“Taken by the Fairies”

An Examination of Contemporary Fairy Commodification and Culture in Newfoundland

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Abstract

On the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland, fairies are no longer feared and avoided (Reiti, 1991; Narvaez, 1991), but are something people have commodified and are marketing and selling. This thesis includes some of these examples: Tina White's guided tours the Fairy Door Tours and Fairy Lore Walkabout, the Faerie Garden and Fairy Nights at the Cupids Legacy Centre, described by Claudine Garland and Peter Laracy, and the written representation by local writers Dennis Flynn and Dale Jarvis, and local publisher Marnie Parsons who owns and operates the Running the Goat: Books and Broadsides publishing company in Tors Cove. Applying the theoretical concepts of play (Masters, 2008; Eicher-Catt, 2016; Lambrow, 2020), *assemblage* (Santino, 1986), enchantment/re-enchantment (Magliocco, 2018; Saler, 2003, 2004), and escapism (Heilman, 1975; Young, 1976; Usherwood and Toyne, 2002), to the theoretical framework of commodification, I show how locals are adapting "our" fairy traditions and using the interest sparked by the popular culture representation of fairies to teach audiences about different aspects of Newfoundland culture, such as storytelling traditions, as well as Newfoundland values, like respect for nature and for other people. I also show how the visual representation of fairies has been more sanitized than the written form. Finally, I show how locals, both proprietors and consumers, are using these examples to create and foster a sense of local identity.

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Chapter One:
"A Fairy is a Good Thing and A Bad Thing": An Introduction

You are getting ready to go out for a walk in the woods when someone stops you and asks if you have a piece of bread in your pocket. When you ask what you would need that for, they respond, "To ward off the Good People. The Fairies." This scenario may not be common today, but it was a way of life in the not-so-distant past for the residents of Newfoundland and Labrador. In contemporary society, fairies are more commonly marketed and sold than narrated in conversation. This thesis examines some of the examples of how fairies are commodified on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. Through this examination and analysis, I show how locals find ways to incorporate fairies into their businesses or organizations so that they can highlight not only the fairies but also other aspects of local culture. I also show how the visual representation of the fairies has become heavily influenced by popular culture representations of fairies, which differs significantly from those found in Newfoundland oral tradition.

This introduction first examines some background information about Newfoundland fairies, showing how they need to be avoided at all costs. It then explores how fairies have been represented in popular culture. This juxtaposition highlights the different ways that fairies have been sanitized in the different case studies presented in the following chapters. Next is an outline about my research and methodology, followed by a review of the extant literature on fairies. Finally, I outline the people and places examined here and the structure of the subsequent chapters.

Watch Out for the Fairies

Since Europeans brought fairy traditions to Newfoundland, there have been many different beliefs held about just who, or what, the fairies are. Folklorist Barbara Rieti offers some of the folk theories about where fairies came from, the most common of which is that they are

angels cast out of Heaven for remaining neutral during the war between God and Lucifer. Being too good for Hell and too bad for Heaven, they were cast out and doomed to roam the Earth forever. Alternately some believe them to be the souls of the dead who are stuck in Purgatory (Rieti 1991, 24). Anthropologist R.U. Sayce also explores some of the beliefs found in Britain about how fairies originated, including that the fairies are the remembrances of groups who were living in a geographic location before contact with immigrants, that they are the leftovers from past mythologies, or that they were the dirty children that Eve was afraid to present to God in the Garden of Eden (1934, 123). As these examples show, some of the beliefs held about where fairies originated were highly influenced by religion, while others were not.

Fairies are said to take the form of little people (the size of children), full grown adults (Rieti 1991 18-19), or, as Sayce describes, "purely unsubstantial…mischievous sprites" (1934, 99) who will not hesitate to use their unlimited powers against those who do them wrong, although they are most commonly described as being small. They can change their shape (100) and are also able to appear and disappear at will. They can be found either in groups or on their own. Sayce states that the information about their habitation can be contradictory: some people say that they live in the water, while others believe that they live in the land or on hillsides (101). Since Newfoundland's landscape contains both hills and views of the water, it is no surprise that there exists a strong fairy tradition on the island.

Both Rieti (1991) and folklorist Peter Narvaez (1991) examine stories that describe how the fairies led people astray, such as making them lose their way in familiar surroundings or somehow hypnotizing people into following them so that they are gone for hours, days, weeks, or even months. Rieti also explores stories of changelings, fairies left in place of humans whom the fairies have taken. To get their loved ones back, people resorted to horrific, abusive practices:

placing the baby on a heated shovel to force the fairy to reveal itself, or throwing the changeling into the river (Rojcewicz 1991; Eberly, 1988). The fear of harm to themselves or their children is what led people to refer to fairies as the "Good People" (Rojcewicz 1991, 10), an honorific that avoids angering them. As Sayce (1934), Rieti (1991), Narvaez (1991) and Rojcewicz (1991) demonstrate, the fairies are usually regarded as morally ambiguous at best, if not downright evil.

Besides taking people, or exchanging humans for one of their own, fairies can also hit humans who angered them with a "blast" (Rieti, 1991; Narvaez, 1991). A "blast" is unnatural wound on a human. For example, Rieti recounts stories about blasts where the leg of the person afflicted would swell to the point of agony; a doctor called to examine the wound would remove all sorts of unusual things, such as feathers, straws of hay, rocks, grass, and so on. While these are all mundane items, their presence in an inexplicable wound is doubly confounding.

The scholarship on fairies shows them to be evil and malicious creatures that can cause great harm to humans in the forms of kidnapping, physical wounds, or by tempting humans to their doom. It therefore comes as no surprise that Newfoundlanders traditionally viewed fairies as something they should fear and avoid at all costs.

Through the Magic Of…

Despite the negative conception, over the years an observable, dramatic shift in attitudes toward them has occurred. Fairies have gone from beings that people fear and avoid, to an experience that they actively seek. An increased interest in fairies has led to their commodification, both locally and globally. Globally, the best known of these examples is Disney's representation of the character Tinker Bell. This beautiful version of a tiny but womanly figure with wings has developed from a relatively minor figure in the movie *Peter Pan* (Geronimi, Jackson, Luske, and Kinney 1953) to the center of her own franchise, including six

feature-length films and one half-hour short. At the Magic Kingdom in Orlando, Florida, people can visit Tinker Bell in her forest home and pose for a picture with her, or buy costumes or accessories, such as Tinker Bell inspired costumes or generic fairy wings. Finally, one does not have to look farther than the local Walmart to find dolls that are designed to look like fairies, whether they are plastic or stuffed.

Besides Disney movies, an attractive version of a fairy is seen in adult television shows, like *Lost Girl* (Chaffey and Grean 2010-2015), and book series such as Charlaine Harris' *Southern Vampire Mysteries* (2001-2013)[1] and Karen Marie Moning's *Fever* series (2007-2018), all of which romanticize these creatures. Fairies have also become a popular tourist attraction in places such as Dublin, Ireland's *National Leprechaun Museum* (2019).[2] These examples show how fairies appeal to adults as well as younger children, something that will be relevant in the following chapters.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, several local expressive forms of culture illustrate this shift in attitude. Many people who grew up in the province probably remember reading the novel *Catch Me Once, Catch Me Twice* (McNaughton 1994) while going through grade school, which shows that this interest in commodifying the fairies is something that has been occurring for well over twenty years. Other examples include the Fairy Door Tours (2019) and the Taken by the Fairies escape room game at Escape Quest (2019), both of which are in St. John's. The Cupids Legacy Centre located in city of Cupids, NL, currently has a rooftop exhibit called the Faerie Garden, where includes three bronze fairy statues that visitors can look upon at their leisure; interested visitors can purchase resin replicas of one of these fairies currently in the Centre's gift

[1] This series was also the inspiration for HBO's television series *True Blood.*
[2] According to my research, there are no significant differences in the folk beliefs about fairies and leprechauns. In Ireland, leprechauns are believed to be a subset of fairies (Curran, 2017).

shop. Many local writers, such as Dennis Flynn and Dale Jarvis, use fairy experiences and legends as inspiration, and publishers such as Marnie Parsons (owner and operator of *Running the Goat: Books and Broadsides* in Tors Cove) also rely on fairy traditions. Interestingly, the changeling elements of fairy lore are largely absent from commodified culture, especially in the visual representation of fairies.

Folklore for Sale

Many folkloric themes have been adapted so that they can be marketed and sold, in forms as varied haunted houses and walks, sessions with a psychic, or popular writings about witches, vampires, and werewolves. This popularity of commodified folklore, specifically supernatural folklore, has been examined by various scholars, perhaps most relevantly by folklorist Diane Goldstein in a chapter of *Haunting Experiences: Ghosts in Contemporary Folklore* (Goldstein, Grider, and Thomas 2007), which focuses on the commodification of ghosts and the draw of haunted houses and haunted walks. Similarly, in folklorist Jeannie Banks Thomas' edited volume *Putting the Supernatural in Its Place: Folklore, the Hypermodern, and the Ethereal* (2015), she and others explore how supernatural themes such as vampires, witches, and ghosts, are portrayed and used in contemporary society. Through the various chapters, the contributors of this book explore how various supernatural beings, such as ghosts, vampires, and witches, are portrayed in contemporary media and society. They also explore why some forms of these commodified examples are more successful than others, such as ties to specific locations, as with the witches in Salem, Massachusetts. Finally, in her book *Paranormal Media: Audiences, Spirits, and Magic in Popular Culture*, professor of Media and Communication studies Annette Hill (2011) examines how folkloric, supernatural themes, especially ghosts, are marketed and sold in contemporary popular culture such as films, books, and television shows, speculating about why

they are so popular with audiences. Using interviews and participant observation, Hill demonstrates that people are interested in interacting with the supernatural because they are trying to answer the question of what happens to us when we die.

All three books provide insight into the reasons folkloric material, particularly the supernatural, has been successfully commodified, such as the desire for something extraordinary. In addition Goldstein points out that scholars have tended to overlook the study of commodified traditions because they believe that commodification trivializes tradition. However, Goldstein argues that, rather than trivial, an understanding of people's engagement with the supernatural in all modes of culture is vital because consumers are actually "creative individuals who seek personal meaning in texts created for mass consumption and express that meaning through their own interpretations" (2007, 205). Though not concerned with fairies, the ways these authors conceptualize the commodification of the supernatural can further our understanding of the development of fairy lore in Newfoundland. For instance, some of the reasons that other supernatural themes are successful in commodified form also apply to fairies: a primary function of the supernatural, for example, is that it provides an opportunity to experience something extraordinary, even if it is only through play (Banks Thomas, 2015). However, despite the numerous examples of how fairies are being marketed and sold in contemporary society, there has been little research done on the reasons behind this commodification.

In ""The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture", economic geographer David Harvey argues that "the more easily marketable such items become the less unique and special they appear. In some instances, the marketing itself tends to destroy the unique qualities [of the cultural item being commodified]" (2002, 95). Using the example of a European vacation, he argues that "the more Europe becomes Disneyfied, the less unique and

special it becomes. The bland homogeneity that goes with pure commodification erases monopoly advantages. Cultural products become no different from commodities in general" (96). Here Harvey articulates the same fear that, according to Goldstein , has kept scholars from studying commodified forms of folklore: the belief that those commodified forms are trivial and inauthentic. As I will show, the fairies on the Avalon Peninsula have not entirely succumbed to this type of commodification and homogeneity.

My Research and Methodology

This thesis will examine the commodification of fairy lore on Newfoundland and Labrador's Avalon Peninsula. Alison Hearn, a professor of Information and Media Studies at the University of Western Ontario, explains commodification as:

> the process whereby things, services, ideas, and people are transformed into objects for sale in a capitalist economic system. It can also refer to the ways in which human practices normally considered to be outside the market, such as art, religion, or medicine, are being integrated into the capitalist marketplace (2017).

In other words, commodification means the process of creating a product or experience that people are willing to pay for. It also refers to the way that various things, such as traditions, are manipulated to turn them into something that people want to buy. This process can be achieved through many different means, as will be seen in the following chapters. The term commodity has many negative connotations, since it implies that the commodified object has been standardized to increase its market value (Harvey, 2002); however, as this thesis will make clear, the commodification of fairies in Newfoundland is anything but standardized.

Five main questions have guided this project: Who engages with the fairies? How has the commodification of fairies changed the belief in and attitudes towards them? How, and why, do people want to engage with them? What aspects of fairy traditions are being commodified, and

why these aspects over others? How has the popular culture representation of fairies influenced the presentation of them in these commodified forms?

I chose to focus on fairies because of the strength of the tradition in Newfoundland. Recently, it seems there are two diverging traditions in this area, folkloric and popular culture, making it a prime location to answer the research questions posed above. The presence of the popular culture tradition alongside the folkloric might also play a part in how people view fairies, thereby influencing belief. The general conception of these beings, based upon the scholarly work that has been completed and the information that is available in the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archives, shows them to be feared and best avoided. Despite this belief however, there has been a growing market for fairies. I have located no other studies that examine the reasons behind this shift in attitude, or the reasons that these commodified forms are sought out by consumers. For these reasons, I decided to examine just what aspects of Newfoundland fairy traditions were being marketed and sold, why the business owners chose fairies, and why they thought that their products were successful with consumers.

I focus on the Avalon Peninsula of eastern Newfoundland because, in addition to ease of access since I live there, it is also the most densely populated portion of the province.[3] It also contains many examples of the different ways that the fairies are being marketed and sold, including but not limited to The Fairy Door Tours, the Faerie Garden at the Cupids Legacy Centre, and the Taken by the Fairies escape room game at EscapeQuest in St. John's, along with a multitude of local writers, including Dennis Flynn, Dale Jarvis, Jack Fitzgerald, and publishers such as Marnie Parsons. To complete my research, I conducted remote interviews with the

[3] As of the 2016 Canadian Census, there were a total of 270,348 people living in this geographic region (Government of Canada, Statistics Canada. 2017. "Census Profile, 2016 Census - Avalon Peninsula [Economic Region], Newfoundland and Labrador and Newfoundland and Labrador [Province]." February 8, 2017).

creators, owners, or operators of some of the businesses and organizations on the Avalon Peninsula that incorporated fairies into their operations. I supplement my interviews with analysis of public-facing aspects of the business'' online presences, such as home page design and customer reviews. I chose to interview the business owners because I wanted to understand why they thought that using fairies was best for their business. Originally, I had also planned to interview some of the consumers of these products or experiences, however this plan was made impossible due to limitations placed upon ethnographic work by the Memorial University in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. To make up for this lack of access to consumers, I conducted online ethnographic work of reviews about these businesses and products whenever they were readily available on the internet.

Besides the theories behind the commodification of folklore motifs that are described above, I will also apply to the data that I collected from my participants the theoretical frameworks of play by Henricks (2014), Sutton-Smith (2008), and Walder (1933); assemblage by Santino (1986); enchantment/re-enchantment by Magliocco (2018) and Saler (2003, 2004); and escapism by Heilman (1975), Young (1976), and Usherwood and Toyne (2002). I believe that these theories are well suited to this project, as most of the ways the people I interviewed commodified fairies offer some sort of experience, whether it is through an immersive environment or through a mental experience such as the telling or reading of fairy narratives. I will go into further detail about each of these theoretical frameworks as they become relevant.

Literature Review

As this project was inspired by the studies of folklorists Barbara Rieti and Peter Narvaez on Newfoundland fairy traditions, it is important to examine these works in greater detail. Using

the conclusions of these scholars as a guide, I then analyze the remaining relevant literature included in this review.

In *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland*, Barbara Rieti shows how fairy traditions in Newfoundland have adapted and changed to fit different situations over time, such as the switch from fairies to UFOs (216). She also shows how these traditions are "intricately bound with folk religion" (213). To achieve this goal, she explored how Newfoundlanders understand fairies and how they transmit their beliefs to others. Through examining the fairy narratives she collected from her informants and from the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archives, Rieti finds that people's fairy beliefs and traditions varied depending upon what part of Newfoundland they are from, such as how in predominately Catholic areas fairies were considered to be the souls stuck in Purgatory (213). She also found that similar narratives, such as those involving changelings or people being taken by the fairies, could be used in multiple ways, depending on the intentions of the teller. For example, a changeling narrative or a story about someone being led astray could be used either as a warning against aberrant behavior, or just as a good story told for the audience's entertainment (45-46, 97, 213). Rieti explains that fairy narratives could also be used to explain events or phenomena that people did not understand, such as strange lights or getting lost in familiar territory. Despite the belief expressed by her informants that fairy traditions seem to be declining with the rise of technology, this book proves that fairies were still prevalent in Newfoundland society as of its publication in 1991. Furthermore, it shows how fairy narratives can be used to encourage a respect for the past (59, 99), and how the traditions were being played with and changing even at the time she was writing (151, 212). This information is very relevant, because it shows that, while fairy traditions

may have only been commodified since Rieti completed her research, they have always been evolving.

This book successfully balances library and archival research with first-hand fieldwork. It also provides excellent examples of the fairy traditions that can be found in the different parts of the island. However, it does have some limitations. Rieti notes the limitations of studying fairy traditions from the viewpoint of an outsider to Newfoundland culture. At various points in her book, Rieti notes how she felt that her participants changed the way they told the stories for her benefit (83, 89, 124), or the reasons that she believed they were omitting information or misleading her because she was an outsider (11, 100, 133, 214). She did try to overcome this limitation by mentioning names of other participants during her interviews (56, 100). Since I am a native to the island of Newfoundland, my participants are less likely to change their way of telling narratives or to omit information that they might if this study was being completed by an outsider to the culture.

Rieti's book covers a wide geographic area, limiting the amount of in-depth analysis that could be completed on a specific location's fairy traditions. By focusing on one geographic area, the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland, my project allows for a more detailed analysis to be possible. I also focus on the reasons that people want to interact with the fairies, instead of avoiding them, an attitude that seems to have changed in the almost three decades since this book was published.

Peter Narvaez's "Newfoundland Berry Pickers 'In the Fairies': Maintaining Spatial, Temporal and Moral Boundaries Through Legendry" (1991) begins by explaining that berry picking grounds, marshes, and forests are the most common settings for fairy narratives in Newfoundland. Liminal spaces like these were believed to be inhabited by the fairies because

fairies themselves are "regarded as *liminal personae,* creatures of ambivalent status and inclination, who as will be shown are themselves in the liminal vertical space of 'Middle Earth,' betwixt Heaven and Hell" (3, emphasis original). Narvaez also explains that Newfoundland fairy beliefs are based on those of the Irish and English settlers who came here in the past, noting that the similarities between Newfoundland' and that of the settlers' old world homes—such as the weather, coastline and inland berry picking grounds (5)—helped to foster the belief that fairies lived here. He then outlines the three main theories about how the fairies ended up in Newfoundland: fairy emigration, fairy propagation in conjunction with mortals, and native fairy inhabitants in the new land (6). After providing over twenty narratives, most of which were collected by student interviewers, Narvaez outlines what he believes to be the main functions of the fairy legends: maintaining social control and ensuring that younger generations listened to the wisdom of their elders (20). They also helped to warn young women about the dangers of men, illicit sex, and wandering alone (21). Other warnings include the dangers of unknown spaces, not working towards the good of the community (20), and the dangers of solitude (21).

As Narvaez points out, fairies were also useful scapegoats. People would tell stories about being fairy led to avoid embarrassment, especially if they got lost in what was supposed to be familiar territory (21-22). They also provided a way to be able to "mask actual deviant behaviors such as extreme tardiness, premarital sexual relations, infidelity, incest, child molestation, wife battering, and sexual assault" (23). At the end of his article, Narvaez states that "fairies in the berry grounds of Newfoundland have played a spatial and temporal role in the remembered past," and that they also "played positive roles in spatially and morally integrating a society against pernicious external forces" (26). However, while providing many useful insights into the ways that fairy narratives were important to Newfoundland society, Narvaez concludes

his article by stating, “Now that we have domesticated space and dismissed fairies from our view we are left alone to ponder our own technological devices” (26). With this sentence, it appears that Narvaez is stating that as people have made the land more hospitable, they have had less use for fairies. He also seems to say that people have become more interested in understanding technology and how it can explain phenomena, rather than using the fairies for an explanation. Though this statement may seem true at first glance, there are still people who use the fairies for explanations for experiences, or that want to use fairies to help add magic to their lives, as will be seen later.

Another limitation of Narvaez’s work is that it mostly relied on second-hand research, instead of first-hand fieldwork. By not being able to talk to the narrators of these stories, it limited the information he was able to gain, possibly affecting his conclusions. Finally, this article, like the work of Barbara Rieti, was published more than thirty years ago, leading to the question of how attitudes towards the fairies have changed over the last three decades.

Rieti and Narvaez analyze fairy legends in terms of function. As one of the objectives of this project is to explore the reasons that people on the Avalon Peninsula want to engage with the fairies, it is only fitting to use some of these proposed functions as an organizational tool for this literature review, the remainder of which begins with some background information about fairy beliefs, as provided by Sayce, Green, and Young. Next, it examines the works of Brown, Wood, and Cashman to show how fairies helped people to understand humanity’s’ place on Earth. Following this section, I show how fairies can be used to explain the unexplainable through the work of Correll. Finally, I discuss the literature studied by Lamb and Ni Fhrighil to examine how fairies can be used as scapegoats or to help story tellers advocate for change in society. While some sources may contain more than one of these themes, I have placed each of these works in

what I believe to be the most appropriate category. Through the examination of the work that has already been done on fairy folklore, I show how this study bridges the gaps present in the extant literature.

Background Information

In "The Origins and Development of the Belief in Fairies" (1934), social anthropologist R. U. Sayce tries to argue that the belief in fairies will eventually disappear, and that contemporary beliefs are simply remnants of less-educated cultures. He explores some of the early beliefs that were held about fairies in different cultures, including Celtic, Algonkin, Swedish, and Welsh. In addition to discussing beliefs such as blasts and changelings, Sayce also outlines some of the possible conditions that contribute to a belief in the fairy race, such as eye trouble, brain injury, drugs, and illnesses (105-106). He explains that, while visions and hallucinations can offer some explanation into the events that lead to fairy belief, these strange sights must be interpreted based upon "existing beliefs and social traditions" (109).

Sayce's opinions that "[t]he survival of a story or belief depends a great deal on how it is transmitted," and that "a great enemy of any oral tradition is the printed story" (112) are interesting since one of the case studies presented here examines how local fairy traditions have been incorporated into a written tradition, thus changing an oral storytelling tradition"." However, we should be cautious of accepting his assertion that beliefs in ghosts and fairies are only found in "regions where economic development and communications remain backward, where the standard of living may be low, and where books are few or little read" (112). As scholars, we need to be careful about assuming the truth of these types of statements, as it may cause us to under examine or misinterpret a tradition. As will be shown in the subsequent

chapters, my participants come from highly educated backgrounds, and are strongly connected to the fairy traditions that they have commodified.

After outlining some of the protection measures against the fairies, such as wearing clothes backwards or saying a prayer in reverse, Sayce explains that while there are variants found in different regions, the general atmosphere of the fairy legends is similar in all the cultures where they appear.[4] Folklorists have left behind the notions, dominant in Sayce's day, of survivals and folklore as only prominent in cultures of the uneducated masses.

British biographer Roger Lancelyn Green explores how Shakespeare helped to define fairy literature as we know it today, such as the friendly Fairy Godmother in Charles Perrault's *Cinderella*,[5] in "Shakespeare and the Fairies" (1962). He argues that the contemporary image of fairies exists largely because of Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. As he notes, "There was no great fairy literature before him. Fairies in literature were scarce and scattered" (89). According to Green, Shakespeare took some of the superstitions that he had been told by his nursemaid while he was growing up and transformed them from something dark and fearful into something exotic in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Green does note some of the traditional aspects of fairy lore that Shakespeare kept in his play, such as how the fairies lived underground, as well as the new aspects that he added such as the size of the fairies, which are much tinier than had been seen in previous works. Shakespeare's fairies are always described as being beautiful and perfect, characteristics not always found in traditional fairy beliefs (94). In these ways,

[4] Sayce argues that there are many similarities between the English fairies, the jnun of North Africa, and the Bantu ancestral spirits (140), and that the reason for the similarities and widespread belief in these beings is because of the contact that existed between these different races in ancient times. It is noteworthy here that while Sayce employs a form of the historic geographic method, he does not use it in the way that folklorists have come to equate with the Finnish method (1934). Rather than trying to find an original fairy tradition, he is looking at the evolution of fairy beliefs over time in different cultures. This difference is worth mentioning because the conclusions he draws are based upon his methodology.

[5] The Fairy Godmother in Disney's animated version of *Cinderella* (Geronimi, Luske and Jackson, 1950) is also depicted as a sweet, kind old woman.

Shakespeare has turned fairies into beings "with a King and Queen who wish well to mortals, who have the Puck as their faithful follower, and who are beautiful and gracious beings—no longer evil, malicious, or in league with Hell" (93). This article is important because Shakespeare's influence probably helped to shape the way that people in contemporary society think about fairies. However, this study was purely a comparison of literary sources, and it does not discuss living fairy traditions.

Furthermore, in "When did fairies get wings?", British folk historian Simon Young (2019) explores how fairies came to be viewed as creatures with wings. Young points out that Shakespeare never once described the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as having wings, but that Blake, Fuseli, and Pope were responsible for the trait (259-260). Young explains that folklorists "were wary of winged fairies, although sometimes the creatures slipped into their works…winged fairies disappeared from folklore works altogether as the 19th-century progressed" (267). He then discusses the popularity of the Cottingley photographs, discussed below, and the debate that arose about their authenticity because of the presence of winged fairies. Young points out that as "the 20th-century progressed, fairy wings increasingly became one of the central expectations of what fairies *should* look like if and why they deigned to appear to humans""…people now express surprise when they do *not* see wings" (268, emphasis original). He concludes by pointing out that the winged fairy appears to have been more popular in visual art than in written representations, and that, as scholars, "we would be well advised to concentrate on comics, films, and television rather than on written accounts" (269). However, as shown in Chapter Four, it is just as important to focus on written material as it is on visual if scholars are to understand the meaning that a tradition has to a culture.

Humans and our Place on Earth

Nicola Brown's "There are fairies at the bottom of our garden: Fairies, fantasy, and photography" (1996), published in the journal *Textual Practice*, explores the meaning behind the Cottingley photographs for the people that were involved in the affair. The Cottingley photographs were five pictures taken by Elsie Wright and her cousin Frances Griffiths in 1917 and 1920 that show the two girls interacting with fairies in their garden. Elsie's father sent the photos to Edward Gardner, a writer and member of the Theosophical Society, who claimed that they were indisputable proof that fairies existed, which consequently caused many people to believe that the photos showed actual fairies. While the photos have since been proven to be fakes, Brown believes that there is still meaning that can be found in them, if the focus is shifted from being whether the photos are real or fake to seeing them as they were originally intended, as representations of the imaginings of the two girls.

First, Brown explains what the photographs meant to Edward Gardner, who used the photos to make sense of some of the "'traumatic visions"' that he saw as a child and turn them into something beautiful, although she does not go into detail about these visions. Brown argues that gender reversal, male believer versus female photographers and fairies, played a role in helping Gardner make this paradigm shift from terrifying to enchanting, although it would have been beneficial to have some more background information on Gardner to fully understand her reasoning behind this assertion. Brown then discusses the meaning these photographs had for the two people who had the most investment in them: Elsie and Frances. She explains that, by taking the photographs, the two girls "play with the idea of truth and falsity, invoking conventions by which realism and objectivity are signified, in order to subvert them" (74). Brown concludes that Elsie and Frances used these photographs as representations of their thoughts and how they

imagined "themselves in relation to the distinctions between adulthood and childhood, illusion and reality" and how they played "with these distinctions as if, well, they were purely imaginary" (79). Brown shows that factuality is not the most vital component of fairy culture. This conclusion will become relevant when discussing the reasons that my participants chose to commodify fairies and fairy traditions.

Historian Juliette Wood examines the popular culture representations of fairies in "Filming Fairies: Popular Film, Audience Response and Meaning in Contemporary Fairy Lore," published in 2006. She also offers some of the possible meanings that these fairies have for their audiences. For example, she argues that fairies help to provide "an important mechanism for self-definition and group allegiance" (280) for some folk groups, such as Wiccans and Goths. This observation was surprising, considering that the image of fairies in popular culture usually does not reflect the contemporary idea of what constitutes a Goth.[6]

She also observes that, since 1997, "[i]mages of fairies suddenly seemed pervasive, and the trend has never really gone away" (280). By examining the representation of fairies in literature and films such as the curvy Tinker Bell in *Peter Pan*, the playful Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the motherly fairies in *Sleeping Beauty*, Wood shows how "fairy lore is becoming popular culture" (282). As she points out, "Theatre in effect made the fairies live, and this process was extended by the advent of film, where the fairies were alive—not just for the duration of a performance, but for the life of the film itself" (284). Wood explains that the concept of a fairy for fans of contemporary films were not limited to winged fairies, as films such as *Labyrinth*, with its fairies that look like small children in silk clothes and long white hair, draw large fan bases.

[6] According to Merrium-Webster, a Goth is "a person who wears mostly black clothing, uses dark dramatic makeup, and often has dyed black hair" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Goth, 2022).

Explaining the fascination with fairies, she argues that "modern fantasy film audiences frequently come to them first as children and keep returning to them throughout adolescence and adulthood, and this blurs the child/adult distinctions" (287), meaning that fans of fairy films may be using these media forms to blur the boundaries of these categories and their expected roles in society. I will return to this observation later when discussing enchantment and re-enchantment, and the use of what historian Michael T. Saler calls the "ironic imagination" (2004). Discussing the Cottingley fairy photographs, Wood points out that believers, skeptics, and folklorists continue to be drawn to them, despite both age and debunking.

Wood points out that audiences view fairies simultaneously as "nostalgic, infantilised or sexualized, [and] representative of childhood innocence" (292). The fairies' draw, in her opinion, is their ability to help answer the "Big Question," that being humans' purpose in the world. As she concludes:

> The fairy in film is interpreted not through a traditional view of fairylore as an immediate response to experience, but through the interpretation that has been advanced for this kind of tradition from the seventeenth century onwards. There is a whole experience here, a way of sharing and apprehending the world through a newly defined concept of *faery"* (292, emphasis and spelling original).

While this article offers some interesting insights into how contemporary audiences are using fairies in films, which are themselves commodified, and it does include comments from people who watched these films, Wood did not interview fans of the movies. Instead, she relied on online reviews. This article also focused on the movies themselves, not on the ways that people were incorporating the fairies into their lives through other means. Finally, this article was focused on mass media produced in the United States. By examining other ways that people engage with the fairies on the Avalon Peninsula and discussing the reasons behind these

examples of commodification with the proprietors, this project offers a deeper understanding of how and why fairies are used in contemporary society.

Although folklorist Ray Cashman does not focus on fairy legends specifically in *Storytelling on the Northern Irish Border: Characters and Community,* published in 2008, the book still offers some relevant insights. Instead of focusing on the content of the stories, Cashman was interested in the social situations, such as ceilis and wakes, that led to the telling of oral narratives in the community of Aghyaran. These oral narratives include many different genres, such as character anecdotes, personal experience narratives, and legends. While not primarily focused on fairy lore, there is some mention of how fairy legends can be told at these events, but only if it is appropriate. Despite the lack of fairy lore, this book is useful, as it discusses how shared stories, and the communication of them, help to build and enforce community. Using stories, the people of Aghyaran can connect with each other and strengthen their sense of camaraderie.

Shifting focus from the community, Cashman examines the oral narrative repertoire of one man, Packy Jim Mcgrath, in *Packy Jim: Folklore and Worldview on the Irish Border* (2016). Amongst the historical legends, local tales, and personal experience narratives, *Packy Jim* includes some narratives about the fairies, such as their origin and their relationship with humans, past and present. During recorded interviews, Packy Jim expresses his belief that the fairies are fallen angels who had refused to take sides during the war in Heaven. It was then that God created humans so that they could take the place of the fallen angels, and that when Heaven is filled humanity will come to an end. Because of mankind's ability to achieve something which is denied to the fairies, they are jealous of humans, and they enjoy trying to destroy our chance of salvation. He describes this resentment in legends told during recorded interviews about what

happens to those who tamper with the fairies, such as a man who cut down a fairy tree and then appeared to age overnight. Using stories such as these, Cashman shows how Packy Jim can express his beliefs regarding humanity and our place in the world, as well as his opinion about the Catholic church as it is portrayed by the priests, who largely deny fairies. He is also able to express his opinion about the dangers of staying neutral in some situations, as well as the relationship that he had with his mother, as she was the person who told him the origin story.

Explain the Unexplainable

"Believers, Sceptics, and Charlatans: Evidential Rhetoric, the Fairies, and Fairy Healers in Irish Oral Narrative and Belief" (2005), by folklorist Timothy Corrigan Correll, explores the performative aspects of the telling of fairy legends. Correll points out the opinion that belief in fairies is backward or ignorant, a leftover from the past for those who are uneducated. He explains how those who believe in fairies and tell stories about them often try to diffuse this argument by discounting any rational explanation of the events as being unlikely. Another way to validate the story is by appealing to those educated people, such as members of the community who were known skeptics, doctors, lawyers, or members of the clergy, who have had a fairy experience. They also assert the truth of their story by placing it in relation to other, less reliable stories told in the community. According to Correll, "Evidence that called the existence of the fairies into question might likewise be delivered together with stories that suggest supernatural causality" (13). While this article only holds some information about the fairy traditions of the past, it does offer some valuable insights into the way that people told fairy legends, and how they narrative performance could assert or deny their belief in these creatures. It is also interesting to learn what elements of fairy legends people of this community believed either added to or subtracted from a good story.

Fairies as Scapegoats or as Tools to Advocate for Change in Society

In "Taken by the Fairies: Fairy Practices and the Production of Popular Culture in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," (2000), Mary Ellen Lamb examines the ability of fairy legends to allow those who viewed Shakespeare's play to create a sense of community with each other. Incorporating these traditions into the play "literalizes the ongoing use of fairy practices in order to allude to understandings, especially sexual understandings, shared within a discursive community" (280). In the first part of her article, Lamb explores the functions and routes of transmission of the traditional fairy beliefs of Shakespeare's time. Servants, especially those in charge of the children, would relate the stories of fairies and Robin Goodfellow. She argues that children were "[g]ullible victims" who would believe in the stories and that "[t]he circumstances surrounding the transmission of these customs to young children may have fostered an illusion of belief in fairies" (282). In other words, the children who heard the stories may have been given the false impression that the adults telling them actually believed them. However, while this opinion may have been true, it does not mean that some of the adults telling the stories were not also believers.

Despite arguing that it was only children and the uneducated who believed in fairies, Lamb asserts that others found fairy legends useful for discussing topics that may be inappropriate or problematic because of social or economic restrictions. For example, she provides a story about a man who found a high-born lady's illegitimate baby left in the woods with some money that was meant for the person who would take her in. When the man brings the baby home, he explains to his son that the baby was left by the fairies and that the money belonged to them. By framing it this way, the man saved the baby from ridicule by society and was able to keep the money without it being considered a bribe (284). Lamb also explains how,

in works such as *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* fairy encounters were used to explain found money or sexual acts, especially those such as rape for which the victim was often blamed. Through these examples Lamb shows how changelings, being "'taken by the fairies,"' and finding fairy gold could explain socially taboo subjects. Another use of the changeling legends was to account for babies with health issues that were not understood. As she points out, "Such narratives were capable of covering a wide range of very different circumstances, from natural death to culpable accident to intentional murder" (292). Lamb's understanding that tellers used fairy legends to discuss other, deeper issues allows her to interpret the fairies in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as 'a critique of social inequality. For example, she interprets Bottom's relationship with Titania as a representation of "a socially unacceptable sexual union between an artisan and an upper-class woman" (303).

In the final pages of her article, Lamb explores some of the ways that Shakespeare manipulated the fairy narratives of oral tradition, including the small size and how they "have been prettified" (308). She also explains that through their beautiful, benevolent representation, the fairies "finally pose no social or political threat" (309), unlike the fairies of old. Even though Shakespeare did not actually commodify the fairies, this article is very useful in its ability to show how popular culture can give oral traditions different meanings. It is also interesting that these incorporated traditions can help to create a sense of community within an audience.

"Of Mermaids and Changelings: Human Rights, Folklore and Contemporary Irish Language Poetry" (2017), by Irish scholar Riona Ni Fhrighil, uses folklore motifs (such as the changeling, the evil eye, and the mermaid) to examine two Irish human rights poems, "Iarlais/Changeling" by De Paor and "The Mermaid" by Ni Dhomhnaill. In "Iarlais/Changeling," De Paor compares his young daughter running out of a hot bath to a Nick Ut photograph titled

"The Terror of War," or more popularly "The Napalm Girl," which was taken during the Vietnam War and features "the horrific image of [a] burning, naked child" (109). Ni Fhrighil points out how in the poem the two events are "inextricably linked with the sophisticated reimaging of two folklore motifs—the motif of the evil eye and of the changeling" (109). She explains how, like most changeling legends, De Paor's poem stops before the parent gets to the acceptance stage of grief, and instead shows how the father is "haunted" (110), by both the image of the Vietnam girl and the pain experienced by his own daughter. While most changeling stories dehumanize the child, De Paor's poem instead maintains the image of the child as someone who should be protected, not harmed. This observation is an important one, because it could indicate a shift in the perception about who people are supposed to sympathize with in changeling narratives, and that our sympathies should lie with the child instead of the parents. This article shows how some of the oral fairy traditions of the past have been changed when adapted to literature.

People and Places

I organize the chapters in the rest of this thesis into case studies. Chapter Two focuses on the Fairy Door Tours, as presented in the interview conducted with the creator and operator, Tina White. Here I apply the theoretical concepts of play and assemblage to show how Tina has commodified the fairies to try to convey a respect for nature to her costumers. In Chapter Three, I examine the Cupids Legacy Centre and their rooftop Faerie Garden, as well as the Fairy Night events that are sometimes hosted there. In this chapter we meet the current manager of the centre, Claudine Garland, along with the former manager and creator of the Faerie Garden, Peter Laracy. Here I use the concept of re-enchantment to determine why people want to engage with the fairies in these ways. These chapters discuss a fairy experience, the two subjects are widely

different: the Fairy Door Tour is a structured, guided experience designed primarily for children, while the Faerie Garden at the Cupids Legacy Centre is a primarily self-guided tour not specifically targeted at a younger audience.

The fourth chapter takes a different viewpoint, and instead of looking at an experience focuses on the writing and publishing of fairy stories. It incorporates interviews from two local writers, Dennis Flynn and Dale Jarvis. Neither of these men write with a specific age group in mind, but rather describe their audience as anyone who was interested in the stories. For this chapter I also interviewed Marnie Parsons, who owns and operates the *Running the Goat: Books and Broadsides* in Tors Cove and who has published books that are related to Newfoundland fairy culture. This chapter combines the theoretical concept of enchantment/re-enchantment with the theoretical concept of escapism to theorize why people want to read fairy narratives.

The final chapter explores the common feeling of ownership of the fairy traditions expressed during all my interviews. It uses the theoretical frameworks related to intangible cultural heritage and tourism, as well as identity, to show how this sense of ownership allowed my participants to adapt and commodify local fairy traditions to their own needs. Finally, this chapter shows how each of these examples use fairy lore to highlight other aspects of local culture.

Chapter Two
"Planting Some Magic": The Fairy Door Tours

The Newfoundland and Labrador fairy traditions are commodified in various ways. The first example I will examine is the guided tour, in which the participants are led along a journey where they encounter the fairies in different ways. The guided tour is how Tina White, a graphic designer, certified forest bather,[7] and entrepreneur from Tors Cove, designed her Fairy Door Tours,[8] which she currently runs with her daughter. The Fairy Door Tours take place in Pippy Park in St. John's. Pippy Park, comprised of woodland, hills, and a lake, is located on the northern part of the city, close to Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, and it is the site for activities such as camping, recreational hiking and golfing. It occupies a large geographical location, being described on the Pippy Park website as larger than "the combined size of Stanley Park in Vancouver, Central Park in New York and Mount Royal Park in Montreal" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2021). Tina applied for and was granted permission to conduct her business there.

Tina told me her target audience is mainly young children, within the age range of "two to nine mostly," but sometimes adolescents or adults would come on the tour without being accompanied by children. She has incorporated different representations of fairies, such as pixies and gnomes, to make the Fairy Door Tours appealing to both girls and boys, and she usually conducts two to three tours every Saturday during the summer.

This chapter begins by giving some background information about the Fairy Door Tours, such as how it was started and the general experience that customers have, as they were

[7] According to Tina, forest bathing is a form of nature therapy that involves different activities meant to help the participants relax and destress.
[8] Tina also hosts another fairy event in Tors Cove, the Fairy Lore Walkabout, which is mainly aimed at adults. Unfortunately, it is outside the scope of this chapter.

described by Tina during our interview. This section also includes reviews found online to show how those who participated in the tour felt about their experience. Following this information, I apply play theory and assemblage to the Fairy Door Tours. Finally, using these theories and the information obtained from Tina, I identify the major themes present behind this commodification of fairies, such as trying to increase a respect for nature and the negative impact that the popular culture representation of fairies has had on how they are portrayed by Tina on her tour.

A Gift from Nature

Tina began by explaining how, in about 2016, she and her husband first came up with the idea for the Fairy Door Tours:

> We were caregivers at the time, foster parents and, had a young girl living with us, and she didn't have any friends out here [in Tors Cove] because she went to school in the city and stuff. And so we hiked together a lot cause there's not a lot to do in a rural community when you don't go to school there, and we were always surprised she loved out in nature as much as I did. And we never run into any families or kids hardly and we just thought, "My God, what are they missing out on." And eventually we came up with an idea of planting some magic maybe along the trails and maybe people would stumble upon them and it might inspire people or something. Get out hiking and looking for magic [laughter]. So I guess that's where it came from or originated.

Tina also said that, sadly, the doors they placed along the East Coast Trail were often vandalized or taken. Tina's disappointment at the loss of the doors led her to develop the plan for the Fairy Door Tours. I asked Tina if she could give me a walk-through of the experience that people have when they go on the tour. Tina explained that throughout the tour, she always presents herself as a believer, and she always talks about the fairies as real beings. At the beginning of the tour, Tina gives the participants little "handmade leather-bound books,[9] about an inch and a half high" that have a "fairy oath" inside, and a magnifying glass to use to read it. Once the family has taken the oath, which Tina told me "is really just a little agreement that they're going to be kind to nature

[9] Tina and her daughter handmake all the items that are used in the Fairy Door Tour.

and they're not going to disturb the fairy's homes or their belongings, or litter or hurt any plants or animals type thing, something to that effect," the kids are given a handmade treasure bag that will include items such as marbles, gems, or other trinkets that they will be able to leave for the fairies at different homes along the tour. Tina also explained how:

> The past year or two, after I did the forest bathing training, I modified the beginning a little bit. So now we get in a big circle and we do a little spiel, just an introduction and basic little rules type thing. So yeah, we do a nature meditation at the beginning, which we added probably in the third year and we just kind of go through our senses and we smell, and what we can hear, that type of thing.

This modification shows how Tina incorporates her overall theme of respect for nature into the play framework of the tour. Once the kids have their treasure bags, Tina and her daughter will give each family a clue. Unfortunately, during our interview she could not provide an example of these clues. The clues are used to guide the families along the tour, as each family will come up, one at a time, with their clue. Tina will take the tour group to that home, and once they have visited the fairy home indicated by the clue, they will repeat the process with each family. At most homes, Tina and her daughter will tell the participants about the fairy that lives at the home; however, there are some doors whose occupants, they claim, are a mystery. Tina explained, though, that "most of them have a little theme that goes with them." Tina said that at a random home they will have activities for the kids, such as a wishing well [See Figure 2.1] that the kids can drop in a gem or shell from their bag and make a wish. After the main tour, the kids stop at a picnic table where they will make cards or letters that they are able to drop in the "Fairy Post" mailbox [see Figure 2.2], which Tina made to look like a Canada Post mailbox. She explained how if there is a child on the tour celebrating a birthday, the mailbox will contain a little birthday card addressed to that child, along with a little bit of "fairy dust," by which she means glitter. At the end of the tour, Tina will take the kids to have a story time before they

leave, and she has a book which they use at every tour, although she was not able to remember the name of it during our interview.

Figure 2.1 Wishing Well (Photo found on the Fairy Door Tours Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White).

Figure 2.2 "Fairy Post" Mailbox (Photo found on the Fairy Door Tours Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White).

As shown above, throughout the four years that Tina and her daughter have been conducting the Fairy Door Tours, some elements of the tour have changed, such as the addition of the nature meditation at the beginning of the tour. Tina told me another example of how the tour has changed:

> Our first year, we used fairy dust, we had this big little toadstool that people would sit on by the wishing tree, we had a special tree, and everybody got a little tiny shake of dust in their hand. They came one by one and sat on the toadstool, and they'd blow their dust to make a wish, just before the storytelling. And by year three, the site, everything started to change a little bit after, I done the forest bathing training, I didn't want to be blowing that glitter on the ground anymore so the glitter's gone, we're not doing that anymore. And my daughter said, well what about making a wish, you know they want to make a wish. And I'm like ok, that's where the little wells came in, where they could drop a seashell or a gem in their well and make a wish, and there was no glitter being thrown at this beautiful tree by thirty children.

Tina has modified the tour so it more closely aligns with her respect towards nature, an example of which is her use of "little half-inch nails" to attach the doors to the trees, since it "barely goes through the bark, if it does."

Despite the things that have changed over the years, Tina was very proud that one of the things that has not is their price. Currently, the tickets for the Fairy Door Tours cost nine dollars. Tina explained that if the prices had changed at all since that first year it was to decrease them, rather than increase them. This information surprised me, and when I asked why she never increased them, Tina informed me that it was because she wanted it to be accessible to people. The intention behind the Fairy Door Tours was not to make a huge profit, and she "wasn't looking to get rich off it or anything." Instead, the intention was to get people interested in nature and being outside. This statement was very interesting, since usually the purpose behind commodification is to make a profit. In the case of the Fairy Door Tours, however, the point is to increase awareness of Tina's values and cultural heritage, not to make a profit. Her goal appears to be working, because Tina told me the following story about something that happened after she gave the very first tour:

> So I'm telling some kids about the very first fairy door I found, how it was on the East Coast Trail out in Tors Cove and whatnot, and I always try to inject that when I can, cause I figure that might be the little piece that makes them want to go hike. That makes them want to go all there in the woods on a trail, the next day I tend to, I hike usually on the day off, so if I'm doing, if Saturday is tour day unless it rains and then it gets pushed to Sunday. So anyway I was hiking out in La Maunche, and who do I pass on the trail, but a family that was on the tour the day before. The very first tour, and the little girl is like "Ma-ma-mama, is that the lady from the fairy tours, is that the lady from the fairy tour?", and I stopped and said hi to them and whatever, and oh my God, I felt like my heart kind of like bursted a little bit. And I was just like 'Oh my, is it working? Is it really going to work? Are they out here because of that, because I said that or is it just a fluke?' It's like, 'No no there's got to be a connection there' and I just remember feeling just so overwhelmed over it. Thinking wow, that was my entire intention all along, I almost felt bad even charging, and making a business out of it, because it wasn't the intention.

Throughout our interview, Tina often repeated this respect and love of nature. It was very beautiful to hear how much she loved being surrounded by nature, and how she was trying to encourage others to start seeing it in the same way that she does from a young age using the

Fairy Door Tours. Tina also explained how there is now a Fairy Door Tours operation in Saskatchewan, which began when one of her daughter's instructors and his wife, who were moving to Saskatchewan, asked if they could start a tour there. Tina and her daughter agreed, got the company trademarked and copyrighted, and showed them how to make the materials and conduct the tour. There is a link to the tour in Saskatchewan on the Fairy Door Tours website.

Tina said that one of the reasons she started doing the Fairy Lore Walkabout[10] was because she "couldn't really weave all this fairy stuff, like our real, like our folklore" into the Fairy Door Tours, since it would be too scary for the children. Tina explained how her representation of fairies has been affected by popular culture:

> Well, to me it kinda spoiled it. I mean, I'd like to be able to be telling more about the fairies that I've read about or that people here have experienced, but it's the fear of scaring children. Our fairies are not portrayed as the ones that the children come, so the children coming have a completely different mental picture of a fairy than I do, so I've kind of got to meet them closer to where they are then where I am, if that makes sense. So we've got to sugar coat it, we can't be talking about fairies leading them off or leading them astray or that type of thing. We can inject that stuff with the adults and the grandparents, that type of thing, and carry on about the different ways about protecting yourself from fairies or turning you hat inside out or pulling your pockets out or whatnot, that type of thing. Definitely, definitely affects, we got to Disneyfy it somewhat, right?

Tina's use of the term "Disneyfy" is an interesting divergence from the way that scholars use the term "Disneyfication." In *A Dictionary of Media and Communication,* Disneyfication is defined as "A pejorative term for the metaphorical resemblance of some cultural phenomenon to a theme park. The connotations typically include cultural homogenization, McDonaldization, sanitization, 'family values', dumbing down, and artificiality" (Chandler and Munday, 2016). Similarly, Jonathon Matusitz and Lauren Palermo (2014) state that "Grobalisation means 'delocalisation'. It is an excessive form of global colonisation. When such global colonisation transforms today's nations, their communities, and their consumer living habits via the influence of Walt Disney, it

[10] http://www.fairydoortours.com/Walkabout.html.

is called Disneyfication" (94). Instead of these academic denotations referring to geography, Tina's emic use reveals that people of this culture use the term to refer to narrative content that derives from or is influenced by Disney properties, in this case the fairies. The fairies Tina uses on her tour resemble the mental image of a Tinker Bell type fairy found in popular culture. But her use of the term lacks the negative connotations described by many scholars of popular culture, although her use does indicate that the Disney-fying of her fairies was inevitable and imperative to her success with the Fairy Door Tours.

Tina's conception of the fairies comes directly from Newfoundland tradition, the same tradition recorded by folklorists such as Narvaez (1991) and Rieti (1991). In fact, Tina explained that Rieti's *Strange Terrain* was part of how she became interested in local fairy traditions. She explained that she was not exposed to a lot of fairy stories growing up in Newfoundland, but that she became interested in folklore as a teenager and then found a lot of local fairy traditions in the library and through online resources. The "sugar coated" variation that she creates for the Fairy Door Tours, which eliminates anything, such as being led astray, that could be scary for children, is not entirely based on her choice to commodify the fairies for the tour; it also reflects her modification for her foster daughter and thus might represent a generational change of expectations brought about by exposure to popular culture as well as oral tradition. As Tina notes, the popular culture fairy has dramatically affected how children think of fairies. Instead of the evil creatures that were best avoided, for the younger generations' fairies have come to represent goodness and beauty. Tina explains:

> I couldn't really weave all this fairy stuff, like our real, like our folklore, would be scary for the children, you know what I mean? So when I was engaging with the adults in the tour we would be talking about fairy traditions, or our fairy background, our fairy folklore and those types of things. Like I'd joke with the grandparents and ask if they had bread in their pockets, or encourage the kids after the tour to ask nan and pop about fairies, or any fairy stories they knew.

The above statement demonstrates what Tina means when she explains that the popular culture representation of fairies has "spoiled" them. Since the children have one version of a fairy in their minds, Tina is unable to rely on any of the local traditions that she knows for the tour except in an ironic way with adults, and instead she must use the beautiful, good fairies. The distinction Tina makes between the popular culture representation and what she classifies as "our" fairy traditions was a common thread throughout all the interviews I conducted while completing my research. This ownership of the traditions is something that will be explored in Chapter Five.

Despite Tina feeling that the popular culture representation of fairies had a negative impact on the Fairy Door Tours, it is still obvious that she gets a lot of joy out of conducting the tours. The people who take the tour share in this joy; numerous comments left on the Fairy Door Tours Facebook page (2021) attest to this fact. I have left the grammar of these reviews the same as it was found in the online posts. Allison Raymond posted, "Had an awesome time as usual on sat past. My 4 year old loved it again this year as did myself and my husband. Amazing job as always." These thoughts were echoed by Krista Murphy who said that she and her son "had a great time at the fairy door tour today! What a fun and magical way to spend our Sunday! Thanks!" Cristina Power agreed with these other two parents, writing, "Thanks so much for the most amazing party today! Every guest had so much fun including the parents and had so many nice comments about how sweet everything was! 🧚🍄 My girl said it was the 'best day ever.'"

The responses left by participants on TripAdvisor (2021) all have the same tone as those found on the Facebook page. One poster, healey_23, wrote, "It is so sweet! The fairiologists that do the tour are so nice and patient with the kids, the tours are well organized and maintained, the doors are absolutely adorable, and booking is super easy and responsive." Similarly, Sking

wrote, “Thoroughly enjoyed the hour and a half walk through the woods discovering nature - finding fairy houses - with my daughter and three granddaughters. The clues, the stories, the enjoyment of the children makes this a very worthwhile thing to do with the little ones.” Out of the fifteen reviews that were posted on the TripAdvisor website, there was not a single negative comment, and all of them gave the tour an “Excellent” rating. All six of the above quotations show how the tour is enjoyable for not just the children, but also adults. They enjoy the ways that Tina uses the fairies; specifically, they are very happy with the use of the popular culture representation.

Besides the Facebook page, Tina has established an official website for the Fairy Door Tours, where people can book their tickets for $9. The website provides an option for groups of up to thirty people to book a private tour for $250. When Tina described her surprise at the turnout of people who wanted to participate in the tour, she stated that she was “pretty sure” that every tour offered for the first two years sold out—and that many days she added a third tour later in the afternoon. Tours tended to sell out by Thursdays. Tina stated: “I never ever expected, like I said I wondered if we’d get anybody coming when we first started. Little did I know they’d be there with bells on.”

I asked Tina why she chose fairies and what it was about them she felt drew people, especially the kids. She explained: “I think it’s the connection to nature. I think the fairies are kinda the angels of nature, they’re kinda looking after things.” In response to what drew people to them, she said that she believed it was because “kids are just curious, like wanting to see Santa Claus or the Tooth Fairy…and they ask all kinds of questions, you’ve got to be so prepared, you don’t know what they’re going to ask, and sometimes you just have to say you don’t know. I’ve been put on the spot more than once by kids’ questions.” The tour ends with the storytelling

session, thus marking the end of the tour, and both mentally and physically return the participants back to the "real world."

Assemble for Play

Before moving forward, I will explain the theoretical frameworks being used. I will start with play theory. In "Play as Self-Realization: Toward a General Theory of Play," American sociologist Thomas S. Henricks (2014) seeks to explore the various reasons behind why people play. He argues that "play can be understood as a project of self-realization" and that it "is a fundamental way creatures make coherent their possibilities for acting in the world" (190). Furthermore, he argues that "players seek out and enjoy appropriately stimulating or challenging situations" (192). Henricks states that children enjoy play activities that get them to work as part of a group and that allow them to see the value of their efforts. These aspects of the Fairy Door Tours will be discussed below. Throughout the later half of his article, Henricks argues that play can be used as self-realization. His argument is that through play people, and especially children, can learn more about themselves and who they are in relation to the world. As will be shown below, the Fairy Door Tours helps the tour participants to come to a realization about their relationship to nature through a play experience.

In play theorist Brian Sutton-Smith's "Play Theory: A Personal Journey and New Thoughts" (2008), he explores his own works throughout his career as a play scholar. By examining his own work and personal history, Sutton-Smith outlines his three major theories about the reasons that people play: first as a viability variable, second as culturally relevant, and third as containing multiple functions. To explain play as a viability variable he gives the example of dirty and crude jokes that he had collected, explaining that these jokes allowed both the teller and the audience to refer to socially taboo subjects, such as murder, cannibalism, and

corpses. All these topics were thought to be inappropriate for the young children, usually boys, who told the jokes, and therefore the jokes allowed the boys to push the boundaries of society. His second theory explains that play is culturally relevant, and that people are going to explore play options based upon the culture that they are familiar with. Finally, Sutton-Smith acknowledges that there is no single, fixed reason or universal meaning behind play:

> I thought time and again I had at last discovered the meaning of play. But, somehow, it always turned out otherwise, somehow there always seemed other questions to ask, other lines of inquiry to follow, all auguring answers more promising than those I thought I had in hand. Something about the nature of play itself frustrates fixed meaning (80).

Through this statement, Sutton-Smith highlights the individual meaning in every instance of play. He also states that play is "at heart always a kind of transcendence" (94). As will be shown below, the Fairy Door Tours allow the participants to leave the real world for a short period of time so they can explore something beyond their own lives. They also allow the participants to become closer to nature. Sutton-Smith formulated his observations and theories by working with children, but I will apply them to adults and older audiences in the following chapters.

Austrian psychoanalyst Robert Walder's "The Psychanalytic Theory of Play" (1933) explores some of the reasons that psychoanalysts believe that children play. He explains that children's games "elaborate material which has been experienced by the child," and that play is considered successful when "it results in a gratification of a desire for pleasure" (209). These statements show that the way children play has some connection to what they know, even if that is in a fantasy environment, and that they will only engage in play experiences that are pleasing to them. He further explains that there are two types of pleasure in play: gratification pleasure in the success of an action and functional pleasure in the joy of the play activity itself (210). Furthermore, play helps to prepare children for the future (211). Finally, he explains that "a passively received impression provokes an active response in the child" (215), something that

will be shown is true of the Fairy Door Tours and its intention of getting children interested in nature. The main limitation of this article is that it focuses on children, and even states that "[p]lay, as a fundamental and purposeful phenomenon is encountered *only in children*" (220, emphasis added), a concept that will be proven false in the following chapters.

The other theoretical framework useful to analyze the Fairy Door Tours is the concept of assemblage as it was proposed by folklorist Jack Santino (1986) in his chapter "The Folk *Assemblage* of Autumn: Tradition and Creativity in Halloween Folk Art." While discussing the way that houses are decorated for Halloween, Santino asserts that the term assemblage "refers to a category of art, a genre of sculpture done with found objects, a kind of three-dimensional collage" (158). According to Santino:

> the term *assemblage* is appropriate because it gets at the essential nature of the material we are examining, the combining of a variety of symbolic elements within a single frame, and the creation of a single aesthetic entity by grouping together disparate things. It is important to view the *assemblage* holistically, as it is created and presented to the public, rather than isolate elements of it (159-160, italics in original).

Santino argues that the "[o]jects are placed in such a way as to force the passer-by to view them as a whole" (161), and this collage of objects creates a deeper level of meaning than could be achieved using any single object on its own.

Play and assemblage, as will be shown in the next section, are very closely related. Using assemblage, the bringing together of different objects to create a whole, Tina has been able to enhance the play element of the Fairy Door Tours, increasing the effectiveness of her overall message. In the next section, I demonstrate how the concepts of play and assemblage relate to the Fairy Door Tours, and how these theoretical concepts can be used to analyze the reasons behind why the fairies are being commodified in this example, mainly to encourage participants to have a healthy respect for nature.

A Walk in the Woods

The play aspect of the Fairy Door Tours begins before the actual tour starts, as they take Tina's oath. As folklorist Daniel Peretti (2017) points out in *Superman in Myth and Folklore,* when speaking about the opening ceremony of the Superman Celebration that takes place in Metropolis, Illinois, "the actors play, making light of the material...while at the same time performing a ritual that invokes themes and sentiments that are profoundly important to members of the community" (84). Peretti also examines how the opening and closing ceremonies to the Superman Celebration mark the transformation of the town from ordinary life to the liminal time of the celebration. These same observations are true of the opening and closing rituals of the Fairy Door Tours. While being recited in the play frame by the families who are about to embark on the tour, the oath contains messages that are very important to Tina, such as the need to respect and care for nature. Similarly, participants experience the nature meditation at the beginning as part of the fun of the tour, yet Tina feels it helps people establish a relationship with the world around them. The oath and nature meditation also mark the beginning of the play element for the participants. Similarly, the storytelling session at the end of the tour signal the end of the play experience, and the transition back to the real world. Both the oath and the storytelling session have ritualesque elements, meaning that they feel like rituals which transport the participant to and from the real world into the play world of the Fairy Door Tours. The oath and nature meditation allow participants to gain access to the play experience of the tour. The storytelling session works in a similar way through marking the participants' return to the real world and their everyday lives.

As discussed above, play removes the participant from the real world and puts them in a space where the ordinary is transformed, where they are outside of their everyday lives. These

elements are certainly seen in the Fairy Door Tours. For the sixty to ninety minutes of the tour, they are removed from the worries and stresses of everyday life. The tour takes place in a park that, as Tina puts it, "felt like you were in the woods kind of, in the country, but yet you were in the heart of the city." This atmosphere adds to the mysterious, magical feel of the tour, adding to the feeling that the participants are truly leaving the city behind to enter the land of the fairies. By placing her tour outside in the liminal space between nature and culture, such as using the man-made paths in Pippy Park, it adds to the feeling that there is magic in nature, something that is not felt when the tour is moved indoors. Tina described one indoor event they hosted for St. Patrick's Day, saying that "it was nothing like the tour in the woods, nothing like it, and it was kind of rushed." Tina described the indoor event they hosted:

> It was a fragment of our tour, but those who did it I think enjoyed it. Instead of treasure bags they all got a handful of gold coins, you know the chocolate, well they weren't chocolate ones, but you know what I mean, cause they had the leprechaun traps and stuff. So they were leaving gold coins at the door instead. And there was no little activities or whatnot, but I mean they all whisked through and there was little clues and they would go and just visit the door and leave a coin and kind of go on. And hundreds of kids went through, families, kids. They [the Rooms] said it was the biggest turn out they had for their family program, and we actually had to stay longer, and we were just steady belt. [laughter]. It was a madhouse but it was fun.

Although she admitted that it was fun, and that the participants did seem to enjoy the event, it did not have the same feeling, and it was not "how it's meant to be" because the indoor setting prevented the participants from fully immersing themselves in nature. By conducting the tour outside in Pippy Park, Tina and her daughter can reinforce their underlying theme that it is very important to immerse yourself in nature, and to respect it.

As mentioned above, play is often seen as being a voluntary, intrinsically rewarding activity that participants want to revisit. The reviews quoted above from people who had taken the tour reinforce this element of the Fairy Door Tours, as it is something that people express

interest in revisiting. It is also rewarding, not just to the customers who pay to take the tour, but also to Tina, who is very involved in, and feels a deep kinship with, nature. She explained to me that she finds spending time in nature "magical," meaning that to her she finds that there is something extra-ordinary and unexplainable about nature. She also says that nature makes her "feel very good."

In addition to these elements, play can create a relationship between the players (Sutton-Smith, 2008), even if it only lasts for the duration of the tour. The families on the Fairy Door Tours are working for the good of the group, as the participants work together using the clues held by the different families to lead them to the next fairy house. Tina explained how when she first started developing the tour, she was trying to decide how to best conduct it. She explained:

> I had no idea how it was going to work, or where it would happen, or how I would get people from door to door. I didn't just want to take them on a walk, and how to get people engaged. It was like every couple of weeks a little piece of the puzzle would come to me, like "Oh, well what if I use clues" and every family gets to kinda lead at a different time and everybody is engaged and involved, and it's kinda like a scavenger hunt

These clues and the way that the different participants cooperate reinforces the interconnectivity of the people involved, further establishing the Fairy Door Tours as a play experience. The clues are also an example of how the Fairy Door Tours offers the gratification that Walder (1933) identifies as being important to the successful play experience, since the families have the clear objective of figuring out the clue, and the immediate reward of being led to the next fairy house.

As mentioned earlier, play and assemblage are interconnected concepts. Through assemblage, Tina and her daughter add to the magical feel of their tour, thus drawing participants further into the experience. Tina explained:

> We [she and her daughter] take such care in trying to make it look as authentic as possible. We don't just place a door on a tree, everything…it's either got a stone little archway going around it, it's tucked in with moss so that you can't see a crack or an

> opening, you know what I mean? It looks real, it doesn't look like it's a door placed on a tree.

Tina takes great care when creating the doors and makes sure that each one has a different theme. For example, in Figure 2.3 below, Tina and her daughter have taken door and used stones from nature to make a walkway leading to their handmade door. Metal hinges placed on the door make it appear to lead to an actual home. Finally, there are little dollhouse pieces[11] such as the bench and the metal stove that Tina has used to create a distinct personality for the fairy. These examples are also seen in Figure 2.4 below, such as the metal hinges and the dollhouse flowerpot and door knocker being staged next to the homemade door with the metal hinges. She also tries to fit the door to the tree, such as creating a round door in a knot in the tree bark. The combination of these different pieces creates the feeling that the participant is looking at a home which really belongs to a fairy, and this feeling of authenticity and reality allow the children to fully immerse themselves within the play experience of the tour, and thus ensures that both they and the adults are satisfied with the experience they paid for. Tina described one of the homes that they have along the tour as follows:

> there's a grumpy gnome, and we'll ask the kids why he's grumpy, and they'll all make some guesses. And we tell them why, cause the birds are always stealing his firewood to make their nest, and last season, we had, it was quite a fluke, but there was a bird nest, an actual bird's nest in Grumpy's tree. And we were shocked to see it, so we had the pleasure of pointing that out. We'd pull the branches apart and point up and they'd see it and everyone would be in awe, so then anyway they were collecting little sticks from the forest floor and we'd fill up Grumpy's little empty woodshed.

[11] Tina did not specify where she got the dollhouse pieces that she uses in the creation of the fairy homes.

Figure 2.3 One of the Fairy Doors found on the Fairy Door Tours (Photo found on the Fairy Door Tour Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White)

Grumpy's home is only one example of the care that Tina and her daughter go through in trying to create the atmosphere of their play experience (see Figures 2.4-2.6 below).

Through the inclusion of elements such as the newspaper (Figure 2.6) and the fishing gear (Figure 2.5), Tina distinguishes between the different fairies that are supposed to live at each of the locations, and thus creates a unique personality for each one. As Tina explained:

> We would have a couple of gnomes, doors that we visit, like the grumpy gnome, and others were just like a fisher fairy and a farmer fairy type thing, a couple of pixie homes, the little tiny ones where we'd find a tree with the perfect little opening and there would be a little tiny door, we'd be like let's do a tiny fairy, that must be a pixie, and trying to have a bit of variety.

Figure 2.4 Another Fairy Door found on the Fairy Door Tours (Photo found on the Fairy Door Tour Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White)

The objects, the doors, and the care with which Tina and her daughter place the doors on the trees to make them look like real fairy homes, create the magical and mysterious atmosphere on the tour.

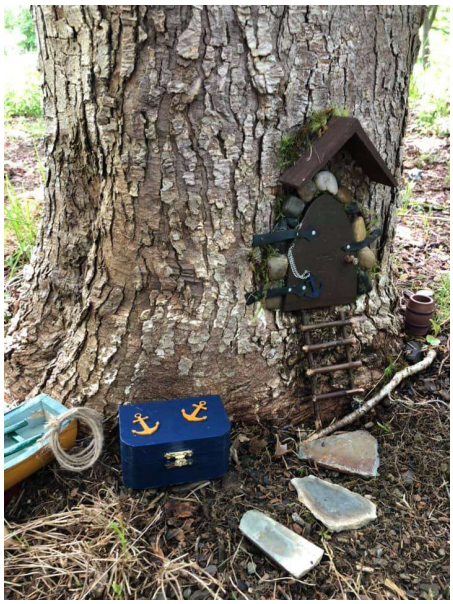

Figure 2.5 Fairy home found on the Fairy Door Tour with a tiny boat and sailor's box (photo found on the Fairy Door Tour Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White)

Figure 2.6 Fairy door with a tiny newspaper on the path leading up to the door (Photo found on the Fairy Door Tours Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White)

Figure 2.7 Fairy home with a sign next to the door warning people to be careful of where the step (Photo found on the Fairy Door Tours Facebook page and used with permission from Tina White)

Conclusion

The Fairy Door Tours are one example of the commodification of fairies on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland and Labrador. As Tina points out, the tour has been heavily influenced by the way that fairies are represented in popular culture, and she feels that this has had a negative impact because it does not reflect, as she calls it, "our folklore." However, despite the impact that the popular culture fairies have had on her representation of them in the tour, she and her daughter take great care to make the homes look real and "authentic," i.e., not like something a human would create. Although she does not incorporate any traditions that she feels are directly linked to Newfoundland, Tina does feel that there is a tradition that she must emulate in her representation, that of fairies in contemporary popular culture.

Despite the divergence from the Newfoundland fairy ecotype, Tina has deliberately retained some other local elements, such as the storytelling session. In Newfoundland, a major part of our intangible cultural heritage is related to storytelling and performance (Halpert and

Widdowson, 2015). The Fairy Door Tours utilizes both traditions to make the play experience a successful one for the customers. Folklorist and anthropologist Richard Bauman defines performance as "a mode of spoken verbal communication [that] consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence" (1974, 293). Based upon the reviews that were left online by customers, Tina's tour certainly fits this definition of successful performance. This distinction of what Newfoundland traditions are being utilized has important implications for the understanding of how fairies are commodified in Newfoundland, since it is not always the local fairy traditions that are being sold. In other words, Tina employs a commodified version of the fairy content to provide for her customers authentic Newfoundland traditions; she values the function of the contextual processes over the content of the narratives, and the Disneyfied fairies allow her to play with these processes.

In the next chapter, I explore a different play experience found at the Cupids Legacy Centre Faerie Garden, which curators use to create a sense of re-enchantment for the people who visit it. In addition to the Faerie Garden, the Fairy Night events hosted at the Cupids Legacy Centre will also be discussed. Through these two examples I will show how the Cupids Legacy Centre has found a more balanced representation between the popular culture representation of fairies and those found in the Newfoundland fairy traditions.

Chapter Three:
"A Little Bit of Magic in the World": The Cupids Legacy Centre

The town of Cupids, located eighty miles west of St. John's, has the distinction of being the oldest English settlement in Canada, having been settled by John Guy in 1610 (Town of Cupids, 2021). The Cupids Legacy Centre—as explained by both the current manager, Claudine Garland, and the former manager, Peter Laracy[12]—is a not-for-profit organization that was established in 2010 to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of this settlement. The Legacy Centre is home to many exhibits that explore the town's history; as the website explains, through "multimedia, artifacts and of course, fun, visitors will uncover the living, breathing history of Cupids' legacy" (Cupids Legacy Inc, 2021). As Tina did with the Fairy Door Tours, the staff at the Cupids Legacy Centre has found a way to incorporate and commodify the fairies, although in a different way. The Faerie Garden on the rooftop of the Cupids Legacy Centre is designed to be a self-guided tour, although there is an option for a guided tour. The Cupids Legacy Centre has also hosted Fairy Nights, a public event where they set up a panel to discuss fairy traditions and fairy stories.

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of the Faerie Garden and a description of the Fairy Nights as provided by both Claudine Garland and Peter Laracy. I then explore the current literature about the commodification of intangible cultural heritage, before outlining the theoretical framework of enchantment and re-enchantment as it is described by Sabina Magliocco and Michael T. Saler. I conclude with a discussion of how these concepts, along with the theoretical concept of play, apply to visitors' experience of the fairies at the Cupids Legacy Centre.

[12] Peter is also a retired educator, having served as a teacher for fifteen years, fifteen years as an administrator, and three as a social studies consultant in the Conception Bay, Trinity Bay, Placentia Bay, St. Mary's Bay area. Thirty-one of these years were here in the province.

A Walk Around the Garden

The Cupids Legacy Centre is designed so that visitors will go through the three different floors of the museum before reaching the garden. Claudine explained:

> The way our interpretation hall is set up you can, you can go on a guided tour or you can go through yourself and then that would be the last stop. Cause it's the first floor which is the full interpretation hall, then you go upstairs to the second level which is another one of our larger artifacts, the 1910 flag, and then we take them up to the third floor, so it's either/or. Usually, when we get up to the third floor there are some interpretation that we go through, then generally we'll just stand back and let people take in the view, take some pictures, people just want to sit and rest that's fine. You know we can leave them there and come down at your own leisure.

Figure 3.1 The outside of the Cupids Legacy Centre (Photo found on the Cupids Legacy Centre Facebook page and used with permission from Claudine Garland)

In 2021, it costs $8.65 to visit the Cupids Legacy Centre. The Centre also works closely with the Cupids Cove Plantation, a dig site at the actual settlement that John Guy established. The cost of admission for both places is $14.65. The age of visitors varies considerably, ranging from families with younger children, to teenagers, to seniors who are retired or semi-retired.

The Faerie Garden [see Figure 3.2 below] is set on a boarded-over rooftop so that visitors can go and visit the three planters, each of which features a different bronze fairy statue: a Piper

Fairy, a Dancing Fairy, and an Old Man fairy [see Figures 3.3-3.5 below].[13] Unlike the rest of the exhibits at the Legacy Centre, the rooftop garden lacks interpretive panels, which receives some criticism from visitors. Peter explained:

> There's lots of interpretive panels, lots of pieces of video in the Legacy Centre, but when you go to the rooftop, there isn't anything. There's just sculptures, and there's plants around the sculptures, in these three large planters. You can walk around on the roof, it's all boarded over, but the criticism we get is that there isn't any interpretation there. And there isn't any there consciously, it's been created so we made a conscious effort not to put any interpretive panels there, and that sometimes surprises people. So, the reason we didn't is because we believe that if you want to learn about the fairies, you can go look at them, but hopefully, you'll be curious enough to ask one of the guides, "Well what are these creatures? Why are they here? What's their significance?" And so it will be that jumping-off point, that touchstone to a conversation, an oral conversation that will take place between the visitor and the interpreter, interpretive guide.

Claudine explained why they chose to focus on fairies for the Garden:

> It makes for great conversation and it's a great way to introduce people who are not familiar with the cultural history of Newfoundland because from the fairies, up there you can discuss so many other things because the view from the rooftop, looking out over Conception Bay, looking across the Harbour at Port de Grave, Spectacle Head. Just the view itself is well worth the trip but there's so much more you can talk about while you're up there.

As both statements show, the design of the Faerie Garden on the rooftop was purposeful and was created to facilitate conversation between people. They chose fairies because they make a good entry point for conversation, and as Peter stated:

> It's the universality of fairy or fairy-like creatures and the universality of people telling stories, because we want the people that come to the Legacy Centre, not only to be receivers of information but to be sharers, the experiences that can be triggered by the things that they see at the Legacy Centre.

Despite feeling that there is something universal about fairies, Peter feels that it is very important to ensure he stays true to local traditions about showing respect for these beings. He explained:

> I've been warned as well at the Legacy Centre bringing in the sculptures and having fairy nights and providing opportunities for people to share fairy stories, the old people would have frowned on all that. They would have said don't talk too much about the fairies

[13] Due to university restrictions upon fieldwork, I have been unable to visit the Faerie Garden.

Figure 3.2. The Faerie Garden at the Cupids Legacy Centre (Photo found on the Cupids Legacy Centre Facebook page and used with permission from Claudine Garland)

> cause you'll rile them up and something bad will happen to you. And of course they would also tell us that in the process of talking about the fairies you have to be careful about insulting, seeds of doubt about the fairies if you mock the fairies, make fun of the fairies, then surely something bad will happen. So we always attempted at the Legacy Centre to talk about the fairies in a respectful fashion, and to give them the respect that they deserve I suppose, based upon what the old people would tell us. So I don't know if anything bad's happened to anyone yet on the basis of all the things that we did, I guess in the process of trying to promote the fairies, to heighten people's awareness about the fairies and all the lore about fairies, I guess that's a good thing.

The whole idea behind the Faerie Garden, the Fairy Nights, and the Cupids Legacy Centre overall, is to get people interested in local culture, both past and present, to connect people and to create the possibility for an oral storytelling session. According to Claudine:

> We would have guest speakers [on Fairy Nights], we would talk, we would do a panel, and a variety of things throughout the evening, talking about the fairies, and those fairy nights were always very popular.

Peter explained:

> We would have a full house, we would advertise[14] the fact that there is going to be a Fairy Night, at the Cupids Legacy Centre, and so it was a night of oral storytelling where

[14] Neither Peter or Claudine was very clear about how they would usually advertise the Faerie Nights or how many people constituted a "full house." I was unable to find any copies of advertisements that they used.

Figure 3.3 Piper Fairy (Found on the Cupids Legacy Centre Facebook page, and used with permission from Claudine Garland)

Figure 3.4 Dancer Fairy (Found on the Cupids Legacy Centre Facebook page, and used with permission from Claudine Garland)

> these people would share stories about the fairies with the general public, and there would be a lot of interest in that, and so those events are always very well attended.

Besides having a roundtable of people to discuss local fairy traditions, or in some cases their own fairy experiences, Fairy Nights also include a presentation before the storytelling event that highlights some of the visual representations of fairies. Often a local dance school in Brigus preforms a fairy themed ballet. Peter also said that there are some videos on the Cupids Legacy Centre's YouTube channel that highlight the Fairy Night panel and ballet. At the beginning of the ballet, which also contains a sort of play, dancers dressed in gauzy dresses play the role of the fairies on the rooftop. The ballet starts with a description of the story, which features two boys playing the part of the humans, the smaller of whom encounters the fairies. As the ballet progresses the fairies dance to fife music, and eventually they start to dance in a circle around the little boy, portraying the enchantment that fairies are said to cast over humans. Eventually, the fairies take the little boy, and all his mother finds is his abandoned hat. The videos on the

YouTube channel of the roundtable show a roundtable discussion from 2014 led by Dennis Flynn (who will be featured in the next chapter) in which four guests relate their own fairy encounters. Just like was seen in the previous chapter with the Fairy Door Tours, this inclusion of oral narrative highlights the storytelling and performance aspects of Newfoundland culture (Halpert and Widdowson, 2015) using the fairies.

Claudine explained that some visitors to the Faerie Garden expressed their interest in being able to buy replicas of the statues, so there are now replicas of the Piper Fairy available for purchase in the Cupids Legacy Centre Gift Shop. Made of resin instead of bronze, it is more suitable for indoor use and material, making the statue suitable for indoor use even though the colour and texture are the same. The replica costs $44.95 plus tax and is considered a collector's item since there were only 1200 produced. Claudine said that the original plan was that once the first statue sold out, they would recreate the other two, but the statues have not sold as well as expected.

Claudine and Peter both grew up hearing stories about fairies. I asked how they felt that fairy traditions and the interest in fairies have changed since they were first introduced to them. Claudine said:

> Now it's more of a fun thing. Like for example yesterday when I was taking some people through the building, and when we went upstairs and I mentioned we were going to go up on the rooftop and see three fairy structures that we have, three fairy statues that we have up there. Right away somebody laughed and said, "Well we better put some bread in our pockets." So it's kind of a, now it's kind of become more of a fun thing.

Figure 3.5 Old Man Fairy (Found on the Cupids Legacy Centre Facebook page and used with permission from Claudine Garland)

Peter answered:

> Well, I don't know, the world is different now in the sense that there is so much exposure to media and television, and computers, and the internet, and movies...I would say there is less storytelling about fairies. There is certainly less, there are less real-time stories told about people having encounters with the fairies. I think if somebody today said they had an encounter with the fairies most people would say, "Well you're probably a little bit crazy," or you're telling a lie, some of the older people years ago would say a lot of the fairies disappeared when they started putting streetlights in communities [laughter], it frightened the fairies back in the woods, further back from human habitation.

These answers show that the perception of fairy traditions have changed in some ways, to something fun, rather than avoided. They also show the view of fairy traditions that Rieti (1991) and Narvaez (1991) found that locals believed that the fairies were disappearing. However, as this thesis shows, the fairies are still prevalent in contemporary society. There does not seem to be as much of the oral tradition that gave Peter and Claudine their introduction to the fairy tradition. However, this change has not diminished the allure that the fairies have for visitors of the Cupids Legacy Centre. Instead, as Claudine put it, "There seems to be a resurgence of interest because people suddenly appreciate, they appreciate the music and they appreciate the

dance, and along with that comes back, you appreciate your intangible cultural history," including the fairy traditions that people used to take for granted.

I also asked both participants if they thought the popular culture representation of these creatures has to do with the change. As Claudine explained:

> If you mentioned fairies around little girls, they get all excited, but it's more of the Tinker Bell type, they love fairies but it's not the, certainly not the bad fairies or the ones that would have been, caused you any harm or anything.

According to Peter:

> They've had kind of a negative effect, because everybody realizes that we look at Tinker Bell and so on, I think that people realize it's a movie, it's fiction, it's something that's been created in Hollywood or some other place that they create movies and so on, and it's like Ninja Turtles, or the Smurfs or something else that you could see on TV, and so people realize it's a fictitious creation.

Similar to Tina's opinion in the last chapter, both Claudine and Peter believe that the popular culture representation of fairies has had a negative impact on local traditions.

Peter explained that, when he was growing up and listening to the people tell fairy stories, they were real experiences that people had, and the fairies were an explanation for the unusual events that had occurred. For these storytellers, the fairies were real, not made up for fun:

> You have to hear the conviction in their voice and see the look in their eye, and hear the tone of their voice, watch their body language when they'd be telling the story. The experiences they had were real, they weren't fictitious, it wasn't something that was made up, the experiences were real. Now whether they really encountered a fairy or not, that maybe subject to question, but in the minds of the people who experienced it they certainly had some inexplicable experience. I don't know if the Hollywood stuff contributes to it or not, probably doesn't. Makes it less believable in my opinion.

Peter related to me a couple of the stories that he heard on many occasions as a little boy. Despite his captivating delivery, Peter expressed regret at not being able to do justice to the stories that he told me, since we were doing a phone interview and I was not able to see the actions that

usually accompanied the story. Throughout the interview, the importance of face-to-face interaction in the storytelling tradition was something that Peter continually stressed:

> I guess it ties back to that whole story that we're trying to tell at the Legacy Centre, part of who we are as a people is people have a sense of our history, our heritage, our culture, and I think oral-storytelling is a large part of that. I think it's part of the nature, the fabric of who we are. We interact freely with people, we're friendly, we're sociable, and storytelling I think is another pinning, parcel of the fabric of who we are, what we are living here, still in some ways isolated, on an island in the Atlantic. I think it's important to carry on the traditions of storytelling, I think it's particularly important to carry on the story of the fairies. As I said stories are a reflection of real-life experiences that people have had, I would hate to think that that part of our tradition would disappear. I think that there are lessons some of the stories about the fairies could teach us lessons when the old people talked about having respect for the fairies and never ever saying, doubting existence of the fairies and so on. What are they really telling us of the larger, don't make fun of the fairies, don't mock the fairies, what are they really telling us? This is just one example, what are they really telling us, what they're really telling us don't make fun of other people. Just because somebody may be different than we are, or somebody may look different, or sound different, there's a fundamental respect that we should have for all beings, human, perhaps beyond the human. Fairies exist out in nature, we are at a time in our human evolution here right now we talk about climate change and we talk about the elements that make up the Earth, the water, the air, and the Earth itself, iron. And so I think fairies are a way for us to connect with the forces of Nature, there's something else. I don't know if people are religious in terms of formal religion, denominational religion, some people aren't like that, but one can hardly look at the world that we're in and not realize that, "Gee, there's something else beyond the world that we see, there's forces at work that we probably don't understand." And so I think the fairies, stories about the fairies are a way for us to try to get some sense of explanation to some of the things that we don't explain in the world. And I think it's important to keep that connection alive, it may become important in the future, think about physically how the world is changing. And it's just part of our rich heritage, tradition, and culture, and I think we should conserve that, keep it alive.

Peter classifies the use of the fairy narrative as something that was explored in the past, however he does so in a slightly different way than observed by previous scholars. As discussed in Chapter 1, previously fairy narratives explained the unexplainable, helped to understand humanity's place in the world, and the fairies themselves became scapegoats or a means for individuals to advocate for change. While Peter does mention using the fairies and fairy narratives to explain the things that we cannot explain, he also says fairy narratives make people

think about how the world is changing. While still being used to explain some puzzling events, the stories have deeper meanings and functions, such as instilling a respect for nature, identified in Chapter 2 with Tina and the Fairy Door Tours. Peter also shows how fairy narratives are used to make sure that those listening learned to treat others with respect, even if the other person was different physically or mentally. Both Claudine and Peter referred to Newfoundland fairy traditions specifically, and to how fairies are a part of our intangible cultural heritage. This ownership of the fairy tradition is something that will be explored later.

Unfortunately, I was unable to find any online discourse that focuses on the Faerie Garden, or the Fairy Nights, meaning that I was unable to get any opinion from the general public about this example of fairy commodification.

Intangible Cultural Heritage for Sale

Marketing and branding expert Federico Lenzerini, in "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples" (2011), outlines the history of UNESCO's decision to make intangible cultural heritage worthy of protection, but argues that it's model for this protection is inadequate. He also shows how the best way to evaluate the importance of ICH is based upon its significance to the identity of the members of the community in which it is found. He defines intangible cultural heritage as "all immaterial elements that are considered by a given community as essential components of its intrinsic identity as well as of its uniqueness and distinctiveness in comparison with all other human groups" (102), a definition that includes fairy traditions in Newfoundland. Furthermore, Lenzerini outlines five categories for evaluating ICH: self-identification (108), constant recreation (108), connection of ICH with the identity of its creators and bearers (109), authenticity (113), and its relationship to human rights (114).

Under self-identification, Lenzerini argues:

> the presence of self-identification among its constitutive elements makes ICH valuable in light of the *subjective* perspective of its creators and bearers, who recognize the heritage concerned as an essential part of their idiosyncratic cultural inheritance, even though it may appear absolutely worthless to external observers (108, emphasis original).

Furthermore, he states in his section on constant creation that "ICH is by definition a living entity" (108), and that it has the ability to "adapt itself in response to the historical and social evolution of its creators and bearers" (108). Each of the participants in this study have identified fairies to be an essential part of the identity in Newfoundland, and that it is something that makes Newfoundland unique. It also has shown itself to be a tradition that is adaptable to the needs and wants of its creators, specifically by incorporating elements of popular culture.

Based upon these observations, Lenzerini argues in the third category of evaluation that the connection between ICH and its creators and bearers is "probably the main value of ICH" (109), and that this connection between traditions and identity fundamentally links ICH to the human rights of that culture. As will be shown throughout this chapter, and has been shown previously in this thesis, the participants in this study strongly believe that the fairy traditions in Newfoundland are an important part of local identity.

In *Intangible Cultural Heritage, Ownership, Copyrights, and Tourism,* professor of business administration E. Wanda George (2010) examines how the local culture of smaller rural communities has been adapted for tourism, with or without the consent of those smaller communities. George explains that traditional knowledge is when people "coming together in a *living* society are constantly imitating, recreating and innovating the traditional framework in a community's evolving social construct" (6, emphasis original), and she provides criteria for traditional knowledge, such as how it is handed down from generation to generation, has no definitive author, and that it reflects a community or society's identity. She states that "local culture may be a community's most valuable asset for tourism if planned and managed properly"

(3). She gives two examples from small communities (Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, and St. Jacob's, Ontario), and uses these examples to argue for the establishment of a fund to reimburse those communities whose intangible cultural heritage is being commodified without any financial benefit to the community.

Architecture, planning, and surveying scholars Nur Izzati Mohd Rodzi, Saniah Ahmad Zaki, and Syed Mohd Hassan Syed Subli (2013) also look at the relationship between selling of intangible cultural heritage and tourism in "Between Tourism and Intangible Cultural Heritage." They explain that ""cultural tourism" which is used interchangeably with the terms 'heritage tourism' or 'ethnic tourism' usually offers tourists the attraction of cultural traditions, places and values such as religious practice, folklore traditions and social custom of certain communities or ethnicities" (413). They also state that one of the problems that has been identified with the commodification of intangible cultural heritage and tourism is the "'dumbing-down' of heritage interpretation, [and the] de-contextualization of the heritage" (412). Rodzi, Zaki, and Subli ultimately agree with George (2010) in their concern with people who benefit from the selling of intangible cultural heritage without sharing the profits with the people whose culture they commodify. However, neither this article nor George's examine commodification by members of the local community.

Finally, in *Packaging the Past: The Commodification of Heritage*, archaeologists Britt Baillie, Afroditi Chatzoglou, and Shadia Taha (2010) examine both the negative and positive consequences of commodification of heritage, such as having to appeal to consumers' *feeling* of authenticity rather than being true to the tradition, a concept that folklorists Michael Dylan Foster and Jeffrey A. Tolbert (2016) have termed the *folkloresque*. Baillie, Chatzoglou, and Taha also demonstrate that people can use the commodified version of traditions to educate tourists

about their culture, and to find empowerment. They explain that there has been a shift in the view of a commodity from products to include services; furthermore, "Today, a commodity is anything for which there is demand, but which is supplied without qualitative differentiation across the market" (2010, 53). Noting that "the notion of nostalgia for past experiences [is] the core of the heritage sector" (54), the authors explain that in contemporary society there are numerous examples of heritage being commodified, but that part of the aim of these commodified forms is to appeal to a audience whose interests go beyond nostalgia—they seek new audiences unfamiliar with the heritage that is being packaged and sold. These authors then provide examples of experience-oriented commodification of heritage, such as experiences that are focused on the Holocaust. Through these types of experiences, audiences "pretend that they are embroiled in an experience…that is outside the modern [i.e., contemporary] context, while they in fact remain safely rooted in precisely that modern context" (60). The Holocaust, while modern, occurred outside of living memory for the people who participate in these experiences and thus is often considered to be part of another era. They also discuss other experiences, such as visiting museums where the guides are pretending to be from a past era, such as the Civil War, and explain that "visitors engaged in the moment through a form of *play* in which they interacted with the interpreter and asked questions" (61). Baillie, Chatzoglou, and Taha conclude their article by stating that the consumers chose which forms of commodified heritage they engage with, and therefore it is the consumers who are creating their own culture. As a result, we as scholars need to move beyond the thought that the commodification of heritage is a "necessary evil" (69). Instead, we need to "investigate the empowering, as well as disadvantaging force that the commodification process can have for both heritage producers and consumers" (69).

Therefore, it is imperative that we examine the commodified forms of traditions and the reasons behind the commodification.

Re-enchantment

In "'Reconnecting to Everything': Fairies in Contemporary Paganism," anthropologist Sabina Magliocco (2018) explores how contemporary pagans are "interested in fairies precisely because of their presumed link to an earlier worldview in which the cosmos was alive with energies, animated by spirit beings – in other words, enchanted and ensouled" (327). She explains how fairies were viewed through the literary and experiential versions that people were familiar with:

> I argue that fairy narratives serve primarily to reenchant the natural world at a time of unprecedented ecological crisis. They animate and personalize it, creating emotional links between practitioners and places, plants, and animals. They are part of a body of imaginative responses to an environment in crisis that ascribe meaning to it, creating a participatory consciousness that may impel people toward more sustainable practices (329).

Magliocco also explains how the "fairy revival thus ironically demonstrates its own limitations: Pagans work with fairy energies because the fairies have been stripped of most of their negative powers" (330). Finally, she explains that "reenchanting the world by *imagining* its fairy denizens suggests a suspension of disbelief and a willingness to entertain the questions 'What if?'" (335, emphasis original).

The concept of re-enchantment, as understood by Magliocco, involves the willingness of the participant to suspend disbelief and to look for magic in the world, something that will be shown to be related to the Cupids Legacy Centre's Faerie Garden and Fairy Night events. Furthermore, Magliocco states in this article that "[a]n ability to connect with fairies, consort with them, and incorporate them into practice is a mark of distinction for some Pagans; it is part of how they construct differential identities" (328). This statement applies to the Cupids Legacy

Centre since the aim of the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights is to encourage people to learn more about Newfoundland's fairy traditions and intangible cultural heritage. By showcasing Newfoundland's intangible cultural heritage, the Cupids Legacy Centre teaches not just tourists about Newfoundland's ICH, but also residents of the province, which will show their connection to local identity. Finally, Magliocco states that fairies "train the imagination to perceive visual and sensory images in ways that sharpen focus, increase the vividness of imaginary perceptions, and can lead to extraordinary experiences" (336). Using the statues in the planters on the rooftop Faerie Garden, the Cupids Legacy Centre has been able to show the fairies' connection to nature, thus fostering the idea that there is magic in nature.

Historian Michael Saler (2003) also explores the concept of re-enchantment in his article "'Clap if You Believe in Sherlock Holmes': Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity, c. 1890-c. 1940." Saler notes that the concept of modernity was "widely associated with progress towards the rational and away from the supernatural, and efforts by believers to impart the veneer of scientific respectability to the supernatural were frequently greeted with scepticism if not outright disdain by contemporary commentators" (602). This lack of magic in the world led audiences of the time to look elsewhere for ways to bring back some mystery to their world using the character of Sherlock Holmes, who "became a modern icon partly because he utilized reason in a manner magical and adventurous, rather than in the purely instrumental fashion that many contemporaries feared" (604). In other words, Sherlock Holmes provided a way of reenchanting a world that was in line with the rational worldview of the time because he was able to use logic and reason in a creative and unexpected way, and audiences responded by willingly suspending their disbelief in a fictional character so that they were able to more fully embrace the magic that he brought to their lives.

In his article "Modernity, Disenchantment, and the Ironic Imagination," Saler (2004) explains that people who use what he calls an ironic imagination "do not so much willingly suspend their disbelief in fictional characters or worlds, as willingly believe in them with the double-minded awareness that they are engaging in pretence" (139). By using this type of imagination, "[o]ne could actively believe, albeit ironically, in marvels and wonders, without compromising one's standing as a rational and responsible adult" (142). Finally, he expresses the opinion that "one way in which modernity and enchantment ha[ve] been reconciled in the last century and a half has been through a greater acceptance and freer use of the imagination, and in particular through the use of the ironic imagination" (146). In other words, people now actively engage in something that they believe to be false to return a sense of magic to the world.

Up on the Boardwalk

Before preceding, it is important to examine play theory as it relates to the Cupids Legacy Centre. As was pointed out in the last chapter, play theory has mostly been studied from the perspective of children (Walder, 1933; Sutton-Smith, 2008; Henricks, 2014). Some scholars, such as Walder (1933), even express the opinion that play is only *possible* in children, since "the boundaries between reality and fantasy are still hazy" (221) and that as children age "other less alluring procedures take the place of play" (221). However, as the descriptions above and the discussion below show, play is not only for children. As Henricks points out, "creatures [including humans] typically seek some optimal balance between security (which, in extremes, can be boring) and stimulation (which, when magnified, produces anxiety)" (2014, 192). People also look for play experiences that help them transcend the everyday world (Sutton-Smith, 2008), and the fairies, both at the Cupids Legacy Centre and in Newfoundland in general, allow people to achieve this goal.

I asked Claudine what she believed was the draw that the fairies had for people in contemporary society:

> The mystery, mystique of it all. The fact that it was something that people were very, they strongly believed in it, they were, the people thought, they believed it was real years ago, and they were scared of the fairies. And I think now people aren't scared of them, but they enjoy the mystery of knowing about the fairies and just the whole, they kind of turned into more of a fun thing. But it definitely intrigues people.

On a similar note, Peter explained that he believed it was "because it's fascinating, I think it's, you know some of the stories are...many of the stories have a connection between reality and fiction, is it fiction, is it not fiction?" and that "humans like to be entertained, and they like to be fascinated, so I think that's part of the attraction of the fairies." Both the responses from Claudine and Peter show how it is the unknown element of the fairies that explains the attraction that they have for people. As Peter explained:

> For people who had encounters with fairies it was an encounter between the real world and things that were unexplained, and as humans we like to have explanations for things we don't understand. And so the fairies were a mechanism, the existence of the fairies in whatever form, whether it was somebody that looked like the fairies, or whether is was a whisper in the wind, or whether it was a moving light on the hill, whatever manifestation they took, whether it was a recreation of another human being that looked exactly like the real human being but wasn't the human being, like a changeling, whether it was an appearance in the form of a goat, don't matter. It was an attempt to explain for people who had had some kind of an inexplicable experience, trying to make sense out of the real things that had happened, and how based upon their understanding of the world, how the world worked, it just didn't make sense.

The interesting thing about this statement, though, is that people are content with the fairy explanation, even if there could be another explanation for these encounters. Peter told me a story he had heard as a little boy from a descendant of the person who had the fairy encounter:

> Little Tommy Snow, you know as little boys do they have lots of things that they want, lots of wishes that they have. One of the things that Tommy wished, he wished he was bigger, and he wished that he was stronger, and he wished that he could jump higher, and he wished that he could catch all the trout up in Cupids Pond, and when I was growing up here we'd say, "Go up to the pond to catch the breeder," the biggest trout up in the pond.

So he couldn't be any bigger, and he could only run as fast as you can, he also wished that, because there were a number, in rural Newfoundland it's not unusual for there to be several people in the community with the same name, so there were several Tom Snows, Tommy Snows, there was Grumpy Tom, there was Big Tom, there was Tom Slim, but this little Tommy Snow didn't have a nickname, and he wished, he wanted a nickname like all the other men had, but he was only a little boy, of course, he hadn't gotten a nickname yet.

So in the want of all these things, as a little boy growing up, Tommy decided he was going to go up to the Pond, up in Cupids Pond, and Tom Snow lived right here in the head section of Cupids where I am, so not too far from the pond, so he decided he was going to go up with his pole and try to catch some trout, and he walked up to the top of the hill, perched down on Cupids Pond, perfectly calm day, and you can see trout jumping all over the place, and he's trying to figure out the best place to go, and there's a rock called the diving rock which is probably about four feet off from the shoreline. So he decides that's the best place to go to be able to switch out in the pond and get close to the trout, so he was done there, takes his worms, puts his worms on the hooks, switches out, and he starts to haul his pole in, he's sure he's going to get a trout, on the first switch, but he doesn't get anything. Switches it out in a slightly different location, the second time, hauls it in slowly, sure he's going to get a trout, doesn't even get a bite.

So he sees a big trout jump just to the right of where he's standing, and he switches out, said, "I got to get it out as far as I can."

He gets right out on the edge of the rock and as he makes the switch he falls out into the pond. So he's out in the pond and of course he doesn't know how to swim, so he's swallowing water and he's thrashing around in the water, singing,

"Help, help me! Help me! Help, Mom! Help me!"

And he's hoping somebody's going to hear him, but nobody lives up around Cupids Pond, so there is nobody to help him unless somebody else is up trouting.

So he's thrashing around in the water and he hears somebody laughing. As he turns and looks back towards the rock that he was standing on, there's a cliff behind it and he sees a little old man crouched on the rock. The little old man of course looks exactly like the one that's at the Legacy Centre. And so this little old man is looking at Tom, and he's saying [singsong voice], "Tommy, I can help you, I can help you, but you're gonna drown, you're gonna drown, I can help you, but you're gonna drown."

[normal voice] Tommy says, "No, help me, help me, please help me, help me." So the little man looks at Tommy and he says "Well Tommy if I help you, what will you do for me?"

Tommy says, "Well I'll give you my pole, I'll give you my worms, I'll give you the trout that I catch."

The little old man just stood there and he's shaking his head, and shaking his head, and shaking,

"Not good enough Tommy," he says, "Not good enough."

But Tommy says, "I'll give you anything, anything you want." And with that the little old man jumps off this ledge, lands on the shoreline, and he skips right out over the top of the water, he's walking on the water. Skips out to where Tommy is, grabs him by the scruff of the neck, drags him in through the water, and throws him up on the shoreline. Tommy is saved.

Tommy is face down on the beach, coughing and spitting, and he thinks he hears some music and hears some people singing. He raises his head and discovers there's a whole circle of little men and women all dancing around him, one of them has a fiddle, playing a fiddle. And he sees the little old man up on the, sitting in the same spot on the side of the cliff, and there's a little tiny boy sitting next to the little old man.

So Tommy of course rubs his eyes, looks at the people, and he looks at the little man, and the little man says, "Tommy, you okay?"

Tommy says, "Yes, thank you, thank you, thank you for saving me."

So the little old man looks down at Tommy and says, "Now Tommy don't forget our deal."

Tommy says, "Yes, I have to give you something."

"Oh no, no, no," the little old man says, "Not something, you have to give me anything I want."

Tommy says, "Okay, well, I haven't got very much."

So the little old man looks at the little boy that's sitting next to him and he says "Tommy, this is my little cousin" he says "look at him, do you know why he's crying, why there's tears are falling on his cheeks?"

Tommy says "I have no idea."

"Well Tommy, he's crying because he can't speak, he's mute."

Tommy says, "Sorry, I didn't realize that, I'm sorry he can't speak."

He says, "Tommy, you know our deal."

Tommy says, "yeah."

“Tommy, I want your voice for my cousin.”

Tommy protested saying. “Well I won’t give you my voice, I can’t give you my voice.”

“Tommy, I want your voice.”

Tommy again protested, said, “Well that’s impossible.”

Then the little old man says, “Tommy! I want your voice!”

There’s a big clap of thunder, a big flash of lightning, the little man disappears, the boy disappears, all the other fairies disappear, cause Tommy doesn’t realize it’s fairies right now, and Tommy lies there on the beach by himself. And he’s kind of rubbing his eyes, and thinking, “My God, what just happened, did I have a dream?”, and then he realizes his clothes is wet, boots full of water, said, “Well, I was definitely in the pond, that’s for sure. Anyways, I got to get home.”

As he’s walking up over the side of the hill, he comes to the side of the ridge, just above where he lives and of course he looks back over the ridge, back towards his house he sees a group of men coming up and they’re all spaced out, maybe six, seven feet apart and they’re all looking through the trees, and they’re all looking for something, and they see Tommy there, run up to him, and they ask Tommy what happened. So Tommy opens his mouth to speak, and he used his arms, and his tongue, and his lips to explain to them what happened...but there’s no sound coming out.

And so they take him back down where his mom is, and where his grandmother is, bring him into the kitchen, and his mom gives him a hug, sees he’s wet and asks him what happened. And again he tries to explain to her using his lips and his hands what happened, little old man, falling in the water, thrashing in the water, just he’s motioning all this because there’s no sound coming out of his mouth, the little old man skipping across the water, grabbing him by the scruff of the neck, and throwing up on the side of the beach, and so on.

Then his grandmother decides she’s going to get a writing pad, so she gets a writing pad and a pencil, and she comes out and says, “Tommy, answer the questions.”

So Tommy writes down the answer to the questions, “Where were you?”

“I was up to the pond.”

“What happened to you?”

“Fell in.”

His grandmother said, “But Tommy you can’t swim.”

> Tommy says “No.”
>
> “Well how come you didn’t drown?”
>
> Then Tommy explains how this little man skipped across the water, grabbed him by the scruff of the neck, threw him up on the beach. His grandmother says, “Oh my God,” she says, “you know what happened?”
>
> And Tommy says, “No.”
>
> She says, “Oh my God, that was the fairies, the fairies saved you.”
>
> Then she asked him, “Tommy, did the fairy want anything in return for saving you?”
>
> Tommy nodded his head, and he points toward his throat, and his lips, and his mouth.
>
> And his grandmother says, “Oh my God, he took your voice, in order to save your life, and that’s a small price to pay”
>
> So that’s how Tommy got saved, Tommy was saved by the fairies after he fell in Cupids Pond, thought he was gonna drown, and traded his voice in exchange for the saving of his life.
>
> And the other thing that happened that day, Tommy got saved was the first thing that happened, the second thing that happened was Tommy got a nickname, so forever after in Cupids, there was Grumpy Tom and Tom Slim, and the other Toms, and this little Tommy finally had a nickname, he finally got his wish granted, because from thereafter he was known as Tom Mute, the little boy who fell in the pond and had to give up his voice in order to be saved by the fairies.

The story was only related to me in an abridged version due to time constraints and the lack of face-to-face interaction. Peter explained that the family of the man is still living in the area:

> These are real people that’s the story about as well, so you talk to the Snows here in Cupids, and, “Oh yeah, yeah, yup, my grandfather, my great-grandfather now,” cause it’s another generation. “My great-great now, yeah he couldn’t speak something, you know he had an experience up in Cupids Pond as a little boy, and lost his voice, they say it was the fairies.” And they won’t say it wasn’t, we try to get them to say he didn’t have a fairy encounter, they won’t say that...

The use of a fairy as the explanation for what happened to their family member is a local example of what Magliocco (2018) observed with some of the encounters that her Pagan

participants had and their use of the fairies for explaining what had happened to them. Peter will tell this story to some of the visitors to the Cupids Legacy Centre, and he has told it to tour groups while overlooking Cupids Pond; a video on the Cupids Legacy Centre's YouTube channel shows Peter up on the rooftop telling the story of Tom Snow to some younger children. Through these storytelling performances, Peter is able to gain the distinction of a local storyteller and tradition bearer, something that is highly valued in Newfoundland culture (Halpert and Widdowson, 2015).

I asked Claudine what she thought has led to the resurgence in the interest in fairy traditions, and she said:

> I think for a while people thought that was not necessarily a good thing. They wanted to move forward instead of holding onto the past whereas now we certainly appreciate the past, and a lot of it's got to do with as you get older. I know a lot of music that I wouldn't have listened to when I was, not even traditional, a lot of music that I would, as a teenager would absolutely refused to listen to, now I appreciate it so much more, and I think why didn't I appreciate that, this music when I was younger sort of thing, so it's just progression I guess

I also asked if she thought that it was important to people to incorporate fairies into the Cupids Legacy Centre, and she said:

> If you're interested in your past, and whether it's the historical past or the cultural past, or the myth, sure it's important. It's part of who we are, it's part of what came when they came from Ireland, and they came from England, it's all a part of what makes us as a people today. So yes it is important that we share the information, and we keep the stories alive. There's so much, we've lost so much of our, you know you look around like the houses and the furniture and the stuff that was either destroyed or people came down from wherever, the antiques that were purchased and removed from the island, we've lost so much that what we do have left we have to share and we have to preserve.

As noted by Saler (2003), sometimes people look for re-enchantment to gain a sense of something that they feel they have lost. The same can be seen with the fairy traditions, and the reasons behind the Faerie Garden's incorporation into the Cupids Legacy Centre, and the Fairy Nights that are hosted there. Through the inclusion of these events into the organization, the

Cupids Legacy Centre ensures that the fairy traditions, and more importantly the oral story-telling traditions that are so much a part of Newfoundland culture, continue to survive.

Peter described one of the reasons that the storytelling tradition is so important to pass on:

> I guess it's part of our desire to hear stories that are beyond the explainable, it ties into our sense of fantasy, our desire for there to be a little bit of magic in the world. Sometimes you know when people are telling stories they begin a story by saying "A long, long time ago", "Long before my time or your time", "Long ago when magic was easier to find." So I think perhaps people are curious about the things that happen around us that are inexplicable. We'd be naive to think that I know everything, I know we in 2020 know a lot more than we did in 1950 or 1900 or 1800, but there are a lot of things we don't know, there are a lot of things that can't be explained. And so again in Newfoundland tradition, fairies are ways of explaining things, sometimes something happens to somebody, there's no logical reasonable explanation why something bad happened to somebody, or somebody got lost in the woods, the fairies I guess is a way of explaining what had happened...Well I think they're just, it ties into our human desire to be fascinated. Humans want to be fascinated, they don't want to be bored, and so stories about the fairies are often fascinating stories, and when people create fairy stories, tell fairy stories it's a way of creating a fascinating experience for a brief period of time, a period of time when people can suspend their normal sense of belief that everything has to be explained in logical terms.

This statement perfectly sums up the concept of re-enchantment that Saler (2003, 2004) and Magliocco (2018) showcase in their articles, because it highlights people's willingness to suspend disbelief in the rational world where everything needs to have a logical explanation so that they can interact with the magical world.

Furthermore, Magliocco points out that "[r]e-enchanting a disenchanted world requires imaginative work" (2018, 329). This observation certainly applies to the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights found at the Cupids Legacy Centre. Through the incorporation of the different aspects of the Newfoundland fairy traditions shown through the three statues, and the lack of interpretive panels is an innovative way to encourage visitors to interact in oral conversation with

their guide, thereby engaging them in the oral storytelling traditions that are part of Newfoundland identity (Halpert and Widdowson, 2015).

The Fairy Nights at the Cupids Legacy Centre work in the same manner. Through the ballet that opens the events, the people who attend are encouraged to suspend their disbelief and temporarily engage with the story that is being laid out for them, that of the little boy being taken by the fairies. Throughout the night, audience members are encouraged to listen to people who tell genuine personal experience narratives about their own fairy encounters, thereby re-enchanting the normal world through the suspension of disbelief. Finally, the reception at the end of the night encourages the participants to talk to each other. The organization of the Nights, which allows the participants to experience the fairies in these different ways, allows the audience to connect to the tradition on different levels, and therefore makes it easier to suspend disbelief and find re-enchantment.

As Magliocco states, "imagination alone is not enough to bring about a shift in consciousness that leads to this sense of participation" (2018, 338). The organization of the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights also shows how fairies "re-enchant the natural world and strive to create personal connections between narrators, audiences, and a sense of nature as animated and inspirited" (Magliocco, 2018, 333), through the encouragement to engage in face-to-face interactions among visitors, participants, and interpretive guides.

Conclusion

The Cupids Legacy Centre have used Newfoundland fairy traditions through their Faerie Garden, Fairy Nights, and the selling of a replica of one of their fairy statues in the Cupids Legacy Centre Gift Shop. Although visitors do have to pay to visit the Cupids Legacy Centre, or buy tickets to the Fairy Nights, there was never an indication in my interviews that they put

profit first. In fact, Claudine stated that the Cupids Legacy Centre is a not-for-profit organization. According to the Cupids Legacy Centre website, the main goal of the Centre is to celebrate Cupids' history and legacy.

However, despite not being an outright capitalist venture, the Cupids Legacy Centre can be said to commodify the fairies. The replica of the fairy statue that is sold in the Museum Shop is an example of commodification because it is an object that visitors can buy. In his PhD dissertation, *Consumption and Cultural Commodification: The Case of the Museum as Commodity,* James A. Fitchett states that the "context of the viewing is as valuable as the theme of the presentation and is as much the commodity as the footage[15] being watched" (1997, 254). He also states that:

> The museum is not simply a forum for consumption in the same way as a shopping mall or a supermarket provides a forum for the consumption of certain types of goods and services. The museum is a commodity itself. As stated earlier in the analysis, visitors do not only visit museums to see and view objects, they do so for the reason of visiting the museum. (255)

A museum itself can be considered a commodity because visitors are paying for an *experience*. This concept was also seen in the last chapter when discussing the Fairy Door Tours. In this way, the Cupids Legacy Centre does commodify the fairies, because they have incorporated the idea of the fairies into their organization in a visual way that people pay to come see. Also, by placing the fairies outside on the rooftop, the Cupids Legacy Centre adds to the experience and atmosphere of the Faerie Garden. Therefore, while profit is not their primary goal, the Cupids Legacy Centre is an example of commodification in the heritage sector.

The Cupids Legacy Centre does highlight traditional aspects of Newfoundland fairy traditions, through the telling of local stories and images, especially the inclusion of the "old-

[15] Fitchett was discussing museums that include video footage and descriptions as part of their exhibits.

man statue" and the telling of traditional fairy stories both in the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights. Although not being directly influenced by the popular culture representation of fairies, the other two fairy statues do include some of the aspects seen in the popular culture representation, such as the beautiful features and the wings. These different aspects were chosen because they add to the appeal of the fairies to people from all over the world, not just locals. While the two beautiful fairies do showcase some aspects of the traditional Newfoundland fairy lore, such as their love of music and dancing, these two statues portray a more sanitized version of fairies than the old man statue. In this way, the visual representation of fairies at the Cupids Legacy Centre has been influenced by the representation of fairies in popular culture, but not to the same extent that was seen in the Fairy Door Tours. The reason for this difference is probably due to the age of the targeted audience, since the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights were targeted at an older audience than the Fairy Door Tours.

The commodification of the fairies at the Cupids Legacy Centre uses the current fascination to teach people about the traditional view of the fairies, and to also keep the oral story-telling tradition alive in local culture. Peter and Claudine believe that people want to engage with the fairies as presented at the Cupids Legacy Centre because they want to bring magic back into their lives. As the statements from both Claudine and Peter show, people want to be fascinated and they want to be entertained. In this way, even the adults that visit the Faerie Garden and attend the Fairy Nights are engaging in a form of play that allows them to bring some sort of mystery and magic back into the everyday world, even if for a short time.

The concepts of play and re-enchantment will be further explored in the next chapter when discussing the writing and publishing of fairy narratives and will be placed in conjunction

with the theoretical concept of escapism. The next chapter will also examine the influence of the popular culture representation of fairies on the written portrayal of them in Newfoundland.

Chapter Four:
"A Good Story is a Good Story": Writing and Publishing the Fairy Story

In contrast to the previous two chapters, this chapter does not focus on a fairy experience that takes place in a specific location. Rather, it looks at how local writers and publishers have created a portable fairy experience that people can read at their leisure. I interviewed two local writers, Dennis Flynn from Colliers and Dale Jarvis from St. John's. I also interviewed Marnie Parsons, the owner and operator of the Running the Goat: Books and Broadsides publishing company in Tors Cove. The first part of this chapter gives some background information on each of these people, how they incorporate fairies into their creative works, and why they chose this medium to share their ideas. It will also show how they learned these fairy traditions, and I incorporate some reviews of these various works that can be found online to try to determine how the public responds to this type of fairy experience. These reviews are not exhaustive and are only meant to try to overcome the restrictions placed upon fieldwork by the university due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The next section will explore the theoretical concept of escapism as it relates to literature and reading experiences. Finally, I return to the theoretical concepts of play and re-enchantment from previous chapters, which, along with escapism, help us understand why audiences enjoy this form of fairy experience.

Let Me Tell You a Story

Dennis Flynn is a freelance writer and photographer[16] from Colliers (see Figure 4.1and 4.2 below), a little town in the Conception Bay area of Newfoundland and Labrador, located about forty kilometers from the capital of St. John's. He often writes stories for *Downhome* magazine,[17] including "The Fairy Month of May" (2018). Dennis has also been a panelist during

[16] For more information about Dennis' photography and prints, visit http://dennisflynn.ca/.
[17] The Downhome magazine is a local publication that contains pieces such as local stories and events, recipes, and interviews. For more information about the magazine, visit https://www.downhomelife.com/.

some of the Cupids Legacy Centre Fairy Nights. In "The Fairy Month of May," Dennis writes about is how he came to learn about fairy stories from his father:

> Most people I've talked to about fairies in Newfoundland agree that these woodland imps immigrated here with Irish settlers. My father says it's likely the grownups used the fairies to explain things that were foreign to them in this new country. "It must have come over with the first Irish settlers in this area, and the stories of the fairies were really just ways of explaining odd things or events in nature that didn't seem to have a logical explanation at first glance. They always loved old stories and songs, so the fairies survived here as a form of entertainment, but also a way of passing on a bit of a serious warning to young people on how to conduct yourself out in the woods or near water or cliffs or the outskirts of communities," Tony says. "It was easy to get lost berry picking in the fall or to take a tumble off a hill or a cliff in the spring when the weather was unpredictable, the ground was not solid and pond ice unsafe as it melted away. So watching out for the fairies or the unknown in potentially dangerous areas where young people might have otherwise let their guard down helped children be aware of their surroundings and stay safe." He adds, "The fairy stories probably saved more lives over the years than we may ever know."
>
> The fairies (a.k.a. "little people" or "good people") that evolved here have individual personalities. Some may be helpful; others are known to be mischievous, even malevolent. You'd be wise to never offend them or damage their fairy ring (a conspicuous but naturally occurring ring of trees, bushes or flowers), lest you be led astray. Protections against being taken include such things as tossing a glove into the centre of a fairy ring, carrying bread in your pocket, wearing an item of clothing inside out, carrying a religious medal and not wearing red (Flynn, 2018).

He also includes a story that was told to him by Linda Corbett, also from Colliers:

> Linda Corbett of Colliers recalls how her nan, Alice McGrath, had the younger ones terrified to be out after dark with her dire warnings of fairies. "May was indeed the fairy month, and she used to make us carry bread in our pocket if going out after dark. We'd also turn our inner T-shirts inside out so the fairies wouldn't take us. She would warn us not to go into the garden after dark or the fairies would get us," Linda says. Her nan was a great storyteller, and this particular fairy story will give you chills.
>
> "One particular story she told was about her cousin, Bride Doyle. Bride was Tom and Bess Doyle's sister and lived next door…According to Nan, Bride was in the kitchen...one day and her mother was knitting. A ball of yarn fell on the floor and Bride got down under the daybed to retrieve it. When she got up, her face was all distorted and she couldn't speak. The common belief was that a fairy poked her."
>
> Bride died in childhood, and something strange happened when the poor child's body was being driven to the cemetery by horse and carriage. "At the end of Doyle's Lane at that time, there was a drain which ran across the road before reaching Harbour Drive proper. When the horse and carriage reached this spot, the horse refused to cross

Figure 4.1 Fairy Ring of Trees in Newfoundland (Location undisclosed; photo by Dennis Flynn, used with Permission) [18]

over the drain. The pallbearers proceeded to carry the casket over the drain and attempted to get the horse to follow. When the men lifted the casket, it was an extremely heavy weight - far too heavy for the small body held inside. Lore has it that they proceeded over the drain and the casket immediately lightened. The horse then proceeded over and the casket was carried by carriage the rest of the way to the cemetery without issue. The common belief is that the fairy which poked Bride while she was retrieving the ball of yarn was in the casket with her and couldn't cross over the water. When the casket was carried over the drain, the fairy stayed on the other side" (Flynn, 2018).

Dennis presents the fairies in line with traditional Newfoundland folklore, as he learned about

them growing up: tricksy, or sometimes evil, beings, different from those in the Fairy Door

[18] The location for this photo is listed as unknown because Dennis is sworn to secrecy by the property owners as to the specific geographic location.

Tours and international popular culture. They are presented as being more like the old man statue at the Cupids Legacy Centre, without wings or beauty.

Dale Jarvis is a local writer who has published several books on Newfoundland culture, mostly its supernatural traditions.[19] He collects these from local storytellers and retells many of them in his own words, which is the case with "On the Fairy Path" from *Wonderful Strange: Ghosts, Fairies, and Fabulous Beasties* (2005, 39-40):

> Ray Curran related a story concerning his great-uncle from Ferryland. Years ago, this great-uncle met a woman from Fermeuse. When they were married, the man moved from Ferryland to his new home. After a few years of marriage, they decided to build a house in the Riverhead area of Fermeuse.
>
> Not long after the house was constructed strange things started to happen. Dishes were found broken in the morning, pictures were removed from walls, and doors that had been closed were found open. This went on for some time. After a while people in the community started to stay away from the house.
>
> As any real estate agent can tell you, the most important thing in developing a property is location, location, location. Apparently our gentleman friend had not done his homework when deciding upon that factor. According to the older people in the area he had inadvertently built his new house along a path that was known to be used by the fairies.
>
> The man had grown up in an area where fairies roamed in Ferryland and realized that if he did not move the house he would never have any peace and quiet.
>
> He arranged to get twenty or thirty of his neighbours together. With a heave-to, the congregation moved the house to the far end of the meadow, about 150 feet away from the line of the fairy path. The man was never bothered by the wee folk again and lived to a ripe old age.

Like Dennis, Dale represents the fairies in the ways that people describe them to him, as annoying or malevolent beings. In addition to writing stories, Dale offers storytelling appearances and workshops, and he is the creator and operator of the St. John's Haunted Hike.[20]

[19] Please see http://www.dalejarvis.ca/ for more a complete list of all his books and appearance dates.
[20] The Haunted Hike is a walking tour that takes place in St. John's and contains local ghost stories. For more information, visit https://www.hauntedhike.com/.

He is currently the provincial Intangible Cultural Heritage Development Officer, which means that he "helps communities safeguard traditional culture." In fact, when Dale comes to university classes to discuss what it means to safeguard local culture, he will often begin by recounting "On The Fairy Path." I asked him the reason that he begins with this story, and he said:

> There is that story that I tell about the house on the fairy path, and I think the reason I tell that story isn't really about the fairies, I tell that story because it's about local knowledge. That's the other thing that I think is interesting about a lot of the fairy interaction stories is about how humans have come in, and we don't really understand where the fairy world begins and ends, and they kind of stumble on a fairy fort, or trespass on a marsh that the fairies own or something. So for me when I tell that story it is a fairy story but it's really about humans not knowing the stories about where they are, and through learning the stories of where they are that they're able to deal with that. I mean, I could probably tell one about a ghost story as well, but I do like that, and as well I think I tell that story often because it's a real, it's a Newfoundland story, it is uniquely Newfoundland, I could tell a ghost story from anywhere in the world, but I think the fairy story is really pinpointed on the map somehow, it makes it feel more like a Newfoundland culture-based story than just a generic ghost story.

In this statement, Dale demonstrates the concept of the fairies belonging to Newfoundland that has been seen throughout all my interviews and will be examined in the next chapter of this thesis.

Marnie Parsons is the owner and operator of Running the Goat: Books and Broadsides publishing company, which began in St. John's but now operates out of Tors Cove, where she also has a little shop. She currently has a company website, and a social media presence on Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Instagram, and she ships online orders across both the province and the country. [21] Marnie told me that she first came here from Ontario in 1997 for about ten months, and she moved back to the province permanently in 1999, and as she told me "very happily so." She started Running the Goat after she was taught letterpress printing,[22] and the

[21] https://runningthegoat.com/

[22] Letterpress printing is a type of publishing where books are created by hand using metal type to create the imprint of the letters on the page.

business grew from there to include other types of books, although her focus is on Atlantic Canadian culture and specifically Newfoundland and Labrador.

Marnie gave me an overview of some of the fairy works she has published, saying:

> I've done a book of fairy lore by Tom Dawe, which is really lovely and creepy, and also a book of ghost stories by him, and he sort of sees a real sort of cross-over between the ghosts and the fairies, and those realms, and there's actually the lovely little Youtube thingy on Running the Goat's, Running the Goat has a Youtube channel, there's a little thing of an interview of him talking about fairies and ghosts, and then I'm in the process right now of editing a YA novel by Kate Story, which has a lot of very interesting fairy lore in it, it's a very complex, I think brilliant book [laughter].

She also explained the target audiences for these books:

> The Tom Dawe we say ages nine and up, although a lot of adults really like it too, and the only reason we say nine and up is because the stories are scary [laughter]. I mean they really are quite scary, they freak me out sometimes, and so we don't want to frighten kids, now the Kate Story book is definitely ages thirteen and up, partly the language, partly the, and it's also a transgender story, so there's some really interesting things happening, but just the sophistication of the language and the content is definitely not meant for young kids.

As was the case with Dennis and Dale, this representation of fairies is in direct contrast with those found on the Fairy Door Tours, and is more malevolent and scarier than the ones found at the Cupids Legacy Centre.

I wanted to understand how each of my participants came to be interested in fairy stories. Dale explained:

> I have always been interested in stories and storytelling, and have an interest in supernatural stories in particular, and so I guess I've been interested in stories about Newfoundland fairies for probably twenty-five years or so, and kind of through research that I had been doing on other kinds of supernatural folk stories, I started off doing a lot of research around ghost stories, and kind of out of that really developed an interest in fairy stories as well.

Dennis started by telling me that Colliers, despite its proximity to St. John's, has always felt more like a rural community:

> [Colliers] was a small, fishing village, you know beautiful landscape, mountains, small horseshoe shaped harbour, ponds and roots abound, all kinds of what you might call liminal territory. So stories of fairies and ghosts and fetches and ghosts and ghouls and death tokens were just everyday occurrences for generations prior to mine and I can, I was very fortunate. I came along at the tail end of all of that. There were still older people when I was a boy who were wonderful story tellers.

Finally, Marnie's interest goes back to when she was a child in Ontario:

> I've been interested in folklore since I was a kid, I remember I had a very dear friend who was like a second father to me who was from Scotland, and he had fabulous stories, not much about fairies, but great ghost stories, and stories about just Scottish traditions, which seemed very magical to me since I came, I was raised in a very nice home, but where you just didn't talk about those kinds of things. So it really piqued my imagination, and I remember as a kid going to the library and just reading volume after volume after volume of stories of Scottish folklore and things like that and so I was primed for it, and I've always loved folktales since I was a kid, so there was just something in me that really appealed to that idea of the magical and the supernatural, and the possibility of a realm slightly outside of the more practical day to day realm.

As all three of these statements show, the interest that these three participants had in fairies, and in folklore in general, was instilled in them when they were younger. All three came the fairy traditions while exploring some other form of supernatural folk traditions.

I asked all three participants about their conception of a fairy, and Dennis explained:

> There's a whole host of ways of looking at it. Popular culture nowadays tends to represent them as what I would call the Disney version of a fairy, Tinker Bell, flying wings, little magic wands, very harmless, innocuous type creature, as spirits for good, but to most of the people that [unintelligible] as a young boy actually, fairies were not necessarily good, they could help you, they could ignore you, or they could really go out of their way, spirits of nature of some type, some say they were fallen angels, there's these all kinds of theories of what they were.

Figure 4.2 Fairy Ring of Wildflowers on Bell Island (Photo by Dennis Flynn and used with permission)

As seen in Chapter Two with Tina, Dennis expresses an emic use of the concept of Disneyfication: a change of tradition to resemble the characteristics of a Disney property. Once again, this use is different than what scholars would label Disneyfication as topography altered to resemble a theme park.

Like Dennis, Dale stated:

> That's a very complex question [laughter], and I think...a fairy is a...supernatural, extranatural kind of creature...that it kind of lives on the margins of human experience and human settlement I guess, it kind of occupies these kind of shadow areas in our beliefs and in the spaces where we live. And what that really means really depends on where people are from, what community they're in, fairies are explained in a whole bunch of different ways and we tend to use the word fairy as if it's one thing, but I think in reality the history of narratives around fairies reveal that they're actually very very different, depending on who is doing the talking. Sometimes I think people use fairy to be kind of an all-encompassing word but I think if you talk to the two different Newfoundlanders from two different communities they might be talking about very very different kinds of experience. But in general something that represents a type of creature

> that kind of exists in the spiritual margins, so it may have a physical form, it may not, and it has a somewhat unpredictable nature in how it interacts with humans.

He expanded on these ideas:

> One of the best definitions of fairies that I've heard which I think was from an English scholar of fairy research that they are in a way a personification of nature, like nature is sort of chaotic and unpredictable, and doesn't really work in a way that is reflective of human morals or sensibilities, and I really like that kind of definition, because I think that's how the fairies have been portrayed in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Finally, Marnie said:

> Well a fairy is a creature from another realm, I guess, they live kind of alongside of the human realm, and interact at times, but they are, in Newfoundland they tend to be a little bit tricksy, sometimes malevolent. You don't really want to cross them, so they feel to me, I mean the stories are about how they interact with humans often and in sort of an uncomfortable way, sometimes they can be helpful but I think my sense of traditional, of helpful fairies and sprites and things like that tend to be other cultures. It seems to me that when the stories came over to Newfoundland, they left the helpful ones behind, at least in most of the stories that I hear, and it is sort of that liminal world, that sort of runs alongside.

Despite the different ways of describing them, all three participants had one thing in common for their descriptions of fairies: they are creatures that are not us.

I asked Dale what he thought the attraction of the fairies is:

> I think because they're, we like things that are not us in some ways, we like the freedom of them maybe, the unpredictability, we have lots of stories in Newfoundland particular where they can do ill but they can also do good, they are out of the ordinary. So I think they can, because they are ever-changing, if you are a person who is making an experience based around a fairy, or your making a statue to put in a fairy garden, no one can tell you you're doing it wrong, because fairies are kind of anything, and so they are open to our, they open our imagination in a way, because we can dream of them to be anything we want them to be.

This differentiation from humans is part of what leads to the attraction that the fairies have for people.

I asked all three participants about their target audience. Marnie said that it depends upon the book, with her audience for her fairy books ranging from about nine years old to young

adults, although she did say that adults seemed to really enjoy them as well. I asked why she wanted to focus on a younger audience for these works, and she stated:

> I think it's really important that kids have good quality books that challenge them, but don't necessarily preach to them, I have some really beautiful books, if you want my big rant, we can't expect, it's a way of informing and educating kids so that they become responsible citizens if you don't provide them, if all you give a kid to read is the equivalent of potato chips their whole life then they're not going to be healthy, thinking adults. So I just really love creating, what I hope are really beautiful and thoughtful books that I hope engage kids and present them with ways to think about the world and help them develop into thinking, responsible adults.

Dale answered:

> I find that the stuff that I write has a pretty wide appeal in terms of ages, I always kind of feel that I'm writing for myself, ultimately, so I always, I don't know who my direct audience is, but I do know that often younger readers, teenagers, they do like some of the stuff that I write because their interested in those supernatural tropes, so they do enjoy the more, I don't know, paranormal, supernatural, horror element, whereas older readers still might enjoy that but are also interested in the local history, as well, so I think it has a nice kind of cross-appeal. And I think older audiences, older readers are kind of nostalgic in a way for some of those stories that they might remember their grandparents' generation talking about.

Finally, Dennis said:

> somebody who's old enough to read but is curious, up to somebody whose, I'm not writing, I'm not dumbing it down and I'm not, I'm not writing for a scholarly or an academic audience, but I'm not writing for a preschool, it's one of those things where your trying to make it informative, and cross-section of the public, and taking a little bit of our history, our folklore, a little bit of cultural tourism, things of this nature, and something that's unusual or unique about a place or an encounter or an experience, and trying to find, well I like positive stories [unintelligible] I prefer, there's enough bad news in the world, I don't really need to add to it, so I like to put a positive slant if I can.

These statements all show that these participants have a very wide target audience, although all agree that the types of fairies in their works are not suitable for young children, but rather are meant for a more maturing audience. This observation is interesting when it is looked at under the theme of escapism, as will be seen later.

When asked how they thought that fairies were portrayed in popular culture and how this

affected the way they portray fairies in their work, Marnie admitted:

> Well I have to confess that I don't know a lot of contemporary popular television that would have fairies in it, I still sort of have a hold over people doing sort of this romanticized, playful sense of fairies, but my daughter watches a lot of sci-fi speculative stuff, and I get the feeling that the darker strains are there and they are coming out but just in a realm of literature and culture that I'm not connected to, as I'm old. I think in kids books there's a split I think, in kids books there's still is really sort of sweet, fluttery things, and little whimsical wispy dresses that flutter, there's still a fair amount of that, but there is increasingly because of that sort of trend in literature towards the darker generally, I mean they're getting kind of dark in kids books too, so I think there's a growing, I think there's a bit of a balance is what I'm saying.

Marnie also explained that "it [the representation of fairies in popular culture] wouldn't have affected me because I don't really like the fluttery fairies, so it's very unlikely I would ever do one that was sweet and fluttery...so it hasn't affected me." She continued:

> I find them kind of insipid, [laughter] I'm sorry, I don't know, I just find them a bit, I find them like they're sort of pulling away for me the more rooted stories, and that's probably just me focusing only on the dark stuff. And I'm not that dark a person, but maybe that's why, maybe it allows me to protect my inner darkness that I don't want to acknowledge to the fairies, but I find them a little bit sweetness and light, and I don't think that sort of fluttery things are really dealing with the complexities of human emotion and experience, which I guess that's another way of looking at the fairies is a projection, an externalization of our darker selves, but they're not just dark. I do, I'm trying to think, I know, there are great stories that I know, people have said fairy encounters are, sometimes they're not even malevolent, they're just sort of amoral, they're just sort of outside of their realm of the human experience, but they're rubbing alongside it, so the fluttery ones, yeah they just seem to lack substance somehow.

As shown through these statements, the popular culture representation of fairies is not always welcome. Like Tina, Peter, and Claudine, Marnie shares the opinion that the popular culture representation of fairies has been a negative thing, removing the depth and substance from an important tradition. Through this change, the fairies have lost that ability to teach their audience about right and wrong.

When I asked the same question to Dale, he explained:

> I think in pop culture...the way that fairies are portrayed have kind of a couple of different origin points, I think quite often, especially in regards to pop culture that is

> geared towards children, you have this image of kind of Cottingley fairies kind of fairy, the very beautiful, tiny, ethereal Tinker Bell looking fairy. I think if you said fairy to most people that's kind of the image that they would have, that kind of winged, Tinker Bell kind of fairy, and I think we owe a lot of that to Victorian, commercial representations of what fairies were, we start to see that in the Victorian era, there were music hall entertainments that helped give rise to that idea of fairies being largely feminine, girls in tights, and with pretty wings and gossamer kind of clothing. I think it comes out of that music hall tradition in a certain way, and it makes fairies less threatening, we are not frightened of those kinds of fairies, so I think there was very much a deliberate marketing of fairies as being for children, that goes back well over a hundred years.

He also explained that in Newfoundland and Labrador:

> I think two things happened at the same time. I think there is a folk belief and folk narrative around fairy stories and then there is kind of this pop-culture view of fairies. I think the two things happen side-by-side and have happened since day one, well maybe not day one, but it's certainly for a hundred, a hundred and twenty years, when you look back at the old newspaper online, and when you do a search for fairy, what you see in kind of turn-of-the-century St. John's, anyway, are a lot of operettas and dance performances that are fairy themes, you see fairy stories that have been created, written for children, and some of those are not even local stories, they're imported stories, you see book sellers in St. John's selling collections of fairy tales and fairy books. So I think it's almost impossible to separate from what happens here, what is collected or has been collected over the past hundred years from the pop culture stuff because I think those two things are so interwoven, and have been for so long

As a result, the popular culture representation of fairies may have affected the fairy stories that Dale collected, but it has not directly affected the way that he portrays them in his writing.

Following the Fairies

In this section of the chapter, I discuss some of the online reviews that have been posted about the participants discussed above. I have kept the reviewers' grammar the same as it appeared in their online reviews. Unfortunately, not all the books or articles had online reviews, making it difficult to fully understand how they were received by the general public.

Since the fairy stories that Dale collected and published are incorporated into books that also contain other supernatural tales, it is difficult to determine if the people who posted the reviews responded to the fairy stories specifically, or the books in general. However, the reviews

that have been included were chosen because they contain elements that are relevant when considered using the theoretical frameworks of enchantment/re-enchantment, escapism, or that mention specifically Newfoundland and Labrador's intangible cultural heritage.

The website for the bookstore Chapters (2021) contains several reviews of Dale's works. When discussing Dale's book *Haunted Shores: True Ghost Stories of Newfoundland and Labrador*, AshO stated that it's a "great read if you like folklore and give great history about newfoundland] and Labrador." Similarly, ASHh writes that "If you are a lover of folklore, especially of the spooky variety I highly recommend Haunted Shores. Like the other books in Jarvis' series it gives a wonderful peek into Newfoundland and Labrador's dark side while still maintaining the tongue in cheek humor the province is known for." When discussing *Wonderful Strange: Ghosts, Fairies and Fabulous Beasties*, Morgan said that "Just like haunted shores this collection has some amazing stories which capture the provinces folklore." These thoughts were also expressed in reviews found on Goodreads (2021). About *Haunted Shores*, Nicole writes:

> When I was a little girl, growing up in rural Newfoundland, it wasn't out of the ordinary for me to sit quietly some nights (making myself as small as possible so as not to be discovered) while my grandparents and other relatives sat around the kitchen table, or near the wood stove in the low light, trading ghost stories and tall tales of fairies out on the bog; Jackie Lantern or that one stretch of road it was best to avoid in the dark. "Haunted Shores" by Dale Jarvis brought me right back to those defining moments of childhood, listening with rapt attention to the tales of terror being told with unabashed delight. I miss those days. Reading this book felt like I was taking a step back in time.

These reviews reveal that local culture is the primary reason people enjoy these books. However, as stated earlier, it is impossible to tell how much influence the fairy stories had on the readers' responses to the books.

Unfortunately, I was unable to find reviews related to Dennis' fairy works online, making it impossible to determine the public's reactions to his work. On Running the Goat's: Books and

Broadsides Facebook page there is a link to a June 14, 2021, review of Tom Dawe's *Spirited Away: Fairy Stories of old Newfoundland* by Deborah Furchtgott of The Children's Bookshelf:

> The first one I saw on the website and immediately requested from Marnie was *Spirited Away: Fairy stories of old Newfoundland*, collected and told by Tom Dawe with perfectly eerie illustrations by Veselina Tomova. Note: this is a collection, not the single story spun out over 32 pages I was craving. But it was a re-immersion in the collections I loved from later childhood. A prim, usually upper middle class gentleman or lady during the Celtic Revival would wander around Ireland or Scotland writing down stories told by an older woman or gentleman, spinning literal and figurative yarn simultaneously while the earnest recorder set down the words. The methodological issues with those early collections are known and I won't revisit them, but I'm glad to have them. Tom Dawe's collection is better than those of the Celtic Revival, if I'm being blunt. He knows these stories in their creepy, delightful, eerie beauty. He knows them in his blood and bones and spins them into words with lyrical honesty, with a voice that reminds me of Ellen Bryan Obed's in its poetry and simplicity. Veselina Tomova, originally from Bulgaria, illustrated these stories with dark wood-cuts that snatch the heart of the story and splay the feeling across the page, grabbing the eye into the mood from the first glance. I love her art and want it on my wall.

Although this review does focus on the writer, and not the publisher, it is still a reflection of how Marnie's work is received, as it is an example of how her customers enjoy the books that she publishes, including those on Newfoundland fairies. Unfortunately, the rest of the reviews that I was able to find online were focused on books unrelated to fairies, or the shop itself, making them outside the scope of this thesis.

Escapism and Literature

In addition to the theoretical concept of re-enchantment that was outlined in Chapter 3, the other theoretical concept I will be using to explore the works outlined above is escapism, particularly escapism as it relates to literature.

In "Escape and Escapism Varieties of Literary Experience," American educator and writer Robert B. Heilman (1975) explores the evolution of the term "escape literature" and argues that it is too simplistic a term for the variety of works it encompasses, such as books that are read for temporary relief from pain, or for insights or perceptions for life, the Gothic novels

of Hawthorne and Bronte, or works considered forbidden by a person's society and therefore that allow a cathartic release of unruliness, such as pornography or protest literature. According to Heilman, "If we call an event an escape, we testify that it is especially interesting" (440) and that it provides a "sense of a departure from reality" (442). As he explains:

> Escaping through imaginative writing is in well-nigh universal use. But we begin to worry about this, too, and so we come up with the derogatory term *escape literature.* We are an age of escape, but we disapprove of escapism, nonliterary and literary….With one part of our psyche we want to get away from it all; with another we frown on the ways of doing it (447, emphasis original).

Heilman shows how people use literature as a way of removing themselves from some kind of situation, but that this practice is looked down upon. Therefore, the people who read for escape engage in something that feels forbidden, adding to its magic.

Through his examination of how the term escape literature came to be used, Heilman explains that readers have a "secret delight in the forbidden" (448). Furthermore, he argues against the criticisms that have been raised in response to the use of escape literature, such as the belief that it leaves audiences unable to cope with reality, instead he points out that "the self-justification of fiction was that it turned readers toward rather than away from the way things are" (449). In other words, rather than hiding from reality, Heilman believes that through the reading of fiction and escape literature, a person becomes better able to handle the world as it is. He states that "even the most horrifying situations imaginatively experienced in literature are infinitely more bearable than they would be in 'real life'" (454), meaning that people can handle reading something better than they would if they experienced it.

Finally, Heilman argues that the term escape literature needs to be abandoned, and that instead scholars should use multiple different terms to identify the reason that a person reads

these types of stories, as a single piece of fiction can serve multiple functions for different people.

Warren L. Young (1976), in his short article "Escapism in Literature and Life," explores what he calls the traditional and dynamic sense of Escapism. He explains that the traditional sense of escapism is:

> the one which is most familiar to the mass culture and the ethical judgement made on it is made by them through the apparatus of the conventional wisdom. This type of escapism is the attempt of the individual to escape the drudgery of the situation he finds himself in; an attempt to provide himself with a personal utopia (377).

Unfortunately, he does not make explicit what he qualifies as the dynamic sense of Escapism. However, his definition of traditional escapism that is included above is easily applied to fairy narratives, especially when they are viewed in conjunction with the theoretical concept of enchantment/re-enchantment, as will be seen in the next section of this chapter.

Escape into Play

As Henricks points out, play "frees us from the grip of instinct and manufactures new possibilities of living" (2014, 191). This observation is true of literature as well, since it allows the reader to explore new worlds that may be like or completely unlike their own. Sutton-Smith also explains that play can "allow *escape* into these happier, private versions of [the] world" (95, emphasis added). He also includes examples of the different examples of things that can be considered play, including the arts such as "music, dance, theater, [and] *literature*" (95, emphasis added). Finally, he states that:

> Play's positive pleasure typically transfers to our feelings about the rest of our everyday existence and makes it possible to live more fully in the world, no matter how bring or painful or even dangerous ordinary reality might seem…in this way play generally refreshes or fructifies our other, more general, being. (95)

Walder (1933) complements the observations of these two scholars, as he explains that an activity can be considered play when "it results in a gratification of a desire for pleasure" (209). All three scholars explain the importance of pleasure during play. Two of them point out that play allows the participant to escape from their mundane, everyday world, and Sutton-Smith actually uses the word escape. As will be shown below, literature about fairies and fairy traditions allow readers to escape to an enchanted world, thereby adds some magic to their world. In this way, I argue that fairy literature is a form of commodified play.

There's Something About Fairies

Dale, Dennis, and Marnie have commodified the fairies through the writing and publishing of fairy narratives, recontextualizing oral narrative in a written form. As was seen in the first section of this chapter, the written representation of fairies highly differs from the visual one. The fairies in Dale's and Dennis' writings, and in the books that Marnie publishes, are morally ambiguous, unlike those in Tina's Fairy Door Tours. They are not beautiful, nor do they have wings, as do those at the Cupids Legacy Centre. The written version of fairies is less influenced by the popular culture representation of these creatures than the visual one. In this section, I combine the information from my interviews and the theoretical concepts of re-enchantment and escapism to determine the reasons why people want to engage with the fairies in written form.

I asked my participants why they believe that audiences want to engage with the fairies through reading stories about them. Dale answered:

> I think, and maybe this could be the same answer that I would give for the Haunted Hike, is that our lives are kind of boring, [laughter] in a way, like you get up, you go to work, you do your thing, you go home, you make supper, you go to bed, hit repeat. We kind of live in a certain way, and so I think we're always working for things that take us outside of that, like superhero movies, and science fiction, and romance novels, and all those other things, we like things that take us outside of the world that we live in and say,

> "Hey, imagine if things were different," or, "Here is the world as you know it, and we're going to peel back this curtain and you're going to see something different." I think that's what the attraction is for all of that stuff, and I think that fairies are very much a part of that, because there is this idea that the fairies are always with us, they surround us, they're hidden, they watch us, they know what we're doing, we're clumsy humans and sometimes we trespass on their places. So I think there's something kind of interesting about that, people love a secret, and I think that's one of the things that we like about fairy lore is that there's this idea of the world that we live in and then alongside our world is this other world where magic things happen, and we know it's there maybe, but we don't often get to peek inside that and fairies are the ones that allow us to do that.

This statement highlights the importance of escapism and re-enchantment. Through reading fairy stories, the reader can leave their mundane, routine, everyday life and figuratively escape to a world where things do not follow the same rules. Reading allows the reader to re-enchant their world through entertaining the possibility of fairies and magic, even for a short time. Dale also explained that "the book is portable, you can take it with you and read it on the plane on your way home, or read it when you have the opportunity, so it's a bit more, you can interact with it on your own terms a bit more." Therefore, by reading of a fairy story, the audience can escape on their own terms, in their own time.

Similarly, when discussing the draw of the fairies for audiences, Marnie stated:

> I think it's that realm, not of the, the sense of possibility and magic I guess. What I really bristle against, I bristle against people, and it's not really fair, cause it's not even my fairy tradition, people who think that they're really sweet and their wonderful, and I just say, "You know, you don't want to mess with Newfoundland fairies like you just don't do it," because they kind of, I don't want to say infantilize them but they tend to make it all about sweetness and light, and I like the realm of fairy lore which is not about sweetness and light, it's about those...I want to say darker, but I don't really mean darker, there's that, cause sometimes they're just playful, but there's a tone to the Newfoundland fairy stories that I find really compelling because it isn't just all about little things and wings, and a lot of that. From my very limited understanding of fairy studies, that idea of the wings and the sweetness comes sort of from a Victorian sort of thing that was trying to make fairies a bit more presentable somehow, but I could be totally misinformed on that. But I think people are appealed to, some people who I talk to, well not last summer obviously, but most summers I talk to a lot of people in my shop, even though we're kind of off the beaten track, I get several hundred of people through over the course of the summer, because it's a little place they can kind of linger and chat, and some of them find it really quaint and I think, "Oh, isn't this fun," but the people I really enjoy talking to are

> the people who want to think about it in terms beyond the quaintness, and what does it say about the place and it's relationships, and it's identities, and stuff like that.

Finally, Dennis expressed his opinion:

> As we get more and more hurried and advanced and sophisticated in some ways, there's a part of people that appreciates by-gone days and simplistic, not simplistic mind you, but simpler explanations, [unintelligible] no matter how wonderful a propane fireplace someone may have and a beautiful modern home, who doesn't appreciate [being] on a beach with a bonfire. So I think the fairies are a little bit like that, it goes back to something primordial in everybody that appreciates a good story, and that we get further away from individually and collectively, we look back and say, "That was interesting." That's kind of disappeared, and maybe it's time to interview some of these older folks and get these stories and jot them down and put them in an accessible medium for people even if it is just for entertainment, but also for the fact that they were conversational, and though that really doesn't say much about, it says more about my appreciation of the stories than the fairies themselves, but there it is, so that's primarily my end goal, is the wonderful stories. I most certainly appreciate and allow the possibility that there are mysterious things that we just can't explain, and that's ok, that's not a bad thing, [unintelligible] probably the most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious, [unintelligible] he who can no longer pass wonder is as good as dead, and there's something about fairies and ghost stories, unexplained phenomena that you find in Newfoundland and Labrador folklore and traditions, are a wonderful reason to pause and wonder in otherwise very busy and somewhat sophisticated world.

The fairies' mystery is part of their attraction. By acting in ways that are different and foreign to humans, fairies not only subvert expected patterns of behavior and allow people to escape the normal rules they expect, but they also add a little bit of enchantment to the world. As Dennis went on to explain, people don't need the world "explained away." Instead he counseled an aesthetic response to mystery:

> Accept it for a beautiful picture, accept it for a story unto itself, you don't necessarily have to raise back the veil with everything and see exactly how that was done, there's a time and place for those things, I don't think fairy stories are a time and place for that, we accept them for what they are, a wonderful story, and if there's something about it that doesn't quite add up or doesn't quite make sense, well just attribute that to the mysterious and I'm okay with that

As Dennis points out, sometimes people just want to read or listen to a fairy story for the sake of being able to escape their everyday lives and to entertain the notion that there is magic out there

somewhere. In these ways, fairy stories allow their audiences to be able to leave the mundane world, however briefly, and enter a world where magic exists, thereby finding enchantment.

The final thought I want to include is Dale's, and it relates to trying to find out why attitudes towards the fairies have changed on the Avalon Peninsula since the works of Barbara Rieti (1991) and Peter Narvaez (1991) have been completed.[23] As Dale states:

> I think that again that wanting to interact is not new, and I'll go back to Tinker Bell because there's, it all comes back to Tinker Bell because there's this moment in Peter Pan where Tinker Bell is going to die, in the play specifically, in the play where Tinker Bell is going to die, and the kids are told it's up to you, you have to clap to keep Tinker Bell alive, you have to interact, you have to show that you believe and then Tinker Bell will be fine. And maybe that's just a cheap gimmick on the part of the playwright to get the audience clapping, but I think it is we want to believe in magic, we want to participate, we want to be involved. So for J. M. Barrie to write that into a play a hundred-whatever years ago, I don't think there's much difference in that very physical interaction between audience and performer, than there is in me going to an escape room, it's the same thing, like me going to the escape room and wanting to interact is the same as those hundred-year-old children now clapping for Tinker Bell to come back to life. I think we have always wanted to experience that so when, I know I was talking earlier when you look at the old St. John's newspapers, there would be things like costume spectacles, or you would be able to go to a dance performance, a ball of some kind, where people could interact with the fairies, or there would be people in fairy costumes, or Lady Baden Powell[24] would create this world where children could be sprites and brownies and all these other things and interact with the fairies. So I don't think that has changed, I think we've been doing that consistently for a hundred and twenty, a hundred and fifty years, so there's nothing new about escape rooms, except the escape room component, [laughter] which is really just, a board game enacted in a room in a way, people have been doing that for a very very long time so I don't know if there is much change, I think our media changes, the way we interact with the things we consume change, like we now have online virtual worlds and I'm sure there's some fairy world out there where you could go online and interact with, like *World of Warcraft* kind of stuff, the technology changes but the stories are exactly the same, and that desire to interact hasn't changed in probably as long as we've been telling fairy stories.

As this statement shows, along with the other examples in this thesis, the desire to use fairies to re-enchant their worlds, and as a means of escaping their everyday lives is not a recent development.

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[23] See the Literature Review section of Chapter 1

[24] Lady Baden Powell founded the Girl Guides of Canada, which contains troupes such as Sparks and Brownies.

Conclusion

Local writers Dennis Flynn and Dale Jarvis, along with local publisher Marnie Parsons, have found ways of including fairies into their various works. These three participants showcase the folkloric fairy tradition as it is found in Newfoundland and Labrador, rather than the popular culture representation. They also aim their works at a slightly older audience, rather than the young children who make up the bulk of the audience for the Fairy Door Tours. Dennis, Dale, and Marnie agree that the fairies depiction common in popular culture has had an impact on the way that people think about fairies; they become sweet, beautiful creatures with wings, although since these participants are targeting an older audience, they are able showcase the darker, more malevolent fairies in their works closer to the fairies of Newfoundland oral tradition. These publications allow readers to escape their mundane, routine lives and enter a world where magic exists, where the rules of morality do not apply. The fairies are not humans and are therefore not bound by the same rules, which adds to their mystery and appeal. As Dale points out, though, this desire to interact with the fairies is not necessarily new, although it has taken on a much different form than it did in the past.

Based on the information included in this chapter, the content of the fairy traditions found in Newfoundland are not irrevocably altered when they are commodified and brought into the capitalist market. However, the format is highly changed when the stories are adapted to a print form. The structures of the stories have been more stylized to fit better on the written page. The print version also has influenced the believability of the stories. As Peter Laracy stated in the previous chapter, seeing the conviction of the storytellers was fundamental to the oral storytelling tradition, something lacking in the printed versions. Despite this recontextualization, the success of these works seems to be heavily dependent upon the fact the content is not being

altered, but that the fairies are being showcased as the morally ambiguous or downright evil beings which are rooted in Newfoundland culture. This observation is very interesting when compared to the Fairy Door Tours and the Cupids Legacy Centre, which shows a visual representation that was more heavily influenced by the way that fairies are depicted in popular culture.

The next chapter will explore the concept of ownership of the fairy tradition that has been a theme throughout all my interviews to better understand why people feel the desire to commodify these traditions and why audiences are drawn to them. It will combine these and the other conclusions from the previous chapters to determine the full reasons behind why people want to commodify the fairy traditions and why they feel that these business ventures are so successful.

Chapter Five:
"It's Their Tradition, So Why Shouldn't They": Ownership and Commodification of Fairy Traditions

So far, I have examined separately three different ways that the fairies have been commodified; this chapter combines them. The concept of ownership became apparent in all my interviews, and as a result this chapter uses information about intangible cultural heritage to understand how ownership contributes to the decision to commodify local culture. First, I discuss scholarship related to the commodification of intangible cultural heritage. Following this section, I review relevant concepts from previous chapters, including commodification and play as an expression of identity, before presenting how participants expressed their sense of ownership of fairy traditions and why they felt that these traditions were so important to our intangible cultural heritage. I then combine the information from my interviews with the current literature on the commodification of intangible cultural heritage that was discussed both here and in Chapter Three, when talking about the Cupids Legacy Centre, to show how the sense of ownership of this tradition allows my participants to be able to commodify and adapt the tradition to fit their needs.

ICH and Commodification

There have been numerous studies completed on the commodification of folklore and folkloric themes, including intangible cultural heritage. Some of these works, namely those by Goldstein (in Goldstein, Grider, and Thomas 2007), Thomas (2015), and Hill (2011), were examined in the first chapter, and their conclusions are important here. In these works, the authors show how those who commodify folklore and folkloric traditions often adapt them to their own needs. Goldstein (2007) in particular demonstrates how commodified folklore often becomes trivialized and decontextualized. These observations are important to this chapter, because I show how the various participants in this thesis have changed and adapted the fairy

traditions in Newfoundland to fit their goals. These participants do not necessarily trivialize the tradition, but instead use it to highlight other aspects of Newfoundland and Labrador's intangible cultural heritage.

Lenzerini (2011) argues that "it is essential that ICH retain its authenticity in light of its strong connection with the cultural identity of its creators and bearers" (113). While this observation can be true for the education of people about the intangible cultural heritage of a culture, examples such as the storytelling session at the end of the Fairy Door Tours show how a tradition can be adapted by an insider to highlight other facets of that culture, in this case the storytelling tradition that is found in Newfoundland. Furthermore, Lenzerini states that:

> [T]he driving force of ICH management is economic interests, for example when the competent authorities try to make the heritage concerned a tourist attraction, which makes it necessary for such heritage to be adapted to the needs and expectations of tourists. Another situation of loss of authenticity of ICH which is likely to occur takes place when it is accommodated to the stereotypes of the 'public conscience' prevailing at a given moment, which may not view with favour some of its aspects…These (and other) approaches irremediably corrupt the authenticity and, *a fortiori,* the cultural and legal value of ICH (113)

Lenzerinis' observation, as will be shown in the following sections, do *not* apply to the examples of fairy commodification that I have analyzed. Even though my participants have all commodified the fairy tradition, they have all found ways to incorporate what they perceive to be the true Newfoundland fairy lore. Even in the Fairy Door Tours, the commodified form most affected by the popular culture depiction of fairies because it is targeted towards children, did not "corrupt" the tradition, but rather used the popular culture version of fairies to highlight other aspects of intangible cultural heritage in Newfoundland. According to Duane Windsor in the *Encyclopedia of Business Ethics and Society* (2018), "Corruption broadly includes fraud, bribery, or deliberate misreporting" (767). The Fairy Door Tours does not fall under this definition, because while Tina White uses a "Disney" version of the fairies, she does not deliberately lead

the children to believe that this representation is what fairies in the Newfoundland tradition are like. She instead encourages the children to ask their older relatives, such as their grandparents, about the fairy traditions they grew up with. She also uses the version of the fairies that the children are familiar with to teach them more about aspects of traditional Newfoundland culture. Her status as a Newfoundlander makes the storytelling and performance aspects of her tour authentic to the traditions that are found in Newfoundland culture.

Based upon the works of Rodzi, Zaki, and Subli (2013), and the observations made here about the different ways fairies have been commodified, the concept of authenticity is both individual and collective. As a culture, the residents of Newfoundland have a concept of an authentic fairy, which, as I found during my interviews, is situated primarily in its otherness, its non-humanity. However, the other being takes is individually determined, highlighting the variation that exists even amongst a shared culture. Similarly, Baillie, Chatzoglou, and Taha (2010) define a commodity as anything for which there is demand, although Goldstein (2007) would likely argue that this is too simplistic a definition. She instead argues that a commodity is defined by its exchange value, such as ghost tours (194-197). This definition is closer to the examples that have been analyzed here. The relatively recent increase in interest and popularity of Tinker Bell has led to the demand for the Fairy Door Tours in the younger generation. However, the greater demand for the commodified fairies in Newfoundland comes from a desire to reclaim a local identity. The Cupids Legacy Centre's main goal is to teach visitors about the cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, of Cupids. Furthermore, the written representations by Dale, Dennis, and Marnie all showcase the more malevolent, morally ambiguous fairies that are found in Newfoundland oral tradition. These various representations,

ranging from the beautiful protector of nature to the evil and malevolent being, work together to show the many different aspects of Newfoundland fairy traditions.

Express Yourself Through Play

Sutton-Smith explains that, in order to really evaluate and understand play, scholars need to understand "the cultural context in which the play under consideration takes place in order to evaluate its character" (2008, 110). For the examples included in this thesis, it is important to remember and understand the meaning that the fairy traditions included have for the participants. It is also important to examine how my participants use the commodified play experiences to highlight other aspects of Newfoundland culture that they deem important.

Henricks (2014) also states that people "understand themselves-and even distinguish themselves as different from other people- by their various traits and affiliations" (198). He explains that people "realize themselves through activity in the world" (203). Through these two statements, Henricks shows the importance of play as a way for people to both understand the world around them and their place in that world. For example, the commodified play examples examined in this thesis all help people understand how they should behave and interact in the world around them, such as making sure that they are respectful towards nature and other people, regardless of differences. In addition, these play forms also help people learn about different aspects of Newfoundland culture and help locals gain more knowledge and pride in their local intangible cultural heritage.

It's Our Tradition

Claudine explained what a fairy is to her:

> A fairy is a good thing and a bad thing. When we were growing up, while it wasn't as prominent, you always knew about, you always knew about fairies and the stories about taking, having bread in your pockets or turning your coat inside out. But there were good fairies as well. So there were the bad ones that could harm you but there were also good

> ones, and as a child growing up that's a vague recollection that I have of what fairies were.

I also asked Claudine why they chose to focus on fairies for the rooftop garden, and she explained that "with the type of building we constructed, having something on the rooftop that would attract and appeal to everyone, that is a part of our history, but more so a part of our culture." Claudine expressed the theme of fairies being part of our intangible cultural heritage that became apparent throughout all my interviews.

Peter explained his view of a fairy:

> I have a number of different concepts of what fairies are. One concept, [unintelligible], the simple answer would be a small human-like creature having the appearance of what we would normally see in art or in film as an Irish leprechaun, however, the only image I have of fairies, I've heard stories where fairies are simply represented as light, or fairies represented as a bird, or fairies represented as having no physical form but just a voice in the wind, or sometimes you think of the ones with wings, and sprites like you'd see water fairies, so there isn't any one image but the most predominant one that I would have would be the one the small creature human-like, male or female that some would consider to be the traditional Irish leprechaun

Peter explained his interest in fairies:

> It's a whole world of intangible cultural heritage and storytelling that involves face to face contact between people, the use of hand and body features and interrupting and feedback between the storyteller and the audience and the environment that the story is told in, and the ambiance and the setting of the story time. And I think that one of the unique things is that sometimes the details aren't all that explicit in terms of the physical appearance of the fairy, and so it allows the listener to create in their own minds, they have licence to create an image that is specific to whatever thoughts they're having at the time, cause if you look at a film or something and it's an Irish leprechaun, well it's an Irish leprechaun, and somebody is creating the image for you. But in oral storytelling, in many cases, it's the challenge of the storyteller is to create a setting and create characters, and there's always that balance between how much specific detail do you give and how much do you allow the listener to use their own imagination to fill in the blanks that the storyteller is, consciously or unconsciously, leaving open

Once again, these answers highlight the feeling that fairies are part of "our" intangible cultural heritage and therefore belong to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. The reference to the "Irish Leprechaun" also shows an insider perspective into the culture and strengthens the belief

that these traditions belong to the residents of the province. As Dale pointed out, in Newfoundland and Labrador "we have kind of these older west country England stories that are kind of transported here, and then kind of intermixed with some Irish, southern Irish traditions as well." Therefore, equating local fairies with the "Irish Leprechaun" not only establishes a connection to an older tradition, it also connects people with their ancestral roots.

Peter explained that even though he has never seen fairies himself, he would never dare say that he did not believe in them.

Tina's answer about what a fairy is highlights the ambiguity of Peter's description:

> That's a tough one…I think maybe as a type of energy almost, not necessarily something with a physical form but, I'm not a hundred percent sure to be honest. And sometimes my feelings on it change. I feel like sometimes I feel like I believe that there are fairy type creatures and beings and other times I kind of step back from it a little bit and it's all just, you know, folklore. But there's been so many, I guess if you look at the MUN archives and stuff, there's been so many stories, and people claiming to have all these experiences, it makes you wonder, right? But I got to say I am often on the fence and sometimes I'm on different sides of it.

Belief is not a fixed concept, and it can change easily. Tina also explained that when she is in nature it is easier to believe that maybe fairies really do exist.

As Tina explained when discussing the Fairy Lore Walkabout, "our fairies are not portrayed as the ones that the children come" to see, and as a result the Fairy Lore Walkabout is aimed at adults so that she is able to highlight what she described as "our fairy background, our fairy folklore." Regarding the Fairy Lore Walkabout, Tina said:

> It's all about fairies and fairy tradition, and that one we used to, we do a little boil up on the beach and have s'mores and hot chocolate and scones and jams and I would tell them stories and that type of thing and archival stuff there in a book that I would share, and a poem I had found from 1939 I think it was, a couple of school girls had written poems on fairies, so I'd read those, and an article I had found from an 1899 newspaper which was about a court case out in Harbour Grace and it was about somebody who had been fairy led and missed three days' work, so that was a bit of fun.

Tina uses written sources to recreate an oral storytelling event, therefore not only adapting the fairy traditions to her needs, but the storytelling tradition that can be found in Newfoundland and Labrador as well. She also explained that she has had to modify it since her first year:

> I reached out to an art gallery that was located here in Tors Cove, it was here for probably about ten or fifteen years, closed probably two years ago, but anyway it was open when I approached them, I think probably I think three years ago, and I asked them about partnering up to try this little offering, you know, an adventure type thing. So the first year I offered it, we started at the Five Island Art Gallery which was in a two room schoolhouse, and they had a lot of hooked mats and art and different things there, so they had a little bit of fairy themed stuff, and there was another artist in Witless Bay at the time, Peter [static] at the moment, but anyway he was doing a lot of fairy work and he actually submitted a bunch of it to the gallery just for, cause he knew this event we were going to put off, and thought he might be able to sell some of his fairy stuff, right? So we started out there and we had a big, a big hooked mat on a working table there, so we'd give a rug hooking demonstration and the participants would all hook a little section of the mat and we mixed up some Irish soda bread there in the schoolhouse and, the participants threw in the ingredients and mixed it up there and whatnot and then the owner of the gallery popped it in the oven, and after that I would leave the gallery with the people and then take them on a walk through Tors Cove down to the cribbies, down to the beach there where we'd visit a few fairy homes and I'd talk to them all about where fairies came from, and how our ancestors would protect themselves from fairies, and then tell them a couple of stories down at the beach, and again the poems and the newspaper article, that type of stuff, and then I'd bring them back to the gallery, and they would have the table set out in the garden with tea and scones and cheese and cream and we'd just have a mug up[25] together. Oh, I had a fife player hired too, a teenage girl who lived out here in Tors Cove, and I had her situated outside the gallery as people arrived, but then while we were inside rug hooking she left and she would go to the church, which was only a couple of minutes' walk, and then when I approached with them to visit the fairy homes, she'd be sat at the step at the church playing her fife and I don't know, it was pretty magical.

As with her Fairy Door Tours, Tina takes great care to ensure the atmosphere has that magical quality for her customers, and that they can be fully engaged with the play element of the experience.

Dennis explained why he thought that people wanted to read about fairy stories:

[25] A "mug up" in Newfoundland and Labrador is an event, usually occurring at a beach or around a campfire, where a group of people gather and have a drink and a snack with each other. Usually it is accompanied with storytelling or singing.

> There's something about fairies and ghost stories, unexplained phenomena that you find in Newfoundland and Labrador folklore and traditions, are a wonderful reason to pause and wonder in otherwise very busy and somewhat sophisticated world

Similarly, Dale explained:

> I think there has been a shift in Newfoundland generally to be a little more proud of Newfoundland culture, so I think there's kind of this sense now to be proud, that it's ok to be proud of Newfoundland culture. And that's something that's been happening I think since the seventies really, honestly, kind of a folk revival movement that started in the seventies here and continues on today, just where people are starting to recognize we don't have to be somewhere else, we don't have to import our culture from Canada or the US or whatever, so I think people are more, they are prouder, more interested. I think people recognize now that they can talk about ghost stories and fairy stories without being perceived as being ignorant. I think maybe there was a time not that long ago in Newfoundland history where people just didn't want to talk about things that we talked about because we didn't want Canadians to think that we were uncultured, now we realize that "hey, wait a minute, we have more culture than they do because we have them things, so we're able to talk about them a bit more". So I do think that there is kind of a growing interest and acceptance of local traditions and local storytelling, and a recognition that that is important, I think that is a change that I see unfolding a little bit, and I think fairy lore is part of that, I think people are interested, we recognize now that it is something that we have that other places don't necessarily have, and so when we have visitors who come here now, we're like "Oh, let me tell you about the fairies", because that is kind of a unique thing that we have here. It's a strength, I think people are starting to recognize that as a cultural strength

He also stated that "fairies are kind of anything, and so they are open to our, they open our imagination in a way, because we can dream of them to be anything we want them to be," meaning that they are easily adaptable to the needs of the person.

Interestingly, Marnie was the only one of my participants who did not claim ownership of the fairy traditions. Marnie grew up in Ontario, and, despite living in Newfoundland since 1999, she still insists that the tradition is not hers. Nevertheless, she does classify the fairy traditions as belonging to Newfoundland and Labrador. She explained that she has been "noticing more people sort of finding ways to play with that tradition, it's their tradition so why shouldn't they." She explains:

> What I really bristle against, I bristle against people, and it's not really fair, cause it's not even my fairy tradition, people who think that they're really sweet and their wonderful, and I just say, "You know, you don't want to mess with Newfoundland fairies like you just don't do it"

Even outsiders are aware that the fairy traditions belong to the residents of the province. In the next section, I provide some information about intangible cultural heritage, and how it is used in tourism and business ventures.

Selling the Past

So far, I have highlighted literature analyzing the use of heritage, whether tangible or intangible, in tourism. However, all the literature I found focuses on the use of heritage by people who are outsiders to the culture being commodified. Instead I have examined how locals have commodified the fairies, a tradition that they see as belonging to them. In this section, I show how claiming ownership of the fairy traditions, and the subsequent commodification of them, helped these six participants highlight not only fairies, but also other aspects of local tradition. Through the incorporation of these different elements of cultural heritage, these different business ventures allow residents of Newfoundland and Labrador to learn and feel proud of their local traditions, and they let tourists understand these aspects of cultural heritage through the view of residents. Goldstein (2007) expressed the opinion that scholars tend to avoid studying examples of commodified supernatural folklore because they think that, since it has been commodified, it has been trivialized. As the examination below shows, these forms of fairy commodification reflect local values and traditions; rather than diminishing them, therefore commodification makes them worthy of scholarly study.

In the case of the Fairy Door Tours, Tina felt that fairies were a useful way of being able to attract younger audiences so that she could teach them the value of nature and the importance of respecting it. The dangerous nature of Newfoundland fairies led her to use the "Disneyfied"

version of fairies for the tour, because this image was the one that the children would be the most familiar with—in her opinion, this is a negative development. As observed in Rodzi, Zaki, and Subli (2013), this inclusion of the popular culture, Tinker Bell version of fairies decontextualized and "dumbed-down" the fairy tradition in Tina's mind because it was not a true reflection of "our" fairy traditions. To address this drawback, she made the Fairy Lore Walkabout suitable for an older audience so that she could incorporate more of "our" fairy traditions. However, even though Tina would not include dangerous fairies in her Tours, she does incorporate the element of oral storytelling both during the tour as she describes the fairies in the different houses and during the storytelling session at the end.

Through the Fairy Lore Walkabout, Tina can incorporate other aspects of her cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. She has her customers participate in material cultural heritage through the making of the bread and through participating in the rug-hooking activity. She also has other elements of intangible cultural heritage, such as the "mug up" and oral storytelling, which is an important element of intangible cultural heritage in Newfoundland and Labrador. The inclusion of these various examples of cultural heritage not only allows locals to learn about aspects of traditional knowledge that they may not have had the opportunity to learn (i.e., how to make the Irish Soda Bread), but also keeps elements of our intangible cultural heritage alive. The fairy traditions allow Tina is to pass on both fairy knowledge and other elements of Newfoundland and Labrador cultural heritage.

This inclusion of other aspects of intangible cultural heritage can also be seen through the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights at the Cupids Legacy Centre. The conscious lack of interpretative panels on the rooftop garden is meant to encourage visitors to the garden to interact with their interpretive guide, and thus engage them with face-to-face oral storytelling

interactions. While two of the fairy statues in the Faerie Garden do have wings, they are not necessarily the Tinker Bell image of a fairy and have not been heavily influenced by popular culture. Instead, as was pointed out by Peter earlier, the inclusion of the wings was to try to increase the familiarity of the fairies to other visitors, besides those who are natives to Newfoundland, who have a more Disneyfied idea about what a fairy is supposed to look like. These statues also depict two aspects of fairies that are found in Newfoundland fairy traditions: the tendency to lure humans with their music and dance.

Similarly, the Fairy Nights are arranged in such a way as not only to discuss fairies and fairy traditions, but to also highlight local experts and groups, such as the dance troupe that often opens the night. The Fairy Nights also include a social event after the formal presentations, which encourage participants to engage with each other in informal conversation and storytelling. As with the Fairy Lore Walkabout, the Cupids Legacy Centre's incorporation of fairies allows Peter and Claudine to showcase other local traditions—a fact made possible by the claim they make for fairies as local cultural heritage.

In their writings, Dennis and Dale keep Newfoundland and Labrador's storytelling tradition strong through the commodification of fairy lore. Finally, through the publication of fairy books, Marnie participates in the continuation of the storytelling tradition here in the province. As with the people who visit the Cupids Legacy Centre and who take Tina's tours, the work of these three participants showcases part of our intangible cultural heritage to both locals and tourists who buy their products.

Chapter Six:
"Be a Little More Proud of Newfoundland Culture": Conclusion

So far, I have shown three different ways that people on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland have commodified the fairy traditions found in the province. In Chapter Two, I examined the way that Tina White uses fairies in her guided Fairy Door Tours to foster a respect for nature in younger children. Using the different elements of play, for example opening and closing rituals such as a nature meditation and a story-telling session, as well as the group interactions using clues, Tina creates a magical environment where the participants can feel like they are really transported into the realm of the fairies. This sense of magic is also fostered by assemblage in the combination of the handmade doors with the store-bought dollhouse pieces, to increase the satisfaction the customers have with the experience. I showed how Tina was saddened by her need to use the popular culture version of fairies so that she could appeal to the younger audiences, and how she felt this was a negative thing because it does not showcase "our" folk traditions.

In Chapter Three, I examined the concept of re-enchantment further by discussing the self-guided Faerie Garden and the Fairy Night events at the Cupids Legacy Centre, as described by Claudine Garland and Peter Laracy. The three bronze statues on the rooftop garden showcase the different aspects of fairies found in Newfoundland tradition, such as their love of dancing, their ability to play music, and their sinister nature. The structure of the Faerie Garden and the Fairy Nights engage the participants on many different levels, visually, aurally, and conversationally. Through these different ways, such as seeing the fairies on the rooftop, watching the dancers at the beginning of the Fairy Nights, listening to the panel of people tell their stories, or engaging in conversation with others, the participants at these events can find enchantment through the fairies, even if only using the ironic imagination.

Chapter Four examines a different approach to the interaction with fairies through the writing and publishing of fairy narratives. Dennis Flynn, Dale Jarvis, and Marnie Parsons discuss how they use the written word, a portable form which the consumer can interact with on their own terms and in their own time, to reach a wider audience. Using the theoretical concepts of re-enchantment and escapism, I showed how these works can be used not only to re-enchant the world of the participants, but also to find escape from everyday life.

Chapter Five brings these different participants together and further explores the concept of ownership that had been expressed throughout all my interviews. Using scholarship on the use of intangible cultural heritage in tourism, I examine how each participant has adapted and modified the tradition to fit their needs. Tina White had to embrace the popular culture representation of the fairies to meet the children's expectation about what a fairy is, although she is able to use the version more commonly found in Newfoundland during her Fairy Lore Walkabout. Despite the different approaches she takes in these two events, in both she highlights other aspects of Newfoundland tradition—a practice also employed by the Cupids Legacy Centre. In addition to these examples, the books written by Dennis and Dale, and those published by Marnie, keep the storytelling tradition alive in Newfoundland. All the examples included here teach both locals and tourists about aspects of traditional Newfoundland culture.

I would now like to examine the answers to the research questions that guided this thesis.

Who Engages with the Fairies?

University restrictions placed upon fieldwork because of the COVID-19 pandemic prevented me from observing and contacting people who participate in these events, so I was unable to obtain a satisfactory answer to this question. However, the public nature of the identities of those who sell fairy experience made it possible to interview them. Because all these

participants live on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland, and either were born here or have lived here for years, they feel some sense of ownership of the fairy tradition and would refer to them as "our" traditions; the only exception was Marnie, who grew up in Ontario. Although she does not claim the tradition as her own, she agrees that the fairy traditions belong to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador.

How has the commodification of fairies changed the belief in and attitudes towards them?

As has been shown, my participants expressed the opinion that people now see the fairies as something more fun than dangerous, and that they feel that belief in them has waned. Despite the waning of actual belief, they felt that the commodification of fairies has changed consumers' attitudes towards them, because now it is something that people want to engage with because they enjoy the mystery of them.

How, and why, do people want to engage with them?

I have shown three different ways that people can engage with the fairies: through guided tours such as the Fairy Door Tours and the Fairy Lore Walkabout, through self-guided tours like the Faerie Garden at the Cupids Legacy Centre and events such as their Fairy Nights, and through reading fairy narratives such as those written by Dennis and Dale or published by Marnie. Because I was unable to talk to the people who participate in these different forms, I relied on the opinions expressed by my participants for why they believe their audiences want to engage with the fairies. They all expressed the opinion that they think people are looking for the mystery that the fairies provide and the possibility of magic that they represent. In terms of why my participants wanted to commodify the fairy traditions, they were looking to be able to teach others, not just about the fairies, but also other lessons and examples of our cultural heritage. Tina uses the "Disneyfied" version of the fairies to teach younger children about the beauty of

nature and the need to respect it. In her other tour, she uses the more local traditions to teach people not only about our fairy lore, but also other elements of local culture.

Similarly, Peter and Claudine use the fairies to engage people in oral conversation and try to continue both the fairy traditions and the oral storytelling traditions of Newfoundland. Furthermore, Peter found that the fairies are useful for teaching lessons, such as being respectful towards people who are different and trying to respect nature. Finally, Dale, Dennis, and Marnie also think that people are looking for magic in their lives, and that the fairies can provide that. The fairies are also capable of acting in unusual ways, thereby allowing people to find a cathartic release or an escape from their everyday lives.

What aspects of fairy traditions are being commodified, and why these aspects over others?

All these different examples, except for the Fairy Door Tours, highlight elements of the Newfoundland fairy tradition that are being commodified, such as the malevolent or tricksy nature of the fairies, whether it is through oral stories or the written word, or the statues in the Faerie Garden. As shown in Chapter Three, while two of these statues do have wings, and at first glance would appear to be the popular culture representation of fairies, these statues are showing elements of the local fairy traditions, those being the fairies love of music and dancing. The Fairy Door Tours, by contrast, lack the local fairy traditions but also incorporate into the story-telling tradition which can be found in Newfoundland.

How has the popular culture representation of fairies influenced the presentation of them in these commodified forms?

Apart from the Fairy Door Tours, the examples included here do not appear to have been heavily influenced by the popular culture representation of fairies. Tina, understanding the expectations of her young audience, feels obligated to treat fairies as they are in popular culture,

though she is not pleased by this. All my participants expressed the desire to highlight "our" fairy traditions, and to showcase "our" intangible cultural heritage. The fact that it is people who live in Newfoundland who are doing the commodification appears to drive them to remain authentic to the Newfoundland fairy traditions. This concept of ownership, though, allows them to adapt the fairy tradition to fit their needs, such as the two winged statues in the Faerie Garden mentioned above. While sharing features with the popular culture representation of fairies in order to appeal to a more global audience, these statues still show elements of local fairy tradition. Tina adapts the oral storytelling element of the fairy tradition into the Fairy Door Tours and the Fairy Lore Walkabout so that she can highlight both the oral storytelling tradition as well as other examples of local culture such as the "mug-up," rug hooking, and baking. Finally, Dale, Dennis, and Marnie adapt the tradition by taking narratives usually found in oral tradition and translating them into published writing, shifting the storytelling tradition from a face-to-face interaction between people, to a solitary experience for the readers of these works.

In Closing

I have shown some of the examples of how people living in Newfoundland have commodified the fairy traditions. I have also showed how, since it is locals who are doing the commodifying, they feel a sense of ownership over the tradition, which allows them to adapt the fairy tradition to their own needs. Finally, even though these participants have adapted the tradition, they still feel the need to remain true to the fairy lore that is part of Newfoundland's intangible cultural heritage. The popular culture representation of fairies, while being sold in the Fairy Door Tours, has not had a tremendous impact on the way that fairies are being marketed and sold on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland.

The reason behind the commodification of these fairies is to teach people not only about the fairies, but also about Newfoundland culture in general. They also want to teach valuable lessons, such as the need to respect nature and to treat others with respect. Finally, the main reason behind the marketing and selling of the fairy traditions is to bring back some magic into our mundane, everyday lives: to re-enchant the world.

The sanitized versions of the fairies in the Fairy Door Tours and the winged fairies at the Cupids Legacy Centre attract people who may never have heard the Newfoundland fairy traditions. Similarly, the written works by Marnie, Dale, and Dennis use storytelling traditions to engage their audiences and encourage them to experience the fairies in a non-Disneyfied way.

The biggest take-away from the research I completed is the sense of identity created and expressed by the people I interviewed. All my participants use the fairies as a way of reaching and teaching others. As was seen when discussing Cashman (2008) in Chapter One, the sharing of stories and information can create a sense of community, which helps to establish a sense of belonging to that community. As most of these commodified forms are aimed at locals as well as tourists, they all create and strengthen a sense of identity. Folklorist Elliott Oring (1994) argues that "personal identity is shaped from experiences that are unique to the individual as well as from those common to a collection of individuals" (213). Similarly, folklorist Alan Dundes states that:

> The ethnic group consists of a self-perceived group of people who exclusively share a common set of traditions (any aspect of which can be used symbolically and emblematically) to differentiate themselves from other groups in order to show others who one is and to what group one belongs (1984, 150).

The visual representation of the fairies by these proprietors has been more heavily influenced by the popular culture representation of these beings than the written one, and as a result there needs to be more scholarship done in the future to better understand why visual

forms are more likely to be Disneyfied and sanitized than written ones. I have shown the perspective of insiders who have adapted and marketed their intangible cultural heritage, something that seems to be lacking in the extant literature on the commodification of heritage.

In future, it would be interesting to see how these observations apply to other forms of themes, motifs, and characters that appear in both folk and popular culture, such as elves, ghosts, vampires, or witches. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see whether any changes that occur because of the popular culture representation are in visual or written forms, and to determine the reasons it happens in one form more than another. There also needs to be more attention paid to what aspects of culture locals choose to commodify and the reasons behind any changes that they have made to them. Finally, there definitely needs to be more attention paid to how locals use these commodified forms, whether as proprietors or customers, to enforce their local identity and create a sense of personal and collective identity.

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