-76; "Native," (1963): 221 [casual reference]		// for other songs by Joshua Osborne see MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 100;	C-A	Melody of Pea 124-880 combined with text of this variant;	[T/T]=Pea 124-880	Kenneth Pink
The Moose Song	169-1071// C11082B	George Croucher	Burnt Islands	<i>Outports</i> 1: 77-78				Song is about poaching a moose; stanza and melody structure does not reflect singer's performance; additionally stanza 8 edited to remove name of individual who "squealed" on hunters; Peacock notes on original transcript "For publication omit last two lines of stanza eight and substitute stanza nine" see Pea B, 169-1071, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;		

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Morrissey and the Black (You true British heroes come listen to me, I will sing you the praises of John Morrissey)	80-696// C11043B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	"John Morrissey and the Black," Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 355-56; // Freeman Bennett: Rinzler, AFS;				
The Mountains of Mourne (Oh Mary this London's a wonderful sight).	6-36// C11033B	Mrs. Monica Rossiter	Cape Broyle		UP	Conway <i>Soodlum's</i> II: 16; Fowke "Old" <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 48; // Monica Rossiter: Leach 1-14; MUNFLA 78-054;				
The Murder of Alfreda Pike	147-976// C11071B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 821-22						
The Murder of Ann O'Brien (James McDonald)	75-671// C11041A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 622-23			C-A	Peacock notes that a line from Pea 87-722 was combined with this variant ; and one additional stanza printed separately ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 623);	<CR>=Pea 87-722	Becky Bennett
The Murder of Ann O'Brien (James McDonald)	87-722// C11047A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 622-23			C-A	Peacock notes line combined with Pea 75-671 and 1 stanza printed ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 623);	Pea 75-671	Annie Walters
The Murder of Miss Wyatt (Henry Blair; Young Henry Green) (A)	147-975// C11071B	Mrs. George (Sara Anne) Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 624-27			C-A	Peacock notes that stanza from Pea 78-685 was combined with (A) ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 627);	(B)=Pea 10-67 <CR>=Pea 78-685	Howard Morry Everett Bennett
The Murder of Miss Wyatt (Henry Blair; Young Henry Green) (B)	10-67// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 2: 624-27				10 stanza text given but music is excluded;	(A)=Pea 147-975 <CR>=Pea 78-685	Sara Anne Decker Everett Bennett
The Murder of Miss Wyatt (Henry Blair; Young Henry Green) <CR>	78-685// C11042B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 624-27			C-A	Peacock notes 1 stanza from this variant combined with variant (A) Pea 147-975; singer is also named ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 627);	(A)=Pea 147-975 (B)=Pea 10-67	Sara Anne Decker Howard Morry

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My Bonny Irish Boy {The Bonny Young Irish Boy} (A)	MS-16	Phillip Foley	Tilting	"Nine Songs," (1954); 131-32; <i>Outports 2</i> : 560-65; // aired over radio; see CBC Archives 52-0114- 01/00		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 192-93; //		Peacock notes that he collected it "three times and heard it as many more; ( <i>Outports 2</i> : 563); Peacock prints this text and melody but incorrectly assigned the wrong singer and MS number Pea=\$ MS-79, Harry Curtis; PEa C -MS-16, Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;	(B)=Pea 117-856 \$=Pea MS-79 \$=Pea 112-832	Arthur Nicolle Harry Curtis Everett Bennett
My Bonny Irish Boy {The Bonny Young Irish Boy} (B)	117-856// C11062A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports 2</i> : 560-63		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 192-93; //			(A)=Pea MS-16 \$= Pea MS-79 \$=Pea 112-832	Phillip Foley Harry Curtis Everett Bennett
My Bonny Irish Boy {The Bonny Young Irish Boy}}	112-832 // C11059B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 2</i> : 560-63	UP	Laws (P26) <i>ABBB</i> : 261; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 192-93; // Freeman Bennett: Rinzler, AFS;		Peacock makes reference to having noted the song " three times" and hearing it "as many more" ( <i>Outports 2</i> : 563);	(A)=Pea MS-16 (B)=Pea 117-856 \$=Pea MS-79	Phillip Foley Arthur Nicolle Harry Curtis
My Bonny Irish Boy [The/My Bonny Young Irish Boy]	MS-79	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports 2</i> : 560-63;		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 192-93; //		This text was never printed. Peacock ranks this as (A) but incorrectly assigned the wrong singer and MS number. See Pea C, MS-16; Philip Foley, textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;	(B)=Pea 117-856 \$=Pea MS-79 \$=Pea 112-832	Arthur Nicolle Harry Curtis Everett Bennett
My Bonny Labouring Boy	MS-15	James Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports 2</i> : 564-65						
My Father Gave Me (counting song)	195-1151// C11095B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports 1</i> : 20						

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My Father's Old Sou'wester (My memory often wandered back when I was but a lad)	MS-80	John Mahoney	Stock Cove		UP	Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 42; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 158; West <i>All Together</i> , 28-29 and 56; //		Likely given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> . However the timing has been altered in Doyle to 6/8 (1955, 42). Written by Bill Hollett for the Irene B. Mellon, circa 1930s; see Hiscock "Folklore and Popular Culture in Early NF" (1986, 190).		
My Flora and Me (A)	115-846// C11061A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 480-81			C-M	Peacock notes he used some words from B and "two other variants" which he didn't name to improve wording of variant A ( <i>Outports</i> 2 : 481);	(B)=Pea MS-81 <CR>=Pea 102-786 <CR>=Pea 93-744	Michael Aylward Charlotte Decker Everett Bennett
My Flora and Me (B)	MS-81	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 480-81			C-M	One stanza and melody printed; Peacock notes he used some words from variant B and two other variants to improve wording of variant A ( <i>Outports</i> 2:481);	(A)=Pea 115-846 <CR>=Pea 93-744 <CR>=Pea 102-786	Arthur Nicolle Everett Bennett Charlotte Decker
My Flora and Me <CR>	93-744// C11050A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 480-81			C-M	Casual reference to this and another unpublished variant but singers not named; Peacock notes he used some words from B and two other variants to improve wording of variant A; ( <i>Outports</i> 2 : 481);	(A)=Pea 115-846 (B)=Pea MS-81 <CR>=Pea 102-786	Arthur Nicolle Michael Aylward Charlotte Decker
My Flora and Me <CR>	102-786// C11054B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 480-81			C-M	Casual reference to this and another unpublished variant. Peacock notes he used some words from B, this unpublished variant and from unpublished variant Pea 93-744 to improve wording of variant A ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 481);	(A)=Pea 115-846 (B)=Pea MS 81 <CR>=Pea 93-744	Arthur Nicolle Michael Aylward Everett Bennett
My Gallant Brigantine (A) [R/R]	209-1186// C110102B	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 1: 218-19				Peacock suggests composites can be made with the three variants provided; no reference to first unpublished recording by same singer on tape 208 ( <i>Outports</i> 1: 223);	(B)=Pea MS-82 (C)=Pea 17-102 [R/R]Pea 200-no number	Michael Aylward Mike Kent Patrick Rossiter

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My Gallant Brigantine (B)	MS-82	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	Outports 1: 218-23				Suggests composites can be made with the three variants provided;	(A)=Pea 209-1186 (C)=Pea 17-102 [R/R]\$Pea 208-no number	Patrick Rossiter Mike Kent Patrick Rossiter
My Gallant Brigantine (C)	17-102// C11038A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	Outports 1: 218-23				Suggests composites can be made with the three variants provided;	(A)=Pea 209-1186 (B)=Pea MS-82 [R/R]\$Pea 208 - no number	Patrick Rossiter Michael Aylward Patrick Rossiter
My Gallant Brigantine	208- [R/R]// C110102A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	Outports 1: 218-19	UP			The first of two recordings by same singer; Peacock notes that the tape ran out during the recording of this song; re-recorded on Pea 209-1186; no number was assigned to this recording;	[R/R](A)=Pea 209-1186 (B)=Pea MS-82 (C)=Pea 17-102	Patrick Rossiter Michael Aylward Mike Kent
My Good-Looking Man	MS-83	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	Outports 1: 302-03						
My Hansome Sailor Boy	116-851// C11061B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	Outports 2: 566-567						
My Little English Home Across the Sea (I never shall forget the day I left my native home)	2-10// C11031B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	// Tim [Jim] Rice: Leach 1-8; MUNFLA 78-054;				
My Old Dudeen	3-20// C11032A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	Outports 2: 377-78		// Mike Kent: Leach 1-16; MUNFLA 78-054;				
Nancy from London [Tall Grow the Rushes] {Fair Nancy from London} (A)	MS-85	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	Outports 2: 568-70		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 73-75; //		No reference to fourth unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 126-889 (C)=Pea 94-749 \$=Pea 168-1064	Kenneth Pink Everett & Becky Bennett Martha Osmond
Nancy from London [Tall Grow the Rushes] {Fair Nancy from London} (B)	126-889// C11066B	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	Outports 2: 568-70		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 73-75; //		Two stanzas and music printed;	(A)=Pea MS-85 (C)=Pea Pea 94-749 \$=Pea 168-1064	Chris Cobb Ev. & Becky Bennett Martha Osmond
Nancy from London [Tall Grow the Rushes] {Fair Nancy from London}	168-1064// C11082A	Martha Osmond	Grand Bay (Port aux Basques)	Outports 2: 568-70	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 73-75; //		No reference to this variant in Outports;	(A)=Pea MS-85 (B)=Pea 126-889 (C)=Pea 94-749	Chris Cobb Kenneth Pink Everett and Becky Bennett

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Napoleon's Farewell To Paris	MS-86	Phillip Foley	Tilting	"Nine Songs," (1954): 125-26; <i>Outports</i> 3: 1009-11		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 167; //				
The Newfoundland Disaster	172-1080// C11084A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 3: 967-68						
New York Trader	MS-87	Mrs. John Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 396-97						
Le nid de fauvelles	138-944// C16985B	Cornelius Robin	Cap-St-Georges	<i>Outports</i> 3: 791-92						
The Nobleman's Wedding [Green Willow Tree, The Awful Wedding] (A)	6-39// C11033B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 691-97		Greenleaf and Mansfield; <i>BSSN</i> : 155-56; //		Makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;	(B)=Pea 156-1011 (C)=Pea 8-54 (D)=Pea 90-735	Nicolas Keough Howard Morry Everett Bennett
The Nobleman's Wedding [The Green Willow Tree; The Awful Wedding] (B)	156-1011// C11076A	Nicolas Keough	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 691-97		Greenleaf and Mansfield; <i>BSSN</i> : 155-56; //		Makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;	(A)=Pea 6-39 (C)=Pea 8-54 (D)=Pea 90-735	Jim Rice Howard Morry Everett Bennett
The Nobleman's Wedding [The Green Willow Tree; The Awful Wedding] (C)	8-54 // C11034B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 3: 691-97		Greenleaf and Mansfield; <i>BSSN</i> : 155-56; //		Makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;	(A)=Pea 6-39 (B)=Pea 156-1011 (D)=Pea 90-735	Jim Rice Nicolas Keough Everett Bennett
The Nobleman's Wedding [Green Willow Tree; the Awful Wedding] (D)	90-735// C11048B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 691-97		Greenleaf and Mansfield; <i>BSSN</i> : 155-56; //		Only 7 stanza text printed; makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;	(A)=Pea 6-39 (B)=Pea 156-1011 (C)=Pea 8-54	Jim Rice Nicolas Keough Howard Morry
Oh No, Not I	110-822// C11058B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 304-05						
Oh Write Me Down Ye Powers Above	101-779// C11054A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 571-72						

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The Old Bo's'n [The Boatswain and the Tailor] {The Chest} (A)	15-85// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports 1</i> : 306-11// aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 2, LAD-CMC: PEA E-11;		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 112-13; //			(B)=Pea MS-113a (C)=Pea 95-757	Harry Curtis Freeman Bennett
The Old Bo's'n [The Boatswain and the Tailor] { The Chest} (B)	MS-113a	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports 1</i> : 306-11		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 112-13; //		Peacock does not include the MS number for this variant in <i>Outports</i> but it is included in his manuscript collection inventory; See Pea C, MS 113a , Textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC:	(A)=Pea 15-85 (C)=Pea 95-757	Gordon Willis Freeman Bennett
The Old Bo's'n [The Boatswain and the Tailor] {The Chest} (C)	95-757/ C11051A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports 1</i> : 308-11		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 112-13; //			(A)=Pea 15-85 (B)=Pea MS-113a	Gordon Willis Harry Curtis
Olden Days	MS-88	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	<i>Outports 1</i> : 79-80						
Old Grandma	6-38// C11033B	Mrs. Monica Rossiter	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports 1</i> : 81-82		Version given to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 94-95; John J. White <i>Get Along Little Dogies</i> : 183; // Monica Rossiter: Leach 1-14; MUNFLA 78-054;				
Old Grandma Hones	208-1184// C110102A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports 1</i> : 83-84						
Old Jack	161-1034// C11078B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports 1</i> : 85-86		// Clara Stevens: Richard Tallman Collection MUNFLA 74-222; c1933;		Local composition by Sam House;		
The Old <i>Mayflower</i> (chin music)	167-1058// C11081B	Mrs. Nellie Musseau	Mouse Island	<i>Outports 1</i> : 87-88						
The Old Mushroom	155-1005// C11075B	James Decker	Parson's Pond		UP			Words hard to hear; fragment of bawdy song;		
The Old Oak Tree	4-24/ C11032B	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports 2</i> : 628-29						
Old Robin Gray	MS-101	Phillip Foley	Tilting	<i>Outports 2</i> : 482-83						

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Old Tommy Kendall	153-996// C11074B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 1: 21						
On Board of the Ninety-Eight	111-827// C11059A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 1012-12						
On Board of the Victory	155-1006// C11075B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 484-85						
One Spring in Bonay (All you young people come listen to me)	MS-89	William Holloway	King's Cove		UP	Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 109; //				
The One Thing or the Other	107-809// C11057A	James Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 1: 312-13						
On the Deck of the "Willow Green" (Come all you Newfoundland friends, come listen unto me; a story I will tell you)	171-1075// C11083B	Annie Legge	Jeffrey's		UP			Local Composition; song about murder as a result of alcohol;		
On the Schooner John Joe	184-1117// C11090A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	Outports 1: 140-41				Considerably edited throughout;		
Oran Na Caillich	128-896// C11067B	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry	Outports 3: 793-94		Allan MacArthur Outports: band 6, side A; //	C-B	Taken from publication; see Knight <i>Scottish Gaelic Traditions</i> ( 1976, 292-93); and MacDonald <i>Sar-Obair Nam Bard Gaelach The Beauties</i> (1863: 276);		
The Orangemen of Cadiz (You Orangemen of Cadiz whose hearts loyal and true stand for your friend Ray Johnson who nobley stood for you)	145-970// C11070B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour		UP	Treason Song; See Goldstein "A Report On ..." <i>Community and Process</i> : 126-153; //		Peacock notes in original transcript Decker "says he 'got into hot water two or three different times' for singing the song when people of several denominations were present"; see Pea B, 145-970, textual and Musical transcriptions, LAD-CMC;		
The Ordeal of Andrew Rose	189-1136// C11092B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 3: 825-26						

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O'Reilly the Fisherman (John O'Reilly, Reilly's Farewell) (A)	MS-91	Phillip Foley	Tilting	"Nine Songs," (1954: 127-28; <i>Outports</i> 3: 698-70;		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 182-83; //			(B)=Pea 88-726	Becky Bennett
O'Reilly the Fisherman (John O'Reilly, Reilly's Farewell) (B)	88-726// C11047B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 698-700		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 182-83; //		1 stanza printed with music;	(A)=Pea MS-91	Phillip Foley
Oui Maman, Je veux m'y marier (Ah Oui maman, j'veux m'y marier j'suis t'en Age)	137-937// C16985A	Mrs. Annie Félix	Cap-St-Georges		UP	"Oui Maman, Je Veux M'y Marier" Thomas, <i>French</i> : 59; //				
Our boys give up squidding (Our boys give up squidding they all joined the navy to fight for all England our king and our town).	1-6// C11031A	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 83; Based on Scammell's "Squid Jiggin' Ground"; Scammell <i>Works</i> : 231; //		Local composition based on Scammell's "Squid Jiggin' Ground," but theme focuses on recruitment of fishermen for war; text and music in <i>Old-Time Songs</i> compares with Peacock's original transcription Pea B 1-6, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC;	\$=Pea 1-7	Ned Rice
Our Island Is Covered With Fog	MS-92	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	<i>Outports</i> 1: 89-90						
Paddy and the Three English Plagues (The first day of April I'll never forget those three English plagues)	MS-93	Mrs. John Mahoney and Mrs. Leslie Mahoney	Stock Cove		UP	See Goldstein "A Report on.. 'Treason Songs.." <i>Community and Process</i> : 126-153; //				
A Paper of Pins	178-1096// C11087A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 1: 22-23			C-B	Stanzas 7 to 10 considerably edited; changes probably based on a comparable variant in Sharpe's <i>Appalachian</i> V, 2: 48-49 as cited in Peacock's endnote <i>Outports</i> , 1: 23.		
The Parting Glass	MS-94	Peter Donahue	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 573-74						

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Pat O'Brien	5- /// C11033A	Stewart Little	Bonavista	Outports 2: 488	X			Tape recorder turned off after title announced. Song not assigned a PEA number. Peacock did collect two versions at a later date ( Pea 97-764 and Pea 204-1178) under title of 'Young Sally Monroe'.	Pea 204-1178 \$=Pea 97-764	Patrick Rossiter Everett Bennett
Pat O'Reilly	MS-95	James Heaney	Stock Cove	Outports 1: 159-60						
Patrick Powers (Patrick Powers is my name in Wexford I was born).	7-45// C11034A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle		UP	//Ben Pevie: MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid: 101;				
Peter Emberley (My name is Peter Emherly)	71-662// C11039A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour		UP	Creighton <i>New Brunswick</i> : 231; Wilson and Pomroy <i>Merashen</i> (1980): 13; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 344; Fowke "Old" <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 49; <i>Laws</i> (C27) <i>NAB</i> : 160// Annie Walters: Rinzier AFS;				
Peter's Banks	151-989// C11073B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 969-70						
The Plains of Waterloo (1)	MS-97	Michael Mathews	Broad Cove, Duntara (Bonavista Bay)	Outports 3: 1014-15		Greenleaf and Mansfield; <i>BSSN</i> : 172-73; //		Makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;		
The Plains of Waterloo (11)	79-692// C11043A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 1016-17						
La plainte du capitain	140-951// C16986B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 1: 161-2						
Polly Oliver	15-87// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	Outports 2: 344-45		Gordon Willis: Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 51-52; //				
Pork in the Cupboard (chin music)	167-1059// C11081B	Mrs. Nellie Musseau	Mouse Island	Outports 1: 91						

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A Prentice Boy In Love (Jack was Only a Prentice Boy in Love) (A)	154-998 MS// C11075A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 575-78		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 214-15; //			(B)=Pea MS-54	Chris Cobb
A Prentice Boy In Love (Jack was Only a Prentice Boy In Love) (B)	MS-54	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island	<i>Outports</i> 2: 575-78		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 214-15; //			(A)=Pea 154-998	Charlotte Decker
The Pretty Ploughboy	196-1156// C11096A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 1: 224-45		Mary Ann Galpin, <i>Outports</i> : band 4, side A; //		Editing throughout;		
Pride of Glencoe	9-60// C11035A	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 2: 579-80		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 174; //				
The Pride of the Shamrock Shore	202-1176// C11099A	Reter Ryan	Aquaforte	<i>Outports</i> 2: 630-31						
The Prince and the Orphan	MS-99	Fred M. Freake	Joe Batt's Arm		UP	<i>Frank C. Brown</i> 4: 217; <i>Morris Florida</i> 119-20; //				
The Prison of Newfoundland (Ye lads and lassies of Newfoundland come listen to my sad tale while I relate the hardships).	6-40// C11033B	Mrs. Monica Rossiter	Cape Broyle		UP	<i>Lehr Come! Will Sing</i> : 158-59; <i>Mercer NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 169; <i>Doyle Old-Time Songs</i> , 1955: 48; // Monica Rossiter: <i>Leach MUNFLA</i> 78-054; ;		Local Composition; Melody and text printed in Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> compares with Peacock's original transcription Pea B, 6-40, <i>Texual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC</i> ;		
Quand je demeurais en ville (Quand je demeurais en ville first line)	199-1164// C11097B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto		UP					
Quand j'étais fille de quinze ans	182-1114// C11089A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 581						
A Rambling Young Fellow (Derry Down Fair)	103-792// C11055A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 880-81						

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Raymond Wade (Twas on one Monday Morning just at the break of day)	83-705// C11045A	Clarence Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	// Clarence Bennett: MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson 66-24;		Local composition about a teacher;		
Reid's Express	83-706// C11045A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 757-58				Local composition;		
The Rich Merchant's Daughter {Child 283} {Rich Merchant of London} (A)	15-91// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 226-27		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 47-48;			(B)=Pea 8-50	Mike Kent
The Rich Merchant's Daughter (Child 283) {The Rich Merchant of London} (B)	8-50// C11034B	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 1: 226-28		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 47-48; //		Peacock notes in <i>Outports</i> 1: 228, one stanza with music printed to "illustrate the more usual treatment of the melody".	(A)=Pea 15-91	Gordon Willis
The Rich Wedding Cake	78-686// C11042B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 92-3				Local composition; Peacock notes that this is a local Composition		
Right Married Wrong (Mr. Right was 62 himself was gay and bright)	106-803// C11056B	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	// Mr. & Mrs. J.E. Bennett: Halpert and Widdowson Collection MUNFLA 66-24; c251				
The River Drivers' Lament	132-913// C11069B	John T. O'Quinn	Searston, Codroy Valley	<i>Outports</i> 3: 759-60		John T. O'Quinn, <i>Outports</i> : band 5, side B; //				
The Riverhead La'hchin' on Jubilee Day	208-1185// C110102A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 3: 882-83						
The Rose in June (Beneath the rugged shores of Scotland in the little valley dear)	73-665// C11040A	Lawrence Hutchings	Rocky Harbour		UP	// MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid": 75; "Linda Slade Songbook 2: 89 and 91; Kodish and Rosenberg, MUNFLA 78-008;				

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The Rosy Banks of Green (A)	MS-90	Mrs. Lucy Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 700-04					(B)=Pea 163-1041	Clara Stevens
The Rosy Banks of Green (B)	163-1041// C11079B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 3: 701-04				Peacock suggests a composite as (A) has the better tune while (B) has the better text ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 704).	(A)=Pea MS-90	Mrs. Lucy Heaney
The Roving Newfoundlanders (I was sitting in my homestead one day while all alone; I was thinking of my countrymen)	4-25// C11032B	Ewart Vallis	Grand Bank	//Aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54, CBC radio, "Folksongs" talk 6, LAD-CMC: PEA-A-15;	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 369-70; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 218; //		On field recording Ewart Vallis advises Peacock that he has picked up a few modern songs. He sings him "an old song" in a modern way and while singing accompanies himself with a guitar.		
The Sailor and the Lady [The Rich Merchant]	MS-100	James Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 582-83						
The Sailor's Alphabet	70-657// C11038B	Mrs. Gladys Snow	Cormack	<i>Outports</i> 3: 885-86						
The Saladin Mutiny	192-1141// C11094A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 887-88						
The Sally's Cove Tragedy	149-982// C11072B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 971-72						
Save Your Money When You're Young (Come all ye honest working men and listen unto me.)	108-811// C11057B	Amos Payne	Parson's Pond		UP	"Save Your Money," <i>The Newfoundlander</i> 12.9 Jan. 1950: 5; Fowke, "Old" 7 (1979) <i>CFMJ</i> : 51; Fokwe <i>Traditional Singers</i> : 134-35; <i>Traditional Ballad Index</i> : File: Be040; // Wareham and Rosenberg <i>MUNFLA</i> 72-3;				
The Scolding Wife (I got married to a scolding wife)	101-780 // C11054A	James Decker	Parson's Pond		UP	<i>Frank C. Brown</i> 4: 258; <i>Sharp Appalachians I</i> : 267; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 174; <i>Kennedy Folksongs</i> : 470; //				

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The Sea Ghost (A)	110-824// C11058B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 398-403				No reference to fourth unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 17-103 (C)=Pea 176-1090 \$=109-818	Howard Morry Joshua Osborne Charlotte Decker
The Sea Ghost (B)	17-103// C11038A	Howard Morry	Ferryland	Outports 2: 398-403				Song is untitled in inventory; Peacock indicates the melody was transcribed to stanza two.	(A)=Pea 110-824 (C)=Pea 176-1090 \$=Pea 109-818	Freeman Bennett Joshua Osborne Charlotte Decker
The Sea Ghost (C)	176-1090// C11086A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	Outports 2: 398-403					(A)=Pea 110-824 (B)=Pea 17-103 \$=Pea 109-818	Freeman Bennett Howard Morry Charlotte Decker
The Sea Ghost (Oh I am a sailor and home do write, and on the seas I take great delight)	109-818// C11058A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 2: 398-403	UP			No reference to this variant in Outports;	(A)=Pea 110-824 (B)=Pea 17-103 (C)=Pea 176-1090	Freeman Bennett Howard Morry Joshua Osborne
The Search of the "Thomas J. " (Come all you jolly fishermen and attention to me do pray)	126-888// C11066B	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche		UP			Local Composition;		
The Sealer's Ball (Be ye much of a hand aboard a Vessel)	210-1188	Tom Morry	Ottawa (formerly of Ferryland and son of Howard Morry )	Outports 1: 94-95		Tom Morry Outports: band 1, side B; //		MUNFLA does not have a copy of this recording.		
Seven Years I Loved A Sailor [Flowery Garden] (A)	159-1021// C11077B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	Outports 2: 584-89				No reference to fourth unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea MS-102 (C)=Pea 174-1085 \$=Pea 77-681	Mr & Mrs.J. Mahoney Joshua Osborne Everett Bennett
Seven Years I Loved A Sailor [Flowery Garden] (B)	MS-102	Mr. & Mrs. John Mahoney	Stock Cove	Outports 2: 584-89					(A)=Pea 159-1021 (C)=Pea 174-1085 \$=Pea 77-681	Clara Stevens Joshua Osborne Everett Bennet
Seven Years I Loved A Sailor [Flowery Garden] (C)	174-1085// C11085A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	Outports 2: 584-89				Lines rearranged in stanzas;	(A)=Pea 159-1021 (B)=Pea MS-102	Clara Stevens Mr. & Mrs. John Mahoney
Seven Years I Loved A Sailor (Flowery Garden)	77-681// C11042A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 584-89	UP			No reference to this variant in Outports; Peacock's inventory for tape 77 lists this as Jimmy and Nancy the return which Peacock records later; see tape 114-841;	(A)=Pea 159-1021 (B)=Pea MS-102 (C)=Pea 174-1085	Clara Stevens Mr. And Mrs. Mahoney Joshua Osborne

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She Died in Love [The Butcher Boy] (A)	144-965// C11070A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	Outports 3: 705-08			C-C	A confusing composite; under separate song title Peacock indicates that this is a variant of "She's Like the Swallow" ; under separate title one stanza also combined with MS 128 (A) "She's Like A Swallow" sung by Charlotte Decker, (Outports 3: 708 & 714);	(B)=Pea 122-870	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
She Died in Love [The Butcher Boy] (B)	122-870// C11064B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Mortis	Outports 3: 705-08					(A)=Pea 144-965	Annie Walters
The Sheffield Apprentice	187-1130// C11091B	George Reid	Codroy	Outports 3: 709-10			C-A	Peacock notes stanza five from Pea 197-1158 combined with this variant (Outports 3: 710);	<CR>=Pea 197-1158	Mary Ann Galpin
The Sheffield Apprentice (My parents reared me tenderly they had no child but me) <CR>	197-1158// C11096B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 3: 710-11			C-A	Peacock notes stanza 5 of this variant combined with Pea 187-1130 and singer named (Outports 3: 710);	Pea 187-1130	George Reid
She's Just About the Age (I courted a pretty girl her name was Sara Green)	MS-103	Harry Curtis	Joe Batt's Arm		UP					
She's Like The Swallow (A)	MS-128	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 3: 711-14			C-C	Although no number indicated, this in Peacock's manuscript collect in this is actually MS-128; See Pea C, MS-128, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC; stanza expropriated from Pea 144-965 and combined with (A); (Outports 3: 708 and 714)	B=[R/R]=Pea 122-872 B=[R/R]=Pea 122-874	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
She's Like The Swallow (B) [R/R]	122-872// C11064B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Mortis	Outports: 711-14		"The Apron of Flowers," Huntington Henry's Songs : 393.	C-S	Extra stanza from Pea 122-874 combined with Pea 122-872 by same singer;	(A)=Pea MS-128 (B)= [R/R]=Pea 122-874	Charlotte Decker Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
She's Like The Swallow (B) [R/R]	122-874 // C11064B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Mortis	Outports 3: 711-14			C-S	Peacock notes in inventory that this is a repeat of Pea 122-872 but with an extra stanza; combined with Pea 122-872;	(A)=Pea MS-128 (B)= [R/R]=Pea 122-872	Charlotte Decker Mrs. Wallace Kinslow

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The Ship's Carpenter [The Gospard Tragedy] {Dorchester City; Pretty Polly of London} [T/T]	177-1094// C11086B	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay	<i>Outports</i> 2: 404-06			C-A	Text only of this variant combined with text and music from Pea 15-86; Peacock notes all three variants similar; ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 405).	[T/T]=Pea 15-86 \$=Pea MS-98	Gordon Willis Leslie Mahoney
The Ship's Carpenter [The Gospard Tragedy] {Dorchester City; The Ship's Carpenter; Pretty Polly of London} [T/T]	15-86// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 404-06; // aired on radio; see transcript 1953-54, CBC radio "Folksongs" talk 4, LAD-CMC, PEA E-13,			C-A	Text only combined with text and music from Pea 177-1094; Peacock notes that this text was used because it was the longest; casual reference to unpublished variant; Peacock also notes that all three texts were similar ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 405);	[T/T]=Pea 177-1094 \$=Pea MS-98	Joshua Osborne Leslie Mahoney
The Ship's Carpenter [The Gospard Tragedy] {Dorchester City; Pretty Polly of London} (In fair London city a merchant did dwell)	MS-98	Leslie Mahoney [Mahoney]	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 404-06	UP	Laws (P36A/B) <i>ABBB</i> : 268-69; <i>Traditional Ballad Index</i> : File : LLP36; //		Casual reference; Peacock notes that all three variants are similar ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 406).	[T/T]=Pea 15-86 [T/T]=Pea 177-1094	Gordon Willis Joshua Osborne
The Ship That Never Came	109-816// C11058A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 795-96		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 224; //		Peacock makes reference to variant in Greenleaf and Mansfield	\$=Pea 92-743	Everett Bennett
The Ship That Never Came (Right I do remember when I lay down to sleep)	92-743// C11049B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 795-96 ;	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 224; //			Pea 109-816	Charlotte Decker
Si j'avais le bateau	198-1160// C11097A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 1: 96-97						
Si j'avais une amant pour m'y plaire (Si j'aurais un amant pour me plaire)	136-933// C16984B	Mrs. Josephine March	Cap-St-Georges		UP	"Si J'avais Une Amant Pour M'Y Plaire "; Thomas <i>French</i> : 42; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 138-941	William (Guillaume) Robin

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Si j'avais une amante pour m'y plaire (First line: Si j'aurais un amante pour me plaire)	138-941// C16984B	William (Guillaume) Robin	Cap-St-Georges		UP	Si J'avais Une Amant Pour M'Y Plaire ; Thomas French: 42; //		One of two unpublished variants;	\$=Pea 136-933	Mrs. Josephine March
Si j'étais petite alouette grise	132-912// C11069B	Mrs. Gale	Searston, Codroy Valley	<i>Outports</i> 3: 889						
Since Love Can Enter An Iron Door R/R	70[5]// C11038B	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 590-91 ;	UP	Laws (M 15) <i>ABBB</i> : 187-88; Creighton <i>Maritime</i> : 54 //		Recording spoiled, Peacock ran out of tape; re-recorded song on tape 71. No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> .	Pea 71-661	Annie Walters
Since Love Can Enter An Iron Door R/R	71-661// C11039A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 590-91				Second recording of song by same singer; performance is flat in comparison to first rendition. No reference to first recording in <i>Outports</i> ;	\$=Pea 70-[5]	Annie Walters
Sir James the Rose [Child 213]	202-1175// C11099A	Reter Ryan	Aquaforte	<i>Outports</i> 3: 715-19		Fowke <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 52; //	C-B	Singer provides two stanzas. The remainder taken from family manuscript of William Jones, Aquaforte.		
The Six Horse Power Coaker (You fishermen free go forth on the sea with engines of various makes).	1-5// C11031A	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Scammell <i>Works</i> : 236; //		Local composition;		
Sir William [The Knight and Shepherd's Daughter; Child 110]	153-997// C11074B	James Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 1: 230-32		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 35-37; //		Text edited throughout;		
Skipper George Whiteley (Come all you young girls and pay great attention to what I'm going to say; Never work with Skipper Whiteley)	162-1036// C11079A	Clara Stevens composer	Bellburns		UP	// Clara Stevens: Richard Tallman Collection MUNFLA 74-222; c1934;		Local Composition by Clara Stevens about her experiences and treatment while in Whiteley's employ for a summer;		

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Skipper Tom	MS-104	Alfred Israel Mahaney [Mahoney]	Fogo	<i>Outports</i> 1: 143-44						
The Slaney Side [The Tanyard Side] (A)	MS-105	Phillip Foley	Tilting	<i>Outports</i> 2: 592-93					(B)=Pea 201-1171	Patrick W. Nash
The Slaney Side [The Tanyard Side] (B)	201-1171// C11098B	Patrick W. Nash	Branch	<i>Outports</i> 2: 592-93				One stanza and music printed; Peacock notes texts almost identical.	(A)=MS-105	Phillip Foley
The Soldier and the Lady [The Nightingale]	10-68// C11035B	Howard Morry	Ferryland	<i>Outports</i> 2: 594-95						
The Soldier Boy	MS-106	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 3: 1018-19						
The Soldier Maid	161-1032// C11078B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> 2: 346-47						
The Soldier's Lament	MS-107	Edward Taylor	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 1: 163						
The Soldier's Letter (When the postman delivers a letter it fills mom's heart with joy)	70-658// C11038B	Alvina Coles	Cormack		UP	"The Soldier's Last Letter," <i>The Newfoundlander</i> 8.4 Sept. 1945: 17://		In the inventory Peacock assumed this was a local song;		
Le soleil s'en va se coucher	141-954 // C16987A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	<i>Outports</i> 2: 596-97						
Someone Has Been There Before (A poor unfortunate miserable man I" tell you the reason I'm so)	MS-108	John Barker	Stock Cove		UP	Tom Kines <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> , (RCA Victor PCS-1014)1965; //				
The <i>Southern Cross</i>	186-1129// C11091A	Jack Dalton	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 973-74		Greenleaf and Mansfield; BSSN : 281-82; //	C-B	Last stanza was not sung by singer, copied instead directly from the Gerald S. Doyle <i>Old Time Songs</i> 1940: 57; Text in other stanzas was corrected to fit this variant as well; Peacock makes reference to variant in Greenleaf and Mansfield;		

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Southern Shore Queen	7-47// C11034A	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 180; Doyle <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 55; //		Local composition; Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> ; the text and melody follows the original transcript; Pea B, 7-47, Textual and Musical Transcriptions, LAD-CMC. However when printed in Doyle the key was altered from G to F.		
The Spanish Lass	159-1023// C11077B	William Stevens	Bellburns		UP	// MUNFLA 76-331;				
The Spanish Main	MS-109	John Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 720-21		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 204-05; //		Casual reference to two other variants; Peacock notes the three Newfoundland variants are "very similar in text and tune" ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 721); Makes reference to Greenleaf and Mansfield;	\$=Pea 168-1053 \$=Pea 168-1063	George Decker Martha Osmond
The Spanish Main	166-1053// C11081A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 720-21	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> 204-05; //		Casual reference; notes the three Newfoundland variants are "very similar in text and tune " ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 721);	Pea MS-109 \$=Pea 168-1063	John Mahoney Martha Osmond
The Spanish Main	168-1063// C11082A	Martha Osmond	Grand Bay (Port aux Basques)	<i>Outports</i> 3: 720-21	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 204-05; //		Casual reference; Peacock notes the three Newfoundland variants are "very similar in text and tune " ( <i>Outports</i> 3 : 721);	Pea MS-109 \$=Pea 166-1053	John Mahoney George Decker
Sporting Maggie	148-978// C11072A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 314-15						
The Spree in St. George's Bay (Eighteen hundred and eight boys in St. Georges Bay, the barn Kitty goes round )	184-1120// C11090A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's		UP					
The Spring of '97	5-29// C11033A	Mrs. Venus Way	Bonavista	<i>Outports</i> 3: 976-77				Local Composition; Given to G.S. Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 74; ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 977.		
Squarin' Up Time	MS-110	Gerard Mahoney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 1: 98-99		A.R.Scammell <i>Collected Works</i> : 233-34; //		Peacock makes no reference to Scammell as composer in footnote;		

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The Star of Belle Isle	MS-111 [T11]	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 598-99		Fowke and Johnston <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 144-45 ; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> ; 268-69; //		In <i>Outports</i> Peacock numbers this MS T 11; in his manuscript file it is MS 111; this version given to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> .		
The Star of Logy Bay (Ye ladies and ye gentleman I pray you'll lend an ear).	3-17// C11032A	Ned Rice and Ron O'Brien	Cape Broyle		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 270; Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 182 //		Local Composition;		
The Stowaway	125-882// C11066A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 3: 890-92						
Strawberry Tower [Strawbello Strand] (A)	103-790// C11055A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 722-25				In <i>Outports</i> Peacock uses this number as well for "He's Young But He's Daily Growing" which should be Pea 103-789.	(B)=Pea 103-791	Becky Bennett
Strawberry Tower [Strawbello Strand] (B)	103-791// C11055A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 722-25					(A)=Pea 103-790	Charlotte Decker
The Suffolk Miracle [Child 272]	89-729// C11048A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 407-08						
Sur le champ de bataille	179-1102// C11087B	Joséphine Costard	Loretto		UP					
The Sweet Five Dollar Bill (Come all you men and women; Come listen to my song; 'Tis about two old misers)	121-868// C11064A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow composer			UP	Mercer <i>NF. Songs &amp; Ballads in Print</i> : 156; // Clara Stevens: Richard Tallman Collection MUNFLA 74-222 c1935;				
Sweet Fiorella	123-875// C11065A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 2: 632-33		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 365-66; //				
The Sweet Mossy Banks of the Wey	169-1069// C11082B	Jim Keeping	Burnt Islands	<i>Outports</i> 2: 600						
Taking Back Gear In the Night [Gerry Fudge]	127-892// C11067A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	<i>Outports</i> 1: 145-46						
A Tale of Jest [The Lie Song] (Once I Had) (A)	166-1055// C11081A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 1: 24-29				Light editing throughout; stanza 6, line 2 added by Peacock not sung by singer;	(B)=Pea 100-778 (C)=Pea 167-1060	Everett Bennett Garland Ford

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A Tale of Jest [The Lie Song] {Once I Had} (B)	100-778// C11053B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 24-29				Light editing throughout; stanza 4 not on field recording ;	(A)=Pea 166-1055 (C)=Pea 167-1060	George Decker Garland Ford
A Tale of Jest (The Lie Song) [Once I had] (C)	167-1060// C11081B	Garland Ford	Lakes Brook (Port aux Basques)	Outports 1: 24-29				Light editing throughout; footnote borrowed from A.P. Hudson, <i>Mississippi</i> 1936: 275;	(A)=Pea 166-1055 (B)=Pea 100-778	George Decker Everett Bennett
Tarry Sailor	78-684// C11042B	Jim Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 316-17						
Ten Weary Years (It's ten weary years since I left England's shore)	MS-112	Fred M. Freae	Joe Batt's Arm		UP					
Terry Toole's Cabbage	3-16// C11032A	Ned Rice	Cape Broyle	Outports 1: 100						
There Was A Lady In The East [Lady in the East] (A)	101-781// C11054A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 3: 726-28		Christina Smith and Jean Hewson <i>Like Ducks!</i> : track 8; //			(B)=Pea 99-771 (C)=17-101	Everett Bennett Mike Kent
There Was A Lady in the East [Lady in the East] (B)	99-771// C11053A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 3: 726-28				1 stanza with music printed;	(A)=Pea 101-782 (C)=Pea 17-101	Charlotte Decker Mike Kent
There Was A Lady in the East [Lady in the East] (C)	17-101// C11038A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	Outports 3: 726-28				1 stanza with music printed.	(A)=Pea 101-782 (B)= Pea 99-771	Charlotte Decker Everett Bennett
Thomas and Nancy [Thomas and Molly (A)	196-1155// C11096A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 3: 729-32		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 114-15; //		No reference to third unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 3-18 \$ = Pea MS -115	Mike Kent James Heaney
Thomas and Nancy [Thomas and Molly] (B)	3-18// C11032A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	Outports 3: 729-32		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 114-15;// Mike Kent: Leach 1: 20; MUNFLA 78-054;			(A)=Pea 196-1155 \$=Pea MS-115	Mary Ann Galpin James Heaney

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Thomas and Nancy [Thomas and Molly] (Where a bo'sun's loud whistle was sounding, it caused Thomas and Molly to part)	MS-115	James Heaney		Outports 3: 729-732	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 114-15; Laws (K 15) ABBB: 148; //		No reference to this variant in Outports;	(A)= Pea 196-1155 (B)= Pea 3-18	Mary Ann Galpin Mike Kent
The Three Lost Babes of Americay	113-836// C11060A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 30-32						
Timber for the Bridge at St. Paul's (In 1913 I'll say the men from St. Paul's they went up the hay)	78-688// C11042B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			Local composition; Peacock notes in index that this is a local composition		
The Tinker Behind the Door	185-1122// C11090B	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	Outports 1: 318-19				Light editing throughout;		
Tom Bird's Dog	125-884// C11066A	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche	Outports 1: 101-2						
The Track to Knob Lake	201-1170// C11098B	Gerald Campbell	Branch	Outports 3: 797-98		// For other songs by Gerald Campbell: MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid" : 96.				
The Trip To Cow Head (Come all young men and maidens come listen to my song)	106-804 * Peacock numbers this incorrectly in his inventory as 107-807// C11056B	Marie Bennett	St. Paul's		UP			Local composition; Peacock notes in inventory song composed by Anna Bennett and Lorne Pittman of St. Pauls		
Trois mois d'campagne	141-955// C16987A	Joséphine Costard	Loretto	Outports 3: 799						
Twas Getting Late Up in September	6-35// C11033B	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle	Outports 2: 601-02				Local Composition; Given to Doyle for <i>Old-Time Songs</i> 1955: 78; see (Outports 2: 602);		
The Twelve Apostles	15-84/ C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	Outports 3: 800-01		See Charles Willis (father of Gordon): Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 91-93://				

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Twin Lakes [T/T]	89-728// C11048A	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 761-62		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 327-28; //	C-A	Local composition; Peacock notes in inventory that this is a local song composed in Badger; text printed with out music and combined with music and text from Pea 114-843;	[T/T]=Pea 114-843	Arthur Nicolle
Twin Lakes [T/T]	114-843// C11060B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 761-62		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 327-28; Arthur Nicolle <i>Outports</i> : band 4, side B //	C-A	Text from 89-728 combined with text and melody from this variant;	[T/T]=Pea 89-728	Becky Bennett
The Two Brothers [Child 49] (A)	156-1010 MS// C11076A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 827-38					(B)=Pea 195-1150	Mary Ann Galpin
The Two Brothers [Child 49] (B)	195-1150// C11095B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 829-30					(A)=Pea 156-1010	Charlotte Decker
The <i>Union</i> from St. John's (A)	MS-117	Michael Aylward	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 978-80				One stanza and melody printed;	(B) [T/T]=Pea 124-879 (B) [T/T]=Pea 115-845	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Arthur Nicolle
The <i>Union</i> from St. John's (B) [T/T]	115-845// C11061A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 978-79			C-A	No melody; stanza combined with text from Pea 124-879 to create (B) version Peacock notes tune is similar to (A) ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 980).	(A)=Pea MS-117 (B) [T/T]=Pea 124-879	Michael Aylward Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
The <i>Union</i> from St. John's (B) [T/T]	124-879// C11065B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 3: 978-79			C-A	Melody plus one stanza published as (B); one stanza also combined with Arthur nicolle's variant ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 980);	(A)=Pea MS-117 [T/T]=Pea 115-845	Michael Aylward Arthur Nicolle
The Unquiet Grave [Child 78] {Cold Blows the Wind; Cold Falling Drops of Dew} (A) [T/T]	119-862// C11063A	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 2: 410-11		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 23-24; //	C-A	Only text used in composite; text from this variant combined with text and melody of Pea 119-862 to create version (A); Peacock notes this was to "give the best wording" ( <i>Outports</i> 2: 413)	(A) [T/T]=Pea 169-1068 (B)=Pea 165-1050	Jim Keeping George Decker
The Unquiet Grave [Child 78] {Cold Blows the Wind; Cold Falling Drops of Dew} (A) [T/T]	169-1068// C11082B	Jim Keeping	Burnt Islands	<i>Outports</i> 2: 410-13		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 23-24; ; Jim Keeping, <i>Outports</i> : band 3, side A; // For other songs by Jim Keeping see MUNFLA Goldstein Finding Aid 99.	C-A	Compilation of tune & text from this variant combined with text from 119-862;	(A)=Pea 119-862 (B)=165-1050	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow George Decker

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The Unquiet Grave [Child 78] {Cold Blows the Wind; Cold Falling Drops of Dew} (B)	165-1050// C11080B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	Outports 2: 410-13		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN:23-24; //			(A)=[T/T]=Pea 119-862 (A)=[T/T]=Pea 169-1068	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow Jim Keeping
The Unruly Wife (Tis for me wife she's very tall and handsome like ladies and generous she's very fond of town)	113-838// C11060A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP					
Watercresses	90-732// C11048B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 1: 320-31						
Waterloo (A) [R/R]	157-1015// C11076B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 3: 1020-23		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 165-66; //	C-S	Considerable editing and stanzas rearranged; The second of 2 recordings of this song by the same singer; although no reference to unpublished variant, material from the first recording by same singer incorporated into the final transcript;	(B)=Pea MS-118 [R/R]§=Pea 108-810	Mrs. John Fogarty Charlotte Decker
Waterloo (B)	MS-118	Mrs. John Fogarty	Joe Batt's Arm	Outports 3: 1020-23		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 165-66; //			(A)=Pea 157-1015 §=Pea 108-810	Charlotte Decker Charlotte Decker
Waterloo [R/R]	108-810// C11057B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	Outports 3: 1020-23	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 165-66; //	C-S	The first of 2 recordings of this song by the same singer. No reference to this variant in Outports . Material from this variant incorporated in (A);	(A)=[R/R]=Pea 157-1015 (B)=Pea MS-118	Charlotte Decker Mrs. John Fogarty
A Week's Work	178-1100 MS// C11087A	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	Outports 1: 322-23				Considerably edited throughout;		
The Wexford Girl [Wexford City] (A)	115-848// C11061A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	Outports 2: 634-37		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 119; //			(B)=Pea 3-21	Mike Kent
The Wexford Girl [Wexford City] (B)	3-21// C11032A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	Outports 2: 634-37		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN :119; //			(A)=Pea 115-848	Arthur Nicolle
Whaling Song [The Greenland Whale Fishery]	MS-119	Thomas Sullivan	King's Cove	Outports 1: 147-48						

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tapes	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
When Coaker Was Elected (If you will pay attention to you I'll sing a song)	MS-120	Chris Cobb	Barr'd Island		UP					
When I Was A Young Thing	111-826// C11059A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 893-94						
When We Were Sweet Sixteen (I wondered on the days long past the daylight's spread, I sat upon the very stone I oft-times).	1-8// C11031A	Jim Rice	Cape Broyle		UP	Byrne <i>Ryan's Fancy</i> : 84-85; West <i>Catchahold</i> : 34-35 // Tim [Jim] Rice: Leach 1- 8; MUNFLA 78-054; SAP, MUNFLA 75-75;				
Whiskey in the Jar (Some takes great delight in fishing and fooling, more takes delight in ... As I was a climbing up Colonial Mountain)	79-691// C11043A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	"There's Whiskey in the Jar," Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 288-89; Laws ( L13 A) ABBB: 173 // Becky and Everett Bennett: MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson 66-24 ;		Freeman Bennett refers to this as Old Captain Pepper. One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea 174-1087	Joshua Osborne
Whiskey in the Jar (I am a jolly hero I never yet were daunted. I always had money and silver when its wanted).	174-1087// C11085A	Joshua Osborne	Seal Cove, White Bay		UP	"There's Whiskey in the Jar," Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 288-89; Laws ( L13 A) ABBB: 173 // Becky and Everett Bennett: MUNFLA Halpert and Widdowson 66-24 ;		One of two unpublished variants.	\$=Pea 79-681	Freeman Bennett
White Man Let Me Go	MS-121	Phillip Foley	Tilting	<i>Outports</i> 1: 164-65		Version given to Fowke and Johnston for <i>Folksongs of Canada</i> : 32-33; //				
Who Is At My Window Weeping?	MS-123	Mrs. Lucy Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 3: 733-34; <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : track 1;						

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
The Wild Boy (When I was a lad at the age 16, my parents reared me tenderly).	7-48 // C11034A	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle		UP	"The Wild Boy" <i>Traditional Ballad Index</i> , File: LB20; Laws B 20 NAB: 142 //				
The Wild Colonial Boy (Twas of a wild colonial boy Jack Davis was his name).	117-855// C11062A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour		UP	Leach <i>Labrador</i> : 148; Fowke "Old" <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 52; //				
William and Mary	MS-122	Peter Donahue	Joe Batt's Arm	<i>Outports</i> 2: 348-49						
William Craig and Bold Manone (Captain Craig) (A)	146-971// C11071A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 848-51					(B)=Pea 196-1154	Mary Ann Galpin
William Craig and Bold Manone (Captain Craig) (B)	196-1154// C11096A	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	<i>Outports</i> 3: 848-51				One stanza and music printed. Singer notes ofn field recording she could remember no more as it was so long since she had heard it.	(A)=Pea 146-971	George Decker
Willie	165-1048// C11080B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 2: 486-87		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 208-09; //		No reference to unpublished variant; Footnote adapted from Greenleaf and Mansfield; Makes reference to a version in Greenleaf and Mansfield;	\$=Pea 101-783	James Decker
Willie	101-783// C11054A	James Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 486-87	UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 208-09; //		No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> ;	Pea 165-1048	George Decker
Woman's the Joy and the Pride of the Land (Oh when a man is single his heart will mingle)	86-717// C11046B	Becky Bennett	St. Paul's		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 372; //				
The Woods of Michigan [Harry Dunn; The Hanging Limb] (A)	147-974// C11071B	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 763-65		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 329-30; //		no reference to third unpublished variant;	(B)=Pea 97-762 \$=Pea 8-52	Everett Bennett Mike Kent
The Woods of Michigan [Harry Dunn; The Hanging Limb] (B)	97-762// C11052A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 763-65		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 329-30;		1 stanza with music printed;	(A)=Pea 147-974 \$=Pea 8-52	George Decker Mike Kent

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
The Woods of Michigan [Harry Dunn; The Hanging Limb] (There's many a wild Canadian boy who leaved his native land)	8-52// C11034B	Mike Kent	Cape Broyle	<i>Outports</i> 3: 763-65	UP	Laws <i>NAB</i> : 153; Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 329; //		No reference to this variant in <i>Outports</i> .	(A)=Pea 147-974 (B)=Pea 97-762	George Decker Everett Bennett
The Worcester Tragedy [The Cruel Miller; The Miller Boy] (A)	155-1008// C11075B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 638-40					(B) =Pea 169-1070	Jim Keeping
The Worcester Tragedy [The Cruel Miller; The Miller Boy] (B)	169-1070// C11082B	Jim Keeping	Burnt Islands	<i>Outports</i> 3: 638-40					(A)=Pea 155-1008	Charlotte Decker
The Wreck of the <i>Ethie</i> (Come all you good countrymen come listen to me)	74-670// C11040B	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour		UP	Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 277, Mercer <i>NF</i> . <i>Songs and Ballads</i> : 197; // Arthur Nicolle: Rinzier MUNFLA		Local composition; Peacock notes in index that this is a local song;		
The Wreck of the <i>Green Rocks</i> (On the 14th of July she was a dull day when the <i>Green Rocks</i> left to Grand Bank bound for Fortune Bay)	128-894// C11067B	Kenneth Pink	Rose Blanche		UP			Local composition;		
The Wreck of the <i>Morrissey</i>	84-709// C11045B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 981-82				Local composition;		
The Wreck of the <i>Semmit</i> {Wreck of the <i>Old Spike</i> ; Wreck of the <i>Sennity</i> }	100-776// C11053B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 983-84				Casual reference to variant by George Decker, one stanza frm this variant published; also reference to a third unpublished variant by Mrs. Wallace Kinslow; ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 984);	<CR>=Pea 148-980 \$ = Pea 118-860	George Decker Mrs. Wallace Kinslow

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
The Wreck of the <i>Sennity</i> {Wreck of the <i>Old Spike</i> ; Wreck of the <i>Sennity</i> } <CR>	148-980// C11072A	George Decker	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 983-84				Singer named and one stanza printed; Peacock notes melody and text similar to Pea 100-776 ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 984);	Pea 100-776 \$=Pea 118-860	Everett Bennett Mrs. Wallace Kinslow
The Wreck of the <i>Sennity</i> {Wreck of the <i>Old Spike</i> ; Wreck of the <i>Sennity</i> }	118-860// C11062B	Mrs. Wallace Kinslow	Isle aux Morts	<i>Outports</i> 3: 983-84	UP	Lehr <i>Come I Will Sing</i> : 150-51; // for additional songs by Amelia Jane (Millie Jean) Kinslow see MUNFLA "Goldstein Finding Aid" : 99;		Casual reference singer named; Peacock notes the tunes of all three variants are similar to Pea 100-776 which he published ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 984).	Pea 100-776 <CR>=Pea 148-980	Everett Bennett George Decker
Yankee Shore	103-793// C11055A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 233-34						
The Yorkshire Boy {Well Sold the Cow} {The Yorkshire Miller} (A)	185-1123 MS// C11090B	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 33-38		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 44-46; //	C-A	Peacock notes that several stanzas from 14 stanza variant 154-999 combined with A ( <i>Outports</i> 1: 37);	(B)=Pea 93-745 (C)=Pea 163-1039 <CR>=Pea 154-999	Freeman Bennett Clara Stevens James Decker
The Yorkshire Boy {Well Sold the Cow} {The Yorkshire Miller} (B)	93-745// C11050A	Freeman Bennett	St. Paul's	<i>Outports</i> 1: 33-38		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 44-46; //		One of three published variants	(A)=Pea 185-1123 (C)=Pea 163-1039 <CR>=Pea 154-999f	Leonard Hulan Clara Stevens James Decker
The Yorkshire Boy {Well Sold the Cow} {The Yorkshire Miller} (C)	163-1039// C11079B	Clara Stevens	Bellburns	<i>Outports</i> : 33-38		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 44-46; //		One stanza and music printed;	(A)= Pea 185-1123 (B)= Pea 93-745 <CR>=Pea 154-999	Leonard Hulan Freeman Bennett James Decker
The Yorkshire Boy {Well Sold the Cow} {The Yorkshire Miller} <CR>	154-999// C11075A	James Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 1: 33-38		Greenleaf and Mansfield <i>BSSN</i> : 44-46; Fowke <i>CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 56; //	C-A	Peacock notes several stanzas from this 14 stanza variant combined with (A); no melody published; Peacock names informant as George Decker; singer is actually James Decker ( <i>Outports</i> 1:37) ;	(A)=Pea 185-1123 (B)=Pea 93=745 (C)= Pea 163-1039	Leonard Hulan Freeman Bennett Clara Stevens
The Young Bung-er-eye	15-83// C11037A	Gordon Willis	St. John's	<i>Outports</i> 3: 895-96						
Young Chambers	150-986// C11073A	Arthur Nicolle	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 897-98; "Native," (1963): 235 36;						

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
Young Charlotte (Frozen Charlotte)	102-784// C11054B	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 3: 735-36		Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 347-48; //	C-A	Material from the unpublished version incorporated into Decker's published text; reference to title only of second unpublished variant;	\$=Pea MS-40	Mr. Charles Elliot
Young Charlotte [Frozen Charlotte] (Young Charlotte lived by the mountain-side)	MS-40	Mr. Charles Elliot	Keels	<i>Outports</i> 3: 735-37	UP	<i>Frank C. Brown</i> 4: 267; <i>Fowke CFMJ</i> , 7 (1979): 56; Greenleaf and Mansfield BSSN: 347-48; <i>Laws (G-17) NAB</i> : 221; //	C-A	Reference to title only; ( <i>Outports</i> 3: 737); material from this variant incorporated in Pea 102-784;	Pea 102-784	Charlotte Decker
Young Collins Green	MS-124	Mrs. Garland Coles	Fogo	<i>Outports</i> 3: 738-39						
Young Daniel	144-966// C11070A	Annie Walters	Rocky Harbour	<i>Outports</i> 3: 831-32						
Young Edmond of the Lowlands Low	MS-125	Mrs. Lucy Heaney	Stock Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 641-42						
Young Ettie (One morning in May as the sun brightly shone; engaged for the fishing I then leaved my home)	73-666// C11040A	Mrs. George (Sara Anne) Decker	Rocky Harbour		UP	// MUNFLA 69-36 c592;				
The Young Fisherman	185-1121// C11090B	Leonard Hulan	Jeffrey's	<i>Outports</i> 2: 603-04						
Young Henry	MS-126	Alan Hoven	Fogo	<i>Outports</i> 3: 899-90						
Young Kitty Lee	MS-127	William Holloway	King's Cove	<i>Outports</i> 2: 605-06						
Young Melvyn	107-808// C11057A	Charlotte Decker	Parson's Pond	<i>Outports</i> 2: 643-44						
Young Sally Monroe (Pat O'Brien)	204-1178// C110100A	Patrick Rossiter	Fermeuse	<i>Outports</i> 2: 488-89					Pea 5- \$=Pea 97-674	Stewart Little Everett Bennett

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
[Young Sally Monroe (Pat O'Brien) (Pat O'Brien it is my name Ship's carpenter by trade day and night I took delight courting a fair pretty maid)	97-764// C11052A	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's	Outports 2: 488	UP	Laws (P 39) <i>ABBB</i> : 271; // SAP MUNFLA 78-006;			Pea 204-1178 Pea5-	Patrick Rossiter Stewart Little
The Young Ship's Carpenter [The Daemon Lover; Child 243]	194-1146// C11094B	Mary Ann Galpin	Codroy	Outports 3: 740-41						
<b>Instrumental Music</b>										
The Road to the Isles (bagpipes)	129-899// C11068A	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry		UP-I			Instrumental; Peacock notes there is no break between this number and 129 900;		
Highland Laddie (bagpipes)	129-900// C11068A	Allan MacArthur	Upper Ferry		UP-I			Instrumental		
Fiddle tune	132-915// C11069B	Joseph O'Quinn	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
Fiddle tune	132-916// C11069B	Joseph O'Quinn	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
Growing Old Man (Fiddle tune)	132-917// C11069B	Joseph O'Quinn	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
Strathspey and reel	133-918// C16983A	John A. MacDonald	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
Strathspey and reel	133-919// C16983A	John A. MacDonald	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
Strathspey and reel (Christy Campbell)	133-920// C16983A	John A. MacDonald	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
Two Jigs	133-921// C16983A	John A. MacDonald	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		

1. Song Title	2. Tape and Song Number or Manuscript Number (MS) //MUNFLA C Tape	3. Singer	4. Community	5a. Material Published in Outports or other	5b. Unpublished Material (UP)	6. Variants of songs collected by others. Published// Unpublished	7a. Peacock's editing	7b. Comments on editing	8a. Other Variants in Peacock Inventory	8b. Singers of those variants
Strathsbeay and reel	133-922 // C16983A	John A. MacDonald	St. Andrew's Codroy Valley		UP-I			Peacock appears not to have transcribed this; No transcription available at LAD-CMC;		
<b>Tapes With Historical Material</b>										
Historical Tape Re: Ferryland	C11036A	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP-H					
Historical Tape Re: Ferryland	C11036B	Howard Morry	Ferryland		UP-H					
Historical Discussion	96-761// C11051B	Everett Bennett	St. Paul's		UP-H			Recording is a conversation with Everett Bennett on history of St. Paul's and the Bennet family;		
<b>Faulty Tapes</b>										
[No title, first line barely audible] (Paddy Miles an Irish boy just came across the sea) [Paddy Miles; The Hat My Father Wore]	72-?	faulty equipment			x	Fowke "Old" CFMJ, 7 (1979); 42; Wright Irish Emigrant Ballads and Songs : 588; //		In inventory Peacock notes three remaining songs on tape destroyed;		
inaudible	72?	faulty equipment			x					
inaudible	72?	faulty equipment			x					
inaudible	73-	faulty equipment			x			In inventory Peacock notes three remaining songs on tape destroyed because of faulty equipment;		
inaudible	73-	faulty equipment			x					
inaudible	73-	faulty equipment			x					

**Appendix 2: List of Interviews and Correspondence**

Both field notes and taped interviews cited in the text will be referred to by the individual's name and the date as well as the year in which the interview or correspondence took place.

**Recorded Interviews With Kenneth Peacock**

8 Feb.	1994
20 Feb.	1994
16 Mar.	1994
24 Mar.	1994
30 May	1996
26 Oct.	1996
28 Oct.	1996
17 Jan.	1997
10 Apr.	1997
11 Apr.	1997
16 Apr.	1997
21 June	1997
25 Sept.	1997
2 Oct.	1997
27 Nov.	1997
28 Feb.	1998
26 Mar.	1998
18 Apr.	1999
17 May	1999
3 Feb.	2000

18 Mar.	2000
11 Apr.	2000
26 May	2000
1 June	2000
24 June	2000
28 June	2000
18 Oct.	2000
26 Oct.	2000
23 Oct.	2000

**Kenneth Peacock - Letters to Author**

6 Feb.	1995
22 Oct.	1995
15 July	1996
16 Oct.	1996
20 Nov.	1996
21 Apr.	1997
29 Apr.	1997
19 May	1997
27 May	1997
4 June	1997
11 June	1997
25 Sept.	1997

### Recorded Interviews With Others

Bennett, Becky and son Felix Bennett.	22 July 1998
Cobb, Aaron.	30 Apr. 1998
Doyle, Tom and Frank Armstrong.	22 July 1996
Furlong, Carla Emerson.	19 June 1996
	11 Feb. 1998
Gesser, Sam.	28 Oct. 1996
	18 Mar. 1998
	20 Mar. 1998
	14 June 2000
Goldstein, Diane.	22 Sept. 1997
Klymasz, Robert.	25 Nov. 1997
Landréy, Renee.	28 May 1998
MacLeod, Robert.	18 May 1998
McTaggart, Margaret Sargent.	11 Mar. 1997
	3 Mar. 1999
McKim, Mary.	17 Sept. 1997
Monks Harold.	11 Mar. 1998
Morgan, Pamela.	9 Nov. 1998
Morry, Howard.	10 Apr. 2000
Nicole, Amelia Laing.	22 July 1998
O'Byrne Fergus.	6 Sept. 1997
Payne, Jim.	22 Sept. 1997
Rossiter, Monica and Matthew.	2 Apr. 1997

Russell, Kelly.	29 July 1996
Soper, Judge Lloyd.	20 Oct. 2000
Tinley, Phil.	21 Oct. 1998
Vallis, Ewart.	20 June 2000
Walters, Milton and Josie.	23 July 1998
Weaver, Robert.	17 Mar. 1999
Willis, Gordon and daughter Margaret Johnston.	10 Apr. 1997

#### **Field Notes, Letters and Emails to Author**

Avrill, Harold. Assistant University Archivist, University of Toronto Archives, Email to author, 22 Feb. 1999.

Bellamy, Sr. Catherine. Former Director of the Mercy Glee Club, field note, 5 Feb. 2001.

Best, Anita. Folklorist and Singer, field note, 2 Apr. 1997, St. John's.

Biggins, Penny. Granddaughter of Clara Stevens of Bellburns, field note, 1 Sept. 1994.

Billard, Phyllis. Daughter of Mrs. Amelia Kinslow, field note, 9 Nov. 2000.

Bown, Anne. Singer with the Cantabury Singers in the 1967-1978, Email to author, 22 and 23 Sept. 1997.

Chamberland, Nicole. Archivist, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization. 1994; Letter to author 27 Jan. 1994; Email to author 20 Sept. 1996.

Cobb, Aaron. Son of Chris Cobb, Fogo Island, field note, 30 Apr. 1998.

Cobon, Linda. Archivist, Canadian National Exhibition Centre Archives, Email to author, 3 Mar. 1999.

Croucher, Bertha. Daughter of Annie Walters of Rocky Harbour and wife of George Croucher of Burnt Islands, 9 Nov. 2000.

- Furlong, Carla Emerson. Daughter of lawyer Frederick Emerson, field notes, 2 Nov. 1996, 11 Apr. 1997, and 7 Dec. 1998.
- Goldstein, Rochelle. Wife of Dr. Kenneth Goldstein, Email to author, 23 June 1 and 2 July 2001.
- Halley, Morgiana. Former graduate student of the Department of Folklore, Email to author, 7 Mar. 1998.
- Halpert, Herbert. Former head, Department of Folklore, Memorial University of Newfoundland field note, 7 Apr. 1998.
- Harnett, Deryck. School of Music, Memorial University of Newfoundland, field note, 23 June 2000.
- Hoog, Ann. Reference Specialist, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. Washington, D.C., Email to author 10 and 17 Mar., 30 Apr. 1999
- Hulan, George. Son of Leonard Hulan, Mount Pearl, Newfoundland, field note, 3 July 2001.
- Hulan, William. Son of Leonard Hulan, Jeffrey's, Newfoundland, field note, 20 Feb. 2001.
- Hynes, Eliza. Sister of Clara Stevens, Cow Head, Newfoundland, field note, 11 Nov. 2000.
- Keillor, Elaine. Professor, School of Art and Culture, Carleton University, Ottawa, Email to author, 8 Dec., 12 and 20 Mar. 1998; 9 Mar. 1999; 9 Nov. 2000, 12 Oct. 2001.
- Laing, Debora Decker. Daughter of George and Sara Decker, Rocky Harbour, Newfoundland, field note, 1 Nov. 2000.
- McTaggart, Margaret Sargent. Former musicologist at the National Museum of Canada and personal friend of Kenneth Peacock; field notes, 28 Feb. and 31 Mar. 1997, 21 Apr. and 1 Dec. 1998.
- Monks, Harold. Letter to author, 20 Mar. 1998.

- Morrow, Jean. Director of Libraries, New England Conservatory of Music, Email to author. 22 Feb. and 4 Mar. 1999.
- Norman, Barbara. Libraries, Music Division, National Library of Canada, Email to author. 27 Jan. 1997.
- Osborne, Lewis. Son of Joshua Osborne of Seal Cove, Baie Verte, field note Mar. 2001.
- Payne, Darlene. Friend of author, field note, 25 May, 2000.
- Puley, Ken. Archivist, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archives, Toronto, Ontario, Email to author 21 Dec. 1999, 6 Jan., 23 June and 4 July 2000,
- Place, Jeff and Stephanie Smith. Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., Email to author, 1 and 5 Nov. 1996, and 22 Dec. 1999.
- Rice, Gordon, Former informant of Kenneth Peacock residing in Seal Cove, White Bay, field note, 6 Mar. 2001.
- Robertson, Duncan. Personal friend of Kenneth Peacock, Email to author, 30 Oct. and 23 Nov. 2000.
- Samms, Florence. Daughter of Nellie Musseau, residing in Port aux Basques, field note, 28 Feb. 2001
- Samms, Frank. Grandson of Mary Ann Galpin, residing in Port u aux Basques, field note, 1 Mar. 2001
- Small, Nadine. Chief Archivist, reference and Collections, Saskatoon Office, Saskatchewan Archives, letter to author, 8 Feb. 2000; Email to author, 29 Nov. 2000; Jan. 17, Mar. 2, and 21 Nov. 2001.
- Soper, Judge Lloyd. Former informant of Kenneth Peacock, now residing in Corner Brook, 1951, field note, 30 May 1998.
- Tarasoff, Koozma, "A Preliminary List Kenneth Peacock Papers as Collected from his Ottawa Apartment (900 Dynes Road, Suite 2502) by Koozma Tarasoff Aug. 20, 1999," in letter to Author, 9 Nov. 2000.

**Therault, Benoit.** Archivist, Library and Documentation Services Canadian Museum of Civilization. Email and letter correspondence with author, 7 Apr. 1997-25 July 2001.

**Walters, Josie.** Daughter-in-law of Annie Walters and wife of her son Milton, Rocky Harbour, Newfoundland field note, 5 Nov. 2000.

### Appendix 3: Unpublished Works by Kenneth Peacock

- Survey of Ethnic Folkmusic Instruments and Artifacts in Western Canada. Internal Document. National Museum of Canada. Pea-A-7, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1965.
- Survey of Musical Instruments in Southern Ontario. Internal Document, National Museum of Canada. Pea-A-6, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1965.
- Ethnic Folkmusic Survey in Central and Western Canada. Internal Document, National Museum of Canada. Pea-A-4, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1962.
- Folkmusic in Newfoundland: 1960 Report. Internal Document, National Museum of Canada. Pea-A-3, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1960.
- Newfoundland Folkmusic. 1959 Report. Internal Document, National Museum of Canada. Pea-A-2, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1959.
- Folkmusic Research in Newfoundland: 1958 Report and List of Singers. Internal Document, National Museum of Canada. Pea-A-1, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1958.

### Lectures, Papers and Dissertations

- "Chord Songs of the Doukhobors." given at the Faculty of Music, University of Toronto, 12 Nov., Canadian Museum of Civilization, PEA E-1 (H 306-5), 1970.
- "Man and Music." Unpublished paper prepared for *Silent Treasures* series. Pea-D-4-3. Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1969.

- "Some Observations On Doukhobor Psalms and Their Auditory Function."  
Unpublished paper prepared for the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, Toronto, Ontario Canada, Nov. 17-19. Pea-E-2. Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1967.

### **Radio Broadcasts**

- *Newfoundland Folkmusic*. May and June, unpublished transcripts of three talks, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Pea-E-3 to E-6, LAD, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1957.
- *People of the Plains*. Oct. and Nov. Unpublished transcripts of three talks, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Pea-E-6 to Pea-E-8, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1957.
- *Irish Yesterdays*. Oct. Unpublished transcript, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Pea-E-9, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1957.
- *Folk Songs From Newfoundland*. Dec. and Jan. Unpublished transcripts of six talks, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, PEA-E-10-PEA-15, Kenneth Peacock Papers, Library and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization. 1953 & 1954.
- *Songs of the Cedars, A Cantata*. Produced by Peter Francis." 24 January, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, transcript courtesy Kenneth Peacock. 1951.
- *Piano Recital by Kenneth Peacock*. 3 Aug. unpublished radio transcript, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, St. John's, Newfoundland; courtesy Kenneth Peacock, 1951.

### **Audio-Recordings of Kenneth Peacock**

- *Doukhobour Music*. *Radio Canada International* Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC-AM, 21 Feb. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archives, Accession 630221-02/00, 1963.

- "Folk Music and Its Collectors." *Music in Canada* June 27, Accession 650627 13/00, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archives. Tape Copy MUNFLA Accession, 1965.

### **Film Footage By Kenneth Peacock**

- Newfoundland Field Trips- 1958 and 1959. Courtesy, Kenneth Peacock
- Field Trip-Newfoundland, July-August, 1958. Courtesy, Kenneth Peacock

### **Performances and Recordings of Kenneth Peacock's Music by Other Artists**

*Bridal Suite*. perf. by Reginald Godden. *Reginald Godden-Piano Solo: Bridal Suite and Studies in Line*. London Decca (T-5697) LP, 78 rpm. *London Decca* ( T-5697, 1950).

*Essay On Newfoundland Themes*. Composed by Kenneth Peacock for the International Folk Music Conference; Première performance at the Palais-Montcalm, Cond. Sir Ernest Macmillan, Quebec City, 30 Aug. 1961. Off air. Courtesy of Kenneth Peacock.

*Essay on Newfoundland Themes*. CBO Concert Orchestra. Performance at National Gallery, Cond. Frederick Karam, 3 Feb. 1962. Broadcast 9 Feb. Off air. Courtesy of Kenneth Peacock.

*Essay on Newfoundland Themes*. Composed by Kenneth Peacock, *CBC Halifax Chamber Orchestra-Series*, 13 Sept.1967, Accession 670913-13, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Archives.

*Songs of the Cedar*. Comp. Kenneth Peacock, *Canadian League of Composers Concert*, Edward Johnson Building, University of Toronto, Phyllis Mailing (Soprano), William Aide (Piano), Nicolas Fiore (Flute), Donald Whitton (Cello). Broadcast, 22 Feb. 1963. Off air. Courtesy of Kenneth Peacock.

**Appendix 4: Musical Works by Kenneth Peacock****Full Orchestra**

*Rituals of Earth, Darkness and Fire.* 1950.

**String Orchestra**

*Essay No. 1,* clarinet and strings. 1949.

*Essay No. 2.* 1950.

**Small Orchestra**

*Essay on Newfoundland Themes.* 1961.

**Voice(s)**

*The Baffled Knight.* Based on a folksong by the same title collected by Helen Creighton's collection. 1950.

*Do You See That (There ) Bird in Yonder Tree?* Based on a folksong by the same title collected by Helen Creighton. 1950.

*The Parrot.* Based on a folksong by the same title collected by Helen Creighton.

*Foggy Dew.* Based on a folksong by the same title collected by Margaret Sargent in Newfoundland. 1953.

**Voice(s) with Instrumental Ensemble**

*Songs of the Cedar.* 1950.

**Instrumental Ensemble**

*Two Little Fugues.* 1946.

*Sonata for Violin and Piano.* July 1947.

*String Quartet.* 1949.

*Dance for Violin and Piano.* 1949.

*Trio.* 1950.

### **Piano**

*Postlude for Piano.* 1946.

*Bridal Suite.* 1947.

*Five Epigrams for Piano.* Mar. 1947

*Images in Pentagon.* 1948.

*Children's Suite.* 1950.

*Idioms.* Circa 1950.

*Elegy.* 1951.

*Toccata.* 1958. Revised 1996.

*Ann Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest.* 1978.

*Susan Strolled The Quiet Shore.* 1978.

*Ancestral Dance.* 1978-79.

### **Published Musical Works**

*Bridal Suite Piano Solo.* 1949. Toronto: Berandol Music, 1969.

*My Cottage-O.* Words and Music by Finvola Redden, arr. By Kenneth Peacock. .  
Waterloo Music Company, circa 1958.

### **Unpublished Musical Arrangements circa 1940s.**

*Sweet Lorraine.*

*Caravan.*

*Holiday for Swing.*

*Taking A Chance on Love.*

*Time's A Wastin'.*

*Yesterdays.*

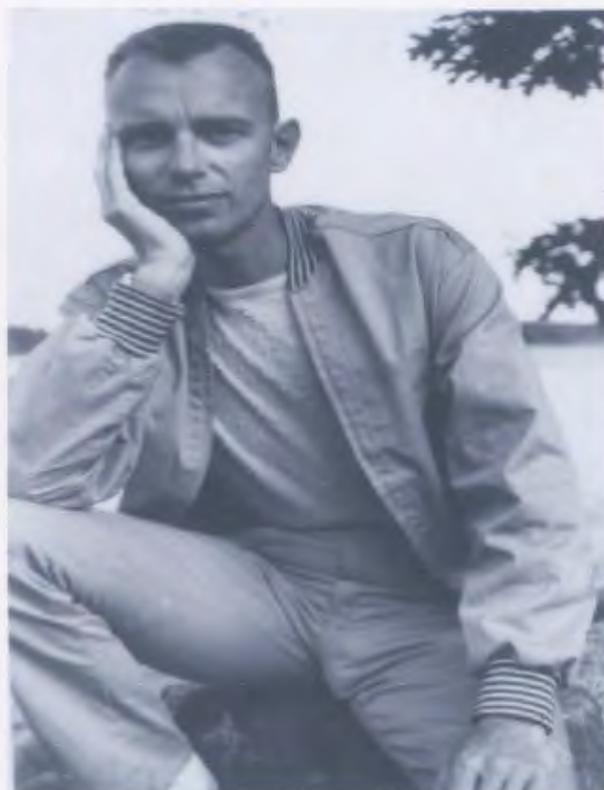
**Appendix 5 : Plate 1, Photos of Kenneth Peacock**



**Kenneth Peacock, age 5**



**Kenneth Peacock, circa 1949,  
by Rideau Canal, Ottawa Ontario**



**Kenneth Peacock, photograph taken for the  
1956 Folkways album *Songs and Ballads of  
Newfoundland***

**Appendix 5: Plate 2, Photos of Margaret Sargent 1949-1950**

*\* Courtesy of Margaret Sargent*



**Margaret Sargent outside Anthropology and Folklore Office, National Museum of Canada-1949**



**Margaret Sargent with Marius Barbeau-1949**



**Margaret Sargent with the Hendersons, St. John's-July 1950**

**Appendix 5: Plate 3, Photographs of Kenneth Peacock and his 1951 field trip**



**Fishermen on wharf at Cape Broyle**



**Matthew Brennan and wife,  
Stock Cove**



**Kenneth Peacock and unidentified  
children**



**John Coffin,  
King's Cove**



**Mike Kent, Cape Broyle**

**Appendix 5: Plate 4, Single shot frames taken from film footage of Kenneth Peacock's 1958 and 1959 field trips to Newfoundland.**



**Appendix 5: Plate 5, Singers photographed by Kenneth Peacock, 1959 \***



**Allen MacArthur with bagpipes,  
Upper Ferry**



**Annie Walters, Rocky Harbour**



**Kenneth Peacock (holding an  
unidentified child) with Mrs. Amelia  
(Wallace) Kinslow, Isle aux Morts**



**James and Charlotte Decker, with  
unidentified child, Parson's Pond**

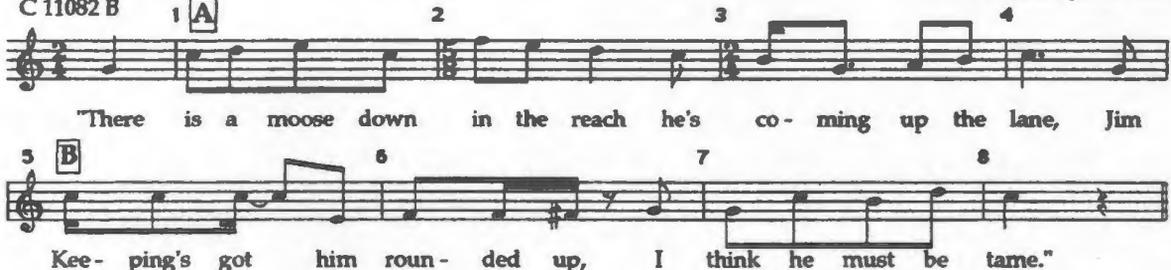
## Appendix 6: Three Case Studies of Songs

### Case 1: "The Moose Song" (169-1071).<sup>1</sup>

Croucher performed this song using a simple AAAB melodic line but he varied the melody in five instances by singing a shorter AB melodic line (appendix 6-1).<sup>2</sup>

**The Moose Song - stanza 2** sung by George Croucher  
Burrit Islands, June 1960

C 11082 B



1 **A** 2 3 4

"There is a moose down in the reach he's co-ming up the lane, Jim

5 **B** 6 7 8

Kee-ping's got him roun-ded up, I think he must be tame."

**Appendix 6-1:** Stanza Two of "The Moose Song" showing the AB melodic line based on the original field recording.

Croucher's eleven-stanza performance showing the stanza, melodic line and corresponding text is as follows:

Stanza	Melodic Line	Corresponding Text
(1)	A	Come all you men of Newfoundland and listen to my song
	A	I'll tell you 'bout the moose we killed and the man that did us wrong,
	A	On a sunny morn, October third, I'm telling you no lies,
	B	When Izzie Walters hollered out saying, "Get your guns, my b'ys!"
(2)	A	There is a moose down in the reach, he's coming up the lane,
	B	Jim Keeping's got him rounded up, I think he must be tame,"

<sup>1</sup> George Croucher, "The Moose Song," MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11082B.

<sup>2</sup> All of the musical transcriptions presented in this thesis were created by Paul Steffler from Peacock's field recordings. I benefitted greatly from our discussions on the singers and their music.

- (3) A Our guns and ammunition was got without delay,  
 A Lou Lemmon had the first shot I'm very sure to say.  
 A George Croucher had the second shot if you wants to know his name,  
 B Bill Munden had the third shot which brought him to his end.
- (4) A There were men, women, and children all gathered round the hill,  
 A All looking for a piece of meat their appetite to fill.  
 A But just before we got him cleaned a voice from the crowd did say:  
 B "I guess we're all going to be hung, the squealer's on his way."
- (5) A He came up 'long side of us and he unto us did say"  
 B "I'm sorry b'ys to inform you," and turned and walked away.
- (6) A We took the moose and chopped him up and give it all around,  
 B It looked just like a meat market that day on Dewey's Ground.
- (7) A The men that killed the moose, my b'ys, they would not hurt a chick,  
 A To let that squealer inform on us we should have broke his neck  
 A But let's think of the Bible, b'ys, and with it we'll abide,  
 B When they slap you on the left cheek hold up the other side.
- (8) A The magistrate he came around, unto the laws he went,  
 A To try to soak us poor b'ys who never had a cent.  
 A He said "You broke the law, my b'ys, and did you understand,  
 B Two hundred dollars is the fine but I'll do the best I can."
- (9) A If he had all to do with it he would not soak us men,  
 B To see the grief on his face, his heart was touched within.
- (10) A Our statement was all given in everything went very well.  
 B He said five dollars is the fine or fourteen days in jail.
- (11) A Now we'll say good luck to our squealer boys, may the lord grant him of  
 health,  
 A And if you wants to know his name his name is Jimmy Wells,  
 A And now my song is ending I'm going to propose,  
 B It's going to pay the squealer boys to keep his big mouth closed

Peacock's melodic transcription is at odds with the singer's actual performance His approach was to invert the melodic line to BAAB (appendix 6-2, page 852).

## The Moose Song

sung by George Croucher  
Burnt Islands, June 1960

PEA 169 no. 1071 **B**

C 11082 B **A**

2 3 4

Come all you New - found - lan - ders and lis - ten to my song, I'll

5 **A** 6 7 8

tell you 'bout the moose we kill'd and the man that did us wrong, On a

9 **A** 10 11 12

sun - ny morn, Oc - to - ber third, I'm tel - ling you no lies, When

13 **B** 14 15 16

Iz - zie Wal - ters hol - ler'd out saying "Get your guns, my b'ys!"

Iz - zie Wal - ters hol - ler'd out saying "Get your guns my b'ys!"

\* Mr. Croucher sang the song in the key of F major. It is transposed up to facilitate comparison with the Peacock version.

**Appendix 6-2:** Stanza one of "The Moose Song" with upper line showing Peacock's transcription in *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* (1965, 1: 77) and the lower line depicting Croucher's original performance.

It is probable that musically Peacock simply found Croucher's melody too repetitive and somewhat dreary. Through a process of subtraction and addition Peacock in essence "corrected" the melody to his own liking, dropping one of the A melodic lines while adding a second B to end up with a BAAB melodic pattern. This is akin to his moving stanzas around to improve the order.<sup>3</sup>

Peacock seems to have seen a second problem linked to both the melody and the text as performed by Croucher. In transcribing the song he viewed the AB stanzas, of which there were five (each consisting of two lines of text), as also being out of balance with the remaining seven quatrain stanzas. By combining text lines one and two of Croucher's stanza two with the text lines one and two of stanza 3, Peacock effectively created a new stanza two which could then be sung to his re-constructed melodic line BAAB (appendix 6-3, page 854).

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<sup>3</sup> For the songs "The Rosy Banks of Green" and "Thomas and Nancy," also see Peacock's comments on rearranging stanzas between variants for completeness of text (1965, 3: 704, and 732)

**The Moose Song - stanza 2**

sung by George Croucher  
Burnt Islands, June 1960

PEA 169 no. 1071



1 "There is a moose down in the reach, he's coming up the lane, Jim

5 Kee - ping's got him roun - ded up, I think he must be tame." Our

9 guns and am - mu - ni - tion we got with out de - lay, Lou

13 Lem - mon had the first shot I'm ve - ry sure to say.

**Appendix 6-3:** Peacock's stanza 2 derived from a re-positioning of George Croucher's stanzas two and three and showing the newly created 4-line quatrain with a BAAB melodic line.

By re-positioning stanzas two, five, six, and nine and eliminating number ten altogether, Peacock created eight quatrain stanzas which he must have considered to be more balanced and perhaps singable (appendix 6-4, page 855). In essence, from stanza two onward, Peacock shifted the stanzaic and melodic lines as represented in columns A and B re-arranging the lines to create 8 quatrain stanzas using the BAAB melodic structure as shown in column C.

<b>The Moose Song<sup>4</sup></b>		
Column A	Column B	Column C
Croucher's original performance showing the AAAB melodic line and 11 stanzas	Lines of text accompanying melodic line in each stanza	Peacock's re-arrangement of Croucher's text as published in <i>Outports</i> (1965,1:77-78); he creates 8 quatrain stanzas to accommodate his BAAB melodic line
1. AAAB	1-1, 1-2,1-3, 1-4	1-1, 1-2, 1-3, 1-4
2. AB	2-1, 2-2	2-1, 2-2, 3-1, 3-2
3. AAAB	3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 3-4	3-3, 3-4, 4-1, 4-2
4. AAAB	4-1, 4-2,4-3,4-4	4-3, 4-4, 5-1, 5-2
5. AB	5-1, 5-2	6-1, 6-2, 7-1, 7-2
6. AB	6-1, 6-2	7-3, 7-4, 8-1, 8-2
7. AAAB	7-1, 7-2, 7-3, 7-4	8-3, 8-4, 9-1, 9-2
8. AAAB	8-1, 8-2, 8-3, 8-4	<b>10-1,10-2, 11-3, 11-4</b>
9. AB	9-1, 9-2	
10. AB	10-1, 10-2	
11. <u>[AA]</u> AB	<u>[11-1, 11-2]</u> , 11-3 11-4	<u>[11-1 and 11-2 deleted]</u>

**Appendix 6-4:** Peacock's re-arrangement of George Croucher's eleven irregular stanzas to accommodate a BAAB melodic structure and eight quatrain stanzas.

<sup>4</sup> Text in bold in all three columns represents the stanzas which Peacock altered. Text underlined is material which Peacock deleted altogether.

**Case 2: “Mary Neal” (16-95)<sup>5</sup>**

Singer Jim Rice of Cape Broyle performed this Irish song for Peacock in 1951 in straightforward and clear manner using a common ABBA melodic structure, although the melodic contours varied from stanza to stanza (Nettl 1965, 19). It is likely though, that Peacock based his transcription on Jim Rice’s stanza ten (appendix 6-5, page, 857). When the published version is compared to the field recording this stanza has the greatest common elements with Peacock’s melodic transcription in *Outports* (1965, 1: 216-17). Peacock presented the song in a 3/4 and 2/4 rhythm more appropriate for reproduction in a song book mainly for replication by singers. In reality the metric modulation or Rice’s rhythm was much less regular, suggesting a greater flexibility in singing the lyrics.

As the re-transcription of stanza nine shows, he also appears to have borrowed or created additional lines to fill in what he assumed were gaps in both the story and melodic structure (appendix 6-6, page 858). These kinds of judgements reflect Peacock’s personal desire to create balanced melodic and textual transcriptions, even if this meant borrowing or inventing.

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<sup>5</sup> Jim Rice, “Mary Neal” (16-95) MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11031A.

Mary Neal- stanza 10

sung by Jim Rice  
Cape Broyle, July 1952

PEA 16 no. 95 **A** 1 2 3

Twas with the help of men and boats four hun - dred lives did

C 11031 A

Twas with the help of men and boats four hun - dred lives did

4 5 **B** 6

save, While the rest of our ship's num - ber met a

save, While the rest of our ship's num - ber met a

7 8 9 **B**

deep and wa - ter - y grave; Her yel - low locks I

deep and wa - t'ry grave, Her yel - low locks I

10 11 12 **A**

chanc'd to spy - a floa - ting in the gale, I threw my

chanc'd to spy a - floa - ting in the gale, I threw my

13 14 15 16

bo - dy in the deep and sove my Ma - ry Neal.

bo - dy in the deep and sove my Ma - ry Neal.

Barline position and key are taken from the Peacock transcription.

Appendix 6-5: Transcription of stanza 10 of “Mary Neal” showing Peacock’s representative version on the upper line and a new transcription of the same stanza based on the singer’s performance on the bottom.

## Mary Neal- stanza 9

sung by Jim Rice  
Cape Broyle, July 1952

PEA 16 no. 95 **A** 1 2 3

'Twas not long af - ter day - break when a storm it did a -

C 11031 A

4 5 **B** 6 7 **3**

rise, The wind it blew a how - ling gale and dis - mal were the

8 9 **B** 10

skies, When our ves - sel on a sand - bank struck as she

When our ves - sel on a sand - bank struck as she

11 **3** **3** 12 **A** 13

drif - ted be fore the gale, There was for - ty four wash'd o - ver

drif - ted be - fore the gale There was for - ty four wash'd o - ver

14 15 16

board and with them Ma - ry Neal.

board and with them Ma - ry Neal.

Barline position and key are taken from the Peacock transcription.

**Appendix 6-6:** Re-transcription of stanza nine showing Peacock's addition of two lines to accommodate a more regular ABBA melodic structure.

**Case 3: “On the Schooner *John Joe*” (184-1117)<sup>6</sup>**

This locally composed song, consisting of eleven stanzas uses an ABC melodic structure performed as couplets which the singer skillfully expands and contracts during his performance as follows:

- (1) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (2) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (3) A, B-1, B-2, C
- (4) A-1, A-2, A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2
- (5) B-1, B-2, C
- (6) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (7) A-1, A-2, A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, B-1, B-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (8) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (9) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (10) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C
- (11) A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C

In stanzas four and five of his rendition Hulan produces a hybrid of the melody, eliminating “C,” the song’s refrain, until the end of stanza five. In stanza seven, the longest of all, Hulan is noticeably animated and as the tale unfolds, his foot taps at regular intervals. He stretches out the melody to its fullest comprising two “A” couplets and three “B” couplets building upon the basic melodic framework then adding “C” the refrain (appendix 6-7, page 860).

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<sup>6</sup> Leonard Hulan, “On the Schooner *John Joe*” (184-1117) MUNFLA, Tape, 87-157/C11090A.

C 11090 A

## The Schooner John Joe - stanza 7

sung by Leonard Hulan  
Jeffrey's, July 1960

A = foot tapping

1 A **A-1** 2 A 3 A 4 A

We eat the bang bel-ly we had sure e-nough, We

5 A **A-2** 6 A 7 A 8 A 9

made a good meal off the fat pork and duff, There

10 **A-1** 11 A 12 13 A

was a wha-ler came in-to Bras d'Or, Says

14 **A-2** 15 A 16 A 17 A 18

Geor-gie "I'll bring you what you ne-ver had be-fore." He

19 A **B-1** 20 A 21 A 22 A

went to the skip-per a grin in his teeth, And he

23 A **B-2** 24 A 25 A 26 A 27

brought us some whale and he swore 'twas good meat, "And

28 A **B-1** 29 A 30 A 31 A

if it's good meat you might eat it your-self For I

32 A **B-2** 33 A 34 A 35 A 36

do not want it you ug-ly old elf," "And

37 A **B-1** 38 A 39 A 40 A

af-ter you've eat-en it your plate you may lick, May the

41 A **B-2** 42 A 43 A 44 A

de-vil turn your sto-mach and make you real sick!" And sing

45 A **C** 46 A 47 A 48 A 49

fall the did-dle er-o fell er-o eye dee.

\* Mr. Hulan sang the song in the key of F minor. It is transposed here to facilitate comparison with the Peacock version.

**Appendix 6-7:** Transcription of Stanza 7 of "On the Schooner 'John Joe'" based on Leonard Hulan's performance.

When transcribing the song Peacock split the long stanza, rearranging both text and the melody to a more regular A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C melodic structure, essentially re-shaping the song to fit three standard 4-line quatrains (appendix 6-8, page 862). Peacock supposedly felt that Hulan concluded his story too early in the song and consequently moved this stanza to the end of a now re-arranged twelve-stanza version. The melodic structure reflects something different. From beginning to end in Hulan's performance the melodic structure expands and contracts concurrent with the unfolding of the narrative portion of the song which also reaches a dramatic point in stanza seven. In stanza eight of Hulan's performance he announces:

And now to conclude and to finish my song  
I'm afraid you's might hear it and say it's too long.  
Some of you good people might take this the wrong way,  
Be the skin of my bones I art for to say,  
And sing fall the diddle ero fell ero eye dee.<sup>7</sup>

At this point the melodic structure contracts back to the A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C form with all the stretching of the melody released. The singer continues on for three more stanzas but the details appear unrelated to the events associated with John Joe's schooner concluding finally at stanza 11.<sup>8</sup> Peacock had difficulty grasping the flexible melodic structure of this song so he arranged the text, reconstructing both the melodic lines and stanzas into 12 neat four-line quatrains with Hulan's stanza eight placed last.

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<sup>7</sup> MUNFLA Tape 87-157/C11090A.

<sup>8</sup> The three stanzas 9, 10 and 11 appear to have been appended from another song. However this will have to be explored further.

PEA 184 no. 1117

## The Schooner John Joe - verses 6, 7, 8

sung by Leonard Hulan  
Jeffrey's, July 1960

Verse 6 1 [A-1] 2 3 4 5 [A-2]

6 We ate a bang - bel - ly we had sure e - nough, We made a good  
7 8 9 [B-1] 10

11 meal of the fat pork and duff, Old George he can jaw but I  
12 13 [B-2] 14 15

16 don't care a pin, I'm eat - ing pork cake and I'm sure it's no  
17 [C] 18 19 20

21 sin, And sing fall the did - dle lair rel fall lair rel I day. There  
22 23 24 25 [A-2]

Verse 7 [A-1]

26 was an old wha - ler come in from Bras d'Or, Said Geor - gie "I'll  
27 28 29 [B-1] 30

31 bring you what you never had be - fore." He went to the skip - per, a  
32 33 [B-2] 34 35

36 gria in his teeth, And he brought us some whale and he swore 'twas good  
37 [C] 38 39 40

41 meat, And sing fall the did - die lair rel fall lair rel I day. "And  
42 43 44 45 [A-2]

Verse 8 [A-1]

46 if it's good meat you might eat it your - self, For I do not  
47 48 49 [B-1] 50

51 want it you ug - ly old elf," af - ter you've eat it your  
52 53 [B-2] 54 55

56 plate you may lick, May the de - vil turn your sto - mach and make you real  
57 [C] 58 59 60

sick!" And sing fall the did - die lair rel fall lair rel I day.

**Appendix 6-8:** Peacock's textual and musical transcription of stanza 7 showing the melodic structure standardized to A-1, A-2, B-1, B-2, C with three quatrains.

**Appendix 7: Percentages of Songs Provided to Peacock by Performers and by Region**

**7-1 : 15 Performers Who Gave Peacock 17 Items or More**

	Performer	Total Items Given to Peacock
1.	Bennett, Everett	50
2.	Bennett, Freeman	45
3.	Costard, Josephine	37
4.	Decker, Charlotte	35
5.	Bennett, Becky	26
6.	Decker, George	24
7.	Stevens, Clara	24
8.	Galpin, Mary Ann	22
9.	Osborne, Joshua	22
10.	Kinslow, Mrs. Wallace (Amelia)	21
11.	Walters, Annie	20
12.	Morry, Howard	19
13.	Nicolle, Arthur	18
14.	Cobb, Chris	17
15.	Kent, Mike	17
	<b>Total</b>	<b>397 or 52% of the collection</b>

**7-2: Number of Performers Giving Peacock 1- 16 Items or Less for his Collection**

	Informants	Items	Total Items	Total Percentage of Collection
	18	6 - 16	194	25%
	87	1 - 5	175	23%
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>		<b>369</b>	<b>48%</b>

**7-3: Regional Distribution of Peacock's Collection**

Region	Total Items	Percentage
Avalon Peninsula	113	15
Bonavista Bay	66	9
Burin Peninsula	2	<.3>
Codroy Valley	91	12
Fogo Island	67	9
Great Northern Peninsula	294	38
Port aux Basques and the South Coast	52	6.7
Port aux Port Peninsula	57	7
White Bay	24	3
Total	766	100



