THE SONG COMPLEX OF "THE MOONSHINE CAN":
AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF WORDS
AND MUSIC IN TRADITIONAL SONG

VOL. II

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THE SONG COMPLEX OF "THE MOONSHINE CAN": AN INTEGRATED

APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF WORDS AND MUSIC

IN TRADITIONAL SONG

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the study of text-tune relations in the song complex of a Newfoundland local song, "The Moonshine Can." The aim of the work is to examine the combination and re-combination of words and music in the complex, and to account for their interrelations.

The song complex comprises the extant versions of "The Moonshine Can," from both folk and popular traditions, and the other songs known to have been sung to its principal melody. The texts and tunes of these songs are analysed and compared within the framework of a "diachronic model," incorporating consideration of the people, places, historical periods and events referred to in the songs, and the songs' composers and re-creators. A synthesis of the various levels of the model produces a life history of the song complex and a theory of the text-tune relations evidenced in it.

Attention is directed towards the elucidation of the content of "The Moonshine Can" with reference to illicit distillation in general and the particular incident portrayed in the song. The manner of the song's composition and contexts and styles of its subsequent performance are also described and a detailed study made of its text and tune variants. The Newfoundland recompositions and "re-combinations" of "The Moonshine Can" are then presented and the nature of their relationship to the "The Moonshine Can"

explored. This leads to an exposition of the life history of the song complex and the dynamics of its text-tune combinations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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enthusiasm for my work, and has been ready with comments, ideas, moral support and practical assistance at every stage. I hope I have done those first suggestions of his justice.

More recently, Robin Wiltshire has become a close friend and ally. He has spent long hours proofreading and commenting on drafts, sorting out bibliographical references, drawing the maps, and generally providing help of every kind. He has, moreover, done so with a patience, good nature and sense of humour which has kept me sane and kept me going in the final stages of writing up.

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Map 2: Newfoundland (Key over)

LABRADOR

QUEBEC

STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE

23
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16
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13
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NORTHERN PENINSULA

GULF OF ST.LAWRENCE

ATLANTIC OCEAN

WHITE BAY

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14. Croque
15. Cremaillere
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19. Pillier
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22. Carbonear
23. Cape Bauld
24. Cape Norman
25. Flowers Cove
26. Flat Islands
27. Curling
28. Englee
29. Castors River
30. Main Brook
31. Heart's Content
32. Burin Peninsula

Map 3: Newfoundland (Key over)

1. St. Anthony
2. St. John's
3. Goose Cove
4. Grey Islands
5. Cook's Harbour
6. Conche
7. Croque
8. Seal Cove
9. Canada Harbour
10. Sop's Arm
11. St. Anthony Bight
12. Duggan's Cove
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14. Englee
15. Griquet
16. Ireland's Bight
17. Port au Port Peninsula
18. Quidi Vidi
19. Logy Bay
20. Thoroughfare
21. Glenwood
22. Kerley's Harbour
23. Kelligrews
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25. Island Harbour
26. New Perlican
27. Point Verde
28. Mary's Town
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32. Conception Harbour
33. Corner Brook
34. Pines Cove
35. Flowers Cove
36. Fogo Island
37. Fair Island
38. Flat Island
39. Bell Island
40. Torbay
41. Spaniard's Bay
42. Colliers
43. Tors Cove
44. St. Shotts
45. The Goulds
46. Rencontre West
47. Coombs Cove
48. Salvage
49. Searston
50. Upper Ferry
51. Winterton
52. Codroy Valley
53. Daniel's Harbour
54. Rose Blanche
55. North Harbour
56. Tilting
57. Woods Island
58. Bartlett's Harbour
59. Cremaillere
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63. Pouch Cove
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65. Rocky Harbour
66. Sally's Cove
67. Parson's Pond
68. Hawke's Bay
69. Burin Peninsula
70. Bellburns

Map 4: Newfoundland (Key over)

LABRADOR

QUEBEC

STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE

NORTHERN PENINSULA

GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

ATLANTIC OCEAN

LITTLE BAY

BAIE VERTE PENINSULA

NOTRE DAME BAY

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ST. GEORGE'S BAY

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FORTUNE BAY

AVALON PENINSULA

PLACENTIA BAY

ST. MARY'S BAY

TREPASSEY BAY

ATLANTIC OCEAN
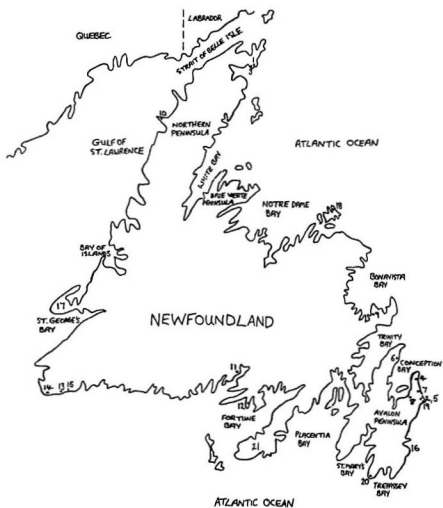
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3. Goose Cove
4. Shoe Cove Brook
5. Quidi Vidi Lake
6. Job's Cove
7. Outer Cove
8. Paradise
9. Plate Cove
10. Port aux Choix
11. St. Albans
12. Harbour Breton
13. Burnt Islands
14. Port aux Basques
15. Rose Blanche
16. Cape Broyle
17. Port au Port Peninsula
18. Joe Batt's Arm
19. Cape Spear
20. St. Shotts
21. Burin Peninsula

NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

Informant Quotations and Song Texts

The speech of the people interviewed for this study and the words of their songs have been transcribed according to the method advocated by Ives (Tape-Recorded Interview 94-102). That is, the words which were spoken or sung have essentially been reproduced verbatim but without repetitions or the "um's" and "er's" of natural speech. The practice adopted by Ives in several of his books of indicating quotations which have been reconstructed from notes with an asterisk has also been adopted here.

Some informants spoke very quickly and in an accent and dialect which it has taken me repeated hearings to distinguish and transcribe. Even so, there are a number of places in which their exact wording has eluded me. My best guess has therefore been indicated by the use of parentheses. I have occasionally added words to their testimony for the sake of clarity and these insertions are indicated by the use of square brackets. In general, I have made no attempt to reproduce dialectal pronunciations except where this affects the articulation of the melodic line in the songs.

The tape recordings and student collections from which the majority of quotations have been taken are on deposit at the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive. They are denoted in the body

of the thesis by the acronym MUNFLA, followed by a reference to the medium of collection (Ms, Tape, PD [Printed Document], Q [Questionnaire], Videotape, Survey Card), the relevant accession number (e.g. 92-001) and the page number, tape copy number (e.g. C8287), etc.

Melodies

The music of the songs and instrumental tunes has been transcribed by ear, or occasionally reproduced from others' transcriptions. Each melody was initially transcribed in full (cf. Burman, McCulloh, "'The Tune'"), and the resulting notations set out in the manner of a vocal score in which each stanza occupied one stave. A majority version or normal form of the melody was then constructed by taking the most frequently sung pitches in each bar, a process which could be carried out by reading the "score" vertically instead of horizontally. These majority pitches were combined with the simplest form of the rhythm which appeared for that particular bar in the course of the rendition. Melodic departures from this normal form of the tune were then noted for each bar. Thus, the transcriptions present the typical form of the melody, one line of the transcription corresponding to one phrase of the music, and the melodic variations from this normal pattern.[1] Where a song has been sung to a harmonic accompaniment, the chords employed have also been indicated at the

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[1]The notations have been produced on the music-writing software, SongWright V.

appropriate places in the melody.

For ease of comparison, all music notations have been transposed so that the tonal centre of the tune falls on C. The original pitch of the tonal centre is indicated by a letter at the top left-hand side of the notation, beneath the title. If the overall pitch changes in the performance, the tonal centre at the beginning and end of the performance is shown thus, B flat-C. Diacritical marks and supplementary symbols have also been kept to a minimum in the final transcriptions, but an arrow pointing up or down above a note indicates an inflection of its pitch by up to a semitone.

THE MOONSHINE CAN

Come all ye good people, come listen unto me,
Beware of the bold informer, you'll see how he served me,
Beware of the bold informer, good people all around,
Since jealousy could not agree he put our whiskey down.

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Nickey got the news he then come down to me,
He then come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's a big kick up about the bloody can."

The chap that brought us up the news, he was one of our rank,
I suppose you all do know his name, his name it was young Frank,
His name [it] was young Frank, me boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps belong to Nfld.

Early the next morning the summons come to me,
The summons come to me, my boys, and I was forced to go,
To travel to the lonley [sic] place up to my knees in snow,
To travel to that lonley place, it was against my grain,
To march up to that courthouse before a crowd of men.

When I walked up to the stand the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of, come tell to me, I pray,
What did you make it out of," the judge to me did say,
"O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the proper plan."

O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's a curious plan,
And the next misfortune that fell on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that without delay,
And up come Constable Parsons my can to take away.

I went in and brought it out and that without delay,
And stood just like a monument and not one word did say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling it would grieve your heart well sore,
And when he put it in the bag it grieved me ten times more.

Well now our whiskey is put down we will take to the spruce bud,
It don't exceed the whiskey to purify the blood,

It don't exceed the whiskey, I vow and do declare,
It's enough to draw you in a crump, the cold of the spruce beer.

Well now our whiskey is put down we'll take to the spruce beer,
We'll gather in a neighbour's house, drink a health all around,
Not [sic] health to the informer, he put our whiskey down.

When the racket was over and all was cleared away,
It was then this bold informer come looking for his fee,
Come looking for his fee, my boys, as bold as any man,
From some that were on the sea and more were on the land.

Now this man will get no help and he watched from every eye,
But never mind, he won't be stuck, he still got poor Eli,
He still got poor Eli, my boys, already at his call,
He is going to take him with him to cruise the bay this fall.

Success attend McDonald wherever he may be,
He had three meetings in the school to collect the money,
Success attend St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
They did their whole endeavour to help me on that day,
They did their whole endeavour, as very well I know,
For I heard them say with my own ears, "In the pen he will not go."

The Goose Cove men I'll name as well, no doubt they did their
part,
No doubt they did their part for me but the truth I'll tell to you,
They were not slack, they kept some back to free I don't know who.

Now good luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on
him,
He is well like[d] by everyone, his name is Mr. Simms,
And when he leaves this world and goes to the other way,
He will then meet St. Peter, the man that holds the key,
The man that holds the key, you see, that gate he will unlock,
Saying, "Come [right] in, good magistrate, welcome to the flock."

There is a friend of mine that I must not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, the best that I found yet,
That he may live in splendor, have money and galore,
I wish heaven when he dies, I can wish him no more.

Another man that helped me was Mr. Ollerhead,
He is so good and fine a man as ever you did meet,
He need not fear, he'll get there along with the magistrate.

There is another friend of mine who helped me on that day,
His name is, if you want to know, his name was Mr. Biles,
And when he leaves this world and goes to the other land,
Our Lord will say, "You're welcome here, you helped out this poor
man."

Now as for the man who made this song, he did not make no lie,
His name is, if you want to know, his name it was Pat Troy,
His name it was Pat Troy, my boys, and it's from Goose Cove he
belongs,
And when the whiskey runs again we'll make it twice as strong.[2]

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[2]As written out by Patrick (Pat) Troy junior of Goose Cove, White Bay, in
May 1985 (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 191-194).

Chapter 1

TOWARDS THE INTEGRATED STUDY OF WORDS AND MUSIC IN
TRADITIONAL SONG

Throughout the present century, there has been a marked tendency for
the verbal and musical elements of Anglo-Irish-North American folksong to be
studied in isolation from each other.[1] Indeed, with a number of notable
exceptions, to be discussed in the latter part of this chapter, comparatively few
scholars have championed the analysis of folksong texts and tunes, either in
parallel or in their mutual relations.[2] Folksong collections published during the
first half of the century reflect this split, which at the time resulted from the
predominantly musical and aesthetic orientation of the English collectors on the
one hand, and the primarily literary and academic approach of American
scholars on the other (Wilgus, **Scholarship** 124). Subsequent collections exhibit
a greater balance in their coverage of texts and tunes, and sometimes in their
description and classification as well (Frank C. Brown vols. 2-5, Schinhan,
Bronson, Traditional Tunes). Despite this, analysis has generally stopped short
of an integrated approach to the two.

Furthermore, it is the study of the verbal aspect of folksong which has

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[1]The frame of reference throughout this study, unless stated otherwise, is
the English-language folksong tradition of the British Isles and Ireland and its
derivatives and extensions in North America.

[2]The term "text" should be understood throughout this thesis to refer to
the verbal text of folksong, as distinct from the melody.

benefitted from the theoretical diversification and development taking place in the discipline of folklore studies since about mid-century. Contextual study, performance theory, structural and semiotic analyses (Dundes, Paredes and Bauman, Dunn, Lord, Buchan, Renwick) - all have left an indelible mark on current perspectives on the folksong text, whilst perhaps only the first of these, together with Bayard's tune family concept and Lomax's work on "cantometrics," has had anything like a comparable effect on folksong music scholarship (Bayard, "Prolegomena," Lomax, Style and Culture). Not only have the words and music of Anglo-American folksong been studied separately for the best part of this century, therefore, but existing techniques of musical analysis have latterly come to appear isolated and irrelevant, suitable for description and classification perhaps, but inadequate with regard to contemporary questions of process and meaning.[3] Thus, there is a noticeable dearth of musical analysis, or any consideration of folksong music, in the published literature nowadays, even when music notations are included.[4]

It is the contention of this study that the way out of the present impasse in folksong music research is to progress beyond the examination of folksong in

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[3]Cf. Bohlman xv. An example of this attitude to folksong music is found in Renwick (2).

[4]See, for example, Russell, Singer, Edwards and Manley, Renwick, Porter, Ballad Image, and Pickering and Green. This is in contrast to the exemplary musical analyses of African-American folksong carried out by Titon and Evans.

its component parts and to engage in the investigation of these parts as they are found in combination. The object of the present work, therefore, is to integrate musical study with current perspectives on folksong text and context, in order to demonstrate the validity of this proposition (cf. Bohlman xvi). It is intended thereby to revisit some of the questions and assumptions surrounding folksong music, particularly regarding the interrelations of musical and verbal elements, in the light of the aforementioned theoretical advances in folksong scholarship, and to put forward some revised strategies for folksong music inquiry.

Thus, it is with an expanded concept of text-tune relations, incorporating consideration of song text and tune not merely as inert items on the page, but as part of a song performance by a particular individual at a specific historical moment, that this study is concerned. In keeping with this, an analytical framework has been adopted which allows the investigation of text-tune relations in the widest possible sense. This is described in more detail below, after the corpus selected for study - a locally composed song from Newfoundland and its complex of textual and melodic analogues[5] - has been outlined. There then follows a survey of the techniques and findings of previous inquiry into text-tune relations in order to put the method and aims of the present research into theoretical perspective.

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[5]The terms "locally composed song" and "local song" are employed interchangeably in this thesis.

The Song Complex of "The Moonshine Can"

The point of departure for this study is a Newfoundland local song, entitled "The Moonshine Can." As will be described in more detail in chapter 3, the song originated in the settlement of Goose Cove, on Newfoundland's northwest coast,[6] around 1920. It recounts an actual occurrence in which the song's composer, Pat Troy, was informed on by another member of the community for making illicit liquor, or moonshine. Troy was summoned to court in the nearby settlement of St. Anthony and given a fine. Since Troy was unable to pay the sum involved, the people of his community, and some of those in St. Anthony as well, contributed the money to pay the fine for him, thereby saving him from imprisonment.

My first encounter with "The Moonshine Can" was in Goose Cove in January 1985 on my second field trip to this part of Newfoundland. I had first visited St. Anthony and the surrounding area in August-September 1984 with the intention of sampling the song repertoire there, assessing its potential for the study of text-tune relations, and examining the feasibility of interviewing singers with regard to the music of their songs.[7] Fieldwork by Greenleaf, Peacock

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[6]All locations mentioned in the course of this chapter are indicated on Map 1.

[7]This and my subsequent field trips to Goose Cove and St. Anthony were generously funded by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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(Outports), Halpert and Widdowson (MUNFLA 66-24, 72-4, 71-50), and Casey ("Traditions and Neighbours") further south on the Northern Peninsula indicated a rich singing tradition, and my purpose in selecting the St. Anthony area was to see if the same held true for this more northerly region. The preliminary enquiries which I made in St. Anthony as to the names of local singers and the location of singing activities in the area brought repeated mention of Goose Cove (MUNFLA Ms. 84-418/pp.1, 3, 29). The relative ease with which I was subsequently able to make initial contact with singers there and the apparent vitality of the community's singing tradition resulted in Goose Cove thereafter becoming the main focus for my field research (MUNFLA Ms. 84-418/pp.10-16, 53-56). Having gained an entree into the community, my next field trip was timed to coincide with the Christmas-New Year period (1984-1985), during which season I had been told that house parties involving singing were common. Difficulties of transportation, inclement weather and the ad hoc nature of the social occasions in which I was interested, however, led to only limited success in making in-context recordings of local singing (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8264-C8268). The trip did, however, provide the opportunity to record singers in their homes, performing and talking about their songs. It was during one such session that a 60-year-old singer, Tom Sexton, after much coaxing from his cousin, Marie Hillier, and her husband, Eric, performed "The Moonshine Can," or "The Moonshine Song" as it is known by some in Goose Cove:

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EH: Did you get "The Moonshine Song" since you come here?

JB: No, I never did.

EH: Now he [Tom] knows 'n.

TS: You'll have to wait till spring to get that, boy.

EH: He knows 'n.

TS: I got the cold too bad eh, for (that).

EH: Go on, Tom.

MH: It's real long, you know.

EH: Yeah, go on.

MH: (What) they got on record [is only] a bit of it.

TS: No, that's nothing.

. . . .

EH: Tom, you got to sing "The Moonshine Song," Tom.

TS: No sir, no, nothing.

. . . .

MH: Come on, Tom. Well what one are you going to sing, Tom?

TS: I don't think it's any good for me to try "The Moonshine Song."

EH: Try 'n.

TS: I don't believe I'll get (anywhere) [with it].

EH: Try 'n, try 'n. Try 'n now.

[TS sings "The Moonshine Song"] (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255).

Comparison of Tom Sexton's version of "The Moonshine Can" with that published in Peacock (Outports 75-76), as well as several tape-recorded versions on deposit at the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (hereafter, MUNFLA), and that recorded commercially by the professional folksinger, Omar Blondahl (Down to the Sea Again), revealed that Tom Sexton's contained significantly more stanzas than any, and was sung to a different melody.   Not only this, but the melody as sung on all of the recordings except that of Tom Sexton was shared by a number of other Newfoundland songs on deposit in MUNFLA some of which also concerned illicit activities and informing. These preliminary observations prompted questions concerning the "original" melody of "The Moonshine Can," the reason for the different melodies associated with it, its relation to the songs sung to the non-Tom Sexton melody, and its distribution in local and popular culture in Newfoundland.   Thus, "The Moonshine Can" and its melodic analogues suggested themselves as a suitable focus for my projected investigation of text-tune relations, especially the combining and re-combining of tunes in composition, transmission and performance, and insiders' perspectives on

folksong music.[8]

The song complex of "The Moonshine Can" which was subsequently delineated for study consists of a constellation of songs which are related through their textual and/or melodic identity. Its starting point is all the extant versions of "The Moonshine Can," including fragmentary versions, text only versions, tune only versions and commercial versions. It further incorporates all the other songs, which it has been possible to locate, associated with the principal melody of "The Moonshine Can."[9] Hence, the song complex as defined here has resemblances with the "parodic song cycle" outlined by Narváez ("Parodist" 35). The complex is, however, more broadly conceived inasmuch as it includes songs which, although sung to the same melody as "The Moonshine Can," do not necessarily evidence similar thematic and/or verbal content.

The identity of "the principal tune" of "The Moonshine Can" is necessarily a somewhat plastic concept due to the variation which a melody can undergo in performance and in transmission between singers (cf. McCulloh, "'The Tune'").

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[8] Amongst those who have advocated carrying out case studies of individual songs are Alvey 16, Leach, "A New Emphasis," Bayard, "Report" 303, Eiseman, and particularly, Wilgus, "The Text," "The Future," "'Billy the Kid'."

[9] Ideally, the complex should embrace the songs sung to all of the "Moonshine Can" melodies, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

For the purposes of this research, the melody's identity was constructed in the following manner. Firstly, each of the tunes associated with "The Moonshine Can" was transcribed in its entirety, and its statistically "normal" melodic form and the parameters of its melodic variation established.[10] These normal forms and their variations were then compared and their melodic identities distinguished (cf. Seeger, "Versions and Variants"), a process which is fully described in chapter 6. The melodic identity of each tune was taken to be the aggregate of all the normal forms and variations of that melody in the extant versions. Meanwhile, in the search for songs associated with analogues of the principal tune of "The Moonshine Can," melodic correspondence was judged on the level of entire stanzaic units, not just individual phrases or motifs (cf. Cowdery), according to the specific criteria set out at the beginning of chapter 7.

In order to study text-tune relations within the song complex in context, and to incorporate informants' perspectives on folksong music, an analytical framework was needed which emphasised the role of singers and their audiences, on the one hand, and allowed complementary consideration of performance contexts and aspects of the contemporary social and cultural milieu, on the other. From this point of view, the "diachronic model"

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[10]See the "Note on the Transcriptions."

adumbrated by James Porter was particularly appropriate ("Mary Scott").[11]

The model was first proposed by Porter in relation to a set of songs and tunes dubbed the "Mary Scott" complex. It was formulated on the general premise that:

> The interpretation of [song] complexes and their common elements can . . . extend beyond filiation of verbal or melodic structures, for folk songs mirror not only the patterning abilities of a communitas and its individual members over space and time, but also the passions, rationalizings, contradictions, and aspirations embedded in the human condition as it copes with living and with change ("Mary Scott" 59).

The diachronic model was therefore intended by Porter as a means by which to carry out complementary study of the people who actualise songs and the society in which the songs are, or were, perpetuated. Hence, it allowed the possibility of comprehending "not just the relationship of texts and tunes in a diachronic sequence but further, the vital synchronic link between the re-creators of the songs and their social environment" ("Mary Scott" 59). The importance of this, particularly with regard to the study of text-tune relations, is that it promotes the interpretation of the phenomena observed in terms of individuals and their society, not abstract principles (cf. Bohlman 17).

The specific questions arising out of the song complex of "The Moonshine

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[11]For more on the thinking behind the diachronic model, and the uses to which it might be put, see Porter, "Turriff Family," "Prolegomena," "Ballad Classification" and "Regional Catalogues."

Can" are in some respects parallel to those investigated by Porter in connection with the "Mary Scott" complex (60). Firstly, the basis of "The Moonshine Can" in an actual incident invites elucidation of its local frame of reference, particularly with regard to the light this sheds on the nature of social conflict within a Newfoundland outport community, and local attitudes towards the law and its representatives. The song's reference to illicit distillation also demands some consideration of this practice and the way it was perceived in Newfoundland. Another task is to identify the creators and the re-creators of all the songs in the complex and to discover, as far as possible, their influence on it. In addition, the analysis of the extant texts and tunes of the songs in the complex is required in order to explore the nature of its components and the changes they have undergone.

This leads to the elaboration of a model consisting of three levels. These levels, and the chapters of this thesis in which they are considered, are as follows: the elucidation of the general and specific content of the songs in the complex (chapters 2, 3 and 7); the identification of individual performers and other re-creators of the songs in the complex, and the contexts of their performance or re-creation (chapters 4 and 7); and the observation of the nature, development and interconnections of the extant texts and tunes of the songs in the complex (chapters 5, 6 and 7). Study of the model culminates in the presentation of a synthetic life history of the complex as found in Newfoundland,

and a theory of the text-tune relations evidenced in it (chapter 8).

The study of text-tune relations in this way has precedents in the approaches of some previous scholars, particularly Wilgus ("The Future" 329) and McCulloh ("'In the Pines'"). It also draws, and attempts to build, on the earlier observations of others who have worked in the same general sphere of inquiry. The following overview of the scholarship concerning text-tune relations in folksong is therefore intended to place the present research in its theoretical perspective and to allow consideration of earlier findings in the light of the eventual findings of this study.

Text-Tune Relations in Folksong: A Survey of Previous Scholarship[12]

The idea that folksong, including the classical ("Child") ballad, is simultaneously a poetic and a musical entity is now a generally accepted one. Not surprisingly, those collecting folksongs in the field in the early years of this century were among the first to stress this. Aware of song as a union of these two elements, the Scottish collector Gavin Greig, for example, insisted on the need to document them both and to hear them combined in traditional performance (Greig 11-12). Cecil Sharp's work in England during the same

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[12]The literature discussed is that relating to Anglo-Irish-North American folksong since this has the most relevance to our topic. There has also been a significant amount of scholarship on the relation of words and music in folksong traditions elsewhere in the world, particularly in Eastern Europe (Bart k, Rahn, Chandola, Feld, Vodusek, Blacking "Musical Discourse" 22-23).

period likewise led him to emphasise that "the two elements of the folk-song, the words and the melody, should be considered as inseparable," because "they are so closely interwoven, one with the other, that both suffer by dismemberment" (Conclusions ix; cf. Sharp, Introduction xxix). In America, these sentiments were echoed by Phillips Barry and later Bertrand Bronson in their repeated insistence on the poetic-musical reality of folksong, and especially of the ballad, whose study had previously been dominated by the notion that it was a recited rather than a sung genre. Barry expressed his position on the matter eloquently and unequivocally in 1929:

> Music and text . . . form an organic whole. The tune is "the life of the ballad," - so much so, that no ballad can survive, if it cease to be sung. The text of a ballad or folk-song, apart from the music, is a lifeless thing. . . . Hence the failure of the eighteenth-century collectors of English popular ballads to preserve the melodies is being realized as little short of tragic, since it may be demonstrated that, only by a study of each version of a ballad in its entirety, consisting of text and melody, can one reach conclusions from which a large margin of possible error has been eliminated ("The Music" xxi-xxii).

Much the same conviction was subsequently the raison d'etre for Bronson's work, as will be seen in more detail below.

The recognition of the inseparability of the words and music of folksong did not, by any means, lead all scholars to the same position as Barry and Bronson, however. Rather, although the fact of song as words and music was

widely acknowledged as important, some scholars viewed the separate study of these elements as a necessary first step. Greig himself advocated this (11), whilst Sharp, distressed at the lack of attention to tunes and impelled by his strong aesthetic appreciation of them, devoted himself to musical, especially modal, observation (Conclusions; cf. Wilgus, Scholarship 171-72). Indeed, the persistent preoccupation among many folk music analysts from Sharp onwards with modal characteristics was probably a significant factor in perpetuating separate textual and musical analysis (cf. Cazden, "Notes," Bishop). Being exclusively concerned with the melodic features of the music, the prevalence of mode theory militated against study of the tune's rhythmic characteristics and thus the allied question of folksong metre, a matter of particular concern to students of the "Child ballads."[13] George Stewart, Jr., hinted at the difficulty in 1925:

> It might be affirmed in fact that, properly speaking, ballads have no meter, and that a study of their structure means only the analysis of the tune to which they are indissolubly linked. If this be so, there is nothing for it but to turn over the whole field to the musician. But is not this too extreme a position? Ballads are song, but they are also verse, in most cases quite obviously. We cannot, therefore, surrender the field to the musician, who is, indeed, much more interested in advances upon other provinces (162).

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[13]Francis James Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. The terms "traditional" and "classical" have also been used to describe these ballads.

Meanwhile, the problem for ballad scholars interested in text-tune affiliations was the lack of reliable musical evidence for most ballads prior to the twentieth century (cf. Bronson, "Union" 112-14). As will be seen below, only a handful of students of the ballad, such as Barry, Hendren and Bronson, devoted much attention to recently collected examples and took pains to combine textual and musical analysis consistently.

Scholars with a musicological or ethnomusicological orientation, whose analytical horizons extended beyond mode theory, were somewhat more flexible on the matter of text-tune study. George Herzog, for example, maintained:

> In folk song, poetry and music - text and melody -
> form a unit which may be separated into its
> constituent aspects when minute study requires it,
> but which nevertheless should always be looked upon
> and ultimately treated as an organic unit ("Typology"
> 49).

Likewise, Charles Seeger, in his study of the ballad "Barbara Allen" (Child 84), concluded that the study of the chronological and geographical provenance of tunes both independently and in conjunction with texts was desirable and important ("Versions and Variants" 154). Samuel Bayard, however, whilst starting out with a similar point of view, became increasingly convinced of the necessity of independent musical study as a prerequisite to joint text-tune inquiry. He explained the background to his reasoning in 1950:

> In studying a collection of English folk songs with
> their music . . . I attempted to pay some adequate

attention to the music as well as the words, and to such special aspects as had rarely been accorded attention before: namely, the diffusion, textual associations, and different forms of individual tunes in their aggregate of variant settings. Only Phillips Barry and Greig-Keith had gone much into these aspects. My own musical discoveries were such as to make me realize that the study of our folk tunes was neither short nor simple; nor was it bound up, necessarily, in an inseparable manner, with the study of our folk texts. Indeed, it became increasingly apparent that, in some way, the melodies would have to be considered first independently of their text associations; and that their intrinsic nature and interrelations, so therefore their identities, would have to be better determined, before it would become possible fruitfully to study the folk songs as text-tune complexes with both their elements, verbal and musical, taken together in a balanced consideration. As a result of my deciding thus, my attention became concentrated especially on the melodies, whose manifestations proved exceedingly complicated when subjected to a closer scrutiny ("Prolegomena" 3).[14]

Unfortunately, Bayard's insistence on the necessity of studying tunes separately from texts prior to the investigation of their interrelations may have contributed to the annexation of musical study from the rest of folksong research. Certainly, only a few scholars have followed up Bayard's ultimate intentions and studied text and tune families concurrently, as will be seen further on in this chapter. Others, meanwhile, have considered text-tune relations from other angles and it is to their contributions that we now turn.

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[14]See Shapiro and Cowdery for a critical evaluation of Bayard's resulting work on tune families.

The Early Collectors

A salient feature of the observations of early collectors, like Sharp, Greig, Percy Grainger and Barry, relating to folksong verse and music is that they were prompted by firsthand contact with singers, as well as arising from a contemplation of the material collected. Their writings are thus peppered with comments on their singers' perceptions of the songs. These constitute some of the few such comments that we have on record and, as such, have subsequently tended to be echoed, rather than confirmed or disproved, by others.

Sharp, for example, made the following generalisation in 1906 based on the English rural singers whom he had encountered up to that time:

> It is a well-known fact that the folk-singer attaches far more importance to the words of his song than to its tune; that, while he is conscious of the words that he is singing, he is more or less unconscious of the melody. I have come across many peasant [sic] singers who were unable to recognize a tune, or at any rate to distinguish one tune from another (Conclusions 18).

At first sight, it may seem surprising that Sharp would concede so readily that his singers were virtually unaware of the very melodies by which he set so much store. Nevertheless, his theory enabled him to insist on the essential purity of the tunes, regardless of the quality of their associated texts, and of the artistry by which the tunes were perpetuated and varied (Conclusions 21, 24).

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Sharp also tried to argue that, since singers were not conscious of the music, tunes would be less likely to suffer through lack of practice than the words. This, he thought, was one reason why folksong music was generally better preserved than folksong texts (Conclusions 123). This does not square with his earlier remarks on text, tune and memorization, however, in which he notes the inability of the average singer to hum the tune of a song without the words. He cites an occasion on which a woman forgot the last two lines of the first stanza of the song she was performing for him. He urged her to finish the tune alone so he could notate it. Later, remembering the words, she sang it again for him with a different tune from that to which she had previously completed the stanza (Conclusions 19). Thus, on Sharp's own evidence, if memory of the tune is contingent on memory of the words, lack of practice is likely to affect both adversely.[15]

Sharp's interest in assessing the musical aural perception of his informants may have been suggested by the practices of his music teaching profession. His experiences repeatedly confirmed for him the idea that "when a peasant [sic] sings a song, or listens to one, his attention is exclusively occupied with the words, and he is quite unconscious of the tune" (Conclusions 19). One of the techniques Sharp employed to win the confidence of singers,

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[15]Sharp's observation concerning singers' inability to sing a melody without the accompanying words was later disputed by Keith on the basis of Greig's collectanea (Keith xlii).

and covertly to discover whether they could distinguish between melodies, was to begin by singing a well-known song to them himself, following it with an inquiry as to the similarity of the informant's version. It seems that singers invariably agreed that theirs resembled his but then, when they sang the song, Sharp found it distinctly different (Conclusions 18-19). On one occasion, Sharp also witnessed a performance of "Brennan on the Moor" at a village pub. According to him, the assembled company joined in the choruses, apparently oblivious to the fact that they were each singing their own version of the tune. Needless to say, this added to Sharp's conviction that singers were unable to detect melodic differences to any great extent (Conclusions 19).

From the standpoint of the present, there are certain problems with Sharp's methods and interpretations. Whilst his examples are useful for demonstrating that singers' notions of the nature and extent of melodic resemblance and variation may be altogether different from that of a formally trained musician's, this does not warrant his conclusion that the singer therefore has no such notions. These may well exist, as Sharp later found among some Southern Appalachian singers (Introduction xxvii), but the ability and the confidence to articulate them, especially to a visiting gentleman and musical "expert," may have been lacking. Besides, common courtesy may prevent singers from disagreeing with a collector's version of a song, depending also on

how the relevant question is posed.[15]

Sharp was intrigued by the phenomenon of melodic variation.[17] Apart
from exceptional cases of "inspired invention," he attributed it to a singer's "love
of ornament," a change of mode, or textual factors. Hence, the corrupt and
unmetrical lines of a supposedly degenerate text would result in the variation of
the melody, as would the adaptation of an existing tune to a new set of words,
such as a broadside text with a slightly different metre (Conclusions 25-26).[16]
Sharp also noted the frequent recurrence of certain tunes with different texts,
leading him to posit the idea of a "common stock" of melodies which singers
could employ when "at a loss" for a tune (Conclusions 74).

Amongst the causes which Sharp hypothesised for melodic variation, he
included the possibility of singers' attempts to make the music accord with the
emotional content of the words (Conclusions 26). This view was shared by
Percy Grainger who believed that a gifted singer would "evolve more or less
profuse melodic, rhythmic, and dynamic variants out of his 'normal tune' to meet
the emotional needs of different verses, and match their changing word-rhythms;

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[16]Regarding leading questions and loaded questions, see Ives, Interview
69, and Thompson 202.

[17]See his descriptions of the variations introduced by Mr. Larcombe and
Mrs. Overd in Conclusions 21-23.

[18]Sharp included rhythmic variation under the heading of melodic
variation.

all in accordance with his dim sense for an organic whole" (Grainger 153).

Unlike Sharp, however, Grainger was at pains to stress that melodic variation

was not a random, and in that sense unconscious, phenomenon. Rather,

Grainger took the unconventional view that, for the singer, each textual stanza

was identified with its own music:

> In whatever way folk-song may appeal to individual
> enthusiasts coming to it fresh from other planes of
> culture . . . it seems incontestable that to the folk-
> singer himself it appeals first and foremost as
> 'narrative song' and that, for him, words and music
> are practically inseparable. To most folk-singers, the
> tune of a song in (say) its fifth verse is not merely a
> repetition of the tune of 'verse one' sung to different
> words, but is, rather, the particular music to those
> particular words. I do not think this is overstating the
> case. There even seem to be positive traditions
> regarding certain variations introduced to accompany
> parts of the words of certain songs, which are . . .
> almost as widespread and general as the normal
> tunes from which they differ (153).

It is interesting to note that Grainger's remarks were based on phonographic

field recordings and the detailed textual and musical transcriptions of entire

songs which he made from them. Sharp's were based on melodic transcriptions

which he notated on paper in the presence of a singer by taking down the initial

form of the tune and then marking deviations from it in subsequent stanzas

(Conclusions 16-31).

Despite the relevance of some of Sharp's comments to the study of text-

tune relations, it was the melody of folksong, rather than the nature of the

melody's relationship to the words which was his primary interest. For Phillips Barry, on the other hand, the investigation of the words and music of folksong was not merely a by-product of the collecting process but its raison d'être ("Homiletic Ballad" 5). It was, therefore, in the work of Barry that the concept of folksong as an aggregate of textual and musical factors reached maturity. In Wilgus's tribute, "Alone among the early collectors, [Barry] dealt with folksong as a unit, a marriage of text and tune" (**Scholarship** 177).

Barry's central concern was with what he termed "communal re-creation," that is, the cumulative process of variation and diversification undergone by folksongs. He consequently devoted much consideration to its effect on text and melody, whilst also weighing the implications of his findings with regard to the transmission of songs as a whole ("Communal Re-creation," "The Music"). One example of the re-creative process was the practice, also observed by Sharp, for existing tunes to be adapted to fit different texts, either due to the introduction of a printed text or the singer's own volition ("Transmission" 76). Unlike Sharp, however, who saw the metre of the text as affecting that of the melody, Barry thought that this could result in the metrical alteration of the text as, for example, in the Child ballads. Barry also noted another possible effect of the adaptation of melodies in this way, namely, that a tune would be combined with an emotionally incongruous text:

The music of the [lumber] woods ballads proper is of

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later origin than that of the Child ballads. Most of the tunes are of the long come-all-ye type, to fit a double common metre verse form. A fairly large proportion of them is apparently Irish. A person who is accustomed - erroneously - to expect that musical modes reflect kinds of emotion, will often see in the ways of the woods singers in choice of tunes something incongruous. Ballads as different in emotion-compelling power as "The Little Barber," "The Jam on Gerry's Rock," and "Peter Emery" [sic] are sung to sets of the air of an Irish love song, "The Maid of Timahoe" - "Oh, were I king of Ireland, queen of it she should be"! The same air, "Fainne Geal an Lae," serves for "Young Charlotte" and for "John A. Monroe," a sordid tale of murder, following seduction. The epic sound and fury of "The Little Brown Bulls" is sung to the old "Derry Down" tune, apparently first set to "King John and the Bishop of Canterbury" (Child 45), and still sung to it, though the source of the air in woods tradition is more likely a drinking song, printed in 1815 in The Boston Musical Miscellany. Such incongruity of text and tune might be taken partially to confirm Sharp's view that to the folk singer the story was the thing and the music but the vehicle of the story. One should, however, beware of generalizations of this sort. He may go, as he should, to the folk singer for instruction in the folk singer's ways, and receive a far different impression ("American Folk Music" 41-42).

Neither Barry nor anyone else appears to have pursued this latter suggestion. Yet, as will be seen below, the notion of "incongruity" in some text-tune combinations was also a problem which exercised other scholars, including Bronson with regard to Child ballads.

Barry's description of text and tune in performance has parallels with those of Sharp and Grainger. In particular, he commented that "the best folk-

singers vary the rhythm and the tonal sequence of the air to fit the dramatic requirements of the texts" ("Communal Re-creation" 4). As a result, Barry, like Grainger (151), became convinced of the value of transcribing the melody of a song in its entirety, stating categorically that "the air to a ballad consists of the music to which the whole text is sung" ("Communal Re-creation" 4; cf. Herzog, "The Study" 61). The same premise lies behind the transcription procedure and definition of melodic identity adopted in this study.

Thus, many of the comments of these early collectors concerning text-tune relations stemmed from their attempts to find explanations for the textual and musical variation of folksongs. Sharp, who believed that singers had little, if any, awareness of the melodies of their songs, tended to see melodic variation as being caused by textual factors, whilst Barry saw texts as adapting to tunes, although he, like Sharp and Grainger, emphasised singers' variation of tunes in performance according to the textual content. Both Sharp and Barry remarked on the phenomenon of the adaptation of existing tunes to fit different texts, Barry perceiving in this the union of emotionally incongruous texts and melodies, and Sharp hypothesising a general pool of melodies, presumably neutral in their emotional associations, which singers drew on to adapt in this way.

The Ballad Scholars

The influence of the early collectors' findings, especially those of Barry

and Sharp, on students of the classical ballad is evident in Gordon Gerould's 1932 monograph, **The Ballad of Tradition**. Not only did Gerould place the ballad fairly and squarely within the province of folksong (3), but he was clearly at pains to synthesise the observations of the collectors regarding folksong melody with the more literary, and so textual, ideas of contemporary ballad scholarship. Thus, Gerould's comments concerning text-tune relations centre on melody and prosody, musical structure and textual structure at the levels of line and stanza, and the phenomenon of a narrative text being sung to an iterative melody (73-74, 87, 124, 129-30). In particular, he used melody to account for the origin of ballad form:

> . . . the peculiarities of ballad structure, as they appear throughout most parts of Europe, are explicable if we remember that the stories are moulded to fit a recurrent melody. Their compression, their centralization, with the impersonality that results from the dramatic treatment of a theme, and, above all, the swiftly moving action, are precisely the qualities that would arise, almost inevitably, from the practice of singing stories to brief tunes. To each little repetition of the melody would fall some little scene, some bit of dialogue, or perhaps some longer speech. There would frequently be iteration, as a matter of course, though such iteration seems never to have become an essential structural feature. A story composed to fit a recurrent melody, or composed simultaneously with such a melody, could not well fail to have dramatic quality. It would be forced into such form by the circumstances of its performance. Quite possibly, too, the habit . . . of making songs under direct stimulus of the event or feeling that is celebrated in

them may have something to do with the vivid
suggestiveness of the verse thus produced. The
presence or immediate recollection of whatever
happened to be the subject would certainly tend to
develop the practice of reproducing it mimetically.
Thus the story would be told not as something remote
in time, but almost as if it were being re-enacted, step
by step, with repetition of the melody (211-12).

Gerould's point about the repeated melody encouraging the re-enactment of the

ballad's narrative provides a possible explanation of why people communicate

through song (cf. Lomax below), and will be returned to in chapter 8.

A Study of Ballad Rhythm with Special Reference to Ballad Music by

J.W. Hendren is unique in being the only published monograph to date to be

devoted in its entirety to an aspect of the relationship of words and music in

Anglo-Irish-North American folksong. Inspired by Gerould (Wilgus, Scholarship

269) and published in 1936, it is an important and unconventional study, with a

fine regard for the singer's perspective as well as the academician's view. In

this it is comparable to Barry's work.

Hendren's approach was premised on the idea that not only did ballads

comprise both verse and music, but these elements formed a unified whole for

those who performed them:

In traditional practice . . . the text and tune of a
ballad are aspects of a single thing. There is, in the
artistic sense, no disunity in song. To the ballad
singer the verbal text is likewise the musical text, the
words are also the music (2).

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Thus, Hendren contended that the study of the ballad as song should precede separate study of its language and music, it being only in terms of each other that these components could be understood (2). He therefore proceeded to carry out a careful consideration of text-tune relations with regard to the ballad's style and form. From this, he concluded that the tune and text of the ballad matched or, as he put it, "in essential matters, are morphological twins" (25), and that the mutual process of adaptation which took place between the text and tune in performance "presupposes and is contingent upon a very close analogy of form and feature between the musical and poetic constituents of the song" (25).

Hendren also observed that all English folk music was structured in the same way as ballad music, from what he called the short phrase. Hence, he reasoned that the "musical structure of ballad tunes is in no way connected with the narrative principle of their texts, but is governed by musical laws alone" (37). Like Gerould, then, he concluded that the melody was responsible for the stanzaic structure of the ballad although, unlike Gerould, he did not extend this point to account for the ballad's focus on a central situation.

As the title of his book implies, Hendren also examined text and tune in relation to matters of rhythm and accent. In parallel with his findings on the structural identity of words and music, he concluded that coincidence of verbal and musical stress was the norm in the ballad despite the occasional occurrence

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of "wrenched" or displaced accent (129).[19] In particular, Hendren put paid to

the idea of displaced accent as a vestigial survival of Norman pronunciation and

gave the music as its cause instead, at the same time pointing out that it was

"the natural and inevitable consequence of the development of verses in musical

form by generations of people who had never heard of wrenched accent . . . and

had no reason in the world to guard against it" (142). Further to this, Hendren

strongly defended the occurrence of displaced accent in the ballad, claiming that

it provided variety and could constitute an aesthetic touch to the melody in the

eyes of ballad singers and their audiences:

> Wrenched accent in balladry is not, in any proper
> sense, mere crudity, as sometimes supposed. Critics
> should be on guard against the tacit assumption that
> ballad makers have been trying to attain the exact
> qualities of sophisticated art, and not succeeding.
> Such matters as wrenched accent, irregular time,
> nonsense refrains, provincial diction, archaic scales,
> et al., are not blemishes, but characters making
> positive contributions. Persons to whom ballads are
> an enjoyable art, rather than a subject for dissection,
> usually feel that wrenched accent, in song or text, is
> seldom disagreeable, and is sometimes capable of
> graceful, even subtle and beautiful effects (137).

This uncompromising concern with the singer's point of view and the

realities of ballad performance, and their implications for scholarly problems of

ballad form and metre, distinguishes Hendren's work from that of other ballad

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[19]The violent image suggested by the term "wrenched accent" seems
indicative of the degree of offense this phenomenon once gave to the
sensibilities of literary scholars.

scholars in this area of inquiry and marks it as a bold and original contribution to the study of text-tune relations. Although Hendren has been criticised on certain points (Wilgus, Scholarship 269, Winkelman, "Rhythmic Aspects" 156), his work establishes the close correspondence between texts and tunes on the levels of phrase and stanza, and with regard to metre. In addition, his overall approach demonstrates the centrality of the performer and the performance in understanding text-tune relations in ballad, or any kind of folksong.

The views expressed by Bertrand Bronson on the relationship of words and music in the ballad are the product of his engagement with the immense task of collating and publishing the melodies associated with the Child ballads (Traditional Tunes). His observations are consequently more broadly based than those of Hendren. Bronson's work was motivated by the conviction that the study of ballad music could shed crucial light on textual problems and that proper comprehension of the ballad could therefore only come about through joint study of its words and music ("Interdependence"). Thus, he pursued questions concerning the influence of ballad music on such phenomena as the structure, variation, style and tone of ballad texts.

Many of Bronson's remarks stem from his concurrent observation of text families and tune families. As Barry and Bayard had found with regard to folksong more generally, it was discovered by Bronson that "the melodic tradition and the textual tradition of the ballads . . . are neither coincident or

commensurate with each other," and that "close variants of the same tune may be found with a number of other texts of quite diverse sense and spirit ("Union" 119). Conversely, a single ballad type could be associated with a number of unrelated tunes ("Interdependence" 59). Yet, certain text-tune combinations remained very stable in extant ballad versions ("Habits" 111). Thus, Bronson crystallised a key issue in the study of text-tune relations, namely, the problem of continuity and change in text-tune combinations:

> Why is it that certain narrative themes and certain melodic forms come down through tradition almost straight and relatively stable, while others lose essential elements and keep nonessentials, flow into divergent streams and combine with alien matter? ("Habits" 101).

Bronson put forward a number of theories for the occurrence of multiple tunes with a single ballad type. Like Barry, he ascribed it to the possibility of written transmission of the text, or the musical artistry of singers ("Interdependence" 59, 61-63). He additionally proposed that tunes could be transferred between ballads whose texts exhibited a verbal or narrative connection ("Interdependence" 49). Most of his subsequent writings, however, stress the diversity rather than the resemblance of songs with which the same tune had become associated (e.g. "Habits" 96, Introduction xxx), and he was somewhat at a loss to explain why some commonly found tunes recurred in combination with a multiplicity of different texts ("Interdependence" 49). He did

suggest, however, that resemblances between tunes could cause the crossing or merging of texts irrespective of whether any thematic parallels existed between them ("Interdependence" 49).[20] Thus, the study of tunes could bring to light hitherto unsuspected links between ballads and help to unravel the lines of descent of textual variants ("Interdependence" 49-58).

Like Gerould before him, Bronson was struck by the fact that the ballad, a narrative song, was combined with an iterative melody, and he sought to relate this to the ballad's style. Refining Gerould's view, he regarded the recurrent melody as intensifying the delivery of the words whilst simultaneously objectifying their content:

> Upon reflection, we must perceive that the very idea of narrative, of progress from point to point in a story, is inimical to its statement in identical units of simple melody, repeated as many times as need requires. The melodic form, an integrated succession of a given number of short phrases, has powerfully imposed itself on the verse form, to mutual advantages; but the inherent demands of narrative song are for a freer and more dramatic vehicle. . . . But clearly, the traditional ballad music operates against the narrative effect and acts to reinforce the level impassivity of the characteristic style. And this is a source of its peculiar power. Although it intensifies the emotional (and lyric) effect of the words as they pass, it de-individualizes and objectifies their stated content. It regularizes and levels out the hills and valleys of narrative interest and reduces the

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[20]This represents an extension of Hendren's observation that melodic variation could come about through the substitution by a singer of a melodically similar phrase from a different tune (55; cf. Cowdery 497-98).

varying speeds of travel to its own constant pace
("Union" 129-30; cf."Good and Bad" 63, Introduction
xxiv).

Although Bronson no doubt saw the ballad as a special case, it is notable that his view in this matter contradicts the observation of Sharp, Grainger and Barry, referred to above, that traditional singers perpetually modify the tune of a song in performance in response to the meaning of the words. That Bronson chose to emphasise the essential uniformity of the melody in performance, despite being aware of the melodic variation it could undergo, was possibly the result of his working mainly with the one-stanza melodic transcriptions of others, rather than the melody of a song in its entirety.

Whilst the observations of Gerould, Hendren and Bronson on text-tune relations in the ballad have carried the most weight, brief mention should be made of the contribution of several others to this area of scholarship. Tristram Coffin's 1965 essay, "Remarks Preliminary to a Study of Ballad Meter and Ballad Singing," for example, is remarkable for its advocacy of the study of the ballad "as poetry" rather than "as music" (149). This was due to Coffin's theory that the origin of ballad prosody lay in the stress-count technique of Anglo-Saxon poetry, an idea which he saw as accounting for the melodic ornamentation introduced by some ballad singers in performance (150-51). Drawing also on Sharp's observation that singers were indifferent to the tunes of their songs, Coffin, in obvious opposition to Bronson and his progenitors, contended that,

"text, not music, is dominant in the traditional performance of the ballad - that text, not music, leads the singer, and that text enables the singer to vary and extemporize on the music" (151).

George Boswell's examination of text-tune relations in various narrative songs, including classical ballads, likewise centred on establishing the relative dominance of their textual and melodic elements. A 1967 article summarises his main ideas ("Reciprocal Controls") These included the characterisation of melodies as strong or weak, according to their prevalence in tradition and the number of text types with which they were associated (169). "Strong" tunes which, like Sharp's "common stock" melodies, were those with a well-defined melodic profile and found in combination with many different texts, were regarded as more likely to precipitate changes in the form of the textual stanza than "weak" tunes. Melodies were also found by Boswell to bring about changes in the form of refrain employed in a ballad,[21] as well as the words' accentuation, and pronunciation ("Reciprocal Controls" 170-71). Conversely, he argued that texts were more stable in form and content than tunes, and were more important to singers who, according to Boswell, might make "an exceedingly unmusical variation" to accommodate an unmetrical line of text ("Reciprocal Controls" 172). Boswell further tried to show correspondences

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[21]In this, Boswell was extending the work already carried out by Bronson (cf. "Interdependence" 44).

between the pitches of vowels and the notes to which they are sung ("Reciprocal Controls" 171, "Shaping Controls" 10-11, "Pitch"), and between the occurrence of inflected notes and grace notes on the one hand, and the make up of textual syllables on the other ("The Neutral Tone", "Text-Occasioned Ornamentation").

There are, however, a number of problems with Boswell's work, not least of which is his narrow "item-oriented" approach and his superorganic treatment of texts and tunes. In particular, he appears to have lost sight of the fact that what he was analysing so closely were his own transcriptions. Thus, some of his results are open to question as simply evidence of his own biases. The lack of any attempt to relate his findings to other causes, particularly the vicissitudes of performance, moreover, severely limits the significance of his work from the standpoint of the present.

The more modest output of Donald Winkelman on text-tune relations, published at around the same time as that of Boswell and Coffin, focuses on the problems of rhythm and accentuation in the classical ballad. Amongst Winkelman's findings was what he termed "an unwritten Law of Symmetry for rhythms" in which the rhythm of one phrase or half-phrase was always matched or equalled by that of another ("Rhythmic Aspects" 151-52). With regard to the priority of poetic or musical stress in ballad metre, he emphasised that singers and their singing tradition constituted the determining factor in matters of scansion ("Rhythmic Aspects" 156). He thus arrived at a similar conclusion to

that of Hendren, namely, that text and tune are indivisible in performance:

> . . . there is a real union between text and tune. In
> actuality, there is a new stress system in many
> ballads in which the poetic accent corresponds to that
> of the melodic rhythm. The result is the flowing
> nature of balladry rather than separate elements
> striving against one another. There is no dominance
> in the usual sense of the term. Rather, there is a
> unity of elements which are at the same time
> disparate and closely related ("Poetic/Rhythmic
> Stress" 116).

By considering the ballad as performed, then, Winkelman transcended the
involved deliberations of Boswell and others concerning the relative dominance
of text and tune in ballad rhythm, and emphasised instead their essential unity
when sung.

It can thus be seen that Gerould's comments on the coordination of text
and tune in ballads at the levels of phrase and line, and in rhythm, as well as his
remarks on the iterative nature of ballad melody, to a large extent set the
agenda for succeeding ballad scholars interested in text-tune relations. Hendren
and Winkelman nevertheless stand out in that they stressed the importance of
considering ballad performers and their singing tradition in explaining these
phenomena. Only Bronson, however, broadened the field of inquiry to
incorporate the study of textual and melodic families and their interconnections,
in particular, bringing into focus the problem, previously touched upon by Sharp
and Barry, of stability and change in text-tune combinations. Among the most

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striking of Bronson's theories of such change, especially from the point of view of the present research, was his idea that verbal or narrative resemblance could trigger the borrowing of a tune for a new text, and that tune resemblance could likewise trigger the crossing or merging of texts.

The Ethnomusicologists

There is a noticeable dearth of ethnomusicological scholarship on text-tune relations in Anglo-Irish-North American folksong, especially in comparison with the work on the subject produced by ballad scholars. Nevertheless, the contributions of ethnomusicological scholars, mainly in essay form, are of importance because they have a breadth of perspective which is lacking in ballad studies. In particular, they augment discussion by the introduction of a more ethnographic dimension, and widen the horizons of debate concerning text-tune relations to include songs lying outside the Child canon.

George Herzog's mid-century overview of the relation of text and melody in folksong reveals a particular concern with the views of folk singers and other ethnographic data, as well as with the linguistic and musical evidence of the songs themselves ("Song"). While Herzog's observations echo some of those made by earlier scholars regarding singers' attitudes, he was more discerning in the inferences he drew from them. Thus, he attributed the difficulties of singers in dictating texts to the fact that text and melody formed an integral unit

for singers. He also observed that melody was more abstract and therefore less well-defined for singers than text since different tunes could occur with the same text (1039).[22] Likewise, "new" songs could consist of different or modified words fitted to a borrowed tune whose familiarity went either unnoticed or unremarked (cf. Merriam 181). This resulted in the phenomenon of there being an apparently greater number of texts than melodies in the Anglo-American folksong repertoire, arguing in favour of the interpretation that "the function of music in folk practice is not necessarily to furnish a distinct setting for a distinct text. Rather, since the text cannot stand alone, melody is the necessary medium for it to be carried along" (1039).

Herzog arrived at much the same view of the structural relations of text and tune as Gerould, Hendren and Bronson, namely, that the two are analogous but not rigidly co-ordinated (1040). He also recognised the futility of trying to reach a definitive answer regarding the dominance of one element over the other since the two were constantly interacting and inter-reacting. On the question of whether tunes were in any way reflective of a song's textual content, Herzog was unequivocal about the fact that folk music was extremely unlikely to be representational in the way that some cultivated music was (cf. Bronson, "Union" 120-25). Rather, like Sharp, Grainger and Barry, he suggested that a song's

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[22]As Charles Seeger later pointed out ("Versions and Variants" 121), this is equally as true for scholars as for folk singers.

emotional content might be expressed in the manner of its performance, as well as in its general rhythmic character and speed, but noted that such matters were unfortunately not often articulated about by singers themselves (1040).

Few detailed studies of the integration of words and music in a specific song version have been carried out. A notable exception to this is George List's 1957 essay concerning a version of "The False Knight on the Road" (Child 3) collected by Sharp in the Southern Appalachians ("Ideal Marriage"). In this particular version, List found an unusually high degree of correspondence between the musical and textual form of the song, and a consistent correlation between a particular idea in the narrative and musical material deriving from the second phrase of the stanza ("Ideal Marriage" 105). He attributed this to a relatively stable text and its protracted association with one tune (111). Although List never followed up this suggestive finding, his essay is important for being the first explicit statement of the possibility, first hinted at by Bronson, that aspects of a song's tune could become identified with meanings contained in its concomitant text. This is an idea of central importance to this study and one to which we will return again below.

Whilst some of the most extensive research into the parallel textual and melodic traditions of individual songs has been that carried out by Bronson in connection with the Child ballads, Norman Cazden's similarly conducted investigation of the songs in a regional repertoire demonstrates the validity of

this approach for the comparative study of folksongs more generally ("Regional Orientations"). By tracking down the other text and tune associations of the songs found in the repertoire of the Catskill mountain region of New York, Cazden was able to demonstrate the repertoire's close connection to the lumbercamp song tradition in the relatively distant areas around Michigan and Nova Scotia. Like Bronson, therefore, he argued that it was precisely because of the occurrence of a tune with several different texts, and of several tunes with one text type, that the musical as well as the textual evidence of songs was so valuable for comparative study ("Regional Orientations" 318-19). The existence of several distinct tunes for a song in a regional or occupational repertoire could thus indicate that the song had spread along multiple lines of transmission, at least one of which had been interrupted, possibly by the dissemination of a printed text, resulting in the introduction of one or more new tunes. In addition, "general utility" tunes which were found attached to a number of different texts in a repertoire could be traced in their own right to other repertoires and their likely provenance and routes of dissemination deduced.

There are difficulties attached to such comparative work, as Cazden himself recognised ("Regional Orientations" 310-13). These include the extent to which collections are representative of a particular repertoire, their failure, in some cases, to include some or all of the music, and the frequent lack of biographical information on the singers which might furnish substantive evidence

to support the stylistic evidence of transmission from one repertoire to another. Another problem is that it is rarely easy to establish a chronology for the textual affiliations of a specific tune and thus to decide on the direction of influence or transmission. Nevertheless, Cazden's work is a potent illustration of the complexity of song transmission and thus the reason why even the study of individual songs can be a complicated undertaking.

Perhaps the most original approach to be developed in the study of folksong since mid-century is Alan Lomax's "cantometrics," a system of analysis aimed at profiling and comparing the song performance practices of peoples throughout the world (Style and Culture). His proposal for an ethnography of musical styles was largely based on the comparison of singing styles and the social organisation of performance, including the interplay of poetic and musical patterns ("Folk Song Style" 928, 929). Not surprisingly, in view of the comments of Sharp, Herzog and others, Lomax characterised the "modern European" style, which applied to the folk singing traditions of most of Western Europe and the Americas, as having "a stronger interest in text than in tune, in sense than in emotional interest" ("Folk Song Style" 938).

Although there are difficulties with his methods,[23] Lomax furnished some stimulating observations on the nature of song itself. In particular, he noted the relative redundancy of song as a form of communication, thereby implying

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[23]Some of these are described in Herndon.

fundamental questions as to why people sing at all and what it is that they communicate in song:

> Speech and song are produced by the same organs, conform to the same linguistic regularities (grammar, vocabulary, etc.) and use the same given communication modes - pitch, stress, duration, speed, timbre, segmentation, meter, melody, volume, register, social ordering, etc. All these features are treated far more repetitively and formally in song than in speech. Indeed, song, where redundancy appears at all or most levels simultaneously, may be both recognized and defined as the most redundant form of vocal communication ("The Good" 219).

Against this background, Lomax also observed that Western folksong has some of the least redundant and most information-laden texts in the world ("Special Features"). He thus raises the basic issue of why such texts are created and combined with melodies at all, a question which is addressed with specific reference to "The Moonshine Can" in chapter 8 of this study.

More recent ethnomusicological work, such as that of James Porter and John Blacking, signals new points of departure and emphases in the study of text-tune relations. Of special note is the importance which these two scholars have attached to the "ethnic", "folk," or "native" perspective on song - in other words, the views of insiders in a singing tradition - to the extent of calling for individuals as the starting point for study.[24] Such an approach represents the

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[24]See, for example, Porter, "Jeannie Robertson," "Ballad Classification," "Ballad Explanations," and the essays of Blacking discussed below.

apotheosis of the remarks of earlier scholars, like Grainger, Barry, Hendren and Herzog, concerning the centrality of the performer in understanding singing tradition.

Blacking was particularly concerned with the problem of musical meaning in general, especially with the meaning of music qua music or "musical discourse" (cf. Porter, "Jeannie Robertson" 18). This led him to emphasise the relevance of what people say about music - discourse about music or "ethnic perceptions of the semiotics of music" - and the role of these perceptions as signposts in the analysis of musical meaning ("'Ethnic' Perceptions," "Musical Discourse"). His premise was as follows:

> Musical discourse is not an objective reality: it is the result of creator, performer, and listener . . . making sense of sounds, and the problem is to discover how people formulate the musical content ("Musical Discourse" 17).

As a first step towards engaging with this problem, Blacking suggested the study of song, arguing that people's perceptions of and responses to the words-music tensions found in song could help to indicate their relative valuing of speech and music as modes of discourse ("Musical Discourse" 21-22). In addition, he warned against imputing speech and song with any absolute attributes, noting specifically that it is

> . . . important not to draw boundaries between cognition and affect . . . nor to characterize speech as cognitive and music as affective and to make

Eurocentric psychological assumptions in analysing
relationships between speech and song, words and
music ("A Commonsense View" 84).

The investigation of people's use and conceptions of words and music in song, and the assumptions on which they are based, thus acts as an important corrective to the researcher's ethnocentrism, as well as forming an essential point of departure.

It is clear from the foregoing, then, that the contributions of ethnomusicologists to the study of text-tune relations have been more varied in their scope than those of ballad scholars. Nevertheless, the work of Cazden on the songs in a regional repertoire parallels that of Bronson on Child ballads and demonstrates the importance of melodic as well as textual analogues in the comparative study of folksongs. Lomax's observations on world singing styles, on the other hand, open up the whole question of why people communicate through song, the answer to which, so Herzog, Porter and Blacking claim, lies partly in the perceptions of the participants in a singing tradition themselves. The kind of link found by List between a musical motif and aspects of the meaning of a song text, meanwhile, may also be a clue as to what people view as significant in a song.

Students of Local Songmaking

Folkloristic interest in local songmaking and song parody in the latter half

of this century has brought with it deeper investigation of a previously identified problem of text-tune relations in Anglo-Irish-North American folksong, namely the occurrence of borrowed or adapted tunes with new or different sets of words. This is because the redeployment of tunes in this manner is characteristic of the compositional process in general (cf. Herzog above), and essential to the technique of song parodying in particular.[25] It is interesting to note that the questions facing scholars in this field were very much as Hendren had posed them, with reference to the ballad, as early as 1936. What is the influence of text and tune components in composition? Is the stanza composed first, perhaps modelled on another text, and then the music added to this? Or is the stanza fashioned to a familiar tune? Alternatively, are words and music created simultaneously as a unified whole, following a traditional model, without the composer being conscious of either as separate arts? (Hendren 86-87).

Whilst these questions remained hypothetical for Hendren because of a lack of evidence, students of local song have often had access to the testimony of the songmakers themselves or those who knew them. In addition, they have frequently been able to locate specific models for newly-made songs and have therefore been in a position to compare the old material with the new for insights into the compositional process. As a result of this, more recent observations on

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[25]Parody with ironic intent is seen here as distinct from the local songmaking process in general. For opposing views on this issue, see Narváez, "Parodist," and Russell, "Parody."

the interrelations of text and tune in local songmaking have tended to emphasise the resemblances between songs sharing the same melody, rather than their diversity.

Herbert Halpert's seminal article on local songmaking and song parodying, published in 1951, is a case in point. This first of all confirms, like the studies of Bronson and later Cazden, the value of musical evidence in comparative song study, Halpert maintaining that "it is more often on the musical rather than the textual level that we can find out connections between the older songs and the more recent ones" ("Vitality" 38). In addition, Halpert drew attention to the frequency with which satirical songs within a particular region - northeastern America - employed the same tune type, namely, the "derry-down" melody also associated with the ballad, "King John and the Abbot" (cf. Barry, "American Folk Music" 42). This observation underlines the fact that, within a regional tradition, there is more possibility of direct connections, and perhaps, therefore, extra-musical resemblances, between songs sung to the same melody.

The extent to which newly-composed songs were indebted to their models was investigated in two early case studies of songmaking, by Benjamin and Swetnam respectively. Apart from the borrowing of the tune, both scholars detected the influence of the tune's previously associated text in the newly composed song (cf. Cazden, "Lockup Songs" 94). Particularly striking is Swetnam's finding that the timing of an incident, which the song had been

composed to recount, had been altered from May to June in order to preserve to the rhyme scheme of the model (28).

The question of the relationship of newly composed songs to their models has likewise been pursued by Edward Ives, whose research into local song composition and songmakers in northeast North America is by far the most extensive in this field of study. In his biography of the prolific woodsman songmaker, Joe Scott, for example, Ives has traced Scott's indebtedness to Anglo-Irish broadside balladry in general for his plot and character formulations, and diction (Scott 405), and has managed to track down the most likely immediate models for Scott's individual songs. His findings suggest that the selection of a particular song as a model, including the use of its tune, may be motivated by a variety of factors, both direct and indirect. One example is the tune for Scott's ballad, "Howard Carey," which, although widespread in Irish-American tradition, appears to have been taken by Scott from a song entitled "The Irish Patriot" since there is a strong textual resemblance between the two songs in one stanza (Scott 129). This led Ives to conjecture:

> . . . it is just possible that this is where it all began: [Scott] wanted to make a ballad about his friend's death; he recalled something Howard had told him about how his mother had given him such good advice . . . the scene from "The Irish Patriot" came to mind, and Joe was off and running. That's speculation - it's also possible the scene was suggested by the tune - but I have no doubt at all that Joe got his tune from "The Irish Patriot" (Scott 130).

Another of Scott's songs, "The Wreck on the Grand Trunk Railway," displays a distinct resemblance to the ballad, "Fuller and Warren," in its tune, stanza form, and the phrasing of its first stanza. Yet, Scott's song has nothing in common with the latter in terms of its thematic content or imagery, prompting Ives to wonder: "Why did Joe Scott use this unlikely parallel, a ballad about a man who was hanged for murdering the cad who stole his truelove's affections, as the model for his song on the Grand Trunk wreck?" (Scott 279). In this case, Ives has speculated that the connection may lie in the fact that Scott was filing for a divorce at the time of the song's composition: "What would be more natural than for Joe, a man with a head full of songs anyway, to be thinking of the one song that has more to say about marriage than any other ballad in American tradition . . ?" (Scott 280).

Thus, on the evidence of Joe Scott's songs, it seems that an image or a personal circumstance may trigger the selection of a song as a model. Furthermore, a composition by the Prince Edward Island songmaker, Lawrence Doyle, also studied by Ives, appears to contain another such link between a song and its model. Ives has noted that "The Visit to Morans" closely parallels the form and tune, and to some extent the content, of the Newfoundland song, "The Loss of the 'Ellen Munn'" (Doyle 143-44). Although not explicitly stated by Ives, the initial impetus for Doyle's use of the latter as a model may have been

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due to the phonological similarity between the names "Moran" and "Munn."[26] These examples suggest that with local songs, then, it is not only the performer who is crucial to an understanding of text-tune relationships, but also the composer.

Besides tracing and trying to account for a composer's use of a particular model for a newly-composed song, Ives has examined the nature of the model's subsequent influence on the text of a new composition. This may be reflected in the latter's metre (Gorman 154-57) or the adoption of a device such as internal rhyme (Doyle 30), Ives regarding both as largely attributable to the effect of the borrowed tune.[27] Ives has further shown, like Swetnam, that a particular model and the general song tradition within which a songmaker is working can affect the way in which real events are portrayed in a song (e.g. Scott 405-06). Thus, with reference to Joe Scott, Ives has observed:

> In at least three cases we can see Joe taking whole lines and even stanzas from the same ballad he took his tune from, which suggests that he either started with a tune and let the words come to fit it or he chose his tune because something in the words was roughly parallel to the situation he was writing about. It all comes to this: Joe would start with some local event which struck him as the right sort of material

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[26]Certainly, in the northwest of Newfoundland where I carried out my fieldwork, the name "Moran" or "Murrin" is pronounced "Murne."

[27]Cf. the correlation observed by Ives between the consistent occurrence of internal rhyme and the introduction of prolonged notes by singers midway through the musical phrases (Scott 348-49).

> for a ballad, then he would fit this event to the exigencies of his models, making what really happened into what should have happened ("A Man" 79).

Part of the artistry of songmakers such as Scott, therefore, lay in their ability to achieve an effective rapprochement between the resources and precedents of tradition, on the one hand, and the specifics of an actual historical occurrence on the other (Scott 407-08).

Since Ives was working at some historical distance from the songmaking tradition which he was documenting, he could only infer from the materials or elicit other's opinions on the attitudes of the songmakers themselves towards their compositions and the compositional process. From this evidence, however, it seems that songmakers varied as to the value which they placed on borrowed tunes and their former textual associations. Whilst Scott's songs frequently display textual as well as musical correspondence with their models, those of the satirical songmaker, Larry Gorman, are generally less indebted in this way. For Gorman, the melody appears rather to have operated simply as a convenient vehicle for the words and to have contributed nothing more to the composition, except in the case of his parodies where it added to the satirical effect (Gorman 160; cf. "Satirical Song Tradition" 69).

Similarly, D.K. Wilgus's research into the hillbilly songs of Reverend Andrew Jenkins, composed in the southern United States during the early years

of this century, shows that Jenkins adapted tunes from other songs for his compositions, with or without including textual echoes of the source song at the same time. Wilgus thus warned against any attempt to posit a "law" of textual echoes in traditional song composition ("Andrew Jenkins" 125).

Henry Glassie and John Szwed have both worked with living song composers and have therefore been able to ask them directly about their songmaking. As reported by Glassie and Szwed, there is a noticeable difference in the degree to which the men in question were apparently conscious of, and could articulate about, the provenance and influence of the tunes which they had used. On the one hand, Glassie's subject, Dorrance Weir, from upstate New York, seems to have had only a vague awareness of the musical sources which he drew on for his song, "Take that Night Train to Selma":

> The tune is not original in any way, I don't believe.
> I think it's something like "Gimme that Old Time
> Religion" or "Take that Night Train to Memphis" or
> something like that. It's just - just fits it, that's all
> (37).

As Glassie points out, Weir did indeed make use of these two songs, "Night Train To Memphis" providing the basic melody, stanza form and the key phrase, "Take that night train to Selma," for Weir's composition, and "Gimme that Old Time Religion" influencing the melody and one of Weir's stanzas.

Paul E. Hall, the Newfoundland songmaker with whom Szwed worked, on the other hand, was able to describe the compositional process, including his

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selection of a melody, in more detail:

> It was like a machine . . . I had to sing it and keep it coming fast or I couldn't get it to stay in me mind. I don't know how you would describe it. If I set me mind to make a song, the rest come just the same as an endless chain - I could just make a verse and sing it, just keep going. If I made a verse and got stuck a little bit, I just might have to sing that verse over five or six times, but I'd just continue and sing. If it didn't sound right, well, I'd go back and change words till I would get it right. Then, when I'd made my songs coming over the hill hauling wood, I'd come in the house that night, there was no one around, and I'd sing that five or six times . . . I had a good memory . . . it stayed right there, and I'd sing it often, probably three or four times a day until I had it right off, by heart, before I'd tackle another one ("Paul E. Hall" 154).

It is interesting to note that Hall did not start composing his song with a specific tune in mind:

> I'd just start in and make the verse and sing it, put an air to it . . . probably I'd use two or three airs to see which one would suit the best, till I'd get one that I'd kind of like myself . . . I'd build on that one ("Paul E. Hall" 155).

While Szwed has characterised Hall's tunes as simply moulds in which to cast his words ("Paul E. Hall" 155), one wonders in view of the findings of Ives, on what criteria Hall's eventual decision as to the "right" tune was based.

Thus, the practice of borrowing melodies for use in newly composed songs has prompted students of local songmaking to seek out the source of the melody and to compare the song from which it has come with the new song. In

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many cases, but not all, as Wilgus has stressed, it appears that aspects of the tune's previously associated text have become incorporated into the new text. In addition, as the work of Ives has shown in particular, the selection of the tune by the composer may have been triggered by its association with a text containing a thematic or verbal parallel, or a text with particular relevance to a composer's personal circumstances at the time of the new song's composition. Hence, Ives has uncovered possible proof in local song of Bronson's claim made in connection with the ballad, that connections between texts on the verbal or narrative level can cause the borrowing of tunes. This indicates the centrality of the songmaker as well as the singer in understanding text-tune relations in newly composed songs, particularly with regard to the kinds of questions first posed by Hendren in connection with the creation of ballads. Like singers, however, there may be varying degrees to which songmakers can articulate about their use of tunes in the compositional process, as the studies of Glassie and Szwed have shown.

Research into Individual Songs

A final area of Anglo-American folksong scholarship which has involved the study of text-tune relations is that of research into individual songs. This has encompassed the historic-geographic study of the texts and melodies of the classical ballad, as well as more small-scale studies of individual songs lying

outside the Child canon. Such work, especially as advocated by Wilgus, has often been directed towards constructing the "life history" of a particular song.[28]

A study by Anne Gilchrist, for example, published in 1933, explores the life history of the ballad, "Lambkin" [sic] (Child 93), and the relation of its textual and melodic variants. Gilchrist identified two major branches of the ballad's textual tradition but was prevented by a gap in the repertoire of extant tunes from being able to demonstrate definitively that the tune variants coincided with the textual groups ("Lambkin" 16). Nevertheless, her essay is of significance for its anticipation of some of the observations made by those studying local song concerning the influence which the earlier textual association of a borrowed tune may have on a new text:

> A factor in a ballad's evolution which has often been entirely ignored by our folk-song scholars - either from lack of knowledge or interest, or from lack of realization of its importance - is this relation between the text and the tune. Speaking generally, a new ballad coming into currency would not be sung to a new tune. The singer brings to the new words some tune he already knows and so makes them acquainted. Often the tune brings with it some of the words - perhaps only the refrain - the singer already associates with it, which may have no relation whatever to the new ballad. The contact of tune and words results in the adaptation of the one to the other. Sometimes one, sometimes each,

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[28]See, for example, Wilgus, "The Text," "Comparative Approach," "'Billy the Kid'," Bronson, "Samuel Hall," and Eiseman.

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> insensibly yields something of its rhythm, or stretches
> or contracts its line or melody, and before long the
> pair settle as it were into place, and the old tune may
> then be half-way towards a new one ("Lambkin" 15.
> Emphasis added).[29]

It can also be seen that Gilchrist transcended the problem of the apparent incongruity of texts and tunes which resulted from the borrowing of melodies in this manner, by implying that a mutual process of adaptation took place in performance (cf. Gilchrist, "'The Tulip'" 125-26). As noted above, this was a process which Sharp, Grainger, Barry and Herzog had earlier noted explicitly.

Eleanor Long's study of "The Maid Freed from the Gallows" (Child 95) has built directly on the work of Bronson and demonstrated that the historic-geographic method, previously employed for the comparative study of folktales and ballad texts (Krohn, Nygard, Taylor), could be extended to include the consideration of ballad melody. In contrast to Gilchrist, Long found that a stable text-tune complex rarely manifested itself in the ballad, leading her to the conclusion that, in Child 95 at least, textual variation was not concurrent with melodic variation (132).

The doctoral research of Judith McCulloh has probed into the stability and change evidenced by text-tune combinations in a lyric song complex. Prompted by the problem of identity in songs which lack a sequential textual structure, she

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[29]Cf. Bronson ("Interdependence" 44) and Boswell ("Reciprocal Controls" 170) regarding the influence of a tune on ballad refrains.

speculated that melody might take on added structural importance in such songs:

> We should expect the role of music to differ from one song to the next, just as a textual unit or image may serve different functions in different songs. Logic suggests a kind of complementary distribution: the less stable and predictable the textual structure, the more essential and identifying the music. Tradition, of course, may be elegant without being logical, and whether this kind of distribution actually holds true, and how often and to what degree, can be determined only by case studies of a number of text-tune complexes. We have few such observations and they are not unanimous. In this they parallel Bronson's findings, that some text-tune associations are tighter than others: a given Child ballad may appear with just one or with a number of different tunes; it may have its own characteristic tune(s) or share its tune(s) with other songs ("'In the Pines'" 12-13).

McCulloh's own case study involved the textual and musical analysis of a complex of floating stanzas, dubbed the "In the Pines" cluster. Her findings demonstrate a correlation between tune versions and textual groupings within the complex (cf. Wilgus, "The 'Aisling'" 295). Hence, "when we encounter an 'In the Pines' tune, we should expect to find 'in the pines' verses, or at least their influence, for instance as [a] model or as another part of the singer's repertoire" ("'In the Pines'" 116). The study of text-tune relations in this particular complex has therefore resulted not in a life history, but in a way of identifying other songs belonging to the cluster ("'In the Pines'" 120-25).

Studies of individual songs and song complexes have clearly helped to promote the concurrent investigation of texts and tunes, then, and, to some extent, their relations. The findings of this research with regard to continuity and change in the text-tune combinations of specific songs or song clusters seem to provide general confirmation of Bronson's observation that some combinations are more stable and integrally related than others. A noticeable lacuna in such studies, meanwhile, in comparison with those of local songs and some of the other aforementioned research, is the absence of any consideration of the individuals involved in the process of creating and re-creating the songs.

Conclusion

Inquiry into text-tune relations has taken place on two principal levels. These are, namely, text-tune relations within songs, both in transcription and in performance, and text-tune relations between songs, in composition and transmission. The first of these has involved the study of song rhythm, structure, variation, and singing style. The second has led to observation of the degree of stability and change evidenced in text-tune combinations and what this implies about the relationship of songs and song versions, and the degree of congruity, in terms of "sense and spirit," as Bronson phrased it, discernible in text-tune amalgamations. In addition, there has been some attempt to understand text-tune relations in terms of the participants in a singing tradition

themselves, although there has been a concomitant recognition that these understandings may be difficult to verify with those concerned.

Returning to the concerns of this study, it can be seen that it is principally aimed at observing text-tune relations between, rather than within, songs, and at explaining them in terms of the participants in the tradition and their social and cultural milieu. More specifically, it seeks to discover what factors govern the process of tune selection in composition, what factors underlie a change of tune in the transmission of a song, and why songs are made up and perpetuated at all. In respect of these objectives, one of the most suggestive findings to emerge from previous scholarship regarding the possible cause of change in text-tune combinations, in both composition and transmission, has been that the transfer of a melody between songs may be linked to the presence of common textual imagery, or a shared narrative or verbal detail. This idea therefore receives particular consideration in the chapters ahead.

Chapter 2

THE MOONSHINE AND THE CAN: ILLICIT DISTILLATION IN

NEWFOUNDLAND

As its title indicates, the song which forms the main focus of this thesis,

"The Moonshine Can," makes reference to the subject of moonshine making, or

illicit distillation. The song's particular concern is with an incident in which the

songmaker, Pat Troy, was informed on for making moonshine, an event which

will be examined in more detail in chapter 3. The present chapter aims to

provide a general perspective on the song's content by tracing the origins and

historical development of illicit distillation in Newfoundland, and describing what

it involved and what part it played in outport life. Thus, the song can be seen

in relation to the culture of moonshine manufacture and consumption with which

it was resonating in Newfoundland, both at the time of its composition and

during the period in which it was subsequently perpetuated.

Since there is, as yet, no standard work on the history of moonshine

making in Newfoundland, the following exposition is based on a variety of

sources. These include the official written records of the government,

particularly those of the Department of Justice and the Royal Commission of the

Prohibition Plebiscite Act,[1] and the oral testimony of ordinary people around the

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[1]These are on deposit at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and
Labrador, St. John's, Newfoundland, catalogue numbers GN13/2/A and GN6
respectively.

island.[2] Items of traditional and popular culture have also been considered for the way they portray moonshine making and what this reveals of people's attitudes towards it. In addition, the observations of ethnographers and historians, as well as comparative data on moonshine making elsewhere, have been drawn on in order to help synthesise some of this material.

Etymology and History

Illegally distilled alcohol is known in Newfoundland as "moonshine." The term has been in general usage there from at least the 1910s when it can be found in newspapers and government records. Folk etymologies all point to the nocturnal aspect of illicit distilling as the reason for the term, with or without making an explicit connection with moonlight itself:

> They used to call it moonshine. I've seen it, this moonshine . . . In the West Indies, they called it the mountain dew . . . But here in Newfoundland, it's the moonshine, made when the moon is [laughs] shining (MUNFLA Tape 65-18/C209).

> They used to make it with the light of the moon over on the mountains. Some people over there [in Ireland] used to call it mountain dew. But the reason it got its title, "moonshine," they used to make it in the night with the light of the moon on the mountains. That's where it first came from. So that's how it got

[2]This oral historical evidence was principally gleaned from the holdings of MUNFLA supplemented by my own collectanea, and information from the Archive of Undergraduate Research on Newfoundland Society and Culture, the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, and the Maritime History Group Archive, all at Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.

its name (MUNFLA Ms. 74-36/pp. 35-36).

> They'd make that in the night. Wouldn't take no
> chance on making it in the day. It was made in the
> night, that's why it was called "moonshine" (MUNFLA
> Tape 72-106/C1125).

These etymologies suggest a connection with an attributive usage of the same word, meaning "illuminated by the moon, moonlit, active by moonlight or at night," known in England from at least the 1830s (Compact Oxford Dictionary). Curiously, however, the noun, "moonshine," has only ever referred in England to smuggled and illicit liquor generally; it seems to have been in the United States that it came to acquire the specific denotation of liquor which had been illicitly distilled (Compact Oxford Dictionary; cf. Supplement to the Oxford Dictionary). Likewise, "moonshine" has always denoted illegally distilled alcohol in Newfoundland, as far as is known, and never smuggled liquor (cf. Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 332), indicating that the word as adopted into Newfoundland usage probably derives from the United States.

Of the alternative names for moonshine in Newfoundland usage, the abbreviation, "shine," is by far the most common.[3] "Mountain dew," as illustrated by the above quotations, seems to be associated with non-Newfoundland usage although it does occur in two songs recorded in

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[3]See MUNFLA Tapes 67-34/C426, 65-17/C200, 72-162/C1457, 77-156/C2980, Mss. 72-106/p. 19, 74-32/p. 15, 77-344/p. 11, 80-254/p. 19, 86-170/p. 96.

Newfoundland, one composed by a well-known native country music artiste.[4] "White lightning" is also used occasionally, as in the United States, but without the concomitant etymology that a fire started by white lightning cannot be extinguished.[5] On the other hand, the phrase "thunder and lightning," by which the older people of Trinity Bay referred to moonshine,[6] carries the explanation that "lightning is when you put a match to it and it catches fire and thunder like your head when you've drunk too much of it" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 3). In similar vein is the name "firewater" which may have been suggested by the widespread practice of setting light to a few drops to test its strength, or the burning sensation felt when drinking the liquor (MUNFLA Tape 67-34/C426, Ms. 86-170/p. 117).[7]

Whilst the term moonshine took on the specific meaning of illicitly distilled liquor in the United States during the last quarter of the 19th century, it referred especially to a whiskey, distilled from fermented grain such as rye or corn

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[4] Dick Nolan, "Johnny's Moonshine," Home Again this Year, MUNFLA Ms. 78-71/p. 26, transcription of song, "Mountain Dew." The term is also applied to moonshine in the United States (Dictionary of American Slang).

[5] MUNFLA Mss. 79-688/p. 12, 85-257/p. 206, Humber Ms. p. 4; cf. Carr 236.

[6] All the locations referred to in this chapter, except those in northern Labrador, are shown on Map 1.

[7] The term firewater has been documented as referring to liquor from at least 1820 in the United States (Dictionary of American Slang).

(Supplement to the Oxford Dictionary). By contrast, Newfoundland, whether by reason of its climate and soil or, as Sider has suggested, the British Government's active discouragement of land ownership outside the fishery, never developed any large-scale agriculture (Culture and Class 114-15). Hence, the principal ingredient of Newfoundland moonshine was molasses, a foodstuff which had long been imported, together with rum, from the West Indies (Firestone 90).

Exactly when and how the technique of moonshine making came to Newfoundland has yet to be established. Feltham states that:

> From the earliest days of settlement "moonshine" was produced along the coast, but never on a large scale and mainly in small settlements far removed from the nearest police officer. However, when prohibition effectively cut off the legal supply of liquor of all kinds, more and more people began to produce their own (140).

An obvious inference is that the early settlers, especially those from Ireland and Scotland, brought the technique with them from the Old World. Yet, the Irish settlers to Newfoundland came from a relatively circumscribed area around Waterford city in southeast Ireland (Mannion 8) where little illicit distillation is known to have taken place (Connell 30-32). In addition, as will be seen below, there is oral testimony that moonshine making was first introduced into many Newfoundland communities in the period 1900-1920.

Another possibility, therefore, is that the technique of illicit distillation, like

the term "moonshine," is a relatively recent import into Newfoundland from mainland North America. In support of this, there is oral testimony that knowledge of moonshine making was introduced to the "French Shore"[8] region of Newfoundland, which included Pat Troy's settlement of Goose Cove, by the lighthouse keepers from Quebec:

> The keepers of the lighthouses were from Quebec, you know. They were Cape Norman and up there now, and Flowers Cove and Cape Bauld, those three. They were Canadians who run the lights, you know. And now one of those Canadians on Cape Bauld married a girl from Goose Cove [White Bay]. . . . Now she had five or six brothers and they used to go back and forth down there and this [is] how . . . the moonshine come down, see. It come from Quebec (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

> The old people used to say it came from the lighthouse keepers in [the Strait of] Belle Isle or Cape Bauld and from them it spread around White Bay. Peter Wiseman was the man who brought it to the Conche area. He was from Crouse and got it in Brent's Cove. . . . He went out very early one morning to go shooting and saw a light on in a man's house. He knocked on the door because he wondered what was up and thought perhaps somebody was ill. He then was invited inside and the man was running off moonshine. The man told him all about it, kidding him a bit at first, like telling him

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[8]The French Shore, also known as the "Treaty Shore," was an area of Newfoundland's coast on which French migratory fishermen had special fishing rights. In the period, 1713-1783, the French Shore extended along the north coast from Pointe Riche to Cape Bonavista. The boundaries were changed in 1783 so that it extended from Cape Ray in the southwest to Cape St. John in the northeast. The French Shore was abolished in 1904 (Budden).

the white stuff on the top of the can was marble. But anyway, Wiseman got the receipt [sic] and not long after made it himself (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 58).

Oral testimony also indicates that knowledge of moonshine making was usually acquired, in the first instance, in western Newfoundland or in Labrador, although not necessarily from those who lived there. Thus, for example, "two fellows from Flat Island [Bonavista Bay] went to . . . the Labrador with a man from St. Brendan's [Bonavista Bay] and they brought home the recipe" (MUNFLA Ms. 82-163/p. 13), and a man from Perry's Cove, Conception Bay, acquired the recipe from a German fisherman when on the White Bear Islands in Labrador (MUNFLA Ms. 74-32/p. 20). Likewise, in Conception Harbour, a local man is reported to have brought back the technique from the "French Shore," where he saw moonshine being made (MUNFLA Ms. 76-123/p. 15).

This evidence, then, suggests that knowledge of moonshine making was brought from Quebec to the French Shore region of Newfoundland, via the French Canadian lighthouse keepers, and that this region in turn became a centre from which knowledge of the technique spread around the island. The area was certainly notorious for its moonshine, especially around St. Anthony and Cape St. George.[9] As will be described below, however, the specific method of making moonshine initially used on the French Shore was not the

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[9]See MUNFLA Tape 66-25/C314, Ms. 86-170/pp. 36, 127, Fishermen's Evidence 14.

same as that which subsequently became widespread on the island. It is therefore possible that there were other means by which knowledge of illicit distillation came to Newfoundland.[10] Alternatively, those who first experimented with the technique on the French Shore may have had to adapt the method of the lighthouse keepers until they could get hold of the requisite equipment.

Several of the first encounters with moonshine referred to above can be dated to the first two decades of this century. The marriage of the Cape Bauld lighthouse keeper, for example, is documented in the Parish Registers at Conche as having taken place in 1902, whilst Peter Wiseman's exploits are attributed to the period just after the First World War. Similar dates are stated or implied for other places in Newfoundland. Thus, the father of a man born in 1919 was among the first to make moonshine in Fleur de Lys, White Bay (MUNFLA Ms. 81-490/p. 9), moonshine was first made in St. Brendan's around 1912 (MUNFLA Ms. 82-214/pp. 14-15), a man from Flat Island born in 1906 knew that there was no moonshine made there when he was a small boy but there was soon after (MUNFLA Ms. 82-163/p. 13), no moonshine was made in the Codroy Valley until after the First World War (MUNFLA Tape 71-48/C879), and

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[10]Another centre from which moonshine making may have spread in Newfoundland was St. John's. A man whose father ran a moonshine racket there for a time stated that his father got the technique from a local druggist (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 6). There is also oral testimony from Lumsden, Bonavista Bay, which identifies "prominent men from St. John's" as having brought the idea of moonshine making to the location (Fishermen's Evidence 22).

moonshine came to Conception Harbour in 1921 (MUNFLA Ms. 76-123/p. 15).[11]

It was during very much this same period that there was considerable tightening of restrictions on the sale of liquor in Newfoundland, culminating in the introduction of total prohibition. Prohibition had been an issue in Newfoundland politics, as in mainland Canada, from about the last quarter of the 19th century, especially following the growth of temperance organisations (Bartlett 3-6, Moreira). Although a bill introducing total prohibition had twice been defeated in the Newfoundland House of Assembly, in 1887 and 1888, provision had been made from the 1870s for each district to vote on local option, that is, the adoption of laws which prohibited the sale of liquor in designated areas of the district. By the early 1900s, all of Newfoundland except St. John's

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[11]Cf. the untitled verses published in Reader (33-35), which contain the following lines, said to have been composed in June 1916:

> It is our intention to describe an invention
> That late introduced itself in Newfoundland;
> When grim Prohibition brought in a condition
> That had to be dealt with, then everyone planned
> To baffle the myst'ry and so make new hist'ry
> It occupied thousands of world famous seers
> And Locksmiths and Gunners and Motor-boat runners
> And hoary Psychologists, peasants and Peers.
>
> The Tinsmiths were chartered and oil cans were martyred
> We toiled, sweat and laboured without loss of time
> With de-termination and some perturbation
> 'Till we mastered the art of distilling "Moonshine."

was under local option (Bartlett 3-4, 7). The only legal way to buy liquor was thus to order it from St. John's, from firms such as Strang's Liquor House (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 58-59). The liquor was brought by train, mailboat or schooner in the spring and/or the fall (Fishermen's Evidence, MUNFLA Tape 74-75/C1539). Liquor could nevertheless still be procured illegally, and sometimes more cheaply - by smuggling, especially on the south coast (Bennett 98-99, MUNFLA Ms. 78-236/pp. 142-43), from foreign ships and at illicit shebeens.[12]

The campaign for total prohibition was continued, therefore, notably by William Coaker, the charismatic leader of the Fishermen's Protective Union (Horan), and the issue was eventually put to a plebiscite in 1915. Due to Coaker's vigorous campaigning, the influence of temperance organisations in some districts, and the fact that many who opposed the measure did not turn out to vote, the necessary majority was secured and the act came into force on January 1st, 1917 (Bartlett 10-35). The act was thus closely identified with Coaker and his Union, leading to its becoming seen in some quarters as a largely Protestant measure (Noel 132). It was consequently unpopular with many Catholics, particularly on the south coast where support for the Union was limited:

> Now all the boys down to the northern under your

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[12](Grenfell, **Labrador Doctor** 146-47, "S.S. Strathcona," "Open Water," Jones, Carew 6, MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 58). A shebeen is an "unlicensed place where illicit liquor is sold" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

command,
They thinks they'll drive the liquor away from
Newfoundland;
But the boys from Lawn and Lamaline and on this
shore up here,
If they wants a jar or bottle they knows where to find
St. Pierre ("Coaker's Song," MUNFLA Ms. 78-236/pp.
131-32; cf. Ms. 76-270/pp. 33-34).

Under the act, it became illegal to import, manufacture, sell or possess

liquor containing 2 per cent or more alcohol by volume. The only liquor allowed

was for religious, medicinal and manufacturing purposes. One outcome of the

legislation was an almost immediate abuse of the script system, whereby liquor

could be obtained with a doctor's prescription (Hunt, "Prohibition's Cure"). The

situation provoked the following song which appeared in the St. John's Evening

Telegram as early as February, 1917:

"The Sick List Song -- Air: 'Keep the Home Fires Burning'"

They were coming from the Southside
And they came from Nagles' Hill,
And each man brought a bottle
Captain Bonia had to fill.
For the doctors gave prescriptions
To all who came along,
And when they met the Captain
Sure they sung this gay old song:

Keep the bung hole going,
Keep the old tom flowing,
The doctors say 'tis the best thing in the world to
cure a cough,
So let us all be drinking
For ere long we are thinking
The 'sober' prohibition men will turn it off (Murphy).

As predicted in the song, the act was quickly tightened by the hasty appointment of a Board of Liquor Control. The Board had the power to

> . . . make rules and regulations not inconsistent with
> the said Acts [pertaining to the Prohibition] respecting
> the conduct of the department of the Controller, and
> generally for the purpose of carrying out the
> provisions of the said Acts, and in particular may
> make rules and regulations for limiting the quantity of
> intoxicating liquor which may be supplied to any one
> person (Quoted in Hunt, "Prohibition's Cure" 28).

Nevertheless, the Board had a difficult task on their hands. There was simply not the machinery to enforce the act properly, especially with such a widely scattered population. Not only did the abuse of the script system continue, therefore, but other forms of abuse grew up, including the use of essences or "dope," intensified smuggling activities, and particularly the spread of illicit distillation (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 6, Royal Commissioners, Report).[13] The extent of its dissemination was such that by 1921 the Royal Commission could report the following:

> . . . the use of moonshine is prevalent not only in St.
> John's but extends over the island. Out of the 82
> places from which evidence was gathered, 39

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[13]As with the oral testimony referred to above, the evidence taken by a Royal Commission, set up in 1919 to inquire into the Prohibition, indicates that moonshine making was a recent phenomenon in Newfoundland at this time (See Fishermen's Evidence 1, 14, 15, 25; cf. a letter, dated 3 May 1920, from the Rev. J.A. Meaden in Jackson's Arm, White Bay, to the Minister of Justice, which expresses concern that "For more than a year a large number of people on this coast (from Seal Cove to Jackson's Arm) have been making a highly intoxicating beverage commonly known as 'moonshine'" (Meaden).

reported the manufacture of moonshine; 43 reported no moonshine. Of the 65 places giving evidence outside of the South West Coast, 38 reported the manufacture of moonshine, 27 not any; of the 17 places on the South West Coast furnishing evidence only one reported moonshine. The close proximity of St. Pierre and the general preference for ordinary liquor to "moonshine" give the clue to the dissimilarity of the proportions (Royal Commissioners, Statement 4).

As a result, there was a sharp increase in the number of prosecutions made under the Prohibition Act in the years immediately following its introduction, the majority of those brought being for moonshine manufacture (Hutchings 6). As described in the following chapter, one such prosecution was that of Pat Troy.

Amongst the recommendations made by the Royal Commission was that liquor should be available as a beverage under a system of control (Royal Commissioners, Statement). It was not until three years later, in 1924, however, that the Prohibition Act was finally repealed by the Liberal Conservative Party under Monroe, who replaced it with the Alcoholic Liquors Act. Under the new act, the government controlled the sale of hard liquor through its Board of Liquor Control in St. John's. It allowed men over the age of twenty-one in possession of an individual permit or "liquor book" to purchase a set quantity of liquor at a time from the Board. The system required the out-of-town customer to telegraph or write to the Board in St. John's first, and to be responsible for the transportation of the liquor after purchase (Fagan 70, MUNFLA Ms. 81-472/p. 5).

Whilst St. John's was the only outlet for sale, the system was slow and cumbersome, a fact which was gently satirised in the song, "Did You Get Your Liquor Book?" first documented in 1945:

> There were people there from everywhere, Grand Falls and Corner Brook,
> From Joe Batt's Arm and Billy's farm, all waitin' for their book;
> From Greenland's icy waters and Tex's kitty brook,
> All waitin' tired and thirsty to get their liquor book.
>
> There were young men with curly hair and old men with bald heads,
> And pretty little maidens, old maids with wooden legs;
> Old men with whiskers on their chin who gave an awful look,
> And their whiskers they grew longer as they waited for their book (Martin [20], Nolan, Newfoundland Songs 10-11).

There was also some abuse of the system through the use of others' books and fictitious names (Carew 7, Fagan 70, MUNFLA Mss. 78-372/pp. 11-12, 81-472/p. 11).

Meanwhile, the practice of illicit distillation continued. Not only was liquor difficult to get hold of under the new system, but it was also beyond the means of many, especially during the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s. As one person put it, "That was part of our living. That was essential. We couldn't afford to buy liquor, buy rum. Ordinary people."[14] Thus, in the

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[14]MUNFLA Tape 72-007/C1084; cf. Tapes 77-111/ 2973, 77-139/C2977, Mss. 74-32/p. 23, 78-71/pp. 6-7, 79-584/p. 7, 81-490/p. 32, 91-421/p. 1.

majority of cases, moonshine making was pursued for domestic purposes and sometimes small-scale retail only, the practice never attaining the proportions or the commercial profitability that it did in the United States during the same period (Carr). It was not until after Newfoundland's confederation with Canada in 1949, and the gradual increase in affluence which accompanied it, therefore, that moonshine making began to decline on the island (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231; cf. Ms. 69-7/p. 80). At the same time, commercially produced liquor was becoming increasingly available at retail outlets outside of St. John's, and taverns and clubs selling alcohol began to open up around the island (MUNFLA Ms. 81-490/p. 33). Hence, moonshine making has in recent years come to be regarded as a "dying art" and a "tradition" which, although still illegal, is carried on by a dedicated minority (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231, Ms. 81-490/pp. 32-33).

In brief, then, the heyday of moonshine making in Newfoundland was during the first half of this century, its introduction and dissemination initially coinciding with the suppression of liquor, firstly through local option, and then through total prohibition. After the repeal of the Prohibition Act, illicit distillation continued due to the practical difficulties and the expense of getting liquor legally under the liquor book system. In the years following Confederation, however, the greater availability of liquor and a general rise in the standard of living brought commercially produced liquor more within the grasp of ordinary people and illicit distillation began to decline.

Oral testimony indicates that one way in which moonshine making came to Newfoundland was through the Quebec lighthouse keepers on the former French Shore. Knowledge of the technique appears to have spread to other parts of the island primarily, if not exclusively, through oral communication and practical example. Thus, moonshine making in Newfoundland was, in Blaustein's coinage, a form of "folk chemistry," based on "the acquisition of specialized skills and knowledge through informal, direct contact with experienced practitioners, and the application of such traditional knowledge" (Blaustein 61). It is to those skills and that knowledge as evidenced in Newfoundland that we now turn.

Manufacture

In Newfoundland, the beer used in moonshine making was known variously as "molasses beer,"[15] "yeast cake beer" (MUNFLA Tape 72-4/C1050), or "plant beer,"[16] the first of these names being the most common.[17] It

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[15]MUNFLA Mss. 78-71/p. 10, 79-688/p. 12, 81-490/p. 29, 85-257/p. 207, 86-170/pp. 13, 36.

[16]"It is commonly called 'plant beer' because the dregs, or yeast, is kept and remains planted in its container for future use" (MUNFLA Ms. 72-193/p. 13).

[17]"Sugar beer," in which sugar rather than molasses forms the principal ingredient, has also been used for distilling moonshine with the increased availability of sugar in Newfoundland in more recent years (see Table 1). See MUNFLA Ms. 75-92/p. 86 for a list of the names of Newfoundland home-made beverages, including types of beer.

generally consisted of the same three basic ingredients, namely molasses, yeast and warm water, all of which were already to hand in the home, yeast for breadmaking and molasses as a cheap alternative to sugar (MUNFLA Ms. 82-162/p. 28). Proportions varied, as Table 1 shows. To each gallon of molasses could be added between one and five gallons of water, or between ten and twelve gallons of water, three to four gallons being the most usual. The reason for the large difference in the amount of water which could be used was that a greater dilution was necessary if the beer was going to be drunk as beer; a more concentrated and less palatable solution, in one case distinguished by the name, "moonshine beer" (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231), was possible when the beer was to be distilled (MUNFLA Ms. 69-7/p. 80). The more concentrated beer was quicker to distill and produced the same amount of moonshine as the more diluted beer since, as one man put it, "'tis only what [the amount of] the molasses [which] counts" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).[18] As this comment indicates, people were aware of a relationship between the sugar content of the beer and the strength of the resulting moonshine (cf. MUNFLA Mss. 69-7/p. 82, 74-36/p. 4).

The use of extra ingredients was also recognised as increasing the

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[18]This informant also observed that the concentrated beer took less time to ferment.

Table 1: Moonshine "Recipes"

SOURCE	MOL-ASSES	WATER	YEAST	OTHER INGRED	FERM. TIME	YIELD
MUNFLA						
63-2/C10	Yes	---	Yes	Hops	---	---
65-17/ C200	20lb sugar	---	---	Tin of malt, dried fruit	A week	1 gal beer: 1-1.5 bottle
66-25/ C300	Yes	---	Yes	Raisins prunes, rice, potato juice	---	---
67-34/ C426	Yes	---	Yes	---	8-9 days	---
67-35/ C398	1 gal	3 gals	Yes	---	---	---
69-7/p.82	0.5 gal	5-6 gals	2 packs	1 tin malt	2-3 weeks or till dead/ sour	1 gal
71-48/ C879	1 gal	3 gals	Yes	---	Till flat	2.5 bottle
72-4/ C1050	Yes	Yes	Yes	---	---	---
72-7/ C1084	Yes	---	Yes	---	2-3 weeks	---
72-101/ C1291	Yes	---	---	Potato, hops	---	---

Table 1 (continued)

72-106/ C1125	---	---	---	---	4-7 days	---
72-133/ C1201	Yes	---	Yes	---	6-7 days	---
72-155/ C1310	1 gal	3-4 gals	Yes	---	7-10 days	---
72-162/ C1457	1 gal	3 gals	1 cake	Hops, corn, oranges	5-6 days	---
72-193/ p.13	Yes	---	Yes	---	6-12 hours	---
72-193/ C1231	1 quart	---	---	---	---	1.5 pints
72-204/ p.11	---	---	---	---	Several days	---
73-105/ p.15	1 gal	5 gals	1 pack	---	5-6 days	---
74-32/ pp.9-14	1 gal	[3-4 gals]	1 box	---	5-6 days +	3-4 bottle
74-36/ pp. 14, 40	5 gals, 15lb sugar	15 gals	16 cakes	Apples oranges lemons grapes	1-1.5 weeks	27-28 bottle
74-36/ p.30	1 gal	3 gals	Pack of cakes	---	5-6 days	---
74-125/ p.2	1 gal	4 gals	4 cakes	Barm (flour yeast water)	4 days	3 bottle

Table 1 (continued)

76-123/ p.15	---	---	---	Lye	---	---
77-111/ C2973	Yes	---	Yes	---	---	---
77-139/ C2977	Yes	---	Yes	Raisins or grapes	---	---
77-344/ pp. 5,7	1 gal	3 gals	2 boxes	---	7-8 days	3-4 bottle
78-71/ p.10	1 gal	4 gals	4 cakes	Raisins apples oranges	---	15 glasses
79-584/ p.7	Yes, and sugar	Yes	Yes	---	---	---
79-688/ p.12	1 gal	10 gals	Yes	---	---	1 gal
81-259/ pp.18-19	Yes, and brown sugar	---	Yes	Prunes peas beans apple or orange juice	---	---
81-490/ p.26	1 gal	4 gals	2 sqs.	---	7-8 days	1 gal
82-162/ p.13	Yes	---	Yes	Potato	10 days, till dead	---
85-257/ C8279	1 gal	4 gals	---	---	6-7 days	4 bottle

Table 1 (continued)

86-170/ p.13	Yes	Yes	Yes	---	2-3 days	---
86-170/ p.39	1 gal	---	---	---	---	3-4 bottle
86-170/ p.59	3 qts	3 qts	3 cakes	---	10 days	---
86-170/ p.64	1 gal	---	---	---	---	4 bottle
86-170/ p.87	2-3 gals	Yes	?	---	3 weeks	1-4 qts
86-170/ p.96	1 gal	10 gals	1 cake	---	10-14 days	1 gal
86-170/ p.113	10lb white sugar & 1 pack brown	Yes	6 packs	---	10 days	120 oz
86-170/ p.117	1 gal	2 gals	2 Royal Yeast	---	4-5 days	---
86-170/ p.131	1 gal	3 gals	2 cakes	2 cups raisins 1 cup peas or beans	8 days	7 pints
87-112/ C14611	---	---	---	Dried apple raisins	---	---
91-462/ p.4	9lbs sugar	5 gals	4 yeast	---	4 days	120 oz

Table 1 (continued)

91-421/ p.18	---	---	---	Lye, chicken manure	---	---
MUN NEMEC ARCHIVE						
Humber	1 gal	10 gals	Yes	---	---	156 oz
PANL						
Fisher-men's Evidence p.5	Yes	---	---	Prunes apricot oats potato berries	---	---
Fisher-men's Evidence p.6	Yes	---	---	Dried apple apricot prunes	---	---

potency of the beer and therefore the moonshine.[19] Hence, various kinds of fruit, fruit juice, or dried fruit, as well as malt, hops, barley, corn, oats, rice, potatoes or potato juice, beans and peas, or "whatever you think the most alcohol is in" (MUNFLA 72-162/C1457), might be used, as available (see Table 1). The extra ingredients were used to flavour the resulting moonshine and improve its taste as well (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611, Ms. 78-71/p. 10).

The method for brewing the beer, or putting it "in brew,"[20] was straightforward. All the ingredients would be stirred together, the yeast sometimes being dissolved in a little water first (MUNFLA Mss. 73-105/p. 15, 86-170/p. 131). In many cases, a wooden keg, puncheon or wash tub served as the container for the beer,[21] a wooden receptacle being preferable because it kept warmer than a bottle or "earthen jar" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279). Once mixed, the brew was left to "work," or ferment,[22] lye sometimes being used to promote this process (MUNFLA Ms. 76-123/p. 15; cf. O'Dell 4, Williams 15).

The principal requirement at this stage was that the beer be kept warm.

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[19]MUNFLA Tapes 72-162/C1457, 72-193/C1231, 77-139/C2977, 87-112/C14611, Ms. 74-36/p. 40.

[20]MUNFLA Tapes 72-155/C1310, 77-111/C2973, Ms. 82-162/p. 15.

[21]MUNFLA Tapes 67-34/C426, 72-133/C1201, 72-155/C1310, 77-111/C2973, Mss. 73-105/p. 15, 86-170/pp. 36, 87, 117, 92-421/p. 18.

[22]MUNFLA Tapes 64-13/C93, 72-155/C1310, Mss. 76-123/p. 15, 86-170/pp. 96, 117; cf. Pendleton 14.

For this reason, the container was usually covered with, for example, coats, cushions, quilts, blankets, hooked mats or sacks,[23] all of which would let in the air to the mixture whilst keeping it warm (MUNFLA Ms. 91-241/p. 18). In addition, the covered container would be left in a warm place, such as near the chimney upstairs, at the back of the stove downstairs, or under tree boughs or manure outside.[24] In this way, the beer was kept warm and well concealed until it was ready for distilling.[25]

As shown by Table 1, the amount of time allowed for the beer to ferment varied from four days to three weeks, or until the beer had gone flat or sour, and had finished fermenting.[26] If these latter specifications were not followed, beer would boil up into the moonshine during distillation or, worse still, cause an explosion.[27]

There are four verbs in Newfoundland usage meaning to distill illicit liquor

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[23]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Mss. 69-7/p. 82, 72-204/p. 11, 86-170/pp. 59, 131.

[24]MUNFLA Tapes 72-4/C1050, 85-257/C8279, Mss. 69-7/p. 82, 74-36/p. 30, 77-344/p. 7. Hen manure or lye was commonly added to the beer in the Conception Bay area to prevent the mixture from freezing (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 18).

[25]MUNFLA Mss. 69-7/p. 82, 77-344/p. 7, 91-421/p. 18.

[26]MUNFLA Tape 71-48/C879, Mss. 69-7/p. 82, 82-162/p. 13, 86-170/pp. 96, 113.

[27]MUNFLA Tape 71-48/C879, Mss. 82-162/p. 14, 86-170/p. 96.

- to "run,"[28] "run off,"[29] "take off" (MUNFLA Tapes 64-13/C93, 77-111/C2973) and "still"[30] moonshine. Another phrase for distilling was "running the can" (MUNFLA Ms. 82-124/p. 18), the can referred to being the "moonshine can" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson), also called the "tank"[31] or "boiler" (MUNFLA Tape 64-8/C24), in which the beer was heated. As its name suggests, the moonshine can was frequently fashioned from a metal container such as an oil drum,[32] a gas or kerosene can,[33] or a powder can (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 243), although a few were specially made.[34]

Two designs of moonshine can were found in Newfoundland. By far the most widespread model had a spout or "bib" in the top or side.[35] Into this would be fitted a copper, or occasionally brass pipe (MUNFLA Tape 77-

[28]MUNFLA Tapes 66-25/C314, 67-34/C426, Mss. 78-71/pp. 6, 9, 86-170/p. 96; cf. Pendleton 14.

[29]MUNFLA Tapes 63-2/C10, 64-13/C93, 65-17/C200, 72-133/C1201, 72-155/C1310, Mss. 69-7/p. 83, 72-204/p. 11, 80-254/p. 19.

[30]MUNFLA Mss. 77-344/p. 2, 81-490/p. 23; cf. Carr 234, 235.

[31]MUNFLA Tapes 77-111/C2973, 77-139/C2977, Mss. 74-36/p. 31, 81-490/p. 27, 86-170/p. 117.

[32]MUNFLA Tape 73-105/C1494, Mss. 74-36/p. 31, 77-344/p. 5, 86-170/pp. 13, 59, 87.

[33]MUNFLA Mss. 74-32/p. 10, 82-164/p. 14, 85-257/pp. 243, 259.

[34]MUNFLA Mss. 75-244/p. 61, 82-162/p. 14, 86-170/p. 13, Hutchings 26.

[35]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8281, Ms. 69-7/p. 83; cf. Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 41.

111/C2973, Ms. 91-421/p. 2). The pipe was roughly quarter of an inch in diameter[36] and contained a number of coils, or "turns,"[37] several feet from the spout; three to six coils were the norm, although it was believed that the more coils that were in the tube, the more effective it would be.[38] During distillation, these coils were kept immersed in a container of cold water, thus causing the steam from the simmering beer to condense and drip out of the other end of the pipe as moonshine.

This apparatus is identifiably a simple type of "pot still" like that used in parts of America and Ireland (Carr 4-6, Barrick 19). Indeed, in Newfoundland, the whole device, consisting of the can and pipe, was often known as a "still,"[39] although some simply used the more general term "fit-out," meaning "contraption."[40] Thus, the terms "moonshine can" and "still" are strictly speaking not synonymous in Newfoundland usage (pace Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 332) when referring to the can and pipe apparatus.

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[36]MUNFLA Tape 71-48/C879, Mss. 72-193/p. 11, 74-32/p. 10, 86-170/p. 131.

[37]MUNFLA Tapes 72-106/C1125, 73-105/C1494, Ms. 86-170/p. 131.

[38]MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231, Ms. 81-259/p. 18; cf. Mss. 81-490/p. 26, 86-170/p. 59.

[39]MUNFLA Tape 73-105/C1494, Mss. 74-125/p. 5, 78-71/pp. 29-30, 86-170/pp. 113-14, 88-67/p. 8.

[40] MUNFLA Tapes 64-13/C93, 77-111C2973; Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 186.

The same was not true of the second type of moonshine can found in Newfoundland, however. With this model, ice would be placed on an inverted funnel which served as the lid of the can. Inside the can, beneath the funnel, was a bowl into which the drops of condensation fell before trickling down a chute and out of the side of the can:

> You'd have a funnel in, up here. You fill that up with ice. And he'd be a short point inside of the can, running into a . . . tin cup. And then there would be a pipe leading from the cup out [and you'd] hold your container under here. . . . You get all the steam from the beer going up on this short pointed funnel and that would drop down one drop. Still he'd run, and run out, and this ice up here would keep it cool and cause the steam to evaporate into the moonshine (MUNFLA Tape 72-4/C1050; cf. Tapes 64-8/C24, 85-257/C8279).

Although this design obviated the need for the coiled pipe, it involved a great deal of work draining off the water from the top of the can and refilling it with ice (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

Interestingly, no analogues of this second type of moonshine can are mentioned in the literature on illicit distillation in America or Ireland (such as Carr, McGuffin, Connell). It has, moreover, only been documented in a small number of Newfoundland localities, namely, Goose Cove (White Bay), where it was the kind of can used by Pat Troy, New Perlican (Trinity Bay) and St. Paul's (Northern Peninsula). The narrative concerning Peter Wiseman's first encounter with moonshine making, quoted above, also suggests this type of can. It is

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possible that it represents a form of native Newfoundland technology for distilling moonshine, used by those who could not get hold of the coiled pipe. There is some support for this idea in the fact that several of the reports of the self-contained moonshine can come from the French Shore and from the early days of distilling in this area. The following narrative, which also comes from the French Shore, illustrates a parallel solution to the problem of catching and condensing the steam during distillation:

> There was a family lived just here by the well. . . .
> Casey was their name. And there was four brothers
> of them living there then with their mother. And a
> servant girl. And now Sundays, one of them'd would
> stay home in their turn to cook dinner. The rest'd go
> to Mass. Mass used to be quite long then. They
> used to have a big sermon and everything. So, now,
> there was no moonshine made here [in Conche] up
> to that time. But they heard tell of it. They heard
> about it. And heard about the steam, see, or the
> beer boiling and then the steam. And you had to
> have cold water or something cold to condense it,
> see. To get the alcohol. So, that's what they heard
> tell about it. And he didn't know how to go at it. But
> anyway he found out how to make the beer. He was
> the youngest brother. He was a comical hand.
> Charlie was his name. Charlie Casey. And he went
> to work and he made the brew of beer. And he
> waited till his turn came to stay home for to cook
> dinner Sunday. It was in the fall of the year. Late
> in the fall. So when he got them all gone to Mass, he
> got at it. Instead of putting on the dinner he got the
> dinner boiler. An iron boiler but it was a tin cover.
> And the cover had about an inch and a half or two
> inches, see, of a rim to go down in the boiler. It fit
> tight. And (he) put the beer in the boiler and put in a
> good fire and put the cover down in it. Now he didn't

know how he was going to get the steam. So his mother had a set of new blankets put away. In the trunk for the cold weather later on. So he went in and he cut a piece out of the blanket to fit to the top of the boiler. And put it over the top of the boiler and put the cover down in it. And put a pan of cold water up on it. Now the steam, when the beer began to boil the steam (was) to come up and saturate the blanket. And now the cold water, see, used to turn into alcohol. So he used to take off the cover then. And he'd wring it out in a basin. Enamel basin, he used to wring out the blanket. And put it on again. Until all the alcohol was gone out of it. All the strength was gone out of it. He kept doing that. Over and over. And when he had it finished he took it all up, took off the boiler and rinsed it out so they wouldn't smell the beer out of it. And then he started drinking the, the moonshine. And when they come home from Mass, he was blind drunk on the settle. Like that old one there. Much like that. And he was lying down, blind drunk. And no dinner. Fire out. And they didn't know where he'd got it. They couldn't think where he got-, because Prohibition was on then, see. And there was no liquor for sale then. You could only get it to a control store in St. John's and you had to have a script from a doctor. For several years that went on. But anyhow, they couldn't figure out where he got the liquor but they knew he was drunk. They could smell it off of him. And everything. They knew he was drinking. And they never figured it out (MUNFLA Tape 88-90/C11170).

According to the narrator, this event took place in the fall of 1919, people

subsequently finding out about distilling moonshine with a can and a pipe.

Whilst the narrator did not make the connection with the self-contained type of

moonshine can, the similarities between the distillation technique associated with

it and that employed by Charlie Casey in the narrative are striking. In addition, the provenance of the narrative and all but one of the reports of the self-contained form of moonshine can is the very region where, as described above, moonshine making was introduced by the Quebec lighthouse keepers. This suggests that it was knowledge of the process of distillation, rather than a specific method, which the lighthouse keepers brought to the region, knowledge of the still apparently spreading from elsewhere on the island, possibly St. John's.

Whichever type of still was employed, it was important that the apparatus was completely airtight. Consequently, after the beer was poured into the can and the pipe (if used) attached, the can was carefully sealed using a dough of flour and water. This would bake hard when the can was placed over the heat, or was baked on beforehand with a piece of red hot iron.[41] Other ways of sealing the can included using the heel of a rubber boot as a stopper (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 59), whilst the copper pipe could also be secured by means of twine or wire, or could be screwed onto the spout of the can (MUNFLA Mss. 67-35/C398, 77-344/p. 8).

In preparation for distilling, the beer was sometimes strained and any foam skimmed off the surface (MUNFLA Mss. 78-71/p. 10, 86-170/p. 131). Depending on the size of the can, it was not always possible to distill all of the

[41]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8281; cf. Mss. 74-32/p. 10, 86-170/p. 13.

beer in one go, particularly because the can could not be completely filled with beer.[42] The can can be heated on top of the stove or supported on rocks over a fire if the operation was taking place outside (MUNFLA Mss. 77-344/pp. 6-7, 86-170/p. 87). The beer was brought carefully to the boil and kept gently simmering. In one locality, ice would be rubbed on the tube while the beer was coming to the boil so as to prevent the beer from going up it (MUNFLA Ms. 74-32/p. 14; cf. Williams 14). If the beer was allowed to boil up the tube, it could lead to disastrous consequences:

> One night in particular, grandfather and two other
> men were preparing to run off the brew at
> grandfather's house. They had the windows
> darkened with quilts and only one lamp lit so as not
> to attract the attention of any passers-by. They had
> the can a little too full with the brew and had let it boil
> too much so that the brew, instead of steam, came
> up the tube and blocked it. "Here she goes in
> smithereens" [said grandfather]. The still blew up,
> sending the sticky brew all over the kitchen, sticking
> to the ceiling and walls like glue. "Now then, we
> didn't know what to do!" [said grandfather]. It was
> one o'clock in the morning and they had to get the
> place cleaned up before anyone came in and saw it,
> disclosing their secret. Everyone used wallpaper
> then so grandfather went to a neighbour's house,
> who knew of grandfather's business, and was given
> wallpaper and a quart of paint. The men papered the
> walls and painted the ceiling and had the place
> shining before dawn - something they never thought
> they'd accomplish (MUNFLA Ms. 74-125/pp. 6-7).

In order to maintain a low but constant heat during distillation, plenty of

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[42]MUNFLA Tapes 64-13/C93, 71-48/C879, Mss. 86-170/pp. 59, 96.

dry wood had to be saved for the operation which could take five hours or more.[43] Patience was needed since the slower the moonshine was run off the better it tasted, moonshine which had been distilled too quickly tasting "burny."[44] In addition to maintaining the fire, the water containing the coils had to be kept at the right temperature by the addition of more ice, snow or cold water - "Either that [or] your tube be always steamy, you know. Wouldn't get no liquor out of it."[45] A clicking or rattling in the pipe signified that the first steam was condensing inside: "By and by, you'd hear it tissing, tissing, tissing. Put it in a jug then. And by and by you heard it come, drop, drop, drop, drop".[46] These first drops were collected assiduously as the strongest moonshine, some apparently believing that they were pure alcohol and too strong for consumption.[47]

To test the strength of the moonshine as it was being distilled, it was common to set light to a few drops. As just noted, the early part of the run was

[43]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Mss. 79-584/p. 7, 82-164/p. 19.

[44]MUNFLA Mss. 74-32/p. 21, 85-257/p. 259; cf. Williams 14. Some used a can which could have two coiled pipes attached and this speeded up the operation somewhat (MUNFLA Mss. 74-36/p. 40, 86-170/p. 59).

[45]MUNFLA Ms. 81-490/p. 26; cf. Tape 72-193/C1231.

[46]MUNFLA Tape 67-35/C398; cf. Mss. 74-36/p. 31, 86-170/p. 59.

[47]MUNFLA Tapes 73-105/C1494, 85-257/C8281, Mss. 69-7/p. 84, 80-15/p. 26, 86-170/pp. 60, 117.

the strongest:

> But I often seen it. Put it in a teaspoon when it would
> start coming out and you'd light it with the match.
> And the match wouldn't have to touch the water. It
> would light, would jump to the alcohol. And it would
> burn right dry in the spoon, every drop. Only . . . the
> bottom of the spoon, you'd find it would be a little
> wet, that's all. And that would be around 80 or 90
> percent, anyhow, of alcohol (MUNFLA Tape 71-
> 48/C879; cf. Tape 65-18/C209).

Later in the run, the moonshine would be tested again to see if it was worth

continuing with the operation:

> If it burned, it was still good. It burned a kind of blue
> flame. Right blue flame, right blue. But now, that
> was good. But if it burnt and turned to a white, 'twas
> gone (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8281; cf. Ms. 72-204/p.
> 11, 74-36/p. 17, 74-125/p. 5, 78-71/p. 12, 79-584/p.7,
> 86-170/pp. 117, 132, Barrick 18, Williams 14).

Taste was another indication of the moonshine's strength: "'If it burned your

throat,' Pop said, 'it was still good,' so they kept on running it off" (MUNFLA Ms.

77-344/p. 11; cf. Ms. 82-162/p. 14). The expected yield was generally about a

gallon of moonshine per gallon of molasses used in the beer, or slightly less in

some cases - half to three-quarters of a gallon of moonshine, or 3-4 bottles (see

Table 1). Once the run was finished, the moonshine collected would be mixed

to obtain equal strengths; it would then be ready to drink (MUNFLA Ms. 77-

344/p. 12). Sometimes, though, the moonshine would be run through the still

a second time "to make it better, take all the weak stuff out of it" or "to brag

about having the strongest alcohol."[48]

Since the distilled liquid was transparent, it was common practice, in later years at least, to colour it if it was not for drinking immediately (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Ms. 91-421/p. 2). The practice was usually to melt down a small amount of sugar until it turned dark brown and to mix this into the moonshine (cf. Williams 15); molasses, strong tea, food colouring, gravy browning and strawberry syrup were also used sometimes.[49] This appears to have been for aesthetic purposes, the explicit aim in most cases being to make the moonshine resemble commercially made rum or whiskey: "Everyone know but 'twas rum then. Oh sure, 'twas just like rum. Same thing!"[50] Amongst those who felt there was a risk of their moonshine being reported to or discovered by the authorities, however, the aim may also have been to avoid detection:

> The next day then, fearing the police would come, you'd colour it the colour of rum. You'd burn some sugar in a can on the stove. The sugar would turn brown and then you threw in about two ounces of shine and stir it up. Then you'd stir it up and throw it in the shine and stir it for a while and then it was coloured like rum, dark rum. (MUNFLA Ms. 74-32/p.

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[48]MUNFLA Ms. 82-162/p. 14; cf. Mss. 78-71/p. 12, 81-490/pp. 34-35, 86-170/p. 47.

[49]MUNFLA Tapes 66-25/C300, 67-34/C426, 71-48/C879, 72-7/C1084, 72-106/C1125, 72-193/C1231, Mss. 77-344/pp. 12-13, 81-490/pp. 40-41, 85-257/p. 207, 86-170/pp. 88, 133.

[50]MUNFLA Tape 64-13/C93; cf. Tapes 77-139/C2977, 85-257/C8281, Mss. 74-36/p. 33, 82-162/p. 15, 86-170/pp. 13, 117.

17; cf. Ms. 81-490/p. 40).

The risk of detection served to make the distilling operation a clandestine one. It was commonly carried out at night, or sometimes on stormy afternoons or evenings, to avoid the prying eyes of curious neighbours or discovery by the police. In preparation for the task, the windows would be covered with quilts or blankets so that the house appeared to be in darkness, although the smoke from the chimney could prove a tell-tale sign.[51]

The perceived need for secrecy is intriguing since it was often the case that many people in the community already knew who made moonshine (MUNFLA Tape 77-57/C2643, Ms. 86-170/p. 15). In the past, it was not uncommon for most people to be involved in making it and for the can to be shared between households:

> 'Cause if I had a can now, and perhaps it was no good. Perhaps some man down the harbour had another and I'd go and get the loan of his can, see. And perhaps then, if I have a can and he had the other [no good] one, [he'd] come and get a loan of my can, you know. In my time, everyone knowed everyone who was making it. That's round the harbour. Now you wouldn't put the can on [i.e. run off moonshine] if there was a crowd in the house for all that, you know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

The surreptitious nature of the whole operation meant that care also had to be taken when the can was being transported from one person to another:

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[51]MUNFLA Tapes 64-8/C24, 72-4/C1050, Mss. 74-32/pp. 16-17, 79-584/p. 7, 82-124/p. 19, 86-170/pp. 13, 259.

The moonshine can was at one time, Dad says, held on a community basis: that is, all helped to buy it, or most of the people who would use it. Usually, there was one for each side of the harbour. There were at a peak approximately thirty families on either side so, mainly during the winter season, the can travelled from house to house, always during the night and always with the can with the tube was carried in a large brin bag (MUNFLA Ms. 69/7/pp. 82-83; cf. Ms. 74-32/pp. 18-19).

Even when not in use, the still was carefully concealed, often in the roof or a hole beneath the house (MUNFLA Tape 63-2/C10, Ms. 86-170/p. 13).

By no means all moonshine makers were men. It is true that in some places moonshine making was an entirely male occupation, but elsewhere it was also carried out by women.[52] A woman might, for example, make moonshine for her husband whilst he was working in the woods in the winter "so he'd have a 'hot drop' [moonshine mixed with hot water] when he'd come home" (MUNFLA Tape 72-155/C1310). Women also made moonshine to sell:

> I used to make moonshine. I used to brew beer, put in a keg of beer, you know. And put molasses and yeast and water and put in a brew of beer. And then after three or four days, I'd run it off and make moonshine. And save three or four bottles. And I'd take it up to Herring Neck in motor boat. Drive the motor boat my own self and go up to Herring Neck and sell my moonshine. And they wouldn't know anything about it. No one would know, only myself here in the house, apart from the crowd I'd sell it to, up Herring Neck. I sold bottles and bottles and

[52]MUNFLA Tape 72-103/C1294, Mss. 78-71/p. 9, 81-490/p. 35, 86-170/p. 134, Fishermen's Evidence 3, 17, Robertson 101.

> bottles . . . of moonshine. Made dollars and dollars.
> And after that then, well, I was a long time making
> moonshine (MUNFLA Tape 77-139/C2977).

For a woman whose husband was dead or disabled, this was one way of earning some extra money, the moonshine sometimes being sold at a dance which the woman held at her house.[53]   In the case of such small-scale retailing of moonshine, by both women and men, the price was generally fifty cents for a small flask, or a dollar to a dollar fifty for a bottle.[54]

In general, however, moonshine was not considered something to sell.[55] It might rather be made on a cooperative basis, one person supplying the molasses, another making the beer and distilling it (MUNFLA Tape 77-111/C2973).   As will be seen in the next chapter, Pat Troy often made moonshine with a trusted neighbour in this way, the resulting liquor being shared.

Consumption

The quality of the moonshine produced was inevitably variable. Some people were known "to handle it clean and decent" (MUNFLA Tape 66-25/C314),

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[53]MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 32-33, 36, 55; cf. Ms. 68-17; Connell 18.

[54]MUNFLA Tape 67-35/C410, Mss. 74-125/p. 8, 78-71/p. 10, 86-170/pp. 32-33, 36, 55, 133. Larger scale moonshine making and selling concerns, although rarer, did exist and obviously charged higher prices (e.g. MUNFLA Tapes 86-170/C8732-8733, Mss. 81-472, 86-170/pp. 4-11).

[55]MUNFLA Mss. 74-36/p. 25, 86-170/p. 89; cf. Ms. 72-250/p. 20.

whilst for other peoples' moonshine "you'd want an iron stomach" (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231). An apparent minority of people, including quite a few women, regarded moonshine as positively harmful,[55] and there were attempts by the authorities and the church to educate people as to its deleterious effects. This was recommended by the 1919-1921 Royal Commission, for example, who heard medical opinion that "the fusel oil in moonshine has a definite poisonous effect, is bad for the nerve centres, [and] will sometimes cause blindness" (Royal Commissioners, Report 4). If moonshine was causing permanent harm to those who drank it, however, most did not perceive it, perhaps because it ran counter to their personal experience of moonshine consumption:

> Especially around Christmas time, boy, we used to have a heck of a time. We used to go around from house to house in the night time and drink right up. And in some cases, I used to find it that it wasn't half as bad at making you sick as that [rum]. You'd never get a big head after it. But I did hear learned people say it was not right to continue drinking because it was terrible strong. I know two or three people here that died with cancer of the throat and they always said, doctors do say, that that was the cause of it. It was from strong moonshine (MUNFLA Ms. 74-36/pp. 28-29; cf. pp. 37-39).

Hence, opinion was often divided, one man testifying to the Royal Commission that, "Some claim it is good, others say it is bad. I have tasted it and say that if it is distilled from good wholesome fruit it is very good" (Fishermen's Evidence

[55]MUNFLA Tapes 63-2/C10, 71-48/C879, 75-92/C2064, Ms. 76-123/p. 15, Fishermen's Evidence 13.

6).

On the other hand, many who drank moonshine purported to dislike it. It could have a pronounced "kick" creating a burning sensation when consumed. This, and moonshine's "burnt" or metallic flavour, acquired from the copper tube, led some drinkers to dilute it or otherwise improve its taste.[57] As described above, the addition of fruit to the beer before distillation was one way to make the moonshine more palatable, or a few spoonfuls of sugar could be added after distillation (MUNFLA Ms. 74-32/pp. 16-17). It was also drunk mixed with rum, fruit syrup, hot water, or even milk.[58]

Whilst, however, the taste of moonshine might not be enjoyed, it was also maintained by "many of the old people . . . that if you mix moonshine you spoil it" (MUNFLA Ms. 78-71/p. 15; cf. Ms. 82-162/p. 17). Thus it seems that it was the strength rather than the flavour of moonshine which was valued. One man claimed that good moonshine contained a hundred percent or more alcohol (MUNFLA Ms. 74-36/p. 26), although police tests during the Prohibition indicate an alcohol content of between about twenty and forty-five percent (Hutchings 6, 28). Whatever its actual proof, moonshine was credited with a potency that was literally legendary. A recurrent motif in Newfoundland oral narrative is, for

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[57]MUNFLA Tape 65-18/C209, Mss. 74-32/p. 17, 86-170/p. 88, 85-257/pp. 102-103.

[58]MUNFLA Tapes 67-34/C426, 72-162/C1457, 72-7/C1084, Ms. 82-162/p. 16.

example, that of running an engine on moonshine:

> I see moonshine so strong that I primed an engine, one of them old-time engines with it. And ran her just the same as you'd run her on gas. Now that was pretty strong, pretty fiery" (MUNFLA Ms. 74-36/pp. 29-30).

> . . . There was a man I knew at home used to make [moonshine]. . . . And he'd sell it in these near beer bottles, you know. About the size of those. And they were about that high. We'd pay a dollar a bottle for it, you know. But I remember one time he used to live in Norris Point. And he was coming up to Lomond and he ran out of gas and he threw two or three of the bottles in his tank and the boat came on alright, you know (MUNFLA Tape 72-7/C1084; cf. Tapes 72-162/C1457, 77-112/C2640, Ms. 86-170/p.128, Survey Card, 75-140, McGuffin 97).

A man's ability to consume the fiery liquid undiluted was consequently something to be admired (MUNFLA Tapes 65-18/C209, 72-193/C1231, Mss. 69-7/p. 84, 77-344/pp. 11, 13).

Not surprisingly, moonshine, in common with all kinds of hard liquor and beer, was categorically regarded as a man's drink. It was considered "indecent" for a woman to drink,[59] and women rarely seem to have drunk anything except non-alcoholic or mildly potent beverages.[60] The exception was when moonshine was used as medicine. In this case, a small amount would be

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[59]MUNFLA Mss. 78-333/p. 60, 82-162/p. 17, 86-170/p. 14; cf. Robertson 80.

[60]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280, Mss. 75-92/p. 23, 81-490/pp. 37, 42, 86-170/pp. 55, 90.

mixed with hot water and sugar and administered to men, women, and even children for various ailments, including colds, 'flu, "stomach gas," fever, cramps and toothaches.[61]   Men also used a hot toddy of moonshine to warm themselves up or fortify themselves against the cold,[62] and for this reason moonshine was sometimes taken aboard fishing schooners going to the coast of Labrador and on sealing ships.[63]

The main occasions for moonshine consumption by men, however, were during the festivals observed by the community, especially Christmas, but also Easter, Lady Day, St. Patrick's Day, and even Labour Day, Candlemas Day and Pancake Day.[64]   It also formed a common beverage at weddings, and sometimes at birthday celebrations and wakes.[65]   Even less formalised occasions could call for moonshine, such as "hauling up the motorboats and putting them away for the winter, launching schooners. . . . Killing the pigs for

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[61]MUNFLA Tapes 67-35/C410, 87-112/C14611, Mss. 78-71/pp. 14-15, 82-124/p. 17, 82-162/p. 16, 85-257/p. 207, 86-170/pp. 14, 55, 88, 128, MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 3; cf. Morton 54.

[62]MUNFLA Tape 72-155/C1310, Ms. 85-257/p. 207, 91-462/p. 3; cf. Fishermen's Evidence 23, 25.

[63]MUNFLA Tape 72-133/C1200, Mss. 82-162/p. 15, 86-170/p. 14; cf. Fishermen's Evidence 9, 18.

[64]MUNFLA Mss. 72-193/p. 23, 78-71/p. 14, 78-418/p. 16, 79-584/p. 7, 85-257/p. 262.

[65]MUNFLA Mss. 74-32/p. 14, Ms. 77-344/pp. 13-14, 78-333/p. 59, 86-170/p. 117.

Christmas" (MUNFLA Ms. 82-124/pp. 15-16) and when the schooners left for Labrador in the spring (MUNFLA Ms. 82-162/p. 17). Indeed, moonshine could be found wherever there was a party, or "time" (Wareham), be it a dance held in the community hall, a spree, a community garden party or a kitchen party.[66] The very consumption of moonshine signalled that the event was a social occasion.

The role of moonshine consumption in promoting sociability on such occasions was particularly evident at Christmas. People often started to make moonshine a month or so beforehand, perhaps running off twelve or more bottles to cover the entire Christmas period (MUNFLA Ms. 74-125/p. 1, 86-170/pp. 14, 55, Robertson 101). Consumption began on Christmas Eve when groups of men would make a tour of each other's houses to drink, converse, and sometimes also to sing and dance:

> We'd all assemble together on a Christmas Eve, about ten or fifteen of us. . . . We'd start at someone's house and go around. Everyone would have a bottle, a pint or a pint and a half. The average fellow could take about ten drinks, twenty ounces. No such thing as mix, 'twas never heard of. We'd go from one house to another till about twelve o'clock that night. Those that were able went to Midnight Mass. Them that couldn't would go to bed

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[66]MUNFLA Tapes 77-139/C2977, 85-257/C8281, Mss. 74-36/p. 27, 78-71/p. 18, 81-472/p. 12, 86-170/pp. 64, 91, Firestone 122.

(MUNFLA Ms. 74-32/pp. 21-22.[57]

The pattern might be repeated on the ensuing evenings of Christmas, or in slightly modified form if other community activities were taking place. At community dances held in the local hall, for example, whether at Christmas or other times of the year, it was customary for the men to leave the dance or arrive late in order to go drinking at someone's house, before returning in the early hours of the morning to join in the dancing (MUNFLA Ms. 79-211/p. 7, 86-170/p. 15). Moonshine was rarely taken into the dance:

> The women and children always came [to the dance] first while the men usually stayed at home and gathered in someone's house to drink moonshine and home-made beer. . . . The men would then come bringing their liquor which was always left outside. They would eat their supper and then go out into the porch and out behind the school and continue drinking [returning when the dancing began] (MUNFLA Ms. 79-211/p. 9; cf. Ms. 82-162/p. 15).

Similarly, at the garden parties held in some Catholic communities on Lady Day, August 15th, men would congregate somewhat apart from the main activities to engage in drinking, talking, singing and general conviviality:

> Well, you turn the beer into moonshine. Then all hands would be drunk before they'd go. In the olden times, we didn't know we were coming home. You may go over to the garden party then and you'd meet someone else and they [had] as much [or] more moonshine, and much more beer put away. So we

[57]Cf. MUNFLA Tapes 72-93/C1231, 72-133/C1201, Mss. 74-36/p. 28, 81-490/p. 35. See also Chiaramonte 80-88.

> all get together and we go with them. We'd have a
> great garden party. But today, all them days are
> over now. They're all gone. . . . Oh, it's a lot of
> difference now. You go to a garden party with all
> hands. All hands can't afford to run to town to buy
> rum for garden parties. So at that time, all hands
> managed to get a drop of molasses, take a drop of
> beer anyhow. Well, that's forbidden now altogether.
> And well, the best majority always have a drop of
> moonshine. There'd be a scattered fellow, he'd have
> a flask and there'd be another fellow, he'd have a
> bottle, and another fellow maybe he had two. So by
> the time three or four o'clock in the evening, in the
> garden party, all hands be up on the grass and all
> hands would be drunk. So we sing a song, tell
> stories, told until we left (MUNFLA Tape 72-
> 155/C1309; cf. Ms. 72-193/p. 23).

Thus, moonshine consumption was never openly indulged in at these formal,
community "times," but only openly pursued in the informal setting of the
kitchen, or at some place apart from the main activities of the time (cf. Wareham
24).

On all these occasions, it was customary for each man to take his own
supply of moonshine to share with the rest of the company:

> Everybody would have a little flask. Like a rum flask.
> Or little rum bottle. They called it a flask. And they'd
> stick it down in their pocket and they just go round to
> people's house[s] and everybody would go around
> (with) the bottle, pass the bottle around (MUNFLA
> Tape 85-257/C8281; cf. Tape 72-93/C1231).

Only a few glasses of liquor would be consumed at each house so an easily
portable container of moonshine was necessary (cf. 86-170/pp. 14, 133-34).

Moonshine was not, of course, the only beverage to be drunk at social events. Nor was it necessarily to be found in every community. In fact, the distribution of moonshine making in Newfoundland following the Prohibition remained concentrated on the northern and western coasts, if the reports in MUNFLA can be taken as a reliable sample.[68] There continued to be far less moonshine making on the south coast where the possibilities for smuggling liquor from St. Pierre were greatest. The patterns of consumption were much the same as for moonshine consumption, it being the practice to smuggle a good supply of liquor for festive occasions, especially Christmas (MUNFLA Ms. 80-291/pp. 5-7, Szwed, "Gossip" 435; cf. Peacock, Outports "Christmas Rum" 3: 869-70).[69] In addition, it was common all over Newfoundland for drinks other than hard liquor to be consumed at these times (Faris 160-62, Chiaramonte 85). Many of these were home-made and included molasses beer, spruce beer,

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[68]The breakdown of reports in MUNFLA about moonshine making used in this study by bay or district is as follows: St. John's and district (3), the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula (4), St. Mary's Bay (2), Placentia Bay (4), South Coast from Burin to Port aux Basques (3), Codroy Valley to Port au Port Peninsula (7), Corner Brook, Deer Lake, Bay of Islands (0), Northern Peninsula (6), Labrador (2), White Bay (6), Notre Dame Bay (12), Bonavista Bay (8), Trinity Bay (6), Conception Bay (11), Total (74).

[69]Before the Prohibition, many people on the northern coast of Newfoundland also drank rum medicinally and as a beverage at Christmas (Fishermen's Evidence 2, 6, 9, 13, 14, 17, 22; cf. Carew 1).

"homebrew" (a beer made with malt extract),[70] and berry wines.[71]

Spruce beer, which is mentioned with some disdain by Pat Troy in "The Moonshine Can," had been made in Newfoundland from at least the 18th century out of the boughs and "buds" or cones (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 71) of the black spruce:

> Spruce Beer [is] the Common Liquor of the Country The receipt for making it take as follows as Perfectly as I can get it Take a copper that Contains 12 Gallons fill it as full of the Boughs of Black spruce as it will hold Pressing them down pretty tight Fill it up with water Boil it till the Rind will strip off the Spruce Boughs which will waste it about one third take them out & add to the water one Gallon of Melasses [sic] Let the whole Boil till the Melasses are disolvd [sic] take a half hogshead & Put in nineteen Gallons of water & fill it up with the Essence. Work it with Barm & Beergrounds & in Less than a week it is fit to Drink (Lysaght 139; quoted in Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 517).

Twentieth-century recipes followed much the same procedure as that of the eighteenth century, using yeast instead of barm and beergrounds, and sugar instead of or mixed with the molasses. As with the molasses beer used in moonshine manufacture, raisins, prunes or apricots, rice, potato, or a few peas

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[70]The word "homebrew" is also used in Newfoundland as a generic term for all home-made beverages (MUNFLA Ms. 75-92/p. 82), including molasses beer (e.g. MUNFLA Ms. 80-248/p. 10).

[71]MUNFLA Tape 64-13/C93, Mss. 72-250, 73-105, 75-92, 79-34/p. 38, 79-211/p. 7, 79-212/p. 7, 79-295/p. 6, 79-435/p. 31, 79-677/p. 20, 79-716/p. 24, 80-228/p. 6, 80-248/pp. 9-10, 84-10/p. 36, Bennett 97-100, Robertson 101, Szwed, "Gossip" 435.

or beans could be added to enhance the flavour of spruce beer.[72] The beer, which was served cool, was a particularly refreshing drink in summer:

> It was delicious. We had a well down by the stage, real deep, full of water. But we couldn't drink it because of salt water at high tide. . . . I'd lower a gallon of spruce beer into that with a piece of rope and leave it there. And no fridge kept anything any colder than that used to be. Nice sting to it too. Everyone came for a drop when they were thirsty (MUNFLA Ms. 79-435/p. 32; cf. Tape 64-13/C93, Margaret 99).

Spruce beer was a popular drink, especially among women who often brewed it for themselves.[73] One reason for this was that it was rarely very potent,[74] although it could be brewed stronger[75] or consumed mixed with rum (MUNFLA Ms. 73-105/p. 20), perhaps in the absence of a more alcoholic alternative beverage for men.

Molasses beer, or the homebrew which seems to have largely replaced it following the introduction of malt in the 1940s, was a more usual drink for

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[72]MUNFLA Tapes 64-13/C93, 67-35/C398, 75-102/C1585, 85-257/C8277, C8290, Mss. 73-105/p. 20, 75-92/pp. 2, 12, 29, 78-333/p. 67, 79-34/pp. 38-39, 79-435/pp. 31-32, 79-688/p. 12, Q77B-149/p. 7, Margaret 99.

[73]MUNFLA Tape 67-35/C398, Mss. 79-435/p. 31, 79-688/p. 12, Q77B-149/p. 7.

[74]MUNFLA Tapes 64-13/C93, 75-102/C1585, Mss. 79-435/p.31, 79-688/p. 12, Szwed, "Gossip" 435.

[75]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8290, Ms. 78-333/p. 67, Parsons 124 (quoted in Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 517).

men, however (MUNFLA Mss. 75-92/p. 21, 79-688/p. 13, 84-10/p. 37, Bennett, Last Stronghold 98, Szwed, "Gossip" 435). Like moonshine, molasses beer or homebrew was consumed at times and during house visiting. Unlike moonshine, however, it was customarily provided by the host (Chiaramonte 85, Firestone 121). Hence in some households, a barrel of molasses beer or homebrew was kept fermenting behind the stove during the Christmas period, ready for the arrival of company:

> Because a batch wouldn't last very long, the majority of the people would not bottle off their beer. . . . Therefore, it was very common indeed to see beer served in a big jug. That is, every person was given a glass and a jug of homebrew was put on the table. As it was emptied, it was quickly dipped into the beer barrel, refilled, and placed back on the kitchen table for everyone to enjoy (MUNFLA Ms. 80-248/p. 13; cf. 76-214/C2907; see also Chiaramonte 86, Szwed, Private Cultures 89).[76]

Moonshine, homebrew and other beverages would also be kept on hand for the visit of mummers over the Christmas period (Robertson 101). Unlike ordinary visitors, mummers could request "grog"; alternatively, they might be offered it in order to tempt them into unveiling (cf. Szwed, "Gossip" 440) or giving away clues as to their identity. Since women rarely drank it, it was a

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[76]Cf. Stansford (185) refers to "father [being] away to some other home gossiping or card playing, or as it is said, 'dipping in the moonshine can'." This would seem to be a reference to drinking beer, probably molasses beer prior to distillation, stored in a moonshine can. I am grateful to Martin Lovelace for drawing my attention to this reference.

favourite device for helping to determine the true sex of a mummer (Robertson 80). Conversely, teenage boys sometimes went from house to house at Christmas disguised as adult mummers hoping to procure a drink of moonshine or homebrew (MUNFLA Ms. 79-665/pp. 8-9).

It seems to have been common for boys to begin drinking moonshine during their teens:

> [My father] told me that the first time he ran off moonshine he was about fourteen or fifteen years old. Around this age, the young fellows would start to hang around with the older men. If they were present at a house spree then maybe if they were lucky they would receive one drink. If this was the case, then they would stagger around like the older men and pretend they were drunk also (MUNFLA Ms. 78-71/pp. 17-18; cf. Mss. 82-162/p. 17, 86-170/p. 14).

Since it was the norm in the past for boys to leave school and join a fishing crew at this age, their inclusion in the older men's drinking was a further indication of their transition to manhood (cf. MUNFLA Ms. 79-209/pp. 9-10). As the above quotation illustrates, it was often not simply access to liquor which was important to the young men but also the license which went with it to drink to excess. The social context in which alcohol consumption took place was, however, crucial in this regard:

> [People] saw nothing wrong with men drinking to a state of intoxication at times or weddings, but would have frowned harshly on those who drank anything more than the hospitable grog on other occasions. In other words, it was not the state of intoxication which

was considered wrong, but the time and place in
which it occurred (MUNFLA Ms. 82-162/p. 31).

One reason for this was probably that intoxication could lead to disruptive and
aggressive behaviour, including fights and practical joking.[77] Such behaviour
was a departure from the normal tendency, remarked by anthropologists, to
eschew conflict and maintain an impassive front in the face of provocation
(Firestone 118-19). As Firestone has suggested, therefore, festive occasions and
the alcohol consumption which generally characterised them, could provide a
"safe" opportunity for the expression of normally repressed hostilities:

> These holidays [Christmas and Easter], then, plus
> times and weddings, are periods when hostilities
> engendered . . . [but] not ventilated due to the
> operation of normative mechanisms, are allowed
> expression under the guise of, and due to the effect
> of, alcohol consumption. Hostilities are expressed
> not only because when a man is drunk he is allowed
> a great range of disruptive behavior. Such actions
> tend to be excused because a person is drinking.
> Fighting and disruptive behavior while under the
> influence of alcohol are not considered to be proper
> behavior but are accepted as a part of social life (122;
> cf. MUNFLA Tape 72-2/C1046).

Thus, alcohol consumption, including moonshine consumption, served a dual
function. On the one hand, it promoted male sociability and camaraderie,
reinforced friendship groups and defined the male domain. On the other, it
could serve as a cover for unruly and unpredictable behaviour and the

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[77]MUNFLA Mss. 77-344/pp. 13-14, 78-71/pp. 18-19, Ms. 79-584/p. 13,
Robertson 78.

expression of hostilities and otherwise repressed social tensions.

Moonshine Stories and Songs

Moonshine production and consumption forms the subject of several Newfoundland popular songs and a number of locally transmitted songs and stories. The items in this corpus can be divided into two main groups. The first consists of spoken narratives which recount amusing or singular events involving making or drinking moonshine, or testifying to its strength. The second, and apparently larger group, comprises both songs and stories involving encounters with the law as a result of moonshine making. A survey of the content of the items in these two groups gives an indication of popular attitudes towards aspects of moonshine manufacture and consumption in Newfoundland and provides a backdrop against which the content of "The Moonshine Can" can be viewed.

Some of the stories which fall into the first category have already been quoted in this chapter. The narrative concerning the explosion of the still and the swift re-decoration of the kitchen which it entailed, for example, is one of a number of tales, mostly first- or secondhand personal experience narratives, recounting a humorous and/or remarkable event concerning moonshine. Several other stories also involve an explosion, in one case moonshine which had been hidden in the upper part of the stove exploding in the presence of the local

priest (MUNFLA Ms. 74-115/pp. 20-26), and in another the moonshine can being allowed to boil over due to the maker and his friend having got drunk and fallen asleep (MUNFLA Ms. 80-15/pp. 25-26). Stories, as distinct from generalised recollections, regarding the actions of those intoxicated on moonshine are surprisingly rare, though, the only other example being a grim tale of a man who was found covered in blood and slumped over the body of the sheep which he had gone to slaughter after having drunk too much moonshine (MUNFLA Ms. 78-71/pp. 19-20). The strength of moonshine, on the other hand, is a common topic, the theme of running an engine on moonshine, exemplified above, being particularly recurrent. A variation on this is the story about the accidental spillage of some moonshine which results in a floor tile turning from green to white overnight (MUNFLA Survey Card, 75-140).

The majority of spoken narratives involving moonshine, however, and several songs as well, portray encounters with the law. The prevalence of this theme is striking since many communities did not have a resident policeman and were and were relatively inaccessible in the winter months due to the weather conditions (MUNFLA Tape 66-25/C314, Ms. 81-490/p. 32). In such circumstances, as one person put it, "each man was a law unto himself" (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231). In some places, moreover, policemen were willing to turn a blind eye to moonshine making because they liked to drink

moonshine themselves.[78] There is nevertheless a sizeable corpus of stories in which the police are outwitted, either verbally or practically, in their attempt to catch moonshine makers. Not surprisingly, such tales are more often humorous anecdotes than personal experience narratives like those considered above.

As Taft has pointed out, the popularity of such tales is connected with the fact that figures of authority, such as the priest or minister, teacher and policeman, were often outsiders in the outport settlements where they lived and worked (Taft, "Of Scoffs" 92-93). In addition to being outsiders, they were differentiated from the communities of fisher families in terms of their social background and choice of occupation. Their very prominence therefore made them an obvious target for humour based on their lack of local social and occupational knowledge. On the other hand, their status and authority posed some degree of threat to local communities round about, and lent an ambiguity to their relationships with local people. Humour at the expense of these figures of authority, then, further allowed the expression of anxiety about these relationships, without personal compromise on the part of the locals, and served to distance, and thereby reduce, the potential threat which they posed.

Many of the moonshine stories in this category involve the duping of the police in practical terms by the clever concealment of the manufacturing operation, the equipment, or the moonshine itself. An example of the first of

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[78]MUNFLA Tape 72-4/C1050, Mss. 69-7/p. 81, 86-170/p. 117.

these concerns a particular character named Jack Fleming who, following the confiscation of his moonshine can, gets the tinsmith to make him a big can, ostensibly for steaming carriage wheel "fillers," but also intended for distilling moonshine at the same time:

> And it worked alright too. He steamed one piece and hung it up alongside the can and he'd be running off moonshine at the same time as he was steaming the fillers for his wheels! He was making moonshine and they'd come in, the police would come in and he'd be running moonshine right there before their eyes. Carriage fillers he was supposed to be steaming (MUNFLA Tape 71-49/C955).

On a similar theme is the personal story of a man and his cousin who successfully ran off moonshine at a house within a very small distance from the place where a ranger[79] was working at the time (MUNFLA Ms. 80-254/p. 19). Other examples involve the moonshine maker or his accomplices hiding the equipment before the police can confiscate it (Clouston, MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 57).

The social distance between the police and the local community is perhaps most evident in the stories involving the concealment of the moonshine itself. In these, the bottle is often hidden about the body, or in close proximity to a woman, or the contents passed off as urine, thus making it impossible for the police to find the drink without contravening the norms of social propriety.

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[79]That is, a member of the Newfoundland Ranger Force which policed Newfoundland and Labrador in the period 1935-1949.

Amongst the ruses commonly found are the concealment of a bottle or keg under the grandmother's rocking chair (MUNFLA Ms. 86-270/pp. 57, 82), or under the bedclothes of an ostensibly sick person (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 82) or pregnant woman (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 57). In another of the cycle of stories concerning Jack Fleming, the moonshine flask is hidden in his wooden leg (MUNFLA Tape 71-49/C955). The embarrassment of the police at the social intrusion which their search entails is perhaps most explicitly highlighted in the stories involving the moonshine being poured into a chamber pot[80]:

> So she grabbed the shine and put it down in the slop pail that you used to use then. The slop was the toilet. The slop can. And she sat on it. So the ranger went upstairs to search and when he opened the door he said, "Oh, excuse me, missus, I didn't know you were in here." But anyway, he never found the shine, she was sitting on it on the pail (MUNFLA Tape 81-444/C5329).

The implied discomfiture of the police is also a theme in a local song composition to be discussed in chapter 7, namely "The Moonshine Can" by Harold Wilcott. In this case, the policemen's suspect is found to be in bed when they arrive to raid his house, necessitating their return the following day. Another suspect successfully conceals his beer from them by hiding it in his fishing store, the police going to the lengths of checking behind his radio but apparently not thinking of this more likely hiding place (MUNFLA Tape 74-

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[80]MUNFLA Tape 81-444/C5329, Ms. 86-170/p. 134, Survey Card, 73-134/48.

228/C2015).

The corpus of narratives on the theme of duping the police includes several more scatological examples in which the moonshine maker actually replaces his moonshine with urine and it is drunk, or nearly drunk, by the policeman (MUNFLA Tape 72-103/C1294; cf. Ms. 79-552/p. 22). Here, the emphasis is not so much on the clever concealment of the moonshine and the manipulation of social convention to the moonshine maker's advantage, as on the victimisation of the police through a practical joke. Such stories appear to show a disdain for the police. A possible reason for this is that some policemen were known to have double standards, pursuing moonshine makers whilst privately drinking moonshine themselves (MUNFLA Mss. 69-7/p. 81, 74-32/p. 51). Indeed, they sometimes drank their haul instead of reporting it (MUNFLA Tape 77-156/C2980). There is a similarly pronounced hostility towards the police in the story of a real occurrence in which the son of an old man who has had his hay searched for evidence of moonshine making forces the policemen involved to clear up the mess which they have created afterwards (MUNFLA Ms. 80-15/p. 23-25). Here the intrusion of the police is construed as interference or harassment and is clearly resented.

The majority of the stories concerning an encounter with the law are, however, in more humorous vein, particularly those in which the police are outwitted by means of a verbal trick. The most widespread example is that of

the policeman who persuades a local man, or young boy, to tell him who is making the moonshine in the area. When he returns to make the raid, sometimes in the company of other policemen, the man or boy discloses that the person making the moonshine is the same as the one who makes the sunshine, or some variant of this pun.[81] The following anecdote is also involves the duping of the policeman by the semblance of informing:

> One time, Jimmy F. [the narrator] was waiting for the steamer to St. John's. The road had recently come through [to the community] and a man in a car came down. He was asking about the fish and the people and everything. Then he asked, "What do they do for drink around here?"
> Jimmy replied, "They make it themselves."
> The man asked where he could get it for himself.
> Jimmy said that a woman there sold the stuff.
> The man asked, "Would she sell it to me?" and Jimmy said, "Oh yes."
> So the man asked, "Who is she?"
> Now it came in Jimmy's mind that he was a policeman. So he told him he should go away up on the hill and ask for Mrs. Kearsey and then he should go over the other side to Mrs. Burt and he'd get a bottle of moonshine. The man then drove a little way. Then he said to Jimmy, "You don't know who you're talking to, do you?" and Jimmy said, "No, sir, I don't know who I'm talking to."
> "Well, I'm Constable Dixon." "Well," said Jimmy, "you don't know who you're talking to, do you? The biggest liar in all the harbour."

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[81]MUNFLA Tapes 67-36/C454, 69-26/C578, Mss. 74-32/p. 15, 76-328/pp. 19-23, Survey Card, 76-34. Cf. "The Gauger's Song," apparently from Ireland, in which a man accepts fifty pounds to lead a gauger (exciseman) to a private still and he takes him to a barracks where his brother is "a private still" (Morton 51-52, O'Conor 60).

So anyway, the man drove off and asked for Mrs. Kearsey and they laughed and told him they didn't even know her. She was dead before they were even born. So he went on to find Mrs. Burt and they said she'd been living in the cemetery for fifty years. But by the time he'd been all over, Jimmy had gone off to St. John's on the steamer. The policeman tried to catch him but Jimmy didn't come back till the following September. The priest told him the policeman had been back several times to try and find him (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 56-57).

As this anecdote and the prevalence of the moonshine-sunshine joke in oral tradition demonstrate, the theme of the outwitting of the police by appearing to co-operate with them by informing is a popular one in Newfoundland. Indeed, the moonshine-sunshine joke has also been incorporated into two popular songs there, "Johnny's Moonshine" by Dick Nolan (quoted below), and "The Mountie and the Moonshine" by Ray MacLean (All Aboard for Newfoundland). Narratives and songs about real cases of informing, however, are less frequent or, at least, have been less frequently collected. Thus, the prevalence of "The Moonshine Can" in local singing tradition in Newfoundland and its success as a popular song are all the more remarkable, a point which is discussed more fully in chapter 8. The only other example located for this study concerning informing in the context of moonshine making is also in the form of a song, "The Moonshine Informer." This publicises the name of the informer and describes his being driven out of the settlement by the local women:

He informed on those people for making moonshine

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> And others for giving his wife ginger wine;
> May his name be published wherever he go,
> Buck goats and brave women torment you John
> Snow (Lehr 139-140).[82]

The manifestly satirical intent of this composition suggests a reason why the actions of informers are recounted in song form rather than spoken narrative, and why relatively few such songs have been collected. The song also indicates the very real threat that informing by neighbours posed for those who made and drank moonshine. Moonshine production and consumption was, as noted above, difficult to police effectively and informing was consequently encouraged and rewarded by the authorities. It therefore provided an officially sanctioned mechanism by which those who were offended by drinking or drunkenness, or who bore a petty grudge against a neighbour for some other reason, could launch an indirect attack upon the person in question.[83] As described in the next chapter, such an interpersonal tension seems to have been at the root of the incident involving Pat Troy and ultimately led to the composition of "The Moonshine Can."

Informing likewise led to an incident of some notoriety which took place in Flat Islands, Bonavista Bay, in 1919. The affair became a cause célèbre at the time of its occurrence due to the fact that the Minister of Justice, Alfred

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[82]The stanza describing Snow's unceremonious departure from the community has been lost (Lehr 140).

[83]MUNFLA Mss. 84-472/p. 10, 86-170/pp. 14, 82; cf. Morton 50-51.

Morine, on hearing of the local opposition met with by the police when they went to Flat Islands to investigate reports of moonshine making, sent a British naval warship to Flat Islands to quell the "insurrection."[84] The result was a fiasco in which a few people from the Islands themselves, as well as several men who had gone to the coast of Labrador to prosecute the summer fishery, were taken to St. John's to be charged. In the event, their case was postponed, a change of government in the ensuing elections ultimately leading to the charges against them being dropped altogether. The event was political suicide for Morine who lost his seat to his rival, William Coaker. The informer's action was thus overshadowed by that of Morine on this occasion, as a satirical song relating to the event, and probably sung whilst Morine was electioneering in the area, shows:

> Oh then Cornwall, oh then Cornwall,
> Oh then Cornwall of Morine,
> You'll be lost and gone for ever
> When the ballots we do sign (MUNFLA 80-121/p. 10;
> cf. Feltham 149-50).

Finally, two Newfoundland songs sung in both popular and folk tradition somewhat contrasted images of the moonshine maker. One of these, "Johnny's Moonshine," written by the Newfoundland country singer, Dick Nolan, presents him as a humorous figure similar to the moonshine maker character found in

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[84]Butt 9-15, Feltham 139-52, Story, "Flat Islands," Fitzgerald, Rogues 15-17, Hiscock, "Flat Island."

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many traditional anecdotes. Indeed, Nolan's song brings together several of the themes found in traditional stories of moonshine production and consumption, including the strength of moonshine, its use as fuel, the bravado induced by its consumption, staggering as a sign of intoxication, and the moonshine-sunshine joke:

> Now Johnny was a fisherman who lived out in the bay,
> He made a little moonshine to pass the time away,
> He made a little moonshine, a very special brew,
> It caused the boys to cross their eyes, that good old mountain dew.
>
> The constable he came around he came around, to Johnny he did say,
> "I'd like to know who makes the moonshine out here in the bay,"
> Now Johnny being no one's fool quickly he replied,
> "Same man who makes the sunshine out in Sunnyside."
>
> A rat in Johnny's cellar was having quite a scoff,
> So Johnny put some moonshine there in hopes 'twould kill him off,
> The rat he staggered out that night and sang out loud and clear,
> "I'll black the eyes of any cat this side of Carbonear."
>
> Well the parson said to Johnny, "Now Johnny, you must know,
> If you be drinking moonshine to hell you'll surely go,"
> "Now, Parson," answered Johnny, "'tis plainly to be seen,
> I use it in me [sic] motorboat instead of gasoline."
>
> Well Johnny died and went aloft, St. Peter he did meet,

> He noticed Johnny wasn't very steady on his feet,
> He said to Johnny, "What is that you've got there in
> your hand?"
> "Don't worry, boy," said Johnny, "that's just me
> moonshine can."
>
> "Well, you cannot take it with you," St. Peter he did
> state,
> "You have to leave your moonshine can outside the
> pearly gate,"
> Well, Johnny thought it over and told St. Peter no,
> "I guess I'll take me moonshine can and trudge on
> down below" (Home Again This Year).[85]

"Johnny's Moonshine" exemplifies two other themes which will be encountered

in connection with "The Moonshine Can." One is the suggestion that moonshine

production and consumption is not approved of by the Protestant community.

The other is the idea that the moonshine maker, by implication a Catholic, will

not be parted from his moonshine can at any cost. Although this theme is given

comic treatment in Nolan's song, it is also found more seriously expressed in the

following personal experience narrative of a female moonshine maker who

escapes detection and her male neighbour who is less fortunate:

> . . . And then he [the policeman] went through the
> door and he went down to an old man's house [who]
> lived right near us. Old man he was around seventy
> years old. And he went down there and he asked
> him did he make moonshine and he said no. And he
> wouldn't believe him anyway. So he went upstairs
> and 'twas an old house he lived into, you know. And
> he put his hand down inside the ceiling and he

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[85]Cf. Ray Broderick, The True Newfoundlander, and MUNFLA Tape 78-236/C3548.

> dragged up a big bottle of moonshine. And this poor
> old man came up here to the door crying. He used
> to call me Annie. He said, "Annie, maid, he got my
> old tank and my tube and he got a bottle of
> moonshine." And he was crying to break his heart.
> Well, there was nothing I could do about it. I couldn't
> help him. . . (MUNFLA Tape 77-139/C2977).

This theme recurs in another song which has gained particular currency in Newfoundland, "The Moonshine Song." Although commercially recorded several times in recent years,[85] the song is reported as having been locally composed and sung.[87] It appears to have been influenced by the American jailhouse song, "Twenty-One Years,"[88] and presents, possibly somewhat tongue-in-cheek, a romanticised image of the contented moonshine maker who is arrested after he offers a hospitable drink of moonshine to a "Mountie." The exchange with the judge in court, and also the maker's subsequent lament as he languishes in jail, suggest the maker's inordinate attachment to his moonshine:

> The put me in the courtroom, put me on the stand,
> The judge said, "Are you guilty?" as he pulled out the
> can,
> My throat it went dry, I went out of my mind,

[85]Wilf Doyle, Souvenirs and Memories, The Islanders, The Moonshiners. It is notable that The Moonshiners are a band from Goose Cove (cf. MUNFLA Ms. 88-23).

[87]MUNFLA Mss. 76-304/p. 30, 78-71/p. 27, 81-444p. 36, 86-170/p. 64.

[88]Laws, Native American Balladry E16, Wilgus, "American Ballads" 272-74.

I answered, "Your Honour, I love the moonshine"
(MUNFLA Tape 81-444/C5329).[89]

Thus, the moonshine songs and stories can be further subdivided according to their treatment of their subject. Stories concerning humorous or striking occurrences involving moonshine tend to be personal experience narratives whilst tales of encounters with the law are more often humorous anecdotes in which the police are duped, either by a verbal trick or the clever concealment of the moonshine or still. This theme has also been promulgated in several popular songs by commercial recording artistes in Newfoundland. Informers are meanwhile taken to task in local satirical songs, only the semblance of informing occurring in popular songs touching on this subject. The popularity achieved by "The Moonshine Can" in local and popular singing tradition is particularly notable in this respect. It is therefore to a more detailed consideration of its content and the events which lay behind it that we now turn.

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[89]Cf. MUNFLA Tapes 74-45/C9987, 75-319/C2094, 76-304/C2879, 81-158/C8780, 85-257/C8272, Ms. 86-77-/pp. 90-91.

"THE MOONSHINE CAN": PLACES, PEOPLE AND PLOT

Having glimpsed something of the history and cultural significance of moonshine making and consumption in Newfoundland, it is now appropriate to focus more specifically on Pat Troy and the incident behind his song, "The Moonshine Can." As will become clear below, Pat Troy's moonshine making activities and the incident in which he was prosecuted for them can be dated to within the first two decades of this century. Thus, they should be seen against the background of the origins of moonshine making in Newfoundland and its early development there in response to the authorities' attempts to suppress liquor.

As a prelude to examining the content of "The Moonshine Can" and what is known of the people and events to which to it refers, this chapter begins with a brief description of the history of Goose Cove, Pat Troy's home community, and a biography of Troy himself. These are intended to situate the song and the incident it relates in their local historical context. The accounts presented are mainly based on recently collected oral testimony from people in Goose Cove and the surrounding area, government and other official records, and the observations of the doctor, Wilfred Grenfell, and others who came to view or work for his missionary operation in the area.

Similarly, the discussion of the incident itself draws largely on a mixture

of oral and legal evidence. It should, however, be noted that the single main source of information for the incident remains the song. This is because Pat Troy and all those who might have given an independent, or semi-independent account of what happened are now dead, and the search for a legal record of the case has proved fruitless. Thus, it has not been possible to separate the incident from the song. The aim of this account is therefore to elucidate and, where possible, to expand on the version of events presented in "The Moonshine Can." The question of the song's biases is subsequently taken up in chapter 8.

Goose Cove History

Goose Cove is located on the northeastern side of Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula, near the top of White Bay.[1] The settlement is situated on the small, triangular Goose Cape Peninsula at the mouth of Hare Bay. The name "Goose Cove" derives from its French counterpart, "Petit Oie," meaning "small goose," one or other placename having been associated with the site from at least the last quarter of the 17th century (Pitt, "Goose Cove East," Seary, "Toponymy" 60). Local tradition provides several etymologies for the name. One refers to the shape of the landlocked harbour:

> . . . my father used to say it was the shape of the
> harbour, you know. . . . It was a long neck and then

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[1] All placenames referred to in this chapter are shown on Map 2.

it went in. Like the head of a goose, see (MUNFLA
Tape 85-257/C8289).

Other explanations revolve around the idea that geese used to gather there and
that many were seen there when the place was first discovered (MUNFLA Tape
85-257/C8289, Ms. 86-170/p. 46).

From 1713 until 1904, Goose Cove, together with other settlements on
Newfoundland's northwest coast, was part of the French Shore where, as
described in chapter 2, the French had the right to fish during the summer
months (Budden). By the early 19th century, Goose Cove had become an
important station on the Petit Nord, as the region was called, harbouring three
French brigs and 27 smaller boats in the summer of 1802, for example (Pitt,
"Goose Cove East," Janes, "Hare Bay"). The earliest record of permanent
settlers in Goose Cove occurs in the 1857 Census which reports a population
of 43 inhabitants divided among seven households. They probably acted as
gardiens for the French, as Pitt suggests:

> It is probable that the shore operation of the French
> at Goose Cove had grown to the extent that **gardiens**
> (Newfoundland or other fishermen who protected the
> French premises) were hired to protect the shore
> equipment during the off-season ("Goose Cove East";
> cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 32).

In addition, a number of these inhabitants were engaged in catching and curing
cod, herring and salmon, and in netting seals (Census 1857).

The names of the first settlers in Goose Cove have not been preserved

in local oral history (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 74-75). Lovell's Directory for 1871, however, gives the names of the heads of households as Francis Crowley, Thomas Rose, Henry Pynn, Timothy Sexton, John Sullivan, Michael Try [sic], and Charles Western (254). Sullivan was a planter,[2] and the others ordinary fishermen. Family history and the headstones in the older of the two graveyards in Goose Cove provide some further information. It seems, for example, that John Sullivan had an older brother and sister, Thomas and Jane, and that they had come to Goose Cove from County Kerry, Ireland, in the early 19th century (MUNFLA Ms. 87-112).[3] Jane married a Frenchman, Peter Allan (ca. 1798-1868), and they had four daughters (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 75). One of these, Bridget, later married Joseph Murrin, who was also of Irish descent and had come to Goose Cove from Pouch Cove on the Avalon Peninsula in the 1860s to catch salmon and seals (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p. 74, 86-170/pp. 26-27). As will be seen below, Joseph and Bridget Murrin were important figures in the life of Pat Troy, the composer of "The Moonshine Can," and their son, John, was a contemporary of Troy's and a good friend of his.

Like John Sullivan, the Timothy Sexton mentioned in Lovell's Directory

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[2]"Planter: A fisherman and owner of fishing premises, boat or small vessel who, supplied by a merchant, engages a crew to work on the share system" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

[3]The gravestone of Thomas Sullivan states that he was native of County Kerry, and that he died in 1873, aged 63; Jane Sullivan's headstone indicates that she was the sister of John, and that she died in 1875 at the age of 70.

appears to have lived with his siblings in Goose Cove, the family also coming from Ireland originally. Amongst Timothy's brothers were James, Michael and Patrick.[4] It was Patrick's daughter, Veronica Sexton, who became Pat Troy's wife, and Michael's great grandson, Tom Sexton, from whom I first heard "The Moonshine Can."

From 1857 to 1884, the resident population of Goose Cove increased steadily to reach 144. By 1891, however, the number of inhabitants had dropped to just 86 (Census). Local oral history indicates that the reason for this was a diphtheria epidemic which at one point, it is said, killed 22 people in 21 days.[5] Nevertheless, with families of 10 or more being common in Goose Cove well into the 20th century, the local population began to grow again, stabilising at around 140 during the first quarter of the century (Census 1911, 1921).

Apart from those of Irish birth mentioned above and one or two other settlers to Goose Cove, most of its inhabitants were born in Newfoundland. Many came from communities to the south in White Bay, and further east, especially Conception Bay (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289, Census 1921). From early on, the place attracted both Protestant and Catholic settlers. At first, the Protestant population comprised a handful of Anglicans but, in the 1870s, there

[4]Journal of the House of Assembly 1873, quoted in Pitt, "Goose Cove East," MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729, Ms. 87-112.

[5]MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 74; cf. Tape 86-170/C8729, Ms. 86-170/p. 26, Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 120.

was an influx of Methodists so that by 1884 the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics in Goose Cove. Following the diphtheria epidemic, however, the local Protestant population decreased to about half that of the Catholic population, remaining in the minority from thereon (Census). Thus, Goose Cove tended to be seen as a Catholic enclave in the predominantly Protestant area round about, and it maintained close links with the settlement of Conche further to the south in White Bay where the centre of the Roman Catholic Parish was located (Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 90). Meanwhile, the presence of both Catholic and Protestant residents Goose Cove led to there being, within living memory and probably long before, two "sides" to the settlement, the Catholics living "down the harbour" on the easterly shore, and the Protestants living "on the point" or western end of the near-circular harbour.[6] Despite this physical separation, the two groups were not socially isolated, visitors crossing the harbour by boat in summer or walking across the ice which froze it solid in winter (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 37).

Like their predecessors, people from both sides of the harbour were engaged in the salmon, herring and cod fisheries, and sealing. Preparations for the fishing season began in earnest in June when the snow and sea ice were beginning to thaw, and finished in October when the summer's catch was sold

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[6]MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 25, 40, Pitt, "Goose Cove East"; cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 22.

to a merchant (cf. MUNFLA 84-418/C7282). Around the turn of the century, many Goose Cove people traded their fish in St. Anthony, no merchant becoming established in Goose Cove until the time of the First World War (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 24).

In addition to fishing, the inhabitants of Goose Cove prosecuted a land-based seal hunt. This began on or around January 20th when the seals returned north after migrating south earlier in the winter (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 76). In the early part of this century, it was common for entire families from Goose Cove and nearby settlements to winter in cabins further west in Hare Bay from where it was easier to carry out the hunt. Seals were shot or caught with nets which would be stretched over the ice and anchored down with rocks (MUNFLA Tape 84-418/C7282, Ms. 86-170/p. 23). Their skins would be preserved in the snow until the spring when they would be sold to a merchant or used to make boots (MUNFLA Tape 84-418/C7282, Ms. 86-170/p. 23). The seal blubber was also kept for rendering in the summer sun and subsequent sale as oil (MUNFLA Tape 84-418/C7282).

Although Goose Cove is first reported as having a school in the 1891 Census, it appears to have had no permanent teacher until the turn of the century when a Maurice McDonald came there from Colliers in Conception Bay (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289, Ms. 86-170/p. 24). Certainly, very few people could read and write prior to this, and the number had actually decreased since

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1884, the year of the previous Census. It may have been this which distressed

the parish priest at the time and led to McDonald's involvement:

> This priest was formerly priest in Colliers. And he got
> sent down by the Bishop of Harbour Grace into
> Conche. So he went down around to visit the
> settlements. And when he went down there that's
> what he discovered. All these young men and
> women who hadn't had any education. No formal
> education whatsoever. Only the traditional family
> education. So he went back and he sent the word to
> the Bishop and told him. That the education was,
> you know, preposterous [deplorable?] down there and
> could he have a school.
>   "Son," he said, "if you can get a teacher, we'll . .
> . let you have a school."
>   So he wired my father. My father . . . used to work
> a lot with him. . . .
> And the only reason Dad had any education was, I
> guess, when he was a boy he had a back injury. And
> . . . he was sent to school (MUNFLA Tape 85-
> 257/C8289).

Whatever school building existed in Goose Cove in 1891 seems to have been

unavailable when McDonald arrived there. His first classes were held in Patrick

Reardon's fish store until a school could be built (MUNFLA 85-257/C8289,

Reardon):

> And [when] he went down [to Goose Cove], there
> wasn't a piece of paper. Even when he went to get
> the school, he went down and told the gentleman, he
> said, "I'd like to see the school now, sir," he said.
>   So the old man looked at him and he said, "My
> son," he said, "[there]'s no school here."
>   And he said, "I'm supposed to teach," you know.
>   And he said, "Well," he said, "I got a store out
> there now and if you want to set up a school there I

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won't be long getting that ready." So they lined it inside with lime. Whitewashed it inside and got it ready and that was the first school (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

On the Protestant side of the harbour, classes were held in the church by a teacher who visited for five months of year before going on to Brehat, a community a few miles to the north (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 25, 41). Some of the older children went on to take classes with Master McDonald (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 25). McDonald also held evening classes for the fishermen:

> And then he taught the men night time. Taught them how to read and how to . . . work out the sharemen and all this. How to do mathematics really. That was applicable to their fishing (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).[7]

Despite the prevalence of adult nonliteracy when McDonald first arrived, however, people had considerable practical skills and knowledge:

> I had an uncle. Uncle Will Reardon. . . . As a matter of fact he built practically all the stores on [McDonald's] premises. He couldn't read nor write and yet he could take a blueprint and build a building or do anything with it, you know.
> I remember as a boy I went down [to McDonald] one time. . . . I sold some fish to him. So he said to me, "How much is that going to come to now?" And Uncle Will Reardon was there in the store. And before we had time for anything Uncle Will Reardon came up to the very cent (MUNFLA 85-257/C8289).

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[7]"Shareman: Member of a fishing crew who receives a stipulated proportion of the profits of a voyage rather than wages" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

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As the above quotation implies, McDonald later became Goose Cove's merchant as well as its schoolteacher. He began selling school supplies and, by the end of the First World War, had built a successful business (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 24):

> . . . he started a business actually to satisfy the needs of the people. . . . He started out first . . . for a school. The needs of the school, if you know what I mean. He brought in exercises and books and pencils and all those kinds of things. . . . Needles and thread and stuff [which he sold in] a little [room] off the kitchen. You know what I mean. And a post office. He had a post office in our house too. And . . . he did the mail. And he did the store from there. And then that was all burnt down. They had a fire. And that was all burnt. . . .
>
> Well now, the house was burnt down and then all the people around got together. They came from miles and miles and miles, from everywhere. And brought wood and materials and everything. So they all got together and . . . re-built the house. So then, the next time then, he had a bigger store like off the house. So eventually then when . . . our girls and boys got big enough to help him in the store, he went out into [a] bigger [one]. Like he bought fish for Job's [Job Brothers] here in St. John's. Bought the fishermen's fish and supplied them with their supplies. And eventually, as I said, it branched out. It got bigger and bigger and bigger. But he still taught school. Until nineteen and thirty-nine, I think it was. . . . Forty-three years (MUNFLA 85-257/C8289).

At its peak, McDonald was the supplier not only for Goose Cove but also a number of smaller places to the south in White Bay, such as Lock's Cove, Ireland Bight, St. Julien's, Fichot Island, and Croque (MUNFLA Tape 85-

257/C8257).

Not surprisingly, Maurice McDonald became an important figure in Goose

Cove's community life. Amongst other things, he acted as priest for much of the

year since the parish priest was located at Conche, and organised community

concerts to raise money for local projects (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289; cf.

Tape 85-257/C8280). Hence, he was said to have "the good[will] of the people":

> If you wanted one thing he'd teach you. Whatever
> you want done, with the church or the school or this
> and that and another, he had (the) people behind him
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

In addition, McDonald instigated an improvement in Goose Cove's

communications. He set up a post office there in 1924 (Year Book 1924 76) and

was later the first to have a telephone installed, and the first to own a radio.

This made his house a focal point for the community:

> I know our house was like Grand Central Station all
> the time. Because . . . they had a big house. And
> then of course, there was no telephone. Or no
> communication. So anyhow, naturally, he had the
> first phone. He got the phone put in the house. So
> as they could connect him with St. Anthony, to take
> messages. . . . [My sisters] all took the news down by
> shorthand. When they . . . came back from school.
> . . . And every man in that place used to sit around.
> Just regularly now as if you'd have supper. At three
> o'clock in the afternoon they'd all come. Uncle Dan
> Reardon, Uncle Mick Reardon, Mr. John Murrin.
> Every old man in the settlement would come in and
> wait for her to take the news down. Over the phone.
> And then she'd have to come in and read it to them.
> . . .

They [the operator in St. Anthony] would phone it to her. And she'd take it down in shorthand and then she'd have a big book. And she'd . . . write it out for them. And she'd come out then and read it. Sometimes she'd have to read it twice. More times she'd probably have to go back and read it three times. Because after she'd finished reading it the first time, they'd all start up. And Mr. Murrin would say, "Well, the Emma Jane or the Neptune got so many pelts. And so many thousand pelts."

And the other man'd say, "No, she hasn't, she got s-."

So then, "Come out, May, read the news. Read it again." So she'd have to read it again. To satisfy. Well, I mean, there'd be big argument going on sometimes (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).[8]

. . . we had the first radio . . . I remember, in our house, when the war was on. . . . And they all came. My dear, it was like . . . magic. I mean, they couldn't believe it. . . .

There was a story. And this is a true story too, about this radio now. And Joe Murrin'll probably tell you. It was his father, Lord have mercy on him. Old Mr. John Murrin. But anyhow, they had this big radio. Okay. And they had [to] put up . . . the outside pole, down in the ground for to get the antenna or something then to come in. So the first pole they started to dig down they struck what was supposed to be a French grave. Casket or something, see? So anyhow, well, no way, Dad couldn't have that. So they had to dig another hole. So they put the pole down successfully and got it all set up and everything. So when they turned on the radio, I mean, 'twas like Marconi. Everyone sitting round. All the older people now to hear the news and the war news and everything. And Tony's father. Tony [informant's husband] was overseas then. And

[8]Cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 228; Hiscock, "Folklore and Popular Culture" 62, 64.

Uncle Dan Reardon had a son in the Navy. And Mr. Troy had . . . a son, Leo, in the Navy. So these boys were gone away from home so . . . the war became very close to them all. You know? So everyone was waiting. They couldn't wait to hear the news. So when they turned on the radio, all they could get was static. And Uncle John Murrin was over sitting down, see, in the corner and he said, "I know goddam well," he said, "that that was a bloody Frenchman ye struck this evening." [Laughing] And he said, ". . . all you going to get on that damn thing now," he says "is French." And I mean, he almost believed that (MUNFLA 85-257/C8289; cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 235).

Prior to McDonald's business and the introduction of these innovations, the nearby settlement of St. Anthony had supplied many of the needs of the people of Goose Cove. At the turn of the century, St. Anthony was developing into an important commercial and administrative centre with its own post office, court and jail (Year Book 1892 61, Grenfell, Letter). There were several merchants, the most established being Joseph Moores with whom many Goose Cove people traded (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278, Ms. 86-170/p. 24). Between 1891 and 1921, St. Anthony's largely Protestant population more than trebled in size to reach 502 (Census), the Methodist people tending to reside on the west side of the harbour, and the Anglicans on the east. During the same period, the work of the English doctor, Wilfred Grenfell, of the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, contributed to St. Anthony's expansion. At Grenfell's instigation, a hospital was built there, and subsequently, St. Anthony

became the headquarters of Grenfell's own organisation, the International Grenfell Association, whose medical and missionary operations extended along the Labrador coast and Newfoundland's northwest coast (Dinn, Patey, Ollerhead, "Reminiscences," MUNFLA Ms. 81-487).

As there was no proper road between Goose Cove and St. Anthony until 1963 (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8258), people travelled to and fro by boat or overland via Crémaillère (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 262).[9] The contact between the two places was such that the people knew each other quite well:

> [In] Goose Cove, years ago . . . what they wanted for to eat or anything at all, they had to go to St. Anthony to get it. They didn't [have] no store here in Goose Cove. . . . You want a pound of butter. You had to go to St. Anthony for it, see? Now you go to St. Anthony, you walk down, (probably) [a] two hour walk. Well, you had to go get something to eat. Now you knowed someone to go inside and eat, see? Well, perhaps before you know this house, you might go in this house all the time. And next time you go down, you run into Mr. Ollerhead or Mr. Pelley or Mr. Suley and Mr. Patey's, all round there - "Boy, come and have a cup a tea." See? You had to have friends then for to get around. . . . Could be their turn to come your way some other time. That's the way it was all around the Northern Peninsula. You go down to Griquet or Brehat or St. (Carol's), you always knowed someone. "Come in and get a cup of tea," see? . . .
>
> [It was] the same with people in St. Anthony. All

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[9]Crémaillère, locally pronounced "Cremelier" (or "Camelias" according to Waldo 148) was a small settlement to the north of Goose Cove. For a description, see Grenfell and Spalding 215-216. The settlement was apparently abandoned by 1921 (Census 1921).

the whole coast is all alike. Go to Cook's Harbour, round anywhere at all, you always knowed someone from somewhere. Them times. 'Cause you had to go St. Anthony for it. And the people all down the shore, they had to come to St. Anthony for it. St. Anthony was the main place, see. No other place like that, you know. . . . You know more people then than you do now.

'Cause them times you go to St. Anthony and go in the store. . . . [It] was all men doing [the] shopping. And . . . they talk about the fishing or they talk about fish. . . . Or they talk about seals. And all that. And if enough men [were] there, you knowed all what was going on over the shore. Just like the telephone now. Better than telephone, 'cause you know the truth. You know the person, see? (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Firestone 130, Grenfell, A Labrador Doctor 143).

Conversely, people from St. Anthony and other places in the area, such as Ireland Bight and Lock's Cove and, in summer, Fichot Island, St. Julien's and Conche, would come to Goose Cove to attend the community "times" for which it was well known (cf. Wareham). These generally took place during the Christmas period, and on St. Patrick's day, Easter Monday, and Lady Day (15th August).[10]

Pat Troy's Biography

The earliest record found by Seary of the name Troy in Newfoundland dates from 1811 when a man named James Troy, from Inch Parish, County

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[10]MUNFLA Tapes 64-15/C122-C123, 84-418/C7282, 85-257/C8257, Mss. 84-418/pp. 38, 50, 85-257/pp. 88-89, 88-67/p. 12; cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 103-105.

Tipperary, Ireland, got married in St. John's (Family Names). The name recurs over the next sixty years in references relating to St. John's, Torbay, Conception Bay and Bonavista Bay. Its first appearance in Goose Cove is traced by Seary to Lovell's Directory for 1871 in which a "Michael Try [sic], fisherman" is listed.

In Goose Cove itself, there is a slightly earlier record of the name in the form of a gravestone for a Patrick Troy, who died in September 1869 aged 21. It is probable that the Patrick ("Pat" or "Pad") Troy who composed "The Moonshine Can" was named after this deceased Patrick, since he was born in Goose Cove just six months later, in March 1870 (Census 1921).

There is little information on Pat Troy's family background, and what information there is does not form a very coherent picture. It is known that his parents were James Troy and Catherine Hope (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729, Parish Registers, O'Neill), and one suspects that the deceased Patrick and the Michael mentioned in Lovell's Directory were James' brothers. There is virtually no information on James apart from this, except oral evidence that he was living in or near Croque, where his wife's family was located and which lay some 18 miles by sea to the south of Goose Cove:

> I think the first of them, the first Troy . . . lived . . .
> just down around Crouse Head there on a little place
> called Pillier. Now I heard that from the old people.
> They were minding French rooms there or something.
> The first old Troy. That's Pat Troy's father now. And
> his wife, Pat Troy's mother, was a Hope (MUNFLA

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Tape 88-90/C11170).[11]

The first Troys I heard of were James and Catherine Troy in Croque and their son Pat and daughter Margaret. She married a man named John Rickett[t]s from Knight's Cove, Bonavista Bay, and her brother Pat moved to Goose Cove and married Veronica Sexton. He was the author of the song "[The] Moonshine Can" (O'Neill).

It can be seen from the Conche parish registers on the occasion of Margaret Troy's wedding to John Ricketts in September 1895, however, that she was the daughter of Catherine Hope and Michael Troy of Goose Cove, not of James. Intriguingly, Margaret is said to be "of Croque," suggesting that she was born there rather than in Goose Cove. Even before Margaret's marriage furthermore, Catherine appears to have remarried to a Charles Hutchings of Fichot Islands and she is recorded as having a son by him in September 1884.

The oral evidence is somewhat vague and does not relate in any obvious way to these written records of Pat Troy's early family history. A number of people had heard that Pat Troy came from Croque, and in one case that the Sextons smuggled him to Goose Cove (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280, Ms. 86-

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[11]Casey mentions Pillier as a settlement on the Crouse Peninsula, near Conche in White Bay ("Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 1). Catherine was the daughter of Bridget Summers of St. John's and James Hope, a native of County Kilkenny, Ireland. Hope's first wife was Nancy Hope who, according to oral tradition, disappeared without trace sometime between 1816 and 1845. The event was the subject of a great deal of legend and rumour in this part of Newfoundland (see MUNFLA Tape 88-90/C11170, Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 32, Fitzgerald, Fireside Stories 130; cf. Mss. 85-257/p. 219, 86-170/p. 31).

170/pp. 23, 31, 34). Several people thought that he was adopted by his grandmother and reared by his uncle, John Troy. One informant had the idea that Pat's parents had died when he was very young, another had heard that there was once a big family of Troys and they had all died, and still another thought that Pat might have been born out of wedlock (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8280, 86-170/C8729, C8730, Ms. 86-170/p. 34).

It is difficult to imagine a scenario that fits with and makes sense of this written and oral evidence. Perhaps James Troy and Catherine Hope originally lived in Croque with a member of Catherine's family, but moved to Goose Cove when James' brother, Patrick, died, in order to help the other brother, Michael, with that season's fishing. James and Catherine may then have stayed in Goose Cove for the winter of 1869-1870, or perhaps decided to settle in Goose Cove more permanently, and their son, Patrick, was born there the following March. One wonders if the child, Margaret, was subsequently conceived as a result of an illegitimate liaison between Catherine and Michael, making it Margaret rather than Pat who was born out of wedlock. Whatever was the case, it seems that Catherine and James returned to Croque where Margaret was born. Not long after, James must have died since Catherine had remarried to Hutchings by 1884. Meanwhile, Margaret seems to have stayed with her mother in Croque whilst Patrick was adopted by his father's family back in Goose Cove. He was certainly in Goose Cove in June 1881 when his name occurs for the first time in

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the parish registers as the sponsor at the baptism of a child in the community. By this time he would have been aged 11 and more than likely considered old enough to work alongside the adult fishermen (cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 66).[12]

The chronology of the remainder of Pat Troy's life is more certain. Following the death of his uncle, Pat Troy was taken in by Joseph and Bridget Murrin and became a shareman in Joseph's fishing crew.[13] As a young man, he lived next to the Murrins at the east end of the harbour during the summer months, and moved into a tilt[14] in the winter at the other end of the Catholic

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[12]This speculative history of Pat Troy's boyhood only holds water if a sister, also named Margaret, is posited for James and Michael. This is because a Margaret Troy appears in the parish registers as godmother to John Lane in Goose Cove in August 1874, again as baptismal sponsor to children there in June 1880 and (with the young Patrick Troy) June 1881, and as the mother of a son by Stephen Burke of Goose Cove around 1886. The dates involved lead me to suspect that this Margaret Troy was a different person from the Margaret Troy, daughter of Catherine and Michael, the younger Margaret perhaps being so named because of her aunt. For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that there was also a Mary Troy, perhaps another Troy sister, who sponsored a child in Goose Cove in August 1880, and in Fichot Islands in July 1881, and who herself had a son with Patrick Poor (Power) of Grandes Oies around 1881.

[13]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8280, C8277, 86-170/C8729, Mss. 85-257/pp. 201, 229, 86-170/p. 50, 53.

[14]"Small single-roomed hut constructed of vertically-placed logs, used seasonally by fishermen, furriers and woodsmen" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

section of the harbour, where it was easier to get a supply of wood.[15] He was married on 17 May 1902 at the age of 31 to Veronica Sexton, the 17-year-old daughter of Patrick Sexton and Mary Kearsey.[16] Pat and Veronica's son, John, born some three months previously, was baptised on the same day (Parish Registers). Seven more children followed. Of the eight, only three survived into adulthood, namely John (1902-1968), Leo Patrick (1909-1985) and Peter Francis (1915-1975). The other children were Anthony (1903-1909) who died of brain fever, James Francis (1912-1913) of meningitis, Albert (1913-1922) of inflammation of the bowels, Dennis (1921-1922) of whooping cough, and the couple's only daughter, Mary Ann or "Minnie" (1906-1925), who died aged 19, a victim of consumption:

> She was older than Leo. And she was a big strapping girl, she was. Boy, she was some girl. And she got a cold. You (heard tell of) the sports down St. Anthony years ago, did you? Going down on the ice, you know. [She was] down there one time and then [had] nowhere to go. [She] got no boots on her feet, got wet and that. She got a sore throat and turned T.B. Died. Seventeen or eighteen years of age she died, you know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 262, 86-170/pp. 23, 45).

The Troys were relatively poor and had to rely on government relief at

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[15]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280, Mss. 85-257/p. 205, 86-170/pp. 25, 46, 50.

[16]Pat Troy is noted in the parish registers as being 31 at the time of his marriage but if, as the 1921 Census states, he was born in March 1870, he would actually have been aged 32.

times in order to make ends meet (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 258, 261). In later years, however, in addition to the fishing, Pat and his son, Leo, did casual labour for "the Mission" (the International Grenfell Association) in St. Anthony each spring and fall (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 39, 46, 50). The work involved unloading wood from the ships and chopping it for use at the Mission whose operation was almost entirely dependent on wood for fuel:

> Most of the time I think it was cleaving wood.
> Chopping wood up, you know, big junks of wood,
> chopping them open. Now the Mission all runned on
> wood then, you know. All wood then, no other [fuel],
> no. They had coal but not too much coal. Mostly
> wood, see. All wood, you know? And he'd [Pat Troy]
> go down there perhaps for a month or two in the
> spring of the year and the fall of the year, cleaving
> wood, you know. . . . The Mission and all the Mission
> houses, doctors and one thing and another, all [ran
> on] wood (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Tape 85-
> 257/C8276, Mss. 85-257/pp. 213, 229, 251, 86-
> 170/pp. 39, 46).

Leo earnt around a dollar a day and this covered the cost of their board and lodging in St. Anthony.[17] His father's money was mostly spent in the used clothing shop operated by the Mission:

> Like poor old Mr. Troy now, he could go down and
> work there. He had five or six children. Well . . . go
> in the clothing store . . . and you go in there, you get
> socks. You know, secondhand stuff. . . . You get
> clothing and clothe all the family (MUNFLA Tape
> 85-257/C8278).

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[17]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Mss. 85-257/p. 229, 86-170/p. 34.

Pat Troy lived to the age of 67. At the time of his death, his family could not afford a headstone and his grave remained unmarked, although it is known that he was buried in Goose Cove (Parish Registers, MUNFLA 85-257/C8280, Ms. 85-257/p. 206). He had fallen ill with pneumonia the previous year and then had a stroke, following which he was unable to speak (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729). He remained at home, bedridden, throughout the winter until his death from "paralysis" on 13 March 1937 (Parish Registers).

Despite his lack of immediate kin in Goose Cove when he was growing up, or perhaps because of it, Pat Troy did not lead an isolated life. Rather, his outgoing character and humorous disposition seems to have ensured his popularity in the locale.[18] Among those who knew him socially, but not especially closely - like many of his neighbours and friends in Goose Cove and St. Anthony - he was considered a friendly, likeable and gregarious person (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 238, 255, 86-170/pp. 38, 50). He was known for being "a comical hand," "a sport," and "a joke-ish man," with a ready supply of stories and repartee.[19] This earnt him a reputation as "one of the real old timers" and "the real Irish" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 62, 65):

> TS: Oh yes, yeah. He was a kind of a hard case fellow like, you know. He was for old queer sayings and-

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[18]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289, Mss. 85-257/p. 201, 86-170/p. 38.

[19]MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 208, 259, 86-170/pp. 38, 43, 45, 50.

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MH: Funny sayings.

TS: -and all funny stuff, and everything like that. . . .

MH: Lot of them old people were, you know [chuckling]. Yeah, like Mr., Uncle John Murrin too. Oh, they'd say their queer stuff, you know. . . . Most of it'd be their religion, you know. They'd just be jokes. Like, what was it, Tom, when they were down to, (Eli) Strangemore?

TS: That was Pomeroy and Penney [who had a store on the Methodist side of the St. Anthony harbour], that was.

MH: Eli Strangemore. Strangemores had the store over on the other side of the harbour, right?

TS: [Correcting MH] Pomeroy and Penney.

MH: Pomeroy and Penney, yeah.

TS: Yes, and when he went into the store, old Pomeroy come out and [was] tending on him, eh?
   "John, boy," he said, "I had some bad news today."
   And Uncle John said, "You did, boy," he said, "what was that?"
   "I heard," he said, "the bottom fell out of Purgatory and all the Roman Catholics fell out."
   (And he [Uncle John]) [said], "Christ help the poor Protestants," he said, "when they falls down on them." [Laughs]
   That's the kind of old stuff they used to get on with. . . .
   Another time he went down there, Skipper Mark Alcock was in the store, see? And you had to walk down (the store) then. Take you all day [to] get back and forth. And when he went in the shop, (by and by) now Skipper Mark come in.
   "A great day, John boy," he said.

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"Yes, Mark boy," he said, "it is so." (He) said, "I know (what), it's a good day . . . for a Protestant to . . . ask a Roman Catholic down to his dinner." [Laughs] . . . And he got his dinner anyhow.

MH: They were sharp, you know, like that. The old people.

TS: Oh yes. Oh yes, for fun. That's all it was (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8274).[20]

There was a darker side to this "fun," however. The everyday consciousness of denominational differences indicated by the above example, plus the fact of the physical separation of Protestant and Catholic residents in Goose Cove, suggests the existence of an underlying tension between the two groups. Certainly, the beginning of the 19th century had witnessed a large influx of Irish into Newfoundland, and sectarian conflict had since flared repeatedly in the larger centres of population, most infamously during an Orange Lodge parade at Harbour Grace in 1883.[21] The 1921 Census shows that the

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[20]Cf. the contemporary story related by Wilfred Grenfell concerning a wooden leg which he procured for a Catholic patient:

> A departed Methodist had left it, and the wife's clergyman, a Congregationalist, had handed it to me, an Episcopalian, and I had the joy of seeing it a real blessing to as good a Roman Catholic as I know. As the parish priest says, there is now at least one Protestant leg established in his parish (A Labrador Doctor 144).

[21]Fox 60-68, Hiller, Mannion 6-11, Nemec, "Irish Emigration," Pocius 110-130, Story, "Fishermen, Hunters."

heads of eight of the Protestant households in Goose Cove were from Carbonear, near Harbour Grace. Events of the previous century apparently continued to inform Catholics' and Protestants' consciousness in Goose Cove even in Pat Troy's day, and animosities between the two were clearly felt if not overtly expressed:

> And they're the stubborn people in the world, the Irish is, and always was and always will be, see. And that time now, they had a racket up here in what they call Harbour Grace or Carbonear or something or other, between the Catholic and Protestant, you know. You heard all of that stuff, yes.. And they still hold that, you know. There's a lot of those people now over 'cross the harbour, that's where they come from, Harbour Grace and Carbonear, and round there. They come and settle down here, you know. And they always had that (know) but it never come out. . . . They still had to know it, you know? They used to call some people dirty Protestants and dirty Catholics. And this Mr. Troy now, he was a dirty Catholic. . . . He was considered against the Protestant people, you know? Boy, he was some dirty. . . .
> One didn't like the other, you know. . . . Well . . . those people across the harbour, now I never heard nothing about those men. They're United [Church] men. I know they're nice men too. Poor old Mr. Troy, see, I suppose he must have Irish parents or something or other, but he couldn't get along, you know. But still those men in St. Anthony, they were Protestant people. You shouldn't say much for stirring up, you know? No, that wasn't public. . . . That's house talk, you know, not out in public, no. They wouldn't say a thing in the world to one another out in public. People 'cross the harbour, they wouldn't say a word in public. But it was said down the house, you know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279;

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cf. **Ms. 86-170/pp. 90-91**.[22]

As will be seen in chapter 5, the denominational affiliations of those mentioned in "The Moonshine Can" take on particular significance in the light of such attitudes.

As a young man, Pat Troy's idea of fun also extended to "tricks" or practical jokes. These were not uncommon in Newfoundland life generally (Scott, Szwed, **Private Cultures** 80), including in Goose Cove (e.g. MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8257, Ms. 84-418/p. 14), but Pat Troy's were particularly remembered for their sheer audacity, if not effrontery. A boyhood prank in which he and John Murrin stole a birthday cake intended for one of the Sextons and replaced it with cow dung (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 7) is perhaps a more innocuous example. The way in which the following prank was recounted seems

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[22]Cf. The following comment, prompted by the song, "The Protestant Cow":

> One time, you know, people took religion very seriously, right? You know, and you wouldn't dare sing a song like that if there were any non-Catholics or someone like that around. But I mean, you know, we go to St. Anthony now and St. Anthony is a Protestant town. . . . But I mean, there's a lot of people down there, you know, they just joke around. . . . But I mean one time they took religion more seriously. . . . If you pass a remark, it was taken to the heart sort of thing, you know. You feel that you're throwing dirt to them, sort of thing, right? (MUNFLA, Tape, 85-257/C8259; cf. Goldstein).

to suggest that this example was less so:

> JH: I say, the time he [was] down at the wake, I won't tell that. **[Chuckles]**
>
> AH: What wake?
>
> JH: Down to Dave Couch's wake. Same old fellow.
>
> AH: Oh no, I don't remember. I don't remember that much about Mr. Couch. I wasn't going to no wakes then for sure.
>
> JH: I know. But it's Mr. Troy I'm talking about.
>
> AH: Oh, Mr. Troy. I wouldn't know anything about it.
>
> JB: What happened then, then?
>
> JH: I don't know. . . . When they got them all in the house, he [Pat Troy] went in, hauled down his [the corpse's] clothes and took off. **[Chuckles]**
>
> AH: I wouldn't know about that (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8730).

The dynamic between the husband (JH) and wife (AH) in the telling of the above example is indicative of the ambivalence and sometimes disapproval expressed in Goose Cove towards Pat Troy and his tricks. The wife, a native of Goose Cove, also explained something of the local attitude, speaking particularly, I believe, from a woman's point of view:

> AH: Oh yes. You know . . . he (handed out the) jokes but [laughing] they were good and bad.
>
> JB: What do you mean by that?

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AH: You know, sometimes the things he'd tell you. Well, I mean, we usen't to laugh at them at all because we used to . . . get disgusted with him. And when you get a crowd of men around, you know, that be the time for him to, you know, to start at you. And start saying things then. But, you know, he was a comical old fellow. And [the] way it was here, it was nothing- (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8730).[23]

It was not only a question of women's sensibilities being offended by Pat Troy, however. A number of his pranks specifically victimised women:

[This] was when he was a young man. His mother had a servant girl. And they were down the stage washing fish, him and the girl. And his mother sung out to them to come up to their dinner. And he was always playing . . . tricks. He was an awful man for tricks. And he got the girl and then there was a big anchor there. A grapelin, a great big grapelin. And you know what a grapelin is, those ones with the claws on them? For mooring boats. A big iron grapelin. And he grabbed a piece of rope and grabbed the servant girl and lashed her onto the grapelin (and) went on up to his dinner. And left her there. And . . . he went up the house a nice bit from the stage. And no one heard her sing out or anything. And when he went in, his mother . . . asked him where the girl [was]. He said, "She's down there," he said, "she'll be up in a minute." And he sat down, ate his dinner and no sign of her coming. At last, she said to him again, she said, "What was she doing when you left?"
"Well," he said, "she [was] just taking off the oilskins and her boots and . . . drawing up water to wash in when," he says, "when I left."
"My God," she said, "I suppose she didn't fall over the wharf."

[23]Interruption by another speaker at this moment in the interview unfortunately cut short AH's explanation.

And he said, "No," he said. And she got scared. .
. . Thought the girl was after falling over the wharf.
And she tore off down the stage. And when she went
down, here was the girl lashed onto the [chuckling]
grapelin. And couldn't get clear. He had her lashed
on [laughing]. And her hands tied. He was an awful
hand for playing tricks, they said (MUNFLA Tape 88-
90/C11170).

The man who narrated this story commented afterwards that Pat Troy could "be

bad" but did such deeds out of "devilment" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 62). Hence,

it seems that for some who recounted the stories of Pat Troy's pranks, and

perhaps some who used to hear Troy himself recount them, any disapproval they

felt was tempered by the humour they found in the very extent of Troy's

devilment - how far he would go - and in his ability apparently to "get away with

it":

And he was capable of doing anything, you know?
Like one time. . . . Uncle John Murrin now used to
live just nearby. And . . . anyway, he suggested to
Uncle John Murrin one day, that they get . . . Bridgie
Murrin she was then. Get her over to the chopping
block and cut her hair off with the axe. [Laughs]
Yes, and he (had) her down too. And he was holding
her on and Uncle John was going to cut off her hair
with the axe. On the chopping block now. Used for
wood. . . .
Another time, down in the bottom of the harbour
[there were] Couches. As a matter of fact, Matty
Couch live there now. Matthew Couch. But anyway,
the old house that I'm talking about now wasn't there
but my father and Mr. Troy went down there one
night and they had been drinking. And they went into
the house and decided they were going to give
Stachey Couch her name was, give her a fright. And

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they walked down across the harbour. And 'twas up
to their knees in what they call slob. That's wet snow
on the ice. Walks up and jumps into bed with Stacey
Couch. With boots and everything on. [Chuckling]
Frightened her to death.
    That's how he was. He was capable of doing
anything (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

Pat Troy's son, however, was at pains to stress that his father did not do such
things too often. As far as the prank concerning Bridget Murrin was concerned,
he observed that it was "a joke, but a bad one at that," even though she was
"tormenting" his father at the time (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 216).

Pat Troy seems to have calmed down somewhat after he was married with
regard to his practical joking. Like him, though, his wife, Veronica, was
regarded as something of "a queer stick," and had a good sense of humour
(MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 38, 45). She could also "get dirty quick, swear on
you" but despite this she was "a fine woman" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).
It was principally as "a wonderful person for visiting the sick" that Veronica was
remembered (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p. 203, 86-170/pp. 43, 50). In particular,
she was noted for her ability to heal skin wounds, infections and sores, including
"festered hands" and the common fishermen's complaint of "water pups,"
caused by the chafing of saltwater-logged clothes against the wrist (MUNFLA
Ms. 86-170/pp. 35, 43, 50-51, 54; cf. Story, Kirwin and Widdowson). Her
treatments made use of carbolic and poultices of tansy or bread soaked in hot
water and, according to several people in Goose Cove, were effective in

reducing infection and promoting healing (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 35, 50, 54; cf. Casey 114).[24]

One thing that married life apparently did not alter was Pat Troy's fondness for liquor. As a young man, what money he had earned from fishing he had spent on rum:

> He was a man [who] used to drink a lot (when he
> [was] a young man). I hear him tell [this] myself.
> When he lived . . . right there in that house out here
> . . . over near grandfather, you know. It was my
> grandfather. And my grandfather's wife had to cut
> her red flan[nel] petticoat you used to call it then.
> Underskirts you call them now. Petticoats then.
> Make a shirt for him for the winter. . . . Every cent he
> had (made) he drinked it. . . . He got nothing to wear.
> . . . (And he said, "I made a good summer [with the
> fishing] too.") But he drinked . . . every drop of it
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).

One of the reasons that drinking cost him so much was that rum was bought on credit and the supplier's tally-keeping was none too reliable, as these two versions of a story about one rum supplier show:

> Some of the old timers were keen business men.
> There was a Mr. Mange once used to sell rum in
> Goose Cove, White Bay North. When anyone would
> get a pint of rum from him on credit he would say to
> his book-keeper (and housekeeper), "Betsy, did you
> mark down that pint of rum?"
> She would say, "Yes, sir."
> Then he'd say, "Well, write it down again just in
> case you forgot it" (MUNFLA Q68-369/p. 3).

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[24]For examples of other remedies used for "water pups" in this part of Newfoundland, see MUNFLA Ms. 84-418/pp. 39, 44).

> There was a fellow who lived over there (then), he
> used to sell rum. And his wife's name . . . [was]
> Kitty. And by and by he [Pat Troy] come in and
> "Boy," he said, "can I have some rum?"
> "Yea," he says, ("there's some on top here").
> "You mark it down?"
> "Yes, I'll mark it down."
> "You'd better mark it down again, you know.
> Perhaps you after forgets it."
> See? So if he had one pint, he had to pay for two
> pints. . . . That's where poor old Mr. Troy's money
> went, see? (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).

As described in chapter 2, it was in 1902, the year that Pat Troy got married,

that a woman from Goose Cove married the Quebec lighthouse keeper at Cape

Bauld from whom the technique of making moonshine was introduced to Goose

Cove.[25] Since Goose Cove came under local option from 31 May 1906, it was

probably about this time that Pat Troy began to make liquor for himself (Year

Book 1910 295, MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 205). To keep the cost down, he would

sometimes make it in league with a friend who provided the molasses and yeast,

while Pat Troy did the distilling.[26] The resulting moonshine would then be split

between the two men, and more often than not they would consume it together

on the spot or over the next few days:

> Most times now, according to what I hear, they drink
> it themselves. . . . Him and the person who made it,

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[25]The marriage of Edmond Fontaine of Cape Bauld and Anastasia
Reardon of Goose Cove took place on 24 May 1902 (Parish Registers).

[26]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Mss. 85-257/pp. 201, 205, 215, 230, 86-
170/pp. 41, 64-65.

> see? Like Frank [for example]. . . . Frank would give
> him molasses . . . . Frank'd go down there [to Pat
> Troy's] Saturday evening. Yea, [Pat] got a bottle of
> moonshine there . . . give him two bottles. He open
> one. And Mr. Troy open one of his. Perhaps the
> next morning . . . two of them [bottles were] gone.
> Perhaps the four of them [were] gone. . . . Now it
> might be two months' time before they have another
> one then. They wasn't at that all the time, see.
> 'Cause you couldn't afford [it]. 'Cause [you] never
> had the money to get the molasses (MUNFLA Tape
> 85-257/C8279).

For the select few who knew about this arrangement, then, Pat Troy became

"the main man for moonshine" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 41). Nevertheless,

"there wasn't too many knowed about it [Troy's moonshine making] then" and

that was the way Pat Troy wanted to keep things. Hence, "it wouldn't be every

Jack Bob would get a drink of [his] moonshine" and "he used to know who he

could trust" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Ms. 86-170/p. 64). He also took the

usual precautions when running off moonshine, waiting till most people had

gone to bed:

> Or quarter to eleven, twelve o'clock in the night, you
> know? You got to look around, see. You'd see all
> the lights and when all the lights go out, you put the
> bag or something over your window then and run it
> off (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279; cf. Tape 85-
> 257/C8277, Ms. 85-257/pp. 205, 215).

Pat Troy possessed the self-contained model of moonshine can described in the

previous chapter (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Ms. 85-257/p. 216-217) and

made the liquor in much the same way as detailed earlier. It seems that he liked

drinking so much that he found it hard even to leave his beer long enough to ferment before distillation:

> I remember when we were young fellows growing up, you know. We'd be up to 18, 19 years of age, you know. He always had a drop of beer in [fermenting]. And the beer now put in, it had to be in three or four days before [it was] any good to drink, you know. [Before] you could drink the beer. Well, he went up, put it in [in] the morning, go up in the evening, say, "I've got to taste my beer now." It tasted just like the molasses, boy, you know. That wouldn't even have worked [fermented] at all. You go in, taste your beer. Be tasting that (then the?) time would come to run [it off], you had it half drinked (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

Such was Pat Troy's taste for liquor that he drank for most of his life - "He was a man [who] liked it too. . . . Boy yes, he made a drop on the day he died, poor . . . old fellow" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279). It was, moreover, this activity which led to him coming into conflict with one of his neighbours and consequently the authorities in St. Anthony. It was this affair which in turn led to the composition of Pat Troy's song, "The Moonshine Can."

The Incident

In the absence of any formal record of Pat Troy's court case, it has not been possible to establish the exact year of the incident. Nevertheless, there is written documentation that the Constable Parsons mentioned in "The Moonshine Can" was posted to St. Anthony in 1918; this therefore represents

the earliest possible date for the incident (Year Book 1918 196, Simms). Likewise, there was no stipendiary magistrate for St. Anthony until 1921 when the jurisdiction of Mark Alcock, the stipendiary magistrate for the more northerly settlement of Griquet was extended to include St. Anthony (Summers, Letter to Alcock). Alcock appears not to have moved to St. Anthony until 1923, however, and, since he is not mentioned in the song or the oral testimony as being connected with Pat Troy's case, I therefore take 1922 to be the latest possible date for the incident. The oral evidence suggests dates between 1920 and 1925.[27] Perhaps the most reliable claim is that of Pat Troy's son, Leo, who remembers starting work on the Mission when he was 11 or 12, directly after the incident (MUNFLA MS. 85-257/p. 205). This would have been in 1920 or 1921 when Pat Troy was around 50 years of age. It is these dates that I take to be the most likely.

In all, 20 different stanzas have been associated with "The Moonshine Can," although no one version encountered in the course of this research contains them all. The stanzas included below come from the manuscript version of Pat Troy's grandson, also named Pat Troy, since this contains 18 of the possible 20 stanzas (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 191-194). The two additional

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[27]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277, C8279, Mss. 85-257/pp. 200, 205, 208, 236, 241, 86-170/pp. 38. 45, 46.

stanzas have been taken from other versions.[28] These are considered here for their content and the light it throws on the moonshine incident. Hence, the order in which the stanzas are discussed below does not necessarily represent that in which they are sung in performance.

> On Easter Sunday morning, as you may plainly see,
> As soon as Nickey [sic] got the news he then come down to me,
> He then come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
> Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's a big kick up about the bloody can."
>
> The chap that brought us up the news, he was one of our rank,
> I suppose you all do know his name, his name it was young Frank,
> His name [it] was young Frank, me boys, as you may understand,
> He is one of our lively chaps belong to Nfld. [Newfoundland].

Given Pat Troy's penchant for drinking, anyone in Goose Cove who was similarly fond of a drink was likely to have been friendly with him, and both the men mentioned above fall into this category (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278, Ms. 86-170/p. 46). Nicky was Nicholas ("Nick") Florence, a Methodist man of about

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[28]The versions used are identified with the relevant stanzas below, one being a version of Tom Sexton's (TS2), and the other being that printed in the newspaper, The Newfoundlander (NF1). Both are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Pat Troy's age who lived "on the point" in Goose Cove.[29] A bachelor all his life, Nick was living with his widowed mother, Jane Florence, in 1921.[30] The Frank named in the song was Jane's nephew, Frank Powell, who was Nick's junior by some 20 years.[31] Although a native of Goose Cove, Frank had moved to St. Anthony where, amongst other things, he was said to have worked for the Mission and to have fished for Luke Biles (see below) who had a small business there, before getting married in about 1921 (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 225, 238, 241, 245). Frank's wife characterised him as "awful fun," perhaps accounting for the attribution of "lively" which he receives in the song; he was also known to have "liked something to drink" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278, Ms. 85-257/pp. 245). Nick Florence was "another hand to . . . drink too," who "would drink (a poor liquor), [he] didn't care what it was" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Ms. 85-257/pp. 233, 245). There was a story that one Christmas Nick was going to visit Pat Troy, taking a keg of beer with him, and he fell through the ice whilst crossing the harbour; still, he managed to get out again and reached Mr. Troy's

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[29]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8274, C8279, 86-170/C8729, Mss. 85-257/pp. 210, 216, 220, 225, 236, 86-170/p. 38.

[30]Census, MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278, Ms. 85-257/pp. 233, 236, 245. There is some confusion regarding Nick Florence's date and place of birth. The 1921 Census states that he was born in Carbonear in October 1866, whilst the United Church Parish Registers in St. Anthony show him to have been born in Goose Cove in September 1874, the same date as on his gravestone.

[31]MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 207, 216, 238, 245, Alcock, Letter.

house complete with his keg (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 46).

Thus, it seems probable that Nick Florence was one of those with whom Pat Troy made moonshine (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 238, 246, 86-170/p. 38)). Knowing this, Frank Powell came to Goose Cove to visit on Easter Sunday and told Nick about the threat to Pat Troy. He would obviously have heard about this in St. Anthony but my informants did not know exactly what he had learnt or from whom, although people presumed it was that Mr. Troy had been informed on or that he was going to be taken to court (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 216, 225, 238, 245, 86-170/p. 38). Nick Florence then passed on this news to Pat Troy.

> Early the next morning the summons come to me,
> The summons come to me, my boys, and I was
> forced to go,
> To travel to the lonely place up to my knees in snow,
> To travel to that lonely place, it was against my grain,
> To march up to that court house before a crowd of
> men.
>
> When I walked up to the stand the judge to me did
> say,
> "What did you make it out of, come tell to me, I pray,
> What did you make it out of," the judge to me did
> say,
> "O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the proper
> plan."

According to Leo Troy, the summons was brought to his father by the St. Anthony policeman (see below) travelling by dog team, as there would still have been snow on the ground at this time of year (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 230). It

is notable that Pat Troy was not taken into custody immediately but trusted to appear in court at the appropriate time. This was standard procedure, as the following testimony from a member of the Newfoundland Ranger Force, speaking of his experience in the 1940s, shows:

> In most cases you would lay a charge but you wouldn't be able to arrest them because you had no jail to keep them in. You would say to them: "You must appear before the magistrate the next time he comes here." So when the trial date was set, you would just inform the person and he would walk or come by boat, on his own (Fagan 70-71).

Pat Troy walked to his trial rather than travelling by dog team, presumably because he thought he might have to go to jail immediately afterwards (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 230, 244). Small wonder that having to go to St. Anthony was "against [his] grain" on this occasion. There is no obvious reason why St. Anthony is called "the lonely place" in the song, however, and it is possible that the original wording in this line was "through the lonely place" as found in several other versions. If so, this is likely to have been a reference to Cremaillière, the abandoned community lying between Goose Cove and St. Anthony.[32]

At approximately the time of Pat Troy's case, St Anthony had its own small court house and jail. Conditions in these were far from ideal, as Dr.

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[32]It is notable that there are several local memorates and supernatural legends connected with the site (MUNFLA 85-257/C8262).

Wilfred Grenfell observed in the following indignant letter to the Postmaster

General in St. John's:

> Dear Sir:
>
>   When the Postal Telegraph was put into St.
> Anthony, the Department took the room intended for
> the Jailor for the accommodation of our mails and
> telegraph.
>   The inspector general has called attention to the
> condition of the Court House on previous occasions.
> It really is beyond endurance to have the Post Office,
> Jail and Court House all in that tiny building.
>   There are two male prisoners and one female
> prisoner in the jail at the present time. At one time
> we had eight prisoners there, so that when the court
> was over they had to sleep in the only room in which
> we could try them. . . . (Grenfell, Letter; cf. Grenfell
> and Spalding 87-88).

Contemporary accounts of court trials indicate that only the magistrate or other

person acting in this capacity, the defendant, the policeman, and the

complainant if this was someone other than the policeman, were present at the

hearing. The magistrate would judge the case himself as well as passing

sentence. The question of who acted as magistrate in Pat Troy's case will be

discussed further below.

    As explained above, Pat Troy often shared the production of moonshine

with a friend, the latter providing the ingredients and Troy taking care of the

distilling. Thus, Pat Troy never actually sold his moonshine (MUNFLA Ms. 85-

257/pp. 205, 215, 230). It is probable, then, that he was charged under Section

2 of the 1917 Prohibition Act which states

> If anyone manufacture any intoxicating liquors at any
> place within the Colony he shall be liable to a penalty
> of not less than one hundred dollars, and not
> exceeding five hundred dollars, or in default of
> payment, imprisonment not exceeding three months
> ("Of the Prohibition" 525).

For reasons which will be described below, it was not always a straightforward

matter for the police to gain a conviction in such cases (Hutchings 26). Although

Pat Troy apparently pleaded guilty to the charge (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 251),

the judge's question reported in the song as to how to manufacture moonshine

may have been designed to establish Troy's guilt beyond reasonable doubt.

This suggests that the informer had not been a witness to Pat Troy's moonshine

making activities, nor had drunk any of Troy's moonshine which in itself would

have constituted an offence (cf. MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 251, Hutchings 29).

Despite the lack of evidence, however, once the authorities had received the

informer's complaint they were bound to approach Troy on the matter. Since the

officials involved already knew that Troy did make moonshine, as will be seen

below, he had little option but to admit it (cf. MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8274,

C8279, C8280, C8281).

> O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's a curious
> plan,
> And the next misfortune that fell on me, I had to lose my
> can,
> I had to give it up, you see, and that without delay,

And up come Constable Parsons my can to take away.

I went in and brought it out and that with. out delay,
And stood just like a monument and not one word did
say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling it would grieve your
heart well sore,
And when he put it in the bag it grieved me ten times
more.

Under the terms of the 1917 Prohibition Act, it was not an offence to be

in possession of a still, a loophole which cost the police many convictions

(Hutchings 26). In addition, the police could not obtain a warrant to search the

premises of anyone suspected of making moonshine unless they first had

information of sale (Hutchings 3). This situation prompted the Royal Commission

to recommend not only that the police be granted increased powers of search,

but also that there should be the following amendments to the Act:

first, that the possession of a still for the distillation of
spirits should be a substantive offence, and that the
possession itself should be presumptive evidence it is
possessed for that purpose; second, that possessing,
giving, selling or treating any person with moonshine
should be a substantive offence; and that the
penalties provided should be double of those
provided for the illicit sale of liquors (Royal
Commissioners, Statement 3).

Meanwhile, the way the law stood, the police would not have been allowed to

search Pat Troy's premises for his moonshine can prior to his trial, nor would

Troy's possession of a moonshine can have been an offence in itself, and nor

would it have been sufficient evidence to prove him guilty of manufacture. It

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was presumably for these reasons that his can was not confiscated until after his trial and the guilty verdict. It is notable that Troy co-operated in producing the can himself so that the policeman did not need to search his premises.[33] The can was taken away in a brin bag, the rattling presumably coming from the chute inside the can which, as noted previously, was the self-contained model.

The police force operating in Newfoundland at the time was the Newfoundland Constabulary which had been established in 1871 (Decks Awash 6, Fox). It was modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary, even down to the uniform:

> The Constabulary uniform, at least up until 1943, was patterned after the uniform of the Royal Irish Constabulary. It included a black, closed-neck tunic of heavy melton cloth with black, bone buttons. The large, single-breasted greatcoat came to within six inches of the ground. Headware included a forage cap in summer and a fur cap of black seal in winter (Decks Awash 7).

Charles Parsons from Curling, Bay of Islands, joined the Constabulary in October 1916 and was posted to St. Anthony in 1918 where he remained for many years.[34] He was a tall, thin man with a handlebar moustache and, in uniform, he cut quite a formidable figure amongst the local population:

> "Oh, my dear, I was frightened to death of him. He

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[33]One informant thought that it was actually Pat Troy's brother-in-law, John Sexton, who brought the can out (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729).

[34]Census 1921, Butler, MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 235, 239.

used to wear a big black cloak. And a black helmet
and a wide black belt. He looked stern. Well, he
was stern. Even to his family. He didn't ill-use them
or anything like that but his word was the law. His
wife was very quiet. The whole town was afraid of
him. He had a black moustache. And he was quite
tall and very thin. And he had a long black coat, sort
of an old English style. You know, like Sherlock
Holmes or something. And a black cap (MUNFLA
Ms. 88-67/p. 11; cf. MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277,
Ms. 85-257/pp. 203, 206, 213, 236, 257).

Parsons' duties extended to outlying settlements much further away than Goose

Cove, such as Griquet, Flowers Cove, Conche and Englee, and he would make

his rounds by boat in the summer and dog team in winter (MUNFLA Tapes 85-

257/C8277, C8280, Ms. 85-257/p. 236). Although he was never apparently

promoted to the rank of sergeant, he was much praised by other local officials,

including Wilfred Grenfell who reportedly called him "a 'Wizard' for his keen

detective work and his devotion to duty. . . " (Butler). Local people appreciated

him too for minding his own business and not asking awkward questions about

such things as moonshine making (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 234, 239). Parsons'

conduct in this latter regard was perhaps attributable to the fact that, in private,

he himself was known to have been very partial to liquor:

But he liked a drop of stuff too. . . . I drive him round
[on dog team]. Several times he asked me, do I
know where [he could get] the stuff, you know. 'No
sir,' [I said,] ["I] know nothing at all about it.' I
knowed where to get a drop of stuff too, you know
(MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280; cf. Ms. 85-257/pp.
235, 239).

There was a story that Parsons' fondness for moonshine made things very tricky for him when he was called upon to confiscate Pat Troy's can. It seems that Luke Biles, the man with the small business on the east side of St. Anthony, was supposed to have borrowed Troy's can and Parsons to have acquired a supply of moonshine from him:

> That's the way the story go, see? And that's how this Constable Parsons come to drink the moonshine, see? Because it was made in the can in St. Anthony and . . . Biles drink it, see. . . .
> I tell you, [Pat Troy] (told) me that, you know, with Parsons now and the can. Constable Parsons, you know, drinking moonshine out of the can. And when he come up to get the can he was right shivery. He was right twitty. [He] didn't know what was going to happen next, look. . . . 'Cause he [Pat Troy] could have asked him, "You see the can before?". . . But he never though. [But] he seen it. 'Cause he drinked the moonshine runned off to it (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

It is notable that here, and at another stage in the affair, Pat Troy had the chance to incriminate someone else as he himself had been incriminated, but he chose not to do so.

> Well now our whiskey is put down we will take to the spruce bud,
> It don't exceed the whiskey to purify the blood,
> It don't exceed the whiskey, I vow and do declare,
> It's enough to draw you in a crump, the cold of the spruce beer.
>
> Well now our whiskey is put down we'll take to the spruce beer,

We'll gather in a neighbour's house, drink a health all
around,
Not [sic] health to the informer, he put our whiskey down.

As described in the previous chapter, spruce beer was a mild drink made
of the liquid from boiled spruce boughs and "buds" fermented with molasses.
Its low alcohol content probably made it a legal beverage under the Prohibition
law. It was always kept cool for drinking and, as Cartwright and others in the
18th and 19th centuries found, was effective against scurvy.[35] In literal terms,
it would have "purified the blood" more than moonshine did. Spruce beer was
a cold drink, however, in sharp contrast to moonshine which created a "fire"
when consumed. The shock of this coldness was presumably what Pat Troy
thought was enough to induce a "crump," meaning a stooped, hunched position,
like being bent over in a ball (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson, MUNFLA Ms. 85-
257/p. 217). The superiority of moonshine as a beverage is suggested here by
Pat Troy's reference to it as "whiskey." Imported whiskey was more expensive
than rum in Newfoundland and was not generally consumed in the outports until
quite recently (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

It will also be recalled from the previous chapter that the practice was for
men to take their own supply of moonshine, normally a flask or small bottle, to
a neighbour's house when they went drinking. Each man then passed his flask

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[35]Cartwright 2:152, McGregor 1:221, quoted in Story, Kirwin and
Widdowson 517.

round among the assembled company. With the sharing of the drink, bonds of friendship between the men would be symbolised and reinforced. Drinking the health of those in the group further expressed these relationships (Szwed, Private Cultures 89). Deliberately not drinking the health of the person who informed on Pat Troy thus suggests that, although he might have been present and even share in the drinking, he was being subtly left out of the friendship group, a theme which will be returned to below.

> Come all ye good people, come listen unto me,
> Beware of the bold informer, you'll see how he served me,
> Beware of the bold informer, good people all around,
> Since jealousy could not agree he put our whiskey down.
>
> When the racket was over and all was cleared away,
> It was then this bold informer come looking for his fee,
> Come looking for his fee, my boys, as bold as any man,
> From some that were on the sea and more were on the land.
>
> Now this man will get no help and he watched from every eye,
> But never mind, he won't be stuck, he still got poor Eli,
> He still got poor Eli, my boys, already at his call,
> He is going to take him with him to cruise the bay this fall.
>
> There is another person I mention now as well,
> For backbiting and flashy things no one can her excel,
> I hope the Lord won't pardon her all on the

Judgement Day,
Good people all, both great and small, don't no one
for her pray.(TS2)

As noted in chapter 2, the Prohibition Act was difficult to police, not least because of the scattered population of Newfoundland and the inclement weather during the winter. The evidence of informers would consequently have been a particularly important source of intelligence for the authorities regarding contravention of the law. Indeed, provision had been made from at least 1906 to pay informers out of the fines imposed in successful prosecutions:

> The penalties are appropriated as in Section 71 of the 1906 [Intoxicating Liquors] Act, viz: one-third to the Informer; one-third to the Inspector General for the Constabulary Widows and Orphans Fund; and one-third to the Treasury, out of which you may take the costs (Summers, Letter to Rowsell).

Going by the narratives examined earlier in this study, however, this cash reward was not the main incentive for informers. Rather, petty grudges provided the motive for much informing. These might rise to a head in a particular incident relating to moonshine making and consumption, but seem to have had a basis in prior tensions between the individuals involved and, beyond this, in the socio-economic organisation of outport society itself (Brunton, Overton and Sacouman 110, Sider, Culture and Class). Such seems to have been the case with Pat Troy and the person who informed on him.

It is notable that no one interviewed for this research regarding the

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incident knew for certain specifically why the informer, whoever they thought that person was, reported Pat Troy. Some admitted that they were intrigued by the question themselves, and many offered theories based on what they imagined had happened or what they knew of the personality of the person that they believed informed. Yet, there were apparently no bad relations between the parties involved before the incident (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278, Ms. 86-170/pp. 40, 45). The song itself is equally unspecific. It attributes the action to jealousy on the part of the informer, a feeling with which the informer "could not agree" (come to terms?). This invites speculation as to what the informer might have been jealous of in connection with Pat Troy.

Most people's theories regarding the informer's jealousy hinge, quite logically, on Pat Troy's moonshine making itself. Either Pat Troy refused to give the informer a drink of it, or withheld the recipe from him, or the informer was given some by another person acting out of turn (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 200, 203, 216, 239, 86-170/p. 52). Many people's reasoning followed similar lines to the following:

> Maybe [the informer] wanted some [moonshine] or something and [Pat Troy] wouldn't give it, [wouldn't] sell it to him or give it to him or something. And that could have been. Or somebody went to visit him and he didn't offer a drink. It didn't take much sometimes. . . . You know that if you're going around Christmas time, they went to your house. And you didn't get offered a drink. When [by the time] you left. Well, I mean, that was the height of inhospitality.

You know, not to offer them the drink. It could have
been started, stemmed from something like that. I
don't know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

Others' theories regarding why Pat Troy was informed on were based on
their knowledge of the person who they thought had done the deed. Of the
several people mentioned as being the informer, the name of Michael
Hennessey[36] came up repeatedly.[37] Michael Hennessey was born in Conche,
the son of James Hennessey and Bridget Kearsey, in March 1880 (Parish
Registers).[38] At the age of 25, he married Bridget Murrin of Goose Cove,
daughter of the aforementioned Joseph Murrin and sister of John Murrin. The
couple moved to Goose Cove sometime between September 1905, when they
got married, and July 1907, when their first child, Mary Ann, was born.[39] The
move was precipitated by the death of Bridget's brother, Peter Murrin (1873-

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[36]After much thought, I have decided to use a pseudonym in place of the
name of the man who was thought to have informed on Pat Troy. This has
been possible because Pat Troy himself did not name the informer in "The
Moonshine Can." Whilst the pseudonym will not conceal the man's identity
from anyone who comes from the Goose Cove area, I hope that in using it I
will avoid causing the man's family any unnecessary offense or
embarrassment. I have similarly changed the name of his son who was one
of my informants. Apart from this, all of the names used in this study are
genuine, although I have omitted the names of those informants who did not
wish to be identified.

[37]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8274, Mss. 85-257/pp. 203, 207, 223, 86-170/p.
30, 44, 53.

[38]Michael Hennessey's mother was Veronica Troy's aunt (O'Neill).

[39]The baby died only a few hours after birth (Parish Registers).

1906), whose land became Bridget's inheritance since he was a bachelor at the time of his death (O'Neill, MUNFLA Ms. 87-112). In 1909, Michael Hennessey bought an acre of land of his own as well, close to his father-in-law's land, but separated from it by land belonging to Martin Reardon.

Like the other families in Goose Cove, Michael Hennessey fished and carried out some small farming (Census 1921). Sometime after his wife, Bridget's death in 1936, however, Michael became a gamewarden for the Castor River to Main Brook area of the Northern Peninsula, to the south of Goose Cove.[40] Although this was around 20 years after the moonshine incident took place, Michael Hennessey's subsequent occupation was taken by some to illustrate his propensity to have informed on Pat Troy's moonshine:

> GR: I wonder why was he [Michael Hennessey] jealous about it? What was he jealous of? I'd like to get that. . . .
>
> AR: . . . I mean, that was his way. I remember one time my uncle, Uncle Dan Reardon. And his son. They went up in Starks's Bight. For a load of wood. Hauling it on the dogs and komatik. And on the way coming down as they were crossing the brook, Ambrose, looked over and he saw what he thought was a dog. A dead dog. So they stopped. And when they went over it was a silver-haired fox. Uncle Dan took the fox and he brought it down. Now . . . although he found it already dead, he wasn't allowed to have that fox. But in the meantime, he didn't get settled away in the house to have his meal when in

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[40]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8279, C8289, Mss. 85-257/p. 240, 245-46, 258, 86-170/pp. 57, 64.

walks Parsons. The same man that's there in that song now. Constable Parsons. Walked in and wanted to know where the fox was. And the same man went down and reported him.

GR: Well, see, I tell you why Mr. Hennessey was always blamed for these things. . . . See, Mr. Hennessey at one time was a gamewarden. . . .

AR: Yea, but that was no reason why-.

GR: . . . Yes, but . . . there were people like that. He felt that he was an authority then. You know what I mean? That his job, even though, now, his job didn't cover that area. . . . He took it upon himself to be, you know, a preserver, if you know what I mean. You know, of everything. . . . Up around Trout River, was it? Around the West Coast. He used to be a gamewarden. Knocking around Main Brook. . . .

AR: Castor River.

GR: Yes, right. He started out to be a . . . a warden, see. To protect the salmon and all those things from being exploited. So then, I'd say that that's what he sort of carried it on over into the community. And everything that he saw that was sort of against the law or anything like that, well, it sort made him feel important, I guess, to go down and report it to the magistrate. . . .
    I mean, this is what it seems like. Just to make him feel important. That's all I know. That's the only reason why he did it. . . . I could never say he was a vindictive man. He wasn't a vindictive man. . . . But he sort of took it upon himself to be a law. . . (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

As a result of this apparent stance as guardian of the law, Michael Hennessey

gained a reputation in some quarters for interfering in other's affairs, wanting to

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hurt others, and for being untrustworthy.[41]

Nevertheless, many people were cautious about naming Michael Hennessey as the informer. They said it was supposed to have been him, or that he was blamed as the informer, and emphasised that it was the general hearsay (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 207, 223, 86-170/pp. 30, 53). On the other hand, the speculation as to Michael Hennessey's involvement in the affair was certainly fuelled by the song which, although it does not name the informer outright, hints at his identity. The informer's curiosity about others' affairs ("he watched from every eye") could obviously be taken as a reference to Michael Hennessey since it fits with people's perceptions of him as interfering. The song also indicates a particular friendship between the informer and a man named Eli. This was Eli Robotham, a resident on the Methodist side of the harbour, with whom Michael Hennessey would sometimes go into Hare Bay in order to cut wood and fetch "grass" (hay) for animal feed.[42] Thirdly, the song contains a stanza about a woman who is fond of backbiting and likes "flashy things," and this was widely taken to refer to Michael's wife, Bridget Hennessey.[43] She was said to be inclined to criticise others and liked to think that she was more

[41]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8281, C8289, Mss. 85-257/p. 258, 86-170/p. 53.

[42]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8277, C8279, Mss. 85-257/pp. 217, 220, 225, 239, 86-170/p. 40; cf. MUNFLA Q67-935/p. 2.

[43]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8274, C8278, Ms. 85-257/pp. 216, 223.

popular than she really was (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 214, 240).

It is easy to see how the Hennesseys' unpopularity in some quarters led to their being blamed for the incident with Pat Troy. In addition, Pat Troy himself clearly saw them as responsible and they became "bad friends" for a time (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 251, 257, 86-170/p. 45, 51). This made a difficult situation for the Murrin family who had connections with both the Hennesseys and Pat Troy. Significantly, the several alternative, but speculative, suggestions made to me in the course of my fieldwork as to the informer's identity came from informants who were members of these particular families.[44] Besides these attempts to deflect the blame away from Michael Hennessey, it seems that Michael and Bridget themselves tried to counteract the rumour of Michael's involvement:

> But I hear it from that and I heared him [the supposed informer] say it himself too, that he had the can over the edge of [the] ice. [Because] the informer had a can. Now when they come to [take Pat Troy's can], he had to put 'n over the edge of the ice. I hear him say that. . . . I hear the informer's wife say myself. Her husband didn't inform on him. For she said, Michael have to carry his own [can], and put it over the edge of [the] ice. He had a can of his own (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

This echoes the testimony of a woman from a family not directly involved in the incident that she had seen people hurrying to hide their beer kegs in the snow

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[44] MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 216, 219, 251, 86-170/p. 55; cf. Ms. 86-170/p. 38; cf. Tape 85-257/C8276.

when Constable Parsons came to confiscate Pat Troy's can (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 44). It may have been this occurrence which gave the Hennesseys the idea for their story which is obviously meant to suggest that Michael could not have been the informer because he was making moonshine himself at the time and was forced to ditch his can to escape detection.

Even if it can be taken from this evidence - and it does seem fairly clear - that Michael Hennessey informed on Pat Troy, the question of why he did so remains. After all, as far as people knew, Pat Troy had been making moonshine for a number of years before he was reported. It could have been that the informer wanted to acquire the recipe for himself, but Pat Troy was not the only one in the area with this information:

> But then, with that "jealousy could not agree," I couldn't see why he come in, see [if Michael Hennessey was the informer]. If he were jealous over making moonshine, I couldn't see why he inform on him. Because it was only another year or so and (all) find out somehow. No, I couldn't see why that come in. I (know) nothing at all about it. (Perhaps) [it was] over the women, jealousy over them, [but] they were no jealousy [sic] over that. Definitely no jealousy over the women. . . . It must be the moonshine somehow. . . (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

Of course, a certain amount of personal antipathy already seems to have existed between Bridget Hennessey and Pat Troy. It will be recalled that she was originally Bridget Murrin whose hair Pat Troy and John Murrin had threatened to cut off with an axe on the chopping block many years previously. It was

perhaps unfortunate from the point of view of this personality clash that Bridget came back to live in Goose Cove after her marriage. In addition, her land inheritance and her husband's subsequent purchase of land in Goose Cove indicates that they had a certain degree of economic status and they were seen by some people as having social pretensions and "getting ahead" (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 40, 221; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 198). In contrast, Pat Troy, who also had close ties with Joseph and Bridget Murrin, Bridget Hennessey's parents, was in the role of "poor cousin" in relation to the Hennesseys. Thus, while he may have resented their good fortune and perceived self-advancement, they may have disapproved of his greater interest in moonshine making than economic productivity. He was nevertheless a more popular figure in the locale than either Bridget or Michael Hennessey and it was suggested by one person that the Hennesseys were jealous of all Pat Troy's friends (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 238). It is conceivable, then, that Michael Hennessey informed because he saw in the exposure of Troy's moonshine making activities an opportunity to bring Pat Troy into local disgrace. If so, however, his idea seems to have backfired for, as described below, people begrudged having to contribute to Troy's fine. Troy, moreover, was quick to capitalise on the situation and, as will be shown in chapter 8, successfully turned it back on the informer through the song.

> Success attend McDonald wherever he may be,
> He had three meetings in the school to collect the money.

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Success attend St. Anthony men wherever they may
be,
They did their whole endeavour to help me on that
day,
They did their whole endeavour, as very well I know,
For I heard them say with my own ears, "In the pen he will
not go."

The Goose Cove men I'll name as well, no doubt they
did their part,
No doubt they did their part for me but the truth I'll
tell to you,
They were not slack, they kept some back to free I don't
know who.

The fine for manufacturing liquor under the Prohibition Act was set at between $100 and $500 or, in default of payment, up to three months in jail. Judging by the contemporary cases documented in the government records of the period (Summers, Letter to Rowsell, Department of Justice), a fine of $100 plus costs, or one month in jail was the standard penalty. Opinions as to the exact amount of Pat Troy's fine vary between $100 and $200, but going by the practice elsewhere, the sum of $112 remembered by Leo Troy and one other person is the most likely.[45] It was not an amount that Pat Troy could afford to pay.[46] The prospect was therefore that he would have to spend a month or so in the local prison. As indicated by the song, however, some people in St. Anthony promised to save Pat Troy from "the pen" by contributing to his fine

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[45]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Ms. 85-257/pp. 200, 206, 215, 225, 242.

[46]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8274, Mss. 85-257/pp. 200, 206, 242, 86-170/p. 64.

(MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8274). Several of those involved are mentioned specifically by name in later stanzas of the song and these are discussed below.

Meanwhile, there was also a collection for Pat Troy in Goose Cove, organised by Maurice McDonald:

> Oh yes, it was definitely his [McDonald's] idea. . . .
> That was the collection took up in the school. [He
> held] a meeting between the crowd. The old people,
> you know. All the people near his age, you know.
> We went to school next morning and everyone['s]
> name [was] wrote on the blackboard, you know. . . .
> What this one give and that one. . . All the names of
> the people and what they give, yes. . . . They had a
> meeting in the school that night and next morning the
> first thing that's on the blackboard next morning. In
> big (letters), chalk, you know. . . . I didn't think
> anything about it. I don't mind no one's name there,
> not now. I did then for a spell. The only way I
> remember that now, 'twas two or three people who
> give five dollars. And that was a lot of money them
> times, you know. Five dollars a lot of money, see.
> Two or three people give five dollars, you know. I did
> know them but now I don't know who they are
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279; cf. Mss. 85-257/pp.
> 224, 238, 86-170/p. 45).

Despite the fact that many people were not particularly well off, and had little hard cash since the local economy was largely based on a credit system (Grenfell, A Labrador Doctor 92-93), enough money was raised to pay off the fine.[47] Most people seem to have contributed, although not entirely without reservation:

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[47]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Mss. 85-257/p.230, 86-170/p. 45.

> I know my mother was very sore because my father
> never made moonshine in his life. And he have to
> pay the fine (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8281; cf. Tape
> 85-257/C8279).

As mentioned in the song, some of the Goose Cove money was saved in case anyone else manufacturing moonshine there was fined although in the event the money was not needed.[48] The original version of this line of the song was said to have been "They were not slack, they kept some back to free the other two" but apparently Pat Troy changed the ending to "to free I don't know who" later when he sang his composition to the magistrate (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 224). He had cause to be circumspect since, the story goes, when he went to pay his fine, they shoved the money back across the table saying, "Now, boy, if ye knows anyone else [making moonshine], put it back in you pocket." Pat Troy said no, he did not know of anyone else although he actually knew of three others (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 215; cf. Tape 85-257/C8276). Among these were said to be Ambrose Reardon and Mike Sexton (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p.224).

The practice of friends and, in some cases, customers, helping to pay off a fine was not so very unusual in such cases to judge from contemporary newspapers and court correspondence (Finn, "Moonshiner Fined"). Nor was the practice of giving the convicted man a chance to turn informer himself. Wilfred

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[48]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Ms. 85-257/pp. 224, 230, 238-39.

Grenfell, for example, wrote of a similar occurrence which took place in St.

Anthony around 1910:

> As prohibition of alcoholic liquors [i.e. local option]
> maintains on our coast, the appearance of the
> policeman, loaned to use from the south for the
> summer, with the information that spirit was being
> sold under our noses, came almost like a thunderbolt
> upon us. One of my good friends was proved on his
> own admission to be the culprit. But he explained he
> had only given the spirit away. Now a man who lives
> here lives so near to the hunger line that every dollar
> is a matter of the moment, and can't keep a free rum
> distribution store of his own. It was only a new
> device on the part of the liquor dealers. But being an
> agent of them, however innocently, a fine had to be
> inflicted or my friend go to the penitentiary in the
> height of the fishing season. To my surprise at the
> close of the three days' grace permitted, the money
> was paid into court, though the man was given the
> alternative of turning evidence against whoever
> supplied him. The natural conclusion was the liquor
> suppliers had seen him through. I was talking,
> however, a little later to one of our store keepers - an
> excellent fur trader, a splendid shot, and a keen
> Christian man; the liquor trial came up as a subject of
> conversation, and I mentioned that the standing by
> the poor fellow of the rumsellers was one point
> anyhow in their favour. Being bitterly opposed to
> alcohol as a beverage, before he thought he
> answered: "They never did see him though, Doctor."
> "Then may be you know who did?"
> He flushed a little and replied: "May be so and may
> be not, but a man couldn't see him go to the lock-up
> in the middle of the fishing season." I have always
> believed that kindness is more Christlike than mere
> righteousness. . . (Grenfell, "Dr. Grenfell's Log" [Oct
> 1910] 11-12).

Likewise in Pat Troy's case, one of the people named in the song is said to have

been asked by Wilfred Grenfell if it was true that he had given money to Pat

Troy, to which the man replied, "Yes, for food" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 51).

> Now good luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord
> look down on him,
> He is well like[d] by everyone, his name is Mr.
> Simms,
> And when he leaves this world and goes to the other
> way,
> He will then meet St. Peter, the man that holds the
> key,
> The man that holds the key, you see, that gate he will
> unlock,
> Saying, "Come [right] in, good magistrate, welcome
> to the flock."
>
> Here's good luck to Dr. Grantfield [sic], that kind and
> gentle man,
> No doubt he was not hard on me, as I was a poor
> man;
> May the Lord look down and pardon him all on the
> Judgment [sic] Day,
> And a crown of glory be his bed when he shall pass
> away.(NF1)

In the outports at least, those charged under the Prohibition Act were

usually tried in a magistrates court. As mentioned above, St. Anthony came

under the jurisdiction of a stipendiary magistrate around the time of the incident

concerning Pat Troy but, according to the most reliable oral testimony, this

magistrate was not involved in Troy's case. Instead, it appears that one or both

of St. Anthony's justices of the peace at that time dealt with the case.

Mr. Simms was Noah Simms, a native of St. Anthony, who worked as the

Customs Department sub-collector there from 1907.[49]   Simms played a prominent part in local affairs having become a member of the St. Anthony Road Board, the Church of England Board of Education, a commissioner of the Supreme Court and, in 1912, a justice of the peace.[50] He was consequently a well-known figure in and around St. Anthony and, notwithstanding his judicial role, was mostly well-liked and respected in the vicinity (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 239, 259). Although not a drinker himself, Noah Simms knew Pat Troy and was probably aware of his moonshine making activities, but not disposed to take action over them.[51]

Simms' attitude in respect of liquor stood in direct contrast to that of St. Anthony's other justice of the peace, Wilfred Grenfell. According to Kerr, doctors with the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen in Newfoundland and Labrador were given permission to act as justices of the peace in 1899 (165) and, by 1903, Wilfred Grenfell had assumed this position in St. Anthony and for much of the coast of Labrador as well (Year Book 1903 146). The role held particular appeal for him because of his fervent opposition to liquor of any kind:

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[49]Year Book 1907 17⌐ MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279, Ms. 85-257/pp. 210, 233, 243, 247, 251, 259.

[50]Year Book 1905 199, Year Book 1910 168, Year Book 1913 158.

[51]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8274, C8279, Ms. 85-257/pp. 230, 235, 239.

The fisherman's friend and counsellor, Dr. Grenfell, does not admit the word temperance to his vocabulary, he stands for teetolism [sic] only, and preaches it along the coast to good advantage. Moreover, in his capacity of magistrate on Labrador, he pursues the itinerant grog purveyor from rock to rock (Durgin 11).[52]

Grenfell had his own idiosyncratic way of dispensing justice. Rowland describes, for example, how Grenfell ordered that an old man, who had been found guilty of selling spruce beer and could not pay his fine, should have his wooden leg confiscated:

> At this the old man crumpled. I have never seen anyone look so woebegone in all my life. It was unlikely that he could ever get another.
> There was a long silence, during which I think even the complainants felt regret. Then the magistrate rose and picked up the wooden leg and stood turning it over in his hands. Suddenly he turned to the prisoner. "I am going to suspend your sentence," he said. "Do you understand what that means?"
> "Do I get my leg back?"
> "Your leg is no longer yours; it belongs to the court. But I will let you have it to use for as long as you behave yourself and do not break the law. If I have to take it away from you again you will never get it back." He laid the peg-leg on the old man's lap.
> Despair turned to joy. I believe the old man would have kissed the Doctor had he been able to rise. . . .
>
> That evening I asked the Doctor at what point he had decided to suspend the old man's sentence.

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[52]Cf. Grenfell, "The Close of Open Water" 9-10, "The Log of the S.S. Strathcona" 14-15, "Dr. Grenfell's Log" [1906] 11, and G.A.A. Jones 14, A Labrador Doctor 246-48.

"Oh," he said, "I intended to do that all along. I knew nothing was so likely to keep him straight as the fear of losing his wooden leg. That's why I set the fine so high. It would have spoiled everything if he had been able to pay it" (Rowland 102-103).[53]

Yet, Grenfell was also supposed to have fallen easily for hard luck stories, his main objective being to help poor people, even those who appeared before him in court (Kerr 224, MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 234, 251). Hence, he was said to be capable of imposing a fine on someone, and then paying the fine himself (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 259). This was apparently characteristic of his approach in court cases:

> He was meticulous as a magistrate. He would put on his red-tasselled skin boots, turtle neck sweater with his college insignia, and carry his illuminated Bible because, he said, "The people like a show." He would listen carefully to both sides, but his decision was apt to go to the underdog, or to anyone who aroused his sympathy. We had clothing on board [the Mission ship], to be given out in exchange for work in accordance with the Mission's policy. A good deal of it went to some pretty shiftless families, whose "lead dog had died," or whose "gardens wouldn't grow." He gave his own clothes and once his own spectacles to old friends, and the rest of us followed his lead (Unsigned Notes).

Despite the fact that Pat Troy's case was a liquor offence, therefore, Grenfell's attitude was not as uncompromising as some of his tirades against the sale and consumption of alcohol would lead one to expect. Indeed, a short

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[53] I am grateful to Dr. Ronald Rompkey for bringing this reference to my attention.

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while after the incident, he arranged seasonal employment for Pat and 11-year-old Leo Troy on the Mission in St. Anthony in order to earn some extra income (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 213, 225, 229, 251). As noted earlier, this money was used by Pat Troy to buy clothes for his family in the Mission's secondhand clothing store, warm clothing being as essential as food for survival in the winter:

> A lot of people, well they'd rather have clothes than [use the money they earnt on the Mission to] feed their children. Well, the Government wasn't going to let them starve to death. . . . They give enough [poor relief] to keep them alive. But they could feed and get no clothes. [So] you get clothes. You get clothing for the children. And for themselves. . . . People looked at clothing then, [it] was essential to life on this part of the coast, see. . . . You'd freeze to death in the house if you had no clothing. . . . But if you had clothing to keep warm, a mouthful of bread is better than a big feed (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

This action by Grenfell shows that he was aware of Pat Troy's court case. What is not clear, however, is whether Grenfell was an official at the trial and, if so, exactly what role he played. The song hints at Grenfell's involvement at court when it states that he "was not hard" on Pat Troy but, unlike Simms, Grenfell is not actually named by Troy as a judiciary. Nevertheless, the two men did try cases together as, for example, on April 15, 1919, when "[Samuel] Rose came before Dr. Grenfell and Noah Simms J.P." (Parsons, Letter). Some people also thought that Grenfell had "put in a good word" for Pat Troy (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 209, 247). This was quite possible to judge by the following report

made by Noah Simms to the Minister of Justice in 1917:

> Dr. Grenfell asked the court to be merciful as the boy's record in the past had been a good one and also that he came from a good family (Simms).

The clue to Grenfell's part in Pat Troy's court case may lie in an earlier stanza of the song which mentions an exchange between Troy and an unnamed judge. No one interviewed about this knew of the involvement of an official circuit court judge in Pat Troy's case and there is no evidence of judges' involvement generally in such cases in the extant court documents surveyed for this study. It is therefore conceivable that Pat Troy saw Grenfell, the more senior justice of the peace in St. Anthony, perhaps dressed in his majestic attire as well, as the "judge," and the more junior justice of the peace, the local man Simms, as the magistrate. Leo Troy certainly believed that Grenfell had been the "judge" and Simms the magistrate at his father's trial, saying that the magistrate was needed "to settle the court" and the judge "to pass sentence" (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 213).

> There is a friend of mine that I must not forget,
> His name is Stephen Pelley, the best that I found yet,
> That he may live in splendour, have money and galore,
> I wish heaven when he dies, I can wish him no more.
>
> Another man that helped me was Mr. Ollerhead,
> He is so good and fine a man as ever you did meet,
> He need not fear, he'll get there along with the magistrate.

There is another friend of mine who helped me on
that day,
His name is, if you want to know, his name was Mr.
Biles,
And when he leaves this world and goes to the other
land,
Our Lord will say, "You're welcome here, you helped
out this poor man."

Reference is made earlier in the song to "the St. Anthony men" who
contributed to Pat Troy's fine. Pelley, Ollerhead and Biles were the ones who
were generally believed to have done so (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 198, 230,
242, 255). Since all three were partial to liquor, they were likely to have been
on good terms with Pat Troy, and it was assumed that they were amongst those
with whom he made moonshine (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 230, 259, 86-170/p.
51). Since they all lived in St. Anthony, Pat Troy may also have taken a flask of
moonshine to share with them in return for their hospitality when he was visiting
the place (cf. MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 255).

Stephen ("Steve") Pelley, whose name was locally pronounced "Pilley"
(MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 203; cf. Seary, Family Names), was born in Trinity Bay
in 1881, but had moved to St. Anthony where he fished and worked for the
Mission (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277, Ms. 85-257/p. 259, Census 1921). In
1908, he was the first to bring news to the Mission of what later became the
famous incident in which Grenfell became stranded on an ice pan in Hare Bay
whilst attempting to reach a patient (Kerr 183; cf. Grenfell, Adrift). Grenfell later

described him as "a sterling St. Anthony man" who was also "captain of our local football team" ("Dr. Grenfell's Log" [1910] 30). Local people remembered Steve Pelley as a character. He was described as "a corker" who was "full of the devil" and who "told more lies than he told truths" such that no one could tell if he was drunk or sober (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 240, 259).

Pelley's great friend, Frederick ("Fred") Ollerhead was regarded as another "sport" who had a particular liking for the moonshine made in Goose Cove (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 233, 234, 240, 88-67/pp. 11, 12). Like Pelley, he had been born in Trinity Bay, in Heart's Content, his father having come to Newfoundland in 1866 aboard the ship, the "Great Eastern" which was engaged in laying the first transatlantic telegraph cable. The family moved to St. Anthony in 1882 when Fred was aged four (Ollerhead, "Reminiscences" 11, MUNFLA Q67-883/p.2, Mss. 85-257/p. 233, 88-67/p. 11). He subsequently worked as a fisherman and gradually built up a business of his own, later becoming manager of the Fishermen's Protective Union store.[54]

Largely self-educated, Fred Ollerhead was an avid reader and prolific writer of, amongst other things, poetry, and descriptions of his early life (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 235, 242, 255, 88-67/p. 12). One of the latter was published by the St. John's newspaper, The Newfoundlander:

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[54]MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 233, 240, 242, 255, 88-67/p. 11, Ollerhead, Evidence.

> When I became of school age, there was still no
> chance of obtaining an education. The little school
> was situated on the west side of the harbour [and],
> there being no roads or bridges, it was impossible for
> children to get there from the east side, a distance of
> about three miles. My father and mother greatly
> lamented this state of affairs, and they impressed
> upon me the great necessity of learning to read and
> write so I could be in a position to do my own
> accounts and, accordingly, they started to give me
> lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic. . . .
> When I became old enough to understand the
> value of education, I determined to avail myself of
> every opportunity that afforded itself in the way of
> gaining useful knowledge, and I resolved that no
> sacrifice was too great for me to make in order to get
> an education that would fit me for my life's work. I
> realized that school was not the only source of
> education and, like a drowning man, I grasped at
> every straw in order to increase my knowledge
> ("Reminiscences" 12).

As a result, Fred Ollerhead became a noted public speaker, a lay preacher at

the Anglican church, and the chairman of "The Caribou Club," an organization

which put on "times" at the Grenfell school.[55] An outgoing person, he was also

"a good neighbour to a lot of people, according to what they say" and always

ready to help people, as on this occasion he helped Pat Troy (MUNFLA Tapes

85-257/C8277, C8278, Ms. 85-257/pp. 203, 235).

Luke Biles also lived and worked on the east side of St. Anthony (Census

1921, MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 260). As he himself once described, he ran a

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[55]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277, Mss. 85-257/pp. 242, 254, 255, 260, 88-67/p. 12.

business which he and his father, James Biles, had built up:

> I live at St. Anthony on the North [east] Side; I do
> business there. I have been doing business for two
> years there [since 1915]. My father was doing
> business for twenty years or longer there. I am forty-
> five years of age. I was born at St. Anthony. . . .
> I can remember when there was only the one man
> [in business], Moore. Then came Boyd. They did a
> little cash trade. My father came next and then
> Ollerhead. . . (Biles; cf. MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 234,
> 240, 243).

Biles was said to have had "no faith in what he was doing," however (MUNFLA

Ms. 85-257/p. 234). He was "an awful fellow for drink" who "wouldn't care

where it came from or what was in it so long as it was drink" (MUNFLA Ms,. 85-

257/pp. 234, 243, 245, 260). In particular, it was thought that he "drank some

[large quantity of] shine - he killed himself [with moonshine]" (MUNFLA Ms. 85-

257/p. 260). When he went out of business, some years after the incident

concerning Pat Troy's moonshine, many people saw his drinking as largely to

blame:

> That's what they claimed. He was a man that drink.
> He used to pay an awful lot for moonshine. And
> neglect his bills. . . . That's what they say now. I
> know the man used to drink a lot. I knowed that
> much. . . . Yea, he'd pay an awful lot for a bottle of
> moonshine, you know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

Although a man of few words, Luke Biles was a frequent visitor to Goose Cove

and, as recounted above, was friendly enough with Troy to have been entrusted

with his moonshine can (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 243, 260).

Luke Biles was also the relieving officer for St. Anthony, a position which he took over from his father some time between 1914 and 1917 (Year Book 1918 23, MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277, Ms. 85-257/p. 234):

> I am a relieving officer. I have knowledge of the poor of the place. The Mission has done a lot of good for the poor of the place. The Mission and the Doctors have worked jointly with me. They [the poor] must give something in return for what the Mission gives them. If they are unable to do any work I give them poor relief according to their circumstances. . . .
> If the Mission were not here my expenses would be about three times as high, as Relieving Officer. In the spring of the year when they are short of food, they can go to the Doctor and work in return for so much food. If he can do nothing he sends them to me. My average expenditure per quarter is $163-00 but it would be over $263-00 if there were no Mission (Biles).

As noted above, Pat Troy and his family were amongst the recipients of government relief, hence the significance of Grenfell's getting Pat and Leo Troy seasonal employment on the Mission following the moonshine incident. With regard to the song's reference to Biles' having "helped out this poor man," however, this seems to have been intended to suggest that Biles contributed to Pat Troy's fine, rather than simply being an acknowledgement of Biles' role in the distribution of government relief.

> Now as for the man who made this song, he did not make no lie,
> His name is, if you want to know, his name it was Pat Troy,

His name it was Pat Troy, my boys, and it's from
Goose Cove he belongs,
And when the whiskey runs again we'll make it twice
as strong.

Thanks to those who contributed towards his fine, Pat Troy emerged from the episode relatively unscathed. He may have lost a prized possession - his moonshine can - but, as he himself was said to have recognised, "they can take away [the] can but they can't take the how" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 39). In other words, he still had the knowledge to make moonshine again and, by all accounts, he did.[56]

Nevertheless, the incident may have affected Pat Troy's local standing in some quarters. Not only had he sustained a conviction in a court of law, but the offense of which he had been found guilty was a particularly reprehensible one in the eyes of both the largely Protestant populace in the area and among those working on the Grenfell Mission:

> (They thought) it bad, you know. Going to court, see. And a lot of people knowed him and seemed like that was a disgrace then. Making liquor. See? And by and by (everyone [said] now), "That's Paddy Troy, [that]'s [the] (boy) that makes the moonshine." "That's Paddy. That's the fellow made moonshine." . . . A lot of people felt that way it was a disgrace too, see. Because there was no liquor around. See?
> And then, 'twas like you said just now, 'twas a (sever) between the English and the Irish. And the Irish drank, see, and the English didn't drink that

[56]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8277, C8279, C8281, Mss. 85-257/pp. 230, 86-170/p. 39.

much at all, see. And the English now, and the Irish, they wasn't well (pl?). And the English had always thought now, [a] man that made moonshine, he was a disgrace (almost) to the country. See? That's the way they felt.
But Uncle Paddy didn't care so long as he got a drink. Not what they said about him (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).

As will be argued in chapter 8, the composition of "The Moonshine Can" appears to have been an attempt by Pat Troy to restore his reputation and at the same time to damage that of the informer.

Meanwhile, as the news of the case spread, so did the knowledge of moonshine making:

They were still making moonshine after that, you know. [It] never stopped them because Mr. Troy was-[laughs]. That never stopped them. That made them plentier then. Because not a lot of people got the how, look. [But] the lawsuit and the people talking, talking, talking, now they got the how. Lot of people got the how now, didn't know nothing at all about it before. . . . But five years from that, they were making it themselves. . . (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Tapes 85-257/C8276, C8279).

Thus, the enforcement of the prohibition legislation ironically served to highlight the practice of illicit distillation and to hasten its dissemination. As described in chapter 8, Pat Troy's song was also instrumental in this process.

This, then, constitutes what is known of the incident in which Pat Troy was involved, the identity and motive of the informer, and the roles of those who helped Pat Troy in connection with the incident. Having thus become

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acquainted with the content of "The Moonshine Can" and its local frame of reference, the next chapter describes the manner of its composition and the contexts of its performance both in Goose Cove and beyond.

"THE MOONSHINE CAN": GENESIS AND RE-CREATION

This chapter is concerned with the people who are known to have contributed to the progress of "The Moonshine Can," particularly in Newfoundland and Labrador but also, to some extent, beyond. The aim is to sketch what is known of these people and to examine the contexts and styles in which they performed or otherwise disseminated the song. Thus, it is intended to present something of the song's development from the time of its conception in 1920 up to the height of its popularity with urban-based performers during the 1960s. Special attention is paid to the means by which the song was transmitted and to the effect of the various styles and contexts of its performance on the way in which it was generally perceived.

Composition

There can be no question that Pat Troy was the composer of "The Moonshine Can." Not only is the song "signed" in the final stanza, but local people remember him making it up and singing it. Furthermore, the song's point of view on the whole affair is distinctly that of Pat Troy.

Yet, as described in the previous chapter, it was in verbal wit and humorous anecdotes that Pat Troy excelled, rather than singing and songmaking. Although he knew several songs - including "The Virgin Mary's

Bank," the song he was most remembered for singing,[1] "The Wealthy Squires,"[2] "The Babes in the Woods,"[3] "The Banks of the Sweet Dundee,"[4] "The Irish Rover,"[5] "Erin's Lovely Home"[6] and "The Boy that Wore the Blue"[7] (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 230-31) - he was considered

> no songster, no man for singing songs. Not like the Sextons now. . . . [John Murrin was] the same way, you know. He sing songs . . . he knowed a good many songs but . . . [he] wasn't taken with it, see (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280; cf. Tapes 84-418/C7280, 85-257/C8289).

Rather, Pat Troy was "a plain singer" who could project the words of the song very clearly, but "he didn't have a sweet tone (to it) . . . he didn't have the sweet

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[1]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Ms. 85-257/pp. 200, 215. Versions of this song can be found in Lehr 196-97 ("The Virgin on the Strand"), MUNFLA Tape 68-40/C545, O'Conor 77.

[2]It is unfortunately not known to which song this title refers.

[3]This is possibly the same song as "Three Lost Babes of Amerikay" (Peacock, Outports 3: 60).

[4]Laws M25 ("Undaunted Mary"). For Newfoundland and Labrador versions, see Leach, Labrador 60, Lehr 12.

[5]It has unfortunately not been possible to identify this song.

[6]Laws M6. For a Labrador version, see Leach, Labrador 48.

[7]Versions from Newfoundland and Labrador include MUNFLA Tapes 66-23/C238, 66-24/C273, 69-36/C587, 71-2/C797, 74-181/C1695, 82-167/C5780, C5791, 82-248/C5860, Mss. The Newfoundlander 12.4 (Oct 1949): 9-10 [Text only].

voice, [sweet] swing to his voice".[8] In contrast, his wife's family, the Sextons, were particularly musical. Veronica Troy's father, for example, played the fiddle and her mother was a good "high singer" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276). Veronica Troy herself was an accomplished accordion player (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 43, 45):

> She could take an accordion and she could make it practically talk. And still and all, it wouldn't move not three inches, you know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

She would play at dances, sometimes singing the jigs as mouth music instead of playing them, although there was no evidence that she sang much apart from this.[9]

Nevertheless, Pat Troy was far from unique in composing a song about his experience. Many of Pat Troy's contemporaries made up songs in and around Goose Cove, although the memory of their existence is now all that remains of most of these compositions.[10] Like "The Moonshine Can," they concerned local happenings and personal experiences:

> See, there's always a reason for [the song], you know. There's always a story behind [it], isn't it.

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[8]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Mss. 85-257/pp. 200, 86-170/p. 34; Tape 84-418/C7280.

[9]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289, Ms. 85-257/p. 203, 86-170/p. 50.

[10]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8279, C8280, C8289, Mss. 85-257/pp. 62, 100, 200, 210, 212, 235, 86-170/p. 66.

> See, now a lot of them made up here (were) [a] jealous story, you know. They come out with a girl and . . . she goes off on some other fellow and (then they) got jealous over it, see. Perhaps someone lost, sealing or (somewhere down [the] woods). . . . This kind of story was a jealous one, or a friendly one, or a disaster, there's always something, you know. Behind the song. . . (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279; cf. Ms. 85-257/pp. 212, 224).

Local songs made up in the Goose Cove area included "The Gardiner Boys," composed by Frank Gardiner on the Grey Islands about the loss of two boys at sea (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8259), "Dicky Bird," also composed on the Grey Islands by a man named Jack Brothers (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255), and "The Tobacco," composed by a man from the vicinity of Cook's Harbour concerning the scarcity of tobacco at the time (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8256).[11] An example from Goose Cove itself was "The Mary Jane," composed by Martin Reardon about a schooner which he built:

> GR: He was a very meticulous man, you know. He did everything by hand. And everything he did . . . he took a lot of time with it and it was beautiful work he did, didn't he? Uncle Martin Reardon. Did beautiful work. And it took him all those years to build that boat. Fourteen years. . . . It was a labour of love, you know. . . .
>
> And then when he got the boat ready . . . everyone came to help him to launch the boat. And I suppose they had the traditional drop of moonshine. . . . It was like a christening really, you know. So he called her the Mary Jane.

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[11]All locations mentioned in this chapter except those in northern Labrador are shown on Map 3.

> And of course after that then, he sang the song . .
> . that he wrote about the building of the boat. From
> the time he started the keel and . . . what he did and
> how he cut the timbers and all the rest of it. . .
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8290; cf. Ms. 86-170/p. 52).

Another Goose Cove song was "Two Shell Birds,"[12] composed by Martin

Reardon and still sung by Tom Sexton (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8253; cf. Ms. 85-

257/pp. 62, 82). Local songs were also made up for performance in community

concerts:

> GR: My sister-in-law used to make up songs, sure.
> She had us singing "The Alphabet Song" and we
> were only what, about eight or nine years old. We
> were up on the stage singing everybody's names. . .
> .
>
> AR: It went "A is for Annie who lives in the hollow. B
> is for Billy caught Jack by the collar". . . .
>
> GR: And sometimes, some of the things you said
> weren't too complimentary. You know. And
> something with Mary Jane, remember that? . . . And
> they used to almost die 'cause their mother,
> remember how strict [she was]. . . . And, of course,
> be only someone like us that had no sense would get
> up and sing it. This would be a concert, you know
> what I mean? And we'd get up and sing this, and
> that was okay because it was children (MUNFLA
> Tape 85-257/C8290; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 258,
> MacDonald).

Thus, in this part of Newfoundland, songmaking was not seen as the

preserve of a few well-known specialists (cf. Ives, Scott, Doyle, Gorman, Waldo

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[12]"Shell bird: Merganser, especially red-breasted merganser; shell duck"
(Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

165), but an activity to which many turned their hand perhaps once or twice in their lives (cf. Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 163).[13]   The achievement of those who made up these songs in this way was not taken for granted, however. Rather, it was taken as evidence that the "old people" were "smart" even though they had no formal education.[14]   Indeed, Pat Troy was said by local people to have "made a good job of [his song] for a man with no education".[15] He could neither read nor write, although he could print capital letters and was able to initial his own salmon buoys.[16] It was thought that he composed the words of "The Moonshine Can" by piecing them together line by line in order to "make them come in rhyme":

> He'd get a word. And then he'd get another word to
> rhyme with it. And then he'd try to get the sentence,
> see, to correspond (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289; cf.
> Tape 85-257/C8277, Ms. 86-170/p. 65).

Throughout this process of finding the right words to go into the song, Pat Troy "kept it all in his mind" (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8255, C8280, C8289, Ms. 86-

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[13]It should be noted that although people thought that Pat Troy may have made up and sung one or two other local songs besides "The Moonshine Can," no one interviewed could recollect very much about these (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8276, C8279, C8280, Mss. 85-257/p. 201, 86-170/p. 65).

[14]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8253, Mss. 85-257/pp. 209, 212, 86-170/p. 65.

[15]MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 40; cf. Ms. 86-170/pp. 39, 43.

[16]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289, Ms. 85-257/pp. 205, 214, 224, **Census** 1921.

170/p. 51). Only once the text was completed was it thought that he "put a tune to it" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277, Ms. 85-257/p. 205), most people attributing him with the composition of the melody as well as the words (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255, Ms. 85-257/pp. 200, 203).

The fact that the "old people" could not write things down was also given as one of the reasons why they composed songs (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 212). In Pat Troy's case, it was suggested that the song was his way of remembering the incident (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 205). It is true that the narrative part of the song traces the sequence of events as experienced by Pat Troy. One person compared it to a diary (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 224), whilst another commented:

> And he had that as it happened, see. . . . He tried to put it into words. Just how it was (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

On the other hand, the latter part of the song is made up of a series of tributes to named individuals. Hence, it was also thought that Pat Troy made up his song to thank all those who helped him, by "pleading" for him in court and contributing to his fine, "to let them know that he didn't forget it" (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p. 209, 86-170/pp. 38, 39, 41, 51). Yet another part of the song is concerned with censuring the informer and the woman, generally supposed to be the informer's wife, who was fond of "backbiting and flashy things." This again led to the idea that the song was intended to express Pat Troy's anger about the incident and to "torment" the informer (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 205,

86-170/pp. 34, 41, 51), one person portraying Pat Troy's mood when he composed the song as follows:

> He made up the song on the verge of the moonshine racket, see. Right on the verge. He was dirty, you know. He was a little bit on the dirty side, see, then, that he made up the song, you know (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

Views expressed to me by members of the Murrin family and the Hennessey family, suggest that the song succeeded in "tormenting" the informer. One, for example, annoyed by his wife's comments about Pat Troy's ability to "make up any old story . . . at all, or a song or anything like that," interjected with the following comment:

> That's all he was any good for. . . . He was no good for nothing. He was no good to fish, he was no good (??), he was no good nowhere. In the garden. Nowhere. That's all he was any good for, making up songs. Or some kind of old dirt or something (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729).

Another man from one of these two families, who did not want to be identified, took a more conciliatory line, believing that, in his anger, Pat Troy might have overdone the hostile comment in the song, and even mistakenly directed it at the wrong person:

> That's what I think now. . . . He was really hot. When he made the song up, you know. . . . And [his?] (temper then?) build the song up. He made the song up and he put more into it than he realise. . . . Now that's my thought on it. Now I'm not saying I'm right, you know. [But] it died away too quick. Seem like

the song was sung, seemed like it all died away quick. Regarding the singing, it was never a popular song (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280; cf. Tape 85-257/C8278).

[Pat Troy] was a comical man, you know. . . . There was times, you know, he didn't have too much wood to burn. . . . He used to go down over the road. . . . Used to go down over the hills, you know. Bring home boughs and stuff to burn, you know, in the stove. And one [time he] went down the road, the hill, and he brought home some boughs, [to] burn. And he had the stove going mad with it. And . . . [it was a] warm day, you know. He had the stove going mad. And he had the window open. [It was] too warm to stop in the house, so he had the window open.

My father went in there and said, "Pad, you got some heat on here."

He was vexed too then. "Jeez, yes," he said, "if I had to go down and bring the boughs to burn, I'm going to have the satisfaction now."

And he burned them now. . . . Didn't think about the hard work he had bringing up the boughs on his back, look. . . .

"Sat down made me fire," said Pad, "(put a) big heat on." "Jeez yes," he said. "I had to go down and bring them up and I got the satisfaction of burning them." . . .

Now perhaps the next day he had to go down again. He had to go again next day, look. Now if he had save them, then he wouldn't have to go next day. He was dirty then. . . .

Now I say that's the way he felt when he (wrote) that song. . . . [And] after it got made up, after a year or so, he consider [that] . . . somebody into it wasn't right and that's the way the song died down. Now that's my, that's my thought (on) "The Moonshine Song" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).

I have no further evidence as to whether Pat Troy subsequently regretted

composing "The Moonshine Can" although there is testimony that he hardly ever talked about the incident later in his life (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280). Nevertheless, the source of this testimony was the Murrins who, because of their connection with the Hennesseys, disliked hearing the incident discussed. They objected to the song for the same reason:

> Seem like the older crowd [minded the song]. Not too much. But they didn't like to see talk about it, you know. Hear talk about it (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Tape 86-170/C8729).

As will be seen below, this attitude had a significant effect on the performance and transmission of "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove.

In addition, Pat Troy was attributed with composing the song precisely because he wanted to perpetuate discussion of the incident, although not necessarily locally in Goose Cove. It was thought that he had cast his experience into a song so that it would not be quickly forgotten, and news of it would travel further:

> That spread it abroad more. The song, then. See, only for the song, be only a month or two [and it would] be all forgot, see. . . . But when people started to sing the song, (everyone) want to hear "The Moonshine Song," see. That's what kept it going. . . .
>
> Them times hardly, news didn't go around very fast, them times. 'Cause nothing'd bring round the news. There's no papers or nothing at all like that, you know. . . . Nothing to bring the news then, see. Only from mouth to mouth, that's all, see. Now a person up in White Bay, he'd never know nothing

at all about it. Person from Conche would know nothing at all about it. Them times. [If] it happened there in the winter, well, be all forgot then by the spring. . . . But when the song come in that kept things going (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Tape 85-257/C8276, Ms. 85-257/p. 200).

The song also helped people to remember the details of what had happened:

[If] I want to tell about it now I should . . . probably have it different from the song. . . . The story remembers the song (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276).

In this way, knowledge of the incident and, as noted in the previous chapter, of moonshine making, was perpetuated beyond the immediate vicinity of Goose Cove and for some years after the event occurred. Pat Troy, like others who composed songs, was therefore credited with deliberately setting out to commemorate the incident:

Most songs them times, they're history. All the old songs are the history of something. . . . Where the boat [was] lost or people lost their way and strayed away (into death). . . . They're all history. . . . 'Cause only for the song, you wouldn't know nothing at all about it. . . . Now that's the way it was with Pat Troy. . . . He made the song. That was an old style then, I suppose, making up songs and keeping history going, keeping history alive (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

A deeper examination of the use of song as a vehicle for the communication of personal experience, and of the historical significance of "The Moonshine Can" for the present inhabitants of Goose Cove will appear in chapter 8. Meanwhile, the actual extent of the song's dissemination, in Goose Cove and the immediate

area, and in Newfoundland more widely, is charted below.

"The Moonshine Can" in and around Goose Cove

Few people in Goose Cove interviewed for this study had actually heard Pat Troy sing "The Moonshine Can".[17] It appears that, just as he may not have talked much about the incident to local people, so he may not have sung the song a great deal in Goose Cove, perhaps because it was more politic to let others sing it for him. There were more reports of Pat Troy having sung his composition in St. Anthony. He was thought to have sung it for all the St. Anthony men mentioned in the song, including Noah Simms, the magistrate, for whom he needed to change the words, "To free the other two" to "To free I don't know who" (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p.224, 86-170/p. 49), and Luke Biles, who also sang the song himself for a while (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 242). In addition, Pat Troy sometimes sang "The Moonshine Can" at the house of his friends, the Smith family, in St. Anthony (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 257), and at the house of Gus Morris, with whom Pat and Leo Troy often boarded when they worked on the Mission.[18] Morris was "a beautiful singer" and began to perform "The Moonshine Can" himself.[19] According to his grandson:

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[17]MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729, Ms. 86-170/pp. 28, 45, 50, 52.

[18]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280, Mss. 85-257/pp. 229, 234, 86-170/pp. 31, 50.

[19]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8280, 86-170/C8731, Ms. 86-170/p. 66.

> . . . he used to sing ["The Moonshine Can"] a lot. . .
> . Like I used to go down the shore sometimes. Well,
> they used to say to me, guys in there say, "Sing 'The
> Moonshine Can.'"
>
> Now you say, "Boy, I don't know it. I don't know
> it."
>
> "Well, boy," he said, "I can tell you one thing," he
> said. "Your grandfather know 'The Moonshine Can.'"
> Stuff like that, right. He sing it really good too, right.
> You know, I couldn't believe it, right. Now and Dad,
> he knows it too. Dad knows it, right. He knows "The
> Moonshine Can" (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8731).

As this quotation indicates, Gus Morris' son, Jim, also knew the song. Jim

Morris, already into his seventies himself at the time of my visit to him in 1986,

was unfortunately not willing to sing his version for this study, saying that his

father had told him not to "give" any of his songs to anyone.[20] He was,

however, coaxed by one of his sons into joining in with a rendition of part of

"The Moonshine Can" as sung by commercial performers (discussed below).

Following this he played the tune of the song on the accordion and sang a few

stanzas from his father's version (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8731).

Apart from these visits to people in St. Anthony, Pat Troy did not go out

to others' houses very much, so it was mostly those who visited him in Goose

Cove, and his family, who heard him sing "The Moonshine Can" (MUNFLA

Tapes 85-257/C8278, C8280, Ms. 86-170/p. 28). Three of the people who learnt

the song directly from Pat Troy were thus Pat's son, John ("Jack"), Pat's

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[20]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8280, 86-170/C8731, Mss. 85-257/pp. 198, 242, 249, 255, 86-170/p. 66.

contemporary, Ambrose Reardon, and Jack's friend, Patrick ("Paddy") Sexton:

> I know they got it from Uncle Paddy [Troy] because
> they were good friends of Uncle Paddy too. . . . They
> only want [to hear] it once or twice. And then Jack
> got it and Jack [was] about the same age as Pad
> [Sexton] and sing the song. . . (MUNFLA Tape 85-
> 257/C8280).

Jack Troy would have been aged about 18 when the incident involving his

father occurred. At the time, he was living with his grandparents, Patrick and

Mary Sexton, and fishing as a member of his grandfather's crew (Census

1921).[21] A bachelor all his life, he was said to be "scared of his own

shadow"[22] and was the object of some amusement locally:

> `Uncle Jack was going down the harbour one night.
> Now he had an aunt over 'cross the cove, [the wife
> of] my father's brother, Uncle Will. So he went (up)
> 'cross the cove and he went down to Uncle Will's,
> and he said to Uncle Will's wife, Bridget her name
> was, he said, "Bridget, maid," he said. "Goddarnit,"
> he said, "fairies some thick out tonight."
>   And Aunt Bridget said, "Why?"
>   And he said, "I heared the fairies," he said, "when
> I was coming home." Guess what it was? He heared
> [sic] the goats! (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 262; cf. Tape
> 85-257/C8262, Ms. 84-418/p. 13).

Jack Troy's shyness with women also made him the victim of a number of mild

practical jokes, often perpetrated by women. He was, for example, supposed

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[21]The Census erroneously names Jack Troy as being Patrick Sexton's
nephew.

[22]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8262, C8278, Ms. 85-257/pp. 198, 261.

to be scared of Paddy Sexton's wife because she would play tricks on him when he visited her house (MUNFLA 86-170/p. 28). Similarly, Maurice McDonald's daughters would play tricks on Jack Troy when he came to their house to listen to the song request programmes on the radio:

> This was the first radio now. And, of course, the requests would go in from anywhere. . . . Probably a fellow wanted, the sort of boyfriend was in the Navy and she was having a song requested now for so and so. And anybody's name would likely come out. You know? So, I mean, when this programme was on, all the songs were dedicated, if you know what I mean. All around the island. And there'd be just as many [listening] out by the window [of our house] as there would be in the house. . . . And poor old Jack Troy, that was . . . Paddy's son, Jack used to take up his position early in the evening. Jack'd get out and sit down under the window, right next to the aerial. . . . Oh, how much tricks we used to play, oh my word. We used to play tricks on Jack. Throw water on him, powder him and everything, through the window. But, I mean, Jack'd never say a word, you know. Never say a word. . . .
> He worked with my father for years and years and years down on the wharf. You know, in the room. And they used to have some fun with Jack. He wasn't simple, I suppose, but he wasn't-. You know, a little bit-. No, something, yea. Something lacking there. . . (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

Nevertheless, Jack Troy was "a very good hand to sing" and he would sing a lot of the "cowboy songs" which he heard on the radio.[23] He also knew many "old songs," such as "Waterloo," which he had learnt from his

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[23]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8276, C8289, Ms. 86-170/p. 52; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 61.

grandmother, Mary Sexton.[24] In contrast to his father, Jack Troy had a "high" voice which was "as clear as a bell" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 34, 45). Not surprisingly, then, it was Jack Troy, rather than Pat Troy, who became the main exponent of "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 198, 216, 86-170/p. 46).

Initially, it seems that Jack Troy sang "The Moonshine Can" quite frequently, perhaps whilst visiting a friend, such as Paddy Sexton, or at a house party over Christmas.[25] After a while, however, it became harder to get Jack Troy to sing the song and he would need more coaxing, although he continued to sing it right up until the time of his death in 1968 (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p. 198, 86-170/p. 52). Even though there is no mention of Michael Hennessey or Bridget Murrin by name in "The Moonshine Can," the principal reason for Jack's increasing reticence is clear. At first, when the incident and the hostility it engendered was still fresh, the song's censure of these two unnamed but nonetheless identifiable local people was appropriate from the point of view of the Troys and those that sympathised with them. As time wore on and those involved in the incident "started to get back to friends" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278), however, this aspect of the song made its performance increasingly awkward. As a result, Jack Troy was known to have censored the song when

[24]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Mss. 85-257/p. 230, 86-170/pp. 30-31, 50.

[25]MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729, Mss. 85-257/pp. 261, 86-170/pp. 48, 49.

he sang it, omitting the stanza taken to be about Bridget Murrin, and the stanza accusing the informer of watching "from every eye."[26] If either of these two people or members of their families were present, moreover, Jack Troy would not be drawn into singing the song at all:

> First thing [at a party], you know, [people] ask like Jack Troy. Not too many knowed it, you know. Ask [him] (to) sing "The Moonshine Song," see. And he'd have to look all around, see who was in the house first. See? Before he'd sing it, see. . . . He had [to] look all around, see if he choose. Wouldn't sing it, see, if there's a certain person there, you know. It could be any of [the Murrins]. Or any Hennesseys (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278; cf. Mss. 85-257/pp. 198, 201, 86-170/pp. 28, 30, 52).

It may have been for the same reason that Jack Troy would not write out the words of "The Moonshine Can" for anyone (86-170/p. 30). Even when, on one occasion, the parish priest wanted to note down the song from Jack Troy, it was said that Jack only admitted to knowing it because the priest asked him about it in confession (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 224).

Like his father, Jack Troy did not travel very much beyond Goose Cove (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280). Ambrose Reardon, on the other hand, left Goose Cove to go and live in Croque some time after the incident (Census 1921, MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 41). He was "a lovely singer" with a large repertoire of songs, including "Arthur O'Bradley," "In the Shadow of the Pine," and "Around

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[26]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8277, Mss. 85-257/pp. 207, 229, 250-51, 86-170/p. 44.

Goes the Wheel [of Life]".[27] A popular performer, he always attracted an audience and had many visitors to his house:

> But Uncle Ambrose'd stand up on the floor and he'd
> put all of the actions in. "Round, round, round goes
> the wheel," you know. And I mean, he'd do all of this
> stuff for you, you know. And if it was a real sad
> song, he'd probably come over and kneel down to
> your knee. . . That's the kind of stuff they did in those
> days to entertain people. Oh, wherever Uncle
> Ambrose was . . . there'd be a flock (MUNFLA Tape
> 85-257/C8289; cf. Tape 85-257/C8280).

Ambrose Reardon would presumably have been able to give full rein to his performances of "The Moonshine Can," unhampered by the constraints which affected Jack Troy's performances of it in Goose Cove.[28]

In addition, it is possible that Ambrose Reardon played an important part in disseminating the song in White Bay. That it did spread in this area is shown by the fact that the folksong collector, Kenneth Peacock recorded it from a man named Joshua Osborne in Seal Cove in 1960. Peacock recollected that

> Mr. Osborne could not recall exactly where he had
> learned the song, possibly in "the sealing fishery" or
> "in the woods" where he worked during his youth.
> More probably he just picked it up from a singer or
> singers in his own or a neighbouring community. . .

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[27]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8260, C8276, Ms. 86-170/p. 41; cf. Tape 68-40/C545.

[28]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8276, C8280, Ms. 86-170/p. 41; cf. Tape 85-257/C8278.

(MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 9).[29]

A Goose Cove man explained how this kind of transmission came about:

> And perhaps someone come down [from Seal Cove] while they were singing the song and some people be right quick in catching a song, you know. See? They only want it once or twice and they got it. See? And it could be Ambrose Reardon over in Croque [who spread the song to Seal Cove]. He knowed it, see, and (got) it going round. Someone like that. . . .
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).[30]

Since Ambrose Reardon married a woman from Canada Harbour, White Bay (Reardon), it is also possible that he was the source of the song as sung by a man named Tom Blanchard, who also lived in Canada Harbour and who was heard by Dorman Ralph (see below) in Sop's Arm in the 1930s (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284).

Another Goose Cove singer who may have helped to spread Pat Troy's song in White Bay was Paddy Sexton. Paddy was distantly related to Pat Troy's wife, she and Paddy Sexton's father, John, being cousins. He came from a family of singers and was himself said to know 365 songs, one for every day of the year (MUNFLA Tape 84-418/C7280, Ms. 85-257/pp. 61, 95-96). As noted above, Paddy Sexton learnt "The Moonshine Can" from Pat Troy and performed

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[29]The only biographical information which it has been possible to find about Joshua Osborne is that he delivered the mail on the Baie Verte Peninsula during the 1930s (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 248).

[30]Cf. William Pilgrim of St. Anthony Bight remembered that he had once sung "The Moonshine Can" in Seal Cove (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 248-49).

it in Goose Cove in addition to Jack Troy.[31] He also had the opportunity to sing

the song when he was away from Goose Cove:

> And now Paddy [Sexton was] always going back and
> forth to Croque and up to Conche, you know. And on
> times when everyone sing, see. And perhaps there
> was a man from Seal Cove. See, he likes 'n and
> perhaps he got (in) knowing Paddy and Paddy sing it
> one place and perhaps he go to another house and
> sing it again. Well, by that time the other fellow had
> it then. See? (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280).

Like Jack Troy, Paddy Sexton left out the two stanzas referring to Michael and

Bridget Hennessey, at least when he performed the song in Goose Cove and

perhaps also in Conche where Michael Hennessey came from (MUNFLA Ms. 86-

170/p. 45).

   A third singer of the same generation as Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton

who, with them and Ambrose Reardon, regularly performed "The Moonshine

Can" around White Bay was Alfred ("Alf") Pollard. Pollard was born in Duggan's

Cove, near Great Harbour Deep Bight, in 1903, later moving to Englee. Like

Ambrose Reardon, Pollard was "an excellent performer with a repertoire of many

songs and stories" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-77/p. 104). He also played the accordion.

Despite having no formal education, he worked as a fisherman, carpenter, boat

builder and handyman during the course of his life (MUNFLA Ms. 86-77/p. 104).

In addition, he was at one point the skipper of Maurice McDonald's schooner,

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[31]MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280, Mss. 85-257/pp. 208, 224, 86-170/pp. 28, 45.

The Glider, which ran supplies to a number of places in White Bay (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8729, Ms. 86-170/p. 44). For this reason, Pollard was a regular visitor to Goose Cove where, it seems, he became a good friend of Pat Troy. Commenting after his rendition of "The Moonshine Can" for collectors, Kenneth S. Goldstein and Hugh Rowlings in 1978, Pollard said "I knowed Pat Troy just as well as I knows my wife almost" (MUNFLA Tape 78-239/C3587). Coupled with the fact that he had known the song since he was young, this suggests that Alf Pollard had picked up his version of "The Moonshine Can" directly from Pat Troy.

There were nevertheless many people in Goose Cove who learnt the song orally from Jack Troy while it was still topical, some contributing to the spread of the song by performing it whilst they were visiting in nearby communities, such as Griquet and Ireland Bight.[32] For most who picked up the song at this time, however, it had only transient value and, after a while, they stopped singing it altogether.[33] Consequently, the song became relatively dormant in the local repertoire:

> Yes, after two or three years, the song was heard
> less. (Right) time of the year, [someone would] sing
> it, sometime when someone be singing, (sometime) at

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[32] MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276, Mss. 85-257/pp. 238, 255, 86-170/pp. 45, 50, 51.

[33] MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729, Ms. 86-170/p. 41; cf. Ms. 85-257/pp. 233, 247, 248-49.

Christmas. Get a few drinks in, something like that, you know. 'Twasn't sung regular (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

It was not until around 1945, nearly 10 years after the death of Pat Troy and 25 years after the incident took place, that "The Moonshine Can" was learnt by one of the younger singers in Goose Cove and received a new lease of life there. The singer in question was Tom Sexton, the nephew of Paddy Sexton (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 93). Born in 1924, Tom never heard Pat Troy perform the song and so learnt his version from Jack Troy.[34] That the song had become something of a rarity in the vicinity was probably one reason why it appealed to Tom. He was in the process of building up his own particular repertoire of songs by getting others to sing songs that interested him in order that he could learn them. Once learnt, he tried not to pass them on to others too easily:

> I learned a lot of songs when I used to be younger, we'll say, going around. You never sung them or any[thing] where you pick it [up] to.
>
> [People requesting songs] was pretty popular too, you know. Oh yes, [that's how] they would learn the song, we'll say. Now, say, you sung it here in the house tonight. Well, then you go to somewhere else. Well, there's somebody was with you, see, [who would say], "Sing that one you sung over such a place, boy". . . . Now it [only took] two or three times to sing it, or three or four times, and then someone

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[34]Parish Registers, MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255, Mss. 85-257/pp. 203-204, 86-170/pp. 28, 52.

else knowed 'n. That's the way it went. Now, mostly you'd always try to forget about singing it or you'd sing it too often. [You'd be] afraid too many hands . . . get hold of 'n (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255).[35]

In line with this, perhaps, Tom sang Pat Troy's song "fairly often but not too often" between about 1945 and 1970, recalling that he would even sing it in front of the Hennesseys since, as he said, he had not made up the song (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 28, 52). By the time that Tom's version was recorded for this study in the mid-1980s, however, he had hardly sung it at all in recent years because "it got so old" and no one knew the people mentioned in the song any more (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 28, 52).

In the early 1960s, just before the time that "The Moonshine Can" was losing its significance for Tom Sexton and his audiences, Pat Troy junior, grandson of the Pat Troy who composed the song, noticed that "no one else was singing it much" and himself decided to learn it. He was aged about 12 or 13 at the time and was thus too young to have known his grandfather. His version of the song was put together from a combination of people, namely his uncle, Jack Troy, his mother, Bridget Murrin (niece of the Bridget Murrin referred to in the song), and another uncle on his mother's side, Joseph Murrin (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 30). For obvious reasons, none of the younger generations of the Murrins or the Hennesseys was allowed to learn the song and sing it, but they

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[35]Cf. Mss. 85-257/p. 61, 86-170/p. 28; Ashton, "Lumbercamp" 169, Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 211.

would have heard it occasionally, probably in its censored form (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278, Ms. 85-257/p. 223). As will be seen in the next chapter, a notable omission from Pat Troy's version is the stanza concerning Bridget Murrin, although the stanzas concerning the informer are included.

Unlike Tom Sexton, Pat Troy junior was not regarded as a singer. In particular, he experienced difficulty in "carrying a tune" because, as he said, his mind was concerned with running ahead to the next set of words (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 217). A singer of his own generation in the community characterised the problem by saying that Pat did not know "how to change his air." She explained that all tunes "have ups and downs in them" but Pat did not follow these rises and falls and instead sang the same piece of tune over and over (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 227). Her observation is borne out by the tape-recording which I made of Pat Troy singing "The Moonshine Can." As a result, Pat did not sing the song for many years after he learnt it except to himself. Only in the mid-1980s did he begin to perform it at house parties, mainly because a number of his contemporaries were likewise singing at these gatherings.[36]

"The Moonshine Can" in the Mass Media

Versions of "The Moonshine Can" have been collected in many locations

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[36]MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729, Ms. 86-170/p. 30; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 74.

beyond White Bay. With the passing of time since the composition of the song, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to trace any direct linear connection with Pat Troy's original. From the 1940s on, moreover, there is the complicating factor that "The Moonshine Can" entered the mass media as an item of repertoire. The song appeared in print several times, for example, in the 1940s and the 1960s, although this medium appears to have had relatively little impact on the song's dissemination in Newfoundland. More importantly, the song was associated with a particular performer and radio show during the 1940s, and another radio performer in the mid 1950s, whilst during the 1960s, it became frequently heard on the television and recorded on disc and tape by yet other performers, these recordings also being given air time on the radio. As a backdrop to the versions of "The Moonshine Can" collected from local singers around Newfoundland, therefore, it is helpful to examine first what is known of its appearances in the mass media.

Biddy O'Toole and Uncle Tim's Barn Dance

The earliest known broadcast performances of "The Moonshine Can" were made during the 1940s by Biddy O'Toole, a singer on the radio show, Uncle Tim's Barn Dance (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284, Tape 87-104/C10152, Ms. 86-170/p. 68). The show was aired by the St. John's radio station, VOCM, from 10.30 to 11.30 on Saturday nights, and ran from the late 1930s until 1949

(MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151). It was the brainchild of Joe Murphy, a local actor and singer who worked under the stage name of Barry Hope (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/pp. 1, 2). Uncle Tim's Barn Dance, or, as it was often called, The Barn Dance or The Old Barn Dance, was based on the barn dance programmes which had become so popular on American airwaves in the previous 15 years:

> I always had an idea for The Barn Dance. . . . [My wife's] father had a great big Majestic radio. One of the top ones, as big as that [indicates with hand], you know. Well (anyway) . . . in those days they were about 500 dollars, you know. And . . . I used to listen Saturday nights to Uncle Ezra's Barn Dance in New York. See? And then I made inquiries and I found out that it wasn't exactly a barn dance per se but it was in a theatre. And the stage was done up like a barn dance with hay and stuff like that. And all the performers wore barn dance costumes, you know, and (h?) and caps and everything like that. And . . . Uncle Ezra was the master of ceremonies sort of, and then they had an announcer and that. And that's how we started this thing, The Barn Dance. And I said, "Boy, this is what we need here. Great" (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151; cf. Malone 68-69, 96-98).

Murphy's choice of the name, Uncle Tim, for his master of ceremonies, and thus for the show, was in reference to Tim O'Brien's barn on Freshwater Road, where the St. John's fire of 1892 had started (MUNFLA 88-67/p. 1; cf. Cuff).

The cast of The Barn Dance was initially drawn from local talent. All received stage names from Murphy for the show (MUNFLA 88-67/p. 1). "Uncle Tim" was played by Billy Duggan, a barber, who was also an entertainer:

> (I) said, "You be Uncle Tim."
> He said, "What?"
> I said, "You be Uncle Tim." So I said, "Now you
> come down to my house tonight." This was
> Saturday. And I said, "I'm going to listen to [The]
> Barn Dance. See what I'm talking about." 'Cause
> he couldn't get it. He didn't have radio very
> powerful.
> And he said, "By God, I play Uncle Tim. That's
> Uncle Ezra?"
> I said, "Yea. Uncle Ez. Same type of character.
> He wore The Barn Dance shirt and we'll have a Barn
> Dance hat for you and like that and overalls. And a
> ? hip boots," you know.
> "Boy," he said, "that sounds great," you know.
> And I said, "I want you to sing your favourite
> piece." And one of his favourite songs was "The
> Little Shirt My Mother Made for Me." Funny as hell
> (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151).

Amongst those who joined the initial line up of musicians for The Barn Dance
were Billy Duggan's son, Mickey, on piano, and a fiddle player named Billy
Walters (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151). The first singers featured on The Barn
Dance were Jackie Walsh, a "cowboy singer" who left after a few months and
was replaced by "Melody Mike" (Harold LaFosse), and two younger performers -
Marjorie Clark, a "natural" country and western singer, according to Murphy,
and a "blues singer," Isabelle Ricketts, who sang "soft, melodious [love] songs"
(MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151, Ms. 88-67/p. 2). Another singer was Kay Stamp,
who played a character called "Kitty Brannigan" on the show, the sister of
"Barney Brannigan" who supplied comedy between the musical items and the
dancing:

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> And we had this John White. . . . Not the famous
> John White that's a singer [see below]. But this was
> a comedian John White who used to be a
> longshoreman. And he was Barney Brannigan. . . .
> And he was an Irish comedian character. He had a
> wonderful brogue, a Newfoundland brogue, an Irish
> brogue (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151).

Barney Brannigan also played Irish jigs on the tin whistle, the first tin whistle to
be heard on radio in Newfoundland. Other performers who subsequently
appeared on the show, either as regulars or guest performers included Jack
Kennedy on accordion, Paddy Toner on trumpet, Hughie Valas from Grand
Bank, Tom Hayward, a friend of Hank Snow's named John Sellick from Cape
Breton, a Canadian singer and guitarist named Hector Willie, a western
Canadian performer who played under the name "Sundown Slim," and, most
importantly, a singer from Quidi Vidi in the east end of St. John's who became
known as "Biddy O'Toole."[37]

Biddy O'Toole's real name was Mrs. Mary May (née Mallard) or, by her
second marriage, Mary Bennett or Benoit, and she joined The Barn Dance in
1939 at the age of 54 (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 73).[38] At this time, VONF, the
rival, government-sponsored radio station in St. John's, began what in the event
turned out to be a shortlived programme of Newfoundland songs, performed by

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[37] (MUNFLA Tapes 73-45/C1403, C1453, 74-225/C2021, 87-104/C10151.

[38] I am greatly indebted to Philip Hiscock for much of the biographical information about Biddy O'Toole.

a group called The Van Campers. The programme was organised by future Newfoundland premier, Joseph Smallwood, who wrote and broadcast under the pseudonym of "The Barrelman" (Narvaez, "The Broadcaster" 50, MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151). The Van Campers featured a female "come-all-ye" singer, and this spurred Murphy to look for a similar performer for **The Barn Dance**:

> So I went to see this concert down St. Joseph's [school] one night. . . . And this lady come out and sang a couple of Newfoundland songs. . . .
>
> So then we inquired and I went backstage and I said, "You know," I said, "you're great. I enjoyed your singing."
>
> She said, "Do you?"
>
> I said, "Yes."
>
> And she said, "You're Barry Hope, aren't you?" You know.
>
> I said, "Yes.
>
> She said, "Enjoyed your show, boy, all the time. Great, great." She had this wonderful accent. "Great, boy, great."
>
> "Well," I said, "that's wonderful." I said, "I'll . . . come down and see you."
>
> "I got a store down Quidi Vidi," she said.
>
> So I went down with Uncle Tim and myself and my wife. Went down to see this lady. And her name was Emily May. . . . And I said, "Mrs. May, I wonder if you'd like to come on The Barn Dance? Become part of The Barn Dance," you know. I said, "I liked your song."
>
> "Oh no, boy," she said, "Barry, no, I couldn't sing. I couldn't sing on the microphone. Oh no, boy, no, boy. But I tell you what you want, you want my sister, Mary. . . . "Oh," she said, "she got hundreds of songs all up there". . . .
>
> "We'll have a little party down here and I'll have Mary here for you to meet."

And I said, "Wonderful." So we got Barney
Brannigan and his wife, Uncle Tim and his wife, and
[my wife] and I. . . . We went down Quidi Vidi. Went
down and we brought down a jug. And [Emily May]
had lovely corn beef and cabbage and pease pudding
and everything like that. And she said, "I want you to
know Mary. . . . That's her sitting there without that
bonnet."

And [Mary] said, "You want me to sing?"

I said, "Yes."

And she says, "Okay." And she said, "I'll sing 'Am
I a Man, Am I a Mouse.'"

And when she sang that I said to myself, "That's it.
That's her, that's her." You know. Then she sang
"[Do] You Want Your [Old] Lobby Washed Down" and
a few more songs like that. And I said, "Would you
play [on The Barn Dance]?"

"Yes, boy. Sure, boy, sure boy."

I said, "We'll pick you up for Friday night for
rehearsal." And she came on the air and the bloody
telephone went crazy. And I named her Biddy
O'Toole (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151).

Biddy O'Toole, as she henceforth became known both on and off the

radio, was a performer of popular Irish and native Newfoundland songs

(MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p. 204, 86-170/p. 75). In particular, she was remembered

for her renditions of the song, "Do You Want Your Old Lobby Washed Down?"

(MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8284, 87-104/C10151).[39] Many of the items in her

repertoire were learnt from the Wehman Brothers songbooks (cf. Mercer,

Newfoundland Songs 52-53). She also sang songs printed in locally published

songsters, such as the local song, "Signal Hill," which appeared in The People's

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[39]For a version of this song, see MUNFLA Tape 78-274/C4365; cf. Ms. 78-
22/p. 129.

Songster compiled by the St. John's balladeer, John Burke, and George T. Oliver in 1900 (Mercer, **Newfoundland Songs** 177, MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10152).[40] It is not known exactly what her source was for "The Moonshine Can" but it is unlikely to have been a printed copy since, as far as is known, the song was not published until 1945. Rather, it is probable that Biddy O'Toole picked up "The Moonshine Can" and other Newfoundland songs via oral transmission in her native Quidi Vidi.

The mixture of Irish and Newfoundland material in Biddy O'Toole's repertoire fitted into **The Barn Dance** well. For, whilst the show, like its American counterparts, was an eclectic mix of traditional, popular and country music (cf. Malone 69), the predominant emphasis of **Uncle Tim's Barn Dance**, and therefore its music, was the equation of "Irish-ness" with "Newfoundland-ness." This emphasis was apparent from the very beginning, the pilot show, for example, being billed as "an Irish show" and aired on the afternoon of St. Patrick's Day (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151). In addition, Murphy's obvious concern with the Irish-Newfoundland accent, and the creation of the characters, Barney and Kitty Brannigan, and Biddy O'Toole, was another aspect of the Irish-Newfoundland message of the show. Nowhere was the equation more explicit, however, than in the show's introduction. Each week, **The Barn Dance** opened

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[40]John White sings a version of this song on the disc, **All the Best** (Various Artistes).

to the sound of the fiddlers and band playing "Come Back to Erin," followed by

the song, "If You're Irish, Come to The Barn Dance," adapted from the Tin Pan

Alley song "If You're Irish, Come into the Parlour":

> [Sings]
>
> If you're Irish, come to The Barn Dance," there's a
> welcome there for you,
> And if you're nameless, tell me your name is Pat,
> As long as you came [sic] from any old place, there's
> "Welcome" on the mat;
> If you came from Quidi Vidi or Conception's lake so
> blue,
>
> [Says] Then the fiddler come in, the band would
> come in:
>
> [Sings]
>
> Da ladda [etc.]
> If you're Irish, this is the place for you (MUNFLA Tape
> 87-104/C10152).

A subsequent, and continuing manifestation of this identification of

Newfoundland culture with Irish culture is, as noted by Taft and Posen (19), the

performance of Irish and Newfoundland music side by side on recordings of

ostensibly "all Newfoundland" music by popular performers, such as the singer

John White and the accordion player, Harry Hibbs (cf. Byrne).

Those that heeded the call of the opening song and went to The Barn

Dance were the first studio audience on Newfoundland radio (MUNFLA Ms. 88-

67/p. 2). At first, there was only room for an audience of about 20 people,

tickets being obtained by customers at Billy Duggan's barbershop. During the war years, however, the venue for the show was expanded, and later changed, to accommodate more people (MUNFLA Tape 88-104/C10152). The introduction of members of the audience was a routine part of the show. A typical opening sequence was as follows:

> And the MC ["Barry Hope," alias Joe Murphy] would say, "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, we'll welcome you tonight to the old hayloft and we hope you have a lot of fun." And then, "And here he comes, ladies and gentlemen, the old man of The Barn Dance himself, Barney Brannigan and Uncle Tim." And he say, "How are you, Barney, me boy?" to him. 'Cause he had a script. And half the time they'd ad lib it. . . . And then . . . Barney have his script with a couple of jokes. . . . And then Uncle Tim said, "Look, I got a young one over here tonight," you know. And then he come up with her and this is Mrs. So-and-So from Belleoram [or wherever]. . . . And we'll get her to say [where she was from] (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10152).

In this way, Murphy was able to go one step better than the personal telegram messages read out on VONF's "Doyle News," for the presence of a live audience meant that messages could be given out in person rather than mediated through the broadcaster (cf. Hiscock, "Folklore and Popular Culture" 76-93). This was particularly significant during the Second World War when many servicemen who were in St. John's en route for overseas attended The Barn Dance. Their names and home communities would always be announced, and they would greet their friends and relatives, thereby letting them know that

they were in St. John's. The fact that the men were about to go abroad on military service, however, was not mentioned (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 2).

Listeners at home to The Barn Dance could also participate in the show while it was on air by telephoning in song requests (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151). Thus, the large and varied repertoires of the singers and musicians on the show, and their ability to perform previously unrehearsed or little rehearsed numbers live, were crucial in making The Barn Dance directly and immediately responsive to its audience's wishes. In this way, the audience helped to shape the show's content from week to week, much as the preferences and requests of those gathered at a local kitchen party could, on a smaller and more intimate scale, affect the songs performed in that context.

The main feature of The Barn Dance, besides its songs and patter, was, of course, the dancing. The latter was carried out in the studio by eight dancers placed round the microphone so as to be audible (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10152). They danced square dance formations, such as quadrilles or the lancers, as well as step dances and Irish jigs.[41] The studio audience did not dance but helped to amplify the dance sounds by tapping their feet in time to the music, and provided atmosphere through their laughter and applause (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151). Listeners at home had the edge over the studio audience

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[41]MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10151. Mss. 85-257/p. 210, 86-170/p. 73; cf. Quigley 15-51.

in this respect:

> And I remember the late Gus Winter telling me that he couldn't believe it till he was down Bonavista selling radios. . . . I used to say "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to The Old Barn Dance." You know. "We hope you have a lot of fun tonight. So we want you (now) to take the stove out the way, roll back the carpets and it's wallop her down." And this is what they had done. He said, "I couldn't believe it. They used to have the stove out of the way and . . . wallop her down in the kitchen." And he said, "They'd have their drop of stuff. Drop of shine and that. And it was a big party. And then after [11.30 pm], everyone would go home" (MUNFLA Tape 87-104/C10152).

Given the congregational listening patterns already associated with the radio medium in Newfoundland communities (cf. Hiscock, "Mass Media"), the ground was ripe for the transformation of the listeners' gathering into a social occasion or "time" by the actual broadcasting of a show which turned on such an occasion's basic ingredients - viz, singing and dancing. The degree of involvement with the show displayed by its audience in this respect is comparable to the belief held by the audience of the slightly earlier radio series, "The Irene B. Mellon," in the reality of the Mellon and its crew (Hiscock, "Folklore and Popular Culture" 145; cf. "Folk Process").

Thus, with Biddy O'Toole's singing of "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance, the song was heard in a new medium, that of the radio, and a new context, that of the radio barn dance, effectively a broadcast concert-cum-party.

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This clearly would have helped to raise awareness of the song and may have encouraged its performance amongst local singers. It is difficult to judge whether it was possible for anyone to learn the song from Biddy O'Toole's renditions since the frequency with which she performed it on the programme is not known. It does, however, seem likely that, through its association with Biddy O'Toole, the "Irish come-all-ye" singer of **The Barn Dance**, and with the strongly Irish-Newfoundland emphasis of the show itself, "The Moonshine Can" acquired a pronounced Irish-Newfoundland connotation. This placed it on a par with some of the songs in the Gerald S. Doyle songsters (discussed below) which, as Rosenberg has noted, were apparently selected by Doyle in order to emphasise Newfoundland song's Irish connection ("Folksong" 47, "Gerald S. Doyle"). As will be seen below, the presentation of "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance in this way marked a significant step in its transformation from a local song of a personal experience into an emblem of Newfoundland.

The Newfoundlander

One possible effect of the performance of "The Moonshine Can" by Biddy O'Toole on **The Barn Dance** may have been to prompt the song's first known appearance in print. This was in the April 1945 issue of the monthly newspaper, **The Newfoundlander** (17), which was published in St. John's by F.M. O'Leary Ltd. The paper contained the words of an 11-stanza version of the song as part

of its song column feature, "Your Favourite Songs." The column had been going since at least 1944, probably having been introduced by Michael Harrington when he took over the editorship of the paper, which began publication in 1938 as The Barrelican and formed an adjunct to the radio programme of the same name (Narváez, "The Broadcaster"). "Your Favourite Songs" seems to have been modelled on the highly successful "Old Favourites" column of songs, poems and ballads which ran from 1895 to 1968 in the rural newspaper, the Family Herald and Weekly Star, published in Montreal (Fowke, "'Old Favourites'"). The Newfoundlander column concentrated its attention specifically on songs, inviting requests for "any famous old song" on the one hand, and contributions of Newfoundland songs in particular, on the other:

> We shall be glad to include in this column any famous old song, Newfoundland or foreign, if we have or can secure it. We suggest to readers that they save these songs, and thereby acquire for themselves a collection of the most popular ones ever written. Meanwhile we would appreciate it if readers knowing Newfoundland songs that have not yet appeared would send them along for inclusion in this section ("Your Favourite Songs," The Newfoundlander, 7.1 (June 1944): 17).

The paper's practice was to print the words of the songs only, readers having to put a tune to the words themselves or needing to be already familiar with the

relevant melody.[42]

A run of requests for "The Moonshine Can" preceded its appearance in April 1945. The first was from a Miss Jean Langor of Thoroughfare, Trinity Bay, in August 1944 (22), an E.P. Fahey of Glenwood writing in for the song in September 1944 (18), followed by Miss Amy Ivany of Kerley's Harbour [near Bonaventure], Trinity Bay, in October 1944 (11), Miss Vera Wiseman of Kelligrews, Conception Bay, in December 1944 (17), Eric Watton of Ivanhoe, Trinity Bay, in February 1945 (16), and Margaret Lynch of Island Harbour, Fogo District, and Blanche Callahan of New Perlican, Trinity Bay, in March 1945 (11). The song was clearly not on the newspaper's files when it was first requested for it was added that "If any reader has these songs ["The Moonshine Can" and another requested by the same reader] Miss Langor would appreciate them." By March 1945, however, the paper had clearly acquired a text, for it was noted that songs requested by the readers that month had been forwarded to them. The song was then published the following month. It is clear that more than one version was received of the song by the paper for in the next issue, May 1945, it was noted:

> We are grateful to Ignatius Brennan, Marystown,
> P[lacentia] B[ay], and Theresa Rowe, Point Verde,
> P[lacentia] B[ay] for the words of 'The Moonshine

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[42]The Family Herald sometimes gave a music notation in addition to the words but it is not clear to what extent those who learned the songs relied on, or could even read, the printed melody (Fowke, "'Old Favourites'" 29).

Can' in answer to our request. As they are no doubt
aware this song appeared in a recent issue (11).

Whether these readers were responding to the text which had been published
with their own versions, or were simply unaware that the paper had printed the
song is not known, but their versions were not printed. The song was not heard
of again until two years later, in February 1947, when it was requested by
Lorenzo R. Mercer of Bay Roberts, Conception Bay, without any text being
forthcoming (12).

One reason for the interest in "The Moonshine Can" evidenced by The
Newfoundlander song column at this particular time may have been Biddy
O'Toole's renditions of the song on The Barn Dance. The fact that the column
had begun in 1944 or just before, and "The Moonshine Can" was being regularly
requested from August of that year, certainly suggests that the song was in
vogue at that time. Furthermore, the requests for "The Moonshine Can" were
accompanied by requests for the words of "When the World Has Turned You
Down, Dear, I'll Be Waiting" (Miss Langor), "I Wish that I Had Never Been
Married" (E.P. Fahey), "The Rose of Arranmore" (Miss Ivany), "Moonlight Prison
Blues" and "The Boston Burglar" (Miss Wiseman), and "The Newfoundland
Express" (Eric Watton). Such songs were conceivably a direct reflection of the
mix of material being performed by Biddy O'Toole and other singers on The
Barn Dance. Again, with regard to the possibility that Biddy O'Toole was

responsible for popularising "The Moonshine Can" at this time, it may also be significant that five of the eight people who requested the song were women. On the other hand, it is not clear why, if Biddy O'Toole sparked the interest in the song, the requests for it were all from the northern bays, while two of the versions contributed came from Placentia Bay to the south, unless this reflects the consistency with which VOCM radio transmissions could be picked up in these places.[43] That four of the eight requests for the song came from Trinity Bay may, however, be attributable to the fact that there is a settlement called Goose Cove on its northern shore, not far from Ivanhoe and Kerley's Harbour.

No provenance was given for the version of "The Moonshine Can" which was actually printed in "Your Favourite Songs" although the song is designated as being from Newfoundland. The text is unlikely to have been obtained by the editor of the column directly from the singing of Biddy O'Toole, though. For one thing, it will be remembered that The Barn Dance was for a time in competition with a folksong show organised by Joseph Smallwood, "The Barrelman," with whom The Newfoundlander newspaper had been so closely associated. In addition, the text in The Newfoundlander is longer than any of the versions of the song collected outside of White Bay, as will be seen in the next chapter, and appears to be a transcription of an oral version, perhaps from this region. On

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[43]Hiscock refers to the radio station, VOCM, as being capable of reaching locations on the Avalon Peninsula and parts of eastern Newfoundland, including St. Mary's Bay, in 1936 ("Folk Process" 183).

the basis of textual evidence, this printed version appears to have had very limited influence on the dissemination and performance of "The Moonshine Can" in Newfoundland.

Omar Blondahl

Following the end of The Barn Dance series in 1949, "The Moonshine Can" does not appear to have been transmitted via the mass media again until the mid-1950s when it was "rediscovered" and performed by a professional singer and musician from mainland Canada, named Omar Blondahl. Blondahl's subsequent influence on the progress of the song, both in Newfoundland and beyond, was extremely significant.

Omar Blondahl first came to St. John's in the autumn of 1955. He was a classically trained pianist, violinist and singer, as well as a self-taught guitarist, and had made a living first as a radio announcer, then playing folk and country music. Immediately prior to going to Newfoundland, he spent two years in a country band touring with Ernie Lindell's New England Barn Dance (Mercer, "Bio-Bibliography" 67-68, Wadden, MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109). In St. John's, he had intended to look for work on a ship bound for Iceland, in order to visit his father's grave there, but instead applied for a job as an announcer on VOCM radio (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109). During the interview with the station manager, Joseph Butler, Blondahl mentioned his musical background. It was

this that led to his first encounter with Newfoundland song and his first folksong

show:

> I mentioned some of this to [Joseph] Butler when he
> first interviewed me for the job. I said, "I do a little
> singing with guitar." And he went . . . to his office
> and came back . . . and he tossed a Gerald S. Doyle
> songbook [see below] on the table and he said, "Can
> you sing any of that?"   And this was my first
> introduction to Newfoundland folk music.   So I
> opened it and thumbed through. I said, "My God,
> this is beautiful stuff." I'd never heard any of it
> before.   And I said "This must be on all kinds of
> records." I said, "I've never run across it."
>   He said, "I don't think any of them are on records."
>   And I thought, "This is a gold mine," you know. Oh
> my. So . . . he gave me two hours every afternoon
> and one in the morning to start with at VOCM and I
> started singing the songs from this book and
> apparently it went over quite well (MUNFLA Tape 88-
> 84/C11109).[44]

Blondahl's show was unscripted and spontaneous, as recalled by Joseph

Butler's son:

> And he would sit in the studio and play his guitar or
> sing a song or play a record or read a request, and it
> was very impromptu.   That was very successful
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-40/C7430).

At first, Blondahl relied entirely on the third edition of Gerald S. Doyle's Old-

Time Songs and Poetry from Newfoundland for material. This contained the

words and melodies, of locally composed Newfoundland songs collected from

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[44]Blondahl mistakenly refers to Joseph Butler as Harold Butler in this
interview.

both print and oral sources by Doyle, a businessman in St. John's. The songsters, which also carried advertising, were distributed free throughout the island and had proved very popular (Mercer, **Newfoundland Songs** 33-38, Rosenberg, "Folksong" 46-47, "Gerald S. Doyle"). Blondahl's performances of the songs quickly became a big success with the Newfoundland public, despite his outsider status and trained voice (Posen and Taft 23). In fact, it may have been the novelty of his style that engaged many of his Newfoundland listeners. His use of guitar accompaniment, for example, was virtually unknown in the traditional style of song performance in Newfoundland at the time (Taft, **Regional Discography** xvii). Indeed, it was associated with professional folk performers such as Burl Ives, to whom Blondahl bore some physical resemblance and of whom he was a great admirer:

> [Blondahl] was an imitator of Burl Ives. I'd say he had the little beard here like Burl Ives . . . used to wear and everything. A great admirer of Burl Ives. And he played [guitar] as far as I can remember with just his thumb. No pick at all (MUNFLA Tape 73-45/C1452).

> Omar has often been told locally that he sounds much like Burl Ives, the famous American folk-singer, and he always responds by saying, "That's the best praise I could want from anyone." He means it too. Burl Ives is his ideal, "a man who sings folk songs like no one else in the world." Ives, to him, is "not only the best, but the only, professional folk singer (Wadden 26-27; cf. MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11110).

Despite Blondahl's success with this Burl Ives-like musical style, however, it did

not meet with universal approval in Newfoundland. Notably, Gerald S. Doyle's wife, Mary, commented some years later:

> . . . he took every one of [the songs] and sort of did something to them that wasn't quite right. He always changed them or swung them around. He hill-billied them a little bit (MUNFLA Tape 78-45/C1448).

On the other hand, Blondahl's general popularity was not solely due to his performance of Newfoundland songs. Part of his appeal lay in his whimsical and idiosyncratic presentation of self. This included his insistence on being called by the name, "Sagebrush Sam," which he had previously adopted as a country musician:

> Now he used to call himself "Sagebrush Sam," you know. . . . He wouldn't let me call him Omar, you know. He said, "(Dorm), you call me Sam." Yea, "Sagebrush Sam" we used to call him. He was a queer hand, you know. . . . He was a barrel of fun as they say, you know. He'd get on this radio, you know, and talk about one thing and the other, and (give?) out [the] name of the song, you know. And after the song was over (a little bit), he'd say [in falsetto] "Ha!" That's the way he used to laugh, you know. Oh boy, I used to get a kick out of him. And now night times, he used to have a program...e called Rainbow Riddles. And he'd ask this riddle, you know. And then, [if you] couldn't (answer) him, he'd say [in falsetto] "Ha!" He said, "I (outcrafts) [you] again (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284; cf. Wadden 21).

This comical and slightly eccentric image which Blondahl cultivated may have been the reason why many of his Newfoundland listeners did not appear to object to the Newfoundland accent he affected in his renditions of the songs

(Taft, Regional Discography xvii, Mercer, "Bio-Bibliography" 72).

"The Moonshine Can" never found its way into Doyle's songbook. Thus, it was not until Blondahl began to encounter new material during his extensive concert tours of the island that he first came across it (Blondahl 6, MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109). This happened on one of the earliest of Blondahl's tours, which he made in the company of a stage partner and friend, W.C. ("Bill") Squires, an announcer with VOCM radio (Blondahl 7):

> I first heard the song after playing a show one night in the Ferryland District. I think it was during the summer of 1956. Bill Squires . . . and I, along with the late Noel Vinicombe, were touring Newfoundland that year, playing shows in every town and hamlet we could find. Many of them not even on a map. Bill and I did the shows and Noel looked after transportation and bookings. . . .
>
> Our first show on the junket was at Renews. After that show we were invited over to a fellow's house for a "scoff" and a few drinks (moonshine, of course). This fellow had quite a family living in his home . . . [including] a dear, very old father who was confined to a wheelchair. . . .
>
> [The father] later regaled us with a few old songs. I had heard quite a number of them before, but there were two which were new to me. One was "The Moonshine Can" and the other - to which he could not remember the melody - was called (he said) "Betsy Brennan's Little Blue Hen." (He recited the latter.) I jotted down the songs for possible later use, the words and music for "The Moonshine Can" and the verses (only) of the "Blue Hen" poem.
>
> Later, I sang "The Moonshine Can" during one of my radio programs (VOCM). I received a number of letters on it, some suggesting that the tune was wrong. I recall that the letters came from different

parts of the island and, as this sort of thing frequently occurs, I put it down to the fact that folk-songs change in character, words and melody as they are carried to different places. Later, in an attempt to verify the melody, I asked various people whether they knew that song. Again, different versions! I do remember, though, asking about it from a person named Chris Doyle. She hummed the very same melody I had heard from the old fellow in Renews. Chris [was] the wife of Wilf Doyle [see below] who, at that time, led a small dance band. . . .

I do believe the song originated somewhere in the Ferryland District (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/pp. 6-7).

"The Moonshine Can" must have had quite an impact on Blondahl for he recorded it later that year on his second LP of Newfoundland songs for Rodeo, a Toronto record company (Taft, Regional Discography 55, Mercer, "Bio-Bibliography" 67).[45] The album was entitled Down to the Sea Again and, like his first LP, featured almost exclusively Doyle songbook material. In fact, in the case of Down to the Sea Again, "The Moonshine Can" was the only non-Doyle song to be featured on the record. Something of the song's appeal for Blondahl can be gathered from his comment on the record sleeve:

"The Moonshine Can" by Patty Ryan [sic] - This is a truly jolly song. One that brings out the Newfoundlander's grand sense of humor. Moonshine may still be found in some parts of the island, though the law is quickly but surely bringing about its demise. The "Moonshine Can" is the still, or assemblage of pots that are used in the preparation of the nectar.

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[45]The song appeared again in 1957 on Blondahl's fourth 45 rpm disc, coupled with "Harbour Le Cou" (Taft, Regional Discography 55).

As will be seen in chapter 5, Blondahl's perception of the song and the style in which he performed it are closely allied.

Blondahl continued to collect and perform Newfoundland songs until 1964 when he left the island (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109). He also compiled and edited a booklet, entitled *Newfoundlanders Sing!: A Collection of Favourite Newfoundland Folk Songs.* The booklet was sponsored by Robin Hood Flour Mills, a Montreal company, and was obviously inspired by the Doyle songbooks:

> Well, the Gerald S. Doyle books are full of ads too
> and . . . I thought, well, I'll just go around town and
> see if I [can get some advertising]. I figured out how
> much it would cost to print and then I figured I'd sell
> them for a dollar or two a copy because I did have
> quite a few songs that weren't in print, you see, along
> with many that are. . . . Well, a little while there I
> spent knocking on the odd door and asked if they'd
> like to buy into the book and I sold about fifteen of
> them, I suppose. Ads. Different quarter pages and
> half pages. . . . [Then] I got to Robin Hood [Flour
> Mills]. Don Lawson was the Newfoundland district
> manager and he said, "I'm interested but," he said,
> "I don't want to be just one of a number of ads," he
> said. "How much would you charge if we take the
> whole book?" I thought, oh, I hit a bonanza. So I
> knew the exact amount I needed anyway and I upped
> that by a few hundred. So he said that was fair
> enough. Well, then I had to send the money back to
> those to whom I'd sold the ads to explain how it had
> happened and nobody objected. So I did the book
> and Robin Hood [Flour Mills] you might say owns the
> book (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109; cf. Mercer, "Bio-
> Bibliography" 70).

Newfoundlanders Sing! contains 75 songs from Newfoundland, many of

which were drawn from Blondahl's own collectanea. Where the songs had previously appeared in print, Blondahl in many cases combined the text with a variant or alternative melody which he had encountered (Blondahl 7). Since some of the songs he wanted to include were texts sent to him by listeners to his radio programme, Blondahl also fitted these with melodies which he thought appropriate:

> Too often [people sent in] just the words and too often they would say, "And this is all I remember of it" so when I put out my own book some years later, some of these words were just too good to throw away, you know. So I took the liberty of setting a lot of them to music, just simple melodies and I just marked them traditional. "Itchy Coo" is a good example. . . . So I did this with a lot of them just in order to preserve the song. . . (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109).

The technique of fitting a song text with a traditional tune was, of course, common practice in Anglo-American folksong tradition generally, so there was plenty of precedent for Blondahl's handling of the tuneless texts in this way. In any case, the tunes printed by Blondahl would have made little impression on a Newfoundland audience amongst whom musical literacy was for the most part very rare. This was ironic since, as the title of the songbook suggests, Blondahl's intended audience was Newfoundland people themselves. He seems to have envisaged them as performers aspiring to the folk revival style which he himself espoused, editing the book accordingly:

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I changed the keys on some of them. I tried to make it so that the average person could read it as it's written rather than have to transpose to another key and that sort of thing. And I tried to keep as much as possible within the simplest guitar chords, banjo and so on (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109).

In the case of some of the songs, however, Blondahl's editorialising went a good deal further:

> Now on one occasion I got a song from . . . the [Doyle] book and I had sung it over the air and I got a . . . letter from a fellow and he said, "My great grandfather wrote that song." And he said, "It's wrong the way you're singing it." So he filled in two or three verses that were indeed not in the version I had found in the . . . Gerald S. Doyle book. So I . . . pieced it together and it was crying [out] for a chorus. Now possibly his great grandfather had written a chorus but obviously it had been lost over the years. So I wrote a little chorus for it just to sort of give it some balance. Paul Emberley was the name of his great grandfather . . . [and the song] was called "Hard, Hard Times". . . . And the tune of the melody of it was shown in the original book. I don't know, to me it seemed a little clumsy in that the words didn't fit the music or the music didn't fit the words somehow. So I sort of smoothed that out a little in order to preserve the song. And I did this with quite a few of them because I felt it was necessary (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109).

Blondahl's approach to his material in this respect was clearly that of a performer and pragmatist, not a purist.

In the case of "The Moonshine Can," Blondahl had apparently gone to some trouble to establish the "correct" tune of the song, as described above.

Yet, he was apparently unsure about the completeness of the text which he had collected from the old gentleman in Cappahayden. As explained in his songbook, he inquired about the song from his listeners:

> Having heard of this song, I asked over radio whether some listener or other might supply me with it. During that week, I received some six or seven versions, each somewhat different from the other. It was for this reason that I took the liberty of piecing together what seemed to be the best from each, settling finally for the lines printed here (39).

That the text which he performed and printed in the book was a composite of the oral versions which he had collected is not quite the full story, however. In a recent interview, he also mentioned that he "had to fill in part of ["The Moonshine Can"] because there were too many parts missing" (MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109). Given that he was working, by his own account, with at least half a dozen different versions of the song, it is hard to credit this as the reason for his extensive reworking of it. Rather, one suspects that the process involved was more one of "smoothing out" the song in line with his personal aesthetic and, in particular, his personal perception of the song, alluded to above. It will be shown in the next chapter that this was based on an idea of the song as a lightweight ditty, much of whose humour arose from innuendos regarding the magistrate's curiosity about the manufacture of illicit liquor. As a result of Blondahl's modifications to the text, his version of "The Moonshine Can" stands out conspicuously alongside traditional versions.

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The changes Blondahl made to his material, like the innovations he made in its performance, did not go unnoticed or uncriticised in Newfoundland. In the estimation of one Newfoundland professional musician, Bob MacLeod, for example:

> [Blondahl was popular] to a limited extent. . . . If you want me to be absolutely frank, yea. His performance and so on now. . . I didn't particularly fall for his way of doing it. One thing I didn't particularly care for . . . he would take Newfoundland songs and try and improve them by changing words. In my opinion. If you listen to his records. And he'd change the tempos around a bit in some of them too, to suit his guitar playing and so on (MUNFLA Tape 73-45/C1442).

Likewise, Herbert Parsons, a 32-year old teacher from Conception Bay from whom Edward Ives recorded "The Moonshine Can" in 1965, commented that the words of Blondahl's version were "quite different" from his own. He also criticised an instance of Blondahl's adoption of a feigned Newfoundland dialect:

> As a matter of fact, there are a few words that are not really Newfoundland words. In one place there, I think it's Blondahl who says, "He sent me home with a constabule [sic]." Which is really not a Newfoundland word. One person in a thousand might say that word, "constabule." They'd say "constable" (Ives, Interview).

Parsons regarded such changes to the words, and the changes he perceived in Blondahl's melody, as "repulsive" (cf. MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289). Despite this, there were many who learnt and performed "The Moonshine Can" from

Blondahl's renditions or from his songbook, including some local Newfoundland

performers, and a number of professional performers from both Newfoundland

and mainland Canada.

By the time Blondahl left Newfoundland, he had taken on the status of a

"reviver" of Newfoundland songs. Yet, his contribution was more than that of

bringing the songs to the public's attention, like Doyle had done. Through the

unfamiliar style in which he presented them to his Newfoundland audience and

his identification with the folksong revival as exemplified by figures such as Burl

Ives, Blondahl also caused the songs to be seen in a new light:

> . . . no one was really interested in Newfoundland
> songs because it was too close to home and they
> didn't appreciate the type of music.   But Omar
> Blondahl came down here and for folk singers he was
> . . . right in his prime for this type of stuff. He had
> tons of material to work with. . . . And so this is what
> actually brought back the Newfoundland music. . . .
> [He was] father of the revival as far as, you know, in
> my day anyhow (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8286; cf.
> MUNFLA Tape 85-40/C7430).

In this sense, the use of the term "revival" is misleading for it suggests that

Blondahl reintroduced to Newfoundland something which had once existed there

before. The interest which he kindled in Newfoundland songs was actually a

new phenomenon because it was an interest in the songs as folksongs,

something which performers in the folksong revival and collectors, including

Blondahl, perceived as in some way representative of a geographical area or a

culture. Thus, the real significance of Blondahl's influence on "The Moonshine Can," lay beyond his popularisation of a particular version which he himself had largely put together. Formerly, in the context of The Barn Dance and Biddy O'Toole's renditions, "The Moonshine Can" had been associated with Newfoundland-Irishness, and to this extent formed what might be termed a "Newfoundland-Irish song" which was emblematic of Newfoundland people's identification with the "Irish" aspect of their culture. With Omar Blondahl, however, "The Moonshine Can" became a "Newfoundland folksong." As such, it formed one of a corpus of songs which was increasingly coming to represent the entire island, both to itself, and to the outside world, particularly mainland Canada with which Newfoundland had not long before confederated (cf. Rosenberg, "Blondahl's Contribution").

Wilf Doyle

Apart from pursuing his own career as a performer of Newfoundland songs, Omar Blondahl also acted as a catalyst in the career of a Newfoundland musician named Wilf Doyle. Doyle was from Conception Harbour, Conception Bay, where Blondahl's Newfoundland wife and her family also lived (MUNFLA Ms. 76-75/p. 2). According to Doyle, the two men first met when Blondahl was returning from a night out drinking in the settlement of Mahers some ten miles away:

> And he got to my place where I lived in Conception
> [Harbour] the next morning. And at five o'clock, he
> knocked on my door. With a guitar in his hand,
> soaking wet. And the guitar case just falling apart,
> the guitar falling out of it. So that's how I met Omar
> Blondahl (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8286).

Doyle was an accordion player and did some local playing with his wife, Christine, who played the guitar and sang (MUNFLA Ms. 76-75/pp. 12-13). When Blondahl made a 45 rpm record of "The Wild Colonial Boy" and "The Kelligrews Soiree" for Rodeo in 1956, he decided to feature the accordion on the disc as well and engaged both Wilf and Christine Doyle to play on it.[46] As a result of Blondahl's influence, Rodeo offered Doyle a contract for a record of his own and later the same year Jigs and Reels of Newfoundland by Wilf Doyle and His Orchestra was released (Taft, Regional Discography xviii, 8, MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8286). The album was followed two years later by Wilf Doyle and His Orchestra Play the Quadrilles and a Selection of Favourite Newfoundland Old Time Music on which was featured "The Moonshine Can."

As the titles of these two records suggest, they mainly comprised Newfoundland instrumental music, played by Doyle on the accordion, his wife on the guitar, Jack Ghaney on drums and Bill Keating on banjo. Christine Doyle also sang on one or two numbers on the second LP (Taft, Regional Discography 8-9). According to Doyle, the band performed "The Moonshine Can" as an

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[46]Taft, Regional Discography xviii, 55, MUNFLA Tape 88-84/C11109.

instrumental number, the tune being played by him on the accordion (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 11).[47] This was partly because Doyle did not want to record anything that had already been recorded by someone else (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8286). Doyle, who was born in 1925 (MUNFLA Ms. 76-75/p. 6), nevertheless knew the song from hearing it sung in Conception Harbour since his boyhood:

> Well, it's been sung here, you know, at house parties and one thing and another. . . . It's one of the older songs. . . . Before my time, that's for sure (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8286).

Another reason for not performing the song, however, was that he did not particularly like it, regarding it as "nothing spectacular" and "only one man's opinion [experience?]" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 21).

Doyle's recording of "The Moonshine Can," which he and his band may also have performed on their VOCM radio show of Newfoundland music (MUNFLA Tapes 85-40/C7430, 85-257/C8286), was significant in that it was the first commercial recording of the song, albeit the melody only, by a native Newfoundlander. The idea of recording the tune alone may have been suggested by Blondahl's checking of the "correct" melody for the song with Christine Doyle, mentioned above. The fact that the melody could stand alone under the title of "The Moonshine Can" testifies to the general renown which the

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[47]I have been unable to gain access to a copy of the record itself to check this.

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song had achieved by this time. As will be described below, it subsequently became performed as an accordion tune by both local and commercial performers, in some cases probably as a direct result of Doyle's lead (Posen and Taft 23).

John White

After Omar Blondahl, the commercial performer with whom "The Moonshine Can" has probably been most associated in Newfoundland is the singer, John White. This is fitting since Blondahl regarded him as something of a successor:

> By golly, I figured there's the boy that whatever work
> I left behind he can have it. Because he can handle
> it beautifully. He had a lovely style. Nice tenor voice,
> you know. Perfect for Irish songs (MUNFLA Tape 88-
> 84/C11109).

White was well on his way to becoming a well-known performer when Blondahl left the island. White had made his debut on the radio in 1957, singing "My Wild Irish Rose" and "Singin' the Blues" on the station CJON. The following year, he was featured on a VOCM folksong programme and made his first LP, VOCM's John White (MUNFLA Tape 85-40/C7430, Ms. 84-158/p. 7).[49] He made his television debut in 1964 on All Around the Circle, on which he was to become a regular performer over the next twelve years (MUNFLA Ms. 84-158/pp.

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[49]This recording actually predates the first disc which White is listed as having made in Taft's Regional Discography 50-51).

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7-8).

In a number of ways, White's background and singing career made him as much a successor to Biddy O'Toole as Omar Blondahl. Born in St. John's in 1930, White showed an aptitude for music at an early age, learning the harmonica and later the "mandolin guitar" and button accordion. Unlike Blondahl, he received no formal musical training and was consequently not able to read music, but he sang in his school choir (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8291, Ms. 84-158/p. 6). In addition, his father had been an expert step dancer in the St. Mary's Bay-Placentia Bay area, and music, especially as performed on 78 rpm discs of the time and radio programmes like Uncle Tim's Barn Dance, played an important part in the family home while he was growing up (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8291, Ms. 84-158/pp. 9-10; cf. Rosenberg, "Manuscript Song Book" 320-25).

Singers such as John McCormack, Jack Feeney, the McNulty Family, Carmel Quinn and Biddy O'Toole therefore had an important influence on White in his choice of repertoire (MUNFLA Ms. 84-158/pp. 10-11; cf. Byrne). Indeed, White learnt many of his songs from the radio during his youth, writing down as much of the text as he could during the broadcast and then phoning in a request for the song to be played the following week, so as to fill in the gaps (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8291). This parallels the learning process in local tradition whereby, as described by Tom Sexton above, people learnt songs by following

singers around from one house to another and coaxing them to sing the relevant song. Another source of repertoire for John White was the songs of the turn-of-the-century balladeer, Johnny Burke, a volume of which White compiled and published around 1960 (Burke, **Ballads**, Mercer, **Newfoundland Songs** 30-31).

It is clear from the text of John White's version of "The Moonshine Can" that he learnt the song from Blondahl, probably through the latter's performances on radio or disc. White's performances are particularly associated with the television programme, **All Around the Circle** (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 198, 211, 88-67/p. 5). This was a 30 minute, weekly programme, broadcast on the CBC's Newfoundland network, which featured many local performers of Newfoundland folk music. The show, which began in 1964, acquired a large public following, and ran for twelve years (Hiscock, "Videotapes" 13). Since Blondahl left Newfoundland in the same year as the programme started, this no doubt provided more scope for White to perform songs like "The Moonshine Can" which he had learnt from Blondahl on the show. White sang "The Moonshine Can" on **All Around the Circle** to the accompaniment of an accordion and several other instruments (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8291). This backing was probably provided by the accordionist, Ray Walsh, and his band, who were likewise regulars on the programme and who also accompanied White on at least one of his later discs (Taft, **Regional Discography** 51, MUNFLA Ms. 84-

158/p. 8).[49] On other occasions, such as White's performance of the song at the St. John's Folk Festival in 1978, White was accompanied on the guitar (MUNFLA Tape 79-594/C4488).

Although White has not been a collector of Newfoundland songs in the way that Blondahl was, it is notable that he did attempt to collect the Goose Cove version of "The Moonshine Can" whilst visiting St. Anthony on one of his tours of the province in the mid-1960s (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 198). It seems that John White may have been alerted to the details of the song's provenance when a couple from Goose Cove living in St. John's contacted the radio or TV station on which they had heard White perform the song to complain about the changes made to it in his version:

> GR: I remember [my husband] phoning up to say that it wasn't Pat Ryan, [as John White] said. 'Cause he knew the man. And it wasn't Goose Town. Tony was mad because they said Goose Town instead of Goose Cove. You know. So he phoned up about it. . . .
>
> AR: It was too late. [It] already had been changed. And that's the version of it now [the manuscript version which the couple had been sent by Ray Walsh].
>
> GR: . . . So now that's the one that he has. That's the one John White sings now (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289).

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[49]A rendition of "The Moonshine Can" contained on an 8-track tape entitled John White's Greatest Hits sounds identical to his All Around the Circle version, suggesting that it is in fact the same recording (MUNFLA Tape 87-111/C10156).

Perhaps as a result of this, White approached Jack Troy in Goose Cove and offered to pay him for his version of the song. Jack would not agree to sing it for him, however, and White did not apparently try to obtain the song from anyone else in the area (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 198). These events may nevertheless be the reason that White departs slightly from Blondahl's version of the song and sings "Goose Cove" rather than "Goose Town" in the final stanza.

Dick Nolan

Apart from John White, the only other Newfoundland commercial artist to have recorded the "The Moonshine Can" as a song, as distinct from a tune, is Dick Nolan. As shown in the next chapter, his version, like White's, is derived from Blondahl although Nolan introduces minor changes to the text in order to ally himself more closely with the story. The style in which Nolan performs the song, however, is distinct from that of both Blondahl and White and in part reflects Nolan's background in country music.

Nolan was born in Corner Brook in 1939. Whilst still at school he appeared on two local CBC radio programmes, including **Woodland Echoes**, a show directed at lumbercamp audiences in the region (MUNFLA Ms. 77-339/p. 1). In the late 1950s, Nolan moved to Toronto where he made his first records and toured extensively as a professional country singer. His repertoire at this

time included many Johnny Cash songs and various other country music numbers (Taft, **Regional Discography** x-xi). An album he released in about 1963 evidences his knowledge of Newfoundland songs, such as "Squid Jiggin' Ground" and "Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary's," but it was not until 1966 that Nolan made his first record consisting entirely of Newfoundland material (Taft, **Regional Discography** 30-31). The move was in response to Newfoundland's celebration of 1966 as "Come Home Year." This idea helped, amongst other things, to identify and raise awareness of the "expatriate" Newfoundland population on the mainland, many of whom had gone there in the years following Confederation in order to seek employment. Thus, at the same time as a new generation of professional performers of Newfoundland music was growing up on the island, a new market for their recordings was singled out on the mainland. Wilf Doyle referred to this group as "homesick Newfoundlanders" for whom the music represented "a little bit of comfort . . . [to keep] you closer to home" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8286). It was this market which contributed to Nolan's initial success with Newfoundland music at the time and precipitated his eventual switch to performing Newfoundland folk and popular songs for a Newfoundland audience (Taft, **Regional Discography** xi).

One of the songs featured on the 1966 album, **I'se the B'y What Catches da Fish**, was "The Moonshine Can" (Taft, **Regional Discography** 31). The most heavily scored of the commercial recordings of the song, with accordion, string

bass, guitar, piano, mandolin and drums in addition to Nolan's singing, it features the French-Newfoundland accordionist, Gerry Reeves, who himself recorded the melody of "The Moonshine Can" several years later (see below). Nolan's choice of the song on his "Come Home Year" album is significant for it shows the extent to which the song was identified with island culture by this time. Furthermore, in the light of Nolan's later hit song, "Aunt Martha's Sheep," his choice of "The Moonshine Can" seems to indicate something of a preference on Nolan's part for songs concerning illegal activities and encounters with the law. In fact, "Aunt Martha's Sheep," like "The Moonshine Can," was originally a local song based on a real incident in which a sheep was stolen by two boys from an elderly woman in their community (Taft, "Of Scoffs" 80). The shifts in emphasis undergone by both "Aunt Martha's Sheep" and "The Moonshine Can" in the process of being commercialised are strikingly similar. Whereas the culprits are caught and fined in the local composition on which "Aunt Martha's Sheep" was based, they outwit the investigating RCMP officer in Nolan's reworking (Taft, "Of Scoffs"). Likewise, in "The Moonshine Can," as will be shown in more detail in Chapter 5, Pat Troy's account of being informed on, fined by the authorities and helped by friends is transformed in Blondahl's reworking into a comical tale of an unrepentant moonshine maker and the magistrate's curiosity in his activities.

Gerry Reeves and Ray Johnson

Although Wilf Doyle first established the viability of the melody of "The Moonshine Can" as an item of repertoire for the accordion in 1958, it was over ten years before the melody was taken up again for recording by other Newfoundland accordion players. Meanwhile, though, both of the subsequent recordings of the song, by John White and Dick Nolan, had featured accordion accompaniment. In the case of Gerry Reeves, it seems to have been his accompanying role on Dick Nolan's recording of "The Moonshine Can" which inspired his own rendition on Down East Accordion in 1969 (Taft, Regional Discography 31, 41-42). Reeves, whose real name was Gerry Formanger, had a similar background to Nolan in that he had left Newfoundland to work on the mainland and spent 14 years there playing guitar in a "country swing band" (MUNFLA Tape 73-45/C1424). His musical roots, however, lay in the local music making of his family on Newfoundland's Port au Port Peninsula as a recent disc of French Newfoundland performers testifies (Music from French Newfoundland).

Another Newfoundland accordion player to have recorded "The Moonshine Can" commercially is Ray Johnson. Originally from Conception Bay, Johnson went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to study art.[50] Here he formed a group

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[50]Taft, Regional Discography xi. I am also grateful to Neil Rosenberg for some of this information.

called the Sou'Westers and with them recorded a disc, entitled Sing Me Back Home,[51] on which the melody of "The Moonshine Can" appears. Bearing in mind Wilf Doyle's comment, quoted above, concerning "homesick Newfoundlanders" there seems little doubt as to the intended audience for this version of the tune.

Ian and Sylvia

The first known recording of "The Moonshine Can" by non-Newfoundland performers, apart from Blondahl, was made in 1964 by the Canadian folk duo, Ian and Sylvia (Northern Journey). This was the year that Blondahl's book, Newfoundlanders Sing!, was published and it is likely that the pair got the song from there. The duo, whose full names were Ian Tyson and Sylvia Fricker Tyson, had had several hit recordings in the early 1960s with both folk music and their own compositions (Green, "Ian and Sylvia"). Their performance of "The Moonshine Can" is sung in harmony throughout with acoustic guitar, mandolin and electric bass guitar accompaniment. Thus, their delivery of the song owes little to the performance style of Newfoundland traditional singers and is instead indebted to the "folksong revival" style of contemporary North American popular music.

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[51]The album does not appear in Taft's Regional Discography which covers recordings made up to 1972.

Tom, Jim and Garth

Another recording of "The Moonshine Can" by mainland performers is that by Tom Powers, Jim Sampson and Garth Trenaman on their album, **Songs of Newfoundland**. The disc is undated but it may have been a follow-up to their **Come Home Newfoundlander** album which was presumably released for Come Home Year in 1966. Tom, Jim and Garth, who also called themselves "The Scotians" were, as this name suggests, from Nova Scotia. From the vocal style and musical arrangements adopted by the group, it seems clear that they modelled themselves on the Kingston Trio (Malone 279). Like the latter, and Ian and Sylvia, they made use of vocal harmonies, and guitar, banjo and tambourine accompaniment, presenting the song in an idiom quite different from that in which it was originally performed (cf. Allen 68, Malone 280). Yet, such was the currency of "The Moonshine Can" as a popular Newfoundland folksong by this time, that it could apparently be performed in this way as an example of regional culture and be marketed to Newfoundlanders living away the region.

"The Moonshine Can" in Local Transmission

Thus, by the 1960s, "The Moonshine Can" had become well known as a Newfoundland folksong both in Newfoundland and beyond. Having charted the progress of the song to this point in the mass media, and looked at its origins and oral dissemination in the Goose Cove area, it now remains to survey the

other collected versions and reports of versions and, if possible, to place them in their proper perspective. In general, there is far less information concerning the provenance of these latter versions, making it difficult to determine a priori their relationship to the oral versions directly connected with Pat Troy's original and/or the mass-mediated versions. Since the internal evidence of the texts and tunes will be considered in detail in chapters 5 and 6, the aim here is to present what is known of the other versions of "The Moonshine Can" and to speculate on the human relationships and contact which sustained them.

"The Moonshine Can" as sung by John Crane of Pines Cove on the Northern Peninsula is unfortunately incomplete (MUNFLA Videotape, 74-103/V2). On the recording he appears to have been unsettled by the amount of conversation going on around him as he begins the song and, after a halt and an attempt to start another stanza, he gives up with the comment "I don't know no more of it." In addition, it seems that he had not sung the song for a long time (MUNFLA Ms. 74-103/[p. 15]).

Crane was born in 1902 and learnt his songs in his youth from friends in the Flowers Cove area and whilst he was working for the Bowater Newfoundland Company in the lumberwoods. This resulted in a repertoire of over 100 songs, including British and Irish material as well as locally composed songs from his region (MUNFLA Ms. 74-103/[pp. 3, 7]). The contexts in which Crane would sing his songs are described as follows:

Years ago, people would sing for entertainment. Songs were usually sung when a group of people gathered at a house. Each person would sing his songs and a good singer ranked high among the local people. Most of the songs were sung around Christmas time. It was the time of year when people went from house to house, drinking and having a good time. And it was a part of the tradition to sing while in the houses.

A stormy day in winter provided a good setting and the right atmosphere for singing songs. On stormy days when there was nothing to do most of the people in a community would gather at a house and pass the time away by playing cards, telling stories and asking riddles.

One old person on the coast also told me it was traditional to sing songs for a couple of hours when you were in the woods, before you went to bed (MUNFLA Ms. 74-103/[pp. 7-8]).

There is no specific information on where Crane picked up "The Moonshine Can" but the geographical proximity of Pines Cove to Goose Cove, plus the fact that Crane would have been aged about 18 at the time of the moonshine incident and very probably learnt the song soon after it was composed, strongly suggest that his is an orally transmitted version.

Another singer with a very extensive repertoire, at one time consisting of over 200 songs, and including "The Moonshine Can," is Leander Roberts (Goldstein and McDonald 14, MUNFLA Tape 82-167/C5786). Roberts was born in Black Bear Bay, just to the south of Batteau in Labrador, in 1918, and lived and worked as a fisherman in Sandy Hill and Batteau. He learnt most of his songs whilst aged between 10 and 20 (Goldstein and McDonald 14). It seems

to have been around this time that he picked up "The Moonshine Can":

> Oh, quite a while ago I learn ["The Moonshine Can"]
> too. I learned that-. I learned most of my songs in
> my younger days. When I was younger. . . . Before
> I was married.
>   I learned ["The Moonshine Can"] from Chris Clarke.
> He belonged in Capelin Bay then, when I learned [the
> song]. He (used to) live [at] Boulder's Rock
> summertime. And he used to live in Capelin Bay
> wintertime. But he been dead quite a long time now
> (MUNFLA Tape 82-167/C5786).[52]

Again, the approximate date at which it was learnt suggests that Roberts'

version is an oral one at not too many removes from Pat Troy's original.

Working east from White Bay, to Notre Dame Bay, it is notable that there

have been no versions of "The Moonshine Can" collected from this area.

Nevertheless, two of the requests for the song in The Newfoundlander song

column were from Glenwood and Fogo Island, both in this region. A retired

teacher, Eric Rogers, also supplied a version from the next bay to the east,

Bonavista Bay (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611, Ms. 86-170/pp. 135-36). Rogers

was born on Fair Island, Bonavista Bay, in 1929, where he recalled that

moonshine making was very common, especially for weddings and just prior to

Christmas (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611, Ms. 86-170/p. 130). Although not a

regular singer himself, Rogers did learn "The Moonshine Can" whilst growing

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[52]It has not been possible to locate Capelin Bay, although there a number
of places called Capelin Cove in Newfoundland, in Conception Bay, Trinity
Bay, and on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula.

up on Fair Island:

> [It was] a very popular song. I learnt that when I was
> a teenager. . . . It was sort of a common thing around
> the island. . . . Most everybody knew it. Because,
> you see, on the islands, around the coast of
> Newfoundland, that's where moonshine was best
> known. . . . In these days, back 40 or 50 years ago
> and earlier, there was no . . . beer supply. . . . Or
> there was no liquor stores. And there was only like
> the (fishermen) went to St. John's once or twice a
> year. And they would get a bottle of rum or a bottle
> of whiskey or something like that. So any strong
> [stuff] that they had, they had to brew themselves.
> So that's, I guess, where the song became so
> popular (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

It is also conceivable that "The Moonshine Can" had a particular relevance to

those in and around Flat Island, Bonavista Bay, where, as described in Chapter

2, another case of informing about moonshine making led to a serious

confrontation between the authorities and the local people in 1919.

It is not known exactly how "The Moonshine Can" came to be known and

sung so widely in this part of Newfoundland but it is possible to make an

educated guess. Eric Rogers described several of the contexts in which songs

were transmitted in his area:

> Sometimes they'd make them up. Sometimes, you
> know, they'd hear them from other people. Like the
> people on [Fair] Island, (in) the winter months they
> would work in the lumberwoods with people from
> other communities. They'd hear their songs.
> Summertime, they fished on the Labrador. And
> they'd come in contact. And it was a common thing
> in these days, when a few people get together, that

was a common pastime, singing songs. Dancing, singing songs, telling stories. That was their [entertainment?]. See. So . . . the songs were sort of passed down from father to son and from neighbour to neighbour. . . . (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

I have no firm evidence that "The Moonshine Can" was popular in Newfoundland lumbercamps although several people thought it could have been (MUNFLA Tapes 79-594/C4488, 85-257/C8284).[53] It seems very likely, however, that the song spread from the Goose Cove-St. Anthony region to locations in Bonavista Bay and Conception Bay as a result of the annual migratory fishery to the Labrador coast. This was prosecuted by fishing crews from the northeastern bays during the summer months (Hussey, Murphy, "Folkloric Exchange"). On their way to and from Labrador, the crews would call in at communities in White Bay and on the Strait of Belle Isle, where they consequently came to know local people.[54] A Goose Cove resident recalled that the crews would make a point of arriving there on a Saturday night so that they would catch a party and a bit of singing (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 138). Thus, songs heard in these places might be learnt and brought back to the communities further east, as Wilf Doyle imagined might have happened in the

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[53]The song was not encountered by John Ashton during his fieldwork for his study of the lumbercamp singing tradition in Newfoundland ("Lumbercamp").

[54]MUNFLA Tapes 64-15/C122-C123; cf. the song, "Fishing on the Labrador" in Lehr 64-65.

case of "The Moonshine Can":

> It could come. Because like my uncles and my
> grandfathers went to Labrador. They were fishing. .
> . . And going to and from Labrador, they would put in
> at like St. Anthony or some place like that. Sometimes
> they would come to Flower's Cove or Goose Cove or
> some place like that. They put in port for the night or
> something like that. Now I presume that's how the
> song eventually wend its way down to this part of the
> [island, i.e. Conception Harbour] (MUNFLA Tape 85-
> 257/C8286).

It seems, then, that Eric Rogers' version of the song represents an oral

version. It should, however, be noted that the period in which he heard it sung

and learnt it himself would have been the 1940s when the song was being

performed by Biddy O'Toole on The Barn Dance. If the show was heard in

Bonavista Bay, Biddy O'Toole's renditions may well have heightened interest in

the song even if they were not the source for the versions being sung there. It

was certainly the impression of several other informants, one from Goose Cove

and another from Conche, that the song had become popular everywhere during

the war years (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8289, Ms. 86-170/p. 53).

Wilf Doyle's testimony, quoted above, that "The Moonshine Can" was

being sung in his community in Conception Bay when he was a boy, indicates

that the song had spread there by around 1935-1940, just prior to Biddy

O'Toole's renditions on The Barn Dance. Doyle could not, however, recall the

song as it was sung then. There have nevertheless been several versions

collected from Conception Bay or nearby, at least one of which seems to date from soon after the song was composed. This is the version sung by Gladys Skanes of Bell Island (MUNFLA Tape 72-111/C1303). She learnt the song from her nephew, John Evans, who moved from St. John's to Bell Island at the age of 15 (MUNFLA Ms. 72-111/p. 35). When interviewed in 1972, Gladys Skanes thought that she had first heard the song from Evans about 55 years previously (MUNFLA Ms. 72-111/p. 35). This would, however, date it to 1917, too early for the incident to have taken place. Even if it was 50 or 45 years previously, though, this would date her version to the 1920s, well before the song entered the mass media.

Jim Lynch (b. 1915) of Torbay learnt the song from his father (Molloy, Interview). It is not known when Lynch's father picked up the song, or when Lynch learnt it from him, but it is possible that Lynch acquired most of his repertoire when he was a young man, which would again date his version to the period before the song entered the mass media.

The melody of "The Moonshine Can" was played on the accordion by Alexandra (May) Hussey of Spaniard's Bay, Conception Bay, for a student collector in 1976. She also recited a stanza of the song. As will be seen, this particular stanza seems to be the best-known and most-often-quoted section of the song. It is not known where or when May Hussey, who was born in 1913, learnt the melody or heard the words of "The Moonshine Can" (76-134/C2572).

Intriguingly, the fourth version of the song collected in the Conception Bay area was explicitly said to have been heard on the radio. Pat Cole, of Colliers, close to Wilf Doyle's community of Conception Harbour, recalled:

> I don't know who made up that. I used to hear that on the radio. This fellow used to sing it on the (air). I forgets who it was used to sing it. . . . 'Twas one of the fellows around one of the bays (MUNFLA Tape 86-13/C8686).

The reference to the performer as being from "around one of the bays" is puzzling since it does not obviously fit any of the known commercial artists who have sung "The Moonshine Can" on the radio.

The link between the White Bay/Strait of Belle Isle region of Newfoundland and the bays to the northeast of the island through the yearly contact of those involved in the Labrador fishery provides a strong case for the oral transmission of "The Moonshine Can" along the same route. The means by which the song spread to the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula, may also be the trips made by fishermen from the northerly bays, Notre Dame Bay, Bonavista Bay and Trinity Bay to this area in order to fish for part of the summer (MUNFLA Ms. 73-106/p. 32). Yet, this does not explain the relative prevalence of the song in this region. It will be remembered, for example, that Blondahl first heard the song from an old gentleman in Cappahayden and MacEdward Leach, collecting in the same area in the early 1950s, just before Blondahl's arrival in Newfoundland, also recorded two versions. One was sung by George Hatfield

of Tors Cove who, although there appears to be no biographical information on him in Leach's collection, sounds quite elderly on the recording (MUNFLA Tape 78-54/Nf. II, Tape IA). The other was sung by a younger-sounding singer, Frank Knox, of St. Shotts, Trepassey Bay (MUNFLA Tape 78-54/ Nf. II, Tape 18). Leach characterised Knox as a local folk singer, "one who has the songs of his community in his keeping" (Leach, "Folksong and Ballad" 207). Again, it is not known where these singers acquired their versions of "The Moonshine Can." The date of collection makes it possible that the song had been learnt sometime in the previous ten years from The Barn Dance, which would certainly have been received in this part of Newfoundland. On the other hand, evidence from other singers on the island, like Leander Roberts and John Crane mentioned above, shows that those with an extensive repertoire mostly learnt their songs at an early age. If the same was true for the Southern Shore singers mentioned, it is more likely that they acquired "The Moonshine Can" from fishermen visiting from the more northerly bays.

Some years later, in 1973, a student researching moonshine making on the Southern Shore noted that she had difficulty in finding anyone who knew "The Moonshine Can" when she tried to collect it there (MUNFLA Ms. 74-36/p. 10). The version she eventually recorded was sung by an unnamed man whom she describes in her paper as a 48-year old resident of The Goulds. On the tape-recording, she introduces him as "an old friend of my father's" (MUNFLA

Tape 74-36/C1636). He sounds very unsure of himself on the recording, perhaps due to the presence of the tape recorder, but also because he seems uncertain about the words of the song, or the melody, or both. Once again, there is no indication of where or when he may have learnt the song although, like Eric Rogers, he would have been a teenager around the time of **The Barn Dance** and could conceivably have picked it up from Biddy O'Toole.

Versions of "The Moonshine Can" from the south coast and southwest coast of the island are comparatively scarce. There is evidence, however, that the song was sung in these areas prior to its popularisation by Omar Blondahl. As already noted, two versions were sent in to **The Newfoundlander** in 1945 from Placentia Bay, one from Point Verde, near Placentia, on the Avalon Peninsula, and one from Marystown on the Burin Peninsula. In addition, Herbert Parsons, from whom Sandy Ives recorded the song, learnt it in 1950-1951 while he was teaching on the south coast in the community of Rencontre West (Parsons, Essay 330, Ives Interview). The man from whom he picked it up was Gordon Bartlett, a native of Coomb's Cove, Fortune Bay. Both men regarded "The Moonshine Can" as one of their favourite songs. Since Parsons would have been born in about 1933, it is possible that Bartlett would have been a similar age, and therefore that one or both men were influenced by songs heard on The Barn Dance whilst growing up.

In the Codroy Valley, a man born about 1940 remembered that he used

to hear people in Searston singing "The Moonshine Can," although it is not clear what period he is referring to (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 87, 89). He did not recall hearing the song on the radio (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 90). Nevertheless, the only version collected in the area is, according to Margaret Bennett who recorded it, "influenced by radio" (Letter). On the recording, which was made in Upper Ferry, Frank MacArthur plays the melody of the song on the accordion, followed, at intervals, by several stanzas of the song (MUNFLA Tape 71-48/C897). At one point, he comments, "I know it but I can't think about songs, you know?" His wife, originally from Conception Bay (Bennett, Letter), also recites a few lines of the song since, as her husband points out with some amusement, "She knows it but she can't sing it." Which radio performances may have influenced this fragmentary version will be discussed in the following chapter.

The association of "The Moonshine Can" with Omar Blondahl, or "Sagebrush Sam," by some people is evidenced by a number of recordings. Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson, collecting at the time of Blondahl's radio shows in 1964, for example, recorded Norman Parrott playing the tune on the accordion in Winterton, Trinity Bay (MUNFLA Tape 64-8/C22). Two women present at the time of the recording both identify the song with Sagebrush Sam, one commenting, "That's the one that Sagebrush Sam used [to sing], you know, on the radio. He used (to sing on) the radio." In answer to Halpert's question

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about this, Parrott says that this was where he learnt the tune. On another occasion in the same year, 56-year old Gordon ("Jim") Dyke of Salvage, Bonavista Bay, also mentioned to Halpert and Widdowson that he had picked up "The Moonshine Can," apparently to sing rather than play, from Sagebrush Sam on the radio (MUNFLA Tape 64-10/C29).

A third person who was conscious of having learnt the song from Blondahl was the singer and accordion player, Dorman Ralph. Ralph was born in 1923 in Great Harbour Deep, White Bay, and began playing the accordion at the age of 14 (MUNFLA Tape 80-495/C5025). He remembers hearing "The Moonshine Can" sung in White Bay while he was growing up but did not learn it until after he moved permanently to St. John's in 1956 (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284). It was at this time that he encountered Blondahl:

> Well, I meet him [a] few times down to the tavern, you
> know. One place and the other. . . . [As] a matter of
> fact, I was on radio with him one time. On VOCM. .
> . . He used to have a programme, see. Every day.
> I think it was two to four. I think. And he phoned me
> and he asked me would I come up, you know. I said,
> "Sure." [To do the] usual Newfoundland songs, like,
> you know. And I said, "Yea, sure." And I went up
> there. So we had a good time. And we sung a few
> songs and everything. And after he . . . [asked me]
> where I learnt the songs and one thing and another
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284).

Although it was Blondahl's version of "The Moonshine Can" that Ralph picked up, he remembered hearing Biddy O'Toole singing the song on The Barn

Dance, perhaps during one of his previous stays in St. John's. Ralph

remembered her singing the song slower than Blondahl, at about the same

tempo as he had heard White Bay singers perform it in his youth:

> And I tell you another woman used to sing it here one
> time. Probably you heard of her since you came
> here. Biddy O'Toole. She used to sing it now. And
> I . . . [am] almost sure she used to have that speed,
> I guess. Just the same as I gave you there [a
> demonstration of the slower speed]. . . . She used to
> sing on [The] Old Barn Dance [that] they used to
> have one time years ago, you know. She was from town, you know. But she was a real
> old lady. But she died a few years ago. She used to
> sing a lot of them songs. She used to sing one, you
> know, "Do You Want Your Old Lobby Washed
> Down?" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284).

Like a number of other people, Ralph regarded "The Moonshine Can" as

"a real old time song" which was widespread before it was popularised by

Blondahl (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8284). Somewhat similar is the comment of

the fiddler, Rufus Guinchard, who performed the tune of the song for collectors

Halpert and Widdowson in 1966 (MUNFLA Tape 66-24/C275). Guinchard, who

lived most of his life in Daniel's Harbour on the Northern Peninsula (Russell,

Rufus Guinchard), believed that:

> I was oldish when I [learned the tune]. It's about
> fifteen or twenty years since he made that, you know.
> Now. So that's around here we got hold to it. But
> now it could - I don't know how long [it] could be
> made [up] before that perhaps. 'Cause that's old.
> That's a [sic] old Newfoundland song too, you know
> (MUNFLA Tape 66-24/C275).

Three other collected versions, although not explicitly identified as being influenced by commercial recordings of "The Moonshine Can," are clearly indebted to the mass-mediated version first put together by Blondahl. One, collected by Kenneth Peacock from Kenneth Pink of Rose Blanche, on Newfoundland's south coast, in 1959, is likely by virtue of its date to derive directly from Blondahl (MUNFLA Tape 87-157/C11065). Peacock, apparently unaware of this, reproduced Pink's version of the melody "because of his more sprightly singing style" in his book, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 9). Nevertheless, Peacock used Joshua Osborne's text for the collection, "probably . . . because it was more complete and/or felicitous" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 9). The two other versions which are obviously commercially-derived are by younger singers, Paul Dean and an anonymous singer, LK. Dean, of North Harbour, Placentia Bay, was born in 1950 and learnt the song from his mother:

> She used to sing for my father because he liked to hear her sing. And he couldn't sing very well himself even though he did sing some things. He used to like to hear her sing "The Moonshine Can" (MUNFLA Tape 80-135/C4804).

Dean comments after his rendition for collector, Kenneth S. Goldstein, that "It's a common song." LK of Tilting, Fogo Island, was also born around 1942. When recorded, at the age of 30, however, he could not remember all of the song, saying "I used to know all that but I don't know it now. I know bits of it, that's

all" (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231). LK would have been a teenager at the time of Blondahl's radio broadcasts, and it may be that he learnt the song from those, performing it at the time because the song was "in vogue."

It was certainly the case that in Goose Cove the "short" version of "The Moonshine Can," as some local people referred to the version of the song popularised on the radio by Blondahl and White, was sung by a lot of people there for a while, but not in recent times since "it's not new" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255, Ms. 85-257/p. 201). It was also said in St. Anthony that the song was very popular there in around 1965 (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 258), suggesting again a vogue for the song caused by its regular performance on the radio by one or more professional performers at the time. Nevertheless, the "short version" of the song, which was also noted as being the one "without the names" (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 201), would have been particularly conducive to performance in Goose Cove where performances of fuller versions of the song were still a sensitive matter.

As in Goose Cove and St. Anthony, it seems that in at least one other place an oral version of "The Moonshine Can" was first known and sung before a mass-mediated version was heard and performed in the same locality. As will be seen in chapter 5, the version sung by Sylvia Hickey (née McCarthy) of Woods Island in Bay of Islands on the west coast, is clearly indebted to a mass-mediated version (MUNFLA Tape 81-162/C8782). Yet, she claims, "All the family

sung that one before me too" and regards it as "really old." Her impression that "most all Newfoundlanders (sings) that one" also recalls Paul Dean's observation that the song was a common one. It is notable that Hickey, who was born in 1943, liked to listen to country and western music on the radio whilst she was growing up, singing some country songs herself to the accompaniment of the guitar which she learnt to play whilst in her teens (MUNFLA Tape 81-162/C8782). She likewise accompanies herself on the guitar in her rendition of "The Moonshine Can."

Conclusion

On the evidence of the extant versions of "The Moonshine Can" and the people responsible for shaping them, it has been possible to gain an overall impression of the song's development in Newfoundland and beyond. From a local song rooted in the personal experience of its composer and sung by him for his own immediate personal ends, it has been shown that "The Moonshine Can" was ultimately transformed into a popular Newfoundland folksong. As such, it came to be performed in styles and contexts quite different from those in which it had been conceived and perpetuated in local singing tradition. The song appears to have spread largely by oral transmission at first, due to the movement of fishermen in the summer months to various fishing grounds around the island and in Labrador. It subsequently entered the mass media, initially

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through the renditions of Biddy O'Toole on The Barn Dance and then again, a few years later, through those of Omar Blondahl who had discovered the song independently. Particularly as a result of Blondahl's performances and his publication of the words and music in his songbook, "The Moonshine Can" became well known on the Canadian mainland. On the other hand, print seems to have played little part in the dissemination of the song within Newfoundland and Labrador, although the text was published in the song column of The Newfoundlander during the 1940s. We now turn to the analysis of the extant texts and tunes of the song in order to flesh out these preliminary observations of its origin and development in Newfoundland.

Chapter 5

"THE MOONSHINE CAN": PERFORMANCES AND TEXTS

The corpus of versions of "The Moonshine Can" located for the present study, including all fragments, consists of 34 songs (text and tune), 12 texts, and seven tunes without texts.[1] Apart from a few of the commercial recordings of the song, all were either performed or supplied by Newfoundlanders,[2] or were performed or otherwise disseminated by others in Newfoundland. This chapter is concerned with the comparison and analysis of the texts of these Newfoundland-related versions of the song, whilst Chapter 6 deals with the tunes.

In many cases, the words and melodies being examined in these two chapters have been transcribed and assembled from actual performances of "The Moonshine Can." The transcriptions are therefore referred to throughout as "versions" in recognition of the fact that they are scholarly constructs and distinct from the performances from which they have been derived. In order to put the versions into perspective, however, something of the circumstances of the performances, such as they are known, will also be described. Thus, the inert texts and melodies being studied can be seen in relation to the dynamic performances from which they come, and aspects of the performance can be

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[1]For a complete list of the versions of "The Moonshine Can" studied in the present work and sample texts, see Appendices 1 and 2.

[2]This includes Anglo-Irish settlers in Labrador.

taken into consideration in the interpretation of textual and melodic variation.

Group I - Versions from Goose Cove and Its Vicinity[3]

The versions of "The Moonshine Can" recorded in Goose Cove and its vicinity[4] include six complete, or near-complete, versions - two collected by myself from Tom Sexton in Goose Cove (hereafter referred to as TS1 and TS2), a further two collected by myself from Pat Troy junior in Goose Cove (PT1, PT2), and two collected by Hugh Rowlings, in one case with Kenneth Goldstein, from Alf Pollard in Englee, White Bay (AP1, AP2).[5] In addition, there is an incomplete version which I recorded from Jim Morris in St. Anthony (JIM1) and a number of textual fragments and melodies noted in the course of my fieldwork in Goose Cove, St. Anthony, and the nearby community of St. Anthony Bight (FR1, AH1, SE1, WP1, FDR1, JM1). In the absence of a version of "The Moonshine Can" from Pat Troy himself, and of versions from those in Goose Cove who learnt the song from him, such as Jack Troy, Ambrose Reardon and Paddy Sexton, these more recently documented performances are the nearest that it has been

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[3]All locations mentioned in this chapter, except those in northern Labrador, are shown on Map 3.

[4]This has been taken as the northern shore of White Bay and the northernmost section of the Northern Peninsula.

[5]I am grateful to Kenneth S. Goldstein for his permission to make reference to this material which should not be re-quoted in any form without his express permission.

possible to get to Pat Troy's original composition.

As detailed in Chapter 1, my first encounter with "The Moonshine Can" was in January 1985 during a session in which I was taping Tom Sexton and his cousin, Marie Hillier, singing songs from their respective repertoires. Tom was coaxed to sing the song, which he and the Hilliers call "The Moonshine Song," by Marie's husband, Eric. Despite Tom's complaints of a cold and about the length of the song, he was persuaded to sing it and began it without warning. Unfortunately, the tape I was using was nearing the end of Side A and I was forced to interrupt Tom after 10 stanzas in order to turn the tape over. In my haste, I did not press the "Record" button again properly, a mistake which I only noticed after about a minute. The resulting version (TS1) is therefore incomplete. In addition, Tom thought afterwards that he might have confused the order of the stanzas in places:

> I'm after forgetting it, you see. Perhaps . . . some
> places I might have one verse ahead of the other. . .
> . But anyhow, that's it (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255).

Having decided to make "The Moonshine Can" the subject of my doctoral thesis in the period following this encounter, I returned to Goose Cove four months later in order to research the song in more depth. This time Tom was forewarned that I wanted to record the song from him and had been rehearsing it. He seemed slightly on edge about the tape recorder this time, instructing me, "Don't start her [the tape recorder] up yet till I tries to think it over a little bit."

He was also somewhat hoarse due to having sung at a house gathering a night or so previously, and this became increasingly apparent during his rendition of "The Moonshine Can." Perhaps as a result of these factors and, I believe, his concern to get the "right" order of the stanzas on this occasion, he went blank after 15 stanzas and could not continue. Clearly disappointed, he remarked, "Boy, it's gone tonight. Now only the . . . other evening I sing over that down the house, look." Encouraged by Marie Hillier and myself, however, he eventually repeated the last stanza he had sung, and managed to pick the song up again and finish it. Even so, this version (TS2) may not contain all the stanzas which Tom knows of "The Moonshine Can" for, when he had finished singing it, he began to say, "I didn't . . .," and may have been going on to say that he did not include all the stanzas. Unfortunately, I interrupted him to congratulate him on completing the song, in reply to which he remarked, "You got another couple of verses . . . anyhow" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8274).

My inquiries about "The Moonshine Can" amongst members of the Troy family in Goose Cove led to the two versions of the song from Pat Troy junior, one sung performance (PT1) and one written text (PT2). Pat had offered to write out the song for me in May 1985 and, when I went to interview him about the song, he gave me a photocopy of what he had written (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 191-94). In the text, Pat calls the song by its more familiar title, "[The] Moonshine Can." I also played him a number of recordings of the song,

including that of Tom Sexton, to see which was nearest to the song as Pat knew it.[6] Since none of these turned out to be quite right, Pat sang the song himself for me to record. Given Pat's difficulties as a singer, already mentioned in the previous chapter, it was a brave attempt motivated in large part, I think, by his goodwill for my research into his grandfather's song. Despite two false starts trying to pitch the song comfortably for his voice, and occasional difficulties with the melody during the song, he managed to complete the performance. He sang the entire song from memory, only faltering over the words twice, on which occasions I used his written text to prompt him. The two versions differ little from each other, apart from reversing the order of two of the stanzas (see Table 2a) and the accidental omission of a line from the twelfth stanza of PT1. Following his rendition of the song, Pat copied down the words of the stanza allegedly referring to Bridget Hennessey from my transcription of Tom's version. He knew of the existence of this stanza but had not apparently managed to get hold of the words. Nevertheless, he doubted that Tom's words were entirely correct, Pat having the idea that the stanza said something about Mrs. Hennessey talking nonsense (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 217).

These were the only complete versions of "The Moonshine Can" which I was able to collect whilst carrying out fieldwork in Goose Cove and the

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[6]These recordings and people's reactions to them will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

surrounding area. As described in Chapter 4, Jim Morris of St. Anthony knew the song but was not willing to share it with me. He was nevertheless prompted into singing some of it when one of the younger men present at the interview began to sing the final stanza of a mass-mediated version (discussed below) of the song. Jim Morris joined in and finished off the stanza. A few minutes later he began to play the melody of the song on the accordion and then sang four more stanzas with his son, or his son's friend, joining in periodically on the guitar. JIM1 is not taken from a proper performance of the song, therefore, but from an incomplete rendition done under some duress and in rather chaotic circumstances.

In addition to this, a number of people supplied me with short fragments of the song. Mrs. Fred Robotham, originally of St. Anthony, Mrs. Fanny Ricks, originally of Bartlett's Harbour, and William Pilgrim of St. Anthony Bight contributed various lines which they remembered during the course of my interviews with them in 1985 and 1986 (FR1, FDR1, WP1 respectively). Sylvia Emberley (née Ollerhead) of St. Anthony contributed part of a stanza, both text and tune, during a telephone interview (SE1), and Agnes Hancock (née Sexton) of Goose Cove also sang the melody for me to notate and quoted a line from the song (AH1). Lastly, Joseph Murrin did not know "The Moonshine Song," as he called it, to sing it and had trouble remembering any of the words but, in answer to my questions as to the song's melody, he sang me the final stanza (JM1).

The performances of "The Moonshine Can" by Alf Pollard in Englee were recorded some eight to ten years before my fieldwork in Goose Cove. The first (AP1) was made by a local school teacher, Hugh Rowlings, in June or July of 1976 as part of a Newfoundland and Labrador Folk Arts Council collecting project (MUNFLA Ms. 86-77). In this performance, Alf Pollard sings the entire song with no more than a few minor slips. Two years later, Hugh Rowlings accompanied folklorist, Kenneth Goldstein, to record this and a number of other songs from Pollard. In this rendition (AP2), Pollard stumbles over the words in the sixth stanza of "The Moonshine Can" by confusing it with the opening words of the following stanza. Conscious of the tape recorder perhaps, he stops and apologises. He is then requested to begin the [sixth] stanza again, but instead carries on to the next, possibly because it is ambiguous from his point of view as to which of the two stanzas is requested. He nevertheless recovers and finishes the song, following which there is a short discussion between the three men about the age of the song and the identity of its composer. In the conversation preceding the song's performance, it is notable that Kenneth Goldstein and Hugh Rowlings call it "The Moonshine Song," presumably following Alf Pollard in referring to the song with this title.[7]

A summary of the textual stanzas contained in these versions is presented

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[7]The titles by which Pat Troy's song was known will be the subject of further discussion in Chapter 8.

in Tables 2a and 2b. The tables show which stanzas appear in each version and the order in which they were sung, or written in the case of PT2. All the stanzas consist of four lines unless otherwise noted. Where lines from one stanza may have been conflated with those from another, I have indicated this possibility by placing the number of the stanza involved beside the names of the two stanzas which I believe to have been brought together. The number appears in square brackets to show that this is an analytical judgement rather than one necessarily acknowledged by the singer.

As can be seen from Table 2a, Pat Troy's are the longest versions of "The Moonshine Can." This is probably due to the fact that he assembled the text of the song from the singing of Jack Troy, plus the recollections of the song of Pat's uncle, Joseph Murrin, and his mother, Bridget Troy (née Murrin). It is also likely that Pat's father, Leo Troy, helped in putting the song together as well. Nevertheless, Pat's versions do not contain quite all of the stanzas which have been associated with the song and it is significant that one of these, as Pat himself knew, is BACKBITING - the stanza thought to refer to Bridget Hennessey - which Pat copied from me. As seen in Chapter 4, Jack Troy rarely sang this stanza and it was undoubtedly suppressed amongst the Murrins themselves. The possible reason for the absence of the GRENFELL stanza in both Pat Troy's and Tom Sexton's versions will be discussed below. Meanwhile, it is notable that Pat's versions contain several stanzas which do not appear in any other

Table 2a: Stanza Structure (Group I "Moonshine Can Versions)

	PT1	PT2	TS1	TS2	AP1	AP2
COME-ALL	1	1	1	1	1	1
EASTER	2	2	5	5	2	2
FRANK	3	3	3	4	3	3
SUMMONS	4	4	6	6	4	4
QUESTION	5 5 ll.	5 5 ll.	7	7	5	5
PARSONS	6	6	8	8	6	6 2 ll.
GRIEF	7	7	9	9	7	7
NO-HEALTH	9 3 ll.	9 3 ll.	3	2	8	8
SPRUCE	8	8	4	3	9	9
ELI	10	11	?	10	14	14
FEE	11	10	?	-	-	-
MCDONALD	[12] 2 ll.	[12] 2 ll.	?	-	[11] 2 ll.	[11] 2 ll.
ANTHONY	[12] 3 ll.	[12]	?	15	10	10
GOOSE	13 3 ll.	13 3 ll.	?	-	-	-
GRENFELL	-	-	?	-	[11] 2 ll.	[11] 2 ll.
MAGIS-TRATE	14 6 ll.	14 6 ll.	10	11	12 6 ll.	12
PELLEY	15	15	?	12	13	13
OLLER-HEAD	16 3 ll.	16 3 ll.	?	14	-	-

BILES	17	17	?	-	-	-
BACK-BITING	-	-	[11] 1 l.	13	-	-
TROY	18	18	[12]	16	15	15
TOTAL	18	18	[12 +] Incomplete	16	[15]	[15]

Table 2b Stanza Structure (Group I "Moonshine Can" Versions)

	JIM1	FR1	AH1	WP1	SE1	FDR1	JM1
COME-ALL	1 1 l.	? 1 l.	? 1 l.	-	-	-	-
EASTER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FRANK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SUMMONS	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
QUESTION	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
PARSONS	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
GRIEF	5 3 ll.	-	-	-	-	-	-
NO-HEALTH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SPRUCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ELI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FEE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MCDONALD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ANTHONY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GOOSE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

GRENFELL	-	? 2 ll.	-	? 2 ll.	? 2 + ll.	? 1 l.	-
MAGIS-TRATE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PELLEY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OLLER-HEAD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BILES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BACK-BITING	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TROY	[0]	-	-	-	-	-	? 3 ll.
TOTAL	[5 +] Incomplete	Incom-plete	Incom-plete	Incom-plete	Incom-plete	Incom-plete	Incom-plete

version of the song - BILES, referring to Luke Biles, and GOOSE, referring to the Goose Cove people who contributed to the fine. Lines which may have once made up a stanza, MCDONALD, concerning the schoolteacher are also contained in Pat's versions and AP1/2. Thus, in Pat Troy junior's versions there is more of an emphasis on the people in Goose Cove who helped his grandfather than there is in other versions, although it is possible that these stanzas are amongst those known by Tom Sexton but not recorded from him.

Given that Tom Sexton is from the same community as Pat Troy, the versions of "The Moonshine Can" by these two singers are surprisingly distinct. Tom's, for example, is much more consistent than Pat's in terms of stanza

length, being entirely composed of quatrains whilst Pat's stanzas are somewhat variable. On the other hand, Tom, unlike Pat, displays some confusion over the ordering of the stanzas in places. This leads to some discrepancies between TS2 and what we have of TS1 and, over a period of some time, may have produced the rather different sequence of stanzas which distinguishes Tom's versions from those of Pat Troy and Alf Pollard. In the opening sequence of stanzas of TS1, for example, COME-ALL is followed by FRANK, NO-HEALTH, SPRUCE and EASTER respectively, whereas in TS2, COME-ALL leads straight into NO-HEALTH, followed by SPRUCE, then FRANK, and EASTER. It is likely that TS2 is Tom's intended order since in TS1 he becomes slightly confused around FRANK, beginning the first few words of NO-HEALTH before switching to FRANK and having to pause momentarily after FRANK to re-orientate himself. In addition, it is more logical for FRANK to come after NO-HEALTH and SPRUCE since FRANK is a narrative stanza and clearly belongs with EASTER and the ensuing narrative stanzas. It can be seen from Table 2a, however, that Tom's versions are unique in putting the non-narrative stanzas NO-HEALTH and SPRUCE before the narrative part of the song. The reason for this may be connected with his version of COME-ALL and this will be discussed below. Meanwhile, Tom is also unique in placing FRANK before EASTER and not vice versa as in PT1/2 and AP1/2. This can be accounted for in terms of the singers' slightly differing conceptions of the song's narrative. Tom is telling it from a

chronological point of view, Frank Powell bringing the news to Goose Cove from St. Anthony first and Nick Florence then relaying it to Pat Troy on Easter Sunday. This order of stanzas, however, leads to a reference to "the news" in FRANK without any prior explanation as to what "the news" was because this is only revealed in EASTER. From Pat Troy's perspective, however, the sequence of events was that he initially heard the news from Nick Florence who presumably then told him how he had come to hear the news, through Frank Powell. Hence, the versions of Alf Pollard and Pat Troy junior, in which EASTER precedes FRANK, probably reflect the order of stanzas as Pat Troy originally composed them. As shown below, however, a slight variation in FRANK of AP1/2 indicates that Pollard orders the stanzas in this way because he sees Frank as being the second person to bring Pat Troy the news after Nick Florence.

As can be seen in Table 2a, Tom Sexton's versions are the only ones in this group to contain the BACKBITING stanza, although the stanza also occurs in one other version to be discussed in a different group below. The placing of this stanza seems to present something of a difficulty for Tom. In TS1, it forms the penultimate stanza of the song, whilst in TS2 it appears in the middle of a run of stanzas praising the various people in St. Anthony who helped Pat Troy. Given the critical comment of BACKBITING, it seems incongruous in this latter position. Furthermore, it seems to precipitate the breakdown of Tom's memory

in TS2 since, following BACKBITING, he begins to forget the words, having to stop for a moment and repeat the last clause of BACKBITING before picking himself up and going on to OLLERHEAD. It is after OLLERHEAD that he breaks down completely, eventually continuing after he is persuaded to repeat OLLERHEAD. Thus, the placing of BACKBITING in TS2 looks likely to have been a mistake on Tom's part, the correct placing of the stanza from his point of view probably being in the penultimate position, as in TS1. The details of the text support this, as will be seen below.

Alf Pollard's versions of the song are very consistent with regard to stanza order and, in the initial narrative section of the song at least, the sequence of stanzas is close to that of Pat Troy junior's versions except that Pollard places NO-HEALTH before SPRUCE. Pollard's stanzas are of a more regular length than Pat Troy's, however. Apart from one six-line stanza (MAGISTRATE) and the incomplete PARSONS stanza in AP2, his versions are composed of quatrains. As will be seen below, I believe that one of these may be a conflation of what was originally two separate stanzas. A significant difference between Pollard's versions and those of Pat Troy and Tom Sexton is his omission of OLLERHEAD and inclusion of GRENFELL. GRENFELL does not feature in either of the full-length versions of the song from Goose Cove. Excerpts from it were nevertheless quoted to me by Will Pilgrim, Mrs. Robotham, Sylvia Emberley and Fannie Ricks, as shown in Table 2b. It is notable that none of

these people were natives of Goose Cove but came from nearby settlements. Furthermore, the stanza is found in several other White Bay versions of the song besides those of Alf Pollard. Yet, the Goose Cove people whom I asked about the stanza, including Leo Troy, were unsure as to whether it was in Pat Troy's original (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/p. 229, 86-170/p. 44). This state of affairs is particularly puzzling since, as explained in chapter 4, Alf Pollard probably learnt "The Moonshine Can" directly from Pat Troy senior. A possible explanation for this apparent anomaly is presented with the discussion of GRENFELL below.

A more detailed textual comparison of this group of versions yields insights into a number of other matters. These include clues as to the style and content of Pat Troy's original composition, particularly his heavy reliance on the formulaic language, and, at the other extreme, indications of the subsequent influence of the distinctive mass-mediated versions of the song (discussed below). In addition, subtle differences between the versions in this group hint at the way in which the singers conceptualise the song's story, and how they view the events which it recounts, particularly in relation to themselves and their audience. Varying attitudes towards the song itself are also indicated by the textual variation it has undergone in some cases.

"The Moonshine Can" divides into two main sections. The first consists of the narration of the incident and several stanzas of commentary concerning the informer and state of affairs he has brought about. The second section

resembles a "moniker song" in which the personal characteristics of named people are praised, mocked or censured (Posen 111). The first stanza, COME-ALL (see texts below), introduces the narrative portion in the manner found in many broadside ballads and local songs, with an invitation to listen to the song.[8] In this group of versions, the invitation is consistently addressed to "all good people," the same audience being exhorted to beware of "the informer" in AP1/2, or in Pat Troy's case, "the bold informer," in lines 2 and 3 of this stanza.[9] An opposition is therefore immediately set up in these versions between "good people" and the informer, who is by implication "a bad person." Thus, a central theme of the song, as its composer seems to have intended it, is introduced (cf. Laws, American Balladry 90). Lines 2 and 3 of TS1/2, however, are distinct in that they omit the warning and any reference to the informer, replacing them with a more innocuous reference to the brevity of the song. The concerns of the singer rather than the composer seem to be represented here, especially in the playing down of the duration of the song which, as mentioned above, Tom regarded as long. If Tom himself introduced this variation - and it is unique to his version - it suggests that he felt his

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[8]Cf. Laws, American Balladry 88; examples of the specific invitation to "listen unto me" can be found in "The 'S.S. Ethie,'" Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 174, and "O'Donell, The Avenger," O'Conor 27.

[9]The use of "treat" in line 2 of AP2 is likely to derive specifically from John White's singing of the song (see below).

COME-ALL

Come all ye good people, come listen unto me,
Beware of the bold informer, you'll see how he served me,
Beware of the bold informer, good people all around,
Since jealousy could not agree he put our whiskey down.(PT1)

Come all ye good people, come listen unto me,
Beware of the bold informer, you'll see how he served me,
Beware of the bold informer, good people all around,
Since jealousy could not agree he put our whiskey down.(PT2)

Come all of ye good people, come listen unto me,
Beware of the informer see-, to see how he served me,
Beware of the informer, good people all around,
Wherever you meets a 'former, he's always looking down.(AP1)

Come all of ye good people, come listen unto me,
Beware of that informer to see how he treat me,
Beware of the informer, good people all around,
Wherever you meets a 'former, he's always looking down.(AP2)

Whenever you meet an informer, he's always looking down.(FR1)

Whenever you an informer meets he's always looking down.(AH1)

Come all of ye good people, come listen unto me . . . (JIM1)

Oh come all of you good people and listen unto me,
It's only a few verses now I'll sing it unto ye,
It's only a few verses good people all around,
How jealousy could not agree, they put our whiskey down.(TS1)

Oh come all of ye good people and listen unto me,
It's only a few verses I'll sing now unto ye,
It's only a few verses, good people all around,
How jealousy could not agree, he put our whiskey down.(TS2)

audience needed some persuasion to listen to it, whereas in AP1/2 and PT1/2,

the audience's willingness to listen is simply assumed. The way in which these two lines have changed in Tom's versions of COME-ALL illustrates something which will be noted in a number of places throughout this chapter, namely that although the detail of the text may vary between versions, the overall structure of the stanza is often maintained. Hence, the parallelism between lines 2 and 3 in this stanza as found in AP1/2 and PT1/2 is preserved in TS1/2, the first half-line of text being employed in both lines in all cases. Such parallelism is not unusual in traditional songs employing double stanza form.[10]

Line 4 of TS1/2 is very similar to that of PT1/2, but because there has been no mention of the informer in TS1/2 up to this point, the referent for "they" (TS1) or "he" (TS2) in line 4 is missing. It may be for this reason, therefore, that Tom goes on to incorporate the stanza, NO-HEALTH, and its apparent pair, SPRUCE (see below), immediately after COME-ALL. NO-HEALTH deals with the effects of the liquor being "put down" and contains a reference to the informer, the cause of the situation, in its fourth line. COME-ALL, and the central theme it introduces in other versions, is thus retrospectively "explained" by NO-HEALTH in Tom's version.

Like PT1/2, it is notable that TS1/2 refers to the moonshine as "whiskey." This is also a characteristic of Alf Pollard's versions, although not in this stanza,

[10]See, for example, "In Courtship There Lies Pleasure" (Peacock, Outports 2: 465-66), "The Jam at Gerry's Rocks" (Leach, Labrador 256-57) and "The Gallant Brigantine" (Lehr 67-69).

and JO1 (see Group II below), and probably represents Pat Troy's original choice of word. All other versions use the word "moonshine." The use of "whiskey" in TS1/2 and PT1/2 has the effect of extending the internal rhyme already present in this line between "jealousy" and "agree." Such internal rhymes are quite common in local songs and broadside balladry (cf. Ives, Doyle 30), but it is notable in the light of other parallels to be discussed below that Pat Troy's example in this stanza is very close to the phrase, "By cruelty he banished me," contained in the corresponding position of "Erin's Lovely Home" (Leach, Labrador 48).

The last line of these versions of COME-ALL is significant in that it is the only mention in the entire song of the informer's motive, namely "jealousy." The variant line 4 of AP1/2, also collected in fragmentary form from several other informants, although with no indication as to which stanza it belongs, is an interesting departure, therefore, since it makes no mention of the informer's motive. Whilst preserving the final rhyme word "down," it instead makes the general observation that informers can be recognised because they are "always looking down." The implication here seems to be along the lines that people who do not meet one's eye are shifty.[11] The substitution of this general observation on informers in place of the specific motive of a particular informer

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[11]Cf. "Concerning the informers, I'll tell you no lie/And he wears his cap down over his eye," in another Newfoundland local song, "Jim Picco" (MUNFLA Ms. 78-236/p. 124).

suggests that the events recounted in the song and the reasons for them are of less importance to Alf Pollard and his audiences than those more closely connected with the incident in Goose Cove. In the case of Alf Pollard's versions, this is the first of a number of indications relating to his geographical and interpersonal distance from the incident and those involved in it.

EASTER marks the beginning of the narrative portion of the song in AP1/2 and PT1/2, and probably Pat Troy's original, although not in Tom Sexton's versions. It is one of a set of consecutive stanzas which traces the sequence of events as experienced by Pat Troy. This part of the song is thus a type of personal experience narrative. In many of the narrative stanzas, there is an emphasis on the timing, or the relative timing of the event being described. Hence, in EASTER, the bringing of the news is pinpointed as being "on Easter Sunday morning" and "as soon as Nicky got the news," the first of these being joined with a standard "filler" clause of broadside balladry, "as you may plainly see."[12] The news is basically the same in all versions, that there is a "kick up" or fuss concerning the moonshine can. Exactly whose moonshine can is being referred to is variable, however. It is "your" in PT1, "our" in TS1, and a more neutral "the" or "this" in PT2, TS2, and AP1/2. This variation seems to hinge on the degree of identification by the singer with the events of the song.

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[12]Cf. "The Lamentation of James O'Sullivan," reproduced in Wright 196-97.

AP1/2 also differs from PT1/2 and TS1/2 in its use of the name Mickey instead of Nicky. As seen in Chapter 4, the latter was no doubt the original name mentioned since Nick Florence was the person involved. Nevertheless, Mickey is invariably the name found in extant versions of "The Moonshine Can" from beyond Goose Cove, perhaps because Mickey is a more familiar name than Nicky in Newfoundland.

As in COME-ALL, TS1/2 introduces a different clause in line 3 of EASTER, substituting "as brisk as any man" for "and put me on a stand." The phrase used by Tom may have been transposed from what was originally another stanza of the song which does not feature in TS1/2 (see discussion of FEE below). Meanwhile, PT1/2 displays the influence of mass-mediated versions of the song in line 4, with the insertion of "me boy" when Pat is addressed and, in PT1, the reference to "an awful kick," an expression specific to mass-mediated versions, or those derived from them.

EASTER also illustrates a technique of stanza construction which is frequently employed in "The Moonshine Can." This involves the repetition of the final clause (half-line) of one line as the beginning of the next. Instances of this either occur between the first half of lines 2 and 3, as in EASTER, or between the last line of one stanza and the first line of the next. This kind of repetition, together with the parallelism between lines 2 and 3 noted in COME-ALL, and elsewhere in the song found between lines 4 and 1 of two consecutive stanzas,

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EASTER

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Nicky got the news he then came down to me,
He then came down to me, me boys, and he put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's an awful kick about your bloody
can."(PT1)

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Nickey [sic] got the news he then come down to me,
He then come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's a big kick up about the bloody
can."(PT2)

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Mickey got the news he did come down to me,
He did come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pad, there is a big kick up about this blooming can."(AP1)

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Mickey got the news he did come down to me,
He did come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pad, there is a big kick up about this blooming can."(AP2)

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Nicky got the news, he then come down to me,
He then come to me, my boys, as brisk as any man,
Saying, "Pad, there is the big kick up about our blooming
can."(TS1)

Oh on Easter Sunday morning, as you may plainly see,
As soon as Nicky got the news he then come down to me,
He then come down to me, my boys, as brisk as any man,
Saying, "Pad, there is a big kick up about the blooming can."(TS2)

are characteristic of the majority of stanzas in the Group I versions. The ways in which these repetitive structures have been treated in the course of the song's transmission will be returned to in several places below. Their relation to the melody to which they are sung is also discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

As already noted, the placing of the stanza, FRANK, is somewhat variable amongst the versions in Group I. Its position before EASTER in TS1/2 reflects the chronological order in which the events took place. Nevertheless, it can also be assumed that Nick Florence's explanation of where he heard about the "kick up" over Pat Troy's moonshine was all part of the news which he brought. Thus, it is quite logical for FRANK to follow EASTER as in PT1/2 and it is likely that this was indeed the order of stanzas in Pat Troy's original composition. The same stanza order is also found in AP1/2 but here a slight variation in the wording of line 1 indicates that there is a different underlying rationale for the position of FRANK after EASTER. Unlike PT1/2 and TS1/2 who refer to Frank Powell as "the man" or "the chap" who brought the news, AP1/2 refers to him as "the next" to bring the news. The implication in AP1/2 is therefore that the news was brought to Pat Troy twice, the second message-bearer being Frank. This subtle shift in meaning makes the stanza redundant from the point of view of the narrative. The second half of the stanza, meanwhile, contains a non-narrative couplet, perhaps influenced by the patriotism engendered in

FRANK

The chap that brought us down the news, he was one of our rank,
I s'pose you all do know his name, his name it was young Frank,
His name it was young Frank, me boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps belong to Newfoundland.(PT1)

The chap that brought us up the news, he was one of our rank,
I suppose you all do know his name, his name it was young Frank,
His name [it] was young Frank, me boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps belong to Nfld.(PT2)

The next that brought us in the news, he was one of our rank,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is young Frank,
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps, he belong to Newfoundland.(AP1)

The next that brought us in the news, he was one of our rank,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is young Frank,
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chap [sic], he belong to Newfoundland.(AP2)

Oh the man that brought us in the news, he is one of our rank,
Perhaps you all do know his name, his name it is young Frank,
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps right off a Newfoundland.(TS1)

Oh the man that brought us in the news, he is one of our rank,
Perhaps you all do know his name, his name it is young Frank,
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps right off a Newfoundland.(TS2)

Newfoundland by the First World War a few years earlier (Noel 130). It is clearly indebted to another standard epithet of local song and broadside balladry, "as you may understand" followed by the use of the rhyme word "land."[13] The narrative redundancy of the first couplet in AP1/2 and the non-essential content of the second couplet seem to have had significant consequences for the survival rate of this stanza in versions of the song collected beyond the St. Anthony-White Bay region of Newfoundland.

Lines 2-3 of FRANK employ the technique of clause repetition remarked above in EASTER. The same clause is similarly employed in the song's final stanza, TROY, with Pat Troy's own name substituted for that of Frank. The initial clause of line 2 of FRANK is subtly altered in the various versions according to the degree of familiarity which the singers perceive their listeners to have with Frank. Hence, PT1/2 assumes that the audience do know Frank's name, TS1/2 imagines that they may know his name, whilst AP1/2 anticipates that his audience will have heard his name. Since Pat Troy's intended audience was almost certainly local people already familiar with the persons involved in

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[13]Cf. "The Escape of Meagher" (Wright 226) and especially the following lines from "George Alfred Beckett":

> George Alfred Beckett is my name, as you may
> understand,
> Brought up by honest parents, reared up in
> Newfoundland" (Casey, "Traditions and
> Neighbourhoods" 184).

the incident, PT1/2 is probably the nearest to his original wording. The phrase is again a song formula, as in the clause, "no doubt you all have heard," in "O'Donnell, The Avenger" (O'Conor 27).

The next four stanzas of the song - SUMMONS, QUESTION, PARSONS and GRIEF - are unique in that they form a sequence of stanzas whose order is completely stable in all the versions in this group. The only other stanzas with such a stable position in the song are COME-ALL at the beginning, and TROY at the end. The very consistency with which SUMMONS, QUESTION, PARSONS and GRIEF are ordered suggests that they represent the core of the narrative.

Several differences in emphasis and detail are nevertheless detectable in the various versions of SUMMONS. Firstly, PT1/2 conveys the idea that the summons came on the day following Nicky's news, a detail which is absent in JIM1 and AP1/2. The incorporation of this idea in PT1/2 gives rise to an extra, unrhymed line at the beginning of the stanza, worked in by use of the half-line repetition technique. This is in addition to the parallelism employed between lines 2 and 3 in all versions of the stanza. The result in PT1/2 is a five-line stanza containing two lots of repetition. Whether this represents the original form of the stanza and AP1/2 and JIM1 represent conflated versions, or these latter are closer to the original and PT1/2 is an expansion is not certain. Bearing in mind that PT1/2 was put together from the recollections of several different

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SUMMONS

Early the next morning a summons came to me,
A summons came to me, me boys, and I was forced to go,
To travel to that lonely place up to my knees in snow,
To travel to that lonely place, it was against my grain,
To march up through the court house before a crowd of men.(PT1)

Early the next morning the summons come to me,
The summons come to me, my boys, and I was forced to go,
To travel to the lonley [sic] place up to my knees in snow,
To travel to that lonley place, it was against my grain,
To march up to that court house before a crowd of men.(PT2)

The day the summons came on me, sure I was forced to go,
To travel down this lonely place all to my knees in snow,
To travel down this lonely place it was against my grain,
As I marched up .o the court house before a crowd of men.(AP1)

The day the summons came on me, sure I was forced to go,
To travel down this lonely pla[ce] all to my knees in snow,
To travel down this lonely place it was against my grain,
As I marched up to the court house before a crowd of men.(AP2)

Oh the day that summons came to me sure I was forced to go,
To travel down that lonesome place up to my knees in snow,
To travel down that lonesome place it was against my grain,
When I marched up [sic] that court house before a crowd of
men.(JIM1)

Oh the next there came a summons to tell me I must go
To travel down that lonely trail up to my knees in snow,
To travel down that lonely trail it was again' my grain,
When I marched up to that court house before a crowd of
men.(TS1)

Oh the next there came a summons to tell me I must go,
To travel to that lonely place up to my knees in snow,
To travel down that lonely trail it was again' my grain,
When I walked up to that court house before a crowd of men.(TS2)

people, however, the second alternative would seem more likely.

Another distinctive element of SUMMONS in PT1/2 is in lines 2-3 which state that the lonely place was the destination being travelled to, rather than the place being travelled through, as in TS1, line 2 of TS2, AP1/2 and JIM1. As noted in Chapter 3, there is no obvious reason why Pat Troy senior should have regarded his destination as "lonely." Rather, it appears that he was referring to the route from Goose Cove to St. Anthony which ran through the deserted community of Crémaillère.

Several details of textual variation found in SUMMONS of TS1/2 appear to be due to the influence of mass-mediated versions of the song. This includes the form of the first line, and also the use of the word "trail" in the middle lines (although not line 2 of TS2). A detail unique to TS1/2, on the other hand, is the use of the contraction "again'" for "against" in line 3. It is the first of three contractions which characterise TS1/2, the other two being "'twould" in GRIEF and "'tis" in SPRUCE.

A salient feature of SUMMONS which is common to all versions in this group is the image of Pat Troy being compelled to do something against his will. This is conveyed in the phrase "and I was forced to go," or "I must go" in the case of TS1/2, and again in the phrase "it was against my grain." In contrast to this is the fact that he is said in all versions except TS2 to have "marched up" to the court house, despite having just trudged through deep snow. This

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juxtaposition seems to convey a feeling of pride, dignity, fearlessness, or inner defiance of the authorities on Pat Troy's part. It is notable that a similar juxtaposition occurs in the 1798 Irish broadside, "Dunlann Green":

> They were marched from the guard-house up to the end of town,
> And when they came there, the poor fellows were forced to kneel
> down (reproduced in Zimmermann 140).[14]

In all the versions of SUMMONS in this group, the word "grain" at the end of line 3 is rhymed with the word "men" in line 4. This reflects the influence of Irish pronunciation, other forms of which are found elsewhere in the song. In the next stanza, QUESTION, for example, "say" is rhymed with "me" in TS1/2 and with "see" in AP1/2, resulting in the use of the same rhyme sound throughout the stanza. Likewise, in at least some versions, "away" is rhymed with "fee" in FEE, "be" with "day" in ANTHONY, "way" with "key" in MAGISTRATE and "meet" with "magistrate" in OLLERHEAD. In addition, the rhyme "declare"/"beer" is found in SPRUCE, and "lie"/"Troy" in TROY. Irish usage is further detectable in the plural form "ye" in COME-ALL, and the phrase "in galore" in PELLEY (cf. Kirwin 134, Casey, "Irish Culture" 215-17, O'Sullivan 67, Zimmermann 108).

QUESTION has turned out to be one of the best known stanzas of "The Moonshine Can," no doubt because it contains the recipe for moonshine. It has

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[14]Cf. the occurrence of the phrase, "it was against my will," in the 1868 Irish broadside, "Rory on the Hill," reproduced in Zimmermann 267.

QUESTION

When I walked up to the stand the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of, come tell me I pray,
What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"Oh [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's the proper plan."(PT1)

When I walked up to the stand the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of, come tell me, I pray,
What did you make it out of," the judge to me did say,
"O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the proper plan."(PT2)

As I marched up to the bar, as you may plainly see,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"An [y]east cake and molasses, Lord, sure that's the very way."(AP1)

As I marched up to the bar, as you may plainly see,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"An [y]east cake and molasses, Lord, sure that's the very way."(AP2)

Oh when I got up to the bar the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of," the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of," the judge to me did say,
"Sure yeast cake and molasses, Lord, is the very way."(JIM1)

Now when I walked up to the bar, the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of, oh pray come tell to me,
What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"Oh [y]east cake and molasses, Lord, that is the very way."(TS1)

Oh when I walked up to the bar, the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of, oh pray come tell to me,
What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"Oh yeast cake and molasses, Lord, that is the very way."(TS2)

nevertheless been subject to a significant degree of variation, as will be seen further on. The probable reason for this variation may be the amount of repetition, and therefore redundancy, contained in the Group I versions and very likely found in the original as well. Not only is there parallelism between the beginning of lines 2 and 3, for example, but also between the ends of lines 1 and 3 in PT1/2 and TS1/2. The half-line involved in the latter case - "the judge to me did say," again a broadside ballad formula[15] - is transposed from line 1 to line 2 in AP1/2 so that lines 2-3 are not simply parallel but identical, "as you may plainly see" (probably copied from EASTER) being substituted at end of line 1. In JIM1, however, there is no such substitution and the result is a threefold repetition of "the judge to me did say." Not surprisingly, the variation which has taken place in this stanza in versions from further afield has tended to reduce this repetition and to focus on the exchange between Pat Troy and the judge.

PT1/2 and TS1/2 characterise Pat Troy as walking up to the bar or stand in QUESTION, suggesting that he is envisaged as being calm and dignified at the trial. AP1/2 has Pat Troy marching as in the previous stanza, whereas JIM1 is neutral on this point. The tone of the ensuing exchange seems to fit the image portrayed in PT1/2 and TS1/2 of Pat Troy's bearing. The dialogue is presented as unemotional and courteous, Pat Troy replying directly and honestly

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[15]Cf. "The Lamentation of James O'Sullivan" (reproduced in Wright 197), "The Trial of John Twiss" (O Canainn 44-45).

to the judge's question, and referring respectfully to him as "Lord" in all but PT1/2. PT1/2 also stands out from the other versions in that it describes the method of manufacture as the "proper plan" rather than the "only way." "Plan" is an anticipation of the first line of the following stanza, PARSONS, and its appearance in PT1/2 is notable since it hints at the conflation of QUESTION with PARSONS which has taken place in some of the other versions of the song.

The next stanza, PARSONS, begins by paralleling the beginning of the last line of the previous stanza. This time, though, the use of yeast cake and molasses to make moonshine is described as a "curious plan" in all but TS1/2. It is possible that the comment reflects the judge's estimation of moonshine making which was still a novelty at the time. In JIM1, however, it is referred to as "our curious plan," perhaps alluding to the sharing of manufacture, and in TS1/2, it is a "silly plan," which may reflect Tom Sexton's own estimation of breaking the law by making moonshine, or what he envisaged the judge's estimation of Pat Troy's moonshine making was.

The image of Pat Troy being forced to do things against his will, noted in SUMMONS, recurs in PARSONS. The implication in PARSONS is that these imposed orders, such as having to appear in court and having to give up his can to the police immediately, are "misfortunes" which happen to him. Such

PARSONS

Oh [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's a curious plan,
And the next misfortune that fell on me I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that without delay,
And up came Constable Parsons my can to take away.(PT1)

O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's a curious plan,
And the next misfortune that fell on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that without delay,
And up came Constable Parsons my can to take away.(PT2)

An [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's the curious plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that with no delay,
And up comes Mr. Parson my can to take away.(AP1)

An [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's the curious plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose my can,
As I went in and brought it out- [Pause]

As you may plainly see.

- No. I'm sorry.(AP2)

Sure yeast cake and molasses sure that's our curious plan,
Sure that misfortune came on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to bring it up you see, and that without delay,
[Softly, almost falsetto]
Up comes Mr. Parsons- [Tune continues](JIM1)

Oh [y]east cake and molasses that is a silly plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose me can,
I had to give it up you see and that without delay,
When up come Constable Parsons my can to take away.(TS1)

Now yeast cake and molasses, that is a silly plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose me can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that without delay,
When up come Constable Parson my can to take away.(TS2)

references to misfortune are common in broadside ballads of crime and/or banishment,[16] as is the formula "and that without delay.[17] Curiously, only PT1/2 and TS1/2 refer to the policeman as Constable Parsons, JIM1 and AP1/2, as well as the other versions of this stanza, refer to him as Mr. Parsons. Thus, Pat Troy and Tom Sexton apparently want to stress that Parsons is the policeman, whereas Alf Pollard and Jim Morris take it for granted.

GRIEF forms the emotional climax to the song's narrative. Whilst the sentiments it expresses were probably meant seriously by Pat Troy, however, they appear ridiculous when the actual subject of the stanza - the confiscation of his moonshine can - is taken into consideration. The humorous effect derives partly from the way in which the sentiments are expressed. This involves Pat Troy's use in this context of textual formulas more commonly associated with songs of tragedy, parting and death, such as shipwrecks or other disasters, departure or banishment from one's native country, and the condemnation to death of "innocent" men under an unfair legal system.

Like many of the stanzas in the song, GRIEF begins with an echo of the previous stanza. In PT1/2, AP1/2 and JIM1, this takes the form of a reiteration

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[16]See, for example, "Murder Song," Creighton, New Brunswick 189-90, and "O'Donnell, The Avenger," O'Conor 27-28.

[17]Cf. "The Lamentation of James O'Sullivan" and "The New Lights of America," both reproduced in Wright (197 and 515 respectively), and "The Trial of John Twiss" in O Canainn, Songs of Cork 44-45.

GRIEF

Well I went in and brought it out and that without delay,
And stood just like a monument and not one word did say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling would grieve your heart well sore,
And when he put it in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(PT1)

I went in and brought it out and that without delay,
And stood just like a monument and not one word did say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling it would grieve your heart well sore,
And when he put it in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(PT2)

As I went in and brought it out and that with no delay,
I stood just like a "Munroe man" with not one word to say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling, boys, it grieved my heart (fell) sore,
But when he shoved them in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(AP1)

As I went in and brought it out and that with no delay,
I stood just like a "Munroe man" with not one word to say,
To hear those tubes a-rattling, boys, it grieved my heart (fell) sore,
But when he put them in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(AP2)

Sure I went in and brought it out, that without delay,
To hear the stove pipe rattling-
- [Says] The moonshine running up the pipe, see?
Would break your heart full sore,
And when he put them in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(JIM1)

Now up come Mr. Parsons, my can to take away,
I stood just like a monument with not a word to say,
To hear the pipes a-rattling 'twould grieve your heart full sore,
And when he put it in the bag, it grieved me ten times more.(TS1)

Sure up come Mr. Parson my can to take away,
I stood just like a monument with not a word to say,
To hear the pipe a-rattling 'twould grieve your heart full sore,
And when he put it in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(TS2)

of the second clause of line 3 of PARSONS which stresses the immediacy with which Pat Troy has to give up the can. In TS1/2, GRIEF begins with the repetition, in slightly modified form, of the final line of PARSONS concerning the policeman's arrival. These differences are of note in view of the treatment of GRIEF in other versions discussed below. It is in line 2 of GRIEF, then, that the stanza begins to lapse into absurdity, with the image of Pat Troy being so overcome at the loss of his can that he cannot move or speak. His portrayal of himself as standing "just like a monument" is the only instance of simile in the entire song. It is an interesting choice of phrase by Pat Troy whom, one would imagine, had not seen many monuments in his life. The phrase is probably a traditional formula, although I have not been able to find any exact analogues in Newfoundland song tradition. Nevertheless, a similar expression occurs in a Newfoundland sea disaster song, "The Loss of the 'Snorre'":

> A group of men stood on the bank, they all seemed stricken dumb,
> They all stood up like statues, like men that had no tongues (Lehr 170-72).[18]

As observed above, the image can be seen as more appropriate to the tragic import of a sea disaster song than to Pat Troy's personal "disaster" of the loss of his moonshine can. Perhaps because of this, or because the reference to a "monument" was not heard and understood properly in oral transmission, AP1/2

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[18]The epithet, "and not one word did say," occurs in similar form in "Murder Song," Creighton, New Brunswick 189-90.

substitutes the words "Munroe man." The exact meaning of this is itself obscure now, but it is possible that it refers to supporters of Walter Munroe whose Liberal Conservative Party repealed the Prohibition Act when they took power in 1924 (Noel 176-80).

The formula employed in the following two lines of GRIEF is likewise an interesting borrowing of a phrase more commonly found in songs concerning the grief of death and other forms of physical and emotional separation. Most of these tend to use a form of the first half of the formula, "it would grieve your heart full sore," in combination with the cause of the grief, as the following examples show:

> The day all of my trial, it would grieve your heart full sore,
> When I thinks on Daniel Haggarty who falsely on me swore ("The
> Prison of Newfoundland," Lehr 158-59).

> I soon became a rover which grieved their hearts full sore,
> I left my aged parents I never will see more ("The Girl I Left
> Behind," Creighton, Maritime Folk Songs 76-77).

> And when the news had reached New York 'twould grieve your
> heart full sore
> To see the people cry and weep for their friends they'll see no
> more ("The Loss of the 'Atlantic,'" Peacock, Outports 3: 931-
> 32).[19]

In "The Moonshine Can," the formula is not only combined with the cause of the grief, but also the complementary phrase, "it grieved me ten times more." The

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[19]There are many examples in Irish broadside balladry as well, including "The Star of Donegal" and "Sweet Dunloy," reproduced in Wright (421-22, and 422-23 respectively).

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nearest analogue to this is found in "Erin's Lovely Home," a song which, as mentioned in Chapter 4, was thought by Leo Troy to have been known to Pat Troy:

> When I received my sentence, it grieved my heart full sore;
> The parting from my own true love, it grieved me ten times more
> (Leach, Labrador 48-49; Laws, American Balladry M6).

If Pat Troy adapted this formula from "Erin's Lovely Home" for his song, it was cleverly done, for he introduces a contrast between the grief he anticipates his audience would have felt, on the one hand ("it would grieve your heart full sore"), and the more intense grief he actually felt, on the other ("it grieved me ten times more"). In AP1/2, however, the formula appears to have been changed to parallel that found in "Erin's Lovely Home" where it is the speaker's grief which is emphasised in both lines ("it grieved my heart fell [sic] sore"/"it grieved me ten times more").[20] The greater intensity of emotion conveyed in the second line of this couplet is perhaps the reason that the more emotionally charged word "shoved" has been substituted for "put" earlier in the line in AP1, although not in AP2. In all versions, the very fact that Pat Troy thought it appropriate to use this formula to convey his feelings suggests an implicit parallel is being drawn between the kind of grief felt at being separated from one's loved ones and the grief experienced by Pat Troy at being separated from

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[20]The pronunciation "fell sore" in AP1/2 may be a combination of "full sore," as found in JIM1 and TS1/2, and "well sore," as found in PT1/2.

his moonshine can. It is possible that this was done tongue-in-cheek by Pat Troy but, given that he composed the song "on the verge" of the incident, it seems unlikely that he would have been ready to laugh about his loss or mock his reaction to it in the song.

In PT1/2 and AP1/2, NO-HEALTH marks the end of the narrative section of the song, although PT1/2 contains one subsequent stanza of narrative. Attention thus shifts from the incident itself to the effect of the incident, and there is a corresponding change of tense in the text from the past to the future at this point. Reference is also made back to where the song started in COME-ALL, with the mention of the informer and his deed. In TS1/2, as seen above, NO-HEALTH appears directly after COME-ALL and serves to introduce the subject of the informer which is omitted from the first stanza of TS1/2.

As in COME-ALL, the informer is identified in NO-HEALTH as being outside the social group, or at least on its margins. Whilst in COME-ALL the informer is implicitly seen as a "bad person" who stands in contrast to the "good people" being addressed in the song, in NO-HEALTH, the informer is a neighbour, but not one whose health will be drunk. This likewise implies that a distinction is being made between good neighbours and bad neighbours. It can be seen from NO-HEALTH, then, that the "good people" being addressed in COME-ALL are Pat Troy's good neighbours and drinking companions, and he stresses the closeness of his ties with them by addressing them as "my darling

NO-HEALTH

Now our whiskey is put down we'll take to that spruce beer,
We'll gather in (the) neighbour's house, drink a health all around,
No health to the informer, he put our whiskey down.(PT1)

Well now our whiskey is put down we'll take to the spruce beer,
We'll gather in a neighbour's house, drink a health all around,
Not [sic] health to the informer, he put our whiskey down.(PT2)

But now our whiskey is put down it do seem rather queer,
But never mind, my darling boys, they won't stick us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health all round,
No health to that informer who put our whiskey down.(AP1)

And now our whiskey is put down it do seem rather queer,
But never mind, my darling boys, they won't stick us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health all round,
No health to that informer who put our whiskey down.(AP2)

Oh now our whiskey is put down it do seem very queer,
But never mind, me darling boys, it won't take us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health around,
No health for the informer who put our whiskey down.(TS1)

Oh now our whiskey is put down it do seem very queer,
But never mind, me darling boys, it won't take us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health around,
No (health) for the informer who put our whiskey down.(TS2)

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boys." Through this show of solidarity with the group, he seeks to strengthen

his grievance against the informer by suggesting that it is the group, not just

himself as an individual, that the informer has harmed. Consequently, the

stanza depicts a scenario in which it is not only Pat Troy but the group who is

against the informer and who will ostracise him, symbolically if not actually, from their ranks. In a song which goes on to bestow healths upon the magistrate and several other members of the Protestant, not Pat Troy's own Catholic, community, the refusal to drink the health of the informer is, moreover, a double snub.

Structurally, NO-HEALTH is notable in that it is one of the few stanzas in "The Moonshine Can" which does not make use of parallelism or repetition between its lines, apart from an echo of the first line at the end of line 4. The three-line stanza in PT1/2 appears to have come about through a conflation and slight modification of lines 1 and 2 of the stanza as it appears in the other versions. This reworking gives line 1 of PT1/2 the opposite meaning to lines 1-2 of TS1/2 and may have arisen through confusion with the ensuing stanza, SPRUCE. Both PT1/2 and TS1/2 may differ from the other Group I versions of this line which, from the context, suggests that the authorities will not catch, or "stick" Pat Troy and his neighbours with beer as they have done with the moonshine.

SPRUCE begins by paralleling the opening of NO-HEALTH and then going on to state what Pat Troy and his companions will drink instead of moonshine, namely "spruce bud" (spruce beer). These two stanzas thus seem intended as a complementary pair and in all the versions in this group they are sung consecutively, whatever position they occupy in the song overall.

SPRUCE

Well now our whiskey is put down we'll take to that spruce bud,
It don't exceed the whiskey to purify the blood,
It don't exceed the whiskey I vow and do declare,   It's enough to
draw you in a crump the cool of the spruce beer.(PT1)

Well now our whiskey is put down we will take to the spruce bud,
It don't exceed the whiskey to purify the blood,
It don't exceed the whiskey, I vow and do declare,
It's enough to draw you in a crump, the cold of the spruce
beer.(PT2)

But now our whiskey do p-, is put down we must take to the spruce
bud,
We don't exceive [sic] the whiskey, boys, to purify the blood,
We don't exceive the whiskey, boys, I vow and do declare,
It's enough to draw you in a cramp, the cool of that spruce
beer.(AP1)

But now our whiskey is put down we must take to the spruce bud,
We don't exceive [sic] the whiskey, boys, to purify the blood,
We don't exceive the whiskey, boys, I vow and do declare,
It's enough to draw you in a cramp, the cool of that spruce
beer.(AP2)

For now our whiskey is put down we'll take to that spruce bud,
It don't exceed the whiskey, boys, to purify the blood,
It don't exceed the whiskey, boys, I vow and will declare,
'Tis enough to draw you in a crump the cool of that spruce
beer.(TS1)

So oh now our whiskey is put down we'll take to that spruce bud,
It don't exceed the whiskey, boys, to purify the blood,
It don't exceed the whiskey, boys, I vow and will declare,
'Tis enough to draw you in a crump, the cool of that spruce
beer.(TS2)

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Despite the pairing of SPRUCE and NO-HEALTH in the Group I versions of "The Moonshine Can," they are in fact the only versions in which SPRUCE is found. The reason for this may be the somewhat idiosyncratic attitudes of Pat Troy regarding the relative merits of "whiskey" and spruce beer expressed in the stanza. There is certainly some confusion over specific words in AP1/2, possibly resulting from a misunderstanding of the meaning of parts of Pat Troy's original. Hence, the phrase "It don't exceed the whiskey" in lines 2 and 3 of PT1/2 and TS1/2 has become "We don't exceive [sic] the whiskey" in AP1/2. Here it seems that the word "exceed" was heard but not properly understood in this context by Alf Pollard, the meaning he imputed to the phrase probably being suggested by the phonologically similar word "receive." The result is his hybrid word "exceive." Likewise, he modifies the word "purify" in line 2 to "powerify," perhaps with the "kick" associated with moonshine in mind. Furthermore, in line 4, he substitutes "cramp" for the dialect word "crump," thus conveying a slightly different image in this line.

Like SPRUCE, the stanza, ELI, is not found in any extant versions of "The Moonshine Can" beyond those in Group I. This is probably due to its cryptic content, the original purpose of the stanza apparently being to hint at the identity of the informer without actually naming him. The allusion to "this man" (PT1/2) or "this poor old man" (TS2) in line 1, for example, lacks an obvious referent. This is particularly true in TS2 where ELI follows GRIEF in which there is no

mention of the informer. The more logical position of the stanza is therefore as it appears in PT1, following NO-HEALTH, or PT2, following FEE, because both of these stanzas refer explicitly to the informer. Nevertheless, Tom Sexton and his local audience would have known who was being referred to in ELI. Indeed, the image of the informer as a "poor old man" found in TS2 is probably an anachronism reflecting the age of Michael Hennessey when Tom Sexton knew him, rather than his age at the time of the incident.

Line 3 of ELI in PT1 and TS2 alludes to something which the informer is supposed to have said and again seems intended as a clue for local people as to the informer's identity. Such hints would, however, have been obscure to Alf Pollard and his audiences since they were living at some distance from Goose Cove. For this reason, it seems, a subtle reworking of the stanza has taken place in AP1/2, giving it a completely different meaning. To begin with, ELI follows on from the stanza concerning Steve Pelley (PELLEY) in AP1/2 and is at several stanzas' remove from any reference to the informer. Moreover, the use of the first person singular in lines 3-4 suggests that the referent of "this man" in line 1 is none other than Alf Pollard himself. Some support for this comes from the fact that the stanza occupies the penultimate position of the song in AP1/2, just prior to where the songmaker, and the original singer of the song, introduces himself. The wording of the stanza implies that Alf Pollard is singing about his own son,

ELI

Now this man will get no help and watch from every eye,
But never mind, he can't be stuck, he still got poor Eli,
He still got poor Eli, he says, already at his call,
And he's going to take him with him to cruise the bay this fall.(PT1)

Now this man will get no help and he watched from every eye,
But never mind, he won't be stuck, he still got poor Eli,
He still got poor Eli, my boys, already at his call,
He is going to take him with him to cruise the bay this fall.(PT2)

Now this poor old man he gets no help but he watch in every eye,
But never mind, he can't be stuck, he has got poor Eli,
He has got poor Eli, he said, already at his call,
He's going to take him with him for to cruise the bay the fall.(TS2)

And now this man he got no help only one little boy,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is Eli,
His name it is Eli, my boys, he's a-ready at my call,
I'm going to take him with me to cruise the bay next fall.(AP1)

And now this man he got no help only one little boy,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is Eli,
His name it is Eli, my boys, he's a-ready at my call,
I'm going to take him with me to cruise the bay next fall.(AP2)

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saying that the boy is going to help him with the fishing, or perhaps on board

McDonald's schooner. Thus, ELI has been localised to the community or area

where Pollard was living, the variation presumably having been prompted by

Pollard's having a son named Eli. This theory would certainly account for line

2 of the stanza, borrowed from FRANK, in which the audience is credited with

knowing the boy's name already.

The stanza, FEE, is exclusive to PT1/2. Although a narrative stanza, it deals with a relatively minor episode in the story, and one which is not part of Pat Troy's personal experience. It is perhaps because of this that FEE is separated from the main section of the narrative, occurring instead amongst a group of non-narrative stanzas which deal with the informer and the effects of the incident. This gives it the semblance of an addendum or postscript to the story. Indeed, it is possible that the stanza was actually added to the song a short while after its composition by Pat Troy, perhaps when he found out that the informer had received a share of the fine as a reward. Whether or not this was the case, the fact that the stanza has been forgotten or omitted in the other versions in this group suggests that its content was not very memorable, or was regarded as optional or superfluous. That FEE did at some time form part of Pat Troy's composition is evidenced by the overall style of the stanza, particularly its use of the half-line repetition technique between lines 2 and 3, and the rhyming of the words "away" and "fee." In addition, it is notable that the half-line formula "as bold as any man" occurs, uniquely, in EASTER of TS1/2 in the form "as brisk as any man," suggesting that FEE was once known to Tom Sexton and that this half-line was transposed to EASTER from it.[21] It is notable that the first line of FEE may have been influenced by, or did itself influence,

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[21]Alternatively, it could have been one of the stanzas that Tom Sexton temporarily forgot during the recording of TS2.

When the racket was over and all was cleared away,
It was then this bold informer come looking for his fee,
Come looking for his fee, me boys, as bold as any man,
From some that were on the sea and more were on the land.(PT1)

When the racket was over and all was cleared away,
It was then this bold informer come looking for his fee,
Come looking for his fae, my boys, as bold as any man,
From some that were on the sea and more were on the land.(PT2)

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another local song, "The Gamewarden Song," which contains the line, "And when it was over and all was cleared away" (Leach, Labrador 210-12).

Each of the remaining stanzas in "The Moonshine Can" is devoted to a particular person or group of people involved in the incident. Thus, this section is reminiscent of a moniker song in which personal characteristics of named people, sometimes portrayed by reference to their deeds or actions, are praised, mocked or censured (Posen 111). In "The Moonshine Can," those who helped or supported Pat Troy during the incident are toasted and either their contribution described or the fact of their being "good people" affirmed. Whilst the toasts are based on traditional formulas,[22] their use in the context of a song concerned with liquor, and the social dynamics associated with its consumption,

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[22]Cf. the line, "May good luck attend all our gallant men, and may God send the day," in "The First War" (Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 185-86), and the line, "Success to those St. Mary's men, they are the real true blue," in "The Kate from Branch" (Lehr 112-13).

is particularly appropriate.

It will be seen from Table 2a that the order of the stanzas in this portion of the song is more variable than that of the foregoing stanzas. This is presumably because there is no logical progression from one to the next as in the narrative stanzas. ANTHONY, for example, is the first moniker stanza to appear in PT1/2 and AP1/2, but the fifth in TS2. The positioning of this stanza is intriguing since in these versions it either precedes or follows a number of stanzas devoted to specific people in St. Anthony who helped Pat Troy. In relation to these, the more generalised ANTHONY seems redundant. One wonders, therefore, if the stanza was originally made up before Pat Troy knew exactly who the St. Anthony people were who contributed to his fine. If so, this would account for the prior position of ANTHONY in PT1/2 and AP1/2, such stanzas as PELLEY and OLLERHEAD being added on somewhat later when Pat Troy learnt more details of how the money for his fine was collected.

Not only is the ordering of the moniker stanzas in these versions of "The Moonshine Can" variable, but also a marked degree of textual crossing is observable between the moniker stanzas of the different versions. Hence, the deeds and characteristics of a person in one version may be found attributed to a different person in another version, or the rewards wished upon a particular person are transposed to another. ANTHONY of AP2 provides a prime example of how such textual crossing can occur. It can be seen that line 2 and the first

ANTHONY

Success attend McDonald wherever he may be,
He had three meetings in the school and collected the money,
Success attend St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
They did their whole endeavour as very well I know,
For I heard them say with my own ears, "In the pen he will not
go."(PT1)

Success attend McDonald wherever he may be,
He had three meetings in the school to collect the money,
Success attend St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
They did their whole endeavour to help me on that day,
They did their whole endeavour, as very well I know,
For I heard them say with my own ears, "In the pen he will not go."(PT2)

Here's luck to the St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
They did their own endeavourment to free me on that day,
They did their own endeavourment, 'tis very a well [sic] I know,
I heard them say with my own ear, "In the pen he will not
go."(AP1)

Here's luck to the St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
No doubt they wasn't hard on me because I were a poor man,
No doubt they wasn't hard on me, 'tis very a well [sic] I know,
I heard them say with my own ear, "In the pen he will not
go."(AP2)

Here's success to ten St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
They did their whole endeavour for to free me on that day,
They did their whole endeavour as very well I know,
I heard them say with my own ears, "In the pen he will not
go."(TS2)

half of line 3 of AP2 differ from that found in AP1, the latter being closest to the stanza as found in PT1/2 and TS2. What appears to have happened in AP2 is that Alf Pollard has substituted line 2 from GRENFELL. Significantly, however, he repeats the first half of the line for the beginning of line 3, something which does not occur in GRENFELL, thus preserving the parallelism characteristic of ANTHONY and enabling him to revert to the text of the stanza as he normally sings it.

The possible reason for Alf Pollard's temporary confusion of ANTHONY and GRENFELL is that the clause "to free me on that day" in line 2 of ANTHONY also occurs in line 4 of his version of GRENFELL (see below). GRENFELL, meanwhile, is not found in PT1/2 or TS2. An interesting connection is nevertheless observable between ANTHONY of PT1/2 and GRENFELL of AP1/2. PT1/2 opens with an extra couplet not evident in any other version of the stanza, in which McDonald is toasted and his organisation of the collection towards Pat Troy's fine is described. AP1/2 contains a couplet not found in any other version of GRENFELL which appears to refer to the same event. When combined, these couplets fit together well enough to make it seem plausible that a separate stanza, MCDONALD, devoted to the schoolmaster and his role in the incident, was once part of the song:

> Success attend McDonald wherever he may be,
> He had three meetings in the school and collected the money;
> He acted as a gentleman, he did his best for me,

He had three meetings in the school to free me on that day.[23]

Meanwhile, ANTHONY of AP1/2 stands out from that of PT1/2 and TS2 in its use of a different opening formula, also employed in MAGISTRATE and GRENFELL of AP1/2 and somewhat similar to the formula in MAGISTRATE of PT1/2. This change in AP1/2 results in the absence of the internal rhyme in line 1 of ANTHONY found in PT1/2 and TS2. The idea of "ten St. Anthony men" at this point in TS2 is probably the result of a mishearing or misunderstanding of the phrase "attend St. Anthony men" (PT1/2). Likewise, the use of the phrase "own endeavourment" in lines 2 and 3 of AP1/2 in place of "whole endeavour" as in PT1/2 and TS2 seems to be another example of Alf Pollard's modification of a misheard or unfamiliar word (cf. GRIEF and SPRUCE).

The stanza, GRENFELL, is intriguing because of its total absence from PT1/2 and TS1/2. Indeed, the stanza only seems to crop up in White Bay versions of "The Moonshine Can," and it is remembered in fragmentary form by people from the area around Goose Cove. As noted earlier, moreover, natives of Goose Cove, including those close to Pat Troy, are vague as to the status of this stanza in the original song. Nevertheless, Grenfell was probably the judge in Pat Troy's court case and was certainly responsible for getting Pat Troy seasonal employment on the Mission following the incident, and this makes it

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[23]The parallelism commonly found between the central lines of other stanzas in "The Moonshine Can" suggests that lines 3 and 4 of MCDONALD as presented here may have been reversed in the original form of the stanza.

GRENFELL

Here's luck to Dr. Grenfell, that kind and gentle man,
No doubt he wasn't hard on me because I were a poor man,
He acted I'as [sic] a gentleman, he done his best for me,
He had three meetings in the school to free me on that day.(AP1)

Here's luck to Dr. Grenfell, that kind and gentle man,
No doubt he wasn't hard on me because I were a poor man,
He acted as a gentleman, he did his best for me,
He had three meetings in the school to free me on that day.(AP2)

Luck to Dr. Grenfell, that kind and gentle man,
You know he was not hard on me for I was a poor man.(FR1)

Here's luck to Dr. Grenfell that kind and gentle man,
He was not hard on me seeing as I was a poor man;
I hope the Lord will pardon him . . . [Informant unsure about this
part].(SE1)

He's luck to Dr. Grenfell, he's a kind and gentle man,
He cured most all the people as he did in Newfoundland.(WP1)

Dr. Grantfield [sic], a kind and gentle man.(FDR1)

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likely that GRENFELL was at some point an authentic part of the song. If so,

it was apparently perpetuated in versions which circulated beyond and not within

Goose Cove.

It is difficult to account for such a pattern of dissemination in connection

with this particular stanza. One possible explanation is that the stanza was a

late addition to the song, composed after Pat Troy began to work on the Mission.

Up until this time, Grenfell had only been involved as the judge whose role had

been to enforce the Prohibition legislation. Hence, there would have been no reason for Pat Troy to identify him by name in the song, and nothing for him to express gratitude to Grenfell for by means of the song. Later, however, when Grenfell got Pat Troy the job, this situation would have changed and may have prompted Pat Troy to compose a stanza devoted to Grenfell for inclusion in the song.

Apart from AP1/2 where a cross-over with MCDONALD appears to have taken place, the extant versions of GRENFELL are unspecific as to Grenfell's role in the incident, merely implying that Grenfell acted mercifully towards Pat Troy in some way because Pat Troy was poor. There is thus no evidence in the text itself either for or against the above interpretation of this stanza. If the surmise is correct, however, it could go some way to explaining the subsequent dissemination of GRENFELL. The stanza would probably have been sung by Pat Troy whilst working in St. Anthony and would no doubt have been particularly well received there because of its relevance to the place and the occasion of its performance. This would account for the survival of the stanza and recollections of its existence among people from St. Anthony (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 209, 233, 254). In addition, Pat Troy would presumably have included the stanza, following its addition to the song, on the occasions when he sang "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove. Singers such as Alf Pollard and Ambrose Reardon, who learnt the song from him there and disseminated it in

White Bay, would therefore have picked up the stanza as well. In Goose Cove itself, however, the main exponent of the song became Jack Troy and the absence of GRENFELL in versions of the song deriving from him suggests that he did not sing the stanza. It is unlikely that he did not know of the stanza, even if it was added later to the song by his father, so there seems to have been a particular reason for the omission in his renditions which cannot now be guessed.

The stanza, GOOSE, is unique to PT1/2. Yet, in its reference to "the Goose Cove men" it seems to form the complement to the "St. Anthony men" of ANTHONY, a stanza which is found in PT1/2, TS2 and AP1/2. Even in PT1/2, however, GOOSE has not survived in full, a line being missing from the first couplet. The internal rhyme in its last line is characteristic of "The Moonshine Can," the same technique also occurring in the final lines of COME-ALL, OLLERHEAD and BRIDGET, and the first line of ANTHONY. The specific rhyme of "slack"/"back" crops up elsewhere, however, such as in another Newfoundland local song, "The Pot'ead [sic] Song" (Cox 51), and the Irish broadside, "McKenna's Dream" (Zimmermann 252). As noted above, the technique of internal rhyme is by no means exclusive to Pat Troy's song.[24] It is notable, however, that in "The Moonshine Can" the internal rhymes only occur

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[24]Cf. "Erin's Lovely Home" (Leach, Labrador 48-49), "The Kerry Footballers" (Healy, Ballads from the Pubs 57), and the discussion in Ives, Doyle 30.

GOOSE

> The Goose Cove men I'll name as well, no doubt they did their
> part,
> No doubt they did their part for me, the truth I'll tell to you,
> They were not slack, they kept some back to free I don't know who.(PT1)

> The Goose Cove men I'll name as well, no doubt they did their
> part,
> No doubt they did their part for me but the truth I'll tell to you,
> They were not slack, they kept some back to free I don't know who.(PT2)

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in the first or last lines of the stanzas which, as will be seen below, are sung to

the same phrase of music. Whilst, as will be discussed in chapter 6, there is

more than one possible tune to which Pat Troy may have sung the song, it is

intriguing that in the melody which he is most likely to have sung (see chapter

8), the internal rhymes of the text coincide precisely with the two largest melodic

jumps, both descending, found in the tune (cf. Ives, Scott 348-49).

MAGISTRATE is one of several moniker stanzas in "The Moonshine Can"

which contains after-life imagery. This relates to the heavenly rewards which

await those who helped Pat Troy. Seen in the context of the Catholic faith as

locally understood, such rewards were clearly the greatest that it was possible

for Pat Troy to bestow:

> According to most informants in Conche, the purpose
> of religion is to achieve "life in Heaven," "life after
> death," or "eternal salvation" as preached by the
> church. Most people followed the Commandments of

MAGISTRATE

Now good luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
He is well liked by everyone, his name is Mr. Simms,
[Pause] And when he leave thi-
And when he leave this world and goes to the other way,
He will then meet St. Peter, the man that holds the key,
The man that holds the key, you see, the gate he will unlock,
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate-

- [Says] No.

Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, and welcome to the
flock."(PT1)

Now good luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on
him,
He is well like [sic] by everyone, his name is Mr. Simms,
And when he leaves this world and goes to the other way,
He will then meet St. Peter, the man that holds the key,
The man that holds the key, you see, that gate he will unlock,
Saying, "Come in, good magistrate, welcome to the flock."(PT2)

There is an- Here's luck to our good magistrate, may God look
down on him,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name is Mr. Simms,
And when he leaves this world behind goes on the other way,
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man that keep the key,
The man that keep the key, my boys, the door he will unlock,
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, make one among the
flock."(AP1)

Here's luck to our good magistrate, may God look down on him,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name is Mr. Simms,
And when he leaves this world behind goes on the other way,
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man that keeps the key,
The man that keeps the key, my boys, the door he will unlock,
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, make one among the
flock."(AP2)

Here's a health to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on
him,
He is well liked by everyone his name is Mr. Simms,
When he's about to leave this side, go on the other land,
Our Lord will say,"You're welcome here, you helped (out) that poor
man."(TS1)

Oh here's a health to our good magistrate, the Lord look down on
him,
He is well liked by everyone, his name is Mr. Simms,
When he's about to leave this side, go on the other land,
Our Lord will say, "You're welcome here, you helped (to) that poor
man."(TS2)

God and the Precepts of the Church because not to
do so was a grave sin which was believed to bring
the eternal damnation of Hell (Casey, "Traditions and
Neighbourhoods" 92; cf. Goldstein 133).

By the same token, however, the choice of heavenly rewards for Pat Troy's
supporters is not only an indication of his magnanimity or the depth of his
appreciation of their actions. It also imputes a religious significance to their
behaviour, perhaps as an example of Jesus's commandment, "Love thy
neighbour." Whilst no comparable significance is explicitly imputed to the
informer's behaviour (although it is to his wife's, as will be shown in
BACKBITING below), an implicit contrast can still be made between the actions
of Pat Troy's supporters and those of the informer. As a result, the case against
the informer mounts up. Not only has he hurt Pat Troy and the social group, as
portrayed in NO-HEALTH but, it is subtly suggested here, he has also sinned

against God and the Church by his treachery or failure to "love his neighbour."

In MAGISTRATE of PT1/2 and AP1/2, St. Peter is depicted as unlocking the gate of heaven and welcoming the magistrate with alacrity to the heavenly flock. The image of St. Peter as "the man that holds/keep the key" in lines 2 and 3 is a formula found in a number of other songs, including broadside ballads, in Newfoundland tradition and elsewhere:

> And I hope the King of Glory will their precious souls receive,
> And make their bed in heaven where St. Peter keeps the keys
> ("The Spanish Captain," Greenleaf 275-76).[25]

> Your Cross maintain while life remains, he unto them did say,
> It will lead you into Paradise, St. Peter keeps the key ("The Young
> Man's Dream," reproduced in Zimmermann 197).

The elaboration of the St. Peter image, together with the identification of the magistrate as Mr. Simms, leads to a six-line stanza in PT1/2 and AP1/2. The fact that this stanza has also survived in five-line form in versions from elsewhere seems to be evidence that the extra couplet was part of the original stanza as composed by Pat Troy. This in turn suggests that lines 3-6 of MAGISTRATE were modelled on a quatrain stanza from an existing song, to which Pat Troy then added a couplet identifying Simms by name. The effect of this on the melody is examined in chapter 6.

The composition of such an elaborate stanza for the magistrate is remarkable given that, as far as anyone interviewed for this study knew, Simms

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[25]Cf. "Free Mason Song," Leach, Labrador 170-71.

did not do very much for Pat Troy in connection with the incident except hear his case, probably with Wilfred Grenfell. There is similarly no hint in the stanza that Simms contributed to the fine. Rather, the repeated reference to Simms as a "good magistrate" (lines 1, 6) implies that it is Simms' qualities as a magistrate for which he will be rewarded in heaven. The stanza may therefore have been intended by Pat Troy to show that he bore no hard feelings towards Simms in his role as magistrate. In contrast to the informer who is ostracised in the song, the magistrate is very much welcomed into the group of "good people," if in heaven rather than on earth. It is thus clear that Pat Troy's grievance is against the informer, the self-appointed guardian of the law, not the magistrate, its official representative. Given that Simms, like the others who helped Pat Troy and who are bestowed heavenly rewards, was Protestant, and Pat Troy was supposed to be a "dirty Catholic" who was "against the Protestant people," the symbolic significance of Troy's gesture towards Simms in the song could hardly be greater. Conversely, the implied enmity towards the Catholic informer is even more strongly reinforced.

The full import of this counterpoint of the sectarian affiliations of those mentioned in "The Moonshine Can" becomes apparent when it is considered against the background of Catholic "treason songs," that is, privately performed, anti-Protestant songs, as recently studied by Goldstein. One of the types (A) identified by Goldstein comprises songs which satirise members of the Orange

Order and other non-Catholics through humorous or satirical attack:

> The members of that group are pointed to as inferior
> to Catholics ethically, morally and religiously. Citing
> their crimes and the consequences, and utilizing the
> Orange Order as its main and representative
> opponent, it lists the complaints made against
> recently deceased persons as the reasons they
> cannot, will not or should not be permitted to enter
> Heaven. This treatment of non-Catholics is consistent
> with the Catholic belief that as a reward for serving
> God in this world, they will "be happy with Him
> forever in the next," and that non-Catholics will be
> there (Goldstein 133).

In "The Moonshine Can," however, Pat Troy has turned this technique around, welcoming the Protestant man, Simms, into heaven and, as will be seen below, a number of other Protestant people besides. The Catholic informer, it is therefore implied, is ethically, morally and religiously less fit for heaven than these Protestant people. This suggestion is made even more explicit by Pat Troy in the stanza, BACKBITING, dealing with the informer's wife.

Despite the overall similarities between MAGISTRATE in PT1/2 and AP1/2, there are several differences in detail. These include the use of the phrase "welcome to the flock" in line 6 of PT1/2, probably resulting from the influence of mass-mediated versions of the song, and the substitution of the phrase "I suppose you all have heard his name" in line 2 of AP1/2 which again seems to indicate the social and geographical remove of Pollard and his audiences from the people and events mentioned in the song. MAGISTRATE as found in TS1/2,

on the other hand, is markedly different from both PT1/2 and AP1/2. It contains the normal four rather than six lines, and introduces an alternative couplet in lines 3-4. It consequently omits the reference to St. Peter and his unlocking the gate of heaven in order to welcome the magistrate to the flock, and substitutes the somewhat similar image of the Lord welcoming Simms to "the other land" because he has helped a poor man, namely Pat Troy. There could thus be an implied parallel being drawn here with the parable of the Good Samaritan. As a result of this change, however, the emphasis on the magistrate as part of the social in-group is lost in TS1/2 and, as will be seen, it is possible that the couplet in question has in fact been transposed from another stanza (see BILES).

The stanzas PELLEY, OLLERHEAD, BILES and BACKBITING appear to belong together as a group, each enumerating "another friend," "another man," or "another person" whom Pat Troy wants to mention. As observed above, it is possible that the stanzas PELLEY, OLLERHEAD and BILES, concerning individual St. Anthony men, may have been composed after the rest of the song, when Pat Troy found out specifically who contributed to his fine. The emphasis on the additional need to mention these people suggested by the references to "another friend" and "another man," and the comments about the importance of not forgetting them, may therefore reflect the somewhat later addition of these stanzas to the song.

PELLEY

There is another friend of mine that I must not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, the best that I've found yet,
That he may live in splendour, have money (and) galore,
I wish heaven when he dies, I can wish him no more.(PT1)

There is a friend of mine that I must not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, the best that I found yet,
That he may live in splendour, have money and galore,
I wish heaven when he dies, I can wish him no more.(PT2)

There is another person that I must not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, the best I have found yet,
I wish him health and happiness and money in galore,
I'll wish heaven when he die, what can I wish them more?(AP1)

There is another person that I must not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, the best I have found yet,
I wish him health and happiness and money in galore,
I wish heaven when he die, what can I wish (the) more?(AP2)

There is another friend of mine I mustn't not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, he's the best man I've found yet,
Now may he live in splendour and have money in galore,
I wish heaven when he dies, how can I wish him more?(TS2)

OLLERHEAD

Another man who helped me was Mr. Ollerhead,
He is so good and fine a man as ever you did meet,
He need not fear for he'll get there 'long with the magistrate.(PT1)

Another man that helped me was Mr. Ollerhead,
He is so good and fine a man as ever you did meet,
He need not fear, he'll get there along with the magistrate.(PT2)

There is another friend of mine I must (to) not forget,
Another man who helped me out was Mr. h'Ollerhead,
He is so good and a fine a man that ever you did meet,
He need not fear, he will get there 'long with the magistrate.(TS2)

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In addition, PELLEY, OLLERHEAD, BILES and BACKBITING are each linked to MAGISTRATE in their allusions to the after-life. In PELLEY, Stephen Pelley is not only wished riches on earth, but also the best that Pat Troy can offer him, a place in heaven. This reward is in keeping with the superlative terms in which Pelley is described. He is not only one of the "good people" addressed in the song, but "the best."

OLLERHEAD contains a very similar message to PELLEY, especially in TS2 which contains a line stressing the importance of not forgetting Mr. Ollerhead either. The absence of OLLERHEAD from AP1/2 may therefore be due to the fact that there is little to differentiate the stanza from PELLEY, especially for those like Alf Pollard and his audiences who were less well acquainted with the people involved in the affair. Again, it can be seen that Ollerhead is identified as a "good person," like those addressed in the song and like the magistrate, with whom Ollerhead's reward is explicitly linked.

The only extant version of BILES is found in PT1/2. The fact that lines 1 and 2 do not rhyme suggests that this part of the stanza has been imperfectly remembered. The second couplet is more felicitous, however, being the same as that found in MAGISTRATE of TS1/2. The possible parallel with the Good Samaritan noted above in relation to the magistrate in TS1/2 may, therefore, have originally been associated with Biles. Certainly, the fact that the couplet is unique to MAGISTRATE of TS1/2 makes it possible that it was transposed to

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BILES

There is another friend of mine who helped me on that day,
His name is, if you want to know, his name is Mr. Biles,
And when he leave this world and goes to the other land,
Our Lord will say, "You're welcome here, you (helped out?) this poor
man."(PT1)

There is another friend of mine who helped me on that day,
His name is, if you want to know, his name was Mr. Biles,
And when he leaves this world and goes to the other land,
Our Lord will say, "You're welcome here, you helped out this poor
man."(PT2)

BACKBITING

There is another person I mention now as well,
For backbiting and flashy things no one can her excel,
I hope the Lord won't pardon her all on the Judgement Day,
Good people all, both great and small, don't no one for her
pray.(TS2)

...
Good people all, both great and small, don't no one for her
pray.(TS1)

———————

that stanza from BILES. This in turn indicates that BILES was once part of Tom

Sexton's version or that of the person from whom he learnt the song.

BACKBITING is extant both in TS1/2 and in one other version of "The

Moonshine Can," of unknown provenance, to be discussed further on. As seen

in Chapter 4, it was the most contentious stanza of the song as far as those in

Goose Cove were concerned, to the extent that it was often suppressed in performance there. The stanza which was most potent to insiders, however, was the most cryptic to outsiders. To begin with, as in ELI, it does not name the person to whom it is referring, although it does indicate that the person is a woman. Neither does the stanza contain any explanation as to her connection with the incident. In addition, it introduces a switch from the laudatory comment found in the other moniker stanzas of the song to satirical comment. Since, up to this point, the song's criticisms have been directed exclusively at the male informer, BACKBITING clearly represents a new departure, the relevance of which is difficult to infer without local knowledge.

Nevertheless, the parallels between BACKBITING and PELLEY, OLLERHEAD and BILES, already noted, suggest an implicit contrast is being drawn between the woman on the one hand, and the three men on the other. Thus, whilst the men are portrayed as good people who will be rewarded with eternal life because they helped Pat Troy, the woman is characterised according to her alleged bad qualities and denied a heavenly reward, hinting that she has not helped Pat Troy. In terms of the teachings of the Catholic Church alluded to in MAGISTRATE, PELLEY, OLLERHEAD and BILES, this would mean that the woman had sinned, perhaps by not "loving her neighbour." It implies in turn that Pat Troy's hope of the woman being denied a heavenly reward is tantamount to wishing for her eternal damnation in hell. In view of this, the

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contentious status of BACKBITING in Goose Cove is hardly surprising.

It is notable that Pat Troy once again uses a reference to "good people" in BACKBITING (line 4) to suggest that the woman is "bad." In this way, the woman is placed in the same category as the informer. Bringing together the punishments meted out to these two bad people, it can be seen that the song's symbolic ostracisation of them is uncompromisingly complete. The informer gets "no health" (NO-HEALTH) and "no help" (ELI) and is thereby excluded from normal social relations with "good people" on earth; the woman, his wife, will get no prayers and no heavenly pardon for her sins, and so will be debarred from admission to the company of "good people" in heaven. The latter is reminiscent of the treatment of informers in Irish broadside ballads. According to Zimmermann:

> All through the nineteenth century, informers, along with all those who accepted to given evidence at trials, were consigned to hell by the rhymers of broadsides, and cursing was traditionally resorted to against them (27).

Instead of explicitly damning and cursing the informer and his wife, however, Pat Troy has denigrated or satirised each whilst toasting the Protestant people, extolling the Protestants' merits, and emphasising the likelihood and desirability of the Protestants' entry into heaven. Thus, "The Moonshine Can" falls into the category of "treason song,"[25] but one directed against a member of the

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[25]I never heard it termed as such however.

songmaker's Catholic ingroup instead of a member of the non-Catholic outgroup (cf. Goldstein 132). The fact that it was composed by a man who was known for his anti-Protestant prejudice indicates the strength of his feeling towards the informer, and gives an idea of how scathing his condemnation of the informer was intended to be.

In order to convey its message, BACKBITING of TS2, like GRIEF, makes unconventional use of traditional song formulas in its second couplet. Formulas referring to Judgement Day and calls to pray for victims or condemned criminals abound, both separately and in combination, in broadside ballads and local songs, especially those concerning disasters or execution:

> As they declared their innocence upon their dying day,
> May the Lord have Mercy on their souls, good Christians for them
> pray ("The Lamentation of the Two Cormacks Who Died Innocent
> in front of Nenagh Jail," reproduced in Zimmermann 248-49).

> Bold death with its untimely grasp has taken them away,
> Until the sea shall yield its dead on that great judgement day
> ("Trinity Bay Tragedy," Leach, Labrador 186-87).

The nearest analogue found to these formulas as they appear in BACKBITING occurs in a Nova Scotia version of "James McDonald":

> I hope that God will pardon me on my great judgement day,
> And when I am on the gallows tree good Christians for me pray
> (Creighton, Nova Scotia 43-44).

In BACKBITING, however, the formula has been modified, perhaps uniquely, in order to hope for God's ultimate condemnation, rather than pardon, of the

woman in question. In keeping with this, "good people" are urged not to pray for her. Thus, the redemptive message of the formula as it is usually found has been turned on its head, and the full force of the bitterness which Pat Troy felt towards Bridget Hennessey is unleashed.[27]

In the final stanza of the song, TROY, Pat Troy is fully identified by name and community, and his role as the songmaker, as well as the moonshine maker, emphasised. Thus, Pat Troy authenticates the song and backs up the claim made in line 1 of TROY as to its veracity. Having done so, he reverts to his former role in line 4, giving the moonshine maker the last word. In this respect, there can be little doubt that the final line of PT1/2, TS1/2 and JM1 represent the ending of TROY as Pat Troy composed it, that of AP1/2 being a substitution whose significance will be discussed below.

The entrance of the real-life Pat Troy at this point with a full name and community of origin presents something of a problem for those singing "The Moonshine Can." Up to here, the first person usages which appear in the narrative and its associated moniker stanzas are adopted with ease by the singers because they are effectively identifying themselves with a character -

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[27]It should be noted that the modification results in an aurally ambiguous half-line at the end of BACKBITING which I first transcribed as "don't know one for her prey." I imagined it to mean that everyone was a potential victim of this woman. The close analogue of the formula "Good people . . . for her pray" in "James McDonald," however, coupled with the precedent in PELLEY of TS2 for the double negative usage "don't no one" supports the reading now put forward.

TROY

Now as for the man who made this song, he did not make no lie,
I'll let ye know the maker's name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, me boys, and it's Goose Cove he belong,
And when the whiskey runs again we'll make it **twice as
strong**.(PT1)

Now as for the man who made this song, he did not make no lie,
His name is, if you want to know, his name it was Pat Troy,
His name it was Pat Troy, my boys, and it's from Goose Cove he
belongs,
And when the whiskey runs again we'll make it twice as
strong.(PT2)

The man that made this song, sir, he did not make no lie,
My name it is Pat Troy, my boys, from Goose Cove I belong,
And when the moonshine comes again, I'll make it twice as
strong.(JM1)

The man this made the song, sir, I'm sure he made no lie,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, in Goose Cove do belong,
But when the whiskey comes again we'll make a better song.(AP1)

The man this made the song, sir, I'm sure he made no lie,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, in Goose Cove do belong,
But when our moonshine comes again we'll make a better
song.(AP2)

Now the man that made this song, my boys, I'm sure he told no lie,
You wants to know the maker's name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, in Goose Cove do belong,
And when the whiskey runs again, he'll make it twice as
strong.(TS1)

Oh the man that made this song, my boys, I'm sure he told no lie,
You wants to know the maker's name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, in Goose Cove do belong,
And when the whiskey runs again he'll make it twice as
strong.(TS2)

Pat, the moonshine maker - rather than a person. In TROY, however, it is Pat

Troy's relationship to the song as an artifact, rather than his relationship to the

song's narrative, which is the main focus. It is thus his role outside the song not

within it which is being stressed. All of the singers, with the exception of Joseph

Murrin, therefore switch to the third person in TROY, thereby establishing their

separateness from Pat Troy. In performance, it is clearly a crucial moment for

the singer to do this, since the song is just about to end and the singer,

heretofore the mouthpiece for Pat Troy's experiences, is about to become

himself again. In the case of Joseph Murrin, who retains the first person in his

version, it seems he was momentarily impersonating Pat Troy in order to recall

the words and the melody of the song for my benefit.

There is some variation between these versions of TROY as to the

audience being addressed. Up to this stanza, the versions have consistently

implied an audience of good neighbours and fellow moonshine drinkers. In

TROY of AP1/2 and JM1, however, the audience is respectfully referred to as

"sir" in line 1 and then the more usual and egalitarian "my boys" in line 3. It is

possible that this reflects a substitution which Pat Troy himself made throughout

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the song according to whom he was performing it. The references to the audience have apparently been made consistent to "my boys" in TS1/2 and are omitted altogether in PT1/2.

The final gesture of defiance by Pat Troy in line 4 of TROY has been completely changed in AP1/2 to a negative comment on the quality of the song itself. The inclusion of such a criticism in any form of song in British-Irish-North American tradition is itself unusual and prompts speculation as to the reason for the shift. It has been observed that in several places in the song Alf Pollard seems to have experienced difficulties with the song's language, and this leads to his substitution of such words and phrases as "Munroe man" (GRIEF), "exceive," "powerify," "cramp" (SPRUCE), and "endeavourment" (ANTHONY). In addition, the distance of Alf Pollard and his audience from the people and events detailed in the song is consistently stressed in AP1/2. This is particularly noticeable in Pollard's repeated use of the phrase "I suppose you all have heard his name" (FRANK, ELI, MAGISTRATE and TROY), and in the changes introduced into ELI which give it a totally different meaning from the other versions of the stanza.

It is not just a question of Alf Pollard and his audiences' unfamiliarity with those involved in the incident, however. There also seems to be a more general lack of identification with a key theme of the story, the condemnation of the bad neighbour and his treachery. Hence, the reference to the petty jealousy which

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allegedly motivated the informer is omitted in COME-ALL of AP1/2, and the hints as to the informer's identity in ELI have been reworked. This makes the exclusion of the informer from the drinking group in NO-HEALTH the only explicit gesture of condemnation in AP1/2. As a result of this, Pat Troy may not have been seen by Alf Pollard and his audiences as a particularly sympathetic character, and his motives for composing the song in the way that he did not fully appreciated. As discussed in more detail in chapter 8, the hybrid form of "The Moonshine Can" as a narrative song with an appendix of moniker stanzas suits Troy's apparent purposes well. It enables him to tell his story, to condemn the informer and his wife, to pay tribute to those who helped him, and to express his feelings, such as his grief over the loss of his moonshine can and his bitterness about the whole affair. If these motives are not understood, it is possible that the song as it appears in this version is confusing or diffuse for an outside audience. The reference to composing "a better song" in TROY of AP1/2 could therefore be construed as a comment on the form, style and content of "The Moonshine Can," resulting from the geographical and interpersonal distance of Alf Pollard and his audiences.

In sum, it can be seen from the Group I versions of "The Moonshine Can" that Pat Troy's original composition was cast in an unconventional form, that of a narrative song and moniker song combined. It was very long, probably consisting of 21 different stanzas, although these were apparently not all

composed at one time, and may not all have been sung in the course of one rendition. Many of the stanzas, apart from those commenting on the informer and the state of affairs which he has caused (NO-HEALTH, SPRUCE, FEE, ELI), make use of textual formulas found in other traditional songs, especially local songs and broadside ballads. In some cases, Pat Troy has adapted well known epithets for his own use, such as in GRIEF and BACKBITING.

The song can, moreover, be seen against the tradition of Irish and Newfoundland "treason songs" and Irish rebel ballads in the manner in which it expresses hostility towards the informer (cf. Goldstein, Zimmermann). Once again, however, Pat Troy's use of these models is unconventional in that he praises the Protestant "opposition," so to speak, rather than outrightly condemning the Catholic informer and his wife.

Another device by which the informer and his wife are condemned and symbolically excluded is by means of the names used in the song. Firstly, everyone mentioned by name in "The Moonshine Can" apart from McDonald and Pat Troy himself is Protestant. In addition, the only two people who are referred to but not named are the Catholic informer and his wife. Thus, the various ways in which people are named appears to indicate the nature of Pat Troy's relationship with them. Pat Troy's Goose Cove neighbours, Nick Florence and Frank Powell, are referred to by their Christian names only, whilst the school teacher, McDonald, is mentioned by his surname only. Those in St. Anthony,

meanwhile, are identified more respectfully as Mr. Parsons, Mr. Ollerhead, Mr. Simms, Mr. Biles, and Dr. Grenfell. Only Stephen Pelley's first name is used, suggesting a greater degree of familiarity between him and Pat Troy. Against this background, the complete lack of acknowledgement by name of the informer and his wife, and the use of insinuating comments to indicate their identity seems intended to humiliate these people even further.

Group II - Versions from White Bay South

Two of the three versions of "The Moonshine Can" in this group come from the Baie Verte Peninsula which forms the southern shore of White Bay. The first of these (JO1) is taken from a performance by Joshua Osborne for the folksong collector, Kenneth Peacock, recorded in 1960 in Seal Cove (Outports 1: 75-76).[28] To judge from the recording, Osborne was quite at ease with Peacock, for whom he performed a number of songs, and the tape-recording equipment. He completes the song without a slip or hesitation, asking Peacock at the end, "How's that, boy?" The resulting version is my own transcription of that performance.

The other version of "The Moonshine Can" in this group (NF1) is of unknown geographical provenance since it was printed in The Newfoundlander

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[28]I am grateful to the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies for their permission to make reference to this material from the Kenneth Peacock Collection which is housed at the Centre, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.

without its contributor being credited. Nevertheless, its similarities with JO1 in terms of length, stanza composition and textual detail, plus its inclusion of the stanza, BACKBITING, strongly suggest that it was submitted to the paper from the White Bay region. As will be seen, there is evidence in the way the text has been written down to suggest it was transcribed by someone other than the singer, perhaps a local teacher, merchant or priest.

Table 3 shows that both JO1 and NF1 consist of 11 stanzas. Indeed, apart from BACKBITING in NF1, the two versions consist of the same stanzas occurring in the same order. Nine of the stanzas found in one or more of the versions from Goose Cove and the surrounding area are therefore absent from the White Bay South versions, with significant implications for the latters' overall structure. It is immediately noticeable, for example, that none of the stanzas omitted - SPRUCE, ANTHONY, MCDONALD, ELI, GOOSE, FEE, PELLEY, OLLERHEAD and BILES - is a narrative stanza, with the exception of FEE which, as seen above, formed something of an adjunct to the main story. On the other hand, six of the omitted stanzas are moniker stanzas, suggesting that those in White Bay South, like Alf Pollard and his audiences, were too remote from Goose Cove and St. Anthony to appreciate all the references to local people. Two more stanzas with which Alf Pollard experienced some difficulty, SPRUCE and ELI, because of unfamiliar language and esoteric content respectively, have also been dropped in JO1 and NF1, possibly for similar

Table 3: Stanza Structure (Group II "Moonshine Can" Versions)

	JO1	NF1
COME-ALL	1	[1] 1 l.
EASTER	2	[1] 2 ll.
FRANK	3	3
SUMMONS	4	4
QUESTION	5	5
PARSONS	6	6 3 ll.
GRIEF	7	7
NO-HEALTH	8	8
SPRUCE	-	-
ELI	-	-
FEE	-	-
MCDONALD	-	-
ANTHONY	-	-
GOOSE	-	-
GRENFELL	9	9
MAGIS-TRATE	10 5 ll.	10
PELLEY	-	-
OLLER-HEAD	-	-
BILES	-	-
BACK-BITING	-	2

| TROY | 11 | 11 |
| TOTAL | 11 | 11 [12] |

reasons. As a result, there is increased focus in JO1 and NF1 on the incident involving the informer, the court case and the confiscation of Pat Troy's can, and less emphasis on the aftermath of the incident and the individuals involved in it.

The individual stanzas of JO1 and NF1 display many similarities with the corresponding stanzas of the Group I versions of "The Moonshine Can." In particular, the resemblance between JO1 and AP1/2 suggests that these versions may be directly connected. On the other hand, JO1 and NF1 also contain a number of small but significant changes from the versions examined in Group I. The first of these occurs in the opening line of COME-ALL where the audience addressed consists of "friends and comrades" rather than "good people." It seems that at this point the audience's relationship to the singer, rather than the song's composer and main protagonist, is being stressed. A reference to "good people" nevertheless occurs in line 3 of COME-ALL in JO1 where it is combined with a warning about "those informers," in the plural. Thus, the implied contrast set up in COME-ALL of JO1 is between good people and informers in general, not a specific informer as in the versions from nearer to Goose Cove. Indeed, this reference to informers in the plural is also a characteristic of all but one of the remaining versions of "The Moonshine Can"

COME-ALL

Come all my friends and comerades, come listen unto me,
Beware of those informers, you see how they served me,
Beware of those informers, good people all around,
For jealousy could not agree, they put our whiskey down.(JO1)

Come all ye friends and comrades, and listen unto me,
As soon as Mickey got the news he did come down to me;
Saying, "Pat, there's a big kick-up about the moonshine can."(NF1)

EASTER

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
Soon as Mickey got the news he did come down to me,
He did come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pat, there is a big kick up about the moonshine
can."(JO1)

FRANK

The next that brought us in the news, it was one of our rank,
I s'pose you all do know his name, his name it is young Fran[k],
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps belong to Newfoundland.(JO1)

The next to brought it in the news, he is one of our rank,
And if you want to know his name, his name it is young Frank;
His name it is young Frank, my boy, you may plainly see,
He is one of our lively chaps belong to N.F.L.D.(NF1)

examined below.

The contrast between good people and informers is absent from NF1 where line 1 of COME-ALL has been conflated with lines 2 and 4 of EASTER. Here, as in EASTER of JO1, the reference to Mickey, first noted in AP1/2, is retained, suggesting that Joshua Osborne and the performer of **The Newfoundlander** version had little familiarity with the details of the incident beyond what was narrated in the song itself. Again, the use of the name Mickey is in fact the norm for all remaining extant versions of the song. In addition, the dropping of the words "bloody" and "blooming" from the final line of the stanza in JO1 and NF1, and the substitution of the clarifying adjective "moonshine can" is another standard feature of the remaining versions.

In FRANK, both JO1 and NF1 resemble AP1/2 in that they convey the idea that "young Frank" broke the news to Pat Troy in addition to Mickey. This makes the stanza appear superfluous in narrative terms and it is notable in this connection that the stanza does not occur in any of the other extant versions of "The Moonshine Can." The ambiguity of Pat Troy's original composition with regard to Frank's role and the re-interpretation which appears to have resulted from it amongst those at some remove from Goose Cove would seem, therefore, to have led to the eventual disappearance of FRANK from the song.

In addition, the second couplet of FRANK is varied in NF1, introducing the half-line filler more usually associated with EASTER - "you may plainly see" - in

line 3. This in turn introduces a different rhyme sound from normal at this point and leads to a variant ending to line 4. The use of the four-letter abbreviation for Newfoundland in place of the name itself is a strikingly literary substitution, however, and could conceivably represent an "improvement" by the person who transcribed the song for publication.

Neither JO1 nor NF1 mention the arrival of the summons in SUMMONS, both versions opening instead with a half-line apparently taken from PARSONS. This half-line conveys the idea that Pat Troy's having to attend court was the next misfortune to befall him (cf. TS1/2), a detail which becomes the norm in the remaining extant versions of SUMMONS. Meanwhile, the "lonely place" traversed by Pat Troy in the Group I versions has become a "lonely plain" in JO1 and a "lonely grade," presumably meaning a slope, in NF1. Nevertheless, the idea of Pat Troy being forced to attend court is retained in both versions and his march to the court house retained in JO1.

In QUESTION, JO1 demonstrates a close resemblance to AP1/2, differing only in line 4 where the first word has been altered and the reference to the judge as "Lord" omitted. NF1, on the other hand, inserts "my boy" into line 1, and introduces what appears to be the first line of PARSONS in line 3. Since this line is missing from PARSONS of NF1, the change may have arisen from a confusion of the two stanzas. As a result, the repetition of the judge's question, found in lines 2 and 3 of the other versions of this stanza so far examined, is

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SUMMONS

The next misfortune came on me, sure I was forced to go,
To travel down the lonely plain up to my knees in snow,
To travel down the lonely plain it was against the grain,
As I marched up to the court house before a crowd of men.(JO1)

The next misfortune came on me, sure I was forced to go,
To travel down the lonely grade up to my knees in snow;
To travel down the lonely grade, it was against the grain,
As I walked up to the Court House before a crowd of men.(NF1)

QUESTION

As I marched up to the bar, as you may plainly see,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"Of [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's the proper way."(JO1)

As I walked up to the Bar, my boy, as you may plainly see,
"What did you make it out of?" the Judge to me did say,
Yeast cakes and molasses, sure that's the purest thing;
O yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the purest way.(NF1)

PARSONS

Of [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's a curious plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that with no delay,
When up comes Mr. Parsons my can to take away.(JO1)

The next misfortune came on me, sure I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, my boy, and that with no delay,
And up came Sergeant Parsons, my can to take away.(NF1)

avoided and replaced in lines 3 and 4 with parallelism using the "yeast cake and molasses" half-line. This variation is significant because it hints at the conflation of QUESTION and PARSONS which has taken place in the versions to be discussed below. It may be, therefore, that QUESTION of NF1 represents a transitional form between QUESTION proper and the QUESTION/PARSONS conflation.

There are further close similarities between JO1 and AP1/2 in PARSONS. In NF1, however, line 1 is missing and a reference to "my boy" has been inserted in line 3. The singular usage "my boy" rather than "my boys" is consistent with other occurrences of the phrase in FRANK, QUESTION, and TROY of this version and may be an indication of the relationship of the performer to the person who transcribed the song.

It can be seen from GRIEF that in both JO1 and NF1 the simile "like a monument" has been understood, unlike in AP1/2. Apart from this, JO1 again resembles AP1/2 quite closely whilst NF1 contains a number of slight variations. The second couplet of both versions employs the formula "it grieved my heart full sore"/"it grieved me ten times more" in the same form as AP1/2, and as found in "Erin's Lovely Home."

JO1 displays yet more similarities with AP1/2 in NO-HEALTH, especially in its reference to moonshine as whiskey (cf. COME-ALL and TROY). The most significant difference in NO-HEALTH of JO1 is the pluralised, and thus

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GRIEF

Sure I went in and brought it out and that with no delay,
I stood just like a monument with not one word to say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling, it grieved my heart full sore,
And when he put them in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(JO1)

As I walked in and brought it out, sure that was no delay,
I stood there like a monument and not a word did say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling, it grieved my heart so sore.
And when they put it in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(NF1)

NO-HEALTH

And now our whiskey is put down it does seem rather queer,
Never mind, my darling boys, they won't stick us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health all round,
No health to those informers who put our whiskey down.(JO1)

And now our moonshine is cut down we will stick to that spruce beer,
We'll go into some neighbour's house and there we'll give a cheer;
We'll go into some neighbour's house and drink a health all round.
But not to those informers who put our moonshine down.(NF1)

GRENFELL

Here's luck to Dr. Grenfell, that kind and gentle man,
He need not been so hard on me because I was a poor man,
I wish him health and happiness all on the Judgement Day,
And a crown of glory be his bed when he shall pass away.(JO1)

Here's good luck to Dr. Grantfield, that kind and gentle man,
No doubt he was not hard on me, as I was a poor man;
May the Lord look down and pardon him all on the Judgment [sic] Day,
And a crown of glory be his bed when he shall pass away.(NF1)

generalised, reference to informers, already observed in COME-ALL. The same change is found in NO-HEALTH of NF1. This apart, however, there are a number of differences between JO1 and NF1 in this stanza. NF1, for example, substitutes "moonshine" for "whiskey" in lines 1 and 4, a variation which also occurs in TROY and, as will be seen, also in COME-ALL, NO-HEALTH and TROY of all remaining versions of the song. In addition, NO-HEALTH has been re-structured in NF1. Its first line opens in a similar way to that of JO1, but it continues with a reworked version of material which appears as the second clause of line 2 in JO1. As a result, the meaning of the word "stick" in line 1 of NF1 has changed from the way it is employed in line 2 of JO1. Instead of the authorities not catching Pat Troy and his neighbours' beer drinking, the suggestion in NF1 is that Pat Troy and his neighbours will keep to drinking beer instead of moonshine. Following on from this, the conflation in NF1 of what was originally the first couplet of NO-HEALTH leads to the introduction of a new second line. This is composed of the first half of line 3 combined with the new clause "and there we'll give a cheer" in order to rhyme with "beer" of line 1. Whilst the parallelism which this second line produces is an innovation as far as this stanza is concerned, it is consistent with the parallelism which features in a number of other stanzas in the song.

Although absent from PT1/2 and TS1/2, GRENFELL appears in both of the White Bay South versions of "The Moonshine Can." When these are

considered alongside GRENFELL of AP1/2 and the fragmentary versions of the stanza discussed above, it can be seen that the first couplet has remained quite stable whilst the second couplet has been markedly changed or, in the case of the fragments, forgotten altogether. If, as posited above, the second couplet of GRENFELL in AP1/2 has been substituted from MCDONALD, it is possible that the alternative endings found in JO1 and NF1 are closer to the original form of the stanza. The two are certainly in agreement in their reference to Judgement Day and the crown of glory awaiting Grenfell on his death, the only difference between the two being in the half-line used to introduce these images in line 3. That of NF1 recalls BACKBITING of TS1/2, but with a more conventional use of the formula, whilst that of JO1 employs the phrase "I wish him health and happiness" instead. At first sight, the use of the formula in NF1 suggests that it is more likely to represent the original form of line 3. Looking ahead to BACKBITING as it appears in NF1, however, it can be seen that its third line is identical to that of GRENFELL, apart from the omission of the pronoun "him." This makes it possible that the line was transposed from BACKBITING to GRENFELL in this version. In addition, the phrase "I wish him health and happiness" in GRENFELL of JO1 is found in PELLEY of AP1/2 where it constitutes an innovation in the text as compared with PT1/2 and TS1/2. This makes it possible that Pollard once knew GRENFELL in the form in which it appears in JO1, and that he transposed the "health and happiness" clause from

GRENFELL to PELLEY at some stage, perhaps around the same time that he conflated GRENFELL and MCDONALD into a single stanza. Thus, the second couplet of GRENFELL in JO1 may be closest to that of the stanza as Pat Troy composed it. If, then, the song came to Joshua Osborne via Alf Pollard - and there is sufficient resemblance between the versions to make this a distinct possibility - it must have been transmitted before these changes took place in Pollard's version.

The first couplet of GRENFELL in JO1, on the other hand, has been varied in its second line so as to convey the opposite meaning from all other extant versions of this line. As a result, the meaning of line 2 in JO1 is at odds with the sentiments expressed in the remaining three lines of the stanza. The idea expressed by this variation - that Wilfred Grenfell dealt particularly severely with Pat Troy - is interesting in that it may be indicative of the ambivalence with which Grenfell and some of his missionary activities were regarded in this region of Newfoundland (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8277, C8290, Ms. 85-257/71).

The reference to Grenfell as "Dr. Grantfield" in NF1 (and in FDR1 above) can be explained by the fact that Grenfell was not a well-known name in Newfoundland. Variations on it, such as Gransfield, Greenfield and Grandfield, were consequently common amongst people in the areas where Grenfell and the International Grenfell Association operated (Waldo 64-65, Kerr 249). That the stanza concerning him is included in the White Bay South versions of "The

Moonshine Can" may be connected with the fact that the Mission's work extended along Newfoundland's northeast coast. Grenfell's name would have meant more to people in this part of Newfoundland than those of Pelley, Ollerhead and Biles, therefore, and this may account for the retention of GRENFELL and the dropping of PELLEY, OLLERHEAD and BILES in these versions. Meanwhile, a propos Grenfell's role in the actual incident, it is notable that he is linked with a reference to the Last Judgement in GRENFELL of JO1 and NF1, perhaps indicating that Grenfell did act as the judge in Pat Troy's court case.

The six-line stanza, MAGISTRATE, has been reduced to five lines in JO1 by the omission of the line giving the magistrate's name as Simms (line 2 in PT1/2 and AP1/2). The accent thus focuses on the magistrate's role as a functionary rather than his identity as a person. Without the inclusion of Simms' name there is no rhyme for the word "him" at the end of line 1 and it may be for this reason that the final word of line 2 in JO1 has been changed to the more assonant noun "end." This leaves the central line unrhymed. By contrast, MAGISTRATE has been scaled down to four lines in NF1. Not only is the Simms line left out, but also what appear as lines 3-4 in JO1 are conflated into one line by the omission of the "man who keeps the key" clause. The anomaly of the unrhymed central line is thus avoided in NF1.

The only extant version of BACKBITING besides TS1/2 occurs in NF1.

MAGISTRATE

Here's luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
And when he leaves this world behind, goes on the other end,
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key,
The man who keeps the key, my boys, the door he will unlock,
Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrate, make one among the
flock."(JO1)

Here's luck to our good Magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
And when he leaves this world behind and goes to the other end,
It's sure he'll meet St. Peter, the gate he will unlock.
Saying "March right in, good Magistrate, make one among the
flock."(NF1)

BACKBITING

There is another person, her name I cannot tell,
For back-biting the foolish tales no other could excel,
May the Lord look down and pardon all on the Judgement Day.
And a crown of glory be her bed when she shall pass away.(NF1)

TROY

The man who made this song, sir, I'm sure he told no lie,
And if you wants to know his name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, to Goose Cove do belong,
And when the whiskey comes again we'll make a better song.(JO1)

The man who made up this song, I'm sure he told no lie,
And if you wants to know his name, his name it is Pat-ri;
His name it is Pat-ri, my boy, as you may understand,
And when the moonshine comes again we'll make a better
song.(NF1)

Despite the partial suppression of this stanza in Goose Cove and its esoteric frame of reference, therefore, it is clear that BACKBITING was sung sufficiently often to be transmitted beyond the settlement. That the stanza has not survived in any other of the non-Goose Cove versions of the song may indicate that the stanza was not very widely disseminated. On the other hand, the fact that NF1 dates from 1945 may indicate that the stanza was more widespread then than it was ten or more years later when other versions of the song, such as AP1/2 and JO1, were collected in the White Bay region. Thus, although the stanza does not figure in AP1/2 and JO1, it is not impossible that Alf Pollard and Joshua Osborne once used to sing BACKBITING and that they subsequently forgot it or excluded it for some reason.

BACKBITING of NF1 is no more specific than that of TS1/2 about the identity of the woman and her connection with the incident. In contrast to TS2, moreover, the stanza occupies the second position in NF1 following the conflated COME-ALL/EASTER stanza but before the bulk of the narrative. Whilst the stanza may simply have been misplaced by the person who supplied NF1, it is also possible that the stanza was intended to appear second, where it implies a connection between the "kick up" concerning the moonshine can and the unnamed woman who was renowned for backbiting and foolish tales. Due to the conflation of COME-ALL, there is no mention of informing at this point, but the subsequent reference in NO-HEALTH is to "those informers" of

unspecified gender. Thus, a possible interpretation is that the backbiting, gossiping woman is meant to be seen as an informer.

The fact that line 2 of BACKBITING in NF1 refers to "foolish tales" rather than "flashy things" as in TS2 seems to support the theory that the woman is an informer in this version. If, moreover, Pat Troy junior's memory of this stanza, quoted above, as saying that the woman talked nonsense is correct, then it would seem that "foolish tales" may be closer to the original form of the stanza than "flashy things." The forgiving tone of the second couplet of BACKBITING in NF1, however, conveyed by the more conventional use of textual formula than that found in TS2, is unlikely to have been the sentiment of Pat Troy senior's original. Rather, the virulence originally expressed in BACKBITING seems to have been toned down in NF1.

It was noted in the Group I versions that certain rhyme words in "The Moonshine Can" showed the influence of Irish pronunciation. One of these, the rhyming of "lie" with "Troy" in the final stanza, results in a number of variations on Pat Troy's name among people for whom he, and his name, were unfamiliar. TROY of NF1 is a case in point. Whether it was the performer who sang or recited "Pat-ri" or the transcriber who misheard or did not understand it is moot, however. The phonetic transcription of the name suggests that the latter is more probable, and it is notable in this connection that the collector, Kenneth Peacock, somewhat similarly transcribed the name as "Pat Roy" (Outports 1: 76)

from Joshua Osborne's singing of "Pat Troy."

Not only is Pat Troy's name misspelt in NF1, but his community of origin is omitted, the half-line "as you may understand" being substituted from FRANK instead. Consequently, the second couplet of NF1 does not rhyme, possibly indicating that this variation was the result of a temporary lapse of memory on the part of the performer. The use of a half-line from FRANK to fill the gap may well have been suggested by the latter's structural similarity to TROY, the half-line in question occupying the same position, at the end of line 3, in each of these stanzas.

The final line of both JO1 and NF1 echoes that of AP1/2 in its reference to the making of a "better song." Since many of the stanzas which presented difficulties to Alf Pollard have been dropped by Joshua Osborne and the performer of The Newfoundlander version, the comment seems more likely to be remarking on the content rather than the structure or the style of the song. It is possible, therefore, that even reduced to 11 stanzas, the song still relied on too personal and local a frame of reference to be an altogether cogent performance item for those at some remove from Goose Cove. The emergence of shorter but more numerous versions, such as those discussed in Group III, suggests that JO1 and NF1 represent a transitional form of the song which, not being wholly satisfactory to singers and audiences, became abridged and depersonalised still further in the course of its dissemination.

Group III - Other "Traditional Versions"

The remaining versions of "The Moonshine Can" transcribed from renditions by non-commercial performers can be divided into two groups - those which are textually related to the Goose Cove area and White Bay versions presented above, and those which follow the model of the mass-mediated versions. Since, as will become apparent, the Goose Cove/White Bay versions are quite distinct from the mass-mediated ones, apart from that of Biddy O'Toole, the former and their textual relatives will be known collectively as "traditional versions" in order to differentiate them from the mass-mediated versions and their textual relatives. Thus, the term "traditional" as used here is meant to denote a set of locally performed versions which display textual similarity with the versions nearest to Pat Troy's original composition. Whether these similarities are due to direct connection through oral transmission will be considered later. It is, however, important to note that the traditional versions are not entirely free of elements associated with the mass-mediated versions and, as will be shown below, that the mass-mediated versions themselves derive from one or more traditional versions.

The remaining traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can" can be divided into three groups according to certain formal features. Group IIIa consists of the eight-stanza versions, that is, those versions which include NO-HEALTH. Two one-stanza fragments and a one-line fragment are also included

in this group for the sake of convenience. Group IIIb consists of versions with fewer than eight stanzas but containing the conflated stanza GRIEF/PARSONS. The versions in Group IIIc, meanwhile, either contain the unconflated form of GRIEF or, in one case, a version of GRIEF influenced by mass-mediated versions, and a distinct form of MAGISTRATE. For reasons of space, these versions are not quoted in full in the following discussion, although sample texts from each group have been included in Appendix 1.

Group IIIa - Eight-Stanza Versions and QUESTION/PARSONS Fragments

Of the four complete versions in Group IIIa three are from the Avalon Peninsula. LR1 is taken from a performance by Leander Roberts of Cartwright, Labrador, recorded by collectors Kenneth Goldstein and Ellen McDonald.[29] A leisurely rendition, it contains only one slight slip when Roberts begins to sing "darling boys" in line 2 of NO-HEALTH before correcting it to "gentle boys." PC1 derives from a tape-recorded interview, made by Clara Murphy, of Pat Cole from Colliers, Conception Bay. Interestingly, Pat Cole calls the song "The Moonshine Song," like Tom Sexton and Alf Pollard, a point which will be returned to below. His performance contains no obvious slips apart from a momentary hesitation over the words in GRIEF/PARSONS, Cole clearly enjoying

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[29] I am grateful to Kenneth S. Goldstein for his permission to make reference to this material which should not be re-quoted in any form without his express permission.

the song which he concludes with a chuckle. Jim Lynch's performance of "The Moonshine Can" (JL1) was recorded in Torbay by Scott Molloy, an undergraduate student collector. As will be seen, the resulting version is notable for Lynch's insertion of Scott Molloy's name in TROY. Lastly, the version by George Hatfield (GH1) is taken from a recording made in Tors Cove, on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula, by the folksong scholar, MacEdward Leach.[30] Despite the fact that Hatfield seems to find the melody of the song rather high, his voice breaking at one point in QUESTION/PARSONS, he sings the entire song without a mistake, to the amusement of an audience of several people who can be heard laughing at the end of the rendition. Together with another version (FK1) collected by Leach, GH1 is of particular interest because it was recorded some five years before Omar Blondahl encountered the song in this same part of Newfoundland and constructed his version based on it.

The three fragments of the stanza QUESTION/PARSONS also considered in Group IIIa were all recorded from women. Alice Hayes' stanza (ALH1) was collected by Barbara Rieti and myself during one of several informal fieldwork visits at her house in Paradise, Conception Bay (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 2). Alice Hayes recited the stanza, which I wrote down from her dictation, and then went on to explain the rest of the story verbally. Somewhat similarly, May

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Hussey played the melody of "The Moonshine Can" on the accordion for a student collector, Claudine Moore, subsequently reciting QUESTION/PARSONS (MH1) in order to show the collector the song from which the tune came. Lastly, a one-line fragment of the song (CK1) was quoted by 69-year-old Clara Kelly of Bishop's Falls to folklorist, John Widdowson, during a tape-recorded discussion of moonshine making. The fragment is apparently from QUESTION or QUESTION/PARSONS.

The trend towards greater concision in the text of "The Moonshine Can," observed in JO1 and NF1 above, is even more pronounced in the eight-stanza versions of Group IIIa. As Table 4a shows, not only are the stanzas thanking Goose Cove and St. Anthony people omitted, but also the superfluous narrative stanza, FRANK, and the obscure BACKBITING. GRENFELL is also absent, perhaps because the stanza is nonessential in terms of the song's narrative. As a result of these changes, the narrative portion of the song assumes greater prominence and the moniker section is reduced to two stanzas, namely MAGISTRATE and TROY. In addition, the narrative has been pared down to its essentials - Mickey's news, the summons, the exchange between the judge and Pat Troy in court, and the seizure of the moonshine can.

It is notable that NO-HEALTH is placed second in the eight-stanza versions of Group IIIa so that, unlike the versions in Groups I and II (except TS2), it comes immediately before rather than after the narrative. The narrative

Table 4a: Stanza Structure (Group IIIa "Moonshine Can" Versions)

	LR1	PC1	JL1	GH1	ALH1	MH1	CK1
COME-ALL	1	1	1	1 3 ll.	-	-	-
EASTER	3	3	3	3	-	-	-
SUMMONS	4	4	4	4	-	-	-
QUESTION / PARSONS	5	5	5	5	? 3 ll.	?	? 1 l.
GRIEF/ PARSONS	6	6	6	6	-	-	-
NO-HEALTH	2	2	2	2	-	-	-
MAGIS-TRATE	7	7	7	7	-	-	-
TROY	8	8	8	8	-	-	-
TOTAL	8	8	8	8	Incom plete	Incom plete	Incom plete

part of the song is thus framed, being preceded by a pair of stanzas concerning audience members, neighbours and informers (COME-ALL and NO-HEALTH) and followed by the two moniker stanzas concerning the magistrate and the moonshine maker (MAGISTRATE and TROY). In comparison with the Groups I and II versions, therefore, the song has become more tightly structured, the identification of those in the ingroup and the outgroup being confined to two pairs of stanzas arranged around the kernel of the story of Pat Troy's court

appearance and the resulting confiscation of his moonshine can. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, the censure of informers is toned down considerably in these versions, making the contrast between "good people" and "bad people" less sharp than in the Groups I and II versions.

There are a number of important differences between the Group IIIa versions of COME-ALL. LR1, as one might expect of a version from Labrador, is closest to the Groups I and II versions. In particular, LR1 is addressed to "kind friends and countrymen" in line 1, resembling the "friends and comrades" of JO1 and NF1. Line 1 of PC1, on the other hand, is addressed to an audience of "moonshine drinkers," referring explicitly to the moonshine maker's most obvious allies. Since the phrase also occurs in COME-ALL of mass-mediated versions of the song, it is possible that its appearance in the corresponding place of PC1 is due to their influence. There is, however, evidence in GH1 that the address to moonshine drinkers in COME-ALL pre-dates the mass-mediated versions which stem from Blondahl, making it equally possible that the phrase was already part of PC1. In addition, it is notable that line 3 of PC1 preserves the reference to an audience of "kind people," which is similar to the "good people" mentioned at this point in the Groups I and II versions and the "kind friends" of LR1:

> Come all you moonshine drinkers, come listen unto me,
> Be aware of those informers, you'll see how they served me,
> Be aware of those informers, kind people all around,

For jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine down.(PC1)

The versions of COME-ALL in JL1 and GH1 are distinct from those of LR1 and PC1 in their detail and in several structural features. Both, for example, vary the clause at the end of line 1, GH1 also altering the rhyme sound at this point, the substituted half-line in each case producing enjambement with the following line:

> Come all ye hearty rambelers [sic], I hope ye will agree
> About those bold informers and the way that they served me,
> About those bold informers that's lately been going round,
> Till jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine down.(JL1)

> Come all ye moonshine drinkers, come listen to my song
> About those bold informers who lately came along,
> Their jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine down.(GH1)

Furthermore, the instruction to "be aware" or "beware" of informers has been dropped from these versions. In JL1, the warning is replaced by a call to "agree" about informers, perhaps to condemn them and their actions, the agreement of non-informers in line 1 contrasting neatly with the informers' jealousy and lack of agreement in line 4. GH1 is more straightforward, simply stating that the song is about informers, rather than cautioning against them. A further difference with LR1, PC1 and the Groups I and II versions, apart from PT1/2, is that the informers of GH1 and JL1 take on the attribute of being "bold" and their coming round is described as having taken place "lately." These added details are also associated with mass-mediated versions of the song but

their appearance in GH1, like the use of the phrase "moonshine drinkers" in line 1 of GH1, proves that they were in circulation at least five years before Omar Blondahl's intervention in the song's transmission.

Although COME-ALL of GH1 lacks a third line, the elements contained in its second line make it conceivable that it represents a conflation of two lines similar to lines 2 and 3 of JL1. This is significant because line 3 of JL1 departs from the norm of LR1, PC1 and the Groups I and II versions in its second clause which, instead of referring back to the song's supposed audience, elaborates on the activities of the informers. If the similarity between GH1 and JL1 at this point can be taken as evidence that a version of COME-ALL similar to that of JL1 was circulating during the same period as GH1, it again shows that this innovation was already a feature of some traditional versions of the song before Omar Blondahl adopted it in his.

There are fewer differences in EASTER among the Group IIIa versions which in general resemble the Groups I and II versions of this stanza. The normal reference to "Easter Sunday morning" in line 1, however, is changed to "Easter Monday morning" in JL1, and to "a Monday morning" in GH1, a similarity which adds credibility to the above suggestion of a link between GH1 and a version like that of JL1. As in COME-ALL, JL1 seems to be slightly closer to LR1, PC1 and the Groups I and II versions inasmuch as it retains the opening syntax "It was Easter Monday morning" where GH1 substitutes "It being on a

Monday morning." Once again, the latter phraseology seems to have been the model for Blondahl. Meanwhile, all of these Group IIIa versions depart slightly from the norm of the Groups I and II versions in their treatment of the phrase "Pat, me boy" in line 4. LR1 omits it altogether whilst PC1, JL1 and GH1 substitute the two-syllable name "Patsy."

As noted in the discussion of the Groups I and II versions of SUMMONS, the landscape through which Pat Troy travelled on his way to court varies quite considerably, from a lonely "place," to a lonely "trail," "plain" or "grade." In the Group IIIa versions, it is envisaged as "that lonely path" (LR1), "that lonely lane" (PC1, JL1) and "those lonesome lanes" (GH1), the lane references conceivably deriving from the similar-sounding word "plain" (cf. JO1). The modification of the adjective "lonely" to "lonesome" in GH1 again furnishes evidence of the presence of this detail in a traditional version of the song prior to the dissemination of Blondahl's version.

Another feature of the Group IIIa versions of SUMMONS is their treatment of the phrase, found in the Groups I and II versions, "it was against my grain" in line 3. LR1 substitutes "it was more than I could stand" at this point, thereby retaining a degree of assonance with the rhyme word "men" in the following line, whilst PC1, JL1 and GH1 substitute "it was against my will," which produces a non-rhyming couplet. Thus, it seems that the need to "translate" Pat Troy's original idiom, presumably to clarify its meaning, has taken precedence over the

structural requirement for a rhyming word at this point in these versions. As will be seen below, the same variation in other versions has led to a concomitant change in the rhyme word of line 4 of this stanza.

Another notable variation is detectable in the line 4 of SUMMONS in PC1, JL1 and GH1. Whereas LR1 remains close to the Groups I and II versions in its reference to the court house at this point:

> To travel down that lonely path it was more than I could stand,
> To go into a court house to face a crowd of men (LR1),

the other three versions have Pat Troy approaching a "bar" of some kind:

> To travel up that lonely lane it was against my will,
> Till I was forced up to the bar before a crowd of men (PC1),

> To travel down that lonely lane it was against my will,
> Where I was forced to the iron bars before a bunch of men (JL1),

> To travel down those lonesome lanes it was against my will,
> And walk up to the (y'iron?) bar before a crowd of men.(GH1)

The image of the bar appears to have been transposed from line 1 of QUESTION as it occurs in the Groups I and II versions:

> As I marched up to the bar, as you may plainly see (JO1),

and is possibly the result of the dropping of this line in the reworked form of QUESTION which characterises all of the versions in Group III.

The major structural change which has taken place in the Group III versions of QUESTION is the conflation of the two stanzas QUESTION and PARSONS into one (hereafter referred to as QUESTION/PARSONS):

"What did you make this moonshine of?" the judge to me did say,
"Out of [y]east cakes and molasses, sure that's the proper way,
Out of [y]east cakes and molasses, that is the curious plan,"
And the next misfortunes came on me, I had to lose my can.(PC1)

Comparison with the individual stanzas QUESTION and PARSONS shows more precisely what the conflation involves. Firstly, line 1 of QUESTION - "Now when I walked up to the bar, the judge to me did say" - has been dropped and the question asked by the judge in the following line has become the new first line, with the concomitant modification that the noun "moonshine" replaces the pronoun "it" in all versions except LR1. Secondly, the repeat of the judge's question in line 3 of QUESTION has also been dropped and line 4 has moved up to become the second line of QUESTION/PARSONS. The first couplet of PARSONS has then come to form the second couplet of QUESTION/PARSONS. Interestingly, the parallelism between lines 2 and 3 of QUESTION has been preserved in QUESTION/PARSONS, albeit with different words. Indeed, this parallelism was already present between line 4 of QUESTION and line 1 of PARSONS and may have facilitated the merging of these stanzas, whilst the amount of repetition observed above in connection with the Groups I and I versions of QUESTION may been a major cause of the conflation. The implications of these textual changes for the melody of "The Moonshine Can" will be considered in the following chapter.

A small detail of QUESTION/PARSONS again links JL1, GH1 and the

Blondahl version of the song, namely the occurrence of the adjective "cutest" to describe the plan of making moonshine in line 3. It is possible that "cutest", which also crops up in two other Group III versions, derives from the word "curious" found in most Groups I and II versions of PARSONS and Group III versions of QUESTION/PARSONS, including LR1 and PC1. The use of "cutest" results in a slight shift in the semantic emphasis of the line, from the novelty of moonshine making to its being a "tricky" or "deceitful" activity.[31]

The stanza GRIEF/PARSONS, as its name suggests, also involves the conflation of elements from what were originally two separate stanzas. Unlike QUESTION/PARSONS, however, the Group IIIa versions of GRIEF/PARSONS exhibit differing degrees of conflation, making the form of this stanza more variable than that of QUESTION/PARSONS. GRIEF/PARSONS of LR1, for example, substitutes a version of the final line of PARSONS for the first line of GRIEF:

> And up comes Mr. Parsons my can to take away,
> I stood just like a monument with not one word to say,
> To hear those pipes a-rattling it grieved my heart full sore,
> And when he put [th]em in the bag it grieved me ten times
> more.(LR1)

This is strongly reminiscent of GRIEF in TS1/2 although the effect is somewhat different because PARSONS exists separately as the stanza immediately preceding GRIEF in TS1/2, whereas in LR1 elements of PARSONS exist only as

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[31]I am grateful to Dr. John Widdowson for this information.

part of the stanzas QUESTION and GRIEF.

PC1 contains another form of GRIEF/PARSONS in which not only the final line but the final couplet of PARSONS has become attached to GRIEF. Only the first line of GRIEF has been dropped, as in LR1, however, making GRIEF/PARSONS of PC1 a five-line stanza:

> I had to give it up, you see, and that without delay,
> When down came Mr. Parsons my can to take away,
> I stood just like a monument with not a word to say,
> To hear the pipes a-rattling 'twould grieve your heart full sore,
> But when they put [th]em in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(PC1)

As can be seen, the couplet transposed from PARSONS employs the same rhyme sound as the first couplet of GRIEF, with the result that this conflated form suggests a triplet and a couplet. Indeed, it is notable that the first rhyme word of the transposed PARSONS couplet and that of the original first line of GRIEF - "Well I went in and brought it out and that without delay" (PT1) - is the same, a similarity which may have facilitated, or even prompted the amalgamation of these lines.

In JL1 and GH1, meanwhile, the second couplet of PARSONS has become the first couplet of GRIEF, as in PC1, but the entire first couplet of GRIEF has been omitted. The stanza is thus a quatrain in these versions:

> I had to give it up, my boys, without much more delay,
> When down came Mr. Parsons the can to take away,
> To hear those pipes a-rattling 'twould grieve your hearts full sore,
> And to see the can go in the bag it would grieve you ten times

more.(GH1)

Once again, the variation in the textual structure of these stanzas will be examined in relation to their melodic structure in the next chapter.

The final couplet of these versions of GRIEF/PARSONS is also of interest in comparison with the final couplet of GRIEF in the Groups I and II versions. PC1, for example, is one of only two extant versions from outside Goose Cove to use the "'twould grieve your heart full sore"/"it grieved me ten times more" opposition which, as described above, probably characterised Pat Troy's original. LR1, on the other hand, employs the form "it grieved my heart full sore"/"it grieved me ten times more" which was observed in versions of the song from White Bay (AP1, JO1, NF1). GH1 and JL1, in a further specific resemblance and possible connection, introduce the opposite form to LR1 - "'twould grieve your hearts full sore"/"would grieve you ten times more." It should, however, be noted that whilst this latter variation is found in two other traditional versions, it does not occur in that of Blondahl.

As mentioned earlier, the only extant versions of "The Moonshine Can" containing the stanza NO-HEALTH besides those in Groups I and II, are the Group IIIa versions. The most salient feature of these latter versions of the stanza, in comparison with those of Groups I and II, is the attitude which they express towards informers. Whereas in the Groups I and II versions, the informer, or informers in general, are explicitly censured by the stanza's

interdiction on drinking their health, the hostility towards informers is toned down or even absent in the Group IIIa versions. In LR1, for example, the interdiction has given way to a seemingly more neutral observation about the prevalence of informers:

> Now we'll go to our neighbour's house and we'll drink an [h]ealth around,
> For there's lots of those informers to put our moonshine down.

In PC1, the hostility has been replaced, ironically, by the very thing which the Groups I and II versions prohibited, a health to informers:

> We'll go up to our neighbour's house and drink our health around,
> Here's luck to those informers who put our moonshine down.

A similar gesture is found in line 4 of JL1 which wishes informers "good luck." This leaves GH1 as the only version containing any explicit hostility towards informers in this stanza, with "bad luck" being wished upon them.

In addition, the first couplet of NO-HEALTH in PC1, JL1 and GH1 appears to have undergone the kind of clarification process already observed in SUMMONS. LR1 is close to Pat Troy's probable original in this respect:

> Oh now our moonshine is put down it do seem rather queer,
> But never mind, my gentle boys, they won't stick us on beer.

As discussed in the Group I versions of this stanza, the phrase "won't stick us" was probably intended by Pat Troy senior to mean "won't catch us" on the beer, not, as in PT1/2, "won't take [i.e. put] us" on it. If so, then this meaning has been made more explicit, or even modified slightly, in PC1, JL1, and GH1 which

substitute the verbs "trick" and/or "fool" in this context, with accompanying modifications to the couplet as well in the case of JL1 and GH1:

> Now when our moonshine is put down it does seem rather queer,
> But never mind, my darling boys, they can't fool us on beer.(PC1)

> They put our moonshine down, my boys, and you know it wasn't fair,
> For they might trick us with moonshine, but they won't trick us with beer. (JL1)

> They put our moonshine down, my boys, without much more delay,
> They might fool us on moonshine but they won't trick us on beer.(GH1)

Thus, the meaning seems to be that the drinkers will not be caught out with beer as they have been with moonshine.

Both LR1 and PC1 contain a five-line version of the stanza MAGISTRATE, recalling that of JO1 from White Bay south. Just as in JO1, the line referring to Simms has been dropped in LR1 and PC1 and the phrase concerning "the other way" modified to "the other end" in order to provide a degree of assonance in the resulting first couplet. Once again, this leaves line 3 of the stanza unrhymed:

> Here's good luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
> When he leaves this earth behind him going to the other end,
> It's there he'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key,
> The man who keeps the key, my boy, the gates he will unlock,
> Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, make one amongst our flock."(PC1)

In GH1 and JL1, MAGISTRATE has been contracted to a four-line stanza in

much the same way as in NF1, with the first clause of line 3 joined to the second clause of line 4:

> Good luck to our old magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
> And when he leave this world behind going on the other end,
> It's there he'll meet St. Peter, and the gates he will unlock,
> Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrate, make one amongst our flock."(GH1)

It should be noted that this results in the loss of the image of St. Peter's key, although the idea of him unlocking the door or gate of heaven is retained. As will be shown below in Group IIIc, there are other versions of this stanza which achieve a quatrain form in such a way as the image of the key, found in the five- and six-line versions, is retained. Meanwhile, the first line of MAGISTRATE in JL1 differs slightly from that of GH1 by repeating the toast to the informer found in the last line of the previous stanza, NO-HEALTH - "Oh good luck to our informer, may the Lord look down on him" - possibly as the result of a temporary slip by the singer.

A comparison of the Group IIIa versions of TROY reveals an interesting variety in the treatment of Pat Troy's name and settlement, and in the personal pronouns employed. LR1 is closest to Pat Troy's probable original in that it retains Troy's name and community and is phrased in the first person throughout (cf. JM1). Its opening half-line is, however, unique:

> Oh now my song is ended I'm sure I told no lie,
> And if you want to know my name, my name it is Pat Troy. . .
> .(LR1)

PC1 opens more conventionally with "The man who wrote this song, my boys," but names the songmaker as Pat Roy and adopts the third person when referring to him. The singer, Pat Cole, nevertheless appears to want to identify himself with the moonshine maker in the song for his final line makes reference to "And when our moonshine comes again we'll make it twice as strong." The same possessive adjective is also found in earlier stanzas of his version, namely COME-ALL, NO-HEALTH and EASTER, as well as being a feature of TROY in AP2.

GH1 opens with a similar half-line to LR1 and again like LR1 adopts the first person singular throughout:

> On now my song is to an end and I hope I told no lie,
> And if you want to know my name, my name it is Pat Ryan. . . .
> (GH1)

Unlike LR1, though, the opening clause of GH1 relates back to COME-ALL which also makes a reference to the song - "Come all ye moonshine drinkers, come listen to my song." In addition, the songmaker's name has been modified to Pat Ryan in TROY of GH1 and the placename changed to Pouch Cove, a settlement to the north of St. John's on the Avalon Peninsula. Since the use of the surname, Ryan, is particularly associated with mass-mediated versions of "The Moonshine Can," its appearance in GH1 is significant, proving that the change was already a feature of some traditional versions before Blondahl collected the song. It seems likely that the shift from "Pat Troy" to "Pat Ryan"

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may have come about through the form "Pat Roy," especially given the Irish pronunciation of Troy and Roy which made it rhyme with the word "lie" in the previous line. The switch from Goose Cove to the similar-sounding Pouch Cove, meanwhile, is possibly an example of localisation of the song, perhaps reflecting the immediate geographical provenance of George Hatfield's version.

TROY of JL1 is distinct from the other Group IIIa versions of this stanza in that the singer, Jim Lynch, inserts the name of the student collector to whom he is performing the song in place of the songmaker's name. He likewise incorporates the placename Torbay, presumably the collector's home settlement, instead of the songmaker's community:

> Now the man that made this song, my boys, I'm sure he told no lie,
> And if ye want to know his name, his name is Scotty Molloy, [SM
> laughs]
> His name is Scott Molloy, my boys, from Torbay he belong,
> And when the moonshine comes again he'll make her twice as
> strong.(JL1)

This apparently off-the-cuff substitution is very effective for it not only meets the metric demands and the rhyme scheme of the text, but also amuses the audience, Molloy himself, as it seems intended to do. The apparent ease and spontaneity with which Lynch introduces these variations is intriguing, especially in the light of the existence of another version, in Group IIIb, which similarly employs the surname Molloy in this stanza. The possibility that this other version could have served as a model for Lynch's change will be considered

below.

There are thus some interesting patterns of resemblance and difference among the Group IIIa versions and between them and the Groups I and II versions. It remains to be asked if the resemblances reflect actual connections, not necessarily between the extant versions themselves, but between versions like them which were in circulation. Certainly, it has been seen that LR1 from Labrador contains a number of specific affinities with the Goose Cove area and White Bay versions. These include the address to "friends and countrymen" in COME-ALL, the "stick us on the beer" phrase in NO-HEALTH, the retention of the court house image in SUMMONS, the one-line overlap with PARSONS in GRIEF/PARSONS, the five-line version of MAGISTRATE, and the first person usage and correct naming of Pat Troy and his settlement in TROY. At the same time, however, LR1 differs from the extant Groups I and II versions in that it is shorter by at least three stanzas, it places NO-HEALTH immediately before the narrative part of the song, and contains the conflated stanza QUESTION/PARSONS. In general, then, it would seem that LR1 has retained many textual details associated with versions close in time and space to Pat Troy's original, whilst its structure has undergone a number of important changes. Its similarity to the Avalon Peninsula versions in this group suggests the possibility that LR1 was transmitted to Labrador via the Avalon Peninsula.

The Avalon Peninsula versions, PC1, JL1 and GH1, have a number of

details in common - namely, the introduction of the name "Patsy" in EASTER, the references to "lane(s)," and "bars" and the use of the clarified expression "it was against my will" in SUMMONS, the idea of being tricked or fooled in NO-HEALTH and the gesture of wishing informers some form of luck in the same stanza. PC1 is nevertheless distinct from JL1 and GH1 in its five-line version of GRIEF/PARSONS and its five-line version of MAGISTRATE, the latter being a point of resemblance between PC1, LR1 and the White Bay South versions. Two other details are worthy of note for their specific similarity with Goose Cove versions of the song - the "your heart"/"grieved me" opposition in GRIEF/PARSONS and the fact that the singer of PC1, Pat Cole, calls the song "The Moonshine Song." Although slight, these resemblances are unusual in a version which was collected from as far away from White Bay as Conception Bay. They are intriguing in light of the fact that the two bays were linked through the annual migratory fishery from Conception Bay to the Labrador coast, and more especially by the fact that Pat Cole's settlement of Colliers was the native settlement of Goose Cove's schoolmaster and later merchant, Maurice McDonald. It is conceivable, therefore, that the slight textual echoes in PC1 of the Goose Cove and White Bay versions are indicative of this direct social link between the two communities. At the same time, PC1 exhibits a significant amount of variation in comparison with the Groups I and II versions, some of this variation possibly reflecting the influence of other versions of the song circulating

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on the Avalon Peninsula.

The versions JL1, recorded in Torbay, and GH1, from further south in Tors Cove, have probably the greatest number of similar details of the versions in Group IIIa, tempting speculation as to a fairly direct connection between the two. There are, for example, several points of resemblance in their versions of COME-ALL, to the extent that GH1 could conceivably represent a conflation of a version of the stanza close to that of JL1. Moreover, GH1 and JL1 both contain references to the incident happening on a Monday in EASTER, introduce the adjective "cutest" in QUESTION/PARSONS, constitute GRIEF/PARSONS with a couplet from each of the individual stanzas GRIEF and PARSONS, introduce the "your heart"/"grieve you" form in GRIEF/PARSONS, and contain a quatrain version of MAGISTRATE. An important difference between the two, on the other hand, is in TROY where JL1 refers to Scott Molloy of Torbay and GH1 to Pat Ryan of Pouch Cove. Nevertheless, their affinities suggest that, although JL1 was only collected in 1986, it represents a version which was in existence at least as early as 1950-1951 when GH1 was collected. With GH1, therefore, JL1 may provide evidence of textual details which Omar Blondahl subsequently incorporated into his version of the song.

Group IIIb - Remaining Versions containing GRIEF/PARSONS

The three versions of "The Moonshine Can" brought together here as

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Group IIIb resemble the Group IIIa versions in that they contain the GRIEF/PARSONS stanza, but are distinct from Group IIIa in that they lack the stanza NO-HEALTH. The fullest is a written text, ER1, entitled "The Moonshine Song," contained in a letter from Eric Rogers, originally of Fair Island, Bonavista Bay, to myself.[32] The incomplete version, JC1, comes from a performance of the song by John Crane of Pines Cove, Northern Peninsula, videotaped by a student collector. It seems from the recording that Crane, possibly distracted by the noise of several other men talking in the background, becomes confused over the words of the song, reversing the order of the stanzas QUESTION/PARSONS and GRIEF/PARSONS (see Table 4b). Despite his efforts to get back on track with the words after this, Crane eventually gives up saying, "I don't know no more of it." He sings enough of the song to suggest, however, that NO-HEALTH was not a part of his version.

The third Group IIIb version is AN1. It is only five stanzas in length, several of what normally appear as separate stanzas having been shortened and merged (see Table 4b). AN1 derives from a halting rendition by an anonymous male informant from The Goulds, to the south of St. John's, again recorded by a student collector.

With the absence of the stanza NO-HEALTH in these versions, the only

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[32]Eric Rogers also sang a stanza of the song over the telephone to me on a subsequent occasion and this version, ER2, will be discussed in the musical analysis of Chapter 6.

Table 4b: Stanza Structure (Groups IIIb/IIIc "Moonshine Can" Versions)

	ER 1	JC1	AN1	GS1	FK1	HP1/2
COME-ALL	1	-	1 3 ll.	1	1	1
EASTER	2	1	2 2 ll.	2	2	2
SUMMONS	3	2	3	3	3	3
QUESTION/ PARSONS	4	4	4	4	4	4
GRIEF/ PARSONS	5	3	[5] 2 ll.	5 GRIEF	5 GRIEF	5
NO-HEALTH	-	-	-	-	-	-
MAGIS- TRATE	7	[5?] 1 l.	-	6	6	6
TROY	7	-	[5] 2 ll.	7	7	7
TOTAL	7	[5+] Incom plete	5	7	7	7

stanza to touch on the subject of informers, or a specific informer in the case of AN1, is COME-ALL. Since COME-ALL is absent from JC1, even this reference is lost, perhaps accounting for the reference to informers in line 1 of a later fragmentary stanza which appears to have been the beginning of MAGISTRATE. Nevertheless, the fact that informers and their jealousy are the first things mentioned in ER1 and AN1 suggests that these subjects are still important ones

in the song. Whilst the song may be less overtly condemnatory of informers due to the absence of NO-HEALTH, therefore, the predication of the narrative on the theme of informers still has the potential to be construed as a powerful comment upon their anti-social activities. Indeed, it will be argued in chapter 7 that this theme was so closely identified with "The Moonshine Can" that its characteristic melody became re-used in another Newfoundland local song relating to a similar theme.

The absence of NO-HEALTH also leads to an even greater focus on the song's narrative such that there is a preponderance of narrative stanzas in the complete versions in Group IIIb. This is particularly the case in AN1 where the introductory stanza COME-ALL has been reduced to three lines, the non-narrative stanza MAGISTRATE has been omitted entirely, and GRIEF has been conflated with the concluding stanza TROY. As Table 4b shows, the result is an almost perfectly symmetrical stanzaic structure in which a three-line introduction and a two-line conclusion frame a narrative section consisting of a two-and-a-half line stanza, followed by two quatrains and another two-line stanza.

COME-ALL of ER1 is very similar to that of LR1, PC1 and the Groups I and II versions. It is addressed to "all you people far and near" in line 1 and "good people all around" in line 3, and contains the caution concerning informers in the middle two lines. COME-ALL of AN1, on the other hand, resembles GH1 in that it merely states that the song is about an informer and

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refers to his activity has having taken place "lately":

> Come all ye moonshine makers and I'll tell to you a song
> About the late informer who lately came around,
> In jealousy could not agree, (he) put our moonshine down.

The use of enjambement between lines 1 and 2 in AN1 is also strikingly reminiscent of GH1, and also JL1. Nevertheless, AN1 is unique in addressing moonshine makers in line 1. It is also remarkable for the fact that it refers to an informer, in the singular, being the only version other than those in Group I to do this. The specificity of this reference hints that AN1 may represent a traditional text of "The Moonshine Can" which has been varied in order to relate the song to another local incident known to the creator of this version and his or her audiences. As will be seen, there are a number of other features in the text of AN1 which appear to support this theory.

The versions of EASTER contained in JC1 and ER1 follow the normal pattern, showing a particular resemblance to JL1 and GH1 respectively in that they also change the timing of the incident to "Easter Monday morning" (JC1) and "a Monday morning" (ER1). JC1 also refers to "Patsy" in line 4, like PC1, JL1 and GH1, while ER1 is unique in referring to "Paddy" at this point.

EASTER of AN1 is again quite distinct. In particular, the use of the name "Mickey" in this stanza has been omitted and replaced by the pronoun "he":

> 'Twas on Easter Sunday morning when down to me he came,
> And put me on the stand,
> Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's a big kick up about your moonshine

can."

Since no one but the informer has been mentioned up to this point in AN1, the logical referent of "he" is the informer referred to in COME-ALL. In contrast to other versions of "The Moonshine Can," therefore, the implication in AN1 is that it was the informer who approached the moonshine maker and put him "on the stand" about his illegal pursuit. This seems to be further evidence that the song in this version is being used to refer to another local incident concerning moonshine making.

The Group IIIb versions of SUMMONS introduce still other images of the moonshine maker's route to the court house, namely "lonely lakes" (JC1), "lonely lands" (ER1) and a "lonesome road" (AN1). In other respects, ER1 and AN1 resemble the Group IIIa versions of this stanza, particularly in their use of the "clarified" phrase, "it was against my will," in line 3. In AN1, as in PC1, JL1 and GH1 of Group IIIa, the stanza then concludes with the non-rhyming line which incorporates the image of "bars" - "And to go behind those iron bars before a crowd of men." In ER1, however, the final line appears to have been reworked to "And I was put in the witness box the jury for to tell." This leads to a rhyme with "it was against my will" in the previous line and introduces the courtroom terms "witness box" and "jury."

The second couplet of SUMMONS in JC1, meanwhile, introduces the phrase, "it was against my plan," in line 3. This precipitates the transposition

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of a line from PARSONS in line 4, in order to produce a rhyme:

> To travel down those lonely lakes it was against my (plan),
> But the worst misfortune fell of me, I had to lose my can.

The conflated QUESTION/PARSONS stanza is much the same in ER1, JC1 and AN1 as in the Group IIIa versions. In particular, ER1 and JC1 show a similarity with JL1 and GH1 in their employment of the phrase "the cutest plan" in line 3.

The GRIEF/PARSONS versions of ER1 and JC1 also resemble those of JL1 and GH1 in that they consist of a couplet from each of the stanzas, GRIEF and PARSONS. JC1 also uses the formula, "would grieve your heart full sore"/"would grieve you ten times more," which was a feature of JL1 and GH1, whilst ER1 prefers the more standard "grieved my heart"/"grieved me" form. A unique feature of JC1 is that the name of the policeman, "Mr. Parsons," has become "Constable McCarthy," presumably a localising detail.

AN1, meanwhile, is again distinct from the other Group IIIb versions in that it contains only the final couplet of GRIEF/PARSONS, in other words, the final couplet of GRIEF. In it, the image of the can's rattling pipes has been dropped and replaced by a development of the image of the can being put in the bag. This results in a unique internal rhyme in the second line:

> Now to see that can going in that bag would grieve your heart so sore,
> But to see that bag going out the door would grieve you ten times more.

As in JL1, GH1, and JC1, the form "would grieve your heart"/"would grieve you" is also found in AN1.

Since the GRIEF or GRIEF/PARSONS couplet of AN1 is amalgamated with the final couplet of TROY, there is no trace of MAGISTRATE in this version. If, as speculated above, this version of the song has been adapted to refer to another local moonshine incident, it is possible that MAGISTRATE was omitted because it was not appropriate. The only version of MAGISTRATE in this group of versions, therefore, is that of ER1 which is a quatrain version of the stanza, like MAGISTRATE of GH1, JL1 and NF1.

ER1 also contains the only Group IIIb version of TROY in quatrain form. In it, the composer's name is given as Pat O'Roy and his settlement as Pouch Cove, the latter constituting another similarity with GH1. Most significantly, however, the stanza concludes with the phrase, "he'll sing you a better song," recalling the alternative ending, "we'll make a better song," found in AP1/2 and the Group II versions.

The TROY stanza couplet with which AN1 concludes is notable for its use of the name "Molloy" in place of the name "Pat Troy" or one of its analogues:

Now my name it's Stan Molloy, me boys, from Goose Bay I belong,
And when I makes moonshine again I'll make her twice as strong.

It will be recalled that in the Group IIIa version, JL1, the singer, Jim Lynch, inserted the name of the collector, Scott Molloy, and the placename of his native

settlement, Torbay, into this stanza. The obvious resemblance of these names to "Stan Molloy" and "Goose Bay" respectively in AN1 is intriguing, especially in view of the fact that both versions were collected on the Avalon Peninsula. It tempts speculation as to whether Jim Lynch was acquainted with a version of TROY like that of AN1, since this would explain the apparent ease with which he was able to make ad hoc changes to it during his performance of the song for Scott Molloy. Attractive as this theory is, however, it raises a number of questions, such as how Lynch came to know this version and why the rest of his version does not follow the distinctive form of AN1.

With regard to AN1 itself, it has not been possible to ascertain who Stan Molloy of Goose Bay was, and how, as it seems, he came to reshape the song to suit a local incident in which he himself was involved. Since Goose Bay is a town in Labrador, it is quite possible that this reference to Molloy's native home can be taken literally. If so, it is strange that the only extant version of "The Moonshine Can" as he reshaped it was documented so far away from Labrador, unless one considers the possibility that the incident involving Molloy happened in the vicinity of The Goulds, on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula, where AN1 was collected. This would also account for the similarities between AN1 and some of the other Group III versions, especially GH1, Molloy's adapted version presumably being based on a traditional version in circulation on the Avalon Peninsula. Meanwhile, the possible link between AN1 and JL1 suggests

that Molloy's version was transmitted to some extent in the area around St. John's.

Despite the fact that the other Group IIIb versions, ER1 and JC1, were collected in Bonavista Bay and on the Northern Peninsula respectively, they also contain a number of the distinctive elements of the Avalon Peninsula versions, GH1, JL1 and to a lesser extent PC1. ER1, for example, times the incident to "a Monday morning" in EASTER, incorporates the phrase "it was against my will" in SUMMONS, refers to "the cutest plan" in QUESTION/PARSONS, follows the same form of GRIEF/PARSONS and MAGISTRATE as JL1 and GH1, and identifies the songmaker as being from Pouch Cove in TROY. Nevertheless, ER1 is unique in its use of the name "Paddy" in EASTER and its modification of the final line of SUMMONS to rhyme with the "against my will" phrase. It also contains points of similarity with the Groups I and II versions in the audience to whom it addresses COME-ALL and in its use of the "grieved my heart"/"grieved me" formula in GRIEF/PARSONS, as well as displaying a particular affinity with the White Bay versions in its concluding "better song" phrase of TROY. The shared features of JC1 and JL1, GH1 and PC1, meanwhile, are in the "Easter Monday morning" reference and the use of the name "Patsy" in EASTER, "the cutest plan" phrase in QUESTION/PARSONS, the form of GRIEF/PARSONS, and the "your heart"/"grieve you" version of the second couplet of this latter stanza. JC1 is unique in its transposition of a line from PARSONS to the end

of SUMMONS and in its use of the name "Constable McCarthy" in GRIEF/PARSONS.

The evidence of significant textual similarities between ER1, JC1, GH1 and JL1 can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it could mean that many of the distinctive features of the Avalon Peninsula versions, GH1 and JL1, had been introduced into the song in versions originating in more westerly parts of Newfoundland, versions with these changes then being orally transmitted to the Avalon Peninsula. Alternatively, the resemblances between the Avalon Peninsula versions and those from further west could be due to their being picked up from a single source, such as Biddy O'Toole's renditions of "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance. The points of difference between the versions might be reflective of the intermittence with which the song was performed on the radio show, which possibly led to the rounding out of her basic version with singers' individual innovations and parts of other traditional versions which were in oral circulation. Whichever was the case, the fact that the Group IIIb versions bear such a particular resemblance to JL1 and GH1 suggests that the former, or the versions from which they derive, may once have contained NO-HEALTH, like JL1 and GH1, the stanza having been subsequently dropped for some reason.

Group IIIc - Versions Retaining GRIEF and/or a Distinctive Form of MAGISTRATE

The remaining three traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can" make up Group IIIc. FK1 is from a tape recording made by MacEdward Leach of the singer, Frank Knox, in St. Shotts on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula.[33] Like the recording of George Hatfield made by Leach in this area of Newfoundland, that of Frank Knox is important because it was made a few years before Omar Blondahl collected the song in the same region, and popularised his own version based on it. The source for GS1 is a tape-recorded performance by Gladys Skanes of Bell Island, Conception Bay, for a student collector. It is the only complete traditional version performed by a woman which is extant. Finally, there are two versions of "The Moonshine Can" from Herbert Parsons, one being his own manuscript text of the song (HP1) and the other (HP2) taken from a tape-recorded performance made by Sandy Ives. The two versions are substantially the same, differing in only a few minor details.

As can be seen from Table 4b above, each of these three versions follows the same seven-stanza pattern as ER1. The Group IIIc versions are distinct from ER1, and the other traditional versions in Groups IIIa and IIIb, however, in that they retain the stanza, GRIEF, in its unconflated form. This is despite the fact

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[33] I am grateful to the Executor of the Leach collection for permission to make reference to this material which should not be re-quoted without his or her express permission.

that the preceding stanza in the Group IIIc versions is the conflated QUESTION/PARSONS. As a result, the second couplet of PARSONS, with which GRIEF is conflated in most of the Group IIIa and IIIb versions, is omitted from the Group IIIc versions altogether. This affects the narrative slightly inasmuch as it is the moonshine maker who brings out the can for confiscation, not Mr. Parsons.

COME-ALL of FK1 displays an interesting mixture of details, some of which are associated with the Groups I and II versions, others with the developments seen in the Groups IIIa and IIIb versions. Line 1, for example, is addressed to "good people," a detail only found otherwise in the Group I versions. Line 3, on the other hand, does not address the audience again but continues to refer to the informers, as in the other Southern Shore versions, GH1 and AN1, and the Torbay version, JL1. Yet, the references to the informers being "bold" and to their activities having taken place "lately" which characterise the latter versions are absent from FK1:

> Be aware of those informers and see how they got round,
> Through jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine
> down.(FK1)

It is further notable that FK1 retains the warning about informers in lines 2 and 3 where GH1, AN1 and JL1 are distinct in stating that the song is about them.

COME-ALL of GS1 also contains the warning about informers but only in line 2. This is because the parallelism normally found between lines 2 and 3 in

COME-ALL has been replaced by a repetition of the end of line 1 as the beginning of line 2:

> Come all you moonshine drinkers, come listen unto me,
> Be aware of those informers, you see how they served me,
> You see how they served me, my boys, the neighbours all around,
> But jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine down.(GS1)

The result is a subtle shift in meaning, for "the neighbours" mentioned in the second clause of line 3 now appear to be the referent of the pronoun "they" earlier in the line, and "they" have already been defined in the previous line as "those informers." Thus, neighbours and informers seem to be equated in this version, rather than neighbours and moonshine drinkers as in most other traditional versions, particularly those in Group I.

The opening of COME-ALL in HP1/2 recalls that of LR1 and the Group II versions in its address to "kind friends and neighbours," neighbours clearly being allied with the moonshine maker again in this version. The wording of line 2, however, is unique amongst the extant traditional versions of this stanza, although it contains an echo of the clause "and I'll tell to you a song" in line 1 of AN1:

> Come all kind friends and neighbours, come listen unto me,
> I'll tell of the brave informers who once informed on me,
> They once informed on me, me boys, and put me on the stand,
> For jealously could not agree, they took away me can (HP2).

As will be seen, line 2 of HP1/2 is also similar to line 3 of mass-mediated versions of this stanza and may reflect their influence. Meanwhile, the structure

of the stanza in HP1/2 is similar to that of GS1 in that the usual parallelism between lines 2 and 3 has been replaced by a repetition of the last clause of line 2 at the beginning of line 3. The third line is then completed with a clause from EASTER, introducing a different rhyme sound, which in turn is coupled with a variant ending to line 4. Intriguingly, this ending also bears a resemblance to the phrase, "he took me moonshine can," found in mass-mediated versions of the stanza QUESTION/PARSONS.

A number of minor textual variations occur in the Group IIIc versions of EASTER. In GS1, for example, the incident is timed to "a Sunday morning" and the name "Mikey" substituted for "Mickey," whilst the first line of FK1 is varied to "On Easter Sunday morning, quite well I mind the day." In line 4 of HP1/2, meanwhile, the noun "spree" replaces the usual word "kick up," and an internal rhyme is created – "Oh, Pat," said he, "there's a hell of a spree about your moonshine can." It is notable that FK1 and GS1, in common with the other Avalon Peninsula versions, PC1, JL1 and GH1, and JC1 from the Northern Peninsula, use the name "Patsy" in this line instead.

In SUMMONS, all the Group IIIc versions resemble AN1 in that they refer to travelling along a lonely road or roads. In addition, line 4 of FK1 incorporates an image of the "bars," as in PC1, JL1, GH1 and AN1. Unlike the latter, however, this is preceded in line 3 by the phrase, "it was against my grain," associated with the Groups I and II versions:

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> To travel down those lonely roads it was against my grain,
> To stand up there inside the bars before a crowd of men.(FK1)

The second couplet of SUMMONS in GS1 displays similarities with the Avalon Peninsula versions, PC1, JL1, GH1 and AN1, and with ER1 from Bonavista Bay. Thus, line 3 of GS1 includes the "translated" phrase, "it was against my will," in common with the former versions, whilst line 4 employs the image of "the witness box," as in ER1, but in combination with the non-rhyming line 4 ending found in the Avalon Peninsula versions:

> To travel down that lonely road it was against my will,
> And to force my way to the witness box before a crowd of men.(GS1)

SUMMONS of HP1/2 contains a slightly modified version of the third line clause, "it was against our will." This is combined with a version of line 4 which has apparently reworked in order to rhyme with the previous line:

> To travel up that lonesome road it was against our will,
> But to march into the outer room with the judge 'twas worse than hell.(HP2)

It is notable that a similar development has taken place in SUMMONS of ER1, which concludes, "And I was put in the witness box the jury for to tell."

The Group IIIc versions of QUESTION/PARSONS are remarkably similar to those of the other Group III versions, considering that the Group IIIc versions do not contain the following conflated stanza, GRIEF/PARSONS. The most distinctive detail is the retention of the pronoun "it" to refer to moonshine in line

1 of FK1, a particular which is also found in LR1, and in PARSONS of the Groups I and II versions.

GRIEF appears in FK1 and GS1 in much the same form as in the Group I and II versions, with no trace of the second couplet of PARSONS:

> I went right in and brought it out without any more delay,
> I stood there like a monument without a word to say,
> To hear the rattling of the tube it grieved my heart full sore,
> But when they put it in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(FK1)

The second couplet formula, "it grieved my heart so sore"/"it grieved me ten times more," occurs in both GS1 and FK1, as in LR1, ER1 and the White Bay South versions.

GRIEF of HP1/2, on the other hand, is a hybrid version. The first couplet derives from mass-mediated versions of this stanza, whilst the second couplet is similar to that of traditional versions, particularly resembling PC1 and the Goose Cove versions in its form of the phrase, "'twould grieve your heart so sore"/"it grieved me ten times more":

> Here's to our dear old magistrate, God bless his eyes of blue,
> He sent me home with a constable and told him what to do,
> To hear those tubes a-rattling 'twould grieve your heart so sore,
> But when the can went in the bag it grieved me ten times more.(HP2)

The fact that the stanza appears in the same form in both HP1 and HP2 suggests that this combination was an established part of Herbert Parsons' performances of the song. This is interesting since, as described in chapter 4,

Parsons was keenly aware of differences between Omar Blondahl's mass-mediated version of the song and his own, particularly singling out Blondahl's pronunciation of the word "constabule" in this stanza for criticism. Despite this, it would seem that Parsons, or his source for the song, had come to replace a traditional version of the first couplet of GRIEF with that of Omar Blondahl's version. Thus, it is not possible to tell whether GRIEF of HP1/2 is based on GRIEF or on the conflated form, GRIEF/PARSONS.

The Group IIIc versions of MAGISTRATE are also distinctive in comparison with the other versions so far discussed because of the ways in which they achieve their quatrain form. As observed earlier in connection with PT1/2 and AP1/2, it seems that this stanza was originally six lines in length and that a five-line version was subsequently produced by the dropping of the line concerning Mr. Simms, as in JO1, LR1 and PC1. When the quatrain versions, NF1, JL1, GH1, and ER1, are compared to these five-line versions, it can be seen that a conflation of lines 3 and 4, concerning St. Peter, has taken place, thus:

> It's there he'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key,
> The man who keeps the key, my boy, the gates he will
> unlock.(PC1)

> It's there he'll meet St. Peter, and the gates he will unlock.(GH1)

This results in the loss of the image of St. Peter's key. By contrast, the quatrain form of MAGISTRATE in FK1 and HP1/2 has been achieved by the

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omission of what was line 3 in the five-line versions, the proper name, "St. Peter," being transposed to the new third line:

> Good luck to all good magistrates, may the Lord look down on them,
> And when they die and leave this world, go to the other end,
> St. Peter holds the keys, my boys, the gates for to unlock,
> Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrates, make one amongst our flock."(FK1).

Thus, the reference to St. Peter's keys is preserved in FK1 and HP1/2, and the assertion that the magistrate will meet St. Peter is omitted.

In MAGISTRATE of GS1, on the other hand, both of the lines concerning St. Peter are left intact. The stanza therefore resembles the five-line versions of MAGISTRATE except that the first line, incorporating the toast to the magistrate, has been omitted. It seems to be as a result of this that the first couplet of GS1 has been modified to refer to the audience's encounter with St. Peter, rather than that of the magistrate, despite the incongruity this creates with the final line of the stanza:

> Now when you leave this world, my boy(s), going to the other side,
> It's there you'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key,
> The man who keeps the keys, my boy, the gates he will unlock,
> Said, "Step right in, old magistrate, make one among the flock."(GS1)

The most salient features of the Group IIIc versions of TROY are their treatment of Pat Troy's name and the choice of ending employed in the final line of the stanza. FK1 and GS1 resemble GH1 in that they name the

songmaker/moonshine maker as "Pat Ryan" and "Patsy Ryan" respectively. Since FK1, like GH1, was collected prior to Blondahl's popularisation of the song, it constitutes further evidence that the change from "Troy" to "Ryan" had already taken place in some traditional versions of the song and was not an innovation by Blondahl. In contrast, the name is transformed to "Paddy Spry" in HP1/2. The singer, Herbert Parsons, had also heard people sing "Patty Stry" and "Patty Sty" (Ives, Interview). The songmaker's native community is given as Goose Cove in all versions.

The concluding lines of FK1 and GS1 are also of interest for they perpetuate the evaluative comment on the song found in ER1 and the White Bay versions. Thus, the last phrase of FK1 promises "I'll sing you a better song" whilst that of GS1 promises "I'll sing you a longer song." Both endings clearly parallel that of ER1 - "he'll sing you a better song" - and that of the White Bay versions, AP1/2, JO1 and NF1 - "we'll make a better song." HP1/2, on the other hand, finishes with the more usual gesture of defiance, "he'll make her twice as strong." Yet, in a parenthetical comment to HP1, the performer, Herbert Parsons, writes "For the last line of the last stanza I sometimes sing '. . . he'll make 'er [sic] bitter strong'" (Parsons, Essay 33). This intriguing variation thus displays a phonological similarity to the "better/longer song" ending but completely avoids the evaluative comment on the song, retaining instead something of the sense of the "twice as strong" ending.

As observed above, then, FK1 is characterised by a mixture of features particularly associated with some or all of the Groups I and II versions, on the one hand, and features associated with the Groups IIIa and IIIb versions, especially those from the Avalon Peninsula, on the other. Its similarities with the Groups I and II versions include the address to "good people" in COME-ALL, the retention of the phrase, "it was against my grain," in SUMMONS, the reference to "it" and not "moonshine" in the judge's question of QUESTION/PARSONS, the retention of GRIEF in more or less its original form, and the promise of "a better song" in TROY, although this last detail is also found in ER1 and, of course, GS1 in Group IIIc. This number of shared details between FK1 and the Goose Cove/White Bay region versions makes it possible that FK1 derives fairly directly from a Goose Cove area/White Bay version, despite the fact that FK1 was collected in St. Shotts, on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula. Meanwhile, the resemblances borne by FK1 to various Groups IIIa and IIIb versions - such as the use of the name "Patsy" in EASTER, as in PC1, JL1, GH1 and JC1, the reference to road(s) in SUMMONS, as in AN1, the image of the "bars" of the courtroom, as in PC1, JL1, GH1 and AN1, the inclusion of the conflated stanza, QUESTION/PARSONS, and the use of the name "Pat Ryan" in TROY, as in GH1 - may reflect modifications which have occurred in FK1, or the version from which it derives, as a result of contact with other versions circulating on the Avalon Peninsula.

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GS1 displays a less marked resemblance to the Groups I and II versions, apart from its retention of the stanza, GRIEF. It does, however have a number of details in common with Avalon Peninsula versions, and also with ER1 from Bonavista Bay. These include the name, "Patsy," in EASTER (cf. PC1, JL1, GH1, JC1), the reference to "road(s)" in SUMMONS (cf. AN1), the phrase, "it was against my will," in the same stanza (cf. FK1, PC1, JL1, GH1, AN1, ER1), and the image of the "witness box" also in SUMMONS, (cf. ER1), the name, "Patsy Ryan," (cf. GH1) in TROY, and the "longer song" comment in the same stanza (cf. ER1, JO1, NF1, AP1/2). Since GS1, which was collected in Conception Bay, clearly cannot derive from any of the Group III versions which contain the GRIEF/PARSONS conflation, GS1 would seem to have been transmitted along a different route from the other versions collected in Conception Bay. As with FK1, however, it may subsequently have been influenced by versions such as those in Groups IIIa and IIIb, and thus gained specific similarities with them.

HP1/2 derives from a version sung by a performer who came from Fortune Bay on the south coast of Newfoundland. It contains a number of unique innovations, such as the substitution of the word, "spree," for "kick up" in EASTER, the reworking of the final line of SUMMONS, and the "bitter strong" alternative ending to TROY. At the same time, the probable influence of mass-mediated versions is also visible, such as in the variant line 2 of COME-ALL, the

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first couplet of GRIEF, and also the first line of TROY in HP1. Yet, there are also particular similarities with various of the traditional versions, "kind friends and neighbours" of COME-ALL resembling LR1 and the Group II versions, "road(s)" of SUMMONS resembling AN1, the phrase "it was against my will" in the same stanza resembling PC1, JL1, GH1, AN1 and ER1, and the "grieve your heart"/"grieved my heart" opposition in GRIEF resembling PC1 and the versions from Goose Cove. Of all the extant traditional versions, therefore, HP1/2 displays the most variety of detail, possibly reflecting the influence of several distinct versions of the song.

Group IV - Commercial Performances and Mass-Mediated Versions
Biddy O'Toole and Omar Blondahl

It is unfortunate that, as far as is known, there are no recordings of Biddy O'Toole singing "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance, nor any extant text of the song as she sang it. Since, however, Biddy O'Toole was the first to perform "The Moonshine Can" commercially, through the mass medium of radio, she presumably learnt the song from local tradition, probably in her native Quidi Vidi in the east end of St. John's. It is thus probable that her version resembled one or more of the Group III traditional versions from the same region of Newfoundland. Nevertheless, the possibility that Biddy O'Toole made adjustments to the song for performance on the radio cannot be ruled out. In

particular, the fact that NO-HEALTH survives in some of the Group III versions and not in others invites speculation that Biddy O'Toole may have known this stanza but chose to omit it as too politically or socially sensitive for performance over the air. If so, the fact that the stanza was not endorsed in her renditions may have led to its being dropped by local singers who once included it in their versions, causing the crystallisation of these versions in seven-stanza form.

A more general effect of Biddy O'Toole's occasional renditions of "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance was undoubtedly to further knowledge of the song amongst those who listened to the show. Some may even have learnt the song from these performances, but there is little evidence among the extant traditional versions to suggest that Biddy O'Toole's particular version made much of an impact on local singing tradition. It is more likely that the appearance of "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance helped to increase the popularity of the song as it was already being sung in the local singing tradition of the settlements where The Barn Dance could be received. It may have been for this reason that MacEdward Leach was able to record two different versions of the song on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula in 1950-51, not long after The Barn Dance went off the air, and Omar Blondahl was introduced to the song in the same region five years later.

As with Biddy O'Toole's performances of "The Moonshine Can" on The Barn Dance, there are no known recordings of Omar Blondahl's performances

of the song on his radio show of the late 1950s and early 1960s. There is, though, a rendition of the song on his 1956 long-playing disc, Down to the Sea Again, the first commercial recording ever made of "The Moonshine Can," and it seems reasonable to suppose that the song appears on the recording in much the same format as Blondahl performed it live on the radio. The most salient features of this recorded performance (OB1) are Blondahl's use of an acoustic guitar accompaniment for the song, and Blondahl's distinctive singing style. Not only are the words clearly enunciated throughout, but Blondahl also makes use of contrasts in dynamics and vocal tone in order to impersonate the different speakers in the dialogue of QUESTION/PARSONS. Thus, he suddenly drops to a whisper for the magistrate's question, and adopts a bold, defiant tone for the moonshine maker's reply in the following line. In addition, Blondahl momentarily switches to falsetto in the phrase, "he took me [sic] moonshine can," apparently to contribute to what he saw as the humour of the line. As will be seen below, Blondahl's performance of the song is further distinctive in that he adopts a form of Irish-Newfoundland dialectal pronunciation for some of the words.

Blondahl also published the text and a musical notation of the tune of "The Moonshine Can" in his 1964 songbook, Newfoundlanders Sing!. This written version (OB2) contains a number of minor differences in wording with Blondahl's recorded version, as noted below. In addition, Blondahl's editing of the text is somewhat idiosyncratic, upper case letters being used for the nouns,

"Moonshine Drinkers," "Informers," "Moonshine Can," and "Moonshine Time," and one or more exclamation marks appearing in each stanza. Like the recorded performance, the published text also attempts to portray Newfoundland dialect, despite the fact that the songbook was aimed at a Newfoundland audience. Thus, the text is sprinkled with simple written representations of supposedly dialectal pronunciation, such "me" for "my," "wavin'," "headin'," "sayin'," and "lyin'," "b'y(s)" and "consta-bule."

Blondahl's basic text of "The Moonshine Can" consists of seven stanzas and was presumably based on the traditional version which he noted from the old man in Cappahayden, and the versions which Blondahl subsequently solicited from listeners to his radio programme. Nevertheless, Blondahl's version, as evidenced in OB1/2, appears to be more than a composite of these traditional versions. Comparison of OB1/2 with the extant traditional versions, especially those known to pre-date the dissemination of Blondahl's version, shows that the process of "smoothing out" the song employed by Blondahl involved not only the modification of some of the traditional elements of the text, but also the recomposition of certain clauses and lines. Thus, whilst Blondahl's stanzas are recognisably the counterparts of COME-ALL, EASTER, SUMMONS, QUESTION/PARSONS, GRIEF/PARSONS, MAGISTRATE and TROY, they are often distinct from traditional versions of these stanzas in both their stylistic and narrative detail.

COME-ALL of OB1/2 displays a particular resemblance to the traditional versions, GH1, JL1 and, to some extent, AN1. It is, for example, addressed to an audience of "moonshine drinkers," as in GH1 (and also GS1, PC1), and makes reference to the informers as "bold" and their activities as having taken place "lately," as in GH1, JL1 and AN1. In addition, there is enjambement between the lines of the first couplet, and no warning about informers, features also associated with GH1, JL1 and AN1:

> Come all (ye) moonshine drinkers and ye will quickly see
> The work of the bold informers and the way they serv-ed me,
> I'll tell of the bold informers who have lately been around,
> They jealously could not agree, they've put me moonshine down.(OB1)

Whilst it is not certain as to whether AN1 pre-dates or was influenced by Blondahl's version, GH1 definitely dates from before Blondahl's time in Newfoundland and, as argued above, the similarities between GH1 and JL1 strongly suggest that JL1, although collected later, also represents a pre-Blondahl version of the song. It would seem, therefore, that Blondahl's traditional source version(s) was close to GH1 and JL1 in these details.

Despite the use of enjambement between lines 1 and 2 of OB1/2, on the other hand, the clause "and ye will quickly see" differs from the corresponding half-line of GH1 ("come listen to my song"), JL1 ("I hope ye will agree") and AN1 ("and I'll tell to you a song"). Comparison with FK1, the other version known to pre-date that of Blondahl, suggests that the idea of the song's audience "seeing"

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what has happened comes from what was formerly the second clause of line 2:

> Come all of my good people and listen unto me,
> Be aware of those informers and see how they served me.(FK1)

Meanwhile, the new line 2 clause as found in OB1[34] - "and the way they serv-
ed me" - appears to have a precedent in the corresponding clause of JL1:

> Come all ye hearty rambelers [sic], I hope ye will agree
> About those bold informers and the way that they served me.(JL1)

It may be, therefore, that the modification of the second clause in line 1 had
already taken place in the traditional version on which Blondahl based his, and
was not an innovation on the part of Blondahl. Alternatively, Blondahl may have
had access to versions of COME-ALL like that of JL1 and that of FK1, and may
have taken elements of each to make up his preferred version. Whichever was
the case, the wording of the first clause of line 2 was probably modified at the
same time to refer to "the work" of the informers, the change resulting in
alliteration with the word "way" in the ensuing clause.

Line 4 of COME-ALL in OB1/2 again displays a close resemblance to the
corresponding line of GH1 - "Their jealousy could not agree, they put our
moonshine down" - the most significant change being that the reference to "our
moonshine," ubiquitous among the extant traditional versions, has become "me
[my] moonshine." Thus, in OB1/2, the moonshine is identified as the particular

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[34]The word "served" has been altered to "treated" in OB2, perhaps
because of the difficulty of indicating in writing that "served" should be sung
as two syllables and not one.

property of the moonshine maker, rather than the shared property of maker and drinkers, and the loss of the moonshine as a result of the informers' actions represented as more of a personal deprivation than a group one.

EASTER of OB1/2 contains several examples of dialect, namely, the past tense usage, "it been," with which the stanza opens, and the phrase, "an awful kick," in the final line:

> It been on Easter Sunday morn when down the road I see
> Old Mickey waving both his arms and heading straight for me,
> He waved his arms and called aloud as down the road he ran,
> Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's an awful kick about your moonshine
> can."(OB1)[35]

The occurrence of the verb form, "it being," in EASTER of GH1 makes it likely that this usage was adopted by Blondahl from his source version(s) for the song. In contrast, the adjective, "awful," meaning "remarkable" or "exceptional" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson), seems to have been a substitution by Blondahl for the non-dialect word, "big."

Other changes introduced by Blondahl in EASTER include the second clause of line 1, "when down the road I see," which replaces the traditional formula, "as you may plainly see." The new clause again results in enjambement between the lines of this couplet, something which in the traditional versions is masked by the interpolation of the "as you may plainly

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[35] Line 4 of EASTER in OB2 reads "Patty, b'y" instead of "Pat, me boy," as in OB1.

see" formula:

> It being on a Monday morning as you may plainly see,
> As soon as Mickey got the news he came right down to me.(GH1)

In addition, "Mickey" has become "old Mickey" in OB1/2, a character who, in Blondahl's imagination, it seems, transmits the news to the moonshine maker by running down the road towards him, flailing his arms and shouting. The image of Mickey putting the maker "on the stand" is thus omitted and, as will be seen, has been transposed to SUMMONS instead. Despite these textual variations, the rhyme sounds of the traditional versions have been preserved. The structure of the stanza, however, has been modified in OB1/2 so that the two constituent couplets are linked by a quasi-parallelism between lines 2 and 3, rather than by straight repetition of the end of line 2 at the beginning of line 3, as in the traditional versions of this stanza.

In SUMMONS of OB1/2, the idea of the moonshine maker being forced to go to court is retained, although it is expressed in different words from the traditional versions:

> Then next there came a summons to tell me I must go,
> They made me walk that lonesome trail up to me knees in snow,
> They made me walk that lonesome trail and put me on the stand,
> Saying, "Patty boy, you'll have to pay for having the moonshine can."(OB1)[36]

> Next day I got (the) summons and I was forced to go,

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[36]SUMMONS of OB2 differs from that of OB1 in that it refers to "my knees" in line 2 and "a moonshine can" in line 4.

To travel down those lonesome lanes up to my knees in snow.(GH1)

Blondahl's re-phrasing of lines 2 and 3 also makes a group of people, referred to only as "they," responsible for the moonshine maker's trek to court and for calling him to account. In the absence of an immediate referent for the pronoun, it would appear that "they" refers back to the "the bold informers" mentioned in COME-ALL. Thus, a more explicit connection is made in OB1/2 between the informers' actions and the moonshine maker's being compelled to appear in court.

As already mentioned, the second clause of line 3 in SUMMONS of OB1/2 - "and put me on the stand" - appears to have been transposed from what is the corresponding clause in EASTER of most traditional versions. The image of the moonshine maker taking up his position as defendant in the courtroom is thus retained in OB1/2, but is couched in different words and placed a line earlier than in the traditional versions of this stanza. The final line of OB1/2 then departs from traditional versions completely by introducing the direct speech of the informers, the wording of which is clearly based on Mickey's speech in the final line of EASTER. This in turn introduces a different rhyme sound in this couplet but the parallelism of lines 2 and 3 is preserved.

The next stanza of OB1/2 is clearly based on the QUESTION/PARSONS conflation, the central two lines being much the same as in traditional versions

of this stanza:

> "I'd like to know how moonshine's made," the magistrate did say,
> "Of yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the proper way,
> Of yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the cutest plan,"
> And the magistrate was happy then, he took me moonshine
> can.(CB1)[37]

Blondahl has apparently made significant changes in lines 1 and 4 of the stanza, however. Firstly, it is no longer the judge who questions the moonshine maker but the magistrate, a change presumably intended to make QUESTION/PARSONS consistent with the stanza, MAGISTRATE. Secondly, the question itself has been re-phrased from a direct inquiry - "What did you make this moonshine of?" - to an indirect one which hints at the magistrate's personal interest in moonshine manufacture. The fact that in OB1 this line is sung in an undertone further suggests that the magistrate's curiosity is meant to be seen as directed towards personal rather than judicial ends. In keeping with this, the final line of the stanza dwells on the magistrate's glee at receiving the information, not the moonshine maker's misfortune at the loss of his can as in traditional versions. Indeed, it is made clear in line 4 of OB1/2 that it is the magistrate who confiscates the can, although the concomitant hint that this is so as the magistrate can use it himself is contradicted in the following stanza in which the destruction of the can is described.

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[37]The word "and" is omitted at the beginning of line 4 of this stanza in OB2.

The stanza following QUESTION/PARSONS in OB1/2 appears to be based on GRIEF/PARSONS, because it is the policeman who fetches the can and not the moonshine maker:

> The magistrate was happy then, God bless his eyes of blue,
> He sent me home with a constabule [sic] and told him what to do,
> To hear them break me moonshine can it nearly burst me heart,
> But when they threw it into the bay it tore me soul apart.(OB1)[38]

In comparison with the traditional versions, however, GRIEF/PARSONS of OB1/2 has been largely rewritten, resulting in the use of different rhyme sounds. Line 1, for example, continues to dwell on the magistrate rather than the moonshine maker, the clause blessing the magistrate's blue eyes apparently being invented by Blondahl in order to set up the rhyme sound for the following line. Again, as in the previous stanza, it is emphasised that the magistrate is responsible for having the can seized, it being no longer a named individual but merely "a constable" who comes to fetch it.

In the second couplet, the formula, "it grieved my heart full sore"/"it grieved me ten times more," found in the traditional versions has been replaced by the phrase, "it nearly burst me heart"/"it tore me soul apart." This is reminiscent of a textual formula sometimes found in Irish broadside ballads,

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[38]In OB2, the first clause of line 1 reads, "Then here's to that good Magistrate," the same as that of the following stanza, MAGISTRATE. Furthermore, the second couplet of GRIEF/PARSONS in OB2 employs the third person singular, "To hear him break me Moonshine Can . . . " and "But when he threw it into the bay . . ."

such as "The Shamrock Shore":

> Farewell, my aged parents, from you I now must part,
> Likewise my tender grandfather - I'm sure 'twill break his heart (O
> Lochlainn, **More Irish Street Ballads** 174-75).[39]

Blondahl's particular version of the formula, however, tends to exaggerate the already overstated emotion of traditional versions of this couplet to the point of patent ridiculousness. The fate of the actual moonshine can is equally extreme in OB1/2 in that it is not just seized and placed in "the bag," but broken up and thrown into "the bay."

A last point to note in connection with this stanza is that there is some discrepancy in OB1 as to who is responsible for destroying the can, the first couplet referring to the policeman as carrying out the operation but the pronouns of the second couplet implying the involvement of more than one person. The ambiguity is cleared up in the published version, OB2, however, where the references have been changed to the singular in the second couplet, implying that it is the policeman who carries out the task.

MAGISTRATE of OB1/2 bears a close resemblance to its traditional counterparts:

> Then here's to that good magistrate, may the Lord receive me
> friend,
> When he dies we'll bury him and he'll go to the other end,
> St. Peter then will greet him and the gate he'll then unlock,

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[39]Cf. "The Loss of the Belfast Lark," "Patrick, My Darling," and "North America or the Flower of Enniskillen," in Wright 308, 403, 407).

> Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, and welcome to the
> flock."(OB2)

Amongst the minor differences detectable in OB1/2 is the modification of the
second clause of line 1 from "may the Lord look down on him" to "may the Lord
receive me friend." This not only provides a more satisfactory rhyme for the
word "end" in the following line, but also furthers the idea, hinted at in
QUESTION/PARSONS, of the magistrate and the moonshine maker colluding in
the manufacture of the liquor.

The lack of reference to St. Peter's keys in the second couplet suggests
that OB1/2 was based on a version of the stanza, such as that of GH1, in which
the quatrain form had been achieved through the conflation of two of the lines
from the longer versions:

> It's there he'll meet St. Peter, and the gates he will unlock,
> Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrate, make one amongst our
> flock."(GH1).

The ambiguous pronoun usage in which this results in line 3 may be the reason
that the first clause of the line has been reworked to "St. Peter then will greet
him" in OB1/2. There is, on the other hand, no obvious reason why the phrase,
"make one among the flock," has been altered to "and welcome to the flock" in
line 4.

Like MAGISTRATE, TROY of OB1/2 is much the same as in traditional
versions:

Then here's to the man who wrote this song, I'm sure he was not
lying,
And if you wants to know his name, his name be Patty Ryan,
His name be Patty Ryan, me boys, from Goose Town he belong,
And if moonshine time comes round again he'll make her twice as
strong.(OB1)[40]

As mentioned above, the change from the surname, "Troy," to "Ryan" had

already occurred in some traditional versions by the time that Blondahl came into

contact with the song. To judge from the attribution of the song to "Patty Ryan"

on the sleevenotes of the OB1 recording, moreover, Blondahl regarded the name

as authentic and so retained it as it appeared in his source version(s). The

appearance of "Goose Cove" as "Goose Town" in OB1/2, on the other hand, is

puzzling since most settlements in Newfoundland at the time were small and

rural. It is not surprising, therefore, that many who learnt Blondahl's version of

the song changed "Goose Town" back to "Goose Cove," as will be seen below.

Among the distinctive features of TROY in OB1/2 are the toast to the

songmaker with which the stanza opens, echoing that of MAGISTRATE, and the

crediting of the songmaker in line 1 with having written, rather than having

made, the song. In addition, the phrase, "I know he told no lie," usually found

at the end of line 1 in traditional versions has been modified in OB1/2 to "I'm

sure he was not lying," presumably in order to provide a fuller rhyme with the

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[40]The word "and" replaces "then" at the beginning of line 1 in TROY of
OB2 and, in what appears to be a misprint, the second clause of this line
reads "I'm sure I was not lyin'." In addition, the pronoun "you" in line 2 has
become "ye" in OB2.

surname "Ryan" in line 2. With regard to the use of dialect in the song, it is notable that the usage, "you wants," employed in line 2 of TROY in OB1/2 is also found in a number of traditional versions, including the pre-Blondahl version, FK1. Yet, the construction, "his name be," in lines 2 and 3 of OB1/2 appears in the standard form, "his name is," in all the extant traditional versions. A final difference between OB1/2 and traditional versions occurs in line 4 where the reference to "when the moonshine comes again" has become "if moonshine time comes round again" in OB1/2. Thus, Blondahl's version conveys the idea that moonshine making is only a temporary occupation, the prospect of engaging in which again is less certain than in the traditional versions.

In the hands of Blondahl, then, the text of "The Moonshine Can" underwent a number of significant changes. These range from the re-phrasing of what Blondahl perceived as awkward or ambiguous lines and the tightening up of the rhymes, to the introduction of fanciful details and the portrayal of the protagonists, Mickey, the magistrate and the moonshine maker, as comic stereotypes. As a result, "The Moonshine Can" in Blondahl's version has lost many of the features of a local song concerning a specific, personal experience, and has become instead a comic piece employing stock characters and lighthearted innuendoes. Hence, while Blondahl's sleevenotes to the disc, Down to the Sea Again, describe "The Moonshine Can" as "a truly jolly song" and a song "that brings out the Newfoundlander's grand sense of humour," it should

be remembered that it was actually Blondahl himself who shaped the song to conform to this conception.

It was, furthermore, in this recast form that "The Moonshine Can" became promulgated as a Newfoundland folksong, both inside and outside the island. Yet, Blondahl, an outsider, had only spent a short time in Newfoundland when he fashioned his version of the song, and had altered it so as to magnify its humour and de-individualise those with whom the song was concerned. Thus, it is clear that the version of the song which was promulgated as representative of Newfoundland culture was actually more representative of Blondahl's stereotyped perceptions of Newfoundland culture. Amongst those who adopted his basic version were ironically several commercial performers from Newfoundland and a number of local singers.

John White, Dick Nolan, Ian and Sylvia, and Tom, Jim and Garth

All of the available versions by other commercial performers are undoubtedly based on that of Blondahl. They include four versions by John White, one by Dick Nolan, one by Ian and Sylvia and one by Tom, Jim and Garth. Of the John White versions, JW1 is in the form of an undated manuscript obtained by two Goose Cove people living in St. John's through a friend who worked for CBC television, whilst JW2 comes from a recording, possibly a studio recording, of John White singing the song on the television show, **All Around the**

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Circle, JW3 from a field recording of a live performance of the song at the St. John's Folk Festival in July 1978, and JW4 from an undated **John White's Greatest Hits** compilation tape which seems to be the same recording as JW2. The other commercial recording of the song, as distinct from the tune, by a Newfoundland performer is Dick Nolan's performance (DN1) on his long-playing disc, I'se the B'y What Catches da Fish of 1966. The versions by non-Newfoundland performers, Ian and Sylvia (IS1) and Tom Jim and Garth (TJG1), are taken from their discs of 1964 and circa 1966/1967 respectively. All recordings employ accompaniment of several instruments but none impersonate the speakers in the dialogue of QUESTION/PARSONS as in OB1. On the other hand, John White's performances make use of a kind of heightened speech technique in EASTER and MAGISTRATE (JW2/4), and in TROY (JW3), presumably for humorous effect.

As can be seen from Table 5, all of these versions follow Blondahl's seven-stanza pattern with the exception of JW2/4 in which GRIEF/PARSONS is omitted, and JW3 in which SUMMONS and MAGISTRATE are omitted. Nevertheless, it is clear from the fact that different stanzas have been left out in different performances by John White that all seven stanzas as sung by Blondahl are known to him. Meanwhile, specific comparison of IS1 and TJG1 with OB1/2 reveals that, with slight modifications, IS1 is the same as OB1, Blondahl's recorded version, and TJG1 is the same as OB2, his published version. The

Table 5: Stanza Structure (Group IV "Moonshine Can" Versions)

	OB1/2	JW1	JW2/4	JW3	DN1	TJG1	IS1
COME-ALL	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
EASTER	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
SUMMONS	3	3	3	-	3	3	3
QUESTION/ PARSONS	4	4	4	3	4	4	4
GRIEF/ PARSONS	5	5	-	4	5	5	5
MAGIS- TRATE	6	6	5	-	6	6	6
TROY	7	7	6	5	7	7	7
TOTAL	7	7	6	5	7	7	7

versions by John White and Dick Nolan, on the other hand, contain several
significant features in relation to both of Blondahl's versions.

John White's versions contain a mixture of the details which distinguish
OB1 and OB2, such as the use of the verb "treated" in line 2 of COME-ALL
(OB2), the opening toast to the magistrate in GRIEF/PARSONS (OB2), and the
ambiguous plural references in the second couplet of the same stanza (OB1).
Apart from a number of minor word changes, JW1/2/3/4 also evidence a
propensity on the part of John White to alter or insert the introductory word of
some of the stanzas as, for example, in the addition of the word "well" in
QUESTION/PARSONS of JW2/3/4 and the use of the words "well" and "and" at

the beginning of GRIEF/PARSONS in JW1 and JW3 respectively. John White seems to have made several more substantial changes to the text in places as well. The final line of COME-ALL, for instance, has been reworded from "they jealously could not agree" to "through jealousy they could not agree," the latter being more akin to traditional versions of this line. Likewise, John White refers to "Pat, me boy" instead of "Patty, boy" in EASTER and SUMMONS, although he retains the name "Patty Ryan" in TROY. Blondahl's reference to "Goose Town" in this stanza is, on the other hand, changed back to "Goose Cove" by White, and the word, "constable" in GRIEF/PARSONS pronounced normally. The other main difference from OB1/2 occurs in JW3 where the line 4 of SUMMONS has been substituted for line 4 of EASTER, although this may be connected with the fact that SUMMONS itself is omitted in this rendition.

DN1 is close to OB1 but, like John White, Dick Nolan has introduced a number of changes in wording. Several of these hark back to traditional versions of the song, such as the substitution of the word, "plainly" for "quickly" in the clause, "and ye will plainly see," of COME-ALL and the changing of "if" back to "when" in the clause "And when moonshine time comes round again" in TROY. Furthermore, Nolan adopts the standard pronunciation of "constable" in GRIEF/PARSONS and replaces the verb form, "his name be," with "his name is" in TROY. Curiously, however, the name, "Goose Town," is retained, although it is pronounced more like "Ghos' Town" by Nolan on this particular

recording. The most substantial and interesting changes occur in EASTER

where "it been" has become "it came" in line 1, "when down" has become "as

down" in the same line, thereby becoming consistent with line 3, and the

beginning of line 3 has been modified so as to parallel the beginning of line 2:

> It came on an Easter Sunday morn as down the road I see
> Old Mickey waving both his arms and headed straight for me,
> Old Mickey loudly he did shout as down the road he ran,
> Saying, "Dick, me boy, there's an awful kick about your moonshine
> can."

In addition, it can be seen that Nolan has substituted his own name, "Dick," for

that of "Pat" in line 4 of this stanza, the same thing happening in the following

stanza, SUMMONS, as well. Thus, Nolan makes himself the moonshine maker

in the song, in keeping with the fact that the story is told in the first person,

although he still attributes the song to "Patty Ryan" in TROY.

Group V - Mass-Mediated Versions in Local, Non-Commercial Performance

The remaining six versions of "The Moonshine Can" to be discussed in

this chapter generally follow the model of mass-mediated versions of the song

but were recorded from local, non-commercial performers in Newfoundland. In

chronological order of collection, the first is that of Kenneth Pink (KP1) which

was recorded in Rose Blanche on the south coast by the collector, Kenneth

Peacock, in 1959.[41] Next is that of Frank MacArthur and members of his family (FM1) who contributed parts of the song (see Table 6) during a social gathering recorded by Margaret Bennett in the Codroy Valley in 1970. The version by 30-year-old LK[42] of Tilting, Fogo Island, recorded in 1972, is also fragmentary (LK1), the singer narrating other parts of the story verbally in between the sung stanzas. Two versions were collected in 1980, that by Paul Dean (PD1) of Placentia Bay[43] and that by Sylvia Hickey (SH1) of Bay of Islands who also accompanied herself on the guitar. The final version in this group was also sung to instrumental accompaniment by the singer and accordion player, Dorman Ralph, (DR1) and was recorded by myself in 1985.

Two of the versions, DR1 and KP1, were almost certainly learnt directly from Blondahl, Dorman Ralph being friendly with Blondahl whilst he was in Newfoundland and the Kenneth Pink recording dating from before the dissemination of the song by other commercial performers. Meanwhile, the singer of PD1, Paul Dean, states that he heard his mother sing "The Moonshine

Table 6: Stanza Structure (Group V "Moonshine Can" Versions)

	DR1	PD1	KP1	LK1	SH1	FM1
COME-ALL	1	1	1	1 2 II.	1	1
EASTER	2	2	2	-	2	2
SUMMONS	3	3	3	2 3 II.	3	3
QUESTION/ PARSONS	4	4	4	3	4	?
GRIEF/ PARSONS	5	5	5	-	5	-
MAGIS- TRATE	6	6	6	4	6	-
TROY	7	7	7	5	7	-
TOTAL	7	7	7	5 Incom- plete	7	4 Incom- plete

Can" and this makes it at least feasible that his version and that of his mother from which it seems to stem, can also be traced back to Blondahl rather than a later performer. SH1, on the other hand, shows several particular similarities with Dick Nolan's recorded version, DN1, notwithstanding the comment by the singer, Sylvia Hickey, that the song was sung by all her family before her and is "really old." There is no information on the source for LK's version although, to judge from his statement, "I used to know all that but I . . . don't know it now," some time had passed since he learnt and first performed the song.

Likewise, the singers of FM1 seem to have learnt the song some time previously from a mass-mediated version and to have subsequently forgotten parts of it. Yet, the stanza, QUESTION/PARSONS, as sung by Frank MacArthur on this recording is clearly more in the form of a traditional rather than a mass-mediated version of this stanza.

The Group V versions tend to exhibit more variation in their detail than the versions by commercial performers following Blondahl. Many of these variations hark back to traditional versions of the song, recalling specific words, phrases and even structural features associated with traditional texts. Thus, it would seem that the local singers who learnt the song from mass media sources were often acquainted with traditional versions as well, leading them to incorporate elements of the latter into the mass-mediated text. These elements appear alongside a number of other minor variations which probably originate with the singers themselves.

All the Group V versions of COME-ALL contain similarities with traditional versions of this stanza. In DR1, FM1 and LK1, for example, the reference to "informers" has been changed to the singular, as in the Goose Cove and White Bay versions. Likewise, Blondahl's line 4 clause, "they jealously could not agree," has become "jealousy could not agree" in DR1 and "through jealousy could not agree" in PD1, recalling the wording of traditional versions at this point. COME-ALL of KP1, meanwhile, is notable for its structural as well as its

verbal resemblances to the traditional versions. Thus, in addition to replacing

Blondahl's line 1 phrase, "and ye will quickly see," with a more traditional form

of the clause, it modifies the opening of line 2 so as to resemble that of line 3,

thereby avoiding enjambement in the first couplet and instituting the kind of mid-

stanza parallelism which characterised traditional versions of COME-ALL:

> Come all ye moonshine drinkers and listen unto me,
> I'll tell of the bold informers and the way that they served me,
> I'll tell of the bold informers who lately been around,
> Saying jealousy could not agree, they put me moonshine
> down.(KP1)

It can also be seen that the final line of the stanza in KP1 has been varied, as

in DR1 and PD1, this time being modelled on the concluding lines of the ensuing

stanzas, EASTER and SUMMONS.

KP1 is not the only version in this group to vary the ending of line 1 or to

introduce parallelism in COME-ALL. LK1 also contains a variant on the

traditional line 1 ending and, incidentally, brings in a unique line 2 variation in

which the informer is said to have "tortured" the moonshine maker:

> Come all ye moonshine drinkers and listen to my plea,
> Tell [sic] of the bold informer and how he tortured me.(LK1)

Mid-stanza parallelism also occurs in FM1 and SH1. In these versions, however,

it has been achieved through the reiteration of the first clause of line 2 at the

beginning of line 3, rather than vice versa as in KP1:

> Come all ye moonshine drinkers and ye will quickly see,
> The work of the bold informers and the way they (serviced) me,

The work of the bold informers who lately been around,
They jealously could not agree, they put me moonshine
down.(SH1)

There are fewer echoes of traditional versions in the Group V versions of

EASTER. Nevertheless, "Old Mickey" becomes "Mickey" again in DR1 and KP1,

whilst in line 4 of these same versions, the phrase, "a hell of a kick," has been

substituted for "an awful kick," the former also being found in the traditional

version, HP2. PD1 retains the adjective "awful" at this point but alters "kick" to

"fuss." Meanwhile, EASTER is omitted altogether in LK1 and is somewhat

fragmented in FM1 due to the singers' difficulty in remembering the exact words.

As already noted, SH1 contains several points of particular similarity to the

Dick Nolan version, DN1. This makes it unique among the Group V versions

inasmuch as it is the only version to display a marked resemblance to a specific

mass-mediated version of the song. One such similarity occurs in line 2 of

COME-ALL where both SH1 and DN1 substitute a word which sounds like

"serviced" for the word "serv-ed." Several more connections between the two

are evidenced in EASTER, namely, the use of the opening, "it came," rather

than "it been" in line 1, and the repetition of the opening words of line 2, "Old

Mickey," at the beginning of line 3. Nevertheless, EASTER of SH1 differs from

that of DN1 in that it does not follow Dick Nolan's substitution of his own first

name in line 4, but instead retains the standard name, "Pat."

The stanza, SUMMONS, as it appears in the Group V versions, contains

mostly minor changes in comparison with the mass-mediated versions. The most prominent variations appear in FM1 where the end of line 2 has become "down to my waist in snow" and the end of the line 3, "and bid me take the stand." In addition, the variant second clause of line 1 in SH1, "that say that I must go," is close to the corresponding variant clause in DN1, "they said that I must go."

QUESTION/PARSONS of FM1, as mentioned above, is distinct from that of the other Group V versions in that it is clearly a traditional version of this stanza except for its last line where it reverts to Blondahl's wording:

> "Now what's that moonshine made of?" the judge to me did say,
> "Of yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the only way,
> Of yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the proper thing,"
> The magistrate was happy then, he took my moonshine can.(FM1)

In contrast, PD1 and SH1 have the stanza in much the same form as it appears in the mass-mediated versions, whilst DR1 and KP1 recall some traditional versions in their use of the adjective "curious" in place of "cutest." In another variation unique to LK1, the magistrate's question has been altered from "I'd like to know how moonshine's made" to "I want to know how moonshine's made," thus making the magistrate's personal interest in moonshine making even more explicit than it is in Blondahl's version.

The stanza, GRIEF/PARSONS, is omitted in LK1 and FM1. Those versions which include this stanza, however, resemble OB1 rather than OB2 in

that they open with a toast to the magistrate. Yet, there are several differences between these versions and that of Blondahl. The word, "constable," for example, is pronounced in the standard way by the singers of DR1, PD1 and SH1, whilst in KP1, the clause containing this word has become what sounds like "he sent me home on a (constable)," perhaps reflecting the singer's difficulty in making sense of Blondahl's word, "constabule." DR1 and KP1 have also substituted the more traditional image of the can being thrown into "the bag" in line 4, rather than "the bay" as Blondahl's version has it.

Further minor differences from mass-mediated versions are detectable in MAGISTRATE of the Group V versions, as well as several resemblances to traditional versions. The latter include lines 1 and 4 of KP1 which are clearly taken from a traditional version of this stanza, and the line 4 variation of DR1 in which the magistrate is requested to "walk right in," rather than "come right in." SH1, meanwhile, contains still another specific resemblance to DN1 in its use of the variant line 4 clause, "you're welcome to the flock." Finally, LK1 introduces an interesting variant on Blondahl's version of the first line of MAGISTRATE, declaring a toast to the magistrate "who always is your friend."

The names employed in TROY of these versions have also been varied to some extent. In DR1 and KP1, for example, "Patty" has been modified to "Paddy," although DR1 retains the placename, "Goose Town," as do LK1 and SH1. In KP1, on the other hand, the placename has been changed to what

sounds like "Poole Town" and in PD1 it is restored to "Goose Cove." In addition, all of the Group V versions apart from DR1 contain the standard form of the verb in lines 2 and 3 phrase, "his name is," and all the versions including DR1 revert to the use of the word "when" instead of Blondahl's "if" at the beginning of line 4. Indeed, in KP1, the whole of line 4 appears as in the traditional versions, "And when the moonshine comes again, we'll make her twice as strong." As in MAGISTRATE of KP1, moreover, the first line of TROY in this version is a traditional variant as well. The line in question - "I know the man who made this song and I'm sure that he's not lying" - is particularly close to that of TROY in the Group IIIc version, HP2, and it has the effect in KP1 of restoring the idea that the song was made and not written by its composer.

Thus, while all the Group V versions have certain details in common with traditional versions, the influence of the latter is most pronounced in KP1, perhaps due to the relative novelty of Blondahl's version and the currency of traditional versions at the time when KP1 was collected. The traditional elements in DR1 and PD1 may also be attributed to their performers having heard a pre-Blondahl version of the song, perhaps in their former homes of White Bay south and Placentia Bay respectively. Likewise, the fact that Frank MacArthur remembered one stanza of the song in traditional form indicates that he had contact with one or more traditional versions. SH1, on the other hand, contains more points of similarity to DN1 than to traditional versions and was

probably influenced by Nolan's recording in these specifics. Lastly, the incomplete version, LK1, introduces several variations which are not apparently indebted either to other traditional or mass-mediated versions.

Conclusion

Thus, the text of Pat Troy's 21-stanza song has, not surprisingly, become increasingly abbreviated in the course of its transmission in Newfoundland and Labrador, stabilising at about seven or eight stanzas in many versions. The textual similarities between the extant stanzas supports the tentative observation made in chapter 4 that many of the versions, here termed "traditional versions," were orally transmitted. In general, they evidence very little influence of the mass-mediated versions of Blondahl and other commercial performers. Instead, they have tended to conflate as well as omit stanzas from the original, and have in some cases "clarified" the meaning of certain phrases within the stanzas according to the singer's perceptions of what Pat Troy's original wording meant.

With Biddy O'Toole, it seems very likely that a traditional version of "The Moonshine Can" was broadcast on the air for the first time. Another traditional version encountered by Blondahl underwent substantial alteration in his hands, largely due to his stereotyped preconceptions of what the song should be like and the demands of commercial performance. This version obtained currency, with only very minor alterations, among other commercial performers in

Newfoundland. It was also learnt by local singers from the radio and tape or disc, and became performed in small-scale, face-to-face settings. Yet, where a traditional version had been known, it appears that elements from that were sometimes transferred to the mass-mediated version. As will be seen in chapter 6, there is similarly evidence that Blondahl altered the tune of "The Moonshine Can" as well, and this likewise intermingled with the traditional melody of the song.

Chapter 6

THE MOONSHINE CAN: PERFORMANCES AND MELODIES

As described in the previous chapter, 43 melodies of "The Moonshine Can" have been located for this study, 34 songs (melodies with texts) and nine tunes without texts. It is the aim of the present chapter to analyse and compare these melodies, both in relation to each other and in relation to the texts examined above. For this reason, the tunes will be grouped in the same sequence as the texts, with the additional, textless tunes being added into the existing groups as appropriate.

The melodies being examined here are, of course, only melodic abstracts. They represent the majority version of one melodic stanza and have been arrived at on the basis of a complete transcription of each rendition of the song, according to the method detailed in the earlier note on the transcriptions. Melodic departures from the majority version have also been noted. Only the pitches have been used in the assessment of the majority version and its variations, the simplest form of the rhythm as it occurs in the relevant performance being adopted for the majority version in order to facilitate comparison of the resulting tunes. Thus, the comparative analysis of the tune variants focuses primarily, but not exclusively, on their melodic rather than their rhythmic characteristics. For the same reason, all the melodies have been transposed so that their tonal centre falls on the note C but the tonal centre

employed in the actual performance is indicated on the transcription.

Group I - Versions from Goose Cove and Its Vicinity[1]

There are eleven extant examples of the melody of "The Moonshine Can" as sung in Goose Cove and the area around it. The majority of these were documented in Goose Cove itself, whilst two were recorded in Englee from the same singer, and two more in St. Anthony from the same performer, as described below. Despite the limited geographical area covered by these recordings, and the fact that the song originated in this region, the melodies display a striking amount of variation, especially in comparison with the Group I texts. They can, however, be roughly divided into two groups, those of Tom Sexton (TS1/2), Agnes Hancock (AH1) and Philip Sexton (PS1), which will be discussed first, and those of Pat Troy (PT1), Alf Pollard (AP1/2), Jim Morris (JIM1), Joseph Murrin (JM1) and James Hennessey (JH1).

The circumstances in which Tom Sexton's two performances of "The Moonshine Can" were tape-recorded have already been sketched in the previous chapter. His melody as transcribed from these renditions consists of two basic phrases, A and B, combined in the pattern ABBA. As can be seen from the majority versions of TS1 and TS2 overleaf, the first and last A phrases of each stanza are virtually identical with each other, as are the two B phrases.

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[1] All locations mentioned in this chapter, except those in northern Labrador, are indicated on Map 3.

TS 1

B-C

♩. = 112-126

TS2

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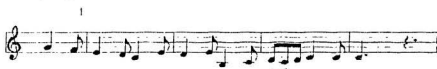
The two different phrases of which the melody is constructed contrast with each other in a number of ways. Firstly, whilst each phrase has a range of one octave, the A phrase is plagal, that is, with the tonal centre lying in the middle of the range, and the B phrase is authentic, the tonal centre lying at the extremes of the range. This results in a relatively wide overall range for the melody of an octave and a fourth (a perfect 11th). In addition, the A and B phrases contrast in the scales which they imply. The pitches of the former yield a straightforwardly major scale, but those of phrase B form a major scale with a flattened seventh.[2] Each phrase further has a distinctive contour. In particular, it is notable that the A phrase begins by descending and concludes by ascending to the phrase final, whilst the B phrase begins by ascending and finishes by descending to its final. The rate at which each phrase tends to climb and fall is slightly different, however. Apart from the descending jump of a sixth in the second bar of phrase A, the melodic movement of this phrase is generally scalar. In B, on the other hand, a number of intervals larger than a second occur, such as in the first bar of the phrase where the notes of the tonic chord are employed, and in the third bar where there is a jump of a third. As shown in the music examples, this latter jump takes place very quickly at times, so that in some stanzas the interval comes to resemble an ascending fourth in relation

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[2] O Canainn also notes the occurrence of an inflected seventh as a characteristic of Irish traditional singing (Traditional Music 33-34; cf. Barry, "Folk-Music in America" 81).

to the last note of the previous bar.

Tom Sexton's melodic line finishes on the first degree of the scale in phrase A and on the fifth above in phrase B. When these phrase finals are considered in relation to the range of the phrase, it becomes clear that each lies at the centre of the range in question. Conversely, the upbeat or lead-in notes to each phrase lie at one extreme of the phrase-range, the uppermost note and/or the note below it in the case of phrase A, and the lowermost note in the case of B. This makes the upbeat to each phrase the same as the final note of the opposite phrase, although in the second A phrase the first of the upbeat notes is usually omitted. Nevertheless, as a result of this feature, the two phrases interlock melodically, A with B and B with A. Furthermore, the phrases which are dovetailed in this way coincide precisely with the rhymed couplets of the text. Thus, the pitch structure of the musical phrases at these points reinforces the linkage of the corresponding textual lines. Likewise, where phrase B follows B, as mid-stanza, or A follows A, as between the stanzas, the last note of the foregoing phrase and the first of the next lie a fifth apart, creating a definite break in the melodic line at the point where one textual couplet ends and another begins. Not only do the musical phrases help to link the constituent lines of the couplets, therefore, but they help to define the couplets as well.

Another correspondence between the structure of the melody and that of

the text lies in the pattern in which the phrases are combined in Tom Sexton's melody. In the ABBA form, a melodic structure particularly associated with "come-all-ye" songs (Barry, "The Music" xviii), the phrases clearly produce a melodic parallel both within the stanza (phrase B), and between the end of one stanza and the beginning of the next (phrase A). As noted earlier in the discussion of the texts, a similar kind of parallelism, in which the first clause of one line also serves as the beginning of the next, is also observable in the words of the song, particularly within the stanzas. Thus, the parallelism of the melodic phrases is sometimes mirrored in the wording of the text. Indeed, given that this is a perpetual feature of the melody and only an intermittent one of the text, it is possible that the former may have suggested the latter when the song was being composed, and may subsequently have helped to maintain these patterns in the text in the course of the song's transmission.[3]

Both phrases of Tom Sexton's tune are characterised by a predominantly iambic rhythm (♩♪) to which the text is set syllabically. Occasionally, the principal beats (♩.) are subdivided into three notes (♫♩) instead of two, but the iambic effect is maintained by the slurring of the first two notes with one syllable of the text. Another factor which distinguishes phrase A from phrase B is the rhythmic treatment of their respective final pitches. Phrase A invariably involves

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[3]Although, as seen below, there is some controversy as to the melody originally employed by Pat Troy for the song, the same thing applies to the alternative melody.

a threefold articulation of the final (Barry, "The Music" xxiii; cf. Zimmermann 111), whilst B concludes with a single statement of its final pitch. There is no corresponding rhythmic distinction observable in the upbeats to the phrases, although the first phrase A of each stanza begins with a two-note upbeat whereas the other phrases normally employ only one note in this context. Tom Sexton, meanwhile, consistently sustains the final beat of the first B phrase and that of the final A phrase of each stanza for significantly longer than that of the corresponding phrases elsewhere in the stanza. This again coincides with the ends of the rhyming couplets of the text and suggests that he is aware of them and/or the melodic couplets into which the tune falls. The only exception to this practice is at the end of the song where he breaks with the melody and the rhythm entirely and speaks the final half-line of the text.

Two other versions of the "Moonshine Can" melody bear a close resemblance to that of Tom Sexton. One is that of Tom's cousin, Philip Sexton, whose father, Paddy Sexton, is said to have learnt the song from Pat Troy. Although the song was not part of Philip Sexton's active repertoire, he sang over one stanza of the melody for me in response to my questions about the song's "original" tune. Philip assured me that this was the tune which was sung by Jack Troy (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 226). I was only able to write down what I remembered of the melody later on the same day. Philip Sexton's tune is basically the same as that of Tom Sexton, as a comparison of the transcriptions

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makes clear. The melody was nevertheless sung in a gentler and more leisurely manner by Philip Sexton, and in bars 1 and 14, it resembles Tom's variation rather than his majority version. The main difference between the two versions, however, lies in bars 7 and 11 where Philip Sexton holds what appears in the transcription as the note A for the first half of the bar whilst Tom Sexton moves off it relatively quickly and up to top C. In this way, Philip Sexton avoids slurring up to and sustaining the highest note of the melody.

The other version of the melody close to Tom and Philip Sexton's is that of their aunt, Agnes Hancock (née Sexton). I notated Mrs. Hancock's melody (AH1) by ear while she performed the song under her breath, singing from a written text which I had brought to the interview. In this way, I was able to note down some of the variations which she introduced into the tune.

Agnes Hancock's melody differs from that of Tom Sexton in a number of ways. Like Philip Sexton, for example, she eschews the top C in bars 7 and 11 of the melody. In addition, the melodic variations which she introduces tend to differ from the ones found in Tom Sexton's recorded renditions. In particular, she displays a penchant for omitting passing notes in the melody, as in the upbeat to the first A phrase, often replacing them with a repetition of the preceding note, as in the first half of bars 1 and 13, and the first half of bars 6 and 10. Only this last variation is found in TS1/2 and it is limited to one instance in TS1. Somewhat similar is the occasional omission of the auxiliary note, A, in

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AH 1

bar 3 of AH1 which results in the straight repetition of the note B. It is noticeable that the effect of such variations is to reduce the amount of melodic movement at these points in the tune. In the case of the omitted passing notes, however, a concomitant effect is to increase the number of melodic jumps needed to maintain the overall contour of the melody.

A number of other melodies are associated with "The Moonshine Can" in the Goose Cove area which, in transcription and from the scholarly viewpoint at least, are sufficiently different from the tune versions just discussed to warrant their treatment as a separate group. Whether or not the melodies are locally perceived as similar or different is a moot point, of course, and one which will be returned to in chapter 8. Meanwhile, it is notable in this connection that the immediate reason for Pat Troy junior's performance of the song for me to tape was that none of the recorded examples which I had played sounded like exactly the "right" tune to him.[4] His melody (PT1) is certainly distinct from most of the others to which the song is sung, but it is probable that this is in large part due to the difficulties which Pat, by his own admission, experiences with singing.

As the transcription shows, Pat Troy's melody consists of one phrase only, with slight variations occurring in its first and second bars. Those variations which take place in the second bar of the phrase suggest that Pat has difficulty

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[4]These recordings included a performance by Tom Sexton and the one by Joshua Osborne (JO1).

PT 1

454

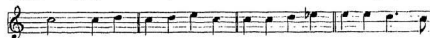in pitching the uppermost note of the range employed by the phrase (see bar 2), leading him to introduce a chromatic passing note or to repeat a lower note at this point instead. Yet, the phrase employs a relatively limited range of a minor seventh so it is unlikely that the top note is out of his vocal range. The problem is more likely to be connected with the fact that the top note and the one following it lie only a semitone apart in pitch, so that negotiating the jump successfully to the former, and not anticipating the latter, requires extra precision.[5]

It can be seen from other versions of the "Moonshine Can" melody to be considered below, that Pat's phrase is the B phrase of a fuller tune. Indeed, on two occasions in his performance, he starts to sing a version of the A phrase of that tune but each time he breaks off after one or two bars, the second time saying, "No." Since the A phrase extends the overall range of the melody quite significantly, it is possible that this is an important reason why Pat Troy does not, and apparently cannot, sing it.

One advantage of Pat Troy's melody comprising a single phrase of music is that he is equally able to accommodate the stanzas of his version which are not quatrains, namely NO-HEALTH, MCDONALD/ANTHONY, GOOSE and

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[5]It is notable that Pat Troy has no difficulty in gauging the interval of a fourth at the beginnings of the phrases where it is followed by a note lying a tone higher. Thus, it seems that it is not the interval as such which he finds hard, but the combination of the interval with two notes so close together in pitch.

SUMMONS, as those which are. The tune becomes very monotonous, however, and does nothing to articulate units of text greater than one line. Indeed, it produces an emphasis on the individual line which runs counter to the textual structure of rhyming couplets and quatrains. Since the couplets and quatrains tend to encapsulate units of the song's narrative, the use of a melody which tends to undermine this structure is a serious drawback from the point of view of the listener, especially in a version as long as PT1/2.

In transcription it can be seen, and in isolation from the text it can perhaps be more easily heard, that Pat Troy's melody bears little resemblance to either of the phrases of the melody sung by Tom Sexton et al. Pat Troy's phrase, for example, follows a different contour which, amongst other things, begins and ends with an ascending melodic line. Furthermore, the rhythm of Pat's tune generally consists of evenly timed beats (♩♩), rather than the iambic patterns (♪♩) which characterise TS1/2, AH1 and PS1. Pat's version of the tune does, on the other hand, bear a resemblance to many other versions because it is taken from what will be shown below is the melody most commonly associated with the song.

It will be recalled from earlier chapters that the singer, Alf Pollard, probably learnt "The Moonshine Can" directly from its composer, although the recordings made of Pollard singing the song date from many years later. His melody, like that of Tom Sexton and its analogues, is made up of two phrases

combined in the ABBA pattern, with the phrases being repeated in much the same form in each stanza. Thus, parallelism between the inner phrases and those at the extremes of the stanza are again characteristic of this melody of the song. The phrases also employ a contrasting range, the B phrase lying in a higher range than that of the A phrase (cf. Barry, "The Music" xxvii, xxviii, Zimmermann 111). Unlike the tune of TS1/2, AH1, and PS1 (hereafter referred to as the Tom Sexton tune), however, A is authentic and extends over the interval of a minor ninth, whilst B is plagal and extends over a more limited range of a minor seventh. Taken together, this yields a range of a diminished 12th, one semitone greater than that of the Tom Sexton melody. In addition, both phrases are unequivocally major in their tonality.

The most important difference between AP1/2 and the Tom Sexton melody, though, is that there is no dovetailing of the phrase finals and the upbeat notes in AP1/2. Instead, the two phrases are related at these same points by their use of common melodic movement. They begin with an identical upbeat of a rising fourth from the fifth degree of the scale to the upper tonic, and end with a move from the seventh degree to the tonic, pitched in the lower octave in phrase A and in the higher octave in B. This makes the point of melodic departure for each line of sung text the same, whilst the melodic destination of the line differs only in terms of octave. It is noticeable that the change in octave between the final tonic of one line and that of the next occurs

457

AP2

B-Bflat

♩ = 52-96

459
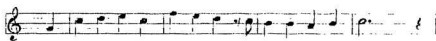
between the first two phrases, A-B, and the second two phrases, B-A, there being no octave change in the final tonic between the two adjacent A phrases, A-A, or the two B phrases, B-B. In this way, Alf Pollard's melody, like the Tom Sexton tune, falls into complementary pairs of phrases which coincide with and parallel the rhyming couplets of the text. The only exception to this is in the six-line stanza, MAGISTRATE, where Pollard quite logically extends the melody to accommodate the extra text by repeating the second pair of musical phrases. This produces the sequence ABBABA and leads to an octave change, instead of the same pitch final, between the end of the second couplet and the beginning of the third.

Looking at the melodic contour of the phrases in more detail, it can be seen that A is characterised by falling intervals at the beginning of each bar interspersed with scalar ascents over a more limited interval. The falling intervals become progressively smaller, beginning with a sixth, followed by a fourth in the next bar, and then a third in the next. These intervals are, on occasion, modified, the fourth of bars 2 and 14 becoming a third through the addition of a "bridging note,"[6] F or E, between the notes G and D, and the third of bars 3 and 15 being so quickly executed that it resembles two consecutive

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[6]I have coined the term "bridging note" to describe a note which only partly fills up the melodic gap created by an interval larger than a third. It is thus distinct from a "passing note" which, in diatonic terms, completely fills the gap created by a third.

D's. The B phrase, meanwhile, tends to move more by step, ascending in its first bar, descending in the next, and either staying more or less level in the next or, as in the variations shown, descending quickly in order to ascend to the tonic again. It is notable that the melodic alternatives found in the penultimate bar of each phrase in AP1/2 - namely, the falling third or repeated lower note in phrase A, and the repeated note or falling third in B - introduce further parallels of melodic movement between the endings of each phrase. Phrase B also contains several melodic leaps, the most striking of these being between the first and second bars of the phrase, where the melody ascends to its highest pitch. This was the point at which Pat Troy junior often foundered, but Alf Pollard reaches the top note comfortably and pitches it in tune every time.

Alf Pollard adopts a slower pulse for his renditions than Tom Sexton or Pat Troy junior. It may be for this reason that he often breathes halfway through each phrase, that is, at the end of each clause of text, as well as at ends of phrases/lines. Like Tom Sexton, however, Alf Pollard appears to recognise the division of the text and/or the music into couplets for he tends to dwell longer on the phrase-finals at the mid- and final cadence points of the stanza. The rhythm of AP1/2 proceeds in general by an even subdivision (♩♩) of the basic beat, like PT1, although iambic subdivision (♩.♪, or ♪♫♪) often occurs in bars

6 and 10.[7] The words are set syllabically to these rhythms, although occasional slurred pairs of crotchets and quavers occur for one syllable of text and the final half-line is spoken rather than sung.

Although recorded in an atmosphere of some confusion and social tension, the fragmentary rendition of "The Moonshine Can" by Jim Morris of St. Anthony is of particular interest for containing two different versions of the melody. One is that which Morris plays through several times on the accordion, the other is the melody which he sings.

Both melodies resemble AP1/2, but the accordion version is closer. It employs the same range as AP1/2, both overall and within its constituent phrases. In addition, the sequence of pitches found in the majority version of the A phrase is identical to that of AP1/2, whilst the second B phrase of the majority version is identical to a melodic variant of B in AP2. A small difference is detectable between the two versions in the timing and accentuation of the notes of the falling intervals in bars 1 and 2 of phrase A. These always coincide with the first and second main (minim) beats of the bar in the accordion tune, whereas they generally occur on the subdivisions of the first beat of the bar, and only occasionally on the main beats, in AP1/2. Besides this, it can be seen that

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[7]In traditional singing, there is little distinction between the rhythm (♩♪) in simple time, and the rhythm (♩♪) in compound time, the apparent difference being a result of conventions of standard music notation and "classical" music performance style. In traditional singing style, both rhythms amount to an iambic subdivision of the basic beat or pulse.

JIM1 (ACCORDION)

G flat

JIM1 (VOICE)

G flat

♩= 84-126

Jim Morris's accordion playing in general incorporates more melodic and rhythmic variation than Alf Pollard's singing.

The tune which Jim Morris sings is in the usual ABBA form but contains several melodic departures from his accordion tune, most notably in phrase A. Here, the rising fourth upbeat figure and the conclusion of the phrase on the tonic remain the same, but the contour between these points takes a different turn. Thus, after the falling sixth in the first bar of the phrase, the melodic line turns back on itself and jumps up by a third before descending by step to the tonic. In addition, the falling sixth interval in the first bar is pushed back yet further than in the accordion tune, with its notes occurring on the subdivision of the second main beat of the bar. As a result of its altered contour, the second bar of the A phrase in the vocal tune has no pitches in common with the corresponding bar of the accordion tune. The range of the phrase is also reduced by a semitone because it no longer dips to the note below the tonic in the penultimate bar.

The difference between the B phrases of Jim Morris's melodies is less marked. That of the vocal tune is particularly close to the second B phrase of the accordion melody, although it lacks the passing note, A, in the third bar of the phrase which, as already seen, was an optional feature of the phrase in AP1. More significantly, Morris's sung B phrase consistently employs a reiterated upper tonic in the first half of bars 5 and 9 where in AP1/2, and in most repeats

of this phrase in Morris's accordion tune, the melody moves up by step from the tonic at this point.

In Jim Morris's sung version of "The Moonshine Can," then, we have a melody which is related but distinct from that of his accordion tune and AP1/2. This distinction is particularly evident in its A phrase which is characterised by a falling sixth on the fourth crotchet beat of the first bar, a rising interval of a third in the second bar, and a scalar descent to the tonic, but not the note below the tonic, in the third bar. The B phrase also tends to contain a reiterated upper tonic in its first bar. The accordion tune and AP1/2, on the other hand, although variable, usually have an A phrase in which there are falling melodic intervals on the second or third crotchet beats of bars 1, 2 and 3, plus a descent to the note below the tonic in the penultimate bar. Their B phrase generally rises by step from the upper tonic in its first bar. The slightly different overall ranges of a perfect 11th (JIM1 voice) and a diminished 12th (AP1/2, JIM1 accordion), which result from the melodic contour of the respective versions of the A phrase, also distinguish these two versions of the melody. The reason for the existence of these distinct versions will be returned to below.

Based on these differentiating features, it is possible to look back at what there is of Pat Troy junior's two attempts at the A phrase during his performance and observe that it follows the sung version of Jim Morris. The same is true of the melody sung by Joseph Murrin of Goose Cove (JM1). Despite the fact that

JM 1

[Pitches indistinguishable]

VARIATION   Bars 6 - 7

he did not know the song properly and had trouble recalling enough of the words to sing one stanza in order to illustrate the melody for me, it is possible to see from the fragments he sings that his A phrase resembles the vocal version of JIM1 very closely. Nevertheless, his B phrase follows AP1/2 and the accordion version of JIM1 in its use of the stepwise movement in bar 5. There are also several unique features in JM1, possibly due to the rather provisional nature of Joseph Murrin's performance, such as the substitution of a repeated tonic for the fifth-tonic upbeat to bar 5, and the use of a chromatic note in bar 7.

Like most of the older people in Goose Cove, James Hennessey had heard "The Moonshine Can" but was not an exponent of the song himself. He was not particularly recognised as a singer either but, knowing my interest in the song and its melody, he looked through the texts which I had assembled and sang through one of those by Alf Pollard (AP1), commenting on the words in a number of places and providing me with a version of the melody as he remembered it (JH1). As the transcription shows, the A phrase sung by James Hennessey is the same as that sung by Jim Morris. The B phrase of James Hennessey's version, on the other hand, takes two distinct forms within each stanza. The second B phrase of the stanza is the same as the B phrase which typifies AP1/2 and the accordion tune of JIM1. The first B phrase (B1) of JH1, however, begins a third lower, jumping from the third to the fifth (E-G). This

E flat

♩ = 80-92

is followed by another jump from the fifth to the upper tonic and a scalar ascent to a third above the tonic, in other words, the four-note sequence with which the second B phrase (B2) opens directly. Thenceforward, from the second crotchet beat of the second bar, the notes employed in the two B phrases coincide exactly. Thus, B1 has a similar contour to the second, but it starts lower, pushing back, as it were, the opening melodic figure of B2 which it then incorporates, and omitting the upper fourth (F') in the second bar. The range of B1 is therefore an octave, from E to E', unlike that of B2 which extends over a minor seventh, from G to F'.

From the perspective of the other versions discussed so far, the form of JH1 can be seen as AB'BA. Nevertheless, on one occasion, James Hennessey substitutes B' with B. Significantly, this takes place in the six-line stanza, MAGISTRATE, in Alf Pollard's version, which Hennessey clearly has difficulty fitting with the music. Ultimately, Hennessey adds two extra lines from another stanza onto the end of MAGISTRATE, producing an eight-line stanza which he sings to the pattern ABBAAB'BA. Apart from this he adheres consistently to the AB'BA form which continues to mirror the couplet structure of the text through its pattern of phrase finals, as in the ABBA versions, but reduces the amount of melodic parallelism between the inner phrases of the stanza.

As noted above, the version of the A phrase first encountered in the vocal tune of Jim Morris and also sung by James Hennessey avoids the note below

the lower tonic, but still produces an overall range for the song of an octave and a fourth. In his rendition, James Hennessey displays some difficulties reaching the lowest notes of the melody and this adversely affects the tuning of these notes. In addition, he sometimes appears to share Pat Troy's difficulty in pitching distinctly two notes lying a semitone apart when they follow a melodic jump. Examples of this occur not only in bar 10, as in PT1, on the jump from C' to F', but also on several occasions in bar 1 where the downward interval of a sixth (C'-E), followed by a rise of a semitone (E-F), is simplified to a downward interval of a fifth (C'-F) and a repeated F. It is possible that the hurdle presented by the pitching of these intervals may be another reason why Pat Troy junior does not sing this phrase of the melody.

Thus, from the analytical point of view, the "Moonshine Can" melodies from the area of the song's provenance display a remarkable amount of diversity. Firstly, they divide into two distinct melodies, as represented by TS1/2, AH1 and PS1 on the one hand, and PT1, AP1/2, JIM1, JM1 and JH1 on the other. Secondly, several forms of the individual phrases can be distinguished among the versions comprising the latter melodic group. Which of these melodies and melodic elements comes closest to being that which Pat Troy himself employed, and how the others came to be associated with the song will be discussed in more detail in chapter 8. At this stage, it is important to note that a number of analogues of these tunes, or specific phrases within them, can

be found in the published collections of folksongs from Newfoundland and Labrador. In addition, although it has not been feasible to conduct a systematic search of all the songs documented in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA), I have located one unpublished melodic analogue there as well.

Of the melodic analogues from Newfoundland and Labrador to the "Moonshine Can" tunes and phrases uncovered, the Tom Sexton melody displays resemblances with that of at least three other songs. These are "Maid of the Mountain Brow" as sung by Leo O'Brien of L'Anse au Loup on the southern Labrador coast and recorded by MacEdward Leach in 1960 (Labrador 128), "Carcasho" as sung by Martin Hawco[8] and collected by Leach in the same region (182), and "Young Chambers" as sung by Arthur Nicolle in Rocky Harbour, Bonne Bay, at the southern end of the Northern Peninsula, and recorded by Peacock in 1959 (Outports 3: 897). The first two of these are broadly speaking the same melody, as can be seen from the transcriptions. They correspond to the Tom Sexton melody in that they share its metre, form, phrase finals, range and general contour. They also contain more specific resemblances. In phrase A, for example, the upbeat figures of "Maid of the Mountain Brow" and the second A phrase of "Carchasho" are paralleled in one

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[8]Leach refers to him as Martin "Hocko" but, according to Seary, the name is "Hawco" (Family Names).

MAID OF THE MOUNTAIN BROW

Beginning note F sharp   Leo O'Brien (L'Anse au Loup, 1960)

CARCASHO

Beginning note F sharp   Martin Hocko, (Pinware, 1960)

YOUNG CHAMBERS

?

Arthur Nicolle (Rocky Harbour, 1959)

Moderate

or more of the manifestations of the Tom Sexton tune examined above, as is much of the rest of the phrase from the second half of bar 2 on. This is particularly noticeable in the case of "Carcasho" which employs the threefold articulation of the phrase final. Likewise, the repeated lower tonic upbeat to phrase B and much of the phrase from the second half of the second bar in "Carchasho" is very similar to that of the Tom Sexton tune, except that the upper seventh degree in the penultimate bar is not flattened. Intriguingly, it is the lower seventh in the penultimate bar of phrase A in "Maid of the Mountain Brow" which receives this treatment instead. In "Young Chambers," meanwhile, all the sevenths are flattened, making all of its phrase B except the upbeat and first bar very reminiscent of the Tom Sexton melody. Whilst also sharing the metre, form, phrase finals and general contour of the Tom Sexton melody, and "Carcasho" and "Maid of the Mountain Brow," "Young Chambers" differs in its range, only going to the lower sixth rather than the lower fifth in the second bar of phrase A. On the other hand, the first bar and upbeat of phrase A in "Young Chambers" is much the same as that of the Tom Sexton melody, more so, in fact, than that of the other two melodies. An important difference between all three analogues and the "Moonshine Can" tune, however, is that the former are performed considerably slower, the metronome speed at which "Carcasho" and "Maid of the Mountain Brow" were sung being half that at which Tom Sexton performed "The Moonshine Can." Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, Philip

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Sexton's rendition of the latter was markedly slower.

For reasons which will become clear below, the Alf Pollard/Jim Morris accordion version of the melody of "The Moonshine Can" will be referred to as the "traditional tune." As in the previous chapter, the designation "traditional" in this context is not meant to impute this version with any particular authenticity. Rather, the phrase "traditional tune" has been coined here as an umbrella term to distinguish this form of the melody and those akin to it from, for example, the Tom Sexton melody and the melody containing the variant A phrase as sung by Jim Morris and others. It has not been possible to locate any melodic analogues in Newfoundland and Labrador of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" as a whole, except in songs which are known to postdate it and which therefore receive separate attention in the following chapter. A close analogue of the A phrase is, however, found in several versions of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" as collected in Labrador and in Bellburns on the Northern Peninsula (MUNFLA Tapes 66-24/C273, 82-167/C5780, C5791, 82-248/C5860), this melody being distinct from those associated with "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" as collected elsewhere in Newfoundland (MUNFLA Tapes 66-23/C238, 69-36/C587, 71-2/C797, 74-181/C1695, 75-319/C2095). The singer of one of the Labrador versions is Leo O'Brien, who sang the version of "Maid of the Mountain Brow" discussed above, whilst Joshua Burdett, a singer from the same community as Leo O'Brien, is the performer of another. Although the A phrase of Burdett's

THE BOY WHO WORE THE BLUE (LO1)

THE BOY WHO WORE THE BLUE (JB1)

G–B flat

♩ = 100–112

VARIATION Upbeat o5,9 Upbeat o5 Upbeat o o9 Upbeat o13 Upbeat o 13 Upbeat o 13 Bar 14

majority version is more embellished than O'Brien's, the resemblance to that of the traditional melody of "The Moonshine Can" is clear. Both contain the fifth to upper tonic upbeat of the latter, as well as the falling, but progressively smaller, intervals at the start of each subsequent bar and the resolution of the phrase on the lower tonic. Not only is the melodic movement very similar, but the metre and range of the phrase are the same as well. Likewise, the overall form and pattern of phrase finals of the stanza are the same, but the B phrase, although similar in contour to the traditional "Moonshine Can" melody, is somewhat different. In fact, it is a version of the variant B phrase found in JH1. Given that the versions of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" were collected in southern Labrador, not far by sea from Goose Cove, there seems to be a strong likelihood of them being interrelated in some way with "The Moonshine Can," a possibility which will be returned to in chapter 8. Meanwhile, for the sake of identification, the B phrase of "The Moonshine Can" as found in JH1 will subsequently be referred to as the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" (B) phrase.

A melody related to "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" and, therefore, through its A phrase, to "The Moonshine Can," is that sung by Daniel Endacott for "Waterloo." The words and melody were noted by Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Yarrow Mansfield respectively from the singer in Sally's Cove, which lies

WATERLOO

? Daniel Endacott (Sally's Cove, 1929)

In moderate time

towards the southern end of the Northern Peninsula, in 1929 (Greenleaf 165).[9]
The resemblance with the "Moonshine Can" melody is not quite so close as that
of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," however, because of the different form taken
by the upbeat and opening bar of the A phrase in "Waterloo."

Finally, there is no analogue among the traditional songs surveyed for the
distinct version of the "Moonshine Can" A phrase as sung by Jim Morris, Joseph
Murrin and James Hennessey. As will be shown below, however, it is
characteristic of the mass-mediated versions of the song and for this reason, will
be referred to as the "mass-mediated version" in the ensuing discussion. The
repeated upper tonic which distinguishes the first bar of Joseph Murrin's and
Jim Morris's (sung) B phrase, meanwhile, is also mirrored in the mass-mediated
versions of "The Moonshine Can" and will therefore be referred to as the "mass-
mediated version" of the B phrase although, of course, its difference from the
traditional version of the B phrase is much more slight.

Finally, bearing in mind the fact that "The Moonshine Can" is associated
with two different melodies in the immediate area of its origin, it is notable that
the melody associated with the songs, "Erin's Lovely Home," as sung by William
Riley of L'Anse au Loup, and "Good Looking Man," as sung by Leo O'Brien,

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[9]A version of "Waterloo" collected by Peacock from Mrs. Charlotte Decker
of Parson's Pond on the Northern Peninsula in 1959 is clearly a variant of
Daniel Endacott's melody, but its melodic differences make the resemblance
with the "Moonshine Can" melody less apparent (Outports 3: 1020-21).

ERIN'S LOVELY HOME

Beginning note D flat William Riley (L'Anse au Loup, 1960)

GOOD LOOKING MAN

Beginning note B   Leo O'Brien (L'Anse au Loup, 1960)

contains elements of each (Leach, Labrador 48, 96). The A phrase, for example, is virtually identical to that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" from the second half of the first bar on, despite the fact that it is cast in a different metre. The B phrase, meanwhile, resembles that of the Tom Sexton melody from the second half of the second bar, although without the flattened seventh. The iambic metre of the "Erin's Lovely Home"/"Good Looking Man" tune is also the same as in Tom Sexton's melody whilst its phrase structure, ABBA, is the same as both the Tom Sexton melody and the traditional tune. These points of resemblance tempt speculation as to the possibility that the change of melodies associated with "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove may be connected with the existence of a melody in which features of both melodies appear in combination, and the question will be returned to in chapter 8.

Group II - Versions from White Bay South

There are two versions of the "Moonshine Can" melody from White Bay south, that sung by Joshua Osborne in a performance already described in chapter 5 (JO1), and that of Madeleine Domalin of Brent's Cove on the Baie Verte Peninsula, recorded by a Memorial University of Newfoundland student (MD1).[10] Although it is not mentioned by the student, it appears from the

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[10]The text of the song published in The Newfoundlander (NF1), which appears to have been sent in from this region, was printed without a melodic notation. I am grateful to Dr. John Ashton for bringing the recording of Madeleine Domalin to my attention.

recording that Madeleine Domalin is in fact singing from Joshua Osborne's text as published in Peacock's collection, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports (1: 75-76). Not only are the words almost identical to those of Osborne, but a short pause accompanied by the rustle of paper is audible on the recording following the stanza, SUMMONS, precisely the point at which a page must be turned in Peacock's published version. It is not known why Domalin was performing from the book but one possibility is that she had once known the song but was no longer certain of the words, prompting the student collector to provide her with the text from Peacock's collection. Nevertheless, although there is a notation of the melody in the book as well - incidentally, not that of Joshua Osborne - it becomes clear from the recording that Madeleine Domalin is performing her own version of the tune.

In terms of the tunes already discussed, Joshua Osborne's melody represents a traditional version of "The Moonshine Can," but with certain distinctive features. Thus, it consists of two phrases, combined in the usual ABBA form and exhibiting much the same melodic and rhythmic characteristics as found in, for example, AP1/2. Where phrase A of JO1 differs from the traditional versions examined above is in its descent to the tonic in the second half of the first bar (see the majority version and second variation of bars 1 and 13), which results in a jump of a fifth rather than a stepwise approach to the first note of the next bar. The phrase also differs in the threefold tonic with which

JO 1
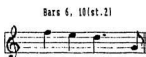
it ends, the omission of the seventh below the tonic at this point reducing the range of the phrase by a semitone in relation to the traditional versions so far examined. It is notable that this latter variation is reminiscent of the ending to phrase A of Tom Sexton's melody, albeit with an even rather than an iambic rhythm.

Just as phrase A of JO1 finishes with a reiterated lower tonic, the first B phrase consistently begins with a reiterated upper tonic rather than the more usual fifth to upper tonic upbeat, a variation also found in JM1. The most prominent departure from the traditional versions discussed hitherto, however, is in the form of the melody in the second bar of both B phrases. To begin with, the fourth above the upper tonic is avoided at this point, except early on in Osborne's performance, in stanza 2, where he appears to be "settling into" the melody. As a result, the uppermost note of phrase B, like the lowermost note of phrase A, has been reduced by a semitone, making a combined range of a major 10th, instead of a diminished 12th. Meanwhile, this high note, which appears in the transcriptions as the note F', is replaced by the note D', a third lower, moving to an auxiliary note C' and back to D' before dropping a fifth to G and picking up the usual form of the phrase from the second crotchet of the penultimate bar. As in the variation observed in the first bar of phrase A of JO1, a melodic interval of a fifth thereby comes to replace what is found as scalar, or near-scalar movement in other traditional versions of the tune.

Amongst the variations introduced into the melody by Joshua Osborne, are those which arise from his tendency to sharpen certain notes in pitch. These are namely the F in bars 2 and 3 of phrase A and the auxiliary note C in bar 2 of phrase B. In the case of the F, the sharpening may take place in either one or both bars of the phrase at a time and, when it does occur, suggests the interval of a tritone (spanning three whole tones) with the tonic, especially in bar 3 of the phrase. Since Joshua Osborne is clearly an accomplished singer, these inflections would seem to represent a stylistic trait rather than a problem of pitching as suspected with the performances of Pat Troy junior and James Hennessey. This inference is borne out by the fact that the same technique is employed by both Leo O'Brien and Joshua Burdett, who are likewise capable singers, at corresponding points in the A phrase of their performances of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue."

As observed in the previous chapter, the text of JO1 contains a five-line version of the stanza, MAGISTRATE, for which Osborne extends the melody by introducing an extra B phrase in the pattern ABBBA. This results in the two lines of text concerning St. Peter and the key being sung to the B phrase whereas, in AP1/2, which contains a six-line version of this stanza, the first of the St. Peter lines is sung to phrase A and the second to phrase B:

> Here's luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look
> down on him, A
> And when he leaves this world behind, goes on the

other end, B
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key, B
The man who keeps the key, my boys, the door he will unlock, B
Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrate, make one among the flock" A (JO1)

Here's luck to our good magistrate, may God look down on him, A
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name is Mr. Simms, B
And when he leaves this world behind goes on the other way, B
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man that keeps the key, A
The man that keeps the key, my boys, the door he will unlock, B
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, make one among the flock. A (AP1/2)

With regard to the specific setting of the words to the tune in JO1, it is mostly syllabic, as in other versions, with the occasional slurring of crotchet beats and the connection of notes by vocal glissando, particularly those of the falling fifth in bars 6 and 10. In addition, the rhythmic figurations ♩♩♩♩ and ♩♩ ♩♪dominate the tune and these, together with the absence of a consistent prolongation of the final notes of the second and fourth phrases, plus Joshua Osborne's light tenor voice, lend a more sprightly air to his performance compared to that of Alf Pollard. As usual, however, the end of the song is spoken and not sung, although this is confined to the last two syllables only.

The value of transcribing the melody of a song in full for the purpose of

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study is demonstrated in Madeleine Domalin's performance of "The Moonshine Can" in which she employs several versions of the melody. In particular, she follows the traditional version of phrase A for the first line of text, and a variant form of the mass-mediated phrase A for the final line in the first two stanzas (see transcription), and only establishes the usual form of the mass-mediated A phrase as her norm from the third stanza on. This suggests that Madeleine Domalin was familiar with the song in several different forms, perhaps in a traditional version which she used to sing herself or had heard others sing, and a mass-mediated one which she had heard a number of times on the radio. Given that she opts for the mass-mediated version of phrase A after trying out various other forms of the A phrase, it seems more likely that she was influenced by hearing others' versions rather than having performed the song regularly herself.

The possibility that Madeleine Domalin was familiar with a traditional version of the melody is borne out by the B phrase which she sings. Not only does this follow the traditional pattern in most instances but, on several occasions, it is varied to include the downward jump of a fifth in its second bar (see variation of bars 6-7 and 10-11). The melodic interval is clearly reminiscent of JO1, although it is preceded in MD1 with the scalar descent from the top F, rather than the D'-C'/C'#-D' figure. Nevertheless, as the melodic variations noted in the transcription show, Madeleine Domalin does not always reach the

MD 1

D flat

♩ = 72-80

uppermost note of the melody in this bar, despite the fact that she pitches the song in a very low register for a woman's voice. It seems, therefore, that the high note presents a problem for her for the same reason that it does for Pat Troy junior and James Hennessey, namely, because it is hard to pitch the F' as distinct from the ensuing E' when it is approached by means of a fairly large melodic leap.

In contrast to Joshua Osborne, Madeleine Domalin accommodates the melody to the five-line stanza, MAGISTRATE, by adding an extra A phrase, producing the sequence ABBAA. Thus, the two St. Peter lines coincide with phrases B and A respectively in her version, the opposite way round from the way they occur in AP1/2.

Finally, it is notable that whilst the overall tempo of Madeleine Domalin's performance is similar to that of Alf Pollard and somewhat slower than that of Joshua Osborne, she incorporates more rhythmic variety into the tune than either, using bars of straight crotchets and bars mixing crotchets with ♩. ♪ and ♪ ♩.figurations. She also tends to pause longer in the middle and at the end of stanzas but without prolonging the phrase finals at these points. In order to indicate the end of the song, she breaks into speech but only for the final word.

Of the two White Bay south versions of "The Moonshine Can," then, JO1 is a version of the traditional melody, but with such distinctive features as the substitution of melodic leaps for scalar figures in certain bars and the threefold

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tonic at the end of phrase A. MD1, on the other hand, shows the influence of the traditional melody, and also contains one of the variations specific to JO1, but in its usual form of phrase A it corresponds to the mass-mediated version. The direct connection between JO1 and AP1/2 which was suggested by their texts is not mirrored in any specific way by their versions of the melody, except in the falling sixth of bars 1 and 13 which takes place within the first half of bar in both. Lastly, it is important to note that there is no sign of the Tom Sexton melody among the extant White Bay south versions and, in fact, it has not been found in conjunction with the song anywhere other than in Goose Cove.

Group IIIa - Eight-Stanza Versions and QUESTION/PARSONS Fragments

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that the eight-stanza versions in Group IIIa are those of Leander Roberts (LR1), Pat Cole (PC1), Jim Lynch (JL1) and George Hatfield (GH1). The only one of the fragmentary versions in this group to be documented with any music is that of May Hussey (MH1), although she plays the tune separately on the accordion in this rendition and merely recites the words. All of the versions were collected on the Avalon Peninsula except for LR1 which was recorded in Cartwright, Labrador.

LR1 is the most ornate of the extant traditional versions of the "Moonshine Can" tune. In it, the melodic line has been embellished by the addition of quaver beats interspersed between the principal crotchet notes of the

LR1

melody. By anticipating the next main note, repeating the previous one, or acting as a passing note or a bridging note in a melodic interval, the extra notes fill in but do not disrupt the melodic outline. Each is slurred to the note on the beat preceding it so the number of textual syllables sung remains the same but the number of notes sung to each syllable is often two rather than one. This vocal line is beautifully sustained by Leander Roberts throughout his leisurely performance of the song, until the final half-line where he breaks into speech.

The embellished form of Leander Roberts' melody bears a clear resemblance to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune versions mentioned above. Since the latter were collected in the same region as LR1 and, in the case of the version by Joshua Burdett, the same settlement, there seems to be little doubt of the direct influence of the style of these tunes on Leander Roberts' "Moonshine Can." Nevertheless, it retains a separate melodic identity inasmuch as its B phrase is still that of the traditional melody of "The Moonshine Can" and not that of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue." In addition, Leander Roberts does not adopt the technique of sharpening the fourth degree of the scale in phrase A, as used on occasion in both versions of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," and also found in Joshua Osborne's version of "The Moonshine Can."

Although the melody sung by Leander Roberts is recognisably an embellished version of the traditional tune, the penultimate bar of both of its phrases differs from those of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" versions and other

traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can." The third bar of phrase A, for example, begins a note higher than usual, on the fifth above the tonic, and drops to three notes below the tonic, as well as the note just below it as is usually found, in the second half of the bar. This gives the phrase a uniquely extended range of an octave and a fourth (a perfect 11th), which in turn produces a range of a minor 14th for the complete melody. In the penultimate bar of phrase B, meanwhile, the melodic line jumps directly to the upper tonic from the fourth below it, and rises to the note above before finishing on the tonic in the usual way in the next bar. This replaces the stepwise movement to the tonic from the fourth below found in most other traditional versions of the "Moonshine Can" melody. The introduction of the note above the upper tonic (D') at this point in LR1 is reminiscent of the corresponding bar in the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" versions, but it differs from them in approaching the D' from the tonic (C') rather than through the note below (B). Finally, it should be noted that one of Leander Roberts' variations of bars 6-7, in which he substitutes a falling fifth interval for a near-scalar descent, is the same as that seen in the White Bay south versions, JO1 and MD1.

The five-line stanza, MAGISTRATE, in LR1 is also accommodated in the same way as in JO1, by the introduction of an extra B phrase, ABBBA. In comparison with JO1, however, the application of the standard ABBA pattern for what appears as the conflated stanza, QUESTION/PARSONS, in LR1 results in

the individual lines involved being sung to the opposite phrase of music. This is because what has been combined in QUESTION/PARSONS is the second couplet, sung to phrases B and A, of QUESTION, and the first couplet, sung to phrases A and B, of PARSONS. It is clear, then, that the amalgamation of these lines of text into one stanza has taken place despite the melodic phrases with which each was originally identified. The shift from singing these lines to the opposite phrase of music from that to which they were sung before was, on the other hand, probably facilitated by the fact that the lines in question contain a similar number of syllables, between 13 and 15, and the same number of metric stresses, as each other. Another factor in the transition may also have been the upbeat to the two phrases which, as has already been noted, is the same in most versions. Thus, there is no initial difference between singing a line of text to the A phrase or the B phrase until the third syllable or word.

Pat Cole also sings a version of the traditional melody of "The Moonshine Can" in which there is some embellishment of the melodic line. Whilst this embellishment is similar in kind to that of LR1, however, it is not nearly so extensive. In fact, it is confined to phrase B where a passing note is sometimes introduced in the second half of the first bar (bars 5 and 9), and the two notes below the upper tonic are repeated in the second half of the penultimate bar (bars 7 and 11) with a concomitant speeding up of the earlier notes in the bar. Apart from this, few variations are introduced into the melody, except in the

PC 1

second and third bars of phrase A where the melodic intervals of a third sometimes become a fourth instead.

In contrast to the melody, the rhythm of PC1 displays a great deal of variety, to an extent not found in other versions examined hitherto except LR1. Hence, the range of rhythmic motifs found in PC1 includes ♩♩, ♩. ♫, ♫♩., ♫♩ ♪ ♩♫♩♩. At least some of this flexibility seems to be a reflection of the spoken rhythm of the words, such as in the rhythmic articulation of "listen" in COME-ALL as ♫♩. and "jealousy" in the same stanza as ♪♫♩♩. Besides this, Pat Cole exhibits a tendency to curtail some of the bars by shortening one of the note values in it very slightly, as in bars 6 and 11 of the transcription. Another difference between PC1 and the versions of "The Moonshine Can" melody studied up to this point is that Pat Cole employs a sung ending and not a spoken one.

PC1 contains two five-line stanzas, GRIEF/PARSONS and MAGISTRATE, both of which give rise to a phrase structure of ABBBA, the same as that used for MAGISTRATE by JO1 and LR1. As in the four-line versions of GRIEF/PARSONS found in GH1 and JL1 below, only the first two lines of the stanza are affected from the musical point of view as a result of the conflation of these stanzas. Once again, though, the musical phrases to which these two particular lines are sung have become reversed in the course of the creation of this stanza.

George Hatfield's "Moonshine Can" melody is still another example of the traditional tune, although it is sung at a much slower and more deliberate pace than that of PC1 and even that of LR1. Like them, it contains some quaver-note embellishment of the basic melodic line. Where this is confined to the first and third bars of phrase B in PC1, however, it consistently occurs in the second bar of both phrases in GH1, as the transcription shows. In the latter, therefore, the introduction of such melodic and, in a sense rhythmic, ornamentation coincides with the end of the first clause of each line where, perhaps, it can be seen as helping to propel the melody and the text it carries forward into the second half of the line. Certainly, this consideration is not without relevance in the context of such a slow and measured rendition, where the quaver-note embellishments relieve what is otherwise predominantly crotchet and occasionally ♩. ♪ or ♪♩ ♪ movement. Even the very end of the song is unhurried, with all of the final clause being sung, as in PC1, and the last word being accented, but not actually spoken.

Although GH1 contains no five-line stanzas, it will be recalled that the version of MAGISTRATE in GH1 comprises four lines due to the fact that the first half of one St. Peter line and the second half of the next have been conflated into a single line. Since each of these lines is sung to phrase B in the five-line version of the stanza, they continue to be so when conflated and, as a result, the quatrain version of the stanza comes to have the usual ABBA pattern of

GH 1

B-B flat

$\quad\downharpoonleft = 96-108$

melodic phrases.

It was noted in the previous chapter that, of the versions of "The Moonshine Can" in Group IIIa, those of George Hatfield and Jim Lynch evidenced a particular textual resemblance. A comparison of the melodies to which each is sung, however, indicates that quite the opposite is the case with regard to their music for, whilst GH1 is a version of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can," JL1 is a distinct melody. This is notwithstanding the fact that JL1 has a number of features in common with the traditional tune, such as its overall metre, phrase structure, phrase finals, general melodic contour and one of its upbeat figures. In addition, the last two bars or so of each phrase in JL1 are the same as or very similar to the corresponding bars of the traditional melody. This feature in particular, together with the overall similarity in the contour of each, makes the two appear related. Yet, as described below, the first two bars of each phrase in JL1 are clearly different insofar as the details of their melodic movement are concerned.

In bar 1 of phrase A, for example, following an upbeat figure which is the same as that of the traditional tune, the melodic line immediately descends by step, dropping a fifth at the end of the bar. This is in contrast to traditional versions in which an initial drop of a sixth in this bar is followed by rising scalar movement. The second bar of A in JL1, meanwhile, is approached by the jump of a sixth, followed by another short scalar descent and a jump of a third at the

JL 1

A flat

506

end of the bar. This again contrasts with the traditional tune where a falling interval, approached by step, precedes a further short ascending scale passage. As a result, the JL1 melody arrives on the third degree of the scale on the first beat of bar 3, whereas the traditional melody arrives on the fourth, the fifth, or occasionally the second, but never the third degree of the scale. From this point to the end of the phrase, though, the two tunes more or less coincide.

In phrase B of JL1, meanwhile, the upbeat figure jumps up a third to the note below the tonic, rather than up a fourth to the tonic itself as in traditional versions. The melodic line then weaves around this note before ascending to the note above the tonic at the beginning of the following bar. As a result, the notes which appear in the transcription as B and D' are stressed in the first bar of the phrase, in contrast to the traditional tune in which C' and E' are the accented notes. Furthermore, the highest note of JL1 is not reached until halfway through the second bar of the phrase instead of at the beginning of the bar as in traditional versions. It is only from the beginning of the next bar, therefore, that the traditional tune and JL1 correspond.

Despite the similar endings to each phrase in JL1 and the traditional "Moonshine Can" tune, then, the first halves of the phrases of each are distinct. Thus, in comparison with traditional versions, the melody of JL1 reaches a different point at the end of the first clause in each line of text. It is for this reason that JL1 is regarded here as a separate melody from the traditional

"Moonshine Can" tune, and not merely a version of it. To judge from the first stanza of Jim Lynch's performance, however, in which he sings the traditional version of the B phrase in its entirety (see transcription), it would seem that he was acquainted with the traditional melody. It may be, therefore, that the substitute melody is the result of the mixing in the mind of Jim Lynch or his source(s) of two similar melodies, one of which was the traditional tune of the song. The fact that the alternative melody was retained may also be an indication of the singer's aesthetic preference.

Unlike JL1, the melody played by May Hussey on the accordion in between reciting a stanza of "The Moonshine Can" is clearly a version of the traditional tune. The melodic line is nevertheless ornamented in places, intervals being filled with the intervening notes of the scale, as in the varied upbeat to bar 1, or with bridging notes and passing notes, as in the variations of bars 7, 11 and 14. Rapid triplet figurations, an ornament particularly associated with the traditional style of button accordion and fiddle playing are also introduced in the penultimate bars of each phrase.

In contrast to Group I, then, all the melodies in Group IIIa are versions of the traditional tune except JL1, which constitutes a separate tune with resemblances to the traditional melody. Whilst most of these traditional tune versions have distinctive details, the embellishment of the melodic line in LR1 is the most striking and seems likely to have been influenced by versions of "The

MH 1

E flat

♩ = 80-96

509

Boy Who Wore the Blue" as sung in the same area. As noted in chapter 5, meanwhile, GH1 was recorded just prior to Blondahl's collection of the song in the same region. The traditional melody sung by George Hatfield may, therefore, represent a version similar to that which was noted by Blondahl, a point which will be taken up again later.

Another way in which the Group IIIa versions contrast with those in Group I is the manner in which they are brought to an end. Whereas the performers of the Group I versions conclude by speaking the final clause of text, the performers of the Group IIIa versions, and also Joshua Osborne and Madeleine Domalin in Group II, either sing the ending or reduce the amount of spoken text to just one word (or two syllables in the case of JO1). As will be seen in due course, the latter convention is a feature of the remaining Group III renditions as well.

Group IIIb - Remaining Versions containing GRIEF/PARSONS

Two of the three versions of the "Moonshine Can" tune in Group IIIb are based on incomplete renditions of the song, that of Eric Rogers (ER2) comprising one stanza only,[11] and that of John Crane (JC1) being taken from a performance which the singer did not complete. There are signs that the version sung by an anonymous 48-year-old man from The Goulds on the Avalon

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[11]It will be recalled that ER1 was a manuscript version of the song's text.

Peninsula (AN1) contains gaps as well. None of these versions, therefore, comes from a full-fledged performance of the song and some of the melodic variation encountered, as will be seen, is probably attributable to this.

Eric Roger's single sung stanza is clearly a version of the traditional melody, performed in a straight syllabic style without melodic embellishments. The rendition contains what are obviously several mispitched notes in the second two phrases of the stanza. The occurrence of these is probably connected with the fact that Eric Rogers is not a regular singer, but someone who knew "The Moonshine Can" and had sung it on occasion when he was growing up. This was on Fair Island, Bonavista Bay, during the 1940s, as described in chapter 4. It may also be for the same reason that his version of the tune avoids the uppermost note associated with the traditional tune in the B phrase, resulting in the slightly reduced range of a perfect 11th, instead of a diminished 12th for his melody as a whole.

Meanwhile, it is notable that ER2 contains two melodic details which are particularly associated with that of the White Bay version, JO1. These are namely the threefold articulation of the tonic at the end of phrase A, and the drop of a fifth in the second bar of phrase B. Compared to most of the performances of the traditional tune so far surveyed, including that of Joshua Osborne, however, Eric Rogers' rendition is taken at a noticeably faster tempo. In addition, it adopts a relatively large amount of rhythmic flexibility, especially

ER2

with the use of such syncopated patterns as ♪♩. and ♪.♪♫♪. Coupled with the

faster pace, this lends the performance more verve and makes it less staid than

the slower, unsyncopated renditions.

The melody sung by John Crane resembles the traditional melody except

that its first B phrase is a version of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" B phrase.

This results in the form AB'BA in JC1, the same as the Goose Cove version,

JH1. Since JC1 was recorded in Pines Cove on the Northern Peninsula, to the

north of Bellburns and just across the Strait of Belle Isle from the coast of

Labrador, it is likely that its variant B phrase may derive from contact with

versions of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" like those of JB1 and LO1. The

phrase as it appears in JC1 is much the same as that of James Hennessey's

version of "The Moonshine Can," that is, similar to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue"

phrase but with a penultimate bar consisting of a scalar ascent to the tonic

where the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune emphasises the notes of the triad on

G. In addition, the embellishment of the melodic line characteristic of the "Boy

Who Wore the Blue" versions, and Leander Roberts' "Moonshine Can" melody,

is absent in JC1.

The second B phrase of the melodic stanza in JC1, meanwhile, is a

traditional version of the phrase, although the fourth above the upper tonic is not

always reached in the second bar. A falling interval of a fourth is also found in

the same bar and this is reminiscent of the falling fifth seen in the corresponding

JC 1

515

place in JO1 and ER2. In phrase A, the traditional tune is varied somewhat inasmuch as John Crane favours a slurred two-note upbeat in which the upper tonic is anticipated. Furthermore, in a variation unique to his version, he sometimes slurs the final note of the first phrase to the note above it, thus making a passing note between the final of the phrase A and the upbeat to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" phrase B. As seen in a number of other versions, the first stanza of John Crane's performance is melodically atypical in comparison with the rest of his rendition. In fact, it seems rather wayward, although in its first bar it is slightly reminiscent of Jim Lynch's tune in Group IIIa.

JC1 is rhythmically less varied than some of the other versions examined hitherto in Group III, John Crane mainly adhering to crotchet movement with occasional ♩. ♪ rhythms and their reverse ♪ ♩. One other rhythmic variation of note in JC1 is that necessitated by the introduction of what seems to be the local policeman's name, "Constable McCarthy," in the stanza, GRIEF/PARSONS. The resulting figuration ♫♫♩ ♩ not only successfully incorporates the extra syllables within the metric restrictions of the tune, but also reflects spoken rhythm.

AN1 is taken from a very halting rendition of the song in which there is no regular pulse and there are relatively long pauses both between and within the phrases. As seen in other performances, the singer also takes time to establish his normal version of the melody (see variation of the upbeat and bar 1 of stanza 1).

E flat

♩ = 69-96

VARIATION   Bar 1 and Upbeat(st.1)   Bar 1   Bar 2   Bar 3

Apart from this, the individual phrases follow the pattern of the traditional melody, although with the passing note (F) at the end of bar 1 in phrase A omitted, and with a repeated upper tonic as the upbeat to B like that already seen in JM1 and JO1. The most salient feature of AN1, however, is the musical form of its various stanzas. Some of these are clearly incomplete, such as COME-ALL, which consists of three lines and which is sung to the phrases ABA respectively, and EASTER, which comprises two-and-a-half lines set to two complete A phrases and the first half of an A phrase (a) in the pattern AaA. The phrase structure of the quatrain stanzas, SUMMONS and QUESTION/PARSONS, meanwhile, is ABAA. Thus, the form of the melodic stanza in AN1 does not mirror the parallelism between the central lines of text in these stanzas, unlike the ABBA form. Finally, the couplet from GRIEF and the one from TROY with which AN1 ends are both set to A phrases, suggesting that the couplets which should accompany these lines and which would have been sung to the phrases A-B, have been lost.

Thus, it can be seen that the three tune versions in Group IIIb vary quite markedly from each other, whatever the similarities in their textual make-up. ER2 displays a particular resemblance with the White Bay version, JO1, in certain details whilst JC1 has apparently been influenced by "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody to the extent that part of its B phrase has been incorporated into the traditional version of the "Moonshine Can" melody. Lastly,

the melodic stanza of AN1, although composed of the phrases of the traditional tune, combines them in a different way from that found in all the other examples of the traditional tune, such that the A phrase predominates.

Group IIIc - Versions Retaining GRIEF and/or a Distinctive Form of MAGISTRATE

This group comprises two versions from the Avalon Peninsula, those of Gladys Skanes (GS1) and Frank Knox (FK1), the latter being a pre-Blondahl version like that of George Hatfield discussed earlier. It also includes the version by Herbert Parsons (HP1) which he learnt from a singer from Newfoundland's south coast. Since these versions retain the stanza, GRIEF, in its unconflated form, there is no change in the coordination of the lines and musical phrases.

FK1 represents a version of the traditional tune but with the first B phrase in variant form. This latter begins with the same upbeat as the corresponding phrase in "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," from the lower third to fifth (E-G), but then reverts to the traditional pattern of "Moonshine Can" B phrase from the second main beat of the first bar, as a comparison with the ensuing B phrase in the transcribed stanza shows. Both B phrases also then depart from the norm of the traditional version in the penultimate bar where, instead of a scalar ascent to the tonic, they ascend by means of the notes of the triad on G. This is as the penultimate bar of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" in the Leo O'Brien version

FK 1

520

(LO1). The resulting form, apart from stanza 1 in which Frank Knox sings the same two B phrases, is thus AB'BA as in JC1 and JH1. In contrast to these versions, however, FK1 was collected on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, at some distance from Labrador and Bellburns where "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" versions were recorded. Yet, it will be remembered that the text of FK1 evidenced some specific similarities with textual versions from the Goose Cove/White Bay area, and it may be that the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" resemblance in the melody of FK1 is a further sign of a direct connection between northwest Newfoundland/southern Labrador versions of "The Moonshine Can" and that of Frank Knox.

In addition, it is notable that Frank Knox sometimes sharpens the pitch of the fourth degree of the scale, but only in bar 3. This recalls the performance by Joshua Osborne and the versions of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" from Labrador and Bellburns in which the same note tends to be sharpened in bars 2 and 3 of this phrase. Knox's performance is also rhythmically quite conservative, like that of JO1 and others, relying principally on crotchet movement with occasional slurred quavers and   figurations. Like the other performances in Group III, it is notable that Knox finishes with a sung ending.

In Gladys Skanes' version, both B phrases bear a resemblance to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody. In relation to the traditional versions of the "Moonshine Can" tune, therefore, the phrase structure of GS1 is AB'B'A. As in

GS 1

JH1, the similarity with "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" is evident in the first half of the phrase, the second half, in the case of GS1, initially resembling JO1 in its drop of a fifth in the second bar (bars 6 and 10), and then resembling PC1 in the embellished form of the ascent to the tonic in the penultimate bar. The A phrase, meanwhile, follows the traditional version but with a varied form of penultimate bar. Here, not only is the falling interval of the first half of the bar replaced by a rise of one step, but it is followed by the threefold articulation of the tonic which characterised JO1 and the Bonavista Bay version, ER2, as well.

Among the melodic variations introduced by Gladys Skanes is the tendency to sharpen the fourth degree of scale in phrase A In contrast to other instances of this trait, however, it only occurs in bar 1. Meanwhile, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the slow tempo of her performance, Gladys Skanes includes some rhythmic variety, employing quavers, ♩♪ and ♫ figurations in addition to the usual crotchet movement. One again, the ending to the song is sung rather than spoken.

Intriguingly, the first tune sung by Herbert Parsons in his performance of "The Moonshine Can" is another case, together with that of JL1, in which a distinct melody has become attached to the song. As evidenced in the transcription, Parsons' melody differs from the traditional tune versions, the mass-mediated melody and the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" versions in its contour, upbeat figurations, two of its phrase finals, and its form. Its main

HP 2

B flat-B

ALTERNATIVE ("CORRUPTED"MELODY

[Breaks Off]

similarity is in metre and in the final notes of its first and last phrases.

The tune which Parsons describes as the "corrupt" tune of the song is, apart from its first phrase which follows that of his usual melody, the tune of the mass-mediated version of the song, the text of which Parsons likewise expresses a dislike for. The details which ally it with the mass-mediated melody are the rhythm and repeated tonics in the first half of bar 5, together with the three repeated upper tonics before the falling fifth interval in bar 13.

In the Group IIIc versions, therefore, there are resemblances between FK1, GS1 and the Labrador/Bellburns versions of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody. These similarities tempt speculation of direct contact between FK1 and GS1 on the one hand, and versions of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" like those sung in Labrador and on the Northern Peninsula, and/or versions of "The Moonshine Can" which had been influenced by the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody, such as the Northern Peninsula version, JC1, on the other. Furthermore, this melodic evidence to some extent parallels the textual evidence, namely, that GS1 and FK1 contain the stanza, GRIEF, in its unconflated form, as in the Groups I and II versions, and FK1 in particular has a number of other details in common with the texts from the Goose Cove area and White Bay. It seems probable, then, that the Southern Shore version, FK1, and the Conception Bay version, GS1, represent versions which derive directly from the northwest coasts of Newfoundland and/or southern Labrador, along

separate routes of transmission from the other versions collected in the Southern Shore/Conception Bay region of Newfoundland.

The different melody associated with the South Coast-derived version, HP2, meanwhile, suggests a complete break in the transmission of the traditional melody and the introduction of a new tune. Certainly, Herbert Parsons' melody has little in common with the traditional or the mass-mediated tune of "The Moonshine Can," making a "crossing" of two similar melodies seem unlikely. One wonders if the new melody was introduced precisely because it was so different from what Parsons called the "corrupt" tune of the Omar Blondahl version to which, of course, the traditional version of the melody is related. Thus, it may be that Parsons himself brought about the change of melodies, or that his source for the song had a similar aesthetic with regard to the tune and he made the change.

Group IV - Commercial Performances and Mass-Mediated Versions
Omar Blondahl

The differences between what have so far been termed the "mass-mediated" and the "traditional" versions of the "Moonshine Can" melody have already been outlined above. To recapitulate, the distinction between the two is particularly evident in the phrase A. In the mass-mediated version, this phrase is characterised by a threefold repetition of the upper tonic in bar 1, the use of

the fourth and sixth degrees of the scale and a rising interval of a third in bar 2, and a scalar descent from the fifth to the lower tonic in bars 3-4. This is in contrast to the single or twofold reiteration of the upper tonic in bar 1 of the traditional tune, the falling interval of a fourth, with or without a bridging note, from the fifth to the second degree of the scale in bar 2, and the further falling interval of a third in bar 3, followed by an oscillation between the lower tonic and the note below it, or alternatively a threefold reiteration of the lower tonic, in bars 3-4. The only melodic distinction to be noted between the mass-mediated and traditional versions of phrase B is the twofold reiteration of the upper tonic in the first bar of the phrase in the mass-mediated version, instead of an ascending stepwise progression as in the traditional version. The differences noted in phrase A result in a reduced overall range for the mass-mediated version of a perfect 11th, a semitone less than the diminished 12th spanned by the traditional melody. The changes also affect the contour of phrase A in the mass-mediated version, making it less undulating than that of the traditional A phrase.

On the basis of these features, it can be seen that the version of the tune employed by Omar Blondahl is the mass-mediated version (OB1/2). A further difference between his version and that of traditional versions of the tune is the use of the upper tonic, or upper seventh in OB1, as the upbeat to the first A phrase. Given that none of the tune versions collected on the Avalon Peninsula, including those known to pre-date Blondahl's adoption of the song, contains any

hint of the features which differentiate the mass-mediated version, the question arises as to whether this version of the tune originated with Blondahl himself. As was seen in the previous chapter, Blondahl certainly introduced changes into the text of "The Moonshine Can." Furthermore, he gave the performance of the song a new dimension by furnishing it with a harmonic accompaniment played on the guitar. As shown in the transcription, these harmonies follow a standard chordal progression of western harmonic music which is based on the primary triads in the sequence I-IV-V-I.[12] The striking feature of the A phrase of the mass-mediated tune is that the changes introduced into it in comparison with the traditional melody bring the notes more into line with this underlying harmonic progression. Thus, both of the notes of the first bar belong to the tonic chord (I), both of the notes of the second bar belong to the subdominant chord (IV), and three of the four notes in the third bar belong to the dominant seventh chord (V7). If the basic form of the traditional melody, as exemplified in the accordion tune of JIM1, were harmonised to these chords, the final note (F) of the first bar and the third note of the third bar (C) would not be members of their respective chords (I and V), whilst none of the notes of the second bar would be a member of their accompanying chord (IV). The modifications made to phrase A would, therefore, seem to be suggestive of the imposition of this chordal progression

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[12]The three primary triads of tonal music are those formed on the first, fourth and fifth degrees of the scale.

on the melody and the concomitant minimisation of the number of notes in the melody which did not fit with it.

In phrase B, on the other hand, the same chordal progression fits the notes of the traditional melody more readily. Nevertheless, the second note of the first bar (D'), the second and third notes of the second bar (E' and D'), and the third note of the third bar (A) do not coincide with the notes of their respective harmonies. Of these, however, only the first appears to have been changed in the mass-mediated tune, becoming a repeated tonic, the note at the root of the harmonising chord.

In the absence of any recordings of Biddy O'Toole singing "The Moonshine Can," or information as to the style of her performance and the details of her melody, these changes which appear to have been made with harmonic considerations in mind do not prove definitively that Blondahl was responsible for introducing them. Blondahl himself makes no mention of changing the song's melody which he states that he "jotted down," with the words, from the old gentleman in Cappahayden (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/pp. 6-8). Indeed, Blondahl's response to the letters of his listeners saying that the tune which he sang was wrong implies that he did not change it:

> Later, I sang "The Moonshine Can" during one of
> my radio programs (VOCM). I received a number of
> letters on it, some suggesting that the tune was
> wrong. I recall that the letters came from different
> parts of the island and, as this sort of thing frequently

occurs, I put it down to the fact that folk-songs change in character, words and melody as they are carried to different places (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 7. Emphasis added).

In the same letter, Blondahl claims that he made "an attempt to verify the melody" and himself encountered different versions. Since a number of melodies have been found in conjunction with the song among the examples examined earlier in this chapter, and a number of versions of the traditional tune with distinctive features have also emerged, Blondahl's remark could mean that he encountered distinct melodies, distinct versions of the same melody, or both. He also notes in the letter, however, that he eventually heard the same tune as that sung by the Cappahayden man from Christine Doyle of Conception Harbour, and this comment seems to suggest that this was the melody which Blondahl adopted. If Blondahl did make harmonically-geared changes to the melody which he gleaned from his informant in Cappahayden, then, he seems to have regarded them as too insignificant to make his melody "different" from that of his source.

The rhythm of Blondahl's version is less contentious, being similar to that of the traditional versions in its predominantly crotchet movement. Nevertheless, a number of quavers are added to accommodate extra syllables of text and many of these arise directly from the distinctive alterations which Blondahl made to the words. There are also a few dotted rhythms and syncopations but, as the

performance direction on Blondahl's published version of the tune makes clear (OB2), he tends to favour an "even tempo." Despite this, the words and music receive a crisp delivery in his performance, in noticeable contrast to the sustained vocal style which characterises many of the performances by local singers.

John White, Dick Nolan, Gerry Reeves and Ray Johnson

John White also employs the mass-mediated tune version in all three sung renditions acquired for this study (JW2/3/4). In fact, two of these, that taken from a studio recording of the song on the television show, All Around the Circle (JW2), and that from White's Greatest Hits tape (JW4), sound identical and seem to be the same recording.[13] JW3 is a live performance sung to a guitar accompaniment but in respect of the melody used it is very similar to the majority version of JW2/4.

JW2/4 is exactly the same as OB1/2 except in the upbeats to each phrase for which John White seems to favour higher-pitched notes. When they occur at the beginning of the stanza, these higher-pitched upbeat notes coincide with, and parallel, the altered or added introductory words which, as previously noted, John White incorporates into his version of Blondahl's text. In addition, White

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[13]The only differences detectable between the two is in their pitch and their duration, both of which are slight enough to be due to a difference in the speed of tape playback.

gives a much more flexible account of the rhythm compared to Blondahl, regularly introducing syncopated patterns into the phrases, such as ♩ ♫ ♫ . White also switches into heightened speech for part of Mickey's speech in EASTER and he occasionally includes a slight laugh as he articulates the text. Like Blondahl, White signals the conclusion of the song with a marked rallentando. Most prominent of all in these performances, however, is the elaborate arrangement in which the song appears. Not only is it sung to the accompaniment of an accordion, violin, piano and drums, but also a male voice chorus is introduced in the stanzas, SUMMONS and TROY, which temporarily takes over the vocal line from John White. Thus, while Blondahl's recorded performance is self-consciously folksy and intimate in style, that of John White is a more showy, concert-hall arrangement of the song.

The character of Dick Nolan's recording of "The Moonshine Can" (DN1), meanwhile, is different again. It involves an even more extensive use of instruments than the John White commercial recordings, with a line up consisting of accordion, played by Gerry Reeves, string bass, acoustic guitar, piano, mandolin and drums. As well as backing Dick Nolan's singing, these instruments provide an introduction and conclusion to the song and punctuate every pair of stanzas with an instrumental break. They also bridge the gap between the other stanzas with a short melodic motif. Hence, the arrangement seems to reflect Dick Nolan's background in the performance of country music.

DN 1

Although Dick Nolan's melody is clearly based on the mass-mediated version as typified in OB1/2, it displays several notable departures from it in phrase A. In the second bar, for example, Nolan often avoids the straight repetition of the second pitch (A) by means of slight melodic variations, whilst in the penultimate bar, he consistently replaces the scalar descent with two descending intervals of a third spaced a tone apart. This latter leads to the re-introduction of the note below the lower tonic into the phrase, thereby extending its range to a minor ninth, as in the traditional versions.

The large amount of syncopation employed by Nolan in his rhythmicisation of the song seems to be another element of his performance which is attributable to his country singing. In particular, he anticipates many of the notes of the melody in relation to the crotchet pulse as maintained by the accompanying instruments. He does not, on the other hand, adopt heightened speech or the vocal characterisation of the speakers in the song's dialogue as in John White's and Omar Blondahl's performances respectively although, as observed in the textual analysis of DN1, he substitutes his own name for that of "Pat" in the song.

In addition to the commercial recordings of "The Moonshine Can" by Newfoundland singers, there are also at least two commercial recordings of its melody, under the same name, by Newfoundland instrumentalists. One is that

of Gerry Reeves, the accordion player who appears on Dick Nolan's recording of the song. In Reeves' own recording (GR1), the melody of the song is played on the button accordion accompanied by a bass guitar and drums. GR1 is unique among the commercial recordings of "The Moonshine Can" because it clearly conforms to the traditional version of the melody and not the mass-mediated version. This suggests that Reeves may have learnt the song from hearing it performed locally, perhaps by singers on his native Port au Port Peninsula, and it was this version, rather than that sung by Blondahl and to a greater or lesser extent imitated by John White and Dick Nolan, which Reeves chose to record.

The melody is nevertheless ornamented in Reeves' performance in accordance with traditional accordion-playing style. Thus, quaver triadic figurations, such as that in bars 6 and 9, are introduced, and triplet ornamentation like that already noted in May Hussey's performance of the tune on the accordion. In addition, Reeves uses dotted rhythms in several of the bars where there are no quavers, namely, bars 1 and 2 of phrase A, and bar 2 of phrase B. A distinctive pattern of slurs is also added to the melodic line together with occasional chords which help to articulate the melody and contribute to the robustness of Reeves' performance.

Compared to that of Gerry Reeves, Ray Johnson's recording of the "Moonshine Can" melody on the accordion (RJ1) is more refined. Despite the

GR 1

VARIATION   UpbeattoBar1   Bar 1   Bars4-5   Upbeatto 9Upbeatto 13

RJ 1

almost perpetual quaver decoration of the melodic line, moreover, it is basically the mass-mediated version of the tune that Johnson, accompanied by the same combination of instruments as Reeves, plays. This is evident from the three repeated upper tonics which coincide with the crotchet beats in the first bar of phrase A, the rise of a third in the second bar and the scalar descent to the tonic in the third. In phrase B, on the other hand, it is the traditional version with the passing note (D') in the first bar which is adopted. As can be seen from the transcription, Johnson embellishes the basic melody by the introduction of auxiliary notes, passing notes, repeated notes and triadic figures, which are woven around the principal notes of the tune by the use of added quavers. Triplet figurations are also a feature of the penultimate bar of phrase A, as in Gerry Reeves' and May Hussey's performances.

Tom, Jim and Garth, and Ian and Sylvia

It is notable that the two commercial recordings of "The Moonshine Can" by non-Newfoundland performers display little deviation from the mass-mediated version of the song's melody as performed and published by Blondahl. Rather, their distinctive features, in contrast to the traditional versions, lie mainly in the vocal and instrumental texture of their performances. Thus, that of Tom, Jim and Garth (TJG1) includes an instrumental accompaniment played on the banjo, string bass, acoustic guitar and, in the final stanza, the tambourine. In addition,

TJG1

TS 1

each of the trio of singers takes a turn in singing a stanza before vocal harmonies, first in the form of crooning, then humming, and finally vocalised to the words, are added. At the speed at which the song is taken, this makes for a very "busy" texture and an energetic performance. The tempo of Tom, Jim and Garth is nevertheless eclipsed by that of Ian and Sylvia whose rendition of the song is the fastest of all the performances surveyed. In it, the song is sung as a duet, Ian taking the melody and Sylvia singing a harmony line over the top of it to the same words (although this is not shown in the transcription, IS1). Meanwhile, an acoustic guitar, mandolin and electric bass guitar provide an accompaniment, and furnish an introduction to the song and an instrumental break between the stanzas GRIEF/PARSONS and MAGISTRATE. The result is a galloping performance in which the melody of the song is hardly audible, it being lower than, and therefore subordinate to, the added vocal part, and its harmonic progression, rather than the melody itself, being featured in the instrumental breaks. In addition, the rhythmic synchronisation of the two voice parts produces a homophonic (chordal) texture in which the rhythm is also made more prominent than the melodic line.

Group V - Mass-Mediated Versions in Local, Non-Commercial Performance

Group V comprises eight renditions of "The Moonshine Can," of which those by Kenneth Pink (KP1), Dorman Ralph (DR1), Frank MacArthur (FM1), Paul

Dean (PD1), the anonymous singer, LK, (LK1), and Sylvia Hickey (SH1) have been encountered in the previous chapter. The two additional renditions are instrumental performances. That of the fiddle player, Rufus Guinchard (RG1), was recorded in Hawke's Bay, Northern Peninsula, by Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson in 1966. The other is an accordion rendition by Norman Parrott (NP1) which was recorded in Winterton, Trinity Bay, by the same collectors, with Clyde Williams, in 1964. These latter versions of the melody have been included in Group V because they display the influence of mass-mediated versions of the song in their melody.

Despite the fact that most or all of the words of the texted versions in this group have been derived from mass-mediated versions of "The Moonshine Can," the same does not necessarily apply in a straightforward way to the melodies to which the words are sung. KP1, from the southwest coast, is a case in point. Its text basically follows OB1 except for the first three lines of MAGISTRATE and, by opening with the threefold reiteration of the tonic in bar 1, its melody initially appears to be following the pattern of the mass-mediated version as well. From this point on, however, the tune has all the defining characteristics of the traditional version in both A and B phrases and the concomitant range of a diminished 12th. There are also similarities of detail with other specific traditional versions, such as Kenneth Pink's fondness for an upbeat consisting of two slurred crotchets in the first and third phrases of the stanza which is

A flat-A

♩ = 80-96
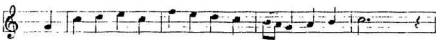
reminiscent of the initial upbeat figure of the stanza in the Northern Peninsula version, JC1. Although the pitches used by Pink in these extended upbeats are different from those of JC1, they are the same as those of Gerry Reeves whose version, it has been surmised, may derive from the Port au Port Peninsula on the west coast. Meanwhile, the jump to the fifth degree (G) in KP1 at the end of the third bar of phrase A, instead of rising by step, is also found in JC1 and the Conception Bay version, PC1.

An interesting rhythmic feature of Pink's performance is his tendency to prolong the second minim beat of bar 10, the second bar of the second B phrase. This makes the bar equivalent to three minims, rather than two as everywhere else, in length. Apart from this, the rhythm is somewhat similar to that of Omar Blondahl, no doubt partly because of the similarity in the words between the two versions, consisting basically of crotchets with quavers carrying the extra syllables of text and the occasional syncopated pattern adding rhythmic variety. Pink's performance also features a sung ending in which a slight slowing down is detectable.

Dorman Ralph sings "The Moonshine Can" to the intermittent accompaniment of a button accordion which he plays himself. This tends to double the melody rather than providing a harmonised accompaniment, and punctuates the text every two stanzas or so with a short instrumental break based on the melody. The melody itself generally consists of the mass-mediated

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DR 1

version of the A phrase combined with a B phrase which sometimes follows the traditional pattern and sometimes that of the mass-mediated version. As seen in several other versions, however, Ralph sings a traditional form of phrase A in the first stanza, thus demonstrating that he is familiar with both versions of the melody. This parallels his text which, it will be remembered, basically followed that of Omar Blondahl but with details from traditional versions. It is possible that these echoes of the traditional text and tune in Dorman Ralph's version reflect the early part of his life which he spent in White Bay. Unlike the performances of the traditional tune from the White Bay area, on the other hand, Ralph includes a certain amount of syncopation into the rhythm and marks the end of the song with the modification of the melody to ascend to the upper tonic and a noticeable rallentando.

In the recording of Frank MacArthur and his relatives made in the Codroy Valley, MacArthur plays the tune of "The Moonshine Can" on the button accordion before singing a stanza of the song. This tune (FM1 Accordion) is that of the traditional version. It is particularly notable for its similarities with Gerry Reeves' recorded accordion rendition. These are namely the prefixing of the third degree of the scale (E) to the standard fifth (G) upbeat in some phrases, also noted in KP1, and the dotted rhythms in the first two bars of phrase A and the second bar of phrase B. Thus, it is possible that Frank MacArthur has been influenced by the Reeves recording. He is unlikely to have learnt the tune from

FM1 (ACCORDION)

A flat

♩ = 108-120

FM 1 (VOICES)

A flat

♩ = 112-116

this source, however, because he clearly could not have learnt the traditional version of the words of QUESTION/PARSONS which he sings from the Reeves recording. Furthermore, there are differences between MacArthur's and Reeves' accordion renditions, such as the lack of triplet ornaments and triadic embellishment of the melodic line in FM1.

As well as playing the traditional version of the "Moonshine Can" tune in this recording, Frank MacArthur also sings it (FM1 Voices). On the other hand, the several other people contributing further stanzas to the song, tend to sing the mass-mediated version of the A phrase, although their B phrase is in the traditional form. There are thus two differing versions of the melody being employed here, although not at exactly the same time, and this mirrors the combination of fragments of both the traditional and mass-mediated forms of the text being sung in this rendition.

Paul Dean's melody, like his text, is more straightforward in that it follows the mass-mediated version in almost all respects (PD1). The relative prevalence of syncopation in Dean's performance suggests that he may have been influenced by popular song performance style generally and his rallentando at the conclusion of the song is reminiscent of the commercial performances of "The Moonshine Can."

LK's performance employs a similar ending to that of Paul Dean. In contrast to Dean's rendition, however, that of LK is another one in which

PD 1

LK 1

A flat–A

♩ = 112–120

VARIATION   Bars 1–3(st. 1)   Upbeat to Bar 5

knowledge of the traditional tune is evidenced in phrase A of stanza 1 although it is the mass-mediated version which subsequently becomes the melodic norm for both phrases (LK1). The appearance of the traditional melody in this performance may be indicative of the dissemination of the song in a traditional form to Fogo Island, LK's home area.

Sylvia Hickey, from Bay of Islands on the west coast, accompanies her rendition of the song with a vigorously strummed guitar accompaniment. As can be seen from the transcription (SH1), the chordal progression she employs is the same as that of Omar Blondahl in phrase A. In phrase B, however, only two chords of the progression are used, the chord on the subdominant (F) being omitted and the second bar being harmonised partially by the tonic chord and partially by the dominant instead.

In comparison with the versions surveyed so far, Sylvia Hickey's melody contains an interesting mixture of elements. Whilst the A phrase of her tune corresponds to that of the mass-mediated tune in bars 1 and 2, for example, its penultimate bar is modified from the usual descending scale to the notes of the dominant seventh chord. In this form, the bar is very similar to the corresponding bar of Dick Nolan's version of the mass-mediated melody. Indeed, Sylvia Hickey occasionally sings the bar in exactly the same way as Nolan, as the melodic variation noted in the transcription shows. It therefore seems likely that Sylvia Hickey has been influenced by the Nolan performance,

as also reflected in her text. The slight difference between her version of this bar and that of Nolan can be explained by the fact that her notes coincide with the guitar chord she is playing at this point, and for this reason are probably easier to pitch. Unlike Nolan, however, Sylvia Hickey employs the traditional form of the B phrase in her rendition. Meanwhile, her ending recalls that of Dorman Ralph in that it is modified to rise to the upper tonic but, instead of merely slowing down, as Ralph and other performers of the Group V versions tend to do at this point, she doubles all the note values of the penultimate bar.

Rufus Guinchard's fiddle version of the tune comprises the mass-mediated form of phrase A with the traditional form of B. Both phrases are ornamented with triplet figurations in the similar way to that found in the button accordion versions. Guinchard also introduces an inverted mordent decoration on the final note of phrase B. Rhythmically, it is noticeable that there are no pairs of quavers in Guinchard's playing, perhaps because there are no words being sung. Apart from the ornaments, therefore, the rhythm consists predominantly of crotchets with some ♩ ♪ patterns.

Norman Parrott adheres to the mass-mediated melody in both phrases of the tune in his accordion rendition although his version contains several minor departures from it in bar 1 of phrase A and occasionally in bars 1 and 2 of phrase B. As in Guinchard's performance, there is almost a complete absence of pairs of quavers and rhythmic syncopation in Parrott's playing which instead
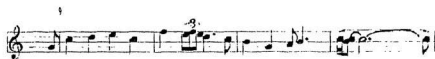
557

RG 1

NP 1

relies on crotchet and ♩. ♪ movement.

Conclusion

Amongst the findings of this comparison and analysis of the extant tunes of "The Moonshine Can" is the somewhat surprising fact that the Group I versions, which are those collected closest to the song's place of origin, exhibit the most melodic variety. In addition to what has been termed the traditional melody, it was found that several versions from Goose Cove itself were sung to a different tune altogether, whilst others in Group I were sung to the mass-mediated version of the tune which seems likely to have originated with Omar Blondahl. Still another combined the mass-mediated version with a form of the B phrase which appeared to have been influenced by the melody of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" as sung in southern Labrador and in Bellburns.

The Groups II and III versions suggest that, elsewhere in Newfoundland and Labrador, the traditional tune is the most prevalent, although the apparent influence of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" phrase is also detectable in several of these. As one would expect, the versions of the song and the tune by commercial performers employ the mass-mediated version of the melody with the exception of Gerry Reeves. Finally, those versions of the song performed by local singers which exhibit the influence of the mass-mediated (Omar Blondahl) text, also show the influence of the mass-mediated tune to a greater or lesser

extent.

Apart from the Tom Sexton melody in Goose Cove, two other tunes have been found in association with "The Moonshine Can" in addition to the traditional and mass-mediated melodies. That of Jim Lynch has a number of points of similarity with the traditional tune and may be the result of a melodic "crossing" of the two melodies. That of Herbert Parsons, on the other hand, has little in common with the traditional or mass-mediated tunes and was perhaps substituted for them out of a dislike of the mass-mediated melody. The existence of a tune besides that of the traditional tune in the community of the song's origin, however, is more puzzling, especially since both tunes are credited with being the "original" melody. Nevertheless, it has been shown that a clue to these two apparently unrelated tunes may lie in a third tune, that sung for "Erin's Lovely Home" and "Good Looking Man," again as performed in southern Labrador. The questions raised by these phenomena will be taken up again in more detail in chapter 8.

An important feature of almost all the traditional and mass-mediated tune versions is that their constituent phrases are combined in the form ABBA, although this is sometimes varied to AB'BA and, in one case, AB'B'A. The Tom Sexton melody and Jim Lynch's tune also have this form. In most of these melodies, therefore, the parallelism of the musical form mirrors that which occurs in the corresponding lines of the text in some stanzas. It is also possible that

this form of the melody prompted Pat Troy to introduce such textual parallelism when he composed the song. Another feature of the aforementioned melodies is the way in which the pattern of their phrase finals and, in the case of the Tom Sexton melody, the pattern of upbeats as well, complement the couplet structure of the text.

It has also been seen that, despite the correspondences between the structure of the melodic stanzas and those of the text, the former has not hindered the conflation of textual stanzas which has occurred in some versions. The fact that, in the course of the conflation, some lines of text have switched the musical phrase to which they are sung shows that the coordination of lines and phrases is not immutable, even within the same song. Nevertheless, such changes in the coordination of the lines and the musical phrases were probably facilitated by the similarity in the number of syllables and stresses possessed by each line and perhaps, too, by the upbeat figure common to both phrases in the traditional version of the melody.

Lastly, this examination of the performances of the song from the musical angle has revealed a number of different conventions with regard to endings. The performers from the Goose Cove area and Leander Roberts from Labrador tend to conclude the song by breaking into speech for the final clause of the text. In White Bay south, however, and further afield, the performers either sing right to the end of the song or, in one or two cases, speak the last word or two

of the text. Commercial singers also sing the whole of the final stanza but incorporate a rallentando for the last half-phrase of the melody. Thus, where some traditional performers speed up the articulation of the text at the end of the song by saying it rather than singing it, commercial performers draw the text out by decreasing the speed at which they sing it. Many of the local singers who have learnt this particular song from the performances of commercial performers, moreover, end in the same manner as their source performance(s). These renditions are thus distinct from the performances of the traditional melody with the sung ending because of their inclusion of a rallentando.

"THE MOONSHINE CAN": RECOMPOSITIONS AND RE-COMBINATIONS

Of the tunes to which "The Moonshine Can" has been sung in Newfoundland and Labrador, the one with which it has been most commonly associated is that which has here been termed the "traditional melody." As shown in the previous chapter, this melody is characterised by a set of musical attributes connected with its form, range, phrase finals, overall contour, specific melodic movement and general metre.

It has also been seen that the traditional melody overlaps with, and has on occasion intermingled with, two other melodies, namely, "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," as sung by singers from southern Labrador and Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula,[1] and the "mass-mediated tune" of "The Moonshine Can." The latter, it has been suggested, was developed by Omar Blondahl from the traditional tune. This theory is largely based on the fact that the modifications introduced, particularly into the A phrase, make the melody more compatible with a standard harmonic progression of western "classical" and "popular" music. The "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune and the traditional melody of "The Moonshine Can" share the same A phrase while their B phrases are similar in contour and share the same final, but are distinct in their specific melodic movement and their range. The possibility that the traditional "Moonshine Can"

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[1] All places mentioned in the course of this chapter, except those in northern Labrador, are marked on Map 4.

melody was derived from the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody will be considered in more detail in chapter 8. Meanwhile, what appears to be the subsequent influence of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" B phrase on that of "The Moonshine Can" has been noted in the versions JH1, JC1, FK1 and GS1, from Labrador, the Northern Peninsula, the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula and Conception Bay respectively. It has further been noted that the influence of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" phrase is manifested in slightly different ways in these versions, producing several hybrids of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" and the traditional "Moonshine Can" B phrases. As far as is known, the influence has been entirely from the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" to "The Moonshine Can" and not in the opposite direction.

Thus, both the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody and the mass-mediated melody of "The Moonshine Can" partially overlap with and partially diverge from the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can." Some of their divergent features have furthermore become incorporated into the traditional melody at times. The "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody and the mass-mediated "Moonshine Can" melody can therefore be seen as more than analogues of the traditional tune; they are part of its identity because they represent actual and potential dimensions of it. For this reason, the corpus of analogues of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" with which this chapter is concerned also includes analogues of the mass-mediated "Moonshine Can" and "Boy Who Wore the

Blue" melodies with which the traditional tune is so closely allied.

A systematic search of the published Newfoundland and Labrador folksong collections, and a more random search of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, reveals that the only analogues of the "Moonshine Can" and "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melodies in question which are recorded as being sung in Newfoundland are all attached to local songs made up after the composition of "The Moonshine Can."[2] This is according to a definition of tune analogue in which the phrase length, phrase finals and all or part of the form, together with the overall contour and the majority of "diagnostic pitches,"[3] conform to those of the traditional tune or one of its aforementioned cognates (cf. Bayard, "Ballad Tunes" 252, Shapiro 189). The six melodies identified which meet these criteria, and the songs with which they are associated, form the subject of the present chapter. They will be surveyed in chronological order, each being described in the context of what is known of the event about which they were composed. Each will also be analysed in terms of the resemblances displayed by their texts and tunes with the "Moonshine Can" versions studied previously. The object is thus to assess the likelihood of these songs having been directly influenced by "The Moonshine

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[2]Melodic analogues from outside Newfoundland and Labrador are considered in chapter 8.

[3]That is, notes which are stressed due to their rhythm, position or repetition.

Can" and, if so, to gauge the nature of and seek an explanation for the relationship.

"The 'Elsie M. Hart'"

"The 'Elsie M. Hart'" is a shipwreck song composed by Mike Keough of Plate Cove, Bonavista Bay. The version examined here was recorded from the singing of his son, Benedict Keough, by collector, Genevieve Lehr, in 1976 (Lehr 57-58). According to Lehr, the song relates an incident which happened on 18 November 1935 when the "Elsie M. Hart" ran ashore near Plate Cove whilst carrying freight from Trinity Bay to Port aux Choix. The captain and crew survived and were taken in by local people.

As can be seen from the text, the song is mainly concerned with the details of how the ship came to be wrecked. Since Mike Keough, the song's composer, was not a crew member but an inhabitant of Plate Cove, it seems likely that his narrative is based on that of the survivors. Indeed, the fact that only two of these are mentioned by name, Captain March and Steven Pelley, suggests that it was their account which Keough incorporated into the song.

It is probable that "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" was made up shortly after the shipwreck took place. This would have been some fifteen years after the composition of "The Moonshine Can." As the transcription (over) published by Lehr shows, the melody to which "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" is sung, and was

THE "ELSIE M. HART"

1.   Come all ye hearty seamen, come listen to my song,
It is both short and simple, it will not delay you long;
Concerning of a schooner that sailed from Trinity Bay,
On the eighteenth of November, I think it was the day.

2.   Her name it was the "Elsie M. Hart," Captain March was in command,
Steven Pelley from Random Island on her was second hand;
Her crew was composed of four men more, their names I will not say,
She had on board some merchandise for a port down in White Bay.

3.   The day being dull and cloudy and dismal looked the sky,
And coming on towards evening the wind began to rise;
As they were off Bonavista Cape, that place called Happy Sight,
The skipper said he would heave to, and rest up for the night.

4.   The snow came down in torrents, proud Boreas did advance,
When the sleet and snow from the east did blow to the windward you could not glance;
The sea did run mountainously and the vessel she made leeway,
In spite of with her foresail split, she had to run the bay.

5.   They sat their course for Plate Cove as near as they could go,
'Twas under the skirt of her mainsail and part of her jumbo;
As she ran o'er the Western Shores they thought they were no more,
At two o'clock next morning the vessel ran on shore.

6.   Just imagine those poor seamen upon an unknown strand,
It being so dark and stormy they did not know the land;
At daybreak there that morning, to their surprise and joy,
They saw by their surroundings some livyers they were nigh.

7.   The captain and another man got landed safe on shore,
At that place called Hurra Point [sic] where the angry billows roar;
Up hills and through the forest with difficulty roamed,

And early there that morning they broke out at Plate Cove.

8. They related their sad story and they received a helping hand,
People rushed onto the shores to assist the other men;
And now they're landed safe on shore, I know they won't complain,
May the Lord assist those seamen that ploughs the raging main.

THE "ELSIE M HART"

Benedict Keough (Plate Cove, 1976)

presumably composed, is an analogue of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody. In the "'Elsie M. Hart'" version, the first A phrase begins in a way which is identical to that of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," and therefore that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can," and follows much the same contour throughout. It differs in certain specifics of the second and third bars of the phrase, dipping to the tonic instead of the second degree of the scale in the second half of bar 2, and the falling interval of the following bar occurring a crotchet beat later than in "The Moonshine Can" and "The Boy Who Wore the Blue." The "'Elsie M. Hart'" phrase also moves between the tonic and the note above at the end of bar 3 where the latter tunes either move between the tonic and the note below it at this point, or reiterate the tonic. This results in a range of an octave for the "'Elsie M. Hart'" phrase, a semitone smaller than the range covered by the "Moonshine Can"/"Boy Who Wore the Blue" A phrase. Meanwhile, the second A phrase of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" differs from the first in that it omits the passing notes of the first two bars so that only the notes of the tonic triad are employed.

Phrase B of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" is close to that of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue," the main difference between the two being in the second half of the second bar where the former descends more swiftly to the fifth degree of the scale (G) by means of intervallic rather than scalar movement. The range of the two versions of the phrase is nevertheless the same.

Despite the similarity between the tune of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" and that of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'," the texts of the two songs display no significant points of resemblance. There is also little textual similarity between "The Moonshine Can" and "The 'Elsie M. Hart'."[4] To begin with, the subject matter of each is completely different. In addition, there is little in the way of structural resemblance between the two. Thus, the parallelism and clause repetition technique which characterised the text of "The Moonshine Can" is entirely absent in "The 'Elsie M. Hart'," although there is an example of internal rhyme in the second line of stanza 4, several instances of which also occur in "The Moonshine Can." Apart from this, the use of the clause "their names I cannot tell," in line 3 of stanza 2 of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" recalls the clause of BACKBITING in NF1, "her name I cannot tell," and the rhyming of the word "joy" with "nigh" in the second couplet of stanza 6 relies on the same Irish pronunciation found in the "lie"/"Troy" rhyme of "The Moonshine Can."

These few textual similarities between "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" and "The Moonshine Can" are of the kind common to much local song and broadside balladry. There is, therefore, nothing in the text of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" to suggest that "The Moonshine Can" was a model for the song, notwithstanding the parallels between its melody and that of "The Moonshine Can." Despite the

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[4]The mention of a man named Steven Pelley in both songs appears to be coincidental.

even closer analogy between the tune of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" and "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," moreover, there is no sign of the influence of the latter's text on that of the former. Several possible reasons for this suggest themselves. Firstly, it may have been that the melody of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" was borrowed by Mike Keough from another song sung to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody. Alternatively, he may have been familiar with the melody but not the words of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" and may even have thought that he "composed" the melody rather than having recollected it. Still another possibility is that Mike Keough made up the text of "The 'Elsie M. Hart'" without any particular melody in mind and then found that "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" was one of the melodies with which he was familiar which fitted his own song. In all cases but the first, about which it is impossible to know, it would seem that the former association of the melody, in terms of the song it was attached to and what that song was about, was not a significant factor in its adoption for the new composition. Neither were the structural features of the text with which it had formerly been integrated influential in any way in the composition of the new song.

"The Moonshine Can" - Harold Wilcott

At least two other local songs entitled "The Moonshine Can" have been composed in Newfoundland subsequent to Pat Troy's song. The earlier of the

two is "The Moonshine Can" by Harold Wilcott of St. Alban's, Baie d'Espoir, on Newfoundland's south coast (MUNFLA Tape 74-228/C2015). It can be seen from the transcription of the song as performed by Wilcott himself (over) that the song tells of a raid made by the police on a group of local moonshine makers. According to the student who collected the song, Marilyn Wilcott, the police had been trying to catch the moonshine makers for some time without success and so decided to make a surprise raid on their suspects (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/pp. 37-38). Although the homes of several people were searched, however, the only person whose can was discovered and who was threatened with jail in Harbour Breton was a man named Mick Organ.

This incident took place in 1943, and the song was composed by Wilcott and his cousin, Harry MacDonald, immediately afterwards (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/p. 37). Wilcott was aged around 24 at the time. As detailed in stanza 1 of the song, news of the raid reached Wilcott and MacDonald on 4 October on their return from a place called River Brook. The man who broke the news to them was Tommy Howse (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/p. 37) whom, it can be seen from stanza 2, was also one of the men who had had his house raided. Thus, Wilcott was not involved in the incident and it seems likely that the song's narrative is based largely on the sequence of events as related by Tommy Howse.

The song's concern with a specific encounter between local moonshine makers and the law, the confiscation of a moonshine can, and the threat of

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THE MOONSHINE CAN

1.   October the fourth when at River Brook, it was on a Friday morn,
The wind was down (by) west nor'west and it blowed a (living) storm,
Now when we land at Donald's Cove, there Skipper Tom did stand,
And first the news he broke to us, Mick Organ lost his can.

2.   The cutter she came in the Bay, it was on a Thursday night,
She anchored down off Vyse Cove Head and she did not show her light,
(They) got aboard a dory and made for Skipper Tom,
But (they) did not get his moonshine can because he had 'n gone.

3.   They left Skipper Tommy's, to Mick Organ's they were bound,
Now some went in their dory while the others walked around,
While they were going around the road they was so fierce and brave,
But when they got over there Mick Organ was in bed.

4.   So then they had to come back again with their minds' (consent),
But early Friday morning 'twas back again they went,
They went into Mick Organ's to have a look around,
They was not in there very long 'fore the moonshine can they found.

5.   Now this to Mick Organ the cutter's crowd did say,
"We'll take you to Harbour Breton jail if you're not willing to pay,"
Mick Organ he agreed with them, it was not against his will,
For he know if he go to Harbour Breton he wouldn't be long in jail.

6.   They left Skipper Mick Organ's now starting on their way,
They were coming around the barasway in the middle of the day,
They were coming around the barasway and they were coming fast,
Saying, "Long time we've been looking for the moonshine can but we got 'n now at last."

7.   They left Skipper George (Collier) to Sam Hoskins' they were bound,

Now searching for the moonshine can which could not be found,
But when Sam saw them coming he began to tear his hair,
For Sammy grew uneasy that they might find his beer.

8. They never found his beer, my boys, I think we call it good,
    But he had it in his store house all covered in with wood,
    Now when they searched Sam Hoskins' they searched most everywhere,
    They even looked behind his radio but they never found his beer.

9. So now my song is to an end I cannot sing no more,
    My tongue is getting a little tired and my throat a little bit sore,
    I hope I haven't offended thee or (I) haven't said anything wrong,
    We'll pass it over to someone else and they will sing a song.

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imprisonment are obvious thematic parallels with "The Moonshine Can" of Pat

Troy. In addition, it is notable that Wilcott's song opens with the arrival of the

news about the incident. This recalls what is usually the second stanza in Pat

Troy's song, EASTER, which sets the narrative in motion with an account of

Mickey's news of the "kick up" regarding Pat Troy's moonshine can. Indeed,

despite the obvious differences in factual detail between the "news" stanzas of

the two songs, it can be seen that the second couplet of Wilcott's stanza makes

use of the same pair of rhyme words - "stand" and "can" - as Pat Troy's.

The following three stanzas of Wilcott's song describe the arrival of the

law officers and their search of the houses of "Skipper Tom" (Howse) and Mick

Organ. It is probable that the representatives of the law were members of the

Newfoundland Ranger Force by which the island was policed at the time. Yet,

the rangers are never identified as such anywhere in the song. Their tactics are narrated in a striking amount of detail in stanzas 2-4 but without any obvious similarities with "The Moonshine Can" of Pat Troy at this point. Rather, in contrast to the latter, Wilcott's song carries a hint of mockery of the rangers' efforts. Despite their surreptitious arrival, for example, detailed in stanza 2, Tom Howse outwits them by successfully concealing his moonshine can from them. Then again, in stanza 3, the rangers' bravado is quickly deflated by the fact that when they arrive at Mick Organ's house, their suspect is in bed and they are forced to postpone their search until the next morning.

The exchange between Mick Organ and the rangers in stanza 5 is once again reminiscent of Pat Troy's song in several small details. The line 1 clause, "the cutter's crowd did say," for instance, resembles "the judge to me did say" in QUESTION of the earlier composition, whilst the line 3 clause, "it was not against his will," obviously parallels "it was against my will" in Pat Troy's stanza, SUMMONS. A propos the reason that Mick Organ, unlike Pat Troy, was not averse to going to prison, it seems that Organ was ill and knew that he would have to be hospitalised if he went to Harbour Breton (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/p. 38).

There is further implied mockery of the rangers in stanzas 6-8 in which their satisfaction at having finally seized Mick Organ's can is followed immediately by a description of their subsequent failure to find incriminating

evidence against anyone else. In particular, Sam Hoskins' ploy of concealing his beer for making into moonshine under a pile of wood in his store, and the rangers' idea of searching for it behind the radio, which was presumably one of the early models which stood on the floor, seems to be highlighting the rangers' inability even to imagine where a local fisherman might hide his keg.

There are two small similarities with Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can" in stanzas 6 and 8. Firstly, Wilcott introduces parallelism between the second and third lines of stanza 6.[5] He also addresses his audience as "my boys" in line 1 of stanza 8. On the other hand, Wilcott concludes the song somewhat differently from Pat Troy in stanza 9. He does not, for example, incorporate his own name into the stanza and tends to emphasise his role as the singer rather than the composer of the song. He is also careful to stress that he does not intend the song to cause offence. This is in direct contrast to Pat Troy, one of whose motives for composing his song was evidently to disparage the informer and the informer's wife. According to Marilyn Wilcott, Harold Wilcott's motive in making up songs was to make people laugh and to tell a story about the kind of things which were familiar to him and about amusing events (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/p. 14). In any case, informing is not mentioned as a factor in the incident behind Wilcott's song, and Wilcott himself is an observer and commemorator of

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[5] A "barasway" which is referred to in these lines is "a sand-bar" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

the events, not a participant and a victim like Pat Troy. Nevertheless, Wilcott was apparently circumspect about causing offence in all of the songs which he composed, and the fact that "The Moonshine Can" was concerned with illegal activity and being caught by the law may have been the reason he chose to make his concerns explicit in the song as well as outside of it:

> Unlike some songwriters, Mr. Wilcott always took care not to insult any local person in any of his songs. If names were mentioned it was very seldom in a derogatory way. He was very reluctant to sing "The Moonshine Can" even though the people mentioned in it are now dead (MUNFLA Ms,. 74-228/pp. 15-16).[6]

There are, then, specific aspects of the text of Harold Wilcott's "Moonshine Can," which correspond to parts of Pat Troy's song, as well as a general thematic parallel between the two songs. These suggest that Wilcott was at least familiar with a version of Troy's composition. At the same time, Wilcott's text differs quite markedly from that of Pat Troy. Not only are the details of the story different but the text is differently constructed, being more straightforwardly narrative than its predecessor and relying far less on formulaic language.

Turning to the melody of Wilcott's song, it can be seen from the transcription that it is a version of the traditional tune associated with

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[6]An underlying reason for Harold Wilcott's reluctance to sing the song may also have been that shortly after composing it, he was married to Mick Organ's niece (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/p. 38).

THE MOONSHINE CAN (HAROLD WILCOTT)

A flat-B flat

♩ = 76-92
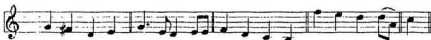
Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can." Thus, it has the characteristic overall range of a diminished 12th, and its two A phrases and one of its B phrases are almost identical to those of the traditional melody. In addition, Wilcott's tendency to sharpen the fourth degree of the scale in the second and third bars of phrase A is like that observed among the singers of "The Moonshine Can" versions, JO1 and FK1, and among the singers of the Labrador versions of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" as well. The drop of a fifth found in bars 6-7 of Wilcott's melody is also a particular feature of the "Moonshine Can" versions, JO1, MD1, ER2 and GS1. The principal difference between Wilcott's melody and that of the traditional "Moonshine Can" tune is in the second B phrase whose variant first half results in the form ABB'A. In it, the first two notes of the conventional B phrase are omitted, and the phrase begins with what is usually its third note. From this point, the variant B phrase follows the same notes as the standard B phrase, but the notes occur two crotchet beats earlier than usual. This may explain why the penultimate bar of both B phrases in Wilcott's tune embarks on the scalar ascent to the tonic one crotchet sooner than in most other versions, and then introduces a quick scalar descent back to G before jumping to the final tonic.

Apart from the melodic resemblances between Wilcott's melody and the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can," it is notable that the rhythmic movement employed in the former consists predominantly of crotchets and

quavers, as in many of the traditional "Moonshine Can" tune versions. Wilcott also concludes his song with a spoken ending of nearly a whole clause of text.

Given the close melodic resemblance between Harold Wilcott's and Pat Troy's compositions, their common subject matter and title, and the textual details they have in common, it seems almost certain that Wilcott was familiar with a traditional version of Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can" and used it as the springboard for his own composition. The fact that one of the principle events in each of the songs is the confiscation of a moonshine can may be a clue to Harold Wilcott's adoption of the title and the melody of the Pat Troy song, to which Wilcott then added his own narrative. It seems, therefore, that in this case, the melody was selected by Harold Wilcott not simply because he liked the sound of it, or because it happened to fit the words which he had composed. Rather, he seems to have been attracted towards it because an element of the narrative with which it was formerly associated made it appear appropriate to him in relation to a dimension of the story which he wanted to make into a song. The melody, the title, and an idea of the narrative of Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can" would appear to have been all that Wilcott needed in order to make his own composition. Certainly, as seen above, his text is only slightly indebted to that of "The Moonshine Can," the details of his incident providing, for the most part, the basis for the specifics of his text. Wilcott's lines do not always scan very well (for example, stanza 5), and this could be due to the fact that Wilcott,

unlike Troy, wrote his songs down when he was composing them and may only have fitted them to a tune afterwards (MUNFLA Ms. 74-228/p. 14).

Finally, the question arises as to how Harold Wilcott came to be familiar with "The Moonshine Can" of Pat Troy and its traditional melody. The date of the composition of Wilcott's song suggests two possibilities. One is that Wilcott heard the song being performed by Biddy O'Toole on **The Barn** Dance which was at the height of its popularity during this period. Alternatively, Wilcott may have known the song from local singing tradition. Since two versions of the text were sent in to the newspaper song column, "Your Favourite Songs," in The Newfoundlander from readers in Placentia Bay in 1945, it is a strong possibility that the song was performed by a number of local singers along Newfoundland's south coast during this period, and that Wilcott could have heard the song from one of them. Furthermore, it is clear that these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive and Wilcott may have been familiar with the song from both the radio and local singing tradition.

"The Moose Song"

"The Moose Song" by George Croucher is another local song from southern Newfoundland which displays resemblances with "The Moonshine Can"

of Pat Troy (MUNFLA Tape 87-157/C11082).[7] The song was made up in the settlement of Burnt Islands which lies 17 miles east of Port aux Basques on the southwest coast. Like "The Moonshine Can" of Pat Troy and that of Harold Wilcott, it concerns an encounter with the law, but this time for the killing of a moose. The composer of the song, George Croucher, was one of the men involved in the incident which took place in 1949, when he was aged about 24. The following description of the incident and the composition of the song is largely based on an interview which I conducted with George Croucher in 1986 (MUNFLA 86-170/pp. 17-22, unless otherwise stated).[8]

According to George Croucher, the incident occurred much as he described it in the song. It took place on October 3 when a moose wandered into the community of Burnt Islands like a tame animal. Croucher, along with several other men, shot at it and killed it. They knew it was illegal to kill moose but they had done so before and not been caught, despite sometimes bringing home the carcass in broad daylight. On this occasion, however, their actions were informed on by Jimmy Wells who lived close to Jim Keeping, the man who

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[7]I am grateful to the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies for permission to make use of this material from the Kenneth Peacock Collection, housed at the Centre, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.

[8]The information provided by George Croucher is supplemented by that of Bill Munden, another man involved in the incident (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/pp. 3, 5; see also pp. 23-25). The other local people mentioned in the song, Izzy (Israel) Walters, Jim Keeping, Lou (Lewis) Leamon and Jimmy Wells were dead by the time of my fieldwork.

THE MOOSE SONG

1. Come all you men of Newfoundland and listen to my song,
   I'll tell you 'bout the moose we killed and the man that did us wrong.

2. On a sunny morn, October third, I'm telling you no lies,
   When Izzy Walters hollered out saying, "Get your gun, my boys."

3. "There is a moose down in the reach,[9] he's coming up the lane,
   Jim Keeping got him rounded up, I think he must be tame."

4. Our guns and ammunition was got without delay,
   Lou Lemmon had the first shot I'm very sure to say.

5. George Croucher had the second shot, if you wants to know his name,
   Bill Munden had the third shot which brought him to his end.

6. There were men, women and children all gathered round the hill,
   All looking for a piece of meat their appetite to fill.

7. But just before we had him clean a voice from the crowd did say,
   "I guess we're going to be hung, the squealer's on his way."

8. He came up on sight of us and he unto us did say,
   "I'm sorry, boys, to inform on you," and turned and walked away.

9. We took the moose and chopped him up and give it all around,
   It looked just like a meat market (that) day on Druie's ground.[10]

10. The men that killed the moose, my boys, they would not hurt a chick,
    To let that squealer inform on us, we should have broke his neck.

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[9]"Reach: An inlet of the sea" (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson).

[10]"Druie's ground" was a piece of land belonging to an elderly woman, Mrs. Druscella Edmonds (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 23, Census 1945).

11. But let's think of the Bible, boys, and with it we'll abide,
    When they slap you on the left cheek hold up the other side.

12. The magistrate he came around, unto the Lodge he went,
    (He) tried to soak us poor boys who never had a cent.

13. He said, "You broke the law, my boys, and did you understand
    Two hundred dollars is the fine but I'll do the best I can."

14. If he had all to do with it, he would not soak us men,
    To see the grief lie on his face, his heart was touched within.

15. Our statement was all given in, everything went very well,
    He says, "Five dollars is the fine or fourteen days in jail."

16. Now we'll say good luck to our squealer, boys, may the Lord grant
    him (his) [h]ealth,
    And if you wants to know his name, his name is Jimmy Wells.

17. And now my song is ending, I'm going to propose,
    It's going to pay the squealer, boys, to keep his big mouth closed.

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had rounded up the moose. As a result, the men named in the song and, to
judge from the extant court record of the case (see below), several others who
were involved as well, received a summons and appeared before the magistrate
from Port aux Basques, Magistrate Cramm, in the Orangeman's Lodge at Burnt
Islands. As implied in the song, Croucher believed that the magistrate felt sorry
for the men and he let them off with a light fine of $5 each. Certainly, it can be
seen from the court record, which is fortunately extant,[11] that the men were

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[11]I am grateful to Shelley Smith, Archivist at the Provincial Archives of
Newfoundland and Labrador for locating this document for me.

only charged for the possession of moose meat, not for the killing of the moose:

> Defendants [named above] stand charged as follows:
> For that you at Burnt Islands on the 3rd day of
> October, 1949, did by having in your possession Big
> Game, i.e. moose meat, and not being the holder of
> a Big Game Licence, commit a Breach of Regulation
> 58 of the Wild Life (The Shooting, Hunting, Trapping
> and Fur Bearing Animals) Regulations, 1948.
> Defendants pl[ea]ded "guilty."
> E. Dinnott, Forest Inspector, sworn, saith as follows:
> "While walking on patrol from Burgeo, Oct 3, 1949, a
> complaint was made by James Wells of Burnt
> Isl[an]ds that a moose was killed that morning in the
> vicinity of Stricklands." Statements taken at the time
> of the emergency were presented by Forest Inspector
> Dinnott in which all defendants acknowledge their
> guilt.
> None of the defendants have any question to ask the
> witness and none of the defendants having anything
> further to say.
> Defendants are each convicted as charged and each
> is fined the sum of $5 to be paid on or before Jan.
> 30, 1949 [sic].
> Dec. 5, 1949.   [Signed] J.E. Cramm (Evidence).

Since everyone in the community who had received some of the meat
contributed to a collection to pay the fine, the sum needed was soon raised.

George Croucher described the informer, Jimmy Wells, to me, some 35
years on from the incident, as "a good man, a nice man" (MUNFLA Ms. 86-
170/p. 18). He thought that Wells may have informed out of "jealousy." Wells
was a neighbour of Jim Keeping, the man who rounded up the moose, and there
was some bad feeling between them. Both George Croucher and Bill Munden
felt that Jim Keeping had been "too public" about having killed the moose, and

it was because of this that Jimmy Wells got to hear about the incident and decided to inform in order to "get back at" his neighbour. Indeed, Wells had later told George that he did not inform because he wanted to hurt George but because of Jim Keeping. Meanwhile, George Croucher and Bill Munden also thought that Wells may have informed because he was the brook warden at the time and he therefore felt a responsibility to report a contravention of the game laws as well.[12] Whatever was the case, George Croucher said he was not angry with Wells for informing, and Bill Munden said he bore no grudges against Wells and had subsequently worked under him and had found him "alright."

George Croucher decided to make up a song about the incident because it was "a big thing" to have been informed on and caught for killing a moose. Nevertheless, the song's reference to the court case and fine suggests that it was not composed until after the hearing several months later. Thus, while the incident took place in the month of October, it was probably around the following Christmas that the song first appeared. Through George's performances of it, and those of the people who learnt it from him, "The Moose Song" soon became popular locally. It seems that many people picked it up, singing it particularly at parties and at Christmas time. In George's view, this initial popularity was due to the song's being based on a true story and its being "new." Indeed, the

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[12]It is notable that George Croucher's father had been the brook warden for fifteen years prior to Wells.

fact that such a song was likely to spread may have been one reason why George elected to compose the story into a song in the first place, although he did not explicitly acknowledge this as such to me. Whatever was the case, people generally liked the song, saying that it was "a good song, [and it was] well put together." One man is even said by George to have described it as "priceless." The informer, Jimmy Wells, was less enthusiastic, however. Although George thought that Wells was not angry with him for composing the song, he said that Wells disliked the fact that so many people were singing it and that Wells consulted a lawyer in Port aux Basques about the matter. Since the song's content was true, though, the lawyer apparently said that he was powerless to act.

In the event, the local popularity of "The Moose Song" waned after several years. Then, in 1960, it was recorded from George Croucher by the folksong collector, Kenneth Peacock, and shortly after appeared in Peacock's published collection, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports (1: 77-78). As a result of this, the song came to be recorded commercially by Wilf and Christine Doyle some ten years later. Their version, together with that of another commercial performer, Edison Williams, is discussed below. Following the Doyles' recording, the song became popular again in the Burnt Islands area as well as becoming known to a much wider audience. Thus, in contrast to "The Moonshine Can," "The Moose Song" appears only to have spread beyond its

immediate locale when it was recorded commercially.

Although George Croucher made up a number of poems later in life,[13] "The Moose Song," was his first and only song composition. As its title indicates, it was intended as a song rather than a poem, despite the fact that George did not regard himself a singer, a few "old-fashioned songs" being the extent of his repertoire. Still, it is notable that, by his own account, George made up the words of the song first and added the tune to them afterwards. Like his more recently composed poems, he made up one line and then tried to compose another that would "match" it. These lines were written down and refined as he went along. Only when the song was complete did George apparently learn it from memory.

With regard to the tune, George was unsure at the time of my interview with him whether he had sung his song to the tune of "The Moonshine Can," but he thought that he had. He was fairly certain, on the other hand, that everyone else who sang his song locally used that tune. In addition, George himself was familiar with "The Moonshine Can" having first heard it sung by a local man named Nathan Kettle, and George regarded the tune as "a good one."

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[13]The poems are about local incidents and local people. They date from around 1980 and include "Charlie Kettle's Cap," "Sugar Shack," "No Shortage of Pork," "The Fisherman [sic] that Got Away," "The Sea Dream," "Don't Leave Your Poetry Around," and "Our Quick Built Kingdom Hall," the latter being in the process of composition around the time of my visit to George in September 1986 (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 145-55).

THE MOOSE SONG

E flat

George Croucher
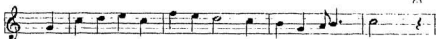
It is interesting, particularly in the light of George Croucher's comments concerning the process of composition, to examine "The Moose Song" as sung by him on the recording made by Kenneth Peacock in 1960. Croucher's technique of composing a line of text and then another to "match" it, for example, is reflected in the textual structure which comprises rhyming couplets. These are relatively self-contained and, unlike those observed in "The Moonshine Can" and the local songs examined in this chapter, are not consistently paired to form quatrains by a common focus in subject matter or by verbal repetition. Nevertheless, there does appear to be some pairing of the couplets, although not always adjacent ones, in terms of subject focus, suggesting a stanzaic structure as follows:

1	Introduction
2, 3, 4, 5	Killing of moose [Scene 1]
6, 7, 8	Dividing up of meat [Scene 2]
	Arrival of informer and statement of his intention to inform
9	Dividing up of meat
10, 11	Comment on informer and his deed
12, 13, 14, 15	Appearance before magistrate and fine [Scene 3]
16, 17	Comment on informer

It can be seen from this that each scene of the song's narrative is portrayed in

four couplets of text. Following the introductory couplet, the first two scenes are presented one after another. The third scene, on the other hand, is framed by two non-narrative couplets which comment on the informer and his action. In this way, the song falls into two halves, each consisting of eight couplets, and the first half being preceded by a one-couplet introduction.

Whether or not George Croucher was aware of singing "The Moose Song" to the tune of "The Moonshine Can," there are a number of verbal parallels between the two songs which, taken together, suggest that Croucher was influenced by the text of "The Moonshine Can." Not only does "The Moose Song" open with a "Come all you" formula but, as found in "The Moonshine Can," an opposition is set up in the first stanza between those addressed ("men of Newfoundland") and the informer ("the man that did us wrong"). In stanza 2, the phrase, "on a sunny morn," recalls Pat Troy's phrase, "On Easter Sunday morning," in EASTER of "The Moonshine Can." The direct speech with which Croucher's second stanza concludes, "saying, 'Get your gun, my boys," also parallels Mickey's speech in EASTER, "Saying, 'Pat, there is a big kick up. . . .'" In addition, certain formulaic phrases, such as "I'm telling you no lies" (stanza 2), "without delay" (stanza 4), "if you wants to know his name" (stanza 5), are found in the same or similar form in "The Moonshine Can" in the stanzas GRIEF and TROY. Likewise, stanza 16 of "The Moose Song" contains obvious verbal parallels with MAGISTRATE and TROY. Besides these, there are several

references to the audience as "my boys" and "boys" in Croucher's song and, in stanza 14, a reference to the "grief" felt by the magistrate and the way his "heart" was touched, two of the keywords in the "grief" formula employed by Pat Troy in "The Moonshine Can."

There are also notable differences between "The Moose Song" and "The Moonshine Can." Amongst these are Croucher's reference to the Bible in stanza 11, although this can be seen as a counterpart to Pat Troy's use of afterlife imagery in MAGISTRATE.[14] Another difference is that there is no warning about the informer at any point in "The Moose Song," the first stanza merely stating that the songmaker will talk of the incident and the informer. Neither is any motive given for the informer's action. Instead, Croucher appears to be unaware of the motive or unconcerned about it. This is in keeping with the fact that the conflict was not a personal one between Croucher and Wells. Yet, Croucher names the informer outright in his song, unlike Pat Troy. This, and the admonishing tone adopted by Croucher in his song towards the informer, suggests that Croucher wanted to express some displeasure with Wells for informing on him and the other men.

On Peacock's recording, the melody sung by Croucher for "The Moose Song" is made up of two distinct musical couplets. The most frequently

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[14]In contrast to Pat Troy's community of Goose Cove, Burnt Islands was an Anglican community at the time of the incident, although Croucher later became a Jehovah's Witness.

employed of these consists of two different phrases, AB. The other, which occurs with the textual stanzas 1, 4, 6, 10, 12 and 16 only, consists of a repeated musical phrase, AA. The latter variation of the melodic couplet at these points in the text is of particular interest since it coincides to some extent with the stanzaic structure of the text:

Melody	Stanza No.	Structure
AA	1	Introduction
	2 ⎤	
	3 ⎦	Killing of moose [Scene 1]
AA	4 ⎤	
	5 ⎦	
AA	6 ⎤	Dividing up of meat [Scene 2]
	7 ⎦	Arrival of informer and statement of his intention to inform
	8	
		Dividing up of meat
AA	9 ⎤	
	10 ⎦	Comment on informer and his deed
	11	
AA	12 ⎤	
	13 ⎦	Appearance before magistrate and fine [Scene 3]
	14	
	15	
AA	16 ⎤	Comment on informer
	17 ⎦	

Thus, the AA form of the melody occurs with the first couplet of the second and third scenes and with the first couplet of the two commentary sections. It also occurs with the song's introductory couplet but not with the initial couplet of the first scene which follows immediately after, coinciding instead with the second couplet of this scene.

Despite Croucher's uncertainty as to whether he had sung "The Moose

Song" to the tune of "The Moonshine Can," his melody reveals a number of striking similarities with the traditional tune of Pat Troy's song. As can be seen from the music transcription, the A phrase of Croucher's melody is the same as the B phrase of the "Moonshine Can" tune. The way in which Croucher sings the phrase, with an extended note on the second principal beat of the second bar, is also similar to the way in which the phrase is sung by Kenneth Pink of Rose Blanche, a settlement close to Burnt Islands, in his version of "The Moonshine Can" (KP1), and also to the way in which the phrase is sung by Leo O'Brien in his version of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" (LO1).

Conversely, the B phrase of Croucher's melody is similar to the A phrase of the "Moonshine Can" tune, particularly in its opening. In the second bar, however, Croucher reiterates the same pitch instead of descending, and then jumps to and circles around the upper tonic in bars 3-4. Thus, the second half of the phrase follows a different contour from that of "The Moonshine Can," ending on the upper, rather than the lower, tonic. In addition, the phrase has a reduced range, in comparison with its counterpart in "The Moonshine Can," of a minor 7th. This produces an overall range of a minor 9th for Croucher's tune, in contrast to the diminished 12th range of the "Moonshine Can" tune.

The effects of these differences between Croucher's melody and that of "The Moonshine Can" are several. Firstly, Croucher's reversal of the A and B phrases of the "Moonshine Can" melody in many of his stanzas gives his melody

a contour which parallels only the second half of the ABBA melodic stanzas of "The Moonshine Can." The variant ending given to the A phrase of the latter's melody by Croucher further alters the contour, as already noted, and reduces the complementarity of the two phrases by bringing them both within a basically authentic range and endowing them with the same phrase final. Thus, instead of two contrasting phrases, employed in a contrasting order (AB, then BA), as in the "Moonshine Can" melody, Croucher either employs two similar-sounding phrases in the same order for each couplet, or repeats the same phrase. This makes his melody more monotonous than that of "The Moonshine Can" and serves to emphasise the couplet organisation of the text.

The fact that the melody of "The Moose Song" as sung by George Croucher is a modified version of the traditional melody of "The Moonshine Can" may account for his uncertainty as to whether he sang his song to this tune.[15] The close relationship of his tune and the organisation of the text of "The Moose Song" certainly suggests that it was Croucher himself who adapted the melody. There is also evidence to support the contention that he borrowed the melodic material from "The Moonshine Can." Firstly, he was familiar with the song. In

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[15]I myself was unaware at the time of these differences between George Croucher's melody and that of "The Moonshine Can" since I had not had access to the recording of Croucher as made by Peacock. I was therefore going by the melody as published by Peacock which, as will be seen below, has been modified such that it bears a closer resemblance to the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can."

addition, his song shows resemblances with it on two other levels besides the melody, namely, in verbal detail, and in its narrative themes of illegal activity, informing, court appearance and fine. The presence of these connections strongly suggests that George Croucher drew on Pat Troy's song as a source for his own composition, although he was not fully conscious of doing so at the time.

What "The Moonshine Can" appears to have provided for Croucher is the material for a tune and several textual phrases. It did not provide the form for his text, presumably because he did not borrow the melody wholesale but seems to have adapted it to his text after he had composed it. "The Moonshine Can" obviously did not furnish the narrative of "The Moose Song" either, although it may have shaped it. Rather, it is the shared experience of Croucher and the other men who killed the moose which is narrated in his song. The narrative themes which "The Moose Song" has in common with "The Moonshine Can" arise, therefore, out of the incident which Croucher wished to narrate and are not the result of borrowing. As in "The Moonshine Can" of Harold Wilcott, then, the logical conclusion is that it was these parallel dimensions between the story of "The Moonshine Can" as understood by Croucher and the story of his own experience which prompted him to borrow melodic material and several textual details from "The Moonshine Can."

At first sight, it seems difficult to reconcile these observations with

Croucher's own comments on the song and its composition. He was not only doubtful as to whether he had drawn on the "Moonshine Can" melody, but was also unable to perceive any significant thematic connections between the two songs when I discussed these with him. He was further unaware of having any particular song or poem in mind when he made up "The Moose Song" or any of his later poems. The problem may be one of analytical (etic) versus native (emic) perceptions of the two songs. Thus, my analytical perspective looks beyond superficial differences in narrative and melodic detail and attaches significance to broader parallels of narrative theme and melodic phrase. George Croucher, on the other hand, appears on the conscious level to have been aware of, and therefore to have attached significance to, the many differences of detail between the two songs. Yet, it seems that he made an unconscious connection, through narrative theme, with "The Moonshine Can" when he composed "The Moose Song" and it was this which caused him to work both melodic and textual material from the former into his own song.

Turning to the version of "The Moose Song" as published by Kenneth Peacock in his collection, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, we find that, despite being derived from a tape recording of Croucher, it contains a number of important differences with the song as sung by Croucher on the recorded performance. This is significant because it was Peacock's published version of "The Moose Song" which became the source of the song for Wilf and Christine

Doyle's commercial recording. In addition, amongst the distinctive features of Peacock's version is a modification to the melody which brings it closer to that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can."

Peacock collected a number of songs in and around George Croucher's community of Burnt Islands, including "The Moonshine Can" from Kenneth Pink of Rose Blanche, and "The Sweet Mossy Banks of the Wey," and "The Unquiet Grave" from Jim Keeping, one of the Burnt Islands men mentioned in "The Moose Song" (Outports 1: 75-76, 2: 410-11, 600). Jim Keeping's songs and "The Moose Song" were recorded in June 1960 when, it seems, Peacock was visiting the area for social reasons rather than for the purposes of collecting:

> George Croucher's wife, Josie, was a daughter of Annie Walters of Rocky Harbour where I centred much of my research on the northwest coast. I became great friends with the Walters family and stayed with them each year, meeting Josie on two or three occasions. She invited me to Burnt Islands to meet her husband and family, so my visit was as much social as professional, though, as you see, I did manage to record a few songs. This was the only song Mr. Croucher sang, and he composed it because he was a pivotal part of the incident and, I suppose, he wanted some sort of sweet revenge on "the squealer" by telling all the neighbours just what happened (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 9).

The text of "The Moose Song" as transcribed by Peacock evidences several differences from that sung by Croucher, some apparently being due to deliberate editorial change, and some others to the mishearing or

misunderstanding of words. Amongst the latter is the statement in Peacock's version that the squealer "came up 'long side of us," rather than "came up on sight of us," in the eighth couplet of the song, the name, "Dewey's ground," rather than "Druie's ground," in the ninth couplet, and the reference to the magistrate going "unto the laws," rather than "unto the [Orange] Lodge," in the twelfth couplet. The editorial changes introduced by Peacock include the modification of "you men of Newfoundland" to "you Newfoundlanders" in the first line of stanza 1, a change which seems to reflect in a small way Peacock's perspective as a mainland Canadian rather than a native of Newfoundland, and the omission altogether of the couplet in which the "squealer" is named. This couplet was no doubt dropped by Peacock because of the sensitive nature of its content. Its omission is also notable in the light of another editorial change made by Peacock - namely, the reproduction of the text in quatrains rather than couplets - since without the couplet the remaining text can be fitted conveniently into eight quatrains. Due to the couplet-based organisation of Croucher's original text, and its stanzaic structure as described above, this results in a number of places in the pairing of couplets concerned with very different aspects of the narrative:

Peacock   Croucher

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      ┌ 1      Introduction
      └ 2┐
      ┌ 3┘    Killing of moose [Scene 1]
      └ 4┐
      ┌ 5┘
      └ 6┐    Dividing up of meat [Scene 2]
      ┌ 7┘
      └ 8┐    Arrival of informer and statement of his intention to inform
      ┌ 9      Dividing up of meat
      └10┐    Comment on informer and his deed
      ┌11┘
      └12┐
      ┌13┘    Appearance before magistrate and fine [Scene 3]
      └14┐
      ┌15┘
[Omitted] 16┐  Comment on informer
      └17┘
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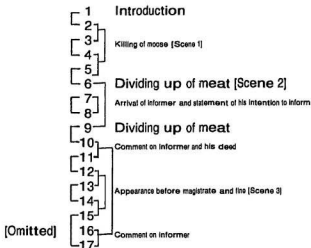
Thus, for example, the couplet concerned with the shooting of the moose by
Croucher and Bill Munden has been joined to that describing the scene in which
the local people gather round to get a piece of the meat, and the couplet in
which the magistrate's light sentence for the men is detailed is brought together
with the final couplet containing the threat to the informer.

Peacock's treatment of the text of "The Moose Song" is clearly related to
his version of the song's melody which, in contrast to Croucher's tune, consists
of four phrases in the form ABBA'.   The second B phrase and phrase A'
correspond to phrases A and B respectively in George Croucher's version of the
melody, although in the second bar of phrase A' two further notes from the

THE MOOSE SONG

Transcribed by Kenneth Peacock   George Croucher

Moderately fast

phrase as found in the "Moonshine Can" melody are included where Croucher simply reiterates the note on which the bar begins. Apart from this, the phrase is much the same as Croucher sings it, with its distinctive upper tonic ending.

The first A phrase of Peacock's melody, on the other hand, is the same as that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can," ending on the lower tonic. Since this form of the phrase does not occur in Croucher's rendition of "The Moose Song," it seems that either Peacock himself introduced the phrase into the melody, or he heard others in or around Burnt Islands singing Croucher's song in this manner, although there is no record of him having heard anyone else performing the song. "The Moonshine Can" was certainly being sung to the traditional melody in the Burnt Islands area at the time, as the version collected by Peacock from Kenneth Pink in Rose Blanche testifies, and the A phrase of Pink's melody is identical to that of the "Moose Song" as it appears in Peacock's book. Peacock seems to have been aware of the overall similarity between the tune of "The Moonshine Can" and that of "The Moose Song" since the two are placed one after the other in his publication.

Whether or not Peacock was responsible for the introduction of the A phrase from the traditional "Moonshine Can" melody into the melody of "The Moose Song," it is clear that it added variety to the tune as performed by Croucher. The concomitant re-structuring of the "Moose Song" melody also affected the song's text inasmuch as it brought its constituent couplets together

to form quatrains, despite the fact that these pairings were in some cases somewhat loose from the point of view of the narrative. Both of these changes, but particularly that in the melody, increased the resemblance between "The Moonshine Can" and "The Moose Song." As will be seen, in the hands of Wilf Doyle, the melodic convergence of the two songs was taken a step further.

Wilf Doyle recorded "The Moose Song" in about 1970 with his wife, Christine, on a longplaying disc entitled, The Mighty Churchill (Taft, Regional Discography 10). As Wilf told me when I interviewed him about this, the couple's source for the song was Peacock's book (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 1). They were looking for songs to add to their repertoire and chose "The Moose Song" because poaching was on the increase in Newfoundland at the time. The Doyles' recording of the song was a commercial success and was played frequently on the radio. Hence, as Wilf remarked, "The Moose Song" became "a bread and butter kind of a song" for them (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 11).

Some of Wilf's other comments suggest that it was not simply the commercial potential of "The Moose Song" which appealed to him. He described how, as he believed, he had met George Croucher when he was in Port aux Basques in about 1975. Wilf recalled Croucher as being "up in his seventies" and just as he had imagined. According to Wilf, "you get a picture in your mind" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/pp. 1-2) and, as in Wilf's mind, Croucher turned out to be "a true Newfoundlander" who worked as a woodsman and a

fisherman. Furthermore, Wilf stressed, the incident narrated in the song had really happened to Croucher in his younger days and Croucher had made up a song about it, fitting the words to the melody of "The Moonshine Can" in parallel with the way in which many of the older people made up songs (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 2).

Doyle's recollection of Croucher as a 70-year-old man is, however, somewhat puzzling because Croucher was born in 1926 and was therefore about the same age as Doyle himself. Croucher had apparently always disliked fishing, moreover, and at the age of 26 had got work with Canadian National Marine in Port aux Basques where he continued to be employed until he retired (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 21). Croucher also had no memory of meeting Doyle, although he did remember meeting Edison Williams, the other commercial performer to record "The Moose Song" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 23). One wonders, then, if it was Croucher's father whom Doyle encountered, as he would have been aged 79 in 1975, although his first name was Frederick, not George (Census 1945).

The text of "The Moose Song" as sung by Christine Doyle on the Doyles' recording is almost identical to that printed in Peacock's book, confirming that this was their source for the song. The variations introduced in their version are quite minor, such as changing the name, and thus the sex, of Izzy Walters to "Lizzie Walters," describing the moose as "lame" rather than "tame," and

omitting the word "b'y [boy]" in the phrase, "It's going to pay the squealer b'y,"
in the final line of the song.

The vocal line is accompanied on the recording by Wilf Doyle on the
electric organ, and others on acoustic guitar and string bass. The instruments
provide a short introduction at the beginning of the song and a break, equivalent
to the length of one stanza, halfway through, between the fourth and fifth
quatrains. The reason for Doyle's use of the organ instead of his more usual
button accordion in the instrumental line-up was connected with the vocal range
of the song, as he explained:

> It's got a [big] range. [So] that it goes very low and
> very high. I know I had a lot of singers with me that
> couldn't sing it, you know. The range was big. Well,
> they could sing it but . . . you had to get it in a
> special key. . . . Some people can't even get a key
> that is comfortable. . . . A lot of people don't sing it
> for that reason. . . .
> This is what we found about it because like my wife
> sang it. She didn't sing "The Moonshine Can," but
> this "Moose Song." And I used both the button
> accordion[s] for backing up records. Because . . . I
> wants to sound traditional Newfoundland. But on this
> particular "Moose Song" I had to use-. I got
> electronic organ. And [my wife] did it in E. And I had
> to do it on the organ because you can't buy a button
> accordion in E. It's in G and D. And (E) was the only
> key that she could sing it in (MUNFLA Tape 85-
> 257/C8286).

These comments are particularly interesting in the light of the melody
employed by the Doyles for, in its A phrase, it is not that printed in Peacock's

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THE MOOSE SONG

Wilf Doyle & His Orchestra

Upheat   to   Bar   9

book, nor that of Croucher, but that of the mass-mediated tune of "The Moonshine Can" first associated with Omar Blondahl. The substitution of the phrase results in an overall range for the melody of a perfect 11th, a semitone smaller than that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" and Peacock's version of the tune of "The Moose Song." It may be for this reason that the Doyles substituted the A phrase from the mass-mediated melody for Peacock's "Moose Song" tune, despite the fact that even the former was difficult for Wilf Doyle's singers to pitch comfortably. The notable thing about the pitching of the song in E, as described by Wilf Doyle and borne out by the recording, is that it results in Christine Doyle singing as low as E below middle C which, by the standards of Western art music at least, is low for a woman's voice.

The substitution of the A phrase from the mass-mediated tune of "The Moonshine Can," for both the A and A' phrases of the "Moose Song" melody as published by Peacock transforms the latter from a hybrid form of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" to a version of the mass-mediated melody, albeit combined with what was earlier identified as the B phrase of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can."[15] Nevertheless, that the substitution of the A phrase of the mass-mediated melody was made is significant because it indicates that, although Peacock's melody was not quite the same as that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can," its resemblance to it, and the mass-mediated melody,

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[15]That is, with scalar movement in its second bar.

was sufficiently clear to the Doyles to have prompted the change. It is not known whether the substitution was made consciously or not but if, as argued in the previous chapter, the mass-mediated melody originated with Blondahl, it is likely that the Doyles picked up its distinctive A phrase from him. They had, after all, been friendly with Blondahl whilst he was in Newfoundland and Wilf Doyle himself had made a recording of the "Moonshine Can" melody played on the button accordion in 1958, shortly after the song was popularised by Blondahl.

The recording of "The Moose Song" by Edison Williams was made in about 1972, only a few years after the Doyles recorded their version (Taft, Regional Discography 53). The song is included on Williams' album, Roving Again, a sequel to his earlier disc, The Roving Newfoundlander. Both the text and tune of Williams' version of "The Moose Song" reveal that he learnt it directly from the Doyles' recording. Thus, he preserves the textual changes which distinguish the Doyles' text from that printed in Peacock's book. Williams also introduces several minor textual changes of his own, such as modifying the opening phrase to "Come all ye," instead of "Come all you," the addition of the word, "he," in the clause, "and he turned and walked away" (quatrain 5), and the variation of the magistrate's speech in quatrain 7 from "and did you understand" to "now do you understand."

Like the Doyles, Williams employs the A phrase of the mass-mediated

THE MOOSE SONG

Edison Williams

A

♩ = 100-104
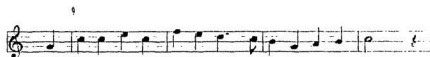
VARIATION   Bar 6   Bar 10

tune of "The Moonshine Can" in "The Moose Song," but in combination with the B phrase associated with the mass-mediated tune of Omar Blondahl as well. Thus, in Williams' version, the melody of "The Moose Song" has become the same as that of "The Moonshine Can" in its mass-mediated form, although with G-C' upbeats for each phrase rather than the repeated upper tonic upbeats found in Doyle's "Moose Song" melody and Blondahl's "Moonshine Can" tune. Apart from this, Williams' rendition of the melody makes less use of syncopated rhythms than that of the Doyles and is backed by an accordion, guitar and mandolin. These instruments also provide a short introduction to the song and bridging phrase between each stanza.

Thus, from the time of its composition to the early 1970s, it can be seen from the versions surveyed that the melody of "The Moose Song" developed from a much-modified version of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" to a version of the latter song's mass-mediated tune. The catalyst and perhaps even the trigger for this process seems to have been Peacock's published version of "The Moose Song." This added the A phrase proper from the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" to Croucher's tune and thereby produced a four-phrase melodic stanza similar in form and contour to that of "The Moonshine Can." This in turn brought about a change from couplet to quatrain units of text. Following from this, the Doyles substituted the A phrase from the mass-mediated tune of "The Moonshine Can" for both the traditional

tune's A phrase and Croucher's version of that phrase. They nevertheless retained the B phrase as found in the versions of Peacock and Croucher, and as found in the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can." Finally, in Edison Williams' version, this phrase was also modified, making it accord with the mass-mediated tune of "The Moonshine Can." It is interesting to note that the resemblance of the two tunes was most attenuated when the connection between the songs was least conscious, that is, in Croucher's mind. Conversely, the resemblance became increasingly manifest in the hands of Peacock, the Doyles and Edison Williams who, one assumes, were more conscious of the link.

"The Men of 9.13"

Another song with which the melody of "The Moonshine Can" has been associated is "The Men of 9.13," also known as "The Time of 9.13" and "The Nine-Thirteen Men." This song is about a record-breaking time set in 1901 at the Annual Regatta on Quidi Vidi (sometimes pronounced "Kitty Vitty") Lake in the east end of St. John's.[16] In contrast to the songs discussed hitherto in this chapter, however, the association between "The Men of 9.13" song and the

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[16]For more information about the history of the Regatta, see Higgins, English, "Regatta History" and "Regatta Memories," the unsigned Decks Awash article, "The Oldest Sports Event in North America," the anonymously written typescript in the possession of the St. John's Regatta Archives, "The Annual St. John's Regatta," and MUNFLA Tape 70-26/C731, Ms. 74-162.

"Moonshine Can" melody has been a relatively loose one. Indeed, the evidence suggests that "The Men of 9.13" was originally composed as a poem which was subsequently combined with a variety of different tunes, one of which was the "Moonshine Can" melody. Yet, as will be seen, the circumstances which led to the combination of this particular tune and the poem remain something of a mystery.

The earliest known version of "The Men of 9.13" appeared in the "Special Regatta Edition" of The Newfoundland Quarterly in 1954. The "poem about the Record Race," as it is described in the magazine's editorial (3), is attributed to L.E.F. English, OBE, and was apparently composed, not just contributed, by him. Several aspects of Leo Edward Francis English's biography support this supposition. Born in 1887, in Job's Cove, Conception Bay, English became a schoolteacher and, in the period 1922-1935, a schools inspector (Janes, "English"). In the latter job, English travelled all over Newfoundland and, according to his nephew, Andrew English, during this time became interested in Newfoundland folklore and local history (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 3). He began to collect stories, especially those about local heroism and bravery, and songs, some of which he later published (MUNFLA 84-570, Mercer, "A Bio-Bibliography" 90-94). In addition, English composed his own poems and "ballads," many clearly being based on stories which he had heard in the outports. Thus, for example, he wrote "The Ballad of Big John Moore" about Tom Bousain, a giant

man in Little Harbour, "The Ballad of Sheila NaGeira" based on the legend of the Irish "princess" who settled in Conception Bay (cf. Halpert, "Ireland" 147), a poem about Willie George Johnson, a man from Job's Cove who was awarded a gold medal for bravery, and "The Ballad of William Jackman" about a man who helped to rescue people from a wrecked ship in Labrador (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/pp. 3-6). In celebrating the feats of Newfoundlanders in this way, and in collecting items of their local culture, English seems to have been emulating the example of his friend, Joseph Smallwood, who, as The Barrelman on a radio programme of that name in the years 1937-1943, had used similar narrative material to "prove . . . that Newfoundlanders have courage, brains, strength, [and] great powers of endurance" (quoted in Narváez, "Joseph R. Smallwood" 53).[18]

English's poem, "The Nine-Thirteen Men" (over) recounts and celebrates a race which took place at the 1901 St. John's Regatta in which a crew of fishermen from the nearby settlement of Outer Cove covered the 1.6 miles of the course in the time of nine minutes and 13 4/5 seconds. At the time that English wrote his poem, the record had stood for over fifty years.[19] Thus, it was exactly

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[18]Indeed, English was also co-publisher of the book, Stories of Newfoundland, with Smallwood (Mercer, "A Bio-Bibliography" 90, MUNFLA 88-67/p. 4).

[19]The record was not in fact broken until 1981, ten years after English's death.

THE NINE THIRTEEN MEN

1. Come all who love a manly sport and listen while we tell
   Of a famous oldtime racing crew that in Outer Cove did dwell,
   And down on Kitty Vitty Lake were the finest ever seen
   When they rowed the old Blue Peter in the time of nine thirteen.

2. Oh! well do we remember, boys, that far Regatta time
   With fortune wheels and hop beer carts and old Dobbin in his prime,
   With pork and cabbage dinners too, and for lunch an old crubeen,
   Our bets were done and our sweepstakes won when they made the 9.13.

3. The morning race for fishermen was taken by Torbay,
   Those stalwart lads from Outer Cove went grim faced all that day,
   They swore they'd win the championship and have revenge full keen
   With Sexton's old Blue Peter, boys, and a record nine thirteen.

4. Now of that crew from Outer Cove John Whalen was the stroke,
   John Nugent, two McCarthy boys, Mart Boland and Din Croke,
   Walt Power was their coxswain bold and he knew his men, I ween,
   When he drove her round the course that day in the time of 9.13.

5. The gun was fired and yellow spray was seen on either hand
   As cheers broke out and the band struck up "The Banks of Newfoundland."
   'Twas nip and tuck right to the stakes and with muscles taut and lean
   Out [sic] heroes won by half a length in the time of nine thirteen.

6. We're getting old and passing years must bring a fond regret
   For greasy pole and old square dance are the things that men forget.
   Our dying wish when we take off on the trip to Fiddler's Green -
   They'll ferry souls where Jordan rolls, those men of nine thirteen.

the kind of example of native achievement in which he was interested. The style of the poem, on the other hand, is not as one might expect to have come from the pen of a formally educated man such as English. Rather, it is reminiscent in a number of ways of the songs which English would have heard sung in the outports. It is, for example, simply constructed of rhyming couplets grouped in pairs by common subject matter to form quatrains. In addition, the end of each stanza is marked by a reference to the record-breaking time, "nine thirteen," a reiterative device characteristic of some traditional songs, such as "The Banks of Sweet Dundee."[19] There is also an instance of internal rhyme in the clause, "Our bets were done and our sweepstakes won" in the final line of stanza 2. Meanwhile, the opening clause, "Come all who love a manly sport," is clearly based on the "Come all you/ye" opening formula of many traditional songs, and the ensuing exhortation to "listen while we tell" is also a variation of a well known broadside ballad and local song formula, although it is usually found in the first person singular rather than the first person plural. Lastly, the use of grammatically and semantically redundant words to introduce some stanzas, such as "Oh" in stanza 2 and "Now" in stanza 4, and the occasional parenthetical address to the "boys" in the audience (stanzas 2 and 3) are further reminiscent of local songs where such words may be used to help provide the

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[19]This song is also known as "Undaunted Mary" (Laws, **American Balladry** M25). For examples, see Leach, Labrador 60, Lehr 12.

correct number of textual syllables for the rhythm of the tune.

Despite being published as a poem, therefore, "The Nine Thirteen Men" seems to have been deliberately fashioned by English in the manner of a traditional song. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that English composed it in this way in the very hope that his poem would be picked up by local singers and would thereby enter local singing tradition. He was already an authority on a number of well known native songs and, in an essay on Newfoundland folksong, showed himself to be an admirer of the balladeer, John Burke, and of H. Le Messurier who composed "The Girl from Toslow," a song also known as "The Ryans and the Pittmans" (MUNFLA Ms. 84-570/pp. 386-414). In particular, one wonders if English was trying to emulate the example of Art Scammell about whose song, "Squid Jigging Ground," English wrote the following:

> Scammel [sic] is another songwriter whose name will be spoken down though ages yet to be. One has to know intimately the scene which he so strikingly portrayed in the "Squid Jigging Ground" in order to fully appreciate the human touch which he made with a master hand. Carlyle once said that genius was an infinite capacity for taking pains. When this fulness [sic] of detail is linked with likeable song, the result is a masterpiece (MUNFLA Ms. 84-570/p. 397).

"The Nine Thirteen Men" is certainly a detailed evocation of both the race in which the 9.13 record was set and the fairground attractions which characterised the Regatta at the turn of the century. Amongst the song's many allusions is the name of the boat in which the Outer Cove crew set the record,

the Blue Peter (stanzas 1, 3). This was a six-oared, fixed-seat shell constructed by a local boat builder, Bob Sexton, whose name is mentioned in stanza 3. Despite the fact that English refers to the boat as the "old Blue Peter," revealing his retrospective standpoint, 1901 was the boat's first year "on the pond" (Higgins 14, Hunt). The sequence of events on the day on which the record was made is set out in stanzas 3-5 of the poem. A crew from Torbay, a settlement adjacent to Outer Cove, had beaten the Outer Cove crew in the Fishermen's Race in the morning. Those crews who had attained the best times during the day, however, rowed against each other in the final Championship Race. Thus, the Outer Cove crew, who were fierce rivals with the Torbay men, had the chance to compete with Torbay again. In fact, the two crews were the only participants in the Championship race ("Outer Cove Crew"). The crews consisted of seven men, three rowing on the bow side, three on the stroke side, and the coxswain. The full names of the Outer Cove crew members were Martin Boland (No.1), John Nugent (No.2), Dennis ("Din") Croke (No.3), Dennis ("Din") McCarthy (No. 4), Daniel ("Dan") McCarthy (No.5), John Whalen (stroke),[20] and

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[20]The stroke led the other oarsmen in the kind of oar movements to be employed:

> Well, the stroke is a man sitting in the bottom of the boat, you know. The fellow sits right down by the coxswain. And he strokes the boat. He's the most important man in the boat, you know. . . . He has to lead the oars, you know. . . . Well, that'd be up to the coxswain to tell them for to shorten or to

Walter Power (coxswain) (MUNFLA Tape Stack, Ms. 88-67/p. 13, "Outer Cove Crew"). As recounted in stanza 5, the starter's gun began the race and, as was traditional at the Regatta, the band played the tune, "The Banks of Newfoundland," as the crews rowed the course (MUNFLA Ms. 74-162/p. 4; Emerson 1: 237). The course itself involved the boats rowing the length of the lake, from the stakes to the buoys, and back again. On this particular occasion, the Outer Cove crew apparently gained their half-length advantage at the buoys ("Outer Cove Crew"), but the race was very close, as English's phrase, "nip and tuck" ("neck and neck") indicates. As a result, both crews beat the previous record which stood at 9.20 ("Official Championship Time[s]"). Part of the heroism which English attributes to the winning crew in stanza 5 no doubt derives from the fact that those who performed this feat were a group of local fishermen whose peak physical condition stemmed in large part from the demands of their daily life and occupation:

> . . . they were practising all the time then because-.
> They were all fishermen, see. And they had no
> engines then. They had to row (for) fishing, you
> know. And they'd go fishing and they'd have to row
> to the fishing ground and back again. And then

> lengthen [and] (stuff like that). Or fasten the stroke,
> you know. And he has to be able to do that in the
> race, you know. . . . The fellows ahead of [the
> stroke] then just follow his strokes, you know
> (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

they'd have to walk out to Quidi Vidi Pond because,
as you know, there was no cars on the go then. And
they'd walk out and they'd row the race and walk
home again. You know, because their practice [was]
in the evenings (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

Stanzas 2 and 6 of English's poem are a nostalgic portrayal of the

Regatta as it was at the time of the record-breaking race. Then, as now, the

Regatta was a local holiday akin to the wakes, fairs and race days which took

place in the British Isles and America (Mercer, **Newfoundland Songs** 21).

Among the attractions in the past were wheels of fortune, fortune tellers,

magicians, dancing on the bandstand, the greasy pig and the greasy pole:

That used to be a pole that you used to have out on
the water. . . . I remember that, the greasy pole. I
remembers them people being on it. Jeez. They had
spikes in their shoes and that, you know. . . . Two
used to get on it . . . facing each other like that. And
they sort of go backwards or forwards (off), and then
they stop. . . . The idea was try to get the other fellow
into the water first. Whoever got into the water, they
generally wind up the two of them, they be's in the
water at one time. You know, that's generally the
way it used to be, yeah. Like that.
Then they had a pig over there then. A small pig.
And the pig was all greased too. And anyone that
could hold onto the pig, they'd get five dollars.
[You'd] (See) people with blue serge suits on, half
drunk, you know, or three parts drunk, trying to get
the pig, you know.
. . . . There used to be [a dancing gallery] to the side
of the pond [i.e. lake] and one up to the head of the
pond. Dancing galleries. And that'd be blocked for
the whole day. Then there was an old fellow by the
name of Finnegan, Hughie Finnegan. He used to
play the tin whistle. Boy, could he ever play the tin

whistle. I never heard nothing like it (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8728; cf. MUNFLA Tapes 70-26/C731, 87-112/C14611).

There was also betting on the racing itself and games of "Housey" (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8728, Ms. 74-162/p. 34). Food, such as the crubeens (boiled pig's hocks) referred to in stanza 2, and drink were served throughout the day (MUNFLA Ms. 74-162/p. 34). Alcoholic drinks in particular were freely available, such as the hop beer also mentioned in stanza 2. Indeed, although not mentioned by English in the poem, the alcohol consumption which characterised the day often led to fights (MUNFLA Ms. 74-162/pp. 6, 33).

The distance in time between the event celebrated in "The Nine Thirteen Men" and the time of its composition, plus its overtly nostalgic tone, clearly differentiate the poem from the Newfoundland local songs made up outside St. John's, like "The Moonshine Can" and those studied earlier in this chapter. Yet, many of the features of English's poem are characteristic of other poems and songs made up about the Regatta (cf. Kirwin 138). The Regatta seems to have been a focus for nostalgia, for example, as early as 1913 when the St. John's balladeer, James Murphy, wrote "Regatta Memories" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 8).[21] Likewise, there are several precedents for English's concluding reference

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[21]Cf. "Regatta Musings of the Past" by Blue Peter II [pseudonym], (1925), "Old Time Regatta" by Ed Gorper (1921), "Old Times at the Regatta" Anon. (1954), "In the Good Old Regatta Days" by "H.F." (n.d.) (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/pp. 12, 14-15, 17-18, 32-33).

to the "men of nine thirteen" ferrying souls across the River Jordan to the Promised Land[22] as, for example, in a poem dedicated "To A. Hiscock, Pres[ident], Reg[atta] Comm[ittee]," by Heather Belle [pseudonym], (1925):

> Now when they will be knowing that in Charon's boat
> you're going,
> Leaving like the lot of all men for to cross o'er
> Jordan's tide,
> They will pray you may be meeting your old friends
> and get a greeting
> From them as you did often down by the old lakeside
> (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 10; cf. p. 8).

The side shows and competitions, such as the fortune wheel and the greasy pole, as well as the food and drink available, including the "crubeens," are all specifically mentioned in other Regatta poems too (MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/pp. 8, 12, 14-15). The record-breaking race itself was also a regular feature in Regatta poetry, English's poem seeming to echo in particular another poem composed on the retirement of the boat, the Blue Peter, in 1922:

> And these brave men who rowed you when the Lake
> you first went on it,
> Whose time as yet has not been bet, the quickest yet
> e'er seen;
> Those fisher Lads, as toughs as gads, from Outer
> Cove who won it;
> Cheers they gave for those men brave who made the
> 9.13 ("The Blue Peter," MUNFLA Ms. 91-462/p. 13.
> Emphases added).

Again, given English's interest in native balladry, it seems likely he would have

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[22]The River Jordan is the Christian equivalent of the River Styx, being seen as separating the world from the Promised Land (Brewer 616).

been familiar with at least some of these Regatta compositions and may have sought to emulate them in his own poem.

As far as is known, Leo English was never a member of the Regatta Committee (O'Mara). Yet, he was clearly something of an authority on the Regatta, as his article, "Regatta History," which appeared in the Regatta Programme of 1955 shows. It is interesting to note that the article is tinged with a nostalgic tone similar to that found in his poem of the year before:

> The greasy pole and the old square dance have passed into the limbo of forgotten things. Motor cars crowd the roads that lead to Quidi Vidi Lake. A crew from the USA airforce takes the championship race. The fishermen no longer use stout spruce oars and the motor engine makes fishing a comparative[ly] easy task. Times have changed, but on Regatta Day all roads lead to the Pond.

The concern expressed both here and in the poem with the passing of former things and the fading of past experience in human memory may be a clue as to why English wrote his poem concerning "The Nine Thirteen Men." With the advent of Newfoundland's confederation with Canada and its concomitant acceleration of the pace of change in the province, it may be that the nostalgia already associated with the Regatta took on added significance.[23] Against this background, English's article portrays the Regatta as an institution enduring in

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[23]It may be significant in this context that during the period following Newfoundland's confederation with Canada, English was asked to write a series of articles about Newfoundland in pre-Confederation times for Colliers Magazine (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 4).

the midst of the changes that have taken place both within it and, perhaps more broadly, in life outside it. The unbeaten record of 9.13 thus represents a link between the Regatta of the past and that of the present. As stated in stanza 2 of the poem, the record was a legacy of "that far Regatta time," which was the time of English's youth and a time which has clearly taken on the connotation of "the good old days," perhaps even "the good old pre-Confederation days," in the poem. It is notable that a similar phrase, "Moonshine Time," was introduced into the final stanza of "The Moonshine Can" by Omar Blondahl in 1955, the year following the appearance of English's poem, again suggesting a concern with time, or the times, in this period immediately following confederation, and the tendency to perceive certain activities and events as representative of pre-Confederation time in Newfoundland.

Although, as shown, it seems certain that "The Nine Thirteen Men" originated with Leo English as a poem, a number of people knew it as a song which they believed to have been composed by a woman named Mrs. Mary Stack (née Caddigan), a resident of Outer Cove (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8285, 86-170/C8727, Ms. 88-67/p. 13).[24] This is probably due to the fact that, following its appearance in the "Special Regatta Edition" of The Newfoundland

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[24]Although she lived in Outer Cove, Mrs. Stack was originally from the nearby settlement of Logy Bay (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611). It is likely that Outer Cove was her husband's community and that she moved there when she got married.

THE MEN OF 9.13

1. Come all who like the manly sport and listen while I tell,
   Of the famous old-time racing crew in Outer Cove did dwell.
   Down on Kitty Vitty Lake were the finest ever seen
   When they rowed the old Blue Peter in the time of 9.13.

2. Oh well do I remember that far Regatta Time,
   With Fortune Wheels and Hop Beer cars and old Dobbin in his prime,
   And the pork and cabbage dinner and for lunch the old crubeen
   The bets were down and sweepstakes won when they made the 9.13.

3. The morning race for fishermen was taken by Torbay,
   Those stalwart men from Outer Cove were grim faced all that day,
   They swore they'd win the Championship and have revenge full keen,
   In Sexton's old Blue Peter, boys with the record, 9.13.

4. Now of that crew from Outer Cove John Whelan was the stroke,
   Jack Nugent, two McCarthy boys, Mart Boland and Din Croke,
   Walter Power, their coxwain [sic] bold, he knew his men would win
   When he drove around the course that day in the time of 9.13.

5. The gun was fired and mellow spray was seen on either hand,
   The cheers broke out, the band struck up "The Banks of Newfoundland."
   'Twas nip and tuck right to the stakes, with muscles tough and lean,
   Our heroes won by half a length, in the time of 9.13.

6. I'm getting old, and passing years now bring a fond regret
   Of greasy poles, and old square dance and the things that men forget.
   But my dying wish, when I take off, on a trip to fiddler's [sic] green
   They'll ferry souls where garden rolls those men of 9.13.

Quarterly in 1954, the words were reprinted under the title "The Men of 9.13" in the Regatta Programme of 1962 with the performance direction, "Tune of Moonshine Can" at the beginning, and the attribution "Mrs. Michael Stack, Sr., Outer Cove" at the end (MS1). On the evidence of her son, however, and of several other people who knew her, it seems that Mrs. Stack was the principal singer, rather than the composer, of "The Men of 9.13," in Outer Cove. According to her son, Michael Stack junior., "She used to sing that all the time," and "She was the only one that knew that song as far as I can remember" (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611; cf. Ms. 86-170/C8727). Likewise, the daughter of Martin Boland, Mrs. Nellie Smart, remembered Mrs. Stack as "always" singing the song, particularly at Christmas and on other festive occasions (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 13). Whilst Mrs. Stack did not compose the poem, therefore, it may be that she was responsible for setting it to a melody and performing it as a song. Certainly, the subject matter of the poem would have been of particular significance to an Outer Cove audience, and as a song, the words of the poem would have been more conducive to performance, especially in the context of informal social gatherings.

Whilst this theory accounts for the transformation of the poem into a song, and for the confusion over the part played by Mrs. Stack in the song's composition, it still does not explain the connection of the poem with the tune of "The Moonshine Can," for it seems that Mrs. Stack did not sing "The Men of

9.13" to this tune at all. Michael Stack junior, made it clear to me that his mother had known and performed the song, "The Moonshine Can," but the melody which she used for "The Men of 9.13" was different, although not completely dissimilar. Hence, with reference to a later commercial recording of "The Men of 9.13," discussed below, in which the song is sung to tune of "The Moonshine Can," he commented:

> "The song [that] you see now [the version recorded by the Kitty Vitty Minstrels], "The Nine Thirteen," they haven't got the same air to it as my mother had, you know. . . . But 'tis something like the same air, you know. But it isn't quite the same (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

Michael Stack's observations are borne out by the only known tape recording of Mrs. Stack singing "The Men of 9.13" (MS2). This recording dates from circa 1972 when Mrs. Stack was aged around 90, and it was made by members of the group, the Kitty Vitty Minstrels, whose own connection with the song is examined below (MUNFLA Tapes 86-170/C8728, 87-112/C14611). An analysis of the transcription of this performance shows that Mrs. Stack's melody consists of two basic phrases, combined in the form ABA'B'. Each phrase is plagal in its range with cadences on the sixth degree of the scale, the fifth, the sixth and the upper tonic respectively. It follows from these facts that the overall contour of Mrs. Stack's melody must be significantly different from that of the melodies associated with "The Moonshine Can." There are, nevertheless, specific points

[THE MEN OF 9.13] (MS1)

D flat

Mrs. Mary Stack

of similarity between Mrs. Stack's melody and the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can," as Michael Stack appears to have noticed. The first halves of Mrs. Stack's A phrases, for example, are reminiscent of the corresponding section of the B phrase of the "Moonshine Can" tune. In addition, her B phrase extends to the fourth above the upper tonic (F' in the transcription), although this occurs two crotchet beats earlier than in the B phrase of "The Moonshine Can." The most striking resemblance between the two tunes, however, occurs in the second half of phrase B' in Mrs. Stack's melody which is identical to the second half of phrase B in the "Moonshine Can" tune. Thus, it is the B phrase of the latter with which the "9.13" melody of Mrs. Stack has melodic parallels, although there is a general rhythmic similarity between the two tunes throughout.

Jim Ring of the Kitty Vitty Minstrels has identified Mrs. Stack's melody as the same as the tune which he associated with the song, "Paddle Your Own Canoe":

> . . . it was the title of the song that we used to sing years and years ago. . . I'm after forgetting that song but I know that was the title of the one that they used to sing going out, years and years ago. I used to take the 'ccordion over on the bridge when we were all growing up, you know? And there was a big old wooden bridge over (there) and, in the night time that's where we all used to gather to up there, you know. And I'd be playing the 'ccordion, we'd be dancing out there sometime in the morning. All the boys and girls. . . . And "When you gets tired and weary and sit down and cry" or something like that (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8728).

The song is in fact "No, My Boy, Not I."[25] According to Fowke, the tune, which is known as "The Crooked Stovepipe" and which is also associated with the song, "The Gatineau Girls," probably came from a vaudeville song (Lumbering Songs 190-91).

The fact that, as far as Jim Ring knew, Mrs. Stack was the only person who sang "The Men of 9.13" to this melody may bear out the idea that it was Mrs. Stack who was responsible for combining Leo English's poem with a tune and making it into a song. If so, this task was no doubt facilitated by the fact that she was an accomplished local singer with a large repertoire, including some "real old time songs" and "old Irish songs" (MUNFLA Tapes 86-170/C8728, 87-112/C14611). It is not known specifically how Mrs. Stack came into contact with English's poem, but it was readily available to the public in the magazine, The Newfoundland Quarterly, and would clearly have been of particular interest to the people of Outer Cove since it concerned their record-breaking crew. If The Newfoundland Quarterly was Mrs. Stack's source, however, her text, as printed in the 1962 Regatta Programme (MS1), contains a number of variations on English's poem. These include the replacement of all but one of the first person plural usages by the first person singular (sts .1, 2,

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[25]Peacock, Outports 1: 304, Leach, Labrador 280; cf. Fowke, Lumbering Songs 194-96.

6),[26] the use of the indefinite article instead of the definite article in many places (sts. 1, 2, 3), and the weakening of the internal rhyme, "done"/"won," in the final line of stanza 2 with the change of the word "done" to "down." In addition, in stanza 3, the crew are no longer "stalwart lads," as in English's text, but "stalwart men," and in stanza 4, several of their names have been modified slightly, John Nugent to Jack Nugent and Walt Power to Walter Power, presumably reflecting the way in which these people were known in Outer Cove itself. Not surprisingly, English's highly literary phrase, "I ween," in stanza 4 has also been changed in MS1, to "would win." In contrast to this, though, the nonsensical phrase "mellow spray" has been substituted for "yellow spray" in stanza 5 of MS1, and the phrase "where garden rolls" substituted for "where Jordan rolls" in stanza 6. Given the coherency of Mrs. Stack's text elsewhere, one wonders if it represents a transcription made from Mrs. Stack's singing by someone else who at these points misheard her words. This is borne out by the tape-recorded performance of Mrs. Stack (MS2) in which she undoubtedly sings "yellow spray" and "where Jordan rolls" as in English's poem. Indeed, there are several other textual differences between MS1 and MS2 which could be indicative of the intervention of another person in the text of MS1. In MS2, for example, Mrs. Stack sings "Quidi Vidi," with a diphthong on the initial vowel of

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[26]The exception is in the final line of stanza 6 where the first person plural is retained with the use of the possessive pronoun, "our."

each word, whereas this has been transcribed with a short vowel as "Kitty Vitty" in MS1, the same as in The Newfoundland Quarterly text. The lead by which the race was won is also different in MS2, being "a boat length" not just "half a length" as in MS1 and English's text.

It is possible, therefore, that the text which was printed in the 1962 Regatta Programme and which was attributed to Mrs. Stack represents a transcription by another person. Yet, there are few clues as to who this person was and how he or she came into contact with Mrs. Stack. An occurrence mentioned by Michael Stack may be of significance in this regard:

> She used to sing it a lot. I remember one time that
> they had a party up to the-. . . . For the Councils up
> in the (Canada/Commodore) [?]. And she sung it for
> the mayor up there. One of the mayors. I think 'twas
> Mayor (M?) or Mayor Adams or some of them. For
> Canada, yeah (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).[27]

In addition, the fact that the song appeared in the Regatta Programme suggests that it may have been a member of the 1962 Regatta Committee who transcribed the song from Mrs. Stack. If so, however, it is surprising that the person appears to have been unaware of Leo English's connection with the poem.

The puzzle concerning the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the text of "The Men of 9.13" attributed to Mrs. Stack in the Regatta

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[27]Michael Stack also mentioned that his mother wrote the words of the song down for other people, including "Canadian people" (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

Programme creates, in turn, a puzzle as to how the tune of "The Moonshine Can" came to be connected with the song and, specifically, with the text attributed to Mrs. Stack. As already mentioned, her repertoire also included "The Moonshine Can," and the latter's tune has some similarities with that sung by Mrs. Stack for "The Men of 9.13." Hence, it is possible that she confused the two tunes on the occasion that her text was transcribed, singing the "Moonshine Can" melody instead of the "Paddle You Own Canoe" one.[28] It is equally possible that the person who transcribed the song mistook the tune sung by Mrs. Stack. Alternatively, the transcriber may have chosen to associate the "9.13" text with the "Moonshine Can" tune because it was a well known tune at the time which fitted the words. It is certainly true that the period between the publication of English's poem in The Newfoundland Quarterly and its appearance in the Regatta Programme coincided almost exactly with the period in which Omar Blondahl was popularising "The Moonshine Can" through his performances on radio and disc. In the period just prior to this, moreover, the song had become associated with Biddy O'Toole, herself a native of Quidi Vidi, and the strongly Irish-Newfoundland show, The Barn Dance. This would have

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[28] It is unlikely that Mrs. Stack actually changed over completely from one melody to the other, however. For a start, the Regatta Programme text associated with the "Moonshine Can" tune, and that recorded by the Kitty Vitty Minstrels are separated by a period of only ten years. In addition, Michael Stack was sure that his mother had never changed the tune of the "9.13" song (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611).

made the tune particularly apt for the Regatta since it too had a pronounced Irish-Newfoundland association. "The Moonshine Can" may also have been perceived as an "old-time" song concerned, like "The Men of 9.13" with the events of yesteryear, in other words, pre-Confederation times in Newfoundland. It is, therefore, conceivable that the "The Men of 9.13" was at some time transcribed from Mrs. Stack's singing and later included in the 1962 Regatta Programme, when it was linked to the melody of "The Moonshine Can" because of the latter's extra-textual associations with the pre-Confederation period, The Barn Dance, and the Quidi Vidi singer, Biddy O'Toole.

Whilst this explanation appears plausible on the evidence presented so far, it does not square with the testimony of both Michael Stack and Jim Ring that "The Men of 9.13" was an old song which each man remembered from his youth. Stack, for example, described it as "an old, old song" which he believed pre-dated "The Moonshine Can" and which he said he remembered hearing as a boy (MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8285, 87-112/C14611). Indeed, Stack could recollect his mother singing the song for members of the 1901 crew, recalling, in particular, that "My mother often sang it for John Whalen. And he joined in with her, you know" (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611). Likewise, Ring recalled "Well, since I was that high I heard it, you know. . . . I grew up with it like" (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8727).

Since Michael Stack was born in 1922 (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611)

and Ring in 1912 (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 68), their testimony puts the date of the song's composition significantly earlier than 1954, the year it appeared in The Newfoundland Quarterly. Although the nostalgic tone of the poem makes it highly unlikely that it was composed contemporaneously with the event, it is possible that it was composed a decade or two later since, as already mentioned, there is evidence of nostalgia surrounding the 1901 race and the Regatta of those times from at least 1922. Alternatively, Stack and Ring may have been recalling the performance of other songs about the 1901 race to which, as already noted, "The Men of 9.13" bore a number of striking resemblances. Either way, there is a chance that the melody of "The Moonshine Can" was associated with "The Men of 9.13" or a similar Regatta song prior to the appearance of Mrs . Stack's text in the 1962 Regatta Programme.

The version of the "9.13" song published two years later by Omar Blondahl. in his collection, Newfoundlanders Sing!, is, meanwhile, set to another tune entirely. While the text printed by Blondahl has been taken directly from English's poem as it appeared in The Newfoundland Quarterly, it seems that the accompanying music notation is a composite of several melodies. It is unfortunately not altogether clear from Blondahl's accompanying remarks whether these melodies were ones to which the poem was already being sung:

> The poem, "The Nine-Thirteen Men" is taken from the Newfoundland Quarterly magazine of August, 1954. The accompanying air was supplied in parts by

THE NINE-THIRTEEN MEN

C

Omar Blondahl

With Spirit

> various people, no two parts seeming to belong to the same song. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of piecing together these parts, adding and taking away where necessary, so that we may preserve, at least, the excellent poem itself (117).

The most logical reading of these comments seems to be that Blondahl had heard "The Men of 9.13" poem being sung to a variety of melodies. This is quite possible given that the medium of print had played a large part in the dissemination of the poem from at least 1954. As can be seen from the transcription, though, the melody resulting from Blondahl's synthesis of the various tunes which he had heard resembles neither the "Moonshine Can" tune nor Mrs. Stack's melody.

The "9.13" poem was nevertheless associated with the tune of "The Moonshine Can" a second time in the early 1970s when it was recorded as a song, entitled "The Time of 9.13," by The Kitty Vitty Minstrels on their longplaying disc, The Cliffs of Baccalieu.[30] The Kitty Vitty Minstrels consisted of three instrumentalists, namely Pat DeBourke, Jim Ring and his son, Randy Ring, and a singer, Mrs. Kay Ring (née Kavanagh), a daughter-in-law of Jim Ring. Jim Ring, who played the accordion, and Pat DeBourke, a fiddler, had played together previously as members of the cast of a locally produced, 1930s radio programme, The Irene B. Mellon, in which the adventures of an imaginary

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[30]The date of the record is not known but the notes by Ron Pumphrey on the record sleeve imply that it was recorded in the early 1970s.

schooner and her crew were combined with performances by the crew of popular songs of the day and Newfoundland songs (Hiscock, "Folk Process"). According to the sleevenotes by Ron Pumphrey on The Cliffs of Baccalieu album, Ring and DeBourke formed The Kitty Vitty Minstrels to revive the music from The Irene B. Mellon. They also performed some new material, including "The Time of 9.13."

The choice of this song was hardly surprising. Both the Ring family and DeBourke lived in Quidi Vidi and the band's name was no doubt derived from this fact. In addition, Jim Ring and his family had been closely associated with the Regatta for many years, Ring having been both a first class oarsman and a coxswain (Browne, "Skipper's Death").[30] As quoted above, Ring remembered growing up with the song and it clearly had vivid associations for him:

> It brings back a lot of memories too, you know. Yeah. 'Cause . . . (underneath), that song is all about the boys from Outer Cove and where they beat Torbay. And Torbay beat them in the morning and then in the evening, they beat Torbay and made that time. And there's right from the start of the gun until . . . they come back again, you know. Till the gun fired again. There's a sort of a-, they paints a picture of it, like, you know. the 9.13. If you listen to it, you know, you . . . can almost get it that way, like you

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[30]Fittingly, it was a crew which Ring himself coxed which finally broke the 9.13 record in 1981. At the time, Ring commissioned the composition of a new song, "The Grand Time of 9.12.04," about the event. The song was recorded by another band formed by Jim Ring, The Quidi Vidi Ceili Band (Pigeon Inlet, PIP 7312). For further details about the song, see MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8728.

know.

JB: You see a picture of it happening?

That's the way that it's put together. When it's sang,
I mean. It's sort of painting the picture for you, you
know (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8728).

This recalls English's admiring comment on Arthur Scammell's, song, "Squid

Jigging Ground" - "One has to know intimately the scene which he so strikingly

portrayed . . . in order to fully appreciate the human touch which he made with

a master hand." If, as speculated earlier, English was trying to emulate

Scammell's example in "The Nine Thirteen Men," it would seem from Jim Ring's

testimony that he succeeded.

Despite the fact that Ring remembered the song from his youth, there are

a number of indications that The Kitty Vitty Minstrels' source for the song may

have been the 1962 Regatta Programme. Firstly, Ring was one of the people

who, for a number of years at least, believed the song to have been composed

by Mrs. Stack. It was apparently only later that he read "in a book" that it was

by Leo English (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8727). In addition, the words of the

song as sung by The Kitty Vitty Minstrels are almost identical to those attributed

to Mrs. Stack in the Regatta Programme (MS1). Thus, for example, The Kitty

Vitty Minstrels' text preserves the reference to "mellow spray" in stanza 5. In

fact, the only differences between the Minstrels' text and MS1 are their

pronunciation of "Kitty Vitty" as "Quidi Vidi," with a diphthong on the first

syllable of each word, in stanza 1, their omission of the word, "boys," from the final line of stanza 3, their reference to "Martin" rather than "Mart" Boland in stanza 4, their use of the third person plural, rather than the third person singular in the phrase, "When they drove," also in stanza 4, and the substitution of the phrase, "when they made the 9.13," for "in the time of 9.13" at end of stanza 5. In addition, the nonsensical phrase, "where garden rolls" in the final line of stanza 6 appears to have been modified to "where Jordan [pronounced "Jerdan"] rolls" by the Kitty Vitty Minstrels.

A final link between The Kitty Vitty Minstrels' recording of "The Time of 9.13" and the song as printed in the 1962 Regatta Programme is, of course, the Minstrels' use of the "Moonshine Can" melody. As can be seen from the transcription, the version performed by the band is the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can." This suggests that despite the popularisation of the Blondahl melody at the time that the "9.13" text appeared in the Regatta Programme, the members of the band were acquainted with the song from a different source. Given that The Barn Dance singer, Biddy O'Toole, also lived in Quidi Vidi, it is almost certain that a version of the song was circulating there a number of years prior to the appearance of Blondahl's version on the radio. In The Kitty Vitty Minstrels' performance, the song is accompanied on the accordion, mandolin and violin. Thus, the traditional melody of "The Moonshine Can" appears in harmonised form. As shown on the transcription, the harmony consists of tonic

THE TIME OF 9.13

The Kitty Vitty Minstrels

A

♩ = 76-84

(I) and dominant (V) chords, in contrast to that of Omar Blondahl which, it will be recalled, employed tonic, dominant and subdominant (IV) chords.

It can therefore be seen that the "Moonshine Can" melody was only one of several tunes to which "The Men of 9.13" was sung. Furthermore, there is little conclusive evidence as to how the melody and the poem came to be associated. It is nevertheless tempting to speculate that the "old-time" and Irish-Newfoundland associations of "The Moonshine Can," plus its recent identification with a singer from Quidi Vidi, led to its becoming linked to "The Men of 9.13" at the time when the poem was being disseminated through the medium of print. If so, it would seem that in this case it was the extra-textual associations of "The Moonshine Can" which led to its redeployment with the Regatta song, as well as the fact that it was well known and happened to fit the metre of the words.

"The Moonshine Can" - Ruby and Joe Kennedy

Another local composition with the same title as Pat Troy's song is "The Moonshine Can" by Ruby and Josiah ("Joe") Kennedy, a married couple from Paradise, Conception Bay. The song is about Ruby Kennedy's father, Moses ("Mose") Gosse, and his moonshine making. Despite concerning an illegal activity, however, the Kennedys' song is not concerned with an encounter with the law. Rather, it focuses on a person and a series of minor events connected

THE MOONSHINE CAN

1.   I'm going to tell a story, I'll tell it best I can,
It's all about the drop of stuff and how they made the can,
How they made the can, me boys, sure I can hardly tell,
Mosey saundered [sic] up the hole and it done very well.

2.   And now to tell the party, it was Joe Lynch and Mose,
Over in the hen house all mufffled up with clothes,
All muffled up with clothes, me boys, it was a frosty night,
Now and then they'd taste the stuff to make sure it was right.

3.   They always had to stay up late and try to get it done,
Then Mose would brown the sugar up and make it look like rum,
To make it look like rum, me boys, and he could do it well,
They's offer you a drop of stuff but you could always tell.

4.   Now Julle and Annie they'd get mad, they couldn't see it done,
'Cause they'd be in the hen house till sometimes after one,
Till sometimes after one, me boys, it took to get it done,
They had to do it in the night 'cause policemen they might come.

5.   Yeast cake and molasses is what they always used,
The Bullick have his whiskey now, it is his favourite booze,
It is his favorite booze, me boys, but when he's out to dine,
He'll always drink the old John Bull but it's not so good as shine.

6.   When Mose and Round-Boy meets up now they talks about the
still,
And how they made the drop of stuff way up in Flint Hill,
Away up on Flint Hill, me boys, that was another place,
They talk about the good old days when they comes face to face.

7.   Now go down into Paradise and go to Joey's place,
He'll always have a drop of rum for everyone to taste,
For everyone to taste, me boys, but you'll have to take that chance,
Then Round-Boy gets the accordion out for everyone to dance.

8.   Now this is all the story and when they had the still,

Round-Boy down in Paradise and the Bullick in the mill,[32]
The Bullick in the mill, me boys, and Round-Boy sitting low,
When Christmas time comes round again we'll all know where to
go.

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with his moonshine making. This is in contrast to the songs of Pat Troy, Harold

Wilcott and George Croucher, therefore, which are based on one major incident

and whose composition was prompted by that event.

According to the Kennedys' daughter, Judy, who wrote a student paper

about her grandfather's moonshine making, Moses Gosse was born in 1903 and

grew up in the settlement of Paradise where moonshine making was very

common, especially during the 1920s and 1930s when Gosse was a young man

(MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 1). Not surprisingly, Gosse learnt the technique of

manufacture from older members of the community and was particularly active

as a maker himself before he married in 1930 (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 4). His

daughter, Ruby Kennedy, remembered that when she was a child, he used to

make moonshine at certain times of the year, mainly at Christmas (MUNFLA Ms.

88-67/p. 8). Gosse would make it out of doors, such as in the woods on Flint Hill

in Paradise, as mentioned in stanza 6 of the song, or by Three Rivers Pond off

Topsail Road in St. John's (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 5). On the particular

occasion when Ruby Kennedy saw his still as a child, her father was making

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[32]Gosse owned a mill and a carpenter shop where he cut lumber to make
into window boxes and door boxes (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 23).

occasion when Ruby Kennedy saw his still as a child, her father was making moonshine in the hen house (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 8), explaining the reference to this scene in stanza 2 of the song.[32]

Gosse is characterised by his granddaughter as "a typical moonshine maker" (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 1) and a number of aspects of his moonshine making mentioned in the song certainly accord with those sketched earlier in the general account of moonshine making in Newfoundland (see chapter 2). These include the homemade moonshine can (stanza 1), distilling the moonshine at night (stanzas 2, 3, 4), testing the moonshine during distillation by tasting it (stanza 2), and colouring the finished product with burnt sugar (stanza 3). In addition, the song mentions Gosse as making moonshine with a friend, Joe Lynch (stanza 2; see also MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 20), who presumably contributed to the ingredients and shared in the resulting liquor, like the arrangement between Pat Troy and his friends, described in chapter 3. There is also a hint in stanza 4 of opposition to the men's activity by Julle, Joe Lynch's wife, and Annie, Gosse's wife (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 20).

The second half of the song is more concerned with the men's consumption, rather than their manufacture, of moonshine. It is perhaps significant, then, that from this point in the song, Gosse and Lynch start to be

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[32]It should, however, be noted that, according to Judy Kennedy's paper, Gosse claimed that he and Joe Lynch never made moonshine in the hen house (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 20).

referred to by their nicknames, "Bullick" [sic] and "Round Boy" respectively. It seems that Gosse was dubbed Bullick by Joe Lynch's father, although none of the Kennedys knew what the name referred to (MUNFLA Mss. 77-344/p. 20, 88-67/p. 8). Joe Lynch's nickname of "Round Boy" was apparently suggested by the shape of his body (MUNFLA Mss. 77-344/p. 21, 88-67/p. 8). Since nicknames were often employed as a means by which to tease friends (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 8), it may be that their occurrence in this part of the song is an indication of their particular use at social gatherings involving liquor consumption. Besides this, several commonly found characteristics of liquor consumption are mentioned in the song, such as Gosse's preference for moonshine over commercial brands of liquor (stanza 5), although he apparently did not like the taste of moonshine (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/p. 12), the host's provision of liquor for visitors to his house (stanza 7), the association of liquor consumption and music and dance at a house party (stanza 7), and the socialising and liquor consumption which took place during the Christmas period (stanza 8).

"The Moonshine Can" was composed by Ruby Kennedy, with the help of her husband, in 1967.[33] At the time, Joe Kennedy was working as a policeman. Thus, it was on one of the occasions when he was on night shift and Ruby

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[33]The following account of the song's composition is based on an interview with Mrs. Kennedy conducted by Barbara Rieti and myself in 1987 (see MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/pp. 8-9).

Kennedy was waiting up for him that she began to "fiddle around" making up a song which was eventually to become "The Moonshine Can." On his return at 1 a.m., Joe Kennedy apparently spent several hours helping his wife with the poem. Some time later, when it was perfected, the couple showed it to Moses Gosse who thought it was "alright," although he did not like his nickname being used.

Ruby Kennedy had heard Pat Troy's song, "The Moonshine Can," sung a great deal at house parties during her youth, and she was aware of having this song in mind when she was composing the song about her father. Although she and her husband were not singers, they occasionally sang their composition at family gatherings, preserving the paper on which they had written the words for this purpose. Ruby Kennedy said that the tune they used was that of "The Moonshine Can." She was unfortunately too selfconscious to sing the melody to me, however, so that it is not known which version of the tune she and her husband sang. Nevertheless, it is possible that it was a traditional version, since her first encounter with the song was some time before she heard it on the radio.

This is borne out to some extent by the text of the Kennedys' song, the original copy of which Ruby Kennedy still had in her possession at the time of my visit. Despite the fact that it lacks a "Come all you/ye" introduction, the idea that the performer is to "tell . . . about" something, which appears in the first

couplet of stanza 1, is reminiscent of the Avalon Peninsula versions of Pat Troy's song, AN1, JL1 and GH1. The Kennedys' line 2 clause, "and how they made the can," on the other hand, carries a faint echo of the phrase, "you see how they served me," found in the corresponding place of all traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can" apart from AN1, JL1, GH1 and HP1/2. Meanwhile, the reference to "yeast cake and molasses" in line 1 of stanza 5 could be an echo of either the traditional or the mass-mediated version of Pat Troy's song. The final line of the Kennedys' song, on the other hand, which begins, "When Christmas time comes round again," clearly reflects the influence of the mass-mediated version of "The Moonshine Can" for it is only in the stanza, TROY, of this version that the words "time and 'round" occur in the opening clause - "And if moonshine time comes round again."

As well as these specific verbal correspondences between the various versions of Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can" and Ruby and Joe Kennedy's composition, there is a correspondence in stanza construction between the songs. In particular, it can be seen that the Kennedys made use of the clause repetition technique between lines 2 and 3 of every stanza, followed by the interpolation, "me [sic] boys." This parallels exactly the make-up of the stanzas, EASTER and TROY, in the traditional version of Troy's song, and that of the stanza, TROY, in the mass-mediated version.

As noted above, Ruby Kennedy was conscious of having drawn on "The

Moonshine Can" of Pat Troy as a source for the title and tune of her own composition. This appears to have led to her borrowing certain phrases and a particular technique of stanza construction as well. Indeed, it seems from the verbal details of her text that she drew on more than one version of the song, including both a traditional and mass-mediated version.

Ruby Kennedy was, moreover, aware of a thematic resemblance between the two songs, observing that songs generally would be made up in this way, one being based on another with a similar theme (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 8). Thus, it seems that she looked to "The Moonshine Can" for a melody, stanza form and title for her own song because Pat Troy's song and her intended composition both concerned moonshine making with "the moonshine can." Whereas Pat Troy's song seems to have earned its title because it concerned the loss of his moonshine can and his consequent inability to make moonshine, however, Ruby Kennedy's is only concerned with the can as a physical object in stanza 1. Beyond this, it is the activity of manufacturing with which the can is closely associated and the time when her father owned a can and was engaged in moonshine manufacture (stanzas 6, 8) on which her song focuses. It is, then, as much the time symbolised by the use of the moonshine can, as the physical object of the moonshine can itself to which Ruby Kennedy's song refers. Viewed in this light, the connection in Ruby Kennedy's mind between her song and that of Pat Troy may run deeper than their shared overall theme of

moonshine making. It may also relate to a perception on Ruby Kennedy's part of Pat Troy's song as an old song, one which she associated, like moonshine making itself, with a past time and a previous way of life as she had known it.

If so, this would seem to accord with the conscious interest of Ruby Kennedy and her husband[34] in old stories, songs and sayings of Newfoundland, and their interest in members of the older generation, whose company they actively sought (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 9). Thus, in writing a song about her 64-year-old father, who was not only a moonshine maker but also a great man for storytelling (see, for example, MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/pp. 13-15), Ruby Kennedy seems to have been consolidating and commemorating her father's, and therefore her own, link with the older generation and the old ways in which she and her husband took such an interest. By styling her song after another Newfoundland song, which in her mind was identified with the way of life and the past times which she valued, Ruby Kennedy may furthermore have seen herself as participating in and continuing another aspect of that way of life, the process of local song composition.

"The Bootleggers Song"

The final example of a Newfoundland local song to be sung to an analogue of the "Moonshine Can" melody is "The Bootleggers Song" from Cape

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[34]Ruby Kennedy's husband, Josiah, died of a heart attack in 1980 at the age of 47.

Broyle, on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula. The song was recorded in 1968 from the singing of Junior O'Brien who helped to compose the song (MUNFLA Tape 68-16/C490). There is, unfortunately, no other information to accompany the recording concerning the date or the circumstances of the song's composition. Nevertheless, the singer sounds fairly young, about 20 or 30 years of age, and it therefore seems quite possible that the song dates from the time of collection or a few years before.

As can be seen from the text sung by Junior O'Brien, "The Bootleggers Song" is essentially a moniker song which catalogues the names of local purveyors of illicit liquor and warns of the high prices that they charge. Like the other songs examined in this chapter, its text is not heavily indebted to that of "The Moonshine Can." Indeed, the few parallels that there are between the two involve the use of formulaic language, making it almost impossible to infer whether they represent echoes of "The Moonshine Can" or simply derive from a general repertoire of narrative and moniker songs known to the composer(s) of "The Bootleggers Song." Thus, for example, stanza 1 employs a "Come all you" opening coupled with a warning, in line 4 of the stanza, a convention which also appears in COME-ALL of "The Moonshine Can." Likewise, the reference to Bernard Bryan's name and place of origin in the final line of stanza 2, and the songmaker's crediting of the audience with knowledge of Johnny Gullick, "a man you all know well," in stanza 4, are standard allusions in moniker songs, as well

THE BOOTLEGGERS SONG

1.   Come all you young Cape Broyle boys and hear what I have to say,
      I don't want to insult you so don't feel bad in any way;
      You shine your shoes and comb your hair and on the booze you go,
      But first I'm going to warn you, be sure and have the dough.

2.   It's all about the liquor that's sold here in Cape Broyle,
      And if you want a bottle sure you wouldn't walk a mile;
      The first name I will mention while I got him on my mind,
      He's belong to our own harbour, his name is Bernard Bryan.

3.   We won't delay at Bernard's for there's quite a few of them more,
      And if I mention your own name I hope you won't feel sore;
      Well next there is a taxi man, he'll never turn you down,
      And if his car is not around you'll know that he's in town.

4.   Now next we go to Johnny (Gullick), a man you all know well,
      And if you get a bottle there the taste of it will tell;
      And now we're up the harbour and across the bridge we go,
      And if you're going to have a booze be sure and have the dough.

5.   And now we go to (Maurice) Hill to finish off our booze,
      And if you get a bottle there six dollars you will lose;
      Not forgetting Michael Hayden, boys, he'll sell it by the (can/keg),
      Don't ever start out boozing, in the end it (covers them/there).

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as appearing in the stanza, TROY, of "The Moonshine Can." Lastly, the rhyme

words "sore" and "more" are employed in the first couplet of stanza 3 although

they appear without the "grief" formula with which they are associated in "The

Moonshine Can" and various other local songs and broadside ballads.

     The melody to which Junior O'Brien, accompanying himself on the guitar,

THE BOOTLEGGERS SONG

A flat

♩ = 60-63
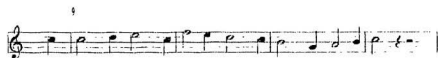
sings "The Bootleggers Song," on the other hand, is very similar to the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can." Melodically, it is almost identical to the traditional tune, except that each phrase generally commences with an upbeat on the upper tonic instead of the more usual fifth degree of the scale. In addition, the A phrase of Junior O'Brien's melody concludes with a threefold reiteration of the tonic, as in the JO1, ER2, and GS1 versions of "The Moonshine Can." There is one particular difference between the melody of "The Bootleggers Song" and the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can." however, and that is their metre. Whereas the latter is in simple time - that is, with the majority of main beats subdivided into two even beats - the former is in compound time, in which iambic subdivisions of the principal beats predominate. Thus, the number of textual syllables in each line of "The Bootleggers Song" is approximately the same as in "The Moonshine Can," but the syllables are vocalised to a lilting rhythm rather than a march-like one.

The very close resemblance of these melodies makes it a strong possibility that the composers of "The Bootleggers Song" were familiar with the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" and based their melody on it. Certainly, it is known from the extant versions of the latter, that the song was quite widely sung on this particular stretch of Newfoundland's coast. This is not to assume, however, that the composers of "The Bootleggers Song" were necessarily fully aware of using the "Moonshine Can" melody as a source.

Rather, the fact that the tune appears to have undergone some modification in metre, and has therefore not been taken over wholesale from "The Moonshine Can," makes it more likely that they saw themselves as having created their song's melody, as well as its words. Even if they were aware of a melodic connection with "The Moonshine Can," moreover, they may still have regarded their melody as newly composed, and not merely adapted, which is the way it appears from a musicological perspective.

Meanwhile, if these speculations are correct and the composers of "The Bootleggers Song" did draw on the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can" to create a melody for their song, this prompts the question as to why this particular melodic source should have been chosen, however unconsciously, for the later composition. In the almost virtual absence of contextual information relating to "The Bootleggers Song," the only evidence available which might throw light on this question is that of the text itself. Here, the only obvious connection between the two songs lies in their common concern with the subject of illegal liquor. Thus, as in the examples of "The Moonshine Can" by Harold Wilcott, "The Moose Song," and "The Moonshine Can" by Ruby Kennedy, a specific thematic dimension of the text with which the Pat Troy "Moonshine Can" melody was previously associated seems to have attracted the makers of "The Bootleggers Song" to the tune and prompted them to redeploy it, albeit in modified form, in their composition. In the case of "The Bootleggers Song,"

however, the fact that its melody is at one remove from the form in which it is found in all extant traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can," and the fact that there are no indubitable instances of specific textual resemblance between the two songs, may well be an indication that the melodic and thematic connection postulated here was dimly, if at all, perceived by its composers.

Conclusion

In this survey of the Newfoundland melodic analogues of "The Moonshine Can" and their associated songs, it has been shown on the basis of textual, melodic and thematic evidence, as well as the contextual evidence where available, that five of the six songs can be directly related to "The Moonshine Can," either at the time of their creation or in their subsequent performance. In the case of "The Moonshine Can" of Harold Wilcott, "The Moose Song," "The Bootleggers Song" and to some extent "The Moonshine Can" of Ruby Kennedy, the use of a melodic analogue of Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can" was apparently suggested by various parallels in narrative theme between the latter song and the new composition. This was despite the fact that such parallels, and even the use of the melodic analogue, were not necessarily consciously perceived by the songs' composers. In the case of "The Men of 9.13," and additionally in the case of "The Moonshine Can" of Ruby Kennedy, the use of the melodic analogue was apparently prompted by the extra-textual associations of Pat

Troy's song. These included the particular singer with whom it was identified, the perception of it as an "old-time," Newfoundland or Irish-Newfoundland song, and perhaps the perception of moonshine making as an "old-time" activity. Such notions of the song and its subject matter were almost certainly linked with the changing attitudes towards Newfoundland's past which its confederation with Canada in 1949 helped to foster.

Having established, or shown the likelihood of, a relationship between five of the songs studied in this chapter and "The Moonshine Can," it is appropriate to term them "recompositions" or "re-combinations" of "The Moonshine Can." The recompositions are those songs which relate to "The Moonshine Can" through narrative theme as well as through their melody and perhaps verbal details of their text.[35] Thus, "The Moonshine Can" of Harold Wilcott, "The Moonshine Can" of Ruby Kennedy, "The Moose Song" and "The Bootleggers Song" are all recompositions of "The Moonshine Can." The re-combinations, on the other hand, are those in which the only intrinsic connection with "The Moonshine Can" is through the melody, although the song's extra-textual associations or the fact of its popularity, as well as the suitability of its metre, may account for the adoption of the tune. Thus, "The Men of 9.13" as printed in the 1962 Regatta Programme and as sung by the Kitty Vitty Minstrels is a re-combination of "The Moonshine Can."

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[35]Cf. The "parodic song cycles" proposed by Narváez ("Parodist" 34).

The multiplex relationships of these recompositions and re-combinations with "The Moonshine Can" receive further consideration in the following chapter. Their implications for the study of text-tune relations in general is then explored in chapter 9.

Chapter 8

TEXT-TUNE RELATIONS IN THE SONG COMPLEX OF

"THE MOONSHINE CAN"

Thus far, the materials of the song complex of "The Moonshine Can" have been analysed and the results presented alongside the available contextual information relating, on the one hand, to the people, places and historical periods referred to in the song complex, and, on the other hand, to the composers, performers, and re-creators of the song complex. This is in accordance with the diachronic model advocated by Porter and adopted in this study, as discussed in chapter 1. It is now possible to construct a hypothetical life history of the Newfoundland portion of the song complex in which its development in time and space can be viewed in the light of what is known of the individual, cultural and social factors surrounding it.

The diachronic model also allows specific observation of the shifting relations, at various levels, evidenced by the extant texts and tunes of the complex during their composition, performance and transmission, re-composition and re-combination. It further provides a starting point for the exploration of the dynamics underlying these shifts. In particular, it prompts the examination of three fundamental questions relating to the complex, namely, why was "The Moonshine Can" composed, why was it perpetuated, and why was its principal melody perpetuated in combination with some subsequent song compositions?

I Composition - "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove

Edward Ives has contended that three factors are necessary for local song composition to take place, namely an incident or set of facts, a song tradition, and an individual talent ("The Study" 212). The creation of "The Moonshine Can" certainly involved all three, as the material presented in the foregoing chapters testifies. Yet, the reason why these particular factors coalesced in the way that they did and at the time that they did to produce "The Moonshine Can" has not been fully expounded. To do so involves the consideration of several interrelated questions, namely, why did Pat Troy compose anything at all about the incident in which he had been involved, why did he choose to fashion his experience into a song, and why did he combine the particular textual and melodic elements which he did to make the song? The following section seeks to answer these questions by examining what is known of the song's genesis in the light of both the commentary of those who knew Pat Troy and scholarly perspectives. Thus, it is hoped to explain how and why "The Moonshine Can" came into being.

At first sight it is somewhat surprising that Pat Troy went to the lengths of composing a song about the incident at all. He was, as seen in chapter 4, no specialist in singing, let alone songmaking. Rather, he excelled at joke-telling and repartee. One would have thought a priori that Pat Troy would have been better suited to the verbal rather than the sung narration of his experience.

Furthermore, as such subsequently collected spoken narratives as those presented in chapter 2 of this study show, episodes similar to that recounted in "The Moonshine Can" have clearly been regarded in Newfoundland as appropriate for narration in speech as well as song (cf. Taft, "Of Scoffs" 83).

In fact, Pat Troy's treatment of his experience in "The Moonshine Can" is in some respects similar to the various kinds of spoken narratives of personal experience. Most obviously, the song's story is told in the first person, its lines and stanzas in the section from EASTER to GRIEF following the sequence of events as experienced by Pat Troy, from the arrival of the news to the confiscation of his moonshine can. Like the oral personal narratives studied by Labov and Waletzky, therefore, this part of the song represents "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred" (20).

In terms of the distinction drawn by some scholars between spoken narratives concerning "secular" experiences on one hand, and "memorates" and other forms of "belief tale" concerning supernatural encounters on the other (Stahl, "Personal Experience Stories" 270), the content of "The Moonshine Can" is clearly secular. Despite this, the song manifests several structural and stylistic parallels with belief tales. Firstly, the overt reason for the recounting of the story is included in the song, it being to warn against informers (COME-ALL). Such warnings are quite commonly found in broadside ballads and in local

songs, and are usually expressed in a formulaic phrase, as in "The Moonshine Can" (cf. Laws, Native American Balladry 30). Similarly, according to Dégh, many belief tales are told in order to advise or warn ("Processes of Legend Formation" 86). A second feature of "The Moonshine Can" which is found in many local songs as well as belief tales is the careful identification of the time and place of the incident and the characters involved in it. Thirdly, "The Moonshine Can," like a belief tale, names its source and vouches for the truth of the incident it relates (Dégh, "Processes of Legend Formation" 86, Halpert, "Truth in Folk-Song" xv-xvi, Zimmermann 98). In this respect, it is interesting to note how closely such statements by belief tale tellers as "My father saw this and he never told a lie" (quoted in Dégh and Vázsonyi, "Legend and Belief" 289) can echo textual formulas like that found in TROY of "The Moonshine Can" - "Now the man that made this song, my boys, I'm sure he told no lie."

Despite these similarities, there are many differences between "The Moonshine Can" and spoken narratives of real events (that is, legends, memorates and secular personal experience stories) in terms of form, norms of performance and the way in which the genres are perceived and interpreted in their cultural context. A cross-generic comparison of "The Moonshine Can" and spoken narrative forms may, therefore, offer important clues as to the reason why Pat Troy opted to compose a song about his experience rather than telling it in speech. Such an approach has rarely been adopted in the past due to the

longstanding scholarly dividing line drawn between spoken and sung narrative forms (see, for example, Bascom 3, Stahl, "The Oral Personal Narrative" 20). Whilst there are theoretical and practical advantages to this distinction, it has led to some of their shared characteristics being overlooked, and has discouraged investigation of their relative qualities and the way in which these potentially influence the genre selected by people to narrate real occurrences and personal experiences.[1]

A prominent area of difference between songs and spoken narratives of real events is in their form. In white Anglo-Irish-North American tradition, such songs characteristically consist of a highly organised structure of rhymed stanzas, accompanied by a regularly repeating melody, whilst spoken narratives are generally simpler and extremely variable in structure (Dégh and Vázsonyi, "Legend and Belief" 93, Laws, Native American Balladry 68).[2] This difference seems to be connected with the fact that the form of a song is largely pre-set at the time of its composition whilst that of a story is to a great extent determined anew at each performance, a point which will be returned to below.[3] The relative complexity of song form accounts for the attitude found among my

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[1] Although, see Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham 399, and Lomax, "Special Features."

[2] Little has been written on the form of personal experience narratives but one would assume a priori that they are variable in form like legends.

[3] Cf. Dundes on fixed phrase and free phrase genres (254-255).

informants in Goose Cove,[4] namely, that the "old people" who made up songs and yet could not read or write were "smart." Thus, it would seem that, in Goose Cove at least, song composition commanded more prestige for a person than spoken narration. Some people in Goose Cove also seemed to acknowledge song's relative stability compared to spoken narrative when they suggested that for those, like Pat Troy, who could not write things down, making up a song about an event was a way of remembering what happened. One man likened the song to a diary. Not only does a song construct a particular account of an occurrence, therefore, but it would seem that its relatively fixed form acts to structure and stabilise the memory of the occurrence and aid in its recollection (cf. Lomax, "Special Features" 119, Bohlman 16).

With regard to the transmission of the various folklore genres, Dégh and Vázsonyi have hypothesised that there are particular "conduits" of people who are likely to respond to and transmit each genre. They further suggest that performers will always find a responsive audience for their message by tapping into the conduit of people who are receptive to the genre in which the message is expressed ("The Hypothesis" 212-213). It was thought in Goose Cove, however, that Pat Troy made up a song about the moonshine incident because only in this genre would it be perpetuated, whereas in spoken narrative form it would soon die out (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 200). Hence, the news of the

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[4]All the locations mentioned in this chapter are noted on Map 4.

incident would be kept alive for longer and be broadcast more effectively in the area:

> That spread it abroad more. The song, then. See, only for the song, be only a month or two [and it would] be all forgot, see. . . . But when people started to sing the song, (everyone) want to hear "The Moonshine Song," see. That's what kept it going. . . .
> . . . News didn't go around very fast, them times. 'Cause nothing'd really bring round the news. There's no papers or nothing at all like that. . . . Only from mouth to mouth, that's all, see. Now a person up in White Bay, he'd never know nothing at all about it. Person from Conche would know nothing at all about it. Them times. [If] it happened there in the winter, well, be all forgot then by the spring. . . . But when the song come in that kept things going (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

It is still not clear from this explanation precisely why a song was thought more likely to be transmitted than a spoken narrative. One possible reason is that the ownership of locally composed songs may have been less restricted than that of personal narratives which tend to remain the private property of the teller (Stahl, "The Oral Personal Narrative" 37). This in turn may be related to the greater degree of dramatisation with which a narrative of a personal experience is endowed in song performance compared to spoken narration (cf. Gerould 211-212). Hence, it is arguably easier for a singer to take on the part of Pat Troy within a performance of the song and to present the experience in the first person, than it is for the teller of a spoken narration to do the same. Certainly,

as noted in chapter 5, the text of "The Moonshine Can" has remained in the first person in all versions except in the final stanza, TROY, where the songmaker is identified and whereupon most singers switch to the third person. (cf. Posen 115)

It is difficult to know now whether it was Pat Troy's intention or hope that his song would spread as widely as it did and endure over the period of time that it did. To judge from the above remarks, though, the conclusion drawn by those in Goose Cove was that Pat Troy wanted to spread the news of the incident in the geographical area in which he lived. If so, the fact that he himself was not much of a singer was of little consequence. Rather, the important thing from his point of view was that the song be appealing enough to other singers for them to pick it up and perform it elsewhere, on his behalf as it were. We shall consider more closely why Pat Troy should want to spread the news of the incident below.

The question of whether Pat Troy wanted his song to persist over an extended period of time is another matter. As Ives has observed in relation to songmakers in other parts of Canada and the northeastern United States:

> We should never forget that traditional songmakers do not create for posterity but for the moment, and that continuity in time is (from the creator's point of view) largely an accident and might even be (if he saw the song as his) an annoyance ("The Study" 210).

It is notable in this connection that there was a suggestion, albeit made by a member of the Murrin family, that the perpetuation of "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove became a source of embarrassment to Pat Troy in later years. Yet, as will be seen, the same person supposed that Pat Troy did have posterity in mind when he composed "The Moonshine Can," and this view will receive further consideration in due course.

In addition to the idea that the story of an event or experience was more likely to disseminate when fashioned into a song, there also seemed to be a recognition among Goose Cove people that the stable form of song led to its message being preserved relatively intact compared to spoken narrative. By virtue of being a song, therefore, and also, no doubt, the fact that it was composed by the man at the centre of the incident himself, "The Moonshine Can" was regarded as being the most authoritative account of what happened:

> [If] I want[ed] to tell about it now I should . . .
> probably have it different from the song. . . . The
> story remembers [recalls?] the song (MUNFLA Tape
> 85-257/C8276).

This had repercussions for my fieldwork in Goose Cove because no one to whom I spoke could provide me with a rounded account of the incident without recourse to the song's version of events. Instead, I was told anecdotes and pieces of information relating to and enlarging on aspects of the incident as told in the song. As a direct consequence, the synthetic account of the incident

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presented in chapter 3 of this study is based around the individual stanzas of the song. Thus, it can be seen that the song not only structured and preserved the event in a particular way for Pat Troy, but it also shaped other people's knowledge about and recollections of the incident as well.

The influence of "The Moonshine Can" in this respect is linked to the norms of performance associated with song in general, and to the manner in which local songs in particular are performed and received, both in Newfoundland and elsewhere. Broadly speaking, songs are characteristically performed in fairly formalised contexts, whilst spoken narratives of real occurrences are commonly employed in less structured settings, notably in casual conversation and small-scale social interactions (Dégh and Vázsonyi, "The Dialectics" 1).[5] In keeping with the contexts in which they are often performed, the latter often involve a high degree of participation, and negotiation, on the part of those present. Hence, the final form of the story is contingent on the information and views of both the teller and his or her audience (Dégh and Vázsonyi, "Legend and Belief" 297). In contrast, although some singers break off to explain or comment on the action of the song, and their audiences sometimes interject with comments (Halpert, "Truth" xv), this

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[5]The habit of quoting lines from songs in the manner of a proverbial saying during conversation should not be overlooked, however (cf. Green, "McCaffery [Pt. 3]" 8-9). See also the discussion below concerning the part played by "The Moonshine Can" in spreading the technique of moonshine making.

does not amount to the kind of co-narration and debate that can occur in informal narrative performances. Ultimately, therefore, singers exercise greater control over the performance, and to some extent the reception, of their material than tellers of legends and personal experience narratives. In other words, the overt negotiation of a song's story, and its underlying message, is not an aspect of a song's performance.

Local songs clearly have a number of rhetorical advantages in performance over spoken narratives of real events and experiences, therefore (cf. Abrahams). What the implications of these may have been for Pat Troy and the performance of "The Moonshine Can" depends on his reason for wanting to disseminate the news of the moonshine incident. This relates to the question of why Pat Troy composed anything about the incident at all. The most obvious answer is his declared intention in the opening stanza of the song to give a warning about the person who informed on him. Accordingly, the narrative of Pat Troy's experience is presented as an illustration of how this person had "served" him.

Nevertheless, the emphasis in the narrative, and the stanzas immediately preceding and following it, is not only on how the person treated him, but also on what this person was like. In COME-ALL, for example, the person is characterised as jealous and in ELI he is said to have "watched from every eye." He is, moreover, repeatedly blamed for having deprived people of their

moonshine ("he put our moonshine down"). In the one narrative stanza not concerned with Pat Troy's personal experience of the incident (FEE), the informer's collection of his reward is also detailed, again, presumably with the intention of casting aspersions on his character by suggesting that he is grasping. Lastly, it is notable that the person who informed is never actually named, but only referred to as "the informer" or, in one instance, "this man" (ELI).

One suspects, therefore, that Pat Troy's intention was not so much to identify the informer to others so that they might be on their guard against him, but to denigrate him. Pat Troy was, after all, supposed to have been very angry about the whole affair when he made up the song. Furthermore, he had been shamed by the incident, being found guilty by the court of breaking the law. From his point of view, however, it was the informer who was guilty of a misdeed. Thus, it seems that Pat Troy's reason for wanting to spread the news of the incident was not only so as to warn others about a certain person, but also so that he could defame that person and restore his own reputation by portraying himself as the informer's victim.

One can speculate on the basis of these observations that the norms associated with the performance of songs allowed Pat Troy to recount the incident and put this point of view about the informer without fear of contradiction at the time of performance. In addition, Pat Troy's use of a genre

which stood a good chance of being disseminated in the geographical vicinity whilst its content remained relatively intact enabled him to reinforce his case by expressing it through the mouths of others. By means of the first person singular usages in the song, moreover, the singers of "The Moonshine Can" became identified with Pat Troy himself. Similarly, the audience at each performance became identified with Troy's "good neighbours" by the first person plural usages in the song and its references to the audience as "my boys." The text of "The Moonshine Can" thus encouraged solidarity with Pat Troy's view of the incident by assuming that those listening to it would be sympathetic. The nature of the song's performance, meanwhile, left little room for an actual audience to dispute or doubt the view of events presented in the text.[6]

This is not, however, to argue that the genre of song allowed songmakers absolute control over the presentation, transmission and reception of their compositions, whilst narrators of real events and personal experiences had none. It is rather a question of degree. Songs as well as spoken narratives are subject to variation in textual detail, structure and meaning, and "The Moonshine Can" was no exception, as seen in chapter 5. Furthermore, the composition of "The Moonshine Can" did not preclude talk about the incident involving Pat Troy. On the contrary, the norms of local song performance would probably

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[6]Cf. Lomax who argues that in highly charged situations, song's many redundant features help to normalise the response of the audience and thereby produce group consensus ("Special Features 119).

have encouraged it. The evidence of George Casey, for example, concerning the singing of local songs in the settlement of Conche, near to Goose Cove, suggests that the content of "The Moonshine Can" would have been discussed and amplified following a rendition:

> If the events described in the song were known to the audience, they were discussed, especially in the case of locally composed songs. An individual experience concerning the events of the song might be related by one of the audience. The conversation centred about the discussion of the happenings of the song. Sometimes there would be a discussion of why the song was composed, with comments upon its composers. Songs about local events and persons are considered "great fun" since the audience would know of the people and sometimes the events portrayed (Casey, "Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 151).

Similar observations have been made concerning local song performance in southern Labrador (Leach, Labrador 9-10) and Prince Edward Island (Ives, Doyle 31). In a sense, then, to pose the question as to why Pat Troy chose to compose a song about the incident rather than relate it in spoken narrative is to dichotomise the two and so to belie the close association which they may have in their cultural context. As Ives has pointed out, a song may exist in symbiosis with a parallel narrative tradition, the song's performance serving as a stimulus for narrative performance:

> The song acts as a kind of catalyst for the local memory, or, perhaps a more appropriate metaphor, it exists in symbiosis with its own story: the song calls

up its own history, and it continues to be sung locally
because it continues to be seen in the context of that
history Doyle 31-32).

By composing a song about the incident, Pat Troy seems to have had the
best of both worlds. On the one hand, he was able to structure his own version
of events in a form with a strong likelihood of being transmitted in the locale and
a good chance of preserving its content intact. On the other, the performance
of the song itself encouraged further discussion of the incident and matters
relating to it. At the same time, the song retained the status of an authoritative,
even definitive account of what happened and thus served to limit the amount
of dissension there could be about its content.[7] Its effectiveness in this last
regard can be seen in the fact that local people deferred to the song when I
inquired into the incident, some 65 years after "The Moonshine Can" had been
composed. Meanwhile, I suspect that much of the information which I was able
to collect concerning the incident comprised the snippets of reminiscence and
discussion which followed local performances of the song in previous years.

Returning to the question of whether Pat Troy composed his song with
posterity in Goose Cove or beyond in mind, it can be seen that this is unlikely
to have been the case. Rather, Pat Troy may well have had a more immediate

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[7]In this respect, the song and its performance is reminiscent of the
reading out of the news in the days when it was transmitted by telegraph,
and the lively discussion which it engendered and which often led to its re-
reading, as described in chapter 3.

motive for making the song, that of restoring his own reputation and bringing the person who informed into disrepute. Nevertheless, the fact that the song was about a real historical incident prompted a good friend of Pat Troy's to credit him with wanting to perpetuate the story of his experience for future generations:

> Most songs them times, they're history. All the old songs are the history of something. . . . Where the boat [was] lost or people lost their way and strayed away (into death). . . . They're all history. . . . 'Cause only for the song, you wouldn't know nothing at all about it. . . . Now that's the way it was with Pat Troy. . . . He made the song. That was an old style then, I suppose, making up songs and keeping history going, keeping history alive (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278).

If, as contended above, it is doubtful that posterity was one of Pat Troy's motives in composing his song, how and why did "The Moonshine Can" come to be regarded as "history"?

The historicity of locally composed songs is obviously not in any doubt in the location where they were made up. Accordingly, as Halpert has pointed out, they are frequently used to legitimate singers' belief in the factual basis of songs whose historicity is dubious or unspecific ("Truth" xxviii, "Vitality" 38). Given that local songs are manifestly "true" in this way, however, the question arises as to why verisimilitude is such an important feature of their texts. "The Moonshine Can," for example, contains details of place, time and protagonists, as well as an assurance of Pat Troy's truthfulness as the source of the

information presented in the song.

The speculative answer proposed here is that such authenticating detail and comment is included in local songs for the same reason that it is often employed in spoken narratives of real occurrences and experiences - in order to strengthen the underlying "point" of the narrative (Dégh, "Processes" 86-87); cf. Stahl, "Personal Experience Stories" 270). In other words, the "truer" the story, in the sense of being a factually accurate account, the "truer" or more persuasive its message. This would be the logical reverse of the situation, as speculated upon by Green, with regard to songs whose historicity can be doubted because they were not locally composed:

> . . . we are bound to wonder whether, when a singer
> calls a song "true," he is not referring to moral rather
> than factual truth, or indeed to some blend of the two,
> in which a song "becomes" factually true by virtue of
> its being morally true (Green, "McCaffery [Pt. 3] 8; cf.
> Halpert, "Truth" xx).

As we have seen, Pat Troy had every reason to want to make a moral statement about the unacceptability of informing on a neighbour. A factually detailed and authenticated account of an incident in which he had been the victim of such behaviour was therefore convincing testimony of the "truth" of his statement.[8] Meanwhile, the same detail and authentication which may help to reinforce the

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[8]Casey also makes the point that the discussion following the performance of local songs helped to reinforce the message among the audience that traditional values and attitudes were needed in order to maintain the status quo ("Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 165).

ethical content of a local song in this way can also make it appear, especially to those of succeeding generations, that the song was composed in order to document real events for posterity. If so, this could have contributed to the view of "The Moonshine Can" being composed as "history" in Goose Cove.

Nevertheless, when we consider the time at which "The Moonshine Can" was composed, there is something "historic," not just "historical" about the song. It will be recalled from chapter 2 that moonshine making was still a relatively new practice in Newfoundland when Pat Troy made up the song. As far as is known, the incident involving Pat Troy was also the first case to be brought against a moonshine maker in the Goose Cove area. When I inquired of local people as to why Pat Troy composed a song about the incident, therefore, another of the answers which I was given was "Well, we never know no moonshine songs, there wasn't [any]" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276). Thus, it seems that Pat Troy's song was the first to be composed on this topic in Newfoundland, at least, as far as those in Goose Cove knew. Consequently, his song was known by many people in Goose Cove not as "The Moonshine Can," but "The Moonshine Song."[9] In other words, not only was it a song about moonshine but, as the first of its kind, it was the song about moonshine.

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[9]MUNFLA Tapes 85-257/C8274, C8255, C8276, C8277, C8278, C8280. It is notable that Alf Pollard of Englee, White Bay, Eric Rogers of Fair Island, Bonavista Bay, and Pat Cole of Colliers, Conception Bay, also knew the song by the title "The Moonshine Song" (see MUNFLA Tape 78-239/C3587, Ms. 86-170/pp. 130, 135, and Tape 86-13/C8686, respectively).

Such was the novelty of the technique of moonshine manufacture, moreover, that the song was apparently instrumental in spreading it in the area:

> But that's what spread the moonshine then, see. That [the song] spread it all over the shore then, see. Everyone made it. . . . Not all at one time but after ten or fifteen years. . . . Perhaps [in] twenty years' time, the word go around, everyone [began] making it. In (Brehat) and (Conche) and all round whatsoever, see. But they got the (hint) from the song (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8279).

The fact that there is also oral testimony from elsewhere in Newfoundland which makes a connection between the song and the recipe for moonshine lends credence to the Goose Cove testimony on this point and suggests that it is applicable to a much wider area than that where Pat Troy lived. A 65-year-old man from Shoe Cove Brook, a settlement located to the north of St. John's on the Avalon Peninsula, for example, commented, "You ever heard the song, you knows how 'tis done, with yeast cakes and molasses" (MUNFLA Tape 67-35/C398). Similar remarks have been recorded in Bishop's Falls in central Newfoundland, Trinity Bay and Conception Bay (respectively, MUNFLA Tapes 63-2/C10, 75-98/C2125, 85-257/C8286).

Over the course of time, then, the importance of Pat Troy's song as a personal experience narrative has been superseded for many people in Goose Cove by its importance as "real history . . . of the moonshine" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8278) and as "the history of the Prohibition" (MUNFLA Tape 85-

257/C8276). Furthermore, not only does it document an incident in the historical past, it is, as the first of the two foregoing quotations suggests, itself an aspect of that past. By virtue of the story of the incident having been fashioned into a song at the time of its occurrence, the song itself has become a historical artifact and, as such, a link between the past and the present. Thus, the song has come to be valued in Goose Cove as an inherently genuine piece of history. In its form is the very hallmark of its authenticity. For the present inhabitants of Goose Cove, the importance of "The Moonshine Can" lies in the fact that it is not just historically true, it is *true history*.

So far, then, it has been suggested, with reference to the first half of "The Moonshine Can" (COME-ALL to FEE), that the genre of song, and specifically, local song, had several potential advantages for Pat Troy. Firstly, the composition of a song brought prestige to him and thereby helped him to gain stature at a time when his reputation had been damaged. In addition, it was a means for him to transmit news of the incident, and thus the informer's misdeed, beyond the immediate locale, and to make a relatively irrefutable moral point about the antisocial nature of informing. This in turn allowed him to salvage his reputation further whilst casting aspersions on that of the informer. The full implications of these observations regarding Pat Troy's use of song will be returned to below.

Meanwhile, as shown in chapter 5, the song as composed by Pat Troy

also contained an extended section of moniker stanzas. Indeed, if the suggestions made earlier concerning Pat Troy's version of "The Moonshine Can" are correct, there were ten moniker stanzas in all - MCDONALD, ANTHONY, GOOSE, GRENFELL, MAGISTRATE, PELLEY, OLLERHEAD, BILES, BACK-BITING and TROY. The total number of moniker stanzas was thus almost exactly equal to the number of narrative stanzas and stanzas of commentary in the first half of the song. Notwithstanding the possibility that some of the moniker stanzas were incorporated into the song by Pat Troy at a slightly later date, the inclusion of so many such stanzas in the latter half of a narrative local song is striking. To be sure, some locally composed shipwreck songs from Newfoundland contain one or two moniker stanzas, detailing members of the crew and perhaps praising their personal qualities or describing their bereaved families,[10] but the multitude of moniker stanzas as found in "The Moonshine Can" is rare. The creation of the song in this unconventional, hybrid form by Pat Troy suggests that there may be yet further possible links between its form and its intended functions.

It will be recalled that in all but two of the moniker stanzas of his song, Pat Troy was concerned to name and commend all those who helped him in connection with the incident. The exceptions to this are TROY, in which Pat

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[10]See, for example, "The 'Annie Young'," "The 'Gigantic'" and "The 'McClure'" (Lehr 4-5, 73-74, 133-34 respectively), and "Flemings of Torbay" (Leach, Labrador 198-200).

Troy "signed" his name as the composer of the song as well as its main protagonist, and BACKBITING, the stanza condemning an unidentified woman, locally known to have been the wife of the supposed informer. It was this section of moniker stanzas that prompted some local people to suggest to me that Pat Troy made up the song in order to thank those who helped him, "to let them know that he didn't forget it," and to "torment" the informer.

It is clear from the fact that Pat Troy named so many of those who helped him, and may even have gone to the lengths of adding moniker stanzas to the song later when he had ascertained more exactly who was involved, that he attached great importance to including all his benefactors in "The Moonshine Can." That he wanted to thank them is the most obvious explanation for this. Yet, it is noticeable that these people are not explicitly thanked in the moniker stanzas. Rather, in the case of McDonald, the "Goose Cove men," and the "St. Anthony men," they are toasted and the part which they played in the collection of the money is described. The magistrate, Pelley, Ollerhead and Biles are likewise toasted, whilst tribute is paid to their personal qualities and heavenly rewards are wished upon them, but without more than a general reference to the fact that they helped Pat Troy.[11]

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[11]Not enough of the stanza, GRENFELL, is extant to know exactly how Pat Troy treated Wilfred Grenfell in the song. The first couplet praises Grenfell's personal qualities, however, suggesting that the stanza might fall into the same pattern as those concerning Pelley, Ollerhead, Biles and the magistrate.

The lack of an explicit expression of gratitude in the song can be linked to the social conventions governing reciprocity in Newfoundland, as observed by anthropologists. Sider, for example, writes:

> In outport Newfoundland help is not only given, often extensively, as when a house burns down, but also carefully noted. When a person's house burns a box will be put out on the counter of a merchant's store. Now that there is money in circulation, people will put money in, or notes offering furniture, clothes, and so forth, and write their name and what they gave on a list posted near the box, for all to see and to judge (Sider, Culture and Class 79; cf. Szwed, Private Cultures 88-94).

In particular, Sider comments that the obligation to reciprocate which the giving of such help engenders may involve "a repayment that might be, simply or significantly, speaking well of the helper in public" (Culture and Class 79). If this can be taken as true of Pat Troy's period and the area of Newfoundland in which he lived, then it would have been incumbent upon him to do more than merely "thank" those who helped him in connection with the moonshine incident. He would have been committed to reciprocate in some way. A story about an earlier incident in the life of Pat Troy suggests that this was in fact the case. A man in St. Anthony told me that he remembered when Pat Troy's son, Jack, was in hospital. The man's mother visited Jack Troy regularly during this time and took him fruit and cakes and so forth. Pat Troy apparently never forgot this kindness and the first salmon which he caught each year afterwards, he gave

it to the man's mother, no matter how large a catch it was (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 258).

In the case of those who helped him at the time of the moonshine incident, Pat Troy would have been unable to "repay" so many people in kind, particularly after the curtailment of his moonshine making, and he had few other resources at his disposal by which to reciprocate. His solution seems to have been the inclusion of a series of moniker stanzas in "The Moonshine Can" acclaiming his helpers, mostly individually. In other words, the composition of the moniker stanzas by Pat Troy constituted his reciprocal gesture. This would explain his apparent eagerness to compose stanzas about everyone who gave him assistance,[12] to the extent that he may have added some of the moniker stanzas slightly after the bulk of the song was composed. It would also account for the unconventional form of Pat Troy's composition.

In the light of this reciprocal purpose, one can perceive still other ways in which the genre of song would have served Pat Troy particularly well. To begin with, the rhymed verse in which song texts are normally cast in white Anglo-Irish-North American tradition was clearly an elevated form of expression, and so a fitting mode in which to pay tribute to his helpers. The fact that the verses were vocalised to a melody also lent prestige to the utterance - Pat Troy

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[12]Especially in the light of the obligations entailed in the "dyadic contract" which anthropologists, such as Szwed (Private Cultures 85-94), have seen as characterising social relations in Newfoundland outport society.

was literally singing the praises of his helpers. In addition, the relatively public and formal nature of song performance would have added weight to his tributes. This latter may have been a particularly relevant consideration given that all of those named, apart from McDonald and "the Goose Cove men," were Protestant neighbours of Pat Troy's who, as such, might have found themselves the butt of Pat Troy's humour in public, and perhaps even the object of his sectarian prejudices in private.[13] On this occasion, however, these people had been Pat Troy's helpers and, as a result, his praise of them seems to have been unequivocally sincere, their Protestant denomination notwithstanding. Thus, it is as if Pat Troy's choice of song as a vehicle by which to express his praise both signalled and lent credibility to the very different attitude which he was displaying towards his Protestant neighbours. As noted in chapter 5, moreover, his composition can be viewed as an inversion of the Catholic "treason song," directed against his Catholic neighbour and not his Protestant ones. The symbolic significance of such a composition by a "dirty Catholic" like Pat Troy, it seems, could hardly be greater.

Lastly, it is, of course, highly appropriate, given Pat Troy's love of liquor, and the nature of his conviction, that he reciprocated towards his helpers by toasting them in the song. Like the heavenly rewards wished by Pat Troy, as a

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[13]Nevertheless, Pat Troy was said to have been friendly with the men in St. Anthony prior to the moonshine incident and to have shared his moonshine with them on occasion.

Catholic, upon his mainly Protestant benefactors in these same stanzas, the toasts can be seen as perhaps the highest "honour" which he, as a drinker and moonshine maker, could bestow on them. Meanwhile, the inclusion of the toasts in the song and the probability of the song being performed on occasions when moonshine or other alcoholic beverages were being consumed would have ensured that his helpers would continue to be so honoured, perhaps both literally and figuratively, on future occasions.

Thus, it is conceivable that Pat Troy used the genre of song to pay tribute to his neighbours in order to enhance the value of his reciprocal gesture. This would have been an especially important consideration if, as Szwed observed in the Codroy Valley, "a form of balance and equivalence [of exchange] [was] expected in any given time, or sequence, or form" in Goose Cove and St. Anthony (Private Cultures 90). One would imagine that Pat Troy's public acclamation of his helpers in the song would certainly have gone some way to fulfilling his obligation towards them, at least until he was in a position to make moonshine for his friends again.

BACKBITING, the one moniker stanza in this section which condemns, rather than commends, can also be seen in terms of reciprocity, but this time of a negative kind. Although it is not clear in the stanza, or even in the minds of local people, exactly what connection the woman referred to had with the moonshine incident, apart from being the supposed informer's wife, the

implication is that she has harmed Pat Troy in some way, perhaps "backbiting" about him. Consequently, whereas Pat Troy reciprocated towards his helpers by lauding their good qualities in the song, he has reciprocated towards the woman by satirising her bad qualities ("for backbiting and flashy things no one can her excel"). The fact that the woman's name is omitted, despite the moniker stanza format of BACKBITING in every other respect, adds to the irony.

It is interesting that local people regarded this stanza as intended "to torment" the informer. Their view suggests that there was no specific reason connected with the incident for Pat Troy "to torment" the woman. Indeed, it may have been that the stanza's inclusion in "The Moonshine Can" was somewhat gratuitous from the local point of view. To be sure, Pat Troy did not like the person in question, and she was the informer's wife and possibly encouraged her husband to inform, but apart from this her role in the moonshine incident seems to have been minimal. That Pat Troy nevertheless took the opportunity in the song to satirise her, therefore, may have been another reason why this stanza was widely considered in Goose Cove to be offensive, to the extent that it was sometimes suppressed in performance.

Thus, it is possible to view the moniker stanzas of "The Moonshine Can" as a series of individually-directed, reciprocal gestures. The stanzas are positive or negative according to the conduct of the individuals concerned towards Pat Troy. They speak well of a person when financial help or other support during

the incident had been given and in one case satirise a person, possibly for backbiting.

Having seen that individual stanzas of the song may have served as a form of exchange between Pat Troy and various individuals, it is legitimate to ask if some or all of the first half of the song could also have been meant as a reciprocal gesture towards the person whose conduct lay at the root of the incident. A comparison of what the informer did to Pat Troy with what Pat Troy did to the informer in the song certainly suggests that the informer was effectively and equivalently "repaid" for his action by "The Moonshine Can." As already discussed, the first half of the song "informed" those in Goose Cove and the vicinity of the informer's misdeed, and discredited the person concerned by exposing him as an informer. At the same time, the song presented the informer's act as a victimisation of Pat Troy and as an offense against all those who drank and socialised together. Thus, "The Moonshine Can" did to the informer much the same as the informer's action had done to Pat Troy. That is, it reported the informer's deed to others and attempted to disgrace him, assuming the moral high ground in order to justify what was really a personal attack. In this respect, then, the song served as an equivalent to the act of informing, allowing Pat Troy to "pay back" the informer in equal measure.

In omitting the name of the informer, moreover, Pat Troy was able to avoid the appearance of perpetrating the very act which he condemned in the

song. He was probably aware that he needed to do no more than hint at the informer's identity and local gossip, fuelled by the song, would do the rest. Thus, he succeeded in implicating the informer but without himself seeming perfidious.

It is, of course, not only the informer whom Pat Troy avoids identifying by name in the song. The informer's wife also receives the same treatment. Another reason for Pat Troy's omission may therefore have been that he did not dare to name the people whom he had so maligned. Given the "dirty" state of mind he was reputed to have been in when he composed the song, however, this seems unlikely. Rather, he may have feared that the outright naming of these people would make the song too slanderous and so less likely to be performed and disseminated. Whatever was the case, another consequence of his action, as seen in chapter 5, was that the informer and his wife were symbolically excluded from the company of people mentioned in the song. The fact that all of those named, apart from McDonald, were Protestants, either from St. Anthony or from "on the point" in Goose Cove, seems to have added further to the song's implicit marginalisation of the informer and his wife. Thus, not only did Pat Troy indirectly "inform" on the informer and satirise his backbiting wife by means of the song. He was also able to get away with calling for them to be denied toasts, help and prayers and, through his use of names and the people he chose to embrace as "friends," he rendered the informer and his wife social

outcasts in the world of the song.

Whether or not Pat Troy was conscious of these tactics and their consequences when he made "The Moonshine Can," it is clear that the composition of the song was a highly effective means for him to counter the action of the informer (cf. Goldstein 133). It would also have prevented the informer from taking any further action if, as Szwed observed about satirical songs in the Codroy Valley, "Complaining about a song [was] considered bad sport on the part of the accused, so he must suffer its criticism in silence" (Private Cultures 98). Indeed, the fact that the informer was not named outright in "The Moonshine Can" meant that even if he had wanted to complain about the song, he could not do so without betraying the fact that he was the informer. It may have been for this reason that the informer's wife, in an attempt to deflect the blame away from her husband, put out the story that he himself had had to hide his moonshine can for fear of detection at the time of the incident.

Thus far, then, we have explored possible reasons for Pat Troy's use of the genre of song, the particular form which his song took and the content of his song. It remains to consider the melody, focusing on its likely provenance and the reason that it was adopted by Pat Troy. As seen in chapter 6, however, "The Moonshine Can" has been sung to various tunes in Goose Cove and the surrounding area. These were namely the "Tom Sexton tune" (TS1/2, PS1, AH1), the "traditional tune" (AP1/2, JIM1 {accordion}), the mass-mediated

melody (JM1, JIM1 {voice}), the B phrase of the mass-mediated melody alone (PT1), and the A phrase of the mass-mediated melody combined with both the B phrase of the traditional melody and a B phrase resembling that of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" (JH1). Thus, before it is possible to discuss Pat Troy's use of melody, it has to be established which of these tunes and tune versions is the closest to that which Pat Troy employed.

At first sight, the most likely candidate would seem to be the Tom Sexton melody. This was the tune sung in Goose Cove by Tom Sexton, his cousin, Philip Sexton, and his aunt, Agnes Hancock. Philip Sexton learnt the tune from his father, Paddy Sexton and, as described in chapter 4, Paddy Sexton may have learnt "The Moonshine Can" from Pat Troy. It is certain that Paddy Sexton was a good friend of Pat Troy's son, Jack, and, as Philip Sexton vouched, both Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton sang "The Moonshine Can" to the same tune (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 226). This was corroborated by Fanny Ricks (née Bartlett), a woman who had moved to Goose Cove in 1934. The melody which she sang for me as that of "The Moonshine Can" clearly resembled the Tom Sexton tune, although with a slightly different A phrase.[14] She told me that the tune of the song had been changed, but the way she knew it was the same as Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton had sung it (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 47, 49). Tom

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[14] I was unfortunately not able to notate or tape-record this melody at the time.

Sexton, meanwhile, learnt his version of the song from Jack Troy, in about 1945. When I asked Tom about his tune, he was certain that it was the one which Jack Troy had sung and which Pat Troy had sung before him, even though Tom himself had never heard Pat Troy perform the song (MUNFLA Mss. 85-257/pp. 203-04, 86-160/p. 28).

Tom also recognised that his tune was different from the mass-mediated tune which he had heard sung by John White (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 203-04; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 208). Both Tom and his cousin, Marie Hillier (née Sexton), thought that the tune of "The Moonshine Can" had been changed in order to accommodate a guitar accompaniment, referring to their knowledge of other songs in which this had happened:

>JB: Why do people change the tune [to songs like "Reilly the Fisherman"] now, I wonder?
>
>MH: Because the old tune's too hard to play along with the guitar.
>
>TS: Couldn't get it on the guitar, eh. The tune (stuff) anyhow. Lot of it fools up the song, eh.
>
>MH: Yeah. Don't sound the same. I daresay that's the reason they changed the tune to "The Moonshine Can" too, eh.
>
>TS: That's probably true, yeah.
>
>JB: They changed the tune to that too, did they?
>
>MH: Yeah, on the record, see?

. . . .

JB: So the tune you sing, Tom, that's the old tune, is it?

MH: That's the old tune, yeah.

TS: The old tune. Oh yes, yeah (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255; cf. MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 208).

Thus, as far as Tom Sexton and a number of other people, including several other members of the Sexton family, were concerned, the "original" tune of "The Moonshine Can" was the one sung by Tom, Philip Sexton and Agnes Hancock. It was the tune which they had heard Jack Troy sing and which they therefore believed his father, Pat Troy, to have sung. Tom had, moreover, never heard "The Moonshine Can" sung to any other tune in Goose Cove (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 52).

Yet, as we have seen, the tune with which the song became almost universally associated, both in the vicinity of Goose Cove and throughout the rest of Newfoundland, was not the Tom Sexton melody at all but the melody referred to in chapter 6 as the "traditional tune." A version of this melody was recorded in Englee, White Bay, from Alf Pollard, a man who knew Pat Troy well and who seems very likely to have learnt "The Moonshine Can" directly from him. Likewise, Jim Morris of St. Anthony, whose father had been well acquainted with Pat Troy and was known to have learnt the song from him, played the traditional tune on the accordion when he exemplified the song's

melody for me, although when he sang the song he employed the mass-mediated tune. In addition, two other people from St. Anthony whose parents had known Pat Troy well sang the tune of "The Moonshine Can" over and, although I did not notate their tunes at the time, both resembled the traditional/mass-mediated forms of the melody rather than the Tom Sexton tune (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 235, 258). Hence, the evidence of these people who were friendly with Pat Troy but lived outside Goose Cove suggests that Pat Troy sang "The Moonshine Can" to the tune which subsequently became widespread with the song.

Returning to the melodic evidence from Goose Cove, the picture becomes even more complicated. Pace Tom Sexton, "The Moonshine Can" was sung to other tunes there. Joseph Murrin, for example, who had heard Pat Troy perform the song, sang a melody consisting of the A phrase of the mass-mediated melody and the B phrase of the traditional melody in response to my query as to Pat Troy's tune. Pat Troy junior, who pieced the song together from several people including Joseph Murrin and Jack Troy, sang a melody which employed the B phrase of the mass-mediated tune alone. Whilst Pat Troy junior's phrase was clearly influenced by performances of the song which he had heard on the radio, disc or television, the close similarity between the mass-mediated B phrase and that of the traditional tune suggests that Pat Troy junior saw it as the same as the one which he had heard Joseph Murrin and/or Jack Troy sing.

Meanwhile, the most obvious explanation for the employment of the mass-mediated A phrase by Joseph Murrin is that he too had come under the influence of the tune which he had heard sung repeatedly on radio and television and had substituted it for that which he had heard Pat Troy sing many years previously. He was, after all, a member of the Murrin family and so would probably not have been present at many local performances of "The Moonshine Can." Again, though, the resemblance between the mass-mediated melody and the traditional melody indicates that the tune which Joseph Murrin had heard Pat Troy sing was not the Tom Sexton melody but the traditional tune.

Some support for this can be found in the melody sung by James Hennessey, the son of Michael and Bridget Hennessey. His tune combines the A phrase of the mass-mediated melody with the B phrase of the traditional melody and the B phrase associated with "The Boy Who Wore the Blue." This is the tune that Leo remembered Jack Troy as singing. Against this, however, it should be noted that Leo was not himself a recognised singer and, being a member of the Hennessey family, he was unlikely to have heard many performances of Pat Troy's song.

This conflicting evidence from Goose Cove and the surrounding area as to the original tune of "The Moonshine Can" led me to discuss the song's melody with various people in Goose Cove and St. Anthony. In an attempt to ascertain which tune Pat Troy had sung, I played people the recordings of the

song sung by Tom Sexton, Pat Troy junior, and Joshua Osborne.[15] The observations which these renditions elicited are of particular interest, not only for the light they shed on the melody of "The Moonshine Can" but also with regard to people's perceptions of song tunes in general.

Tom Sexton's version proved to be the most controversial. Several people observed, even before hearing the recording, that his tune was not the same as that of Pat Troy or Jack Troy. Leo Troy's daughter, Frances Reardon, for example, had heard it said that Tom did not sing "The Moonshine Can" like her Uncle Jack had done (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 198; cf. MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 221). Likewise, Pierce Murrin, a contemporary of Leo Troy and a good friend of Pat Troy, said that Tom Sexton had a different "air" (tune) from Pat Troy (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 225). Joseph Murrin, meanwhile, regarded Tom Sexton's melody as "all tangled up," like the words of his text (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255), an observation which lends support to the observation made above that Joseph Murrin had probably heard Pat Troy sing the song to a version of the traditional melody. Ross Manuel, a man living in St. Anthony who was familiar with Jack Troy's renditions of the song and who was himself a fiddle and accordion player, was also certain that Tom Sexton's tune was not the one

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[15]On some occasions, I also played the recording of Leander Roberts. It was unfortunate that I did not make the recording of Jim Morris playing the tune of the song on the accordion until some time later.

which he had heard Jack Troy sing (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 209).[16]

According to the testimony of these people, then, neither Pat Troy nor Jack Troy sang "The Moonshine Can" to the Tom Sexton melody. Yet, reactions to the Joshua Osborne recording of song, which I used to exemplify the traditional melody,[17] were not as straightforwardly confirmatory of Pat Troy's tune as I had expected. Rather, it became clear from people's comments that their recollections of the tune of "The Moonshine Can" were in many cases bound up with their memory of the vocal tone and performance style of the person whom they had heard singing it. Hence, it was not always clear whether the differences which they remarked on between the recordings related to the melody, in the sense of the assemblage of pitches being sung, its rhythm and speed, or the vocal quality and style of particular singers.

This problem is exemplified by the comments of Frances Reardon and her father, Leo Troy, on the recordings which I played them of the song. Frances, for example, observed that Tom Sexton had a different voice from Jack Troy, the person whom she recalled singing "The Moonshine Can." She said that Tom Sexton did not have "the proper swing to it" and that his voice was "cut off." She illustrated the latter point by drawing an imaginary line in the air with a

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[16]Ross Manuel nevertheless seemed reluctant to say that Tom Sexton had the tune wrong and thought that Tom ought to have the "right" melody.

[17]I had not at this time come across the Alf Pollard recordings.

sharp dip at the end. Meanwhile, Joshua Osborne's rendition was more like Jack Troy's in her view in that it was "longer," and she again drew an imaginary line in the air but without the dip at the end. Despite this, however, Joshua Osborne's voice was "flat" in comparison with that of Jack Troy, this possibly being a reference to Osborne's light tenor voice (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 212). Leo Troy, meanwhile, thought Tom Sexton's version of the song was "pretty close" to the song as he recalled it but, on subsequently hearing Joshua Osborne's rendition, Leo became certain that that was the right melody. Like Frances, Leo regarded Osborne as having a "longer tune to it," similarly indicating what he meant with a line (MUNFLA MS. 85-257/p. 212).

Given that the configuration of pitches in the individual phrases and the overall stanzas of the Tom Sexton tune and the traditional tune do not correlate with the shapes drawn by Frances and Leo, it is unlikely that their comments on the line and length of the tunes refer to melodic contour. Instead, their comments seem to me to make most sense if they are taken as referring to the rhythms which characterise each of the two melodies and the performance style in which each is delivered. Thus, the "longer" tune indicated by the smooth line is a reflection of the predominantly even crotchet beats of the traditional tune and the measured, flowing performance which those beats perhaps received in Jack Troy's renditions. Conversely, the perception of Tom's tune as "cut off" may stem from the iambic crotchet-quaver beat combinations in which his tune

is largely cast, and the bouncy, less fluid quality this would have lent to his rendition.[18] This might then account for Frances' perception of Jack Troy's tune as slower than that of Tom Sexton (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 212).

Another member of the Murrin family considered Joshua Osborne's version of "The Moonshine Can" as the closest to that which he recalled hearing in his youth, although he thought the "right" tune had "a longer tone to it." He believed that the tune of the song as it was sung "on [the] radio" was almost right (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 223-225). It is not clear if he meant the same thing as Leo Troy and Frances Reardon regarding "longer tone" but it may be that the way in which he remembered hearing the tune sung was even more sustained than in Osborne's rendition. Meanwhile, his objection to Tom Sexton's rendition was that it was too slow and "drawn out," like Paddy Sexton's singing (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 250-51). This description suggests that this informant was conscious of the more melismatic and ornate melodic line of the Tom Sexton tune in comparison with that of the traditional melody.

Joseph Murrin appeared to be more concerned with vocal quality than melodic difference in the recordings which I played and in the singing of Pat Troy as he recalled it. After exemplifying Pat Troy's tune to me, for example, he explained:

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[18]Pat Troy junior certainly regarded Tom's tune as "bouncy" (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 217).

> Now, Pat Troy used to sing with that air, but he didn't
> have a sweet tone (to it) [that] I got. . . . He didn't
> have that sweet swing that I got. . . . He didn't have
> the sweet voice, swing to his voice like I got
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255).

Likewise, he commented that "Tom hasn't got a swing to it" either (MUNFLA

Tape 85-257/C8255). It may have been because of this concern with vocal tone

that neither Joseph Murrin or his daughter, Eileen McDonald, appeared to hear

much difference between Tom Sexton's tune and that of Joshua Osborne. They

thought that none of the singers of whom I had recordings had the tune quite

right. In the case of Pat Troy junior, Eileen explained that he did not know "how

to change his air." This meant that instead of following the "ups and downs" of

the tune, he sang the same part over and over. Interestingly, Eileen also

thought that if Pat could sing the other parts of the tune, it might sound more

like Tom Sexton's tune (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 227).

Despite the frequent blurring of the distinction between tune and tone in

these comments, many of them seem to indicate Joshua Osborne's tune bore

the greatest resemblance to that sung by Pat and/or Jack Troy. This was also

the opinion of Leo Troy's sister-in-law, Rita (née Reardon), and a number of St.

Anthony people, including Joseph and Ann Ollerhead, Sylvia Emberley (née

Ollerhead), and Jim and Phyllis Sinyard (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 221, 233, 242,

254 262; cf. p. 247). Thus, much of the commentary on the recordings of "The

Moonshine Can" which I played lends support to the theory that Pat Troy and

Jack Troy sang "The Moonshine Can" to a version of the traditional tune.

Taking the melodic evidence and the oral testimony together, then, it is possible to make the following generalisations. First of all, there is firsthand testimony and melodic evidence (from Tom Sexton, Philip Sexton, Agnes Hancock and Fanny Ricks) that Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton sang "The Moonshine Can" to the Tom Sexton tune. Since Jack Troy would definitely have learnt the song from Pat Troy, and Paddy Sexton may well have done so too, there is also a conviction amongst those who heard Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton sing the song that their tune was the same as that sung by Pat Troy. There is, however, no firsthand testimony that this latter was the case. We do have, on the other hand, firsthand testimony and melodic evidence (from Leo Troy, a member of the Murrin family, Alf Pollard, Jim Morris and Gordon Smith) that Pat Troy sang the traditional tune. Most intriguingly of all, we also have firsthand testimony (Leo Troy, Rita Troy, Frances Reardon, Ross Manuel, Jim and Phyllis Sinyard) and possible melodic evidence (from Pat Troy junior) that Jack Troy sang the traditional tune. In addition, it is notable that the Tom Sexton tune was particularly associated with Jack Troy and members of the Sexton family, and it did not, as far as is known, spread beyond Goose Cove.

The most obvious explanation to fit this set of data is as follows. Pat Troy composed and sang "The Moonshine Can" to the traditional tune. His son, Jack, learnt the song from him and likewise performed it to the traditional tune.

At some point, however, when the song's popularity had waned and it was no longer being disseminated from Goose Cove to the surrounding area, Jack Troy and his friend Paddy Sexton began to sing the song to the Tom Sexton melody. In the case of Jack Troy, he continued to sing the song to the traditional tune as well and seems to have consistently employed one or the other tune depending on his audience.

There is, however, little support for these ideas amongst the people of Goose Cove and St. Anthony. Marie Hillier, for example, thought it unlikely that Pat Troy, and presumably, therefore, Jack Troy, sang the song to two tunes (MUNFLA Ms. 86-160/p. 28; cf. p. 240). Rather, she and Tom Sexton, as seen above, attributed the change of melody to commercial performers who wanted to sing the song to guitar accompaniment. This accords to some extent with the theory put forward in chapter 6 that Omar Blondahl modified the tune of "The Moonshine Can" for harmonic reasons, although the suggestion in chapter 6 is that the melody thus altered by Blondahl was the traditional tune and not the Tom Sexton melody. Meanwhile, no one in Goose Cove and St. Anthony seemed to have much idea why Jack Troy would change the tune of the song, although one man made the general suggestion that people might alter a tune if it went too high for their voice (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 41). Other possible explanations for Jack Troy's fitting of a second melody to his father's song will be explored in more detail below.

Returning to the question of Pat Troy's tune for the song, and working on the assumption that it was a version of the traditional tune, the next step is to inquire into the provenance of this melody. As noted in chapter 4, local people believed Pat Troy to have composed it himself. The fact that it has not been possible to locate any exact analogue of the tune in Newfoundland or beyond, apart from the recompositions and recombinations of it known to have been composed subsequently to "The Moonshine Can," lends support to this view. On the other hand, it is the norm for local songs in Newfoundland, as elsewhere, to be composed to a melody from another song, with or without some modification of the melody in the process. In this respect, it is notable that the melody of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" as sung on Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula and in southern Labrador bears a close resemblance to that of the traditional tune of "The Moonshine Can." As described in chapter 6, the principal difference between the two is in the first half of the B phrase which, in "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," begins lower than that of "The Moonshine Can" and does not extend quite so high. It is conceivable, therefore, that the melody to which "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" was sung in this region formed the basis of Pat Troy's melody for "The Moonshine Can" and that, in adopting the tune, Pat Troy modified the B phrase to begin higher and extend higher in the way described. This would explain the absence of any exact analogues of his tune and the local perception of him having "composed" the melody.

The information we have about the currency of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" in this particular area lends support to this idea. According to the testimony of the singers who performed "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" to the melody in question, the song was circulating both during and for some time after the First World War:

> I don't know who I learned ["The Boy Who Wore the Blue"] from but I learned it sometime in one of the wars. I don't know whether [it was] the First World's [sic] War or whether the Second. . . . I believe it was in the First because many's (the time) we went back and forth to the sh? r? and everything and I was always asked to sing "The Boy Who Wore the Blue." By older people, older (people?) knew (MUNFLA Tape 82-248/C5860; cf. MUNFLA Tapes 82-167/C5780, C5791).

Thus, it seems that "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" had been an active item of repertoire in the region just before the time when Pat Troy composed "The Moonshine Can" in about 1920. Indeed, as mentioned in chapter 4, Leo Troy thought that his father may have sung "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" himself.[19] Whether or not this was definitely the case, the song was known to have been sung in Goose Cove by Mary Jane Reardon (nee Bartlett). She was originally from the settlement of Fortune, near Griquet, to the north of Goose Cove, but was living in Goose Cove in 1921, probably having moved there as a result of her marriage to Martin Reardon (Census 1921, Reardon, MUNFLA Tape 85-

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[19]It should be noted, however, that Leo Troy only remembered this when I made a specific inquiry about the song.

257/C8276; cf. MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 209, 264).[20]

There is, nevertheless, reason to question whether "The Boy Who Wore

the Blue" was Pat Troy's immediate source for the "Moonshine Can" melody.

This is because of the complete absence of textual similarities between the two.

Leo O'Brien's text (LO1) illustrates the point:

THE BOY WHO WORE THE BLUE[21]

> Dear madam, I'm a soldier, my speech is rough and
> plain,
> There's not much use of writing but I hope it will ease
> the pain,
> I have been attending your soldier boy and he seems
> to take to me,
> More than any of the other lads he desires my
> company.
>
> The night before the battle your soldier boy and I,
> As we stood there a-talking beneath the clear blue
> sky,
> He told me of home which he loved so well and the
> friends he loved so dear,
> While I had none to talk about but I always liked to
> hear.
>
> He named his sisters one by one and then a deep
> blush came,
> He told me of another one but he did not speak her
> name,
> He told me of the morning when first he came away,
> How you did weep and mourn for him but you did not

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bid him stay.

"And now, dear comrade, if it should be that I will
have to fall,
Will you write home and tell them how I spoke and
thought of all?"
I promised but I did not think that it would be so
soon,
The battle was three days ago, he died today at
noon.

The night before the battle fast in our crowded tent,
There was many's a brave boy sobbing and many's
a knee was bent,
We knew not till tomorrow when the bloody work was
done,
How many would assemble for to see the setting sun.

The morning of the battle fast came the shot and
shell,
I was standing close beside him, I saw him when he
fell,
I gently raised him in my arms and laid him on the
grass,
It was going against the orders but I guess they let it
pass.

It was a dreadful (miner) ball that hit him in the side,
But I did not think it fatal till the night before he died,
And when he saw that he had to go he called me to
his side,
He whispered, "Comrade, do not forget to tell them
how I died.

"Here underneath my pillow is a lock of golden hair,
The name is on the paper, send it in my mother's
care,
Last night I wanted so to live, I felt too young to go,
Last week I passed my birthday, I was eighteen
years, you know.

"Oh tell them how I spoke of all and I bid them all
goodbye,
And how I prayed to God for grace and all my fear
went by,"
His voice fell to a whisper, I genterly raised his head,
He whispered, "Goodbye, comerade," your soldier
boy lay dead.

We wrapped him in his soldier's cloak and bore him
out that night,
We buried him under a shady tree where the moon
was shining bright,
I carved him out a headstone as skilful as I could,
And if you wish to find it I will show you where it
stood.

I am sending you his hymnbook and the cap he used
to wear,
And a lock I cut the night before from his dark brown
curly hair,
I'm sending you his Bible, the night before he died
I turned the leaf together and read it by his side.

I'll keep the belt he used to wear, he told me so to
do,
It has a hole in the left side just where the ball went
through,
I think I have done my bidding now, there's nothing
more to do,
But while I lives I'll always mourn for the boy that
wore the blue (MUNFLA Tape 82-248/C5860).

It is clear from this that "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" contains none of the

formulaic language which pervades "The Moonshine Can." As shown in chapter

5, this diction is characteristic of many local song compositions from parts of

Canada and northeastern America as well as many eighteenth- and nineteenth-

century English, and particularly Irish, broadside ballads. Its use in "The

Moonshine Can" prompts speculation that another local song or a broadside ballad from England or Ireland, which was also sung to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody, served as the specific model for "The Moonshine Can" and furnished the tune for "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" in this part of Newfoundland. In other words, instead of the melody of "The Moonshine Can" being derived from "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," it is possible that the two songs were each indebted to a common source for their tunes and, in the case of "The Moonshine Can," for aspects of its text as well.

The fact that "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" was sung to at least four tunes in Newfoundland certainly suggests that its text was initially disseminated through print and so would have needed to be fitted to an appropriate melody for performance. Indeed, a possible origin of the text in Newfoundland may have been the "Old Favourites" song column of the Family Herald, a rural newspaper known to have circulated in Newfoundland, which published the song in the issues of 19 and 22 October, 1919 (Ives, "Folksongs of Maine" 41-45; cf. Fowke "'Old Favourites'"). We will return to the question of why the song was combined with this particular melody in this region of Newfoundland below.

Meanwhile, the existence of a number of songs, in Newfoundland and beyond, whose melodies show a marked resemblance to that of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" lends plausibility to the idea that the tune for the latter was

adapted from another song.[22] Firstly, it is associated with "The 'Elsie M. Hart,'"
the shipwreck song discussed in chapter 7. In addition, it is notable that two
other songs concerning the injury and death of soldiers in battle - "Waterloo"
(Laws J2, "The Plains of Waterloo I") and "Lonely Waterloo" - are sung in some
versions to melodies similar to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune. As already
discussed in chapter 6, the version of "Waterloo" sung by Daniel Endacott of
Sally's Cove for collector, Elisabeth Greenleaf, in 1929 (Greenleaf 165) is close
to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody in all but the upbeat and first bar of
phrase A (see over).[23] The melody of "Lonely Waterloo" as sung by Mrs. John
Fogarty of Joe Batt's Arm, Fogo Island (Peacock, Outports 3: 1007), employs
triple subdivisions of the beat and is highly ornate, but the second half of its A
phrase and all of its B phrase are also very close in contour to the "Boy Who
Wore the Blue" melody (see transcription over). In addition, it is of particular
note that the B phrase of "Lonely Waterloo" rises to the fourth above the upper
tonic in its second bar, close to where this pitch appears in the corresponding

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[22]Published song collections checked for melodic analogues were those
relating to places with which Newfoundland had historical and cultural links,
that is, Canada, especially the Maritime Provinces, the American state of
Maine, Ireland and, to some extent, England.

[23]Cf. "Waterloo" as sung by Charlotte Decker of Parson's Pond, Northern
Peninsula, which is virtually the same as the melody sung by Endacott except
that it is in a minor tonality (Peacock, Outports 3: 1020). It will also be
remembered that a song named, "Waterloo," was sung in Goose Cove by
Jack Troy and by his grandmother, Mary Sexton, before him, but it is not
known if this is the same song as that under discussion here.

phrase of "The Moonshine Can," but not in "The Boy Who Wore the Blue."

Another close analogue of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody occurs

THE BOY WHO WORE THE BLUE (JB1)

G-B flat

♩ = 100-112

VARIATION Upbeat o5,9 Upbeat o5 Upbeat to 10Upbeat o10Upbeat o 13 Upbeat o 13   Bar 14

LONELY WATERLOO

in association with the murder ballad, "James McDonald" (Laws P38) as sung by Allan Henneberry of Devil's Island, Nova Scotia (Creighton, Songs and Ballads 42). Although it employs a triple subdivision of the beat, the contour of both its phrases follows a similar course to that of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," albeit with slightly different pitches in places (see, for example, bars 7 and 11).

A number of songs with melodies resembling the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune have also been found in Irish ballad and song collections. Of these, "The Wreck of the 'Mary Jane'," is a humorous song, possibly parodying shipwreck songs, concerning a ship and her dissolute crew (O Lochlainn, Irish Street Ballads 40). According to O Lochlainn, the tune was originally used for the emigrant song, "The Town of Antrim" (206). Once again, the melody is characterised by a triple subdivision of the beat, and there are several differences of detail in comparison with the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody (see, for example, bars 3 and 15, and bars 5 and 9). Yet, the overall contour of the two tunes is close and, in addition, the B phrase of the Irish song contains the rise to the fourth above the upper tonic in its second bar, as noted in "The Moonshine Can" and "Lonely Waterloo." The Gaelic song from County Kerry, "Kitty and I Would Go Walking" whose melody is quoted by O Canainn (Traditional Music 31), on the other hand, is another embellished version of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune with an A phrase which departs somewhat from

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JAMES MCDONALD

B flat

THE WRECK OF THE "MARY JANE"

O Lochlainn, Irish Street Ballads (40).

KITTY AND I WOULD GO WALKING

D   O Canainn, Traditional Music (31).

the contour of the latter in its first and second bars, but which is otherwise close.

Two other analogues of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune found in Ireland merit special mention because of their association with broadside ballads about standing trial and informers. One is "Dan Kelly's Perjury," quoted by Zimmermann (155) from Joyce (Old Irish Folk Music 304) as the probable tune for the 1798 broadside, "Michael Boylan." As can be seen from the transcription overleaf, there are certain differences in contour from "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," notably in the first half of the A phrase (cf. "When Kitty and I Would Go Walking") and the first bar of the B phrase (cf. "The Wreck of the 'Mary Jane'"), but there is still a marked overall resemblance between the two tunes. The B phrase of "Dan Kelly's Perjury" also extends to the fourth above the upper tonic in its second bar, as in "The Moonshine Can," "The Wreck of the 'Mary Jane'" and "Lonely Waterloo."

The closest analogue which it has been possible to find of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" tune is the melody used for the 1799 broadside, "Billy Byrne of Ballymanus" (National Library of Ireland, reprinted in Zimmermann 149). Its resemblance to the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody is particularly striking in the version given by Joyce (Ancient Irish Music 88), a transcription of which is reproduced overleaf. Joyce comments on the tune as follows:

> This tune is well known, and extremely popular in the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow; and I think not without good reason, for it appears to

me to be a surpassingly beautiful melody, and most characteristically Irish. I have often heard it sung and played by itinerant musicians, in the streets of Dublin. Ballymanus is in the county of Wicklow. I have a different setting of the air, which I took down many years ago from Joseph Martin [an informant], and which he knew by the name of "The Banks of Sweet Loughrea," but it is in every respect inferior to the Leinster setting given here (88).[24]

In a later reprint of the ballad, Joyce also adds that the melody "was sometimes used as a march tune (Old Irish Folk Music 179).

It can be seen from the transcription that the tune contains only slight departures from the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody, such as the threefold repetition of the final note at the end of phrase A. The tune also extends, in this version, up to the fourth above the upper tonic in the second bar of phrase B, as in "The Moonshine Can." The versions of the tune published by O Lochlainn (More Irish Street Ballads 30) and by Healy Mercier Book 2: 21) depart from the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody most noticeably in their upbeats to phrase A, but in general they too are very similar to the latter melody, as the transcriptions reproduced overleaf show.

Despite this particularly close resemblance of the tune of "Billy Byrne of Ballymanus" to that of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," however, and the

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[24]Joyce did not apparently publish the version of "The Banks of Sweet Loughrea" which he mentions in this passage. "The Banks of Sweet Lough Neagh," meanwhile, contained in the Sam Henry Collection gives a different melody (Huntington 295).

DAN KELLY'S PERJURY

BILLY BYRNE OF BALLYMANUS

Joyce, Ancient Irish Music (88).

With feeling

BILLY BYRNE OF BALLYMANUS

O Lochlainn, More Irish (30).

BILLY BYRNE OF BALLYMANUS

Healy (21-22).

Slow March

thematic connection between the text of "Billy Byrne" and that of "The Moonshine Can" in their reference to informing, it is unlikely that "Billy Byrne" was itself the source of the "Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody or the melodic and textual model for "The Moonshine Can." Firstly, with regard to Pat Troy's composition, it is clear from the text of "Billy Byrne" that there are few verbal resemblances between the two songs:

BILLY BYRNE OF BALLYMANUS

Come all ye brave United Men, I pray you lend an ear,
And listen to these verses I now will let you hear,
Concerning Billy Byrne, a man of great renown,
Who was tried and hanged at Wicklow town, a traitor to the Crown.

It was in the year of ninety-eight, we got reason to complain,
We lost our brave commander, Billy Byrne was his name;
He was taken to Dublin city and brought to Wicklow Jail,
And though we wished to free him, for him they'd take no bail.

When he was taken prisoner the lot against him swore
That he a Captain's title upon Mount Pleasant bore,
Before the King's grand army his men he did review,
And with a piece of cannon marched on for Carrigue.

And when the trial was started the informers they came in,
There was Dixon, Doyle and Davis, and likewise Bid Doolin;
They thought it little scruple his precious blood to spill

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Who never robbed nor murdered nor to any man did
ill.

It would melt your heart with pity how these traitors
did explain
That Byrne worked the cannon on Arklow's bloody
plain;
They swore he worked the cannon and headed the
pikemen,
And near the town of Gorey killed three loyal
Orangemen.

They swore he had ten thousand men all ready at his
command,
All ready for to back the French as soon as they
would land;
They swore he was committed to support the United
cause,
The Judge he cried out, "Guilty," to be hanged by
coercion laws.

One of those prosecutors, I often heard him tell,
It was at his father's table he was often treated well,
And in his brother's kitchen where many did he see,
The Byrnes were well rewarded for their civility.

My curse light on you Dixon, I ne'er will curse your
soul,
It was at the Bench at Wicklow you swore without
control,
The making of a false oath you thought it little sin,
To deprive the County Wicklow of the flower of all its
men.

Where are you, Matthew Davis, or why don't you
come on
To prosecute the prisoner who now lies in Rathdrum?
The devil has him fast chained repenting for his sins,
In lakes of fire and brimstone and sulphur to the
chin.

When the devil saw him coming he sang a merry
song,
Saying, "Welcome, Matthew Davis, what kept you out
so long?
Where is that traitor, Dixon, to the Crown so loyal and
true?
I have a warm corner for him and, of course, Bid
Doolin, too."

Success to Billy Byrnel May his name forever shine,
Though Wicklow, Wexford and Kildare and all along
the line;
May the Lord have mercy on his soul and all such
souls as he,
Who stood upright for Ireland's cause and died for
liberty (Walton's New Treasury 86-87).[25]

Secondly, with regard to "The Moonshine Can" and "The Boy Who Wore the

Blue," I have found no evidence that "Billy Byrne" was sung in Newfoundland

or, indeed, anywhere in North America.[26]

It is, however, conceivable that another Irish ballad was sung in

Newfoundland to the same melody as "Billy Byrne," and that it was this

unknown Irish ballad that became the source for Pat Troy and for the person

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[25]The text given in Walton's New Treasury has been given here as it is
the most comprehensive. Two other versions can be found in Healy, Mercier
Book 2: 68-71.

[26]This is notwithstanding the fact that the song was reprinted a number of
times on broadsides and in songsters in Ireland, and a number of versions
have been recorded from oral tradition. Examples of the former include
Harding's Dublin Songster (n.p.: n.p., nd, 427), Songs, Ballads and Poetry
of Ireland (Harding: 1865, 89-90), Ireland's Own, (n.p., 21 June 1911, p. 19),
Old Irish Songs (np: np, 1916, 13-15. I am grateful to D.K. Wilgus for
drawing some of these references to my attention.

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who combined the text of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" to this melody. The tune has certainly been associated with at least one other song in Ireland, namely a Jacobin emigrant ballad, "The County of Mayo" (Healy, Irish Ballads 82, 84), and has been noted in English and Scottish collections as well (Zimmermann 109). Furthermore, the tune was widespread in the counties of Dublin, Wexford, Wicklow and Carlow in Ireland, according to Joyce (see above), and some of the Irish settlers to Newfoundland came from southwest Wexford (Mannion 8). It is also known that Irish songs were very popular in Newfoundland and many of those in print and in oral tradition had a pronounced influence on songs composed there (Kirwin 136, 137).

More specific evidence of the popularity of Irish songs in Newfoundland and their use as models for local compositions has been provided by Casey from Conche. This is of particular note with regard to the composition of "The Moonshine Can" because Conche was an Irish-Catholic community in White Bay with which the people of Goose Cove had strong ties. Amongst the Irish songs known in Conche were a number of political ballads and emigrant songs ("Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 195-222) which, as the comments of some of Casey's informants indicate, were often very emotive in performance for older singers in the community and their audiences:

> ". . . most of the songs they learned were handed down, and perhaps most of them were brought in by the immigrants and by the people, the early settlers.

All, practically all the old songs were Irish songs, and
a good many of them were considered treason songs.
They dealt with the hard times, and with the troubles
with the English, and all this. A few examples such
as 'The Manchester Martyrs,' ay. . . . " ("Traditions
and Neighbourhoods" 156).

"Take old Mr. H— now, he used to always sing the
'Manchester Martyrs' everywhere I heard him - to a
wedding or anywhere he was asked to sing a song,
that'd be the first one he'd sing. And it seemed like,
I don't why, it was a favourite, but I think besides
being a good air and all to this, it was patriotic, you
know, and it appealed to the Irish in him. I think
that's the way it was. And a lot of the old fellas now,
of the old stock, when I was a boy, when someone
would be singin' some of those songs like that, a
song like that, if you watched him you'd notice him;
they seemed to be gettin' worked up like, you know"
("Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 156).

Contributor 17 observed: "In singing a song, the
singer would get very enthusiastic about noble deeds,
especially the bravery of the Irish. The volume of
singing would increase and anyone who said
anything, they [the singers] would be ready to fight,
especially if it was about the Irish" ("Traditions and
Neighbourhoods" 147).

The strong emotions aroused by the content of such songs may have been

partly fuelled by, and at the same time partly responsible for, the aesthetic

appeal of the songs' melodies reported by Casey's informants:

"But the most of those old Irish songs did have good
airs. That's one thing about those old songs, they
had very good airs" ("Traditions and
Neighbourhoods" 156).

Not surprisingly, then, of the local songs composed in Conche, Casey found that

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many were modelled both textually and melodically on Irish songs, over half being "come-all-ye" ballads ("Traditions and Neighbourhoods" 162).

This data from Conche lends credibility to the theory that Pat Troy based his composition on an Irish ballad, possibly a political, "come-all-ye" ballad, sung to the tune of "Billy Byrne." Despite having checked a number of the Irish songs collected by Casey in Conche, however, it has not been possible to locate one with the "Billy Byrne" tune. Neither have I recovered one in Goose Cove itself. It is, nevertheless, my belief that such a song was known by Pat Troy and that it provided him not only with the basis of the tune for "The Moonshine Can," but also with many of the verbal formulas and textual imagery which he employed.[27]

This latter would have been in keeping with Goose Cove people's perception of the compositional process in which it was acknowledged that certain words or phrases "could pass from one [song] to the other" and that "a lot of [songmaking] was (from) one to the other" (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276). It seems that a textual phrase would be incorporated "if it fits . . . in the right place" if the songmaker felt that the words expressed something which he or she was trying to say:

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[27]A propos Pat Troy's possible use of an Irish "come-all-ye" ballad as a model for "The Moonshine Can," it is intriguing to note that amongst the printers of political broadsides in Ireland listed by Zimmermann there is a John Troy who was active in Waterford during the 1840s (322).

> Because a lot of songs them . . . people made up,
> well, you had to take them because (sh? ring?) onto
> something the same kind of a song, see. Some
> words into it could fit in your song right, look. . . .
> They had to [use words from others' songs] 'cause
> they never have no experience of their own. Not for
> round the world and that. They had to take
> something similar and they (mightn't be) the same
> words but something similar as the other fellow, see
> (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8280; cf. Ms. 85-257/p. 215).

It is possible that this was precisely what led Pat Troy to the ballad which formed the textual and musical model for "The Moonshine Can." Parts of the text of one of the highly emotive Irish ballads sung in the vicinity were perceived by Pat Troy as expressing the ideas or the sentiments which he himself wanted to convey in his song. Since his thoughts at the time were dominated by the informer, and his feelings by bitter anger for what the informer had done to him, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the ballad in question was also concerned with informers and informing. The tune had, after all, been associated with at least one such song before. As a result of this perception of similarity, Pat Troy was prompted to draw on some of the keywords, phrases and images of the ballad for his own song. At the same time, he was reminded of the tune with which these were associated and that tune in turn became the basis of his song's melody.

Thus, it could be that "The Moonshine Can" was itself a product of the same process which, it has been argued in chapter 7, spawned several other

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local songs in Newfoundland to its basic melody. In other words, I am suggesting here that it was a thematic connection between the story of Pat Troy's intended song and the story as he understood it of an existing song which was the decisive factor in his selection of a tune. This connection may not necessarily have been a conscious one on Pat Troy's part. Nevertheless, the fact that, as Casey observed in Conche, and I also found in Goose Cove:

> The singers and the audience claim they like a song
> for both the text and the tune, 'because of the story
> it told and the air' ("Traditions and Neighbourhoods"
> 143; cf. MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8259),

demonstrates that people were particularly aware of these twin aspects of a song. This in turn suggests the possibility that these two things could become connected in some way in people's minds.

According to Zimmermann, a similar process occurred sometimes in the Irish broadside ballad trade. He notes that when the title of a tune appeared on a broadside ballad sheet, it may have been specified due to its particular popularity at the time when the ballad was published. Yet,

> . . . when this happens with a patriotic text, the
> reason is often the fact that the melody had already
> been associated with some successful political song
> and had thus acquired a meaning quite independent
> of its musical qualities (113).

Such was the extra-musical association of some tunes that they became "party tunes" and were consequently considered abhorrent by members of the opposite

(Catholic or Protestant) political party (113). Ward has also described a similar phenomenon in connection with satirical songs in Germany (352), and Ives in the Maritimes ("Satirical Song" 69). These examples provide further evidence of the potential association of tunes and the textual content of songs, the principle of which is also at the heart of song parody. This and a number of related theoretical points will be returned to in the conclusion.

Meanwhile, it remains to be explained how the tune of the above-hypothesised Irish ballad came to be the melody of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" as sung in southern Labrador and on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland. In the absence of more specific information as to the identity of the Irish ballad in question, its textual content, and when and by whom it was sung, it is difficult even to conjecture why its melody was thus adopted for what was probably a printed text of "The Boy Who Wore the Blue." Nevertheless, as seen in "Billy Byrne," there was often a reference to military action in the texts of Irish political ballads, and this may have been the reason for the re-combination of the tune with another song concerned with war. In addition, it is notable that, as described above, a number of tunes displaying distinct similarities with the "Billy Byrne"/"Boy Who Wore the Blue" melody are associated in some parts of Newfoundland, including the Northern Peninsula, with songs concerning dead or wounded soldiers, like "Waterloo" and "Lonely Waterloo." Once again, then, it may also have been the case that the

association of such songs with melodies reminiscent of the "Billy Byrne" tune influenced the selection of that tune for "The Boy Who Wore the Blue."

There is likewise little information to go on regarding the question of how and why "The Moonshine Can" came to be sung to more than one tune in Goose Cove. As reasoned above, it seems that Jack Troy was au fait with both melodies and may have varied them according to the company he was in when he performed the song. In addition, it has been noted that the Tom Sexton melody was particularly associated with members of the Sexton family.

It can be stated a priori that there are three possible reasons for a change in the tune of a particular song. One is the transmission of the song's text in print, another is as the result of a crossover made by a singer who becomes "derailed" whilst singing one melody into another melody due to a specific or general similarity between the two.[26] The third possibility is the deliberate introduction of a new tune by a singer for a particular reason. Of these alternatives, the first is not applicable. The second is suggestive of only a temporary shift in the first instance, although such a change obviously has the potential to be perpetuated or retained and may, as will be seen, have been responsible for the alternative melody for "The Moonshine Can." Meanwhile, the third alternative seems to be the most likely reason for the two "Moonshine Can" melodies in Goose Cove, the main difficulty being to establish the reason why

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[26]Cf. Hendren 55, Bronson, "Interdependence" 49, Cowdery 497-98.

such a change would be made by a singer of the song.

With regard to the second possibility, then, that of melodic crossover, it will be recalled that the traditional tune and the Tom Sexton tune have several features in common. These are namely the ABBA form, their cadences on the lower and upper tonic at the end of the A and B phrases respectively, and the melodic figure of a threefold repetition of the tonic or its close equivalent, a move from the tonic to the note below and back to the tonic, at the end of phrase A. The two melodies nevertheless differ in many respects, including their overall range, the authentic/plagal range of each of their phrases, the even/iambic subdivisions of the beat, and in their contour. It is therefore difficult to see at what point one melody might become confused with the other. As seen in chapter 6, however, a tune collected in southern Labrador and sung for the songs, "Erin's Lovely Home" and "Good Looking Man," contains similarities with both "Moonshine Can" melodies. Its A phrase, from the second half of the first bar on, resembles that of the traditional tune, apart from the fact that it is iambic metre, whilst its B phrase is close to that of the Tom Sexton melody, although without the flattened seventh. It is therefore conceivable that, through the similarity of this tune with the traditional melody, the Tom Sexton melody, or whatever formed its basis, was suggested.

In fact, it has not proved possible to locate an exact analogue of the Tom Sexton melody in Newfoundland or beyond although there are many examples

of tunes which bear a close resemblance to it. Three of these, "Maid of the Mountain Brow," "Young Chambers" and "Carcasho" as collected from singers in southern Labrador have already been discussed in chapter 6. The tune of "Maid of the Mountain Brow" is, moreover, very similar to the that given by O Lochlainn for the Irish version of this song, "The Maid of the Sweet Brown Knowe" (Irish Street Ballads 38). The melody also seems to have been popular in Maine, where a fragment of it was noted in association with the classical ballad, "Captain Ward and the 'Rainbow'" (Child 287, Barry, British Ballads 348), and in neighbouring New Brunswick where various versions of it occur in conjunction with woods songs, such as Larry Gorman's composition, "The Winter of '73" ("McCullam Camp") and "The Joe Brook Song."[29] The tune was also known in Ireland as the melody for the broadside ballad, "John Mitchel" (Zimmermann 224), and in England where, according to Chappell, it was associated with the songs, "The Manchester Angel" (under which title it appears in Chappell), "The Sandgate Lass's Lament" and a poaching song which begins, "When I was bound apprentice in famous Lincolnshire (2: 734). Whilst there are

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[29]For background to and versions of "The Winter of '73" see, for example, Manny and Wilson (191), Ives, Gorman (54-56) and Folksongs of New Brunswick (38), whilst for versions of "The Joe Brook Song" see Manny and Wilson (120) and Ives, Folksongs of New Brunswick (78-79). See also "Mary Mahoney" and "A Winter on Renous" in Manny and Wilson (137, 187 respectively) and Ives' discussion of "A Winter on Renous" in "Joe Smith" (150). It should be noted that other songs are described in Manny and Wilson as belonging to the same tune family, but they are not similar enough by the criteria of this study for inclusion here.

CAPTAIN WARD AND THE "RAINBOW"
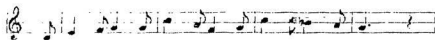
THE WINTER OF '73 (MCCULLAM CAMP)

Manny and Wilson (191).

THE JOE BROOK SONG

Manny and Wilson (120).

THE MANCHESTER ANGEL

E flat

Gracefully

no doubt other versions of the tune, the ones mentioned here all display a close resemblance to the Tom Sexton melody of "The Moonshine Can," albeit with slight differences in some details, as the transcriptions of the melodies of these songs overleaf testify.

The existence of so many close analogues to the Tom Sexton tune of "The Moonshine Can" suggests either that it was adapted from one of these versions or that a more exact analogue was already associated with another song and was taken over for use in "The Moonshine Can." Whatever was the case, the tune may have been suggested through the resemblance of its B phrase to the tune of "Erin's Lovely Home"/"Good Looking Man" and the resemblance of the latter tune, in its A phrase, to the traditional tune of the "The Moonshine Can."

If, on the other hand, there were any extra-musical reasons for the change of tune in Goose Cove, these are as difficult to fathom as the possible musical reasons for the shift. It does seem to have been a deliberate move, most likely on the part of Jack Troy and/or his good friend, Paddy Sexton. It must also have taken place before about 1945 when Tom Sexton learnt the song, but whether it was a change known about and sanctioned by Pat Troy before his death in 1937 is a mystery. There is a faint possibility, suggested by the pre-1945 date for the introduction of the second melody, that the change was prompted by the first performances of "The Moonshine Can" on Newfoundland

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radio although it is difficult to gauge whether the VOCM radio transmitter was of sufficient power for programmes like **The Barn Dance** to be received on the Northern Peninsula at this time. A more likely theory is that the change of tune was linked to the song's contentious frame of reference and the undertones of parts of its text. Yet, this does not explain the particular association of the alternative tune amongst members of the Sexton family, unless it was Paddy Sexton who persuaded Jack Troy to make the change. If so, this may have put Jack Troy in an awkward situation if members of his own family were keen to preserve the song in its original form. The close association of the Murrins with the Troys may account for their knowing the song in association with the traditional melody, despite the involvement of a member of their family in the incident and the inclusion of a stanza about her in the original form of the song.

Ultimately, then, it is not possible to reach any firm conclusions as to the reason for the existence of two melodies for "The Moonshine Can" in Goose Cove. At best, it seems that it could have arisen out of local sensibility with respect to the song and its content. If so, however, the full details remain obscure despite my attempts to uncover them amongst the people living in Goose Cove at the time I did my fieldwork.

II Performance and Transmission - "The Moonshine Can" in Newfoundland and Labrador

It can be seen from the aforegoing section that "The Moonshine Can" as

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composed by Pat Troy was a very individual composition, with a highly localised frame of reference and a specific set of immediately intended functions. At the time of its composition, it was of great topical interest in Goose Cove and the surrounding area and this ensured its performance and transmission there. As time went on, however, the song's popularity waned in the locale, although it was subsequently revived for a period by Tom Sexton, for whom it had novelty value and local interest, and, latterly, by Pat Troy junior, for whom it had an obvious family connection and historical interest. In addition, the song received occasional performances by Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton.

Meanwhile, it has also been seen that "The Moonshine Can" spread to locations throughout Newfoundland and southern Labrador and continued to be sung until at least into the 1980s. This being so, one is bound to ask what caused the song to be perpetuated in this way. In the words of Szwed, "What is it about a song that leads one person to repeat it to another once the song has been created and presented within a specific context?" ("Paul E. Hall" 150). Szwed suggests that the answer to this question lies in the degree to which a song resonates with cultural constants and, especially, the way in which it addresses "the persistent problems of community organization and survival" (150).

The aim of this section is to try and account for the persistence of "The Moonshine Can" in time and space, within the geographical area of

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Newfoundland and Labrador. In examining possible socio-cultural factors behind its continuation in the singing tradition of this region, it is pertinent to consider the forms in which it has been recovered, the textual and musical variation it has undergone, and the contexts in which it has been performed. Thus, drawing on the observations and findings of chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 of this study, it is hoped to identify how the song has been perpetuated, in what form, and why.

To judge from the extant versions of "The Moonshine Can" from Goose Cove and the surrounding area, there were 21 stanzas in Pat Troy's "original" composition, although some were probably added on later. Yet, as seen in chapter 5, the song became considerably shortened in the course of its dissemination in time and space. In Alf Pollard's versions from White Bay, we find immediately that the stanzas, GOOSE, FEE, OLLERHEAD, PELLEY, BILES and BACKBITING are absent, whilst the hypothesised stanza, MCDONALD, survives in fragmentary form only. This is despite the likelihood that Alf Pollard learnt the song from Pat Troy himself and may rather be a reflection of the fact that Pollard's versions were not recorded until many years later in 1976 and 1978. Nevertheless, Pollard's versions also evidence several modifications, such as the re-shaping of ELI so as to give it an entirely new frame of reference. This change seems to have been made by Pollard himself and was probably introduced because of the obscurity of the stanza's meaning as it originally stood. FRANK also appears subtly varied in AP1/2, making "young Frank" the

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second bearer of the news to Pat Troy in the narrative. It is probable that this shift made the stanza seem superfluous and ultimately led to its being dropped.

In Joshua Osborne's version of "The Moonshine Can" from White Bay south, and that published in The Newfoundlander, which on textual evidence also appears to emanate from the White Bay area, still more stanzas are omitted, namely, SPRUCE, ELI and ANTHONY. In addition, BACKBITING occurs in NF1, indicating that this stanza must initially have spread with the song beyond Goose Cove, despite its cryptic content. The earlier date (1945) of the Newfoundlander text possibly accounts for the retention of BACKBITING in this version, that of Joshua Osborne having been collected considerably later in 1960. As a result of the loss of these stanzas and, in the case of the Newfoundlander version, the conflation of others, the Osborne and Newfoundlander versions each comprise 11 stanzas. They are thus roughly half the length of Pat Troy's original composition. In particular, it is notable that all but a few of the moniker stanzas have been dropped, and at least one of the cryptic stanzas. As a result, the narrative of Pat Troy's experience is brought into sharper focus whilst the emphasis on the denigration of the informer and the lauding of Pat Troy's helpers is reduced.

In almost all of the traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can" recovered in locations beyond White Bay, the song has become even shorter, consisting of seven or eight stanzas only. Thus, the song seems to have stabilised at

about one-third of its original length. Once again, several moniker stanzas (GRENFELL and BACKBITING) are amongst those which are omitted, plus the superfluous narrative stanza, FRANK. In addition, three of the narrative stanzas, QUESTION, PARSONS and GRIEF, have been conflated to form two stanzas, becoming either QUESTION/PARSONS and GRIEF/PARSONS, or QUESTION/PARSONS and GRIEF. This change appears to have been prompted by the amount of repetition contained in the unconflated versions of these stanzas. In the majority of the extant traditional versions from beyond White Bay, then, the song's narrative has been compressed into four stanzas (EASTER, SUMMONS, QUESTION/PARSONS and GRIEF/PARSONS or GRIEF), whilst the moniker section has been reduced to two stanzas (MAGISTRATE and TROY). This leaves the introductory stanza, COME-ALL, and, in some versions, the stanza, NO-HEALTH, which has been transposed to second place. The hostility which NO-HEALTH expresses towards informers has, however, been toned down considerably in comparison with Pat Troy's original and the White Bay versions, and this may explain why the stanza has been dropped in other versions from beyond this region.

Of all the moniker stanzas which paid tribute to Pat Troy's helpers in his original composition, the fact that MAGISTRATE alone has been consistently retained in the seven- and eight-stanza versions is intriguing. Indeed, the persistence of a stanza toasting the magistrate and wishing him well in a song

which tells of the trial of an offender and the penalty inflicted on him, from the offender's point of view, is remarkable. It suggests that "The Moonshine Can" was neither intended nor construed as an anti-authoritarian song in the places where the seven- and eight-stanza versions were sung. This is despite the fact that anti-authoritarianism is a recurrent theme in many spoken narratives and songs concerning moonshine making, and other forms of customary but illegal activity, in Newfoundland. Indeed, as seen in chapter 2, there is a large corpus of tales and several songs in which an officer of the law is outwitted, either verbally or through the clever concealment of evidence, by the moonshine maker or a person who is sympathetic to moonshine manufacture (cf. Taft, "Of Scoffs" 89-94).

In "The Moonshine Can," however, it is informers and not representatives of the law who pose the threat. The pertinence of this theme can be gauged from the fact that moonshine making was difficult to police in rural Newfoundland, and the evidence of informers was consequently an important source of intelligence for the authorities. In the first instance, then, people making moonshine had more to fear from over-inquisitive neighbours within the community than from the representatives of the law outside it. This explains the widely perceived need for secrecy, or at least privacy, in the manufacture of moonshine, and the careful concealment of the still when not in use. Nevertheless, as discussed in chapter 2, there seem to be fewer examples of

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songs and spoken narratives in Newfoundland which touch on the subject of informers, than there are concerning the outwitting and discomfiture of officials, perhaps due to the more sensitive nature of the former topic. This makes the widespread dissemination of "The Moonshine Can" all the more significant and prompts particular discussion of the way in which the subject is treated in the shorter versions of the song.

To begin with, the reference to a single, specific person as "the informer" which is found in the versions of "The Moonshine Can" closest to the original has been changed in all other versions so as to refer to informers in the plural.[30] Thus, the song takes on a more generalised, less specific frame of reference. With the loss of the stanzas, ELI and FEE, there is also less attention to informers overall in the song. Indeed, apart from the versions including NO-HEALTH, in which informers are mentioned but the hostility towards them is greatly toned down, if not altogether absent, the only mention of informers is in COME-ALL. Even in this stanza, moreover, the explicit warning about informers is absent in some versions. Instead, it is merely stated that the song is about informers, despite the fact that the song makes no further reference to them. There is nevertheless a clear indication in COME-ALL of all versions that informers are responsible for what happens in the narrative ("they put our

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[30]The only other exception to this is AN1 which appears to have been re-composed to some extent to fit another local incident.

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moonshine down") and it would seem, therefore, that informers and informing are the background against which the narrative is meant to be interpreted, a point which will be returned to in due course.

The narrative, meanwhile, in its compacted form, tells of the news of the "kick up" about the moonshine can, the journey to court, the verbal exchange between the moonshine maker and the judge, and the confiscation of the can. Thus, the essence of the narrative remains close to Pat Troy's original. Its culmination in the moonshine maker having to surrender his key piece of equipment to the authorities, leaving him unable to produce any moonshine for himself and his neighbours, however, is brought into sharper relief in the more streamlined versions of the song.[31] Its importance is further highlighted by the fact that it coincides with the emotional climax of the song, the expression of the moonshine maker's supposed grief at the loss of his can. Whilst this is again similar to Pat Troy's original, the retention of the grief formula in the shorter versions at this point is striking because of the strength of the emotion it conveys in relation to the narrative situation described, and whether this is meant to be a source of humour or intended to suggest the seriousness of the occurrence.

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[31]As noted in chapter 5, it is only in Blondahl's redaction of the song that the moonshine is referred to as "my [i.e. the maker's] moonshine" and not "our moonshine [i.e. that of the maker and his circle of moonshine drinking neighbours]."

In this regard, it is interesting to note that a similar concern about the actual or potential loss of moonshine making equipment is evidenced in at least two other sources from Newfoundland. One of these is a personal experience narrative in which the moonshine maker's anguish appears to be taken seriously by the narrator:

> . . . And this poor old man came up here to the door, crying. He used to call me Annie. He said, "Annie, maid, [the Mountie] got my old tank and my tube and he got a bottle of moonshine." And he was crying to break his heart. Well, there was nothing I could do about it. I couldn't help him. . . (MUNFLA Tape 77-139/C2977).

A more humorous treatment of same theme is found in the concluding stanzas of a Newfoundland popular song, "Johnny's Moonshine":

> Well, Johnny died and went aloft, St. Peter he did meet,
> He noticed Johnny wasn't very steady on his feet,
> He said to Johnny, "What is that you've got there in your hand?"
> "Don't worry, boy," said Johnny, "that's just me moonshine can."
>
> "Well, you cannot take it with you," St. Peter he did state,
> "You have to leave your moonshine can outside the pearly gate,"
> Well, Johnny thought it over and told St. Peter no,
> "I guess I'll take me moonshine can and trudge on down below" (Dick Nolan, Home Again This Year).

Whether intended as humorous or not, the inordinate attachment displayed by the moonshine maker to his still in these examples, as in "The Moonshine Can,"

suggests that the subject of the real or threatened loss of this equipment was in some way a significant and emotive one among Newfoundland audiences.

It may be no coincidence, then, that the title by which the song became generally known was not "The Moonshine Song," as in Goose Cove and one or two other places, but "The Moonshine Can." It is certainly intriguing that the only reference to a "moonshine can" as such in the text of the song occurs in EASTER, following a change from "bloody can" or "blooming can," the wording probably employed in the original. This suggests that the form of the widespread title stemmed not so much from the song's text as from a general recognition of the central theme of the narrative, namely the moonshine can and, by extension, its loss. The fact that, as seen in chapter 6, Harold Wilcott adopted both the title and the tune of "The Moonshine Can" for his own composition about the confiscation of moonshine making equipment would further seem to support this contention.

Thus, the seven- and eight-stanza versions of "The Moonshine Can" focus attention on the object of the can itself and the sequence of events culminating in its confiscation. Since the song was widely perpetuated in this form, it appears that this intensified emphasis in comparison with Pat Troy's original was of particular significance. A possible explanation is that it had resonances with the sphere of work, in which, in outport society, the ownership of the requisite equipment was essential to the fishermen's economic survival (see Faris, **Cat**

Harbour 88-97, Nemec, "'I Fish,'" Sider, "The Ties"). If so, the song's tale of a moonshine maker's loss of the equipment necessary to his production would have carried a particular potency. Meanwhile, the fact that the events in the song are clearly said to have been brought about by informers, acting out of "jealousy," suggests that the song also had the capacity to be understood as a parable of social relations. That is, it identified a potential arena of social conflict within the community and illustrated its threat to an individual's means of production. Inasmuch as the community shared in the moonshine maker's product, and the product was associated with neighbourly bonhomie, the song implied that an individual's loss of essential equipment also deprived the community in some way, and had a deleterious effect on social relations within it. As for the authorities, the song implied that they were not responsible for the loss of the equipment, despite their part in the disposal of the can, the image presented in the song being one of cordial relations with officials.

Such an interpretation would have been more possible once the song had become spatially and temporally removed from the specifics of its original context. Thus, it was more likely to be drawn from the song by those who were not personally acquainted with the actual incident on which it was based or with the people involved. Yet, despite the song's being divorced from its original context in this way, it was still regarded by many people as having "really happened." In other words, it was taken to be the personal experience of

someone, even though that individual was not personally known to the singer

or to his or her audiences. This was no doubt because the song retained

several authenticating details, including the name of the person to whom the

experience happened, and his community of origin. The following exchange

between Edward Ives and his informant, Herbert Parsons, illustrates the point:

> EI: Now you were saying there, this fellow's name
> was Paddy Spry who made that song?
>
> HP: Yes, Paddy, Paddy Spry. . . .
>
> EI: You never knew the man, did you?
>
> HP: No, I didn't, no. Goose Cove is on the eastern
> [sic] part of the island of Newfoundland. It's just a
> tiny little cove.
>
> EI: . . . And was this fellow-, you never knew the man
> who made up the song?
>
> HP: No, I didn't, no.
>
> EI: Do you know what it was about? I mean, do you
> know . . . any of the people who are mentioned in it?
> Or anything like that? That mean anything to you?
>
> HP: No. It seems-, the story that I've heard, although
> I don't how true it is now, is that in the olden days in
> Newfoundland when they were making moonshine,
> that these people were arrested for making
> moonshine. They were taken before a court and of
> course they lost the moonshine can. The moonshine
> can was seized from them.
>
> . . . .
>
> EI: But this to you is nothing personal here? I mean

none of the references here.

HP: No, no. None of the references are people belonging to me or anything like that (Ives Interview; cf. MUNFLA Tape 86-13/C8686).

At the same time, however, it is noticeable that the names of the protagonists as they are found in many or all of the shortened versions of the song are connotative of archetypal characters. Thus, although it has been seen how the name "Pat (or Patsy) Ryan" developed from the name "Pat Troy," it is conceivable that this name stabilised as such in a number of versions because it conjured up an Irish "everyman" figure. Likewise, in all versions except those closest to Pat Troy's original, the friend who brings Pat Ryan the news is called "Mickey," another name with an Irish association. Meanwhile, the only other personal name to be mentioned is that of "Mr. Parsons," an intriguing retention from the original composition which occurs in all versions containing the stanza, GRIEF/PARSONS, except JC1 where it is altered to "Constable McCarthy." This latter variation highlights the fact that it is by no means obvious in the other versions that Mr. Parsons is a policeman, and that there were apparently few attempts to make this meaning explicit. It may be, therefore, that the reference to Mr. Parsons was taken to be a literal reference to a member of the Protestant clergy.[32] If so, this would have formed a neat counterpoint to the suggestion

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[32]In this regard, it is possibly significant that the popular song, "Johnny's Moonshine," makes reference to a parson:

of an Irish (Catholic) moonshine maker and his friend. Lastly, it is even possible that the connotative naming extends to the placename of Goose Cove which was recognised by some as being on the former "French Shore," an area particularly associated with moonshine making (MUNFLA Tape 86-13/C8686).

Coupled with the fact that all of the other protagonists are identified solely by their role, these observations suggest that the song is concerned less with real people than with archetypal characters. This is despite, or perhaps in addition to, people's belief in the reality of the protagonists, referred to above. In these shorter redactions, then, the song seems to have a dual aspect in which it can be seen to be the narrative of someone's specific personal experience, on the one hand, and at the same time can be understood as the narrative of an archetypal experience, addressing a basic concern with interpersonal conflict and its consequences for the community, on the other. In other words, the song's text could simultaneously be interpreted as conveying an actual and a potential sequence of events. It was largely for this reason, I would suggest, that the traditional versions of the song recovered from outside the Goose Cove-

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Well the parson said to Johnny, "Now Johnny, you must know,
If you be drinking moonshine to hell you'll surely go,"
"Now, Parson," answered Johnny, "'tis plainly to be seen,
I use it in me motorboat instead of gasoline" (Dick Nolan, **Home Again This Year**).

White Bay area tended to take the form that they did, and continued to be performed and transmitted.

In the light of this, however, it is difficult to explain the comment found in the final stanza of all the White Bay versions of the song (AP1/2, JO1, NF1), and several from beyond that region too (ER1, FK1; cf. GS1, HP1/2), promising the composition or performance of a "better" song on the restoration of moonshine production. Certainly, it is hard to judge at this distance what the objection to Pat Troy's composition, or the particular version of it being sung, was, and whether the objection was the same in the case of each singer who perpetuated this phrase instead of the more usual final line. Nevertheless, a clue to the possible meaning intended by those who adopted the phrase may lie in the comments made by Wilf Doyle concerning the song. Although he and his band had performed it on occasion,[33] Doyle felt that the song was not very good because it put the emphasis on the making of moonshine (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 20). In his view, moreover, the song was "only one man's opinion," that is, it was "one particular version of how one man got caught," and Doyle thought it would be possible to write "ten different versions" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 21). Thus, he saw "nothing spectacular" about the song, saying that it was "not the story of moonshine but [merely] one traditional scene" (MUNFLA Ms. 91-421/p. 21). If this response to the song and its story was shared by others, it may be

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[33]This would probably have been in the mass-mediated version.

that it contributed to the persistence of the "better song" ending. In other words, there may have been other aspects connected with the production and consumption of moonshine in Newfoundland which people wanted to communicate in song and which were not reflected in "The Moonshine Can." As a result, the story of "The Moonshine Can" was not particularly relevant to their situation, but it continued to be sung because it was one of the few songs about moonshine.

As far as the transformation of the text of Pat Troy's composition is concerned, therefore, it has been seen that the changes made were in keeping with the song's increasing social, temporal and geographical distance from the place where the incident which it portrays took place. Nevertheless, the song retained just enough authenticating detail for it to be viewed as the actual personal experience of a real individual. At the same time, though, the lack of a specific personal connection between the events portrayed in the song and those who perpetuated it allowed the possibility of a more abstract identification with its content, particularly its reference to social conflict within the community and what would happen if that conflict was not successfully mediated. This would seem to support Szwed's proposition that songs about social conflict are more likely, a priori, to persist. Yet, it is clear that had the text of "The Moonshine Can" not been susceptible to the variation necessary for its transformation along the lines just described, it may not have been perpetuated

as it was.[34]

As seen in chapters 5 and 6, there is textual and musical evidence to suggest that "The Moonshine Can" was widely spread by oral transmission over a number of years following its composition. A number of circumstances helped to promote the transmission of the song from its place of origin, most notably, the Labrador fishery.[35] In addition, the resemblances between the extant traditional versions indicate that various independently disseminated versions subsequently came to influence each other to a greater or lesser extent. The complexity of their relations, particularly in terms of text, makes it impossible to order these versions with any confidence according to a simple "life history" model, although specific resemblances between versions have been highlighted in chapters 5 and 6.

Whilst the exact dates during which "The Moonshine Can" was disseminating by oral transmission are not known, the fact that it had been learnt by Biddy O'Toole of Quidi Vidi, in the east end of St. John's, either before or during the time of her appearance as a singer on The Barn Dance in the 1940s, points to the period 1920-1950. Since moonshine making had only been

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[34]In addition, it should be noted that there is at least one version (AN1) in which the song was apparently recast somewhat to fit the specifics of another situation.

[35]It is possible that the lumber industry in western and central Newfoundland was another context in which the song spread, but I have been unable to find any firm evidence of this.

introduced to Newfoundland in the early decades of the century, its spread having been accelerated during prohibition there in the years 1917-1924, the song appears to have been disseminating initially at much the same time as knowledge of the technique itself. In fact, as described earlier in this chapter, it was apparently the case that the song itself was partly responsible for spreading the method of moonshine manufacture.

A notable feature of the life history of "The Moonshine Can," in comparison with many of the other songs which subsequently became well known as "Newfoundland songs," such as those in the Gerald S. Doyle songbooks (Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham 398-99, Rosenberg, Omar Blondahl), is that the medium of print played a negligible part in its transmission. Rather, it was the electronic media, especially the radio, which, from about 1940 to 1970, played an important part in the furtherance of the song. The song's appearance in the mass media not only brought it to a wider audience, however. It also led to the song being heard in contexts other than those usually associated with local singing tradition, and to its being performed in the vocal styles and arrangements of various commercial artistes. As a result, "The Moonshine Can" acquired a number of associations above and beyond those connoted by the orally transmitted text.

The song's performance on **The Barn Dance**, for example, a radio show which placed a strong emphasis on the equation of "Newfoundland-ness" with

"Irish-ness," served to amplify the slight Irish association of its text and tune, and to suggest the song's relation to Newfoundland culture in general, rather than local culture in particular. This was at the time when Newfoundland men were going abroad to fight in the Second World War and when patriotism at home was accordingly running high.

Shortly afterwards, in 1949, came Newfoundland's confederation with Canada, prompting another period in which the identity of the island became an important issue, not only for Newfoundlanders but for those on the Canadian mainland as well. As seen in chapter 4, it was shortly after Confederation that a professional folksinger from Saskatchewan, Omar Blondahl, came to Newfoundland and picked up "The Moonshine Can," amongst other songs. Through his presentation of it on radio, disc, television and in print, he endowed it with the status of a "Newfoundland folksong." The irony of his influence, however, was that the form in which he promulgated the song was largely of his own making. Amongst the changes which he made were the transformation of the song's archetypal figures into stereotypes, or even caricatures, the regularisation of the melody to conform to a standard harmonic progression, and the magnification of the song's humour through its imagery and his own performance style. In his version, then, "The Moonshine Can" moved beyond the realm of local song altogether, simultaneously losing much of its former social import. It became instead a comic ditty which, in its lighthearted

celebration of moonshine making, conveyed a popularised image of Newfoundland culture and Newfoundland people.

It was in this popular form that "The Moonshine Can" was subsequently recorded and performed by a number of Newfoundland artistes, such as John White and Dick Nolan. Their renditions, together with that of Blondahl, became a source of the song for local people. The reasons behind local performance of the song in this version were, however, almost certainly different from those which had helped to motivate local performance of the traditional versions. This was because, with the increased affluence which Confederation gradually brought to Newfoundland people, and the greater availability of liquor through government retail outlets in the larger outports, moonshine making was on the decline. It was thus becoming an aspect of Newfoundland's pre-confederation past, a "Newfoundland tradition" which, now that it was no longer such an important part of everyday life, could be celebrated in song.

Another notable feature of the life history of "The Moonshine Can" is the general stability of its tune tradition. The fact that print played such a small part in its dissemination was no doubt partly responsible for this. Apart from the occasional "crossing" of its basic melody with similar tunes, such as "The Boy Who Wore the Blue," and the apparently deliberate, but highly localised changes of the song's melody in some Goose Cove versions and in HP1/2, the tune of the song is consistently retained in all the extant traditional versions. Even the

modification of the tune by Omar Blondahl is more of a minor variation than a major disjunction in the song's tune tradition. Such a consistent association between the song's text and its characteristic tune over so many years in Newfoundland may well have been a factor in the thematic connotations which the tune appears subsequently to have carried on a number of occasions.

Thus, in answer to the question as to why "The Moonshine Can" was perpetuated beyond the specific context in which it was originally presented, it seems that this was due, on the local level, to the spread of interest in moonshine making itself and the song's resonances with community politics. From the time of the Second World War on, however, and particularly in the period following Newfoundland's confederation with Canada, the song was also used increasingly by urban-based, middle-class performers to represent the culture of the island as a whole. In this context, therefore, its perpetuation seems to have been a response to Newfoundland politics. Lastly, in the post-confederation era when the local social occasions for singing has become less common than they once were, and the activity of moonshine making itself has become all but superfluous, the continued performance of the song in its popularised version would seem to be a matter of cultural politics as well.

III Re-Composition and Re-Combination - The Transformation of "The Moonshine Can"

As described in chapter 7, the tune with which "The Moonshine Can" was

so consistently associated in Newfoundland is also found in conjunction with a number of other, subsequently composed Newfoundland songs. Whilst the practice of redeploying tunes to fit new or different sets of words is the norm in white, Anglo-Irish-North American folksong tradition, the question as to why these particular songs were composed and/or perpetuated to this particular tune has been viewed here as calling for specific explanation. On the basis of the evidence presented, therefore, it was proposed in chapter 7 that the melody of "The Moonshine Can" acquired one or more thematic and/or contextual associations because of its combination with the song of that name, and these came into play when the need to select a melody for conjoining with a new or tuneless text arose. It is thus suggested that, in the examples located for this study, except for "The 'Elsie M. Hart,'" the selection of the tune in the composition of a new song or the promulgation of a tuneless text, was not a random process but one based on textual and/or contextual connection.

This is not to say, however, that the process was necessarily a conscious one on the part of the person making the connection. Rather, the fact that, in all the cases cited for which melodic evidence exists, the tune clearly represents a modified version of the "Moonshine Can" tune, indicates to the contrary.[36]

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[36]It is notable that, despite the apparent awareness displayed by Harold Wilcott of the source of inspiration for his song in his use of the title, "The Moonshine Can," the second B phrase of the melody to which he sang his song was a variant form of that found with "The Moonshine Can" of Pat Troy.

Interestingly, though, in the two examples preserved primarily in written form - namely "The Men of 9.13" as published in the Regatta Programme of 1962 and "The Moonshine Can" of Ruby and Joe Kennedy - there was a conscious recognition that the melody used was, or should be in the case of the former, that of "The Moonshine Can."

Seen in relation to the life history of Pat Troy's "Moonshine Can" adumbrated above, it is notable that the extant songs with which the tune became combined all date from significantly after the time of his composition. It is also noticeable that the subsequently composed songs originated in geographical locations at a substantial distance from Goose Cove. Since Harold Wilcott's "Moonshine Can" and George Croucher's "Moose Song" both derived from Newfoundland's south coast and were composed within a few years of each other, in 1943 and 1949 respectively, it is possible that they give an approximate indication of the date when "The Moonshine Can" achieved widespread circulation in this part of the island.[37] This was likely to have been as the result of oral transmission of the song, although it coincided with the period in which Biddy O'Toole was raising people's awareness of the song by her performances on The Barn Dance.

It can furthermore be assumed that, given the dates of the songs

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[37]This ties in with the fact that two versions of "The Moonshine Can" were sent in to the song column of The Newfoundlander from Placentia Bay in 1945.

subsequently composed to and combined with the tune of "The Moonshine Can," the form of "The Moonshine Can" with which their creators would have been familiar was the seven- or eight-stanza versions. A distinctive feature of these versions, noted above, is their concentration on the subject of moonshine making equipment and its loss, against the background of informers and informing. It seems to be no coincidence, therefore, that the key themes in the compositions of Wilcott and Croucher are the confiscation of moonshine making equipment, and informing in the context of moose poaching, respectively. These songs were thus responding to elements in the shortened traditional versions of "The Moonshine Can." Nevertheless, it is also true that, whereas "The Moose Song" also contains the figure of a sympathetic magistrate, Wilcott's "Moonshine Can" clearly sets out to mock the law officers concerned in the incident.

As for the compositions dating from after confederation with Canada and the intervention of Blondahl in the progress of "The Moonshine Can," it is noticeable that the textual and contextual connotations of the tune are based around nostalgia or retrospection in "The Men of 9.13" and Ruby and Joe Kennedy's "Moonshine Can." Only "The Bootleggers' Song," notably employing an adaptation of the traditional "Moonshine Can" tune, is concerned with contemporary illicit activity. Nevertheless, in a neat inversion of the central concerns of traditional "Moonshine Can" versions, it is the bootleggers themselves who are represented as the threat because of the high prices they

charge their customers, and the songmaker who is "informing" by identifying each by name in the song.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis, it was contended that the study of folksong music had latterly fallen into neglect. As a result, this area of scholarship was out of step with textual study in which considerable advances had meanwhile been made. The time therefore seemed right to re-emphasise the necessity of considering the music of folksong alongside its other facets, and to explore the significance of folksong music in the light of the developments in textual and contextual analysis. These observations suggested an expanded concept of "text-tune relations" as an analytical focus in the study of folksong. It is with the application of this concept which the present work has been concerned.

Attention has been directed towards the investigation of a set of text and tune materials pertaining to a Newfoundland local song, entitled "The Moonshine Can." The resulting "song complex" consisted of all the tunes to which "The Moonshine Can" has been sung, and all the song texts, including the various versions of "The Moonshine Can," with which its principal melody has been associated, insofar as it was possible to locate extant records of these. Analyses of the intrinsic features of this musical and textual data were presented alongside two "layers" of contextual information in a "diachronic model," whose purpose was to balance historical study of the song complex with synchronic

study of the people and society which originated and shaped it. Thus, the first of these layers related to the persons and historical periods referred to in "The Moonshine Can" and, to a lesser extent, in the other songs employing its tune; the second related to the composers, performers and others, such as folksong collectors, who played a part in the songs' creation and re-creation.

Once elaborated, the model allowed the possibility of constructing a life history of the complex, with regard to its existence in Newfoundland, and of interpreting continuity and change as manifested in the complex in relation to a spectrum of personal, social and cultural factors. In summary, it was concluded that "The Moonshine Can" came about as the result of Pat Troy's desire to clear his own name following his conviction for moonshine making, to reciprocate towards those who had helped him, and to defame the informer. The genre of song was seen to have had a number of potential rhetorical advantages over spoken narrative with regard to his achievement of these objectives. It was furthermore hypothesised that Pat Troy's text and tune model was an Irish political broadside ballad sung to the tune of "Billy Byrne of Ballymanus," and that the melody and its former textual association was an important part of his choice. Meanwhile, despite the fact that parts of "The Moonshine Can" were intended to cause offence, the song was perpetuated in Goose Cove after Pat Troy's death and up to the present day, by which time it had come to be valued largely as a link with the community's past and with the history of moonshine

making in Newfoundland. In the period since its composition, the song had also come to be sung to more than one melody in Goose Cove but there was no obvious explanation as to why this was so, except that it was a deliberate change associated with Jack Troy and Paddy Sexton and possibly related to the song's sensitive content.

Examination of the model also revealed reasons for the perpetuation of "The Moonshine Can" beyond the immediate area of its genesis and, therefore, at a geographical, temporal and social distance from its original frame of reference. It was seen that in the process of transmission the song shed its more esoteric stanzas and many of its moniker stanzas, with a concomitant focusing on the image of the moonshine can and the narrative of the can's confiscation as the result of informing. At the same time, the song's remaining characters were identified by role or began to be suggestive of character archetypes. Yet, they retained enough resemblance to real people to be viewed as such, despite the fact that they were not known personally to those amongst whom "The Moonshine Can" was being sung. The song's content could thus be viewed simultaneously as the personal experience of a specific, but unfamiliar person, and potentially the experience of any person. In this way, the song had application to fundamental issues of interpersonal conflict and the threat it posed in outport society. This, and the fact that the song was initially being transmitted at the very time when knowledge of moonshine making was also disseminating,

formed the principal reasons for the song's perpetuation.

The success of "The Moonshine Can" in Newfoundland popular culture, albeit in significantly modified form, was attributed to the decline in moonshine making following Newfoundland's confederation with Canada, and the contemporary need for, or pressure on, the newly formed province of Newfoundland to construct an identity for itself in relation to the rest of Canada. The accentuated comedy and stereotyped characters of Blondahl's version of the song thus spoke to the times by moving the narrative away from the realm of the realistic and the moral, and allowing the re-definition of "The Moonshine Can" as both an example and emblem of Newfoundland culture and identity.

Lastly, it has been seen that even before the mass media exposure of "The Moonshine Can" and the transformation of its content and meaning, the song served as a model to a greater or lesser extent for the composition of further Newfoundland local songs. In all cases, there was strong evidence to suggest that the melody had been adapted from "The Moonshine Can" as the result of a perceived resemblance in the thematic content of the latter and the new composition. In addition, the tune of "The Moonshine Can" had come to be connected with a poem, originally composed by an educated, St. John's man, concerning the Regatta, and it was speculated that this connection had come about through the strong Irish associations of the Regatta and the popularity enjoyed by "The Moonshine Can" at the time.

From the point of view of text-tune relations in folksong, the central finding to emerge from this study has been that a particular tune was sung in conjunction with a particular text because of the associations held by the tune for the person bringing the text and the tune into combination. The tune's associations had been acquired from two possible sources, namely, the content of the text with which the tune had previously been combined, and the performance context in which the tune had previously been heard. They were observed as coming into play, although not necessarily on a conscious level, when a person was in the position of having to select a tune for a text, either in the composition of a new song or in the preparation of a tuneless text for sung performance.

The strongest evidence of this process was adduced in connection with the re-compositions of "The Moonshine Can" in Newfoundland. In these cases, there was melodic, verbal and thematic evidence of the use of "The Moonshine Can" as a model, or at least a springboard for composition, and an explicit acknowledgement or a strong likelihood of the composer's familiarity with "The Moonshine Can." In at least one instance, there was also a conscious recognition of the influence of "The Moonshine Can." There was, moreover, indirect evidence of such a process having been at work in the composition of "The Moonshine Can" itself, although the specific song drawn on by Pat Troy in this way had not been uncovered. Likewise, it was shown to be a possibility that

the melody combined with "The Boy Who Wore the Blue" in northwest Newfoundland and southern Labrador came from this same unknown song, perhaps due to a common thematic concern with battle and the figure of a dying soldier.

With regard to the slightly different but related phenomenon of a change in the tune already combined with a song, it was found that the reasons for this were more varied. In the case of the alternative melody to which "The Moonshine Can" was sung by some Goose Cove singers, my inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the change proved to be inconclusive, although it brought to light some of the problems connected with the investigation of melodic identity in a singing tradition in which musical nonliteracy is the norm. Meanwhile, there was strong melodic evidence to suggest that another change in the tune of "The Moonshine Can," found in the version sung by Jim Lynch (JL1), was caused by a crossover between two similar, but analytically distinct, tunes. This switch may have been a temporary phenomenon at the time when the singer was recorded, or it may have become established as the result of a temporary aberration. In the third instance in which "The Moonshine Can" was sung to a different tune from normal, that is, in the version sung by Herbert Parsons (HP2), the change was apparently motivated by an identification of the normal tune with the popularised, mass-mediated version of the song and a concomitant dislike or disdain on the singer's part for that version. In this final

example, then, we have another case of the phenomenon delineated above - that of the former textual or contextual association of the tune influencing its subsequent use with another text - but this time with the tune's previous association having a negative, instead of a positive effect on its redeployment.

The central finding of this study parallels the findings, surveyed in chapter 1, of a number of other scholars in connection with text-tune relations. Bronson, for example, pointed to the possibility that the transfer of melodies between Child ballads might be triggered by resemblance on the verbal or narrative level of their texts. Likewise, in another domain of folksong research, that of local songmaking, Wilgus found that some of the songs composed by Andrew Jenkins to pre-existing tunes contained echoes of the tunes' previously associated texts, although some others of his songs did not. Wilgus consequently warned of hypothesising a simplistic "law" of textual echoes. The findings of McCulloh, on the other hand, in connection with the "In the Pines" song complex, point to the operation of just such a principle as an identifying characteristic in non-narrative folksong.

The closest parallels to the processes observed in this study, however, are described in the writings of Edward Ives on local narrative and satirical songmaking and specific songmakers in northeast America and the Maritime provinces of Canada. This is particularly true of Ives' research into the woodsman songmaker, Joe Scott, for a number of whose songs Ives suggests

that he may have chosen his tune "because something in the words was roughly parallel to the situation he was writing about" ("A Man" 79). Interestingly, Ives also notes that an important source for Joe Scott, in terms of his diction, character formulations and plot structure, was Anglo-Irish broadside balladry (Scott 405; cf. Barry "American Folk Music" 41, and Bayard, "American Folksongs" 134). Likewise, it is clear from the comments of collectors and researchers that this same song tradition also had a formative influence on Newfoundland song composition (Neilands, Kirwin, Casey), and, as argued in chapter 8, "The Moonshine Can" seems to be a case in point. This prompts speculation as to whether the use of tunes due to their textual association may be a phenomenon which is particularly prevalent in Anglo-Irish broadside tradition and its offshoots in the New World. The fact that Zimmermann makes reference to a similar process in connection with broadside ballads in Ireland itself (113) certainly makes this a possibility worthy of further consideration.

The findings of others, then, support those of this study in demonstrating that a song melody is not only closely identified with its respective text and performance context at the time of performance, but may also continue to be associated with these elements even when it is being conceptualised as distinct from them, such as when it is being conjoined with another text. Thus, one or more aspects of a song's text (on the verbal, thematic, or representational levels), and/or one or more aspects of its performance context, can form part of

of words. Thus, the process by which a melody comes to be associated with a new text, or is adapted for a tuneless (i.e. written) text, is not necessarily a random one, nor one dictated solely by the prosodic requirements of the text. It is rather one which relates back to the fundamental unity of all aspects of a song in performance, its sounds, its meanings and its associations.

The extent to which a melody's associations are perceived in a recomposition or re-combination by its composer or re-creator and their audiences may depend partly on the familiarity of the source song and the degree to which it continues to circulate concurrently with the recomposition or re-combination (cf. Russell, "Parody" 81). Again, there may be a loosely articulated conviction that the melody of the recomposition or re-combination is "right" or works well with its text, although the specific connection may not be categorically recognised. Thus, it would seem that a conscious awareness of the tune's previous textual or contextual identity is not a prerequisite for an appreciation of it in its new textual, and perhaps contextual, setting. Nevertheless, some perception of that connection may enhance the recomposition or re-combination and make it more likely to be performed. This in turn may help to perpetuate the song from which the melody was adapted.

It is interesting in this regard that of the recompositions of "The Moonshine Can," those by Harold Wilcott and Ruby Kennedy not only use the melody but also the title of Pat Troy's song, thus indicating their source overtly.

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This explicit acknowledgement of "The Moonshine Can" presupposes its familiarity to members of the audience and suggests it was circulating concurrently with each of these recompositions. Indeed, the popularity of "The Moonshine Can" may have been boosted by them, especially if they were performed in conjunction with it. As in parody, moreover, the recognition of another song as the source for the recomposition carries an implicit comment on the source song (cf. Russell, "Parody" 75). In contrast to parody, however, the recomposition would seem intended to show the source in a positive light.

In terms of these perspectives, the notion of the incongruity of some texts and tunes noted by earlier scholars seems misplaced. Not only does it appear to be based on scholars' own aesthetics rather than the aesthetics of singers themselves; it also presupposes that congruity lies in a tune's inherent "spirit," or in its global or original textual associations, rather than the specific associations which it has acquired from its immediate source. As described above, there is a spectrum of things which may trigger the selection of a tune for combination with a new text, ranging from a common verbal detail to a perception of shared thematic or contextual associations. The link therefore depends upon the text or context with which each composer or re-creator has encountered the tune, and what he or she regards as textually or contextually significant. Thus, the congruity of a melody for a text may be gauged by a composer or re-creator in terms other than those of emotional compatibility,

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although it is possible that a melody may become associated with an emotional significance of the text (or context) in the same way as any other aspect.

The notion of "common stock melodies" adumbrated by Sharp and adopted by others to denote tunes which are found in combination with many different texts, and which a singer can draw on when "at a loss for a tune" (cf. Bayard, "Prolegomena" 41, "American Folksongs" 134), also appears abstract and utilitarian in relation to the findings of this study. It implies that composers and re-creators conceptualise a pool of general purpose melodies distinct from any specific texts, and that the process of tune selection is, or can be, one in which meaning and aesthetics play no part. Thus, it may again lead, for the analyst, to the impression of incongruity in certain text-tune combinations.

The shortcomings of both the concept of common stock melodies and the notion of the incongruity of some texts and tunes suggest the need for more informant testimony concerning folksong melodies in order to balance, refine, and in some instances, correct analytical perspectives. Indeed, this was suggested by Barry with regard to understanding apparent text-tune incongruities, and has more recently been advocated by Blacking. Whilst ethnomusicologists investigating singing traditions elsewhere in the world have been successful in eliciting insiders' views of the technical details of music structure, as well as musical memorisation and accuracy in performance, however, little in the way of such field research has yet been carried out by

students of Anglo-Irish-North American song tradition (Merriam 115, 117). The approach has even been discarded as fruitless by one scholar:

> Only the discussion of the most general and non-technical aspects of music, such as a tune being "pretty" or "lively," etc., is possible. This is because of the traditional performer's lack of specialized and technical vocabulary. In musical matters we cannot learn from the performer directly what is meaningful within his esthetic frame of reference. We must base our appraisal of the traditional music idiom on continued observation of stylistic phenomena (Foss 108).

Yet, it is clear from the findings of this study, regarding the close identification of texts and tunes both in performance and to some extent outside it, that informants are unlikely to perceive, and therefore to have views about, song melodies per se. As George Herzog long ago recognised, and my own inquiries among Goose Cove people into the "right" tune for "The Moonshine Can" confirm, "For us it is an obvious matter to think of a piece of music apart from its performance; for a traditional singer it is just as obvious that there is little if any existence to a song apart from its performance" ("Stability" 174). It may well be, then, that our investigation of insiders' perspectives on folksong music would yield more results if we developed lines of questioning which focus on melodies in relation to the words which accompany them, the voice which sings them, and all the other aspects of the song and its performance with which the sound of the melody is associated (cf. Blacking, "Musical Discourse" 21).

Conversely, notions of melody may also be more amenable to fieldwork inquiry in situations where a song's melody has been changed, or a melody has become associated with a new text or adapted to fit a tuneless one, since this process may involve the conceptualisation of melodies in relative separation from song in performance.

The recognition that melodic identity resides partly in the minds of individuals, both in terms of their perception of intrinsic and extrinsic musical attributes, and in relation to the textual and contextual significances which the melody may have acquired for them, has an important corollary with regard to the methodology of folksong tune family research. This is namely that melodies cannot be meaningfully ordered in terms of their internal characteristics alone, and that melodies' interrelations cannot be unravelled and interpreted without reference to the individuals who perpetuate them or to the texts and contexts with which they resonate (cf. Cowdery 496). Thus, it is no longer possible to uphold Bayard's claim that large-scale tune family research can and should precede the study of text-tune relations and the construction of song histories ("Prolegomena" 25). On the contrary, what is needed is a classification system in which texts and tunes can appear in complementary arrangement, thereby providing a starting point for the kind of large-scale, integrated comparison of song texts and tunes which was Bayard's ultimate desideratum:

> All work with any folk song version and its tune is at

> present inhibited by our lack of a broad view which
> takes in, on the one hand, the occurrences and other
> uses of the tune, and on the other, the associations
> of other versions of the text with different tunes
> ("Prolegomena" 9).

As this study demonstrates, the compilation of individual song complexes along these very lines, and the investigation of the relations of their materials in a diachronic and spatial sequence and in their social context, can lay the foundations for such a classification (cf. Porter, "Regional Catalogues"). The process still requires the analysis of the melodies' internal features, as in tune family research, in order to distinguish the tunes associated with a particular text type, and to establish their parameters before seeking analogues associated with other texts. At the same time, the comparison of melodies in this way is balanced and to some extent delimited by consideration of textual and contextual factors.

This methodological framework has several advantages for the investigation of text-tune relations in general. Firstly, it tackles head-on the central problem of text-tune relations in folksong, namely, the occurrence of multiple tunes with a single text type, and the occurrence of multiple text types with a single tune. Secondly, the complementary investigation which it entails of the individuals who have come into contact with the songs in question, and their aesthetics and social environment, leads to the explanation of text-tune relations in terms of people, and their lives and times. Thus, the trap of trying

to account for such phenomena by means of one monolithic theory is avoided and something of the full complexity of a folk singing tradition becomes apparent. Only when this happens does the truth of Herzog's claim, that "the investigation of the relationship of text and melody is bound to yield insights, perhaps the most intimate, into the life-history and dynamics of folk songs," come to be realised ("Typology" 50).

The primary theoretical objective of this investigation into the song complex of "The Moonshine Can" was to explore a method of reintegrating the study of folksong music with current perspectives on folksong. Thus, the intrinsic characteristics of the melodies of the song complex were first analysed and compared according to the conventional tools of musical analysis. Then, the melodies were considered in relation to their text and context, and from the point of view of those who heard and sang them. Lastly, in the synthetic life history of "The Moonshine Can," there was attention to the role of the music in the song's composition, spatial transmission, temporal perpetuation, textual variation, recomposition and mass-mediation.

The results emphasise the need for musical study to be restored to its rightful place alongside other analytical techniques, and to be integrated with other analytical foci, if musical study is to develop, and not to stagnate yet further. This requires that folksong researchers become more familiar with, and adept at, the techniques of musical analysis. It may also result in more

musicologically trained scholars becoming attracted to the study of folksong. After all, melody makes song a distinct form of communication, and, whilst textual and melodic elements may be separated and re-combined in a dynamic folksong tradition, it is in their integration in performance that their significance ultimately lies. Hence, song music cannot be properly understood apart from song, nor can song be comprehended as song without consideration of melody.

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Note: This bibliography is divided into three sections: a) an alphabetised listing by author, including references to documents on deposit at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL); b) a numerical listing of references to documents on deposit at the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA); c) a discography of commercially released recordings.

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--- Ms. 69-33, Zita Johnson, [Mr. Loyola Hearn, of Renews, local songmaker and singer].

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--- Ms. 73-106, Gerald Joseph Barnable, "The Locally Composed Song in Renews: 'The Panake Song'."

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--- Ms. 74-162, Wayne Hickey, "Study by Tape Recording Sessions of the Old St. John's Annual Regatta - "What Was Involved?" - Years Ago.

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--- Ms. 76-214, Libby Corbett, "Teenage Life on Battle Harbour Island."

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--- Ms. 79-211, Anne M. Doyle, "Entertainment in New Ferolle, Great Northern Peninsula."

--- Ms. 79-212, Anita English, "Calendar Customs in Branch, St. Mary's Bay."

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--- Ms. 79-435, Marie T. Whelan, "A Spell Ago on Red Island, Placentia Bay."

--- Ms. 79-464, Terry Brazil, "St. Brendan's Moonshine."

--- Ms. 79-521, Albert A. Burton, "Christmas at Beaumont." [Plagiarized paper, from Chiaramonte]

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--- Ms. 79-665, Minnie Coles, "Christmas Mummering in Sandy Cove [St. Barbe District]."

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--- Ms. 80-291, Lindsay Llewellyn Hill, "Christmas Customs of Hermitage, Hermitage Bay: How They Have Changed or Remained the Same."

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--- Ms. 81-490, Jean Marie Quigley, "Moonshining in Fleur-de-Lys: Based on the Personal Experience of John Quigley."

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--- Ms. 84-418/pp. 10-16, notes on visit to Goose Cove, 25 August 1984, Julia C. Bishop.

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--, Ms. 84-418/pp. 53-56, Marie Hillier, et al, Goose Cove, 1 September 1984, Julia C. Bishop.

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--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 58-66, notes from visit to Marie and Eric Hillier, Goose Cove, 1 January 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 85-25/pp. 70-71, notes from visit to Chesley Short, St. Anthony, 3 Jan 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 73-81, notes from visit to Eileen McDonald, Goose Cove, 4 January 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

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--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 88-97, notes from visit to Philip Sexton and family, Goose Cove, 6 January 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 98-101, notes from visit to Michael and Elizabeth Simmonds, Goose Cove, 7 January 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 191-94, Pat Troy, handwritten copy of "The Moonshine Can," Goose Cove, May 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 198-99, notes from visit to Frances Reardon, Goose Cove, 16 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 200-201, notes from visit to Joseph Murrin and Eileen McDonald, Goose Cove, 17 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

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--- Ms. 85-257/pp. 223-25, notes from visit to Pierce Murrin, Goose Cove, 26 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

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--- Tape 85-257/C8259, Eileen McDonald and Joseph Murrin, Goose Cove, 4 January 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

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--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 4-11, notes on telephone conversation with unnamed informant, St. John's, 16 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 12-16, notes from visit to William Miller [of Kerley's Harbour], St. John's, 28 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 17-22, notes from visit to George Croucher (of Burnt Islands), Port aux Basques, 2 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 23-27, notes from visit to unnamed informant, Goose Cove, 4 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 28-29, notes from visit to Marie Hillier and Tom Sexton, Goose Cove, 4 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 30-33, notes from visit to Pat and Gertrude Troy, 4 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 34-35, notes from visit to Bridget Troy, Goose Cove, 5 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/p. 36, notes from visit to Bernard Bromley (of Conche), St. Anthony, 5 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 37-42, notes from visit to Fred Robotham, Goose Cove, 6 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 43-46, notes from visit to Agnes Hancock, Goose Cove, 7 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 47-51, notes from visit to Fanny and Darius Ricks, Goose Cove, 7 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/p. 52, notes from visit to Tom Sexton, Goose Cove, 7 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/p. 53, notes from visit to Jim Hunt, Conche, 9 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 53-54, notes from visit to Effie Gardiner, Conche, 9 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 55-57, notes from visit to James Fitzpatrick, Conche, 9 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 58-62, notes from visit to Patrick O'Neill, Conche, 9 Sept 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 64-65, notes from visit to James and Alice Hennessey, Goose Cove, 10 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 66-67, notes from visit to Jim Morris, St. Anthony, 10 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 68-71, notes on visit to James Ring, Sr., St. John's, 21 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 72-75, notes on visit to James Ring, Sr., St. John's, 23 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/p. 82, [Story apparently submitted to a newspaper, source unknown, collected by Queen Maloney, received by Julia C. Bishop, September 1986].

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 87-92, notes on telephone call from Gus O'Quinn (of Codroy Valley), St. John's, 16 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 93-94, notes on telephone call from Bernard Brown (of

Bonavista Bay), St. John's, August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 96-98, letter from Trevor Bennett, Corner Brook, August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/p. 102, letter from Garland Butt [of Flat Island, Bonavista Bay], Channel, 5 October 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 108-10, letter from Maurice Hillier, Windsor, 15 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 112-14, letter from Emanuel House, Daniel's Harbour, Fall 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 117-19, letter from Queen Maloney, Bay Bulls, Fall 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 120-23, letter from Queen Maloney, Bay Bulls, 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 126-28, letter from Reg Mullett, St. Georges, Fall 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 130-36, letter from Eric Rogers, Gambo, 1 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 138-39, notes from visit to Tony and Getrude Reardon, St. John's, 12 March 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 86-170/pp. 145-55, Seven poems by George Croucher, Port aux Basques, nd.

--- Tapes 86-170/C8727-C8728, James Ring, Sr., Randy Ring, Raymond [surname unknown], St. John's, 21 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tapes 86-170/C8729, C8730, James and Alice Hennessey, Goose Cove, 10 Sept 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tape 86-170/C8731, Jim Morris, Ed Morris and Alvoa Morris, St. Anthony, 10 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tapes 86-170/C8732, C8733, Unnamed informant, St. John's, 24 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tape 86-170/C8734, Madeline Domalin, Brent's Cove, White Bay, March 1985, Eileen Martin.

--- Tapes 87-104/C10151, C10152, Joseph Murphy, St. John's, 23 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 87-112, Felix Murrin, Murrin family tree.

--, Tape 87-112/C14611 telephone interview with Eric Rogers [in Gambo], St. John's, 23 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tape 87-112/C14611, telephone interview with Michael Stack, Sr. [in Outer Cove], St. John's, 23 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tape 87-157/C11065, Kenneth Pink, Rose Blanche [South Coast], June 1959, Kenneth Peacock. [Kenneth Peacock Collection, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec; not to be quoted without permission]

--- Tape 87-157/C11082, George Croucher, Burnt Islands, June 1960, Kenneth Peacock. [Kenneth Peacock Collection, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec; not to be quoted without permission]

--- Tape 87-157/C11083, Joshua Osborne, Seal Cove, White Bay, June 1960, Kenneth Peacock. [Kenneth Peacock Collection, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec; not to be quoted without permission]

--- Ms. 88-23, Sharon Sulley, "The Role of Songs and Singing in the Life of Maxwell Sexton, Goose Cove, Newfoundland."

-- Ms. 88-67/pp. 1-2, notes from telephone call to Joseph Murphy, St. John's, 4 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 88-67/pp. 3-7, notes from visit to Andrew English and William English, St. John's, 14 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 88-67/pp. 8-9, notes from visit to Ruby Kennedy, Kelligrews, 15 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop and Barbara Rieti.

--- Ms. 88-67/pp. 11-12, notes from telephone interview with William Ollerhead, St. John's, 21 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Tapes 88-84/C11109-11110, Omar Blondahl, Vancouver, 6 September 1988, Neil V. Rosenberg.

--- Tape 88-90/C11170, Patrick O'Neill, Conche, 20 July 1988, Elke Dettmer.

--- Ms. 91-241/pp. 1-2, notes from visit to Mrs. Alice Hayes, St. Thomas, 24 August 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 91-241/pp. 3, 5, notes from telephone interview with William Munden [of Burnt Islands], Port aux Basques, 2 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 91-241/pp. 6-8, letter from Omar Blondahl to Julia C. Bishop, 24 March 1985.

--- Ms. 91-241/p. 9, letter from Kenneth Peacock to Julia C. Bishop, 29 February 1988.

--- Ms. 91-241/pp. 11-22, notes from visit to Wilf Doyle, Conception Harbour, 5 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 91-241/pp. 23-25, letter from George Croucher to Julia C. Bishop, 17 February 1988.

--- Ms. 91-462/pp. 1-2, notes on telephone conversation with Wilf Doyle [in Conception Harbour], St. John's, 15 April 1985, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 91-462/pp. 3-6, notes from visit to William Miller, St. John's, 1 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 91-462/p. 7, notes from visit to Felix Murrin, St. John's, 25 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop.

--- Ms. 91-462/pp. 8-36, Collection of St. John's Regatta poems and songs, 1913-1957.

Discography

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---. "Harbour Le Cou"/"The Moonshine Can." Rodeo, RO-171, St. John's, 1957.

---. "Wild Colonial Boy"/"Kelligrews Soiree." Rodeo, 45-RO-156; Banff, RBS 1133, St. John's, 1956.

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---. I'se the B'y What Catches da Fish. Arc, AS 694, n.d. [1966].

Quidi Vidi Ceili Band, [The]. "The Grand Time of 9:12:04/"Up the Pond." 45 rpm disc. Pigeon Inlet, PIP 7312, n.d.

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Tom, Jim and Garth [The Scotians]. Songs of Newfoundland. Banff, RBS 1252, n.d. [1967?].

[Various artistes.] All the Best: Folk Music From St. John's, Newfoundland. Pigeon Inlet Productions, PIP 7322, 1986.

White, John. John White's Greatest Hits. 8-track audiotape. [No recording details available], n.d.

Williams, Edison. Roving Again. Audat, 477 9014, n.d. [1972].

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[1]This index refers only to the songs and song versions which have been
quoted in full, and indicates if it is the text, tune or both which has been
included.

Rowlings (MUNFLA Tape 78-239/C3587) [text and tune].

CK1   Clara Kelly, Bishop's Falls, 25 June 1963, John Widdowson (MUNFLA Tape 63-2/C10) [text].

DN1   Dick Nolan, I'se the B'y What Catches da Fish [text and tune].

DR1   Dorman Ralph (of Sop's Arm), St. John's, 8 Apr 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA 85-257/C8284) [text and tune].

ER1   Eric Rogers (of Gambo), letter to the author, 1 Sept 1986 (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/pp. 135-36) [text].

ER2   Eric Rogers (of Gambo), telephone interview, St. John's, 23 June 1986, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 87-112/C14611) [tune].

FDR1 Fanny and Darius Ricks, Goose Cove, 7 Sept 1986 , Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 49) [text].

FK1   Frank Knox, St. Shotts, ca. 1950-51, MacEdward Leach (MUNFLA Tape 78-54/Nf. II Tape 18) [text and tune].

FM1   Frank MacArthur, Upper Ferry, 3 Sept 1970, Margaret Bennett Knight (MUNFLA Tape 71-48/C897) [text and tune].

FR1   Fred Robotham, Goose Cove, 6 Sept 1986, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Ms. 86-170/p. 40) [text].

GH1   George Hatfield, Tors Cove, ca. 1950-51, MacEdward Leach (MUNFLA Tape 78-54/Nf. II Tape IA [text and tune].

GR1   Gerry Reeves, Down East Accordion [tune].

GS1   Gladys Skanes (of Harbour Grace and St. John's), Bell Island, Jan-Mar 1972, Joan Keating (MUNFLA Tape 72-111/C1303) [text and tune].

HP1   Herbert Parsons, Unpublished essay 31-33 [text].

HP2   Herbert Parsons, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 10 July 1965, Edward D. Ives [text and tune].

IS1   Ian and Sylvia [Tyson], Northern Journey [text and tune].

JC1   John Crane, Pines Cove, July 1973, Howard Genge (MUNFLA Videotape 74-103/V2) [text and tune].

JH1   James Hennessey, Goose Cove, 10 Sept 1986, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8729) [tune].

JIM1 Jim Morris, St. Anthony, 10 September 1986, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8731) [text and tune].

JL1   Jim Lynch, Torbay, Sept-Dec 1986, Scott Molloy [text and tune].

JM1   Joseph Murrin, Goose Cove, 27 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8276) [text and tune].

JO1   Joshua Osborne, Seal Cove, June 1960, Kenneth Peacock (MUNFLA Tape 87-157/C11083) [text and tune].

JW1   John White, Unpublished ms. in possession of Gertrude Reardon [text].

JW2   John White, St. John's, 3 April 1985, Clara J. Murphy and John Cousins (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8291) [text and tune].

JW3   John White, St. John's, 3 July 1978, Folk Arts Council (MUNFLA Tape 79-594/C4488) [text and tune].

JW4   John White, **John White's Greatest Hits** (same as JW2) [text and tune].

KP1   Kenneth Pink, Rose Blanche, June 1959, Kenneth Peacock (MUNFLA Tape 82-167/C11065) [text and tune].

LK1   Unidentified informant (LK, of Tilting, Fogo), St. John's, 25 Mar 1972, Peter Penton (MUNFLA Tape 72-193/C1231) [text and tune].

LR1   Leander Roberts, Cartwright, Labrador, 15 Oct 1981, Kenneth Goldstein and Ellen MacDonald (MUNFLA Tape 82-167/C5786) [text and tune].

MD1   Madeleine Domalin, Brent's Cove, Mar 1985, Eileen Martin (MUNFLA Tape 86-170/C8734) [tune].

MH1   Alexandra (May) Hussey, Bay Roberts, 28 Oct 1975, Claudine Moore (MUNFLA Tape 76-134/C2573) [text and tune].

NP1   Norman Parrott, Winterton, 24 May 1964, Herbert Halpert, John Widdowson and Clyde Williams (MUNFLA Tape 64-8/C22) [tune].

OB1   Omar Blondahl, **Down to the Sea Again** [text and tune].

OB2   Omar Blondahl, **Newfoundlanders Sing!** [text and tune].

PC1   Pat Cole, Colliers, 2 Dec 1985, Clara J. Murphy (MUNFLA Tape 86-31/C8686) [text and tune].

PD1   Paul Dean (of North Harbour, Placentia Bay), St. John's, 16 July 1980, Kenneth S. Goldstein and Lisa Null (MUNFLA Tape 80-135/C4804) [text and tune].

PS1   Philip Sexton, Goose Cove, 26 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 226 [tune].

PT1   Patrick Troy, junior, Goose Cove, 23 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8275) [text and tune].

PT2   Patrick Troy, junior, Goose Cove, May 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/pp. 191-94) [text].

RG1   Rufus Guinchard, Hawkes Bay, 30 August 1966, Herbert Halpert and John Widdowson (MUNFLA Tape 66-24/C275) [tune].

RJ1   Ray Johnson and His Sou'Westers, **Sing Me Back Home** [tune].

SE1   Sylvia Emberley (nee Ollerhead), St. Anthony, 13 June 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 242) [text].

SH1   Sylvia Hickey (nee McCarthy), Wood's Island, 11 Nov 1980, Glenda Hackett (MUNFLA Tape 81-162/C8782) [text and tune].

TJG1   Tom, Jim and Garth, **Songs of Newfoundland** [text and tune].

TS1   Tom Sexton, Goose Cove, 13 Jan 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8255) [text and tune].

TS2   Tom Sexton, Goose Cove, 21 May 1985, Julia C. Bishop (MUNFLA Tape 85-257/C8274) [text and tune].

WP1   William Pilgrim, St. Anthony Bight, 14 June 1985, Julia C. Bishop

(MUNFLA Ms. 85-257/p. 247) [text].

"The Moonshine Can" [recomposition]
RK1   Ruby and Josiah Kennedy, Paradise, Mar-Apr 1977, Judy M. Kennedy
        (MUNFLA Ms. 77-344/pp. 18-21) [text].
RK2   Ruby Kennedy, Kelligrews, 15 June 1987, Julia C. Bishop and Barbara
        Rieti   (MUNFLA Ms. 88-67/p. 10) [text and tune].

"The Moonshine Can" [recomposition]
        Harold Wilcott, Baie d'Espoir, 17 Mar 1974, Marilyn Wilcott (MUNFLA
        Tape 74-228/C2015) [text and tune].

"The Moose Song"
        George Croucher, Burnt Islands, June 1960, Kenneth Peacock (MUNFLA
        Tape 87-157/C11082) [text and tune].
        Wilf Doyle and His Orchestra, The Mighty Churchill [text and tune].
        Kenneth Peacock, transcription of Croucher Tape (Outports 1: 77-78)
        [tune].
        Edison Williams, Roving Again [text and tune].

"The Nine Thirteen Men"
        Omar Blondahl, Newfoundlanders Sing! 117 [tune].
        L.E.F. English, Newfoundland Quarterly 53.2A (1954): 11 [text].

"The Time of 9.13"
        The Kitty Vitty Minstrels, The Cliffs of Baccalieu [tune].

[Group I]

THE MOONSHINE CAN (AP1)

Come all of ye good people, come listen unto me,
Beware of the informer see-, to see how he served me,
Beware of the informer, good people all around,
Wherever you meets a 'former, he's always looking down.

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Mickey got the news he did come down to me,
He did come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pad, there is a big kick up about this blooming can."

The next that brought us in the news, he was one of our rank,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is young Frank,
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps, he belong to Newfoundland.

The day the summons came on me, sure I was forced to go,
To travel down this lonely place all to my knees in snow,
To travel down this lonely place it was against my grain,
As I marched up to the courthouse before a crowd of men.

As I marched up to the bar, as you may plainly see,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out of?" the judge to me did say,
"An [y]east cake and molasses, Lord, sure that's the very way."

An [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's the curious plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that with no delay,
And up comes Mr. Parson my can to take away.

As I went in and brought it out and that with no delay,
I stood just like a "Munroe man" with not one word to say,
To hear those tubes a-rattling, boys, it grieved my heart full sore,
But when he shoved them in the bag it grieved me ten times more.

But now our whiskey is put down it do seem rather queer,
But never mind, my darling boys, they won't stick us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health all round,
No health to that informer who put our whiskey down.

But now our whiskey do p-, is put down we must take to the spruce
bud,
We don't exceive [sic] the whiskey, boys, to purify the blood,
We don't exceive the whiskey, boys, I vow and do declare,
It's enough to draw you in a cramp, the cool of that spruce beer.

Here's luck to the St. Anthony men wherever they may be,
They did their own endeavourment to free me on that day,
They did their own endeavourment, 'tis very a well [sic] I know,
I heard them say with my own ear, "In the pen he will not go."

Here's luck to Dr. Grenfell, that kind and gentle man,
No doubt he wasn't hard on me because I were a poor man,
He acted l'as [sic] a gentleman, he done his best for me,
He had three meetings in the school to free me on that day.

There is an- Here's luck to our good magistrate, may God look
down on him,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name is Mr. Simms,
And when he leaves this world behind goes on the other way,
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man that keep the key,
The man that keep the key, my boys, the door he will unlock,
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, make one among the
flock."

There is another person that I must not forget,
His name is Stephen Pelley, the best I have found yet,
I wish him health and happiness and money in galore,
I'll wish heaven when he die, what can I wish them more?

And now this man he got no help only one little boy,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is Eli,
His name it is Eli, my boys, he's a-ready at my call,
I'm going to take him with me to cruise the bay next fall.

The man this made the song, sir, I'm sure he made no lie,
I suppose you all have heard his name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, in Goose Cove do belong,
But when the whiskey comes again we'll make a better song.

[Group II]

THE MOONSHINE CAN (JO1)

Come all my friends and comerades, come listen unto me,
Beware of those informers, you see how they served me,
Beware of those informers, good people all around,
For jealousy could not agree, they put our whiskey down.

On Easter Sunday morning as you may plainly see,
Soon as Mickey got the news he did come down to me,
He did come down to me, my boys, and put me on a stand,
Saying, "Pat, there is a big kick up about the moonshine can."

The next that brought us in the news, it was one of our rank,
I s'pose you all do know his name, his name it is young Fran[k],
His name it is young Frank, my boys, as you may understand,
He is one of our lively chaps belong to Newfoundland.

The next misfortune came on me, sure I was forced to go,
To travel down the lonely plain up to my knees in snow,
To travel down the lonely plain it was against the grain,
As I marched up to the courthouse before a crowd of men.

As I marched up to the bar, as you may plainly see,
"What did you make it out off?" the judge to me did say,
"What did you make it out off?" the judge to me did say,
"Of [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's the proper way." [KP
chuckles]

Of [y]east cake and molasses, sure that's a curious plan,
The next misfortune came on me, I had to lose my can,
I had to give it up, you see, and that with no delay,
When up comes Mr. Parsons my can to take away.

Sure I went in and brought it out and that with no delay,
I stood just like a monument with not one word to say,
To hear those pipes a-rattling, it grieved my heart full sore,
And when he put them in the bag it grieved me ten times more.

And now our whiskey is put down it does seem rather queer,
Never mind, my darling boys, they won't stick us on the beer,
We'll go into a neighbour's house and drink a health all round,
No health to those informers who put our whiskey down.

Here's luck to Dr. Grenfell, that kind and gentle man,
He need not been so hard on me because I was a poor man,
I wish him health and happiness all on the Judgement Day,
And a crown of glory be his bed when he shall pass away.

Here's luck to our good magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
And when he leaves this world behind, goes on the other end,
'Tis there he'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key,
The man who keeps the key, my boys, the door he will unlock,
Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrate, make one among the
flock."

The man who made this song, sir, I'm sure he told no lie,
And if you wants to know his name, his name it is Pat Troy,
His name it is Pat Troy, my boys, to Goose Cove do belong,
And when the whiskey comes again we'll make a better song.

[Group IIIa]

THE MOONSHINE CAN (GH1)

Come all ye moonshine drinkers, come listen to my song
About those bold informers who lately came along,
Their jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine down.

They put our moonshine down, my boys, without much more delay,
They might fool us on moonshine but they won't trick us on beer,
You'll go down to your neighbour's house and a glass you'll pass
around,
Bad luck to those informers who put our moonshine down.

It being on a Monday morning as you may plainly see,
As soon as Mickey got the news he came right down to me,
He came right down to me, my boys, and he put me on the stand,
Saying, "Patsy, there's a big kick up about your moonshine can."

Next day I got [Tape cuts out momentarily] (the) summons and I
was forced to go,
To travel down those lonesome lanes up to my knees in snow,
To travel down those lonesome lanes it was against my will,
And walk up to the (y'iron?) bar before a crowd of men.

"What did you make this moonshine of?" the judge to me did say,
"Of [y]east cakes and molasses [voice breaks, he laughs], it is the
proper way,
Of [y]east cakes and molasses, it is the cutest plan,"
And the next misfortune fell on me, I had to lose my can.

I had to give it up, my boys, without much more delay,
When down came Mr. Parsons the can to take away,
To hear those pipes a-rattling 'twould grieve your hearts full sore,
And to see the can go in the bag it would grieve you ten times
more.

Good luck to our old magistrate, may the Lord look down on him,
And when he leave this world behind going on the other end,
It's there he'll meet St. Peter, and the gates he will unlock,
Saying, "Walk right in, good magistrate, make one amongst our flock."

Oh now my song it's to an end and I hope I told no lie,
And if you want to know my name, my name it is Pat Ryan,
My name it is Pat Ryan, my boys, from Pouch Cove I belong,
And when the moonshine comes again I will make [Tape off
momentarily] it twice as strong. [Audience Laughs]

[Group IIIb]

                    THE MOONSHINE CAN" (ER1)

Come all you people, far and near come listen unto me
Beware of those informers to see how they served me

Beware of those informers good people all around
For jealousy could not agree they put our moonshine down.

'Twas on a Monday morning as plane as you could see
As soon as Mickey heard the news he came right down to me
He came right down to me, my boys and put me on the stand
Saying "Paddy, there's a big kick up about your moonshine can.

The next I got a summons and I was forced to (do)
To travel through those lonely lands up to my knees in snow
To travel through those lonely lands it was against my will
And I was put in the witness box the jury for to tell.

"What do you make the moonshine of?" the judge to me did say.
"Why, yeast cakes and molasses sure that's the proper way
Yeast cakes and molasses sure that's the cutest plan"
But to my sad misfortune I had to lose my can.

I had to give it up, my boys, without much more delay
When in walks Mr. Parsons my can to take away
To hear my tubes a-rattling it grieved my heart full sore
To see my can go in the bag it grieved me ten times more.

Now here's good luck to that magistrate may the Lord look down
on him
And when he leaves this world behind may he go to the better end
And there he'll meet St. Peter the gates he will unlock
He'll say "Walk in, good magistrate make one among our flock."

The man who made this song, sir, I'm sure he told no lie
And if you wants to know his name is Pat O'Roy.
His name is Pat O'Roy, my boys from Pouch Cove do belong
And when the moonshine comes again he'll sing you a better song.

THE MOONSHINE CAN (GS1)

GS: I, I bet you never hear "The Moonshine Can."

JK: No.

GS: Didn't you?

JK: No.

GS: About the moonshine. [Laughs]

Man: Sing "The Moonshine Can" to her. [Pause]

[GS Sings]

Come all you moonshine drinkers, come listen unto me,
Be aware of those informers, you see how they served me,
You see how they served me, my boys, the neighbours all around,
But jealousy could not agree, they put our moonshine down.

It was on a Sunday morning as plain as you may see,
As soon as Mikey got the news he came right down to me,
He came right down to me, my boy, to put me to a stand,
Said, "Patsy (there?), there's a big kick up about our moonshine
can. [Clears throat]

Then the next to me was a summons and I was forced to go,
To travel down that lonely road up to my knees in snow,
To travel down that lonely road it was against my will,
And to force my way to the witness box before a crowd of men.

"What did you make that moonshine of?" the judge to me did say,
"Of [y]east cakes and molasses, sure that's the proper way,
Of [y]east cakes and molasses, sure that's the curious plan,"
And the next misfortune came on me, I lost my moonshine can. [JK
chuckles]

I went in and brought the can out without any more delay,
I stood up like a (monument) with not a word to say,
To hear my pipes a-rattling it grieved my heart full sore,
But when they put my can in the bag it grieved me ten times more. [JK chuckles]

Now when you leave this world, my boy(s), going to the other side,
It's there you'll meet St. Peter, the man who keeps the key,
The man who keeps the keys, my boy, the gates he will unlock,
Said, "Step right in, old magistrate, make one among the flock."

The man made up this song, sir, he never told a lie,
And if you want to know his name, his name is Patsy Ry'n,
His name is Patsy Ryan, my boy, to Goose Cove he belong,
And when the moonshine comes again I'll sing you a longer song. [All laugh]

[Group IV]

THE MOONSHINE CAN (OB1)

Come all (ye) moonshine drinkers and ye will quickly see,
The work of the bold informers and the way they serv-ed me,
I'll tell of the bold informers who have lately been around,
They jealously could not agree, they've put me moonshine down.

It been on Easter Sunday morn when down the road I see,
Old Mickey waving both his arms and heading straight for me,
He waved his arms and called aloud as down the road he ran,
Saying, "Pat, me boy, there's an awful kick about your moonshine can."

Then next there came a summons to tell me I must go,
They made me walk that lonesome trail up to me knees in snow,
They made me walk that lonesome trail and put me on the stand,
Saying, "Patty boy, you'll have to pay for having the moonshine can."

"I'd like to know how moonshine's made," the magistrate did say,
"Of yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the proper way,

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Of yeast cake and molasses, sure that's the cutest plan,"
And the magistrate was happy then, he took me moonshine can.

The magistrate was happy then, God bless his eyes of blue,
He sent me home with a constabule [sic] and told him what to do,
To hear them break me moonshine can it nearly burst me heart,
But when they threw it into the bay it tore me soul apart.

Then here's to that good magistrate, may the Lord receive me
friend,
When he dies we'll bury him and he'll go to the other end,
St. Peter then will greet him and the gate he'll then unlock,
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, and welcome to the
flock."

Then here's to the man who wrote this song, I'm sure he was not
lying,
And if you wants to know his name, his name be Patty Ryan,
His name be Patty Ryan, me boys, from Goose Town he belong,
And if moonshine time comes round again he'll make her twice as strong.

[Group V]

THE MOONSHINE CAN (KP1)

Come all ye moonshine drinkers and listen unto me,
I'll tell of the bold informers and the way that they served me,
I'll tell of the bold informers who lately been around,
Saying jealousy could not agree, they put me moonshine down.

It being on Easter Sunday morn as down the road I see,
When Mickey waving both his arms and heading straight for me,
He waved his arms and he called aloud when as down the road he
ran,
Saying, "Paddy boy, there's an [h]ell of a kick about your
moonshine can."

They send me down a summons to tell me I must go,
They made me walk (that) lonesome trail up to my knees in snow,
They made me walk (this) lonesome trail and put me to a stand,

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Saying, "Paddy boy, you'll have to pay for having your moonshine can."

"I like to know how moonshine's made," the magistrate did say,
"Of yeast cakes and molasses, sure that's the proper way,
Of yeast cakes and molasses, sure that's the curious plan,"
The magistrate was happy then, he took me moonshine can.

The magistrate was happy then, God bless his eyes of blue,
He sent me home on a (constable) and told me what to do,
To hear them break me moonshine can it nearly broke me heart,
But when they threw it into the bag it tore my soul apart.

Here's luck to that good magistrate, when the Lord-, may the Lord
look down on him,
And when he dies we'll bury him and he'll go to the other end,
St. Peter there will greet him and the door he will unlock,
Saying, "Come right in, good magistrate, make one among the
flock."

I know the man who made this song and I'm sure that he's not
lying,
And if you want to know his name, his name is Paddy Ryan,
His name is Paddy Ryan, my boys, from (Poole) Town do belong,
And when the moonshine come again we'll make her twice as
strong.