FIGGY DUFF AND NEWFOUNDLAND CULTURE

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BY

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ABSTRACT

This work is a study of the artistic use of traditional culture in creating a sense of regional identity. Specifically it will examine the Newfoundland folk revival band, Figgy Duff, as a group of urban musicians, who in the arrangements and performance of Newfoundland traditional songs and tunes, were attempting to express a sense of Newfoundland identity. The members of Figgy Duff decided to translate this traditional music into a different idiom by adapting it to their urban aesthetics. This translation from rural to urban culture will be discussed as a somewhat paradoxical process. It will also be shown that it is in this process of translation that the urban artists create a sense of place rooted in an idealized folk culture.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about Figgy Duff, a well known Newfoundland folk revival band. It considers how Figgy Duff was influenced by the Newfoundland nativist ideology and how they themselves took part in this nativist movement through the folksong revival in Newfoundland.

The first chapter is a reconstruction of the history of the band with its main events and changes. Chapter two in particular focuses on the use of tradition to create a positive regional identity. Indeed the Figgy Duff members, like other Newfoundland nativists in the 1970s, turned to the traditional culture of their region and selected it as a symbol of the uniqueness of Newfoundland. Also described is the process by which urban people, who were not satisfied with urban values and the urban culture, decided to reinvent a better culture by incorporating elements from rural life into their urban culture. The thesis also examines how Figgy Duff combined traditional with electric music, and thus adapted music from the folk culture of their region to their urban aesthetics, in a search to create a positive regional identity.

In chapter three Figgy Duff are shown to be the inheritors of a constant revivalist tradition both outside and within Newfoundland. The Newfoundland folksong revival, which the band was part of, did not start in the 1970s but was itself part of ongoing international and Newfoundland revivals. I will show how Figgy Duff and the other Newfoundland revivalists incorporated all these various influences into their own revival of Newfoundland folksongs.

In chapter four I take an emic perspective to establish the ideological framework by which the Figgy Duff members conceive issues of regional identity and their own role as artists in constructing and maintaining this identity. In chapter five Figgy Duff's performance is also examined as the enactment of their own ideology. Performance is seen as a text which conveys a meaning,

interpreted differently by different audiences. By looking at how the Figgy Duff members themselves perceive the responses of their audiences in rural Newfoundland, St. John's, and outside Newfoundland, how the press perceives Figgy Duff, and how people surveyed in St. John's perceive the band, this thesis finally shows how these various audiences interpret differently the statement of Newfoundland identity conveyed by Figgy Duff's performance.

Most of my fieldwork consisted of tape-recorded interviews with fourteen members and ex-members of Figgy Duff and the band ex-manager John Parsons. Pamela Morgan, one of the key members, was interviewed four times. For the most part the members and ex-members were easily approachable, but I did encounter a few difficulties. The founder and leader of Figgy Duff, Noel Dinn, who had initially given me his permission to do this research was very difficult to get hold of for interviews. My original intention to interview both Dinn and Morgan extensively did not materialize as I only succeeded in obtaining one tape-recorded interview with Dinn and another interview with him which consisted only of a few questions during a party.

Two ex-members refused to be interviewed: Art Stoyles, an important Figgy Duff ex-member, and Dave Vivian who played with Figgy Duff for about a year. I also had intended to interview the ex-Lukey's Boat members but I succeeded in interviewing only three. Lukey's Boat was a band which existed prior to Figgy Duff, and which Noel Dinn was part of. An important figure in the Newfoundland folksong revival, Laverne Squires, an ex-Lukey's Boat member, refused to be interviewed, but answered a few questions informally. Other Lukey's Boat ex-members, like Ron Tilley, also refused to be interviewed and Nels Boland and Al Smith could not be contacted. Another important Figgy Duff ex-member, Geoff Butler, who lives on the mainland of Canada, could not be found. I was able to find the phone numbers of Jaimie Snider, living in Toronto, and Neil Bishop living in Stephenville. Following Phil Dinn's suggestion, I called both Snider and Bishop enquiring if they would be willing to answer a few questions on tape, if I

sent them an empty cassette and a list of questions. In both cases the result was positive.

Supplementing the interview material I recorded several tapes from interviews with some of the Figgy Duff members on CBC radio and CBC television. Clara Murphy also allowed me to use her recorded tapes of interviews with several members of the artistic community and her files on the Newfoundland folksong revival. I also used interviews found in various printed documents, particularly those with Noel Dinn. Some of these printed documents were provided to me by Dinn, Morgan and Parsons, while others were found in The Center For Newfoundland Studies.

Another significant part of this fieldwork was to observe several Figgy Duff live performances, during most of which I took notes. The performance which took place at the Arts and Culture Center on November 6th, 1990 was also recorded on tape, dubbed for me by Fred Maret from CBC. Older recordings of Figgy Duff performances were made available to me by Flip Janes, Derek Pelley and Fred Maret from CBC. I was also able to watch a few video recordings of Figgy Duff performances thanks to Sandy Morris and Frank Maher. Photographs of the Figgy Duff performance at the Loft, Haymarket Square, on April 13th, 1991 were also taken.

In St. John's a questionnaire was given to thirty people and ten other people were directly approached, two of whom were actually tape recorded, in order to get a sense of how Figgy Duff was perceived by people in Newfoundland.

By its nature, no scholarship that deals with living artists can be considered complete. Figgy Duff are still together, recording, touring and changing. Even if their history was complete, there could be no total understanding of Figgy Duff. My analysis is of words and music that are only a partial reflection of the band members' memories, experiences and achievements. But within these limitations, this study is still, I believe, true to the meaning of the band and their relationship with the culture that was, to them, both a source of frustration and inspiration.

CHAPTER I. FIGGY DUFF: A HISTORY

In order to reconstruct the history of Figgy Duff, with its main events and changes, it is necessary to go back earlier than the actual beginnings of the band. The founder of Figgy Duff was Noel Dinn, a St. John's musician who has remained a central force in the band. His personal background, musical, and political influences all played a role in the formation of Figgy Duff. In the same way the other members' personal and musical backgrounds have brought different influences into the band which are important to consider.

Noel Dinn, born in 1947, grew up in St. John's. His father was a mechanic and a plumber. His father and all his uncles used to sing, and his father also played the fiddle at house parties. As Dinn grew up he would listen to music radio programs like "The Big Six", which consisted mainly of Irish Newfoundland music, and at the same time he would also listen to the American rhythm and blues which could be heard on the American base Station VOUS in St. John's. Although he was influenced by both musical genres, he particularly liked rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll which had a rhythm and blues base. Noel comments in an article:

> My leaning towards the blues, I guess, was an instinctive recognition of that folk element -- a realness about the music, as opposed to most pop music of the day (Murray, 'Profile: Noel Dinn" 12).

Among the musicians Dinn heard on the radio he preferred the black musicians like Solomon Burke and Jimmy Reed but he also liked the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. Locally he was influenced by a rhythm and blues band called The Ravens, and by the playing style of the band's drummer, Rocky Wiseman.

Noel Dinn started to play drums at an early age. He chose to play drums because by the time he grew up there were no instruments in his parents' house, and he did not need to have a set of drums in order to learn how to play, "you just had to get the coordination worked out" (Dinn, tape no 1). He started to learn

drums by using his hands, knitting needles and anything else he could use, before sitting down at his first set of drums when he was fifteen. Then his sister brought a piano to his parents' house and Dinn started to learn it by himself. Later on he also learned the bodhran and hammered dulcimer. When Noel was in high school he was a member of a band called the San-Dels. They were playing straight rock 'n' roll although the singer, Basil Conneley, would occasionally play the accordion when they were performing in rural Newfoundland. The San-Dels disbanded in 1966-67 when Noel Dinn started to attend Memorial University in St. John's. In 1967, Noel Dinn got together with two musicians he had known from his high school days at Brother Rice, Sandy Morris and Brian Hennessey. Two other musicians, Derek Pelley and Wayne Brace joined them to form the Philadelphia Cream Cheeze Band.

Sandy Morris, born in 1948, from St. John's got his first guitar when he was fifteen years old. His grandfather was a musician but Morris never knew him. His parents were not musical. Sandy Morris is a self-taught musician. Besides the guitar he also learned to play piano, percussion, banjo, mandolin, and bass. Sandy Morris's main musical influences were rhythm and blues, then the Beatles and the Rolling Stones (Morris, tape no 10.1).

Derek Pelley was born in 1950 in St. John's. He grew up in a very musical atmosphere. His mother sang and played the piano and everyone in the family sang or played some instrument. Pelley started to learn the guitar when he was eleven. The first style of music he played on the guitar was country and western, taught to him by a country and western musician from rural Newfoundland who lived at his parents' house for a while. Later on he was influenced by rock music, The Beatles for instance, and by traditional rock groups like Fairport Convention.

Derek Pelley met Brian Hennessey and Sandy Morris at a party and they started to play together. At that point Pelley began to play bass. The three of them joined Dinn and Wayne Brace and together did a concert at the Arts and Culture Center in St. John's as an opening act for local performer Mary Lou

Collins. Derek Pelley tells how the Philadelphia Cream Cheeze was formed as the result of this particular concert, which generated negative publicity:

> . . . we just got together a bunch of songs and played and the whole thing caused quite a furor in the paper mainly because of Ray Guy . . . he was totally appalled by our stage presence, turning our back to the audience oh my God, there was a certain amount of bad publicity about that . . . so we kept going and this unit became the Philadelphia Cream Cheeze band . . ." (Pelley, tape no 16).

The Philadelphia Cream Cheeze was, according to Noel Dinn, "a rock 'n' roll progressive band" and according to Derek Pelley "a rhythm and blues" band. Their performances included a light show which was totally new in Newfoundland. The band also began to adapt a few Newfoundland traditional songs to rock music. Although the Philadelphia Cream Cheeze lasted for only six months, it was important because it was the first band in Newfoundland to have done what is now known as "trad-rock" or "folk-rock", combining folk music and rock music. Noel Dinn was introduced to Newfoundland traditional songs by St. John's singer Laverne Squires. Before that he was only familiar with the traditional British and American ballads popularized by Joan Baez but he was not aware that there were such ballads in Newfoundland, as he explains:

> . . . the beauty of those ballads you know, the first . . . folksongs I ever heard that I really liked, that was Joan Baez, on her first album I think where she was singing these old Appalachian ballads, just the beauty of them, the way the melody was and the sort of innocence of the songs like that always really affected me. I never realized that there were songs like that in Newfoundland till I heard Laverne Squires singing, when I heard them, Jesus like, we were playing other kinds of music, I said 'well why can't we do these you know?' (Dinn, tape no 1).

Laverne Squires was born in the late 1940s in Hermitage Bay but grew up in St. John's. She sang in a small choral group called "The Canterbury Singers" under the direction of Eileen Stanbury. Squires learned classical and art singing from Stanbury. Squires had been taught a few Newfoundland traditional songs by her music teacher when she was still in high school but she was introduced to the folksong collections of Kenneth Peacock, Greenleaf and Mansfield, and Maud Karpeles by Neil Murray. She could not read music but she would ask her music teacher to play for her the songs that she liked in the collection (Interview with Laverne Squires).

Brian Hennessey was the lead singer of The Philadelphia Cream Cheeze but Laverne would occasionally sing with them. When she performed with the band she would sing songs from the repertoire of contemporary rock bands like Jefferson Airplane, The Doors and Cream, as well as Newfoundland traditional songs such as "She's like the Swallow" and "Bloody Gardener". The latter were featured on the sound track of Children of Fogo, a Memorial University Extension documentary about resettlement. At about the same time, Noel Dinn was also introduced to British traditional rock bands through a man who had influenced Squires in learning Newfoundland folksongs and who was to be a great influence on Dinn and other musicians: Neil Murray. Dinn met Murray through Squires. Neil Murray was born in 1943 in Dorset, England, into a middle class family. His father was a Newfoundlander who was stationed as a soldier in Dorset and his mother was from England. The family moved to St. John's in 1945 and Neil went to school there until grade six. He went to high school in England, but he returned to Newfoundland and did a B.A. and M.A. in English at Memorial University. Then he went on to Oxford University as a Rhodes scholar. Neil Murray did not play any instruments but he loved music. Each time he came back to Newfoundland on vacation, between 1969 and 1971, he brought with him records of British traditional-rock bands that were on the scene at the time, as Neil Murray explained in a recorded interview conducted by Clara Murphy:

> You know Laverne Squires, I was friendly with her, and she was the first one in St. John's reviving these songs and performing them publicly, at that time she was learning them from the printed collections and then she got together with Noel Dinn and other musicians, Derek Pelley and Sandy Morris and other people like that and performing them in bands and I was just interested in the music that was going on not only the traditional but all the music that was happening so, and uh, so I was just kind of involved . . . so I was in England at the time, a record would come out by Fairport Convention or something like that and I'd be home for a holiday and I'd play them for my friends, they'd sort of you know, some of them were probably influenced by that, because I probably was hearing some of this music before most people here were (Tape no M-5).

In addition to bringing these traditional-rock records, Neil Murray started encouraging St. John's musicians and singers, including Noel, to do

Newfoundland traditional songs, because it was the product of their own culture as opposed to British or American folksongs. Noel Dinn comments on Neil Murray:

> Neil was very involved . . . he loved the music, he was always encouraging . . . 'cause it was more like a friendship thing, we were all sort of involved . . . we all had this direction in mind you know, I guess it was all leading up to eventually getting the folksongs on the go and trying to revive the Newfoundland tradition right (Tape no 1).

After The Philadelphia Cream Cheeze disbanded Noel and Laverne formed a band called Land of Mordor, which also included Bob Dingwall, Adrian Doyle and Nick Lagona. More and more traditional songs were sung by Laverne in Land of Mordor and for the first time a serious effort was made to find electric accompaniments to Newfoundland traditional songs. (Murray, "Profile Noel Dinn" 13). Nevertheless Land of Mordor was still predominently a "psychedelic" rock band continuing to play songs by groups like Jefferson Airplane, who was "revolutionizing popular music everywhere" at the time (qtd. in Murray, "Profile Noel Dinn" 13).

Land of Mordor did not last very long either, and in 1968 Noel Dinn and Laverne Squires joined a group called The New Trip Company whose members were guitarist Neil Bishop, bassist Al Smith, singer Ron Tilley and keyboard player Nelson Boland. This group became Lukey's Boat by bringing the two bands together as Neil Bishop explains:

> . . . The actual beginnings of Lukey's Boat was a merger of The New Trip Company . . . and I believe a band that Noel and Laverne were working with called the Land of Mordor . . . both bands were in the process of splitting up anyway and Noel and I got together several times and discussed putting the two bands together, uh we actually had the bass player, keyboard player and lead vocalist and myself from one band and Noel and Laverne from another band . . . (Tape no 12).

Lukey's Boat had two singers, Laverne Squires and Ron Tilley, while Noel Dinn played drums. According to Noel Dinn, Lukey's Boat was the first band he had been part of which "had the idea to be a more professional band, a good band" (Tape no 1).

Neil Bishop was born in 1950 in Gander. He grew up in a musical family. His father was a musician in Gander, playing the fiddle, banjo and guitar in a few local bands, but would also play at home and at parties. As a result, there was always a guitar in the house and Bishop could already play when he got his own guitar at the age of nine. He founded his first band when he was eleven years old. From then on, he played in various local rock bands around Gander before going to the university in St. John's in 1966 and continuing to play in bands there. Musically, Neil Bishop was influenced initially by Duane Eddy, the Shadows, the Ventures and later on by Eric Clapton and Jimi Hendrix. Neil Murray wrote that: ". . . Neil Bishop has held a reputation as a wizard of the electric guitar . . . many consider him as the best rock guitarist Newfoundland has ever produced" ("Profile: Neil Bishop" 20).

Lukey's Boat was quite popular in Newfoundland although, according to Neil Bishop, they did not perform as much as they would have liked to because they were banned in certain locations:

> . . . . we played quite a bit in St. John's, we played a bit across the island but it was very limited exposure as such, uh in retrospect with talking to people that I know now and talking to people that I meet that mention that I was part of Lukey's Boat, it really comes down to a sense of the band being more a myth than fact because I think most of these people probably either didn't hear the band at all or probably saw the band once or twice because we weren't really a working band as such, we ran in some problems with the public . . . we were playing at a lot of high school dances and university gigs but I think the appearance of the band and uh the drug culture scene at that time with the appearance of our group, the long hair and the bearded characters and stuff, I think we actually didn't play as much as we would have liked to and in fact . . . we ended up being banned in high schools because they thought we were a bad influence as such . . . (Bishop, tape no 12).

Lukey's Boat, as the two previous bands in which Noel Dinn participated, was a progressive rock band, following the trend of the time, continuing to cover songs from groups like Jefferson Airplane, Cream and Jimmy Hendrix. Derek Pelley remembers them doing a Fairport Convention song called "Crazy Man Michael" but the band also played their own original material composed by Noel and other musicians. The band's original material consisted of protest songs in

keeping with the climate of protest and revolution of the late sixties. Sandy Morris, who played with the band later on comments:

> It was more towards heavy rock, like what you call political heavy rock, a lot of the songs made heavy political statements as opposed to like love songs . . . it was like anarchistic, revolutionary kind of thing. I think the attitude was overthrow the institutions of the day (Tape no 10-1).

Lukey's Boat continued to work on arrangements for Newfoundland traditional folksongs and according to Noel Dinn, ". . . they came off much better" (Murray, "Profile: Noel Dinn 13). Newfoundland traditional songs were still not at the core of the band's repertoire. Nevertheless the influence of folksongs and trad-rock music by bands like Fairport Convention began to be visible in their original material. Neil Bishop thinks that ". . . the influence of Fairport [Convention] became more apparent in some of the original material that we started to write" (Tape no 12). Noel Dinn comments about the songs they wrote at the time:

> . . . looking back on it the songs we wrote were more like folksongs with a rock back up, like the words were more like ballads rather than sort of a verse, chorus, bridge, the formula of pop songs there are now but we thought we were writing rock songs you know [laughs] (Tape no 1).

After winning a local Battle of the Bands contest, Lukey's Boat went to Montreal to play in the national contest and there came second although Noel Dinn thinks that they should have won: "Actually we should have won it because one of the head guys in charge, he was an agent, he wanted us to sign with him, we wouldn't sign and the band that signed with him was the band that won . . ." (Tape no 1). The winning band won a trip to Japan and Lukey's Boat won a trip to Paris, but they changed it for one to London instead because: ". . . . we couldn't speak French . . . and we wanted to go to London because that's where the rock scene was happening there, we figured that we could go and live there and sort of break out there. . ." (Dinn, tape no 1).

In London, Lukey's Boat was playing in various rock bars and at Universities, they would also play at outdoors festivals organized by "anarchists" (Dinn, tape no 1). Lukey's Boat began to develop a following in London over

three or four months and was getting good reviews from the press. They were on the verge of signing a record deal, and were supposed to be the opening act for Pink Floyd in a London concert but there were too many problems within the band. Some of the original members left Lukey's Boat and musicians who had previously played with Noel Dinn such as Sandy Morris and Derek Pelley joined the band in London but it was too late. Noel explains what went wrong:

> We got offered several record deals but the band sort of disintegrated over there, you know health problems and uh culture shock, we ran out of money . . . if we had been able to stick it out I'd say the band would have gone a long way you know . . . but the economy was so bad . . . too many personal problems on the go . . . in a place like London it's pretty hard to survive as a band (Tape no 1).

As a result the band broke up in London. Lukey's Boat carried on in St. John's for a short period of time with only three members, Noel Dinn, Laverne Squires, and Nelson Boland, before finally splitting up.

Noel Dinn decided to continue working by himself. The interest in Newfoundland traditional songs and in trad-rock which he had started to develop in earlier bands became his main focus. Dinn's aim was to revive and preserve Newfoundland music by adapting these traditional songs to a more contemporary sound, by mixing rock and traditional music. By that time, around 1972-73, he could play the piano a little and learned to read music enough to be able to take Newfoundland traditional songs from collections and arrange them to a more contemporary sound. At the same time he was looking for local musicians to form a trad-rock band but it was not easy:

> . . . it was really hard to find sort of good contemporary musicians, the same kind of experience I had, who were really bothered to be at that kind of music so I had a hard time, so I ended up basically having to get younger musicians who didn't have the same sort of prejudices against the music and were open-minded that way and didn't have a lot of sort of experience where they wouldn't want to approach that kind of music . . . that way you sort of got them in, you taught them the style of the music and eventually after quite a long time I gradually started to get a few people together more and more so . . . (Dinn, tape no 1).

Noel Dinn's brother, Philip Dinn, began to get involved with Noel's idea of forming a band. Following Noel's footsteps, he learned to play drums by himself

and became very interested in the idea of reviving Newfoundland traditional songs and adapting them to a more electric sound. Phil Dinn, born in 1949, had always been fascinated by music but he got into it only when he was in his early twenties. Growing up in St. John's, Phil like Noel, was influenced by the music played on the American base radio station. He was particularly influenced by Jimmy Hendrix, Muddy Waters and rock 'n' roll before being influenced by the British trad-rock bands he listened to on records brought back by Neil Murray from England:

> Neil Murray while he was in England, he picked up on a lot of the traditional stuff that was going on there so he was a big influence on all of us . . . and what really got me going was the introduction to Steeleye Span coming out of England, they were basically classic rock musicians that's what they were . . . Ewan Mc Coll . . . was a big influence on me and the electric tradition coming out of there and Bob Dylan of course . . . but basically my biggest thrust was the electric folk bands coming out of England . . . I could get to them quicker because of their rock 'n' roll background (P. Dinn, tape no 7.1).

Before that Phil Dinn was not really interested in traditional music.

At about that time because the "money situation got really tight" Noel Dinn went to play for a little while with a local rock band called "Garrison Hill" who needed a drummer (P. Dinn, tape no 7.1). Meanwhile Phil Dinn went to Toronto and took a factory job for a few months until he could afford to buy a set of drums. Then Noel Dinn left Garrison Hill and began to rehearse and do the occasional small concerts with musicians such as Glen Stockeley, a classically trained pianist, Ron Tilley and Sandy Morris, who played in Lukey's Boat, and Phil Dinn. It was not a band as such but "a project band", to use Noel Dinn's terms, which he hoped would lead the formation of the group he wanted (Tape no 1). In 1974, Noel Dinn was offered the opportunity to record some Newfoundland music for the CBC TV show "Sounds from the Rock". For this particular show he assembled a group of musicians including his brother Philip, Derek Pelley, Sandy Morris, Ron Tilley and Glen Stockeley. The same group also played one concert at the MUN Art Gallery. Glen Stockeley was not really interested in carrying on and Sandy Morris and Ron Tilley also went their separate ways.

Then Noel met fiddler Jamie Snider. Snider was born in 1950 in Hamilton, Ontario, and lived there until he was eleven when his family moved to St. Catherine, Ontario. His mother and grandmother sang and his aunts played the organ in church. He started to play the guitar when he was twelve years old; he is self-taught but at the time, there were many people playing the guitar in coffee houses so that "it was easy to be around people and watch them play and learn by imitation . . ." (Snider, tape no 15). As a teenager he was in various bands playing high school dances. He also played on his own, singing songs he had composed and accompanying himself on the guitar. His chief musical influences were rock 'n' roll, the Beatles, Rolling Stones, and blues, but he was also influenced by traditional music which he encountered at an early age. He used to spend his summers at his grand-parents' farm in the Ottawa Valley and every Saturday there would be a dance at the community hall; the band would have musicians playing the fiddle, piano, sometimes drums and people would do square dances. He says that the fiddle music he heard on these occasions always stayed with him, although he forgot about it until later on when he began playing the fiddle:

> . . . it wasn't until I was about twenty or twenty-one, quite by accident I got a violin, I always thought they cost two or three thousand dollars or something and I found out . . . a buddy of mine, he was working shifts and he didn't have time to go to the music store, he had a fiddle and he had to go to a music store to get it fixed up . . . I did that and found out that you could buy a fiddle you know and a bow and a case for thirty-five dollars or something like that, it was a Chinese mass-produced thing, so I thought hell if you can get one that cheap I'm going to buy one, so I bought one and started trying to play it scratching out tunes and these tunes came back to me that I used to hear when I was a little boy . . . I just got started and I loved the fiddle and I think I always did love it . . . (Snider, tape no 15).

In the fall of 1973 Jamie Snider came to Newfoundland on a tour with an Irish band. They were in Newfoundland for about a month and they had two weeks off. During this time Snider met many people from the artistic community in St. John's, among them Noel Dinn who told him that he was trying to form a trad-rock band and asked him if he wanted to "come up and sort of jam" (N. Dinn, tape no 1). They started working together and planned to form a band.

At the beginning of 1975, Noel Dinn (drums and keyboards), Phil Dinn (on drums when Noel was on keyboards), Jamie Snider (lead vocals, fiddle, mandolin and guitar), Derek Pelley (bass) played with CODCO, a St. John's theatre group, at the Arts and Culture Center in St. John's for ten days. A member of CODCO, Robert Joy, actor, was also playing the guitar with the band for this occasion. The show, sponsored by the Community Planning Association, was called "What do you want to see the Harbor For?". The band members thought that they should find a name they could use for that particular show and the name they came up with was Figgy Duff. A figgy duff is a Newfoundland dessert: a boiled pudding with figs and raisins. Noel explains how the name was given by Derek Pelley:

> . . . we were planning to have it as a group so we said okay, we've got to have a name for this concert . . . I think it was Derek Pelley who said "well, let's call it Figgy Duff", we said "oh yeah, sounds okay" 'cause we thought it was gonna be used for that concert only right . . . so after that Jamie went away and Derek went off, the name sort of stuck . . . (Tape no 1).

Derek Pelley gives a slight different version saying that he did not know what a figgy duff was but that he remembers having suggested the name Coady Duff, which was also a dessert in his family: a pudding with hot molasses poured over it, and that somebody else from the group suggested Figgy Duff (Pelley, tape no 16).

They played about eight songs and tunes at that performance and they got some very good reviews. For instance Mike Cook writes in The Evening Telegram that "They were first class, a delight to listen to" ("Das Capital"). This line-up was brought together only for that show and the musicians went their separate ways after that. Derek Pelley was playing with another local band called Mary Jane which broke up shortly after the Figgy Duff and CODCO show. This band, Mary Jane, still had a few bookings and in order to fill these, Derek Pelley, Noel Dinn, Jamie Snider and Joe MacDonald, who was a member of the band, decided to do these remaining gigs under the name Mary Jane. They played some of the tunes and songs that they had performed with CODCO as Figgy Duff.

Noel Dinn then took some time off to work on his own again, continuing to arrange Newfoundland songs, while Phil Dinn joined a rock band which consisted of Dave Panting, Gary Burton and Basil Conneley (P. Dinn, tape 7.1). Eventually Dave Panting (bass) and Gary Burton (electric guitar) met Noel through Phil Dinn and joined Noel and Phil around March 1975 to form the second line up of Figgy Duff. Dave Panting explains how they joined the band:

> I had met Noel's brother Philip and I started to play with him, I think Noel . . . at that time, he had gone through a period where he was trying to get some of his music together and he was pretty fed up with the band that he had been working with and it took a while to get him started again, but eventually we hooked up through his brother Philip and uh started working together. Noel had these ideas, some music and songs he'd been working on, some traditional things, some original things and that was really where it started . . . it was a second try at the band . . . (Tape no 5.1).

Dave Panting was born in 1956 in Fort Churchill, Manitoba, but his family moved to St. John's when he was very young and grew up there. His father is a history professor at Memorial University. Dave Panting's mother played the piano and sang in a choir, and music was encouraged in the family. Panting began to be interested in music when he was eight or nine and started to learn the guitar by himself when he was eleven or twelve. He has played in bands since he was thirteen or fourteen. He left school after grade ten and worked in a kitchen for a while but played in various local rock bands on the week-ends. He was influenced by different kinds of music but mainly by rock musicians and bands such as Jethro Tull, Black Sabbath, Led Zeppelin, Genesis, Peter Gabriel and Phil Collins. He was also influenced by old Irish music that his parents listened to and later on by the British trad-rock groups Steeleye Span and Fairport Convention. He joined Figgy Duff as a bass player but Noel Dinn asked him to learn the mandolin because he wanted traditional instruments in the band. Gary Burton had tried to learn the mandolin but it did not work out. At first Dave did not want to but he finally did and "really got to like it after a while" (Panting, tape no 5.1).

The next musician to become a member of Figgy Duff was fiddler Kelly Russell. Kelly Russell, born in 1956, grew up in St. John's. His father, Ted Russell, was a well-known Newfoundland author, politician, and the creator of the radio broadcast "Uncle Mose". His mother was a pianist and organist and taught piano. She began to teach Kelly the piano when he was eight years old. When he was thirteen or fourteen he got a guitar for Christmas and played it for about four years before deciding that it was not really the instrument for him (Russell 4-1). When he was seventeen he got a mandolin, and a year later started to learn the fiddle by himself. He was first strongly influenced by classical music, then by the popular rock music of the time and by trad-rock. He actually decided to learn the fiddle after listening to the British trad-rock bands existing at the time. Russell explains:

> It was kind of the folk-rock movement, uh hearing Fairport Convention for the first time really excited me. I loved the combination of fiddle, bass and drums and electric guitar sort of thing I just liked the music when I heard it, hum it didn't come to me through normal folk channels, it wasn't in the family . . . (Tape 4.1).

As a child, Russell used to play the piano at music festivals where he would always win the first or second prize. He also played the trumpet in a brass band, when he was in high school, which did a few concerts and a couple of TV shows. As a teenager he played in a rock band but they did not perform very much. Then he joined Rakish Paddy where he played fiddle, mandolin and some acoustic guitar, the other members were Rick Goff on drums, Glen Abbot on bass and Tommy Sexton lead vocals. This band was doing mostly what bands like Fairport Convention were doing:

> That band was kind of a Fairport Convention clone, we did a lot of Fairport tunes, we basically copied off records that we owned, I was just learning and I was with other musicians who had played in other bands, rock music and that but who were interested in that kind of music (Russell, tape no 4,1).

Phil Dinn had heard fiddler Kelly Russell play with Rakish Paddy at Dirty Dick's, a bar in downtown St. John's,[1] and explained to him that they were starting a band

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[1]All the addresses of the St. John's bars mentioned in the thesis are listed in Appendix V.

called Figgy Duff. Kelly Russell had already seen them perform at their first concert as Figgy Duff at the Arts and Culture center with CODCO. Phil Dinn tried to convince Russell to leave Rakish Paddy and to join Figgy Duff and he succeeded, "Phil was saying 'quit that band, come with us' and I said uh 'yeah, alright, sounds good' [laughs]" (Russell, tape 4.1).

The lead singing role had been taken by Phil Dinn until traditional singer Anita Best joined Figgy Duff in June 1975. Anita Best was born in 1948 on Merasheen Island, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, and moved to St. John's when she was twelve. Her father was a fisherman. Her father and uncles were well known singers on Merasheen Island and her mother also sang. In this atmosphere Best started to sing when she was a child but "it was no big deal" (Best, tape no 8.1). When she was in high school she was part of the same singing group Laverne Squires was in, Eileen Stanbury's Canterbury Singers. Squires and Best were the only two in the group who liked to sing harmony while the other girls wanted to be sopranos. Best used to babysit for Eileen Stanbury in exchange for free music lessons. There she learned art singing and opera but what she really wanted was to be able to read music because she was interested in choral singing (Best, tape no 8.1). She met Noel Dinn at the university around 1966 and through him met Neil Murray. Like Laverne Squires, Noel and Phil Dinn, and others, Anita Best was also introduced to trad-rock by Neil Murray and was very interested in the songs she heard:

> Neil was really interested in Newfoundland songs and music . . . he studied at Oxford so he came home with a pile of traditional albums like Fairport Convention . . . Steeleye Span and we started listening to them . . . and I immediately realized that these songs were very similar to ones our family used to sing . . . some of them had the same words . . . later I came to find out that there were just variants of the same songs, so we thought that it would be really great if you could sing your own songs rather than the English stuff since the songs we had were exactly the same . . . (Best, tape no 8.1).

From then on Best started to try to find these songs she remembered hearing in her childhood, asking her relatives, and began to learn them. Until then Anita, like Noel, Phil and their contemporaries who became involved in the

Newfoundland folksong revival of the seventies, was not interested in Newfoundland music. The only Newfoundland music they were aware of was played by performers like Wilf Doyle and Harry Hibbs, and this music was of little interest to the younger generation, particularly of urban Newfoundlanders who were influenced by rock 'n' roll, progressive rock and other musical trends of the time. Anita Best explains:

> . . . from the time I was twelve until I was sixteen it was rock 'n' roll, Chuck Berry and Little Richard . . . and I wasn't interested in Newfoundland music it was like Wilf Doyle and Harry Hibbs and all that . . . it was very very boring to us, it was very embarrassing (Tape no 8.1).

For this group of young Newfoundlanders adapting traditional Newfoundland songs to rock music was then a way to reconcile the music of Newfoundland culture with the music of their times.

Best did not think of becoming a singer until Neil Murray encouraged her to perform these Newfoundland traditional songs in public. The first time she sang in public was at a folk festival in 1971 or 72:

> I'd sing the songs I was interested in to Neil just to show them what they were and he said "why don't you get up in the festival and sing those songs?" and I said "no, geez you're crazy you know" and he said 'well who else is going to sing them, you're not going to get the old people . . . they won't come in and do it" . . . so then I got up and started doing it and . . . I sort of got more comfortable with doing it, for the first while I used to be very nervous, I would throw up and everything" (Best, tape no 8.1).

In 1975 Noel Dinn asked her to join Figgy Duff as lead singer, at first she thought it was ridiculous but "eventually I sort of got caught up in the glamour of it all and did it and I'm very glad I did it . . ." (Best, tape no 8.1).

By June 1975 the members of Figgy Duff were, then, Noel Dinn on drums and keyboards, Phil Dinn, who would sing and also take turns on drums when Noel was playing keyboards, Anita Best singing lead, Dave Panting on bass and mandolin, Gary Burton on guitar and flute, and Kelly Russell playing fiddle, mandolin, tin whistle, and guitar. The first concert Best did as part of Figgy Duff was outdoors at the Arts and Culture center in St. John's. She sang only three or four songs but they eventually built up a repertoire. Best would even sing a few

rock songs from the Beatles, Chuck Berry, The Doors. She says that it was necessary: ". . . you had to do stuff like that or people wouldn't dance . . . jigs and reels were always popular but it's the songs that you had to struggle with" (Best, tape no 8.1). Indeed, most of the songs they were doing were long, slow ballads. Some of the songs she was singing with the band were those she had collected herself, some were songs which had been previously arranged and performed by the band, and had either been sung by Laverne Squires or taken by Noel Dinn from the Peacock collection.

During the summer of 1975, Figgy Duff played in St. John's, in other places in Newfoundland, in St. Pierre and at a few festivals on the mainland. According to Phil Dinn, he had started learning the bodhran but did not really know how to hold the stick. When they were in St. Pierre they met two Irish sailors who were bodhran players who showed him how to play it. From then on Phil Dinn played the bodhran in Figgy Duff and Noel would play it later on (Phil Dinn, tape no 7.1).

During that summer Gary Burton left Figgy Duff. His mental condition had become increasingly precarious; eventually he was institutionalized after killing his parents (N. Dinn, tape no 1). By the fall of 1975 Anita Best left Figgy Duff. She did not really feel comfortable as part of a band, also preferred singing a cappella rather than having a band behind her, and was going through a difficult period in her personal life, as she explains:

> I realized that number one I couldn't play an instrument so I wasn't part of the band in the same sense that the other people who played the instruments were, and number two I found it was really a hectic life it's like you had to play for people who really didn't want to hear you, we used to play clubs and go out to Argentia and stuff like that and people didn't want to hear it at all, they wanted to hear rock 'n' roll and country and western and that was very depressing and then there were temperamental things happening with them, and "I never get the chance to do this and I never get the chance to do that" . . . the whole sort of tension, some people really thrive on that kind of tension but I find it really hard to tickle with and I didn't like that very much . . . . I wasn't at ease playing with the band and getting especially like a female singer with a male band gets a tremendous amount of this attention in clubs and stuff, men are always coming on to you and they're always assuming that you sleep with everyone in the band or at least one person in the band . . . and that wasn't happening at that time . . .(Best, tape no 8.1).

Another reason for Best to leave Figgy Duff was that Noel Dinn had met Pamela Morgan and wanted her in the band. Otherwise Best might not have left at that time but she does not think that she would have stayed for a very long period of time for the reasons described above. She adds:

> . . . I chose to leave in one sense but I might have stayed . . . because Noel wanted to have Pam in and I think Noel knew that I wasn't a band person, now at that time I felt a bit put out about it but that quickly disappeared, I mean when I look back on it now . . . I certainly would have never been able to continue in the band 'cause I just didn't have what it takes to be a band person . . . (Best, tape no 8.1).

Pamela Morgan from Grand Falls was born in 1957. Her father was a stationary engineer in the paper mill and her mother was a piano teacher. Morgan started learning the piano when she was three or four years old. Her three older sisters also played and her mother was giving piano lessons in the house so that it came to her very quickly. She first took lessons from her mother, then from other teachers. Her mother wanted her to be a classical pianist because she was talented and used to win awards at music festivals, but Pam chose a different direction. She had always wanted to be a singer, as she recalls:

> Uh, it's funny when I was about five years old uh this is the thing that sticks out in my mind because you know to me it indicates that I, I always had that ambition but when, I remember one time when I was five uh, my sister and me used to talk back and forth to each other's reflection in the mirror, hum we used to ask each other's questions and you know stuff like that. She asked me what I wanted to be when I grew up and I said I wanted to be a singer and she laughed at me and said "don't be foolish, you've got to be pretty to be a singer, you think you're pretty enough to be a singer" [laughs] so I sort of gave up saying it . . . I always sort of knew I was, I would do something in the arts because I never really fit in with anything you're supposed to fit in with, I was always a bit on the fringe of uh, polite society . . . (Morgan, tape no 2.1).

When she was a teenager she learned the flute and the guitar. In high school she played the flute in a few bands. Three other girls and herself were in a group called The Lincolns which lasted for two years. In that group she played the guitar and sang in harmony; they did "folkie" type of songs, a few Beatles songs and others that were popular on the radio at the time. They played at weddings, school assemblies, dinners and other functions.

Morgan had a drama and arts teacher in high school in Grand Falls from grade nine to grade eleven who had a strong influence on her. This teacher, Ches Skinner, who encouraged her to develop her artistic abilities, had a very strong sense of nationalism:

> . . . all throughout he was always stressing to us the importance of Newfoundland, the culture and how you should you know speak the way you speak and don't be intimidated by people who tell you you're talking wrong just because you don't speak like a mainlander and you know like the importance of hanging on to your culture . . ." (Morgan, tape no 2.1)

Inspired by her teacher, and being a musical person, Pamela began to be interested in Newfoundland music. She got the Peacock collection when she was in high school and began to look for songs she liked and included a few of them in the repertoire she used at music festivals from grade nine on. The songs from the collection reminded her of her father singing old ballads when the family would go camping and she was still very young: ". . . you know then when I got in high school . . . all the old songs he used to sing like . . . they sort of made sense to me then . . ."(Morgan, tape no 2.1). When she was in grade ten, she acted in a play the students adapted themselves from a fairy tale, "The Golden Goose", and they "took it out on the road" during the Summer for about six weeks as part of a youth program (Morgan, tape no 2.1).

Under the direction of Ches Skinner, the students, including Morgan, wrote a play in grade eleven about the Beothuk Indians called "The Way to Gosset" that they performed at the high-school drama festival in Grand Falls as a non-competitive entry. Pam wrote the music and the songs for the play and also sang and acted in it. The play was a success and they ended up doing it at the Dominion drama festival in St. John's the next year. In between, Pamela did a four month tour with the Newfoundland Travelling Theater in a play called "The Newfoundland Pageant" which was the history of Newfoundland compressed in a two and a half hour show. She was mainly acting in that play except for singing "Lili Marlene" in German. After that she finished her grade twelve in Nova Scotia.

Noel Dinn happened to be in Grand Falls with Garrison Hill at the time of the high school drama festival and, with a friend who knew Ches Skinner, went to see the play Pam Morgan was in, "The Way to Gosset". Noel Dinn comments: "It really struck me when I heard her singing, she just had that kind of folk, real pure way of singing; it sort of moved me . . ." (N. Dinn, tape no 1). Nevertheless he did not talk to her at that particular time and it was only a year later when he saw her in the same play at the Dominion Drama festival in St. John's that he approached her to ask if she would be interested in joining the trad-rock band he was trying to form. Pamela Morgan explains that she refused:

> . . . he came up and introduced himself and said "you know I like your singing and I like the songs you wrote and I play in a band and would you be interested?" and I sort of laughed at him [she laughs] and said 'thanks but no thanks'.
>
> L: Why?
>
> PM: Oh I don't know, somehow it didn't seem real to me or something. I was very young too, I guess I was sixteen or something . . . so I didn't really take him seriously . . .(Tape no 2.1).

By then Morgan had moved to St. John's and joined the Mummers Troupe, a local political theatre group. The following year she happened to see Noel Dinn at Bridgett's, a bar downtown, who had by then started Figgy Duff, and he asked her for the second time if she wanted to join the band:

> . . . he said "do you remember me?" and I said "oh yeah", he said "I'm getting this band on the go now called Figgy Duff" so he said "would you be interested in coming down?", he said "I have my piano in the basement and I've got these arrangements of songs and you know and you can try it out and see how you like it". So I went down and I was very intimidated . . . first it was just myself and Noel went down and tried a few things. You know it seemed okay, I mean I wasn't really serious about it, I didn't think it would work out but then he asked me to come and practice again, so then we started doing a few gigs around and uh, the first gig was at a place called Dirty Dick's where the Ship Inn is now . . . the place where drug dealers and hippies and [laughs] all the riff-raff used to hang out and I was scared shitless, I just sort of got up and sang a couple of songs . . . (Tape no 2.1).

She was still with the Mummers Troupe at the time. She would rehearse with the troupe during the day and rehearsed with Figgy Duff in the evening. As a result she got very sick from the overwork. In the fall of 1975 she left the Mummers Troupe to officially join Figgy Duff.

At first Morgan only sang and the others did not know that she could play the guitar, but after a little while she began to do both in the band. It was also quite a while before she began playing the piano in Figgy Duff, as Phil Dinn explains:

> Jesus boy it took her a long time for her to sit down to piano, she wouldn't you know, she'd lean over a shoulder and tell Noel where he was going wrong or what to do to augment this chord . . . she was just all disgusted, all the hardship that she had, her mother being her teacher and going to the same school . . . as the thing became more subtle and that kind of stuff she grew to like it more . . . and a long time after she finally sat down to it (P. Dinn, tape no 7.1).

After Pam Morgan had joined Figgy Duff another member was found, accordion player Art Stoyles. Art Stoyles, from St. John's, was born in 1942. He learned to play the accordion from his father, a longshoreman, who had himself been taught by his father. Because of a difficult family situation Art Stoyles grew up in the streets of St. John's. He never went to school and spent a lot of time on the waterfront playing soccer with the Portuguese and Spanish sailors from whom he learned to play most of his music (P. Morgan, tape no 2.4). These influences were reflected in the way he played the accordion:

> He's much better at European music than he is at Newfoundland music . . . he knows all these foreign waltzes and really romantic beautiful, incredible music and he's a master at the three row accordion which is not really a Newfoundland trait and he plays like the bass hand, like he plays chords with his music which is unusual for Newfoundlander players as well (Morgan, Tape no 2.4).

Art Stoyles was once declared to be the best accordion player in Newfoundland at a local contest. The members of Figgy Duff had heard Art Stoyles play in a three piece country and western band and asked him to join Figgy Duff. Phil Dinn points out, "We were going around trying to get people out of their bands because we thought we had a better band" (Tape no 7.1).

By the end of 1975, Figgy Duff therefore included: Noel Dinn who was twenty-eight years old, playing drums and keyboards; Pamela Morgan, eighteen years old, on lead vocals, guitar and tin whistle; Philip Dinn, twenty-six years old, on vocals, drums and bodhran; Dave Panting, nineteen years old playing bass,

guitar and mandolin; Kelly Russell, nineteen years old, on fiddle, mandolin and tin whistle and Art Stoyles, thirty-three years old, playing the button accordion. At this stage the band was spending most of their time rehearsing because several of the members were not very musically experienced and just learning their instruments. Noel Dinn who was the founder of the band, and the most musically experienced, took on the leading role in perfecting the sound of the band. Dave Panting recalls how much hard work they had to put into it:

> . . . it was quite a demanding time, we were doing a totally off the wall kind of music and we were trying to write and do stuff with all our own sound, it was very hectic days, we used to have fourteen hour rehearsal sessions, just crazy, stay up all night, start at noon and you'd be up all night, very intense, these guys were the most intense people I've ever worked with, I'd never met anybody like Noel before and you know it was quite a challenge, these guys they were really driven so it was a good experience . . . some of it was a horror show but when I look back on it now, a lot of it was well with it you know I miss some of that energy . . . (Panting, tape no 5.1).

At the beginning it was Noel Dinn who did most of the arrangements and took most of the decisions, later on Pamela Morgan brought a very creative input into the band, and both of them became the leaders and arrangers of most of the material (Panting, tape no 5.1; P.Dinn, tape no 7.1; Russell, tape no 4.1). Nevertheless, some decisions were also taken collectively and the other musicians could also bring their own creative input into the band (Morgan, tape no 2. 4).

Figgy Duff began to play in bars in St. John's and in a few other venues. They also went to two or three Arts and Culture Centers on the Island during which Derek Pelley played with them. In December 1975, Figgy Duff put together a Christmas show which they performed at MUN Little Theater and which would be performed every year in December until 1980. This show combined music, theater and dance, which involved other St. John's artists such as fiddler Wanda Crocker with The East End Boys and Girls Club. This show was celebrating the season of the winter solstice; Figgy Duff would be dressed as Mummers and sing some traditional Christmas carols. Neil Murray commented about the show, "It's a spectacle of traditional music, theatre and

dance that traces the continuity of the Christmas Season from pagan times to the present day celebration in Newfoundland" (Murray, "Figgy Duff's Christmas" 28).

Noel Dinn was also the manager of the band, taking care of the bookings and other business matters, until John Parsons became Figgy Duff's manager. John Parsons, from St. John's originally, had been working on offshore oil rigs in Spain and came back to St. John's in 1975 after an injury. He was a friend of Neil Murray, and in late 1975 Neil Murray and John Parsons went to Dirty Dick's where Figgy Duff was playing. John Parsons, who had never seen Figgy Duff performing before was very impressed: ". . . somewhat it was rough but you could see the makings of something really interesting and unique. . ." (Parsons, tape no 9.1). He began to "hang around" the band and thought that they did not really know how to promote themselves and that they were not very organized with their advertising so he began to help them with this aspect:

> . . . I started to put together some of the promo, bio stuff, what the critics had been saying and chronological list of what they had already done and started to develop posters and started to promote the band more out of a hobby than anything else . . . (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

John Parsons was thinking about going back to Spain when one day Noel Dinn asked him to be the band's manager. At first he thought that it was "a crazy idea" but eventually accepted (Parsons, tape no 9.1). He became Figgy Duff's manager at the beginning of 1976 which involved continuing what he had started: doing all kinds of promotion, designing posters, putting up posters, doing publicity on the radio, doing some of the bookings for the band, Noel Dinn still doing the others.

At this time Figgy Duff started touring in rural Newfoundland, going to small communities. Their aim was principally to learn folksongs and tunes directly from Newfoundland traditional singers and musicians and to increase their repertoire. They would play in the community bar or hall and then would try to find out if there were any people who sang and played in the village; or they would go to a community where they already knew the names of some traditional performers living there. Until then they had been taking folksongs from the Newfoundland

collections except for those brought in by Anita Best that she had learned directly from other people.

After a six week tour around Newfoundland, during which they were not always very well received by rural audiences, and which was not very lucrative for the band, Figgy Duff decided to go to Toronto, where there was a bigger market, to try to succeed as a band and to "take the music out" (N. Dinn, tape no 1; P. Dinn, tape no 7.1). Phil Dinn recalls:

> . . . so by the time we finally hit Port Aux Basques we had about six grand in the pocket so we said 'where are we going?' so we could go back to St. John's or we could hop aboard the ferry and went on up" (P. Dinn, tape no 7.2).

At first they struggled, finding a little venue here and there in Toronto, but during the month of October that same year they got a "break" (P. Dinn, tape 7.1). The band was booked for a week at the New Windsor Tavern, an Irish Bar in Toronto, when one night the music critic for the Toronto Star Peter Goddard went there, saw them performing, and wrote a very good review of the band's performance. Noel Dinn talks about it:

> . . . after the first night we were there, the guy from the Toronto Star was there celebrating his friend's birthday, he heard us and he called up this photographer and said "get down there right away you know there's a great band down there", 'cause you know that was very different in that time, like what we were doing was sort of revolutionary right, and next day we had front page of the Star, a big picture of the band and that sort of started to roll, that started the whole thing rolling outside of Newfoundland (Tape no 1).

Peter Goddard was known as a respected but difficult reviewer, and his glowing review of Figgy Duff had quite an impact not only on the Canadian music scene but also in New York (Parsons, tape no 9.1). The next week-end Figgy Duff was playing at the Horseshoe Tavern in Toronto, from there they went to play in Montreal, Ottawa and also made an appearance at the Newfoundland Pavillion of the Toronto Caravan and at Mariposa folk festival.

In December 1976 the band performed their second Christmas show in St. John's and in twenty-two Newfoundland communities. John Parsons helped in getting this Christmas tour sponsored by the Fishermen's Union. He first contacted the Secretary of State who agreed to give $3000 for the show but he

had to find a sponsor who would be willing to provide another $3000. John Parsons contacted Richard Cashin, the president of the Fishermen's Union, who told him to come to the Newfoundland Hotel where they were having a convention and have the band play there. John Parsons and the band went there, and Figgy Duff began setting up their equipment in a corner of the lobby but things did not go very smoothly at first:

> . . . in the midst of all this the manager of the hotel comes down and starts attacking Richard Cashin and saying 'what's this all about?' and Richard Cashin sent him over to talk to me, so . . . this guy was threatening to call the police . . . and so Richard Cashin came back to me and said "John he said I think we're gonna have to give it up" . . . so anyway that's a good example of persistance right, so . . . I said "Richard look" I said "you go over and get in the elevator and go up to the hotel room somewhere where the manager can't find you" and I said "I'll deal with it" . . . so anyway the guy kept coming over to me and I just kept being calm and saying "look this has been all arranged with the Fisherman's Union and this is a Newfoundland band and they're playing Newfoundland traditional music and finally he said look I'll give you ten minutes to play and if the band is not out of here in ten minutes I'm gonna call the Mounties, so I said "okay" . . . the band started to play, nobody knew who the band was from the Fishermen's Union . . . so within one song all of a sudden people started to turn away from the bar towards the band and within two songs a crowd had formed around the band and then all of a sudden people started jumping out on the middle of the floor and a big dance started so the whole place went up, so the band played for about forty-five minutes and the manager used to keep coming out looking down over and then going back in again . . . so at the end of it, Richard Cashin got up on the microphone and made a big speech about the band and Newfoundland and the revival of Newfoundland culture and the music . . . and he announced that . . . of course the Fishermen's Union was gonna give the $3000 to support the band to do a Christmas tour of Newfoundland . . . (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

In 1977 the band continued to collect folksongs in rural Newfoundland and would occasionally play in St. John's, but they began spending most of their time in Toronto, playing in clubs and concert halls. In May 1977 they were chosen to represent Canada at the annual International Maytime Festival in Dundalk, Ireland, and did a special show for Irish National Radio. In August 1977, Figgy Duff played the initial ten minutes of music at the official opening of the Canada Summer Games on national television in front of a live audience of fifteen thousand people (Parsons, "Press release: Figgy Duff" 1). In December they performed their Christmas show in Toronto.

Around November 1977 Kelly Russell left Figgy Duff for several reasons, as he explains:

> . . . we were in Toronto . . . trying to get gigs spending a lot of times doing nothing, having no money in a big city, living at people's houses . . . We were very dependent at the time, uh my dad took very sick and two weeks later died and I came home. There were a lot of personal frustrations at the time within the band because we weren't getting anywhere . . .(Tape no 4.1).

Although the critics in Toronto liked the band there were periods where they had to struggle to find enough venues to play in so that they could support themselves financially. Russell felt some bitterness after he had left the band because "the band started to happen right after that . . . it was sort of a bad time for me to leave . . ." (Russell, tape no 4.1). After Kelly Russell left, the Figgy Duff members moved into a house in a Portuguese neighborhood in Toronto.

After the review by Peter Goddard in 1976, John Parsons, who had remained in Newfoundland, took the plane to Toronto and began to look for a record label which would be willing to sign the band. He was only interested in having the band signed with a major record label so that they would have a better chance to become internationally famous. His idea was that the band had to be recognized nationally and internationally and then the publicity of the band's success would have repercussions in Newfoundland. He explains:

> . . . as the band got more publicity on the national and international level like going to Ireland to represent Canada, all that stuff would be fed back into the press in Newfoundland and I think that helped to raise the awareness of what was going on with the band . . . (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

John Parsons had found an entertainment lawyer in Toronto, Bernie Solomon, who helped him in obtaining a record deal. Different people from the Canadian music industry started proposing contracts for them, however John Parsons did not consider the contracts as being favorable as he recalls:

> . . . he started to bring in all these guys who were talking about signing contracts . . . and by the end of the interview it was obviously absurd what these guys were proposing . . . they'd say we can get you bookings for $4000 a week down through the Northern United States this and that and everything else but when I said okay you guarantee me . . . it's $3500 a week whether we get booked or not if you're so hot, or it finally came down we'll give it two months to book the band and see how you do and then we'll talk about signing contract after that, so it would all fall apart once it got to that kind of level

> because they couldn't book the band, the band was unknown . . . they were just going to find a way to tie the band up . . . (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

Then Bernie Solomon started to turn to the American record industry and at the very beginning of 1978 he was successful in obtaining a world-wide contract with Island Records which was one of the world's leading record companies, with head offices in New York, Los Angeles, and London (Murray, "Newfoundland Traditional Band Signs" 50). As part of the contract with Island Records the band was supposed to record seven albums, all financed by Island, over a five year period. The band started recording their first album at Manta Sound Studios in Toronto with Paul Hoffert as producer. The album was supposed to be released first in the United States around May 1978 and distributed a few weeks later by RCA in Canada. Then just as Figgy Duff seemed on the verge of international success things began to go wrong for the band. The Chieftains who were also with Island Records and had just finished recording their seventh album were going on tour. Figgy Duff opened for the Chieftains at Massey Hall in Toronto on March 11th, 1978. From there Figgy Duff was supposed to follow the Chieftains to Boston, Chicago, New York, California and Europe. There they would have left the Chieftains and continued on their own once they had all the publicity they needed by opening for the Chieftains. The Figgy Duff's performance at Massey Hall got some good reviews but also some bad ones, Pam Morgan explains what went wrong:

> . . . we were playing double-bill with the Chieftains and that was our first taste of the big theatre and also getting . . . treated in a lesser way by people who were stars . . . for example we didn't get a sound check, we were on the stage trying to get our sound together when the house was opened, people were coming in and it was like a humiliating experience the whole thing and then we got a bad review after . . . the audience loved us, we had a big encore and everything . . . if we had been more experienced and more pushy we would have said like "it's our turn, what's the fuck is going on here?" but we were sort of young and inexperienced at the time, we just sort of let it go . . .
>
> L: So why did you get a bad review?
>
> PM: Well . . . I mean we were on stage, a six piece band, and we couldn't hear each other . . . we were nervous . . . and basically the fellow didn't say much, he just said that we belonged playing for a bunch of barefoot people on the grass in a park and not at Massey Hall . . . (Morgan, Tape no 2.3).

Soon after that, about a month before the first Figgy Duff album was to be released Island Records was bought by Warner Brothers. The contract between Island Records and Figgy Duff fell through because Warner Brothers was not interested in keeping Figgy Duff. As a result this first Figgy Duff album was never released and the tour they had planned to do with the Chieftains did not materialize (N. Dinn, tape no 1; Morgan tape no 2.3; Parsons no 9.1). Phil Dinn thinks that the contract with Island Records falling through was linked to the fact that they were not at their best when they played at Massy Hall and had bad reviews:

> Well it was just the band . . . just not enough there, not enough up for the morale and stuff like that and Massey Hall was packed up solid, we couldn't ask for a better situation you know . . . the audience was good, it's just that we didn't carry it off with enough confidence to crack the ice, because all the producers came up from New York and the record was announced . . . if we had proved ourselves that way there they would have overlooked the inexperience in the studio and put us back there again . . . (P. Dinn, 7.2).

John Parsons spent one or two years fighting with Island Records and Warner Brothers, threatening to take them to court. He got another record deal with RCA but this did not work out either. At that time John Parsons also began to manage other bands in Toronto. According to John Parsons, once the contract had been discontinued it became difficult to book the band through the booking agency which had taken them thinking that Island Records would be behind them. Figgy Duff had to continue on their own and try to survive by looking for gigs wherever they could. At about that time they came back to live in Newfoundland although they still spent much of their time in Toronto and other places on the mainland.

Towards the end of 1978, Art Stoyles left the band and Geoff Butler replaced him. Butler, born in 1960 in St. John's, grew up in a very musical atmosphere. His mother played the violin and his father played the piano. He encountered the accordion at an early age when visiting friends of his parents who had one in the basement. At first he both liked and hated the sound of it. When he was ten years old Butler started playing the flute but he thought that it

was more for playing at home and not on family camping excursions. So he went to various music stores trying to find a more appropriate instrument and bought a harmonica. He was not very satisfied with the harmonica either and after a while he went back to the music store and looked at an accordion. He asked the owner of the store, Roy O'Brien, if he could play the accordion, the owner took it and played it and Butler was so amazed that such music could come out of it that he bought one. Geoff Butler began to tape Roy O'Brien in order to acquire a repertoire, then he bought records of accordion music such as those by Harry Hibbs and Wilf Doyle, and learned some of the tunes (Murray, "Profile: Geoff Butler"). The first time he performed in public was at the St. John's Folk Music Club which used to meet at the Station Tavern. He had not been learning how to play for very long and his first public performance was far from being a success, as Anita Best recalls:

> . . . I was one of the people that used to introduce people, it was a big thing then the folk club . . . Geoff came down to the Station Tavern with his accordion, . . . a very young fellow, seventeen or eighteen and he came up to me and said he'd like to play the accordion and I said "sure" . . . so he went up and he was so bad, oh my God, he was really bad . . . it was only the third or fourth time he had ever played the accordion . . . and he got so much negative reaction from people that he became determined to play the accordion, he just learned how to play it and within a month or two he was playing adequately and within six months he was brilliant . . . (Best, tape no 8.1).

By going to the folk club he started to meet other accordion players such as Art Stoyles and Frank Maher. As far as style is concerned Frank Maher influenced him the most. During the Christmas of 1976, Geoff Butler took part in the annual Christmas show of the Mummers Troupe. The following summer, Geoff Butler and Len Penton formed a duo called The Sharemen and they managed to get a few bookings at local clubs. While he was at the University, he heard Figgy Duff at university dances and concerts and was impressed by them. He talked about it in an article:

> They were the only live band I heard . . . because I wasn't old enough to go to clubs. I thought it was great that young people were at this music, because it's definitely my favourite kind. I learned a lot of their tunes and I liked the feeling that Art Stoyles used to put into it. The accordion was just an extension of his arms. All the players were really intent on the music, which was what impressed me . . . (qtd. in Murray, "Profile: Geoff Butler" 5).

In August 1978, Noel Dinn called Geoff Butler because Art Stoyles was leaving the band and they had "a few jams together" (qtd. in Murray, "Profile: Geoff Butler" 5). Although Geoff thought that he was not ready to join the band at the time he decided to try. The group spent about a month practicing together before touring British Columbia with their Christmas show. After that they came back to Newfoundland and toured around the island.

At the beginning of 1979, Phil Dinn also left the band. He did so because he felt he was ready to take a different direction, he explains:

> . . . we were dealing with Mummers' plays and things like that and I've always liked that aspect of it too . . . I've always liked the idea of theater-music . . . so when the time came that was more the direction I wanted to go in . . . (Tape no 7.1).

In 1979 the band consisted then of four members: Noel Dinn (drums, bodhran, piano and vocals), Pamela Morgan (lead vocals, acoustic guitar, tin whistle and piano), Dave Panting (bass, mandolin and vocals) and Geoff Butler (button accordion and flute). In September and October 1979, Figgy Duff performed with CODCO (under the name WNOBS) at the Horseshoe Tavern in Toronto, combining once more music and comedy.

After this show Figgy Duff went to record another album which would be their first released album. John Parsons had finally succeeded in getting a settlement from Island Records and they used some of the money from the settlement and got new producers, Tom Treumuth and Gary Furniss, to record and produce this album. Figgy Duff signed a record deal with Posterity, a small label, and the record was to be distributed nationally by Phono Discs. John Parsons managed to get himself hired by Phono Discs to let him produce the album the way he wanted (Parsons, tape no 9.1). Figgy Duff decided to record an album with totally different material than that which was on the unreleased one because by then they had built a new repertoire and felt that they had evolved musically.

From May to September 1980 Figgy Duff played at concert halls and festivals across Canada: in Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Vancouver, Victoria,

Edmonton, Calgary, Banff and Toronto. In August 1980, they went to play at the Philadelphia Folk Festival where they were very well received. The album "Figgy Duff" was released in September 1980 and got good reviews in Canada and in the States. In December 1980 Figgy Duff did their traditional Christmas show for the last time at the Arts and Culture center in St. John's.

In January 1982 for the first time there was a Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council Awards Show at the LSPU (Longshoremen Protection Union) Hall in St. John's during which Figgy Duff played; and at the same event they were presented the Johnny Burke Award for achievement in music ("Best Traditional Group: Figgy Duff", 49). In February 1982, Figgy Duff adapted the words of the Shakespeare play, "The Tempest" to music. The play itself was directed by Stephen Bush and featured St. John's actors and Figgy Duff. Ray Conlogue describes Figgy Duff in his The Globe and Mail review as being "the strong point of the production" ("Magic Is Missing in Newfoundland Tempest" 15).

After a tour in Canada and the United States Figgy Duff went to play in England, Holland and Germany during the summer of 1982. At that time their album was just being released in England by Edgware's Dingle's Records. This company usually specialized in Welsh and English folk groups, but the directors were so impressed by Figgy Duff that they signed a contract with them ("Edgware Label Signs Canadian Group"). In November 82 Figgy Duff did another tour in the Western part of Canada and Ontario.

Towards the end of 1981, beginning of 1982, John Parsons stopped being Figgy Duff's manager although he would still be involved with them on certain occasions later on. He left because he was asked to participate in the investigation of the Ocean Ranger disaster but he also left the band for other reasons:

> . . . I wasn't satisfied with the way . . . I had seen the reviews coming out after the first album and I had the feeling that things weren't followed up properly . . . there didn't seem to be the momentum to take advantage of this after spending two and a half years to get back to this position . . . (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

Noel Dinn carried on managing the band after John Parsons left, taking care of all business matters which was a lot to do as John Parsons points out:

> . . . He had to play the role of manager, of booking agent, strategist and a whole bunch of things like that and I mean that's a tough role because you're a musician trying to create your art and then you have to do all these other things as well. (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

Pam Morgan thinks that John Parsons did good things for the band but he did not take into account certain aspects:

> . . . He got us some good things like he got us in contact with the uh guys who produced all our records and that, he was our contact there, he got us in contact with very good publicists in the United States, but the problem with John, he had all these, I mean he did really great stuff for the band and he got us in the Philadelphia folk festival, and like these really high profile gigs but like he didn't have a concept of you know like uh the everyday, like where we're gonna stay or what we're gonna eat like that kind of things . . . the rest is okay but we really have to get somebody looking at that angle of things before we can do anything you know, and that's why it sort of fell apart because he had a broader vision which I give him credit for but we needed someone looking after the grass roots level (Morgan, tape no 2.3).

At the end of 1982, beginning of 1983 Figgy Duff recorded their second album in Toronto, called "After the Tempest", on Boot Records, another small Canadian record label, and it was also produced by Tom Treumuth and Gary Furniss. Derek Pelley, who had not played with Figgy Duff since 1975, joined the band for a while and was with them when they recorded the album. The members on the album were: Noel Dinn on drums, bodhran, hammered dulcimer and piano; Pamela Morgan on lead vocals, acoustic guitar, tin whistle, keyboards and synthesizer; Dave Panting on mandolin, electric guitar and vocals; Geoff Butler on button accordions and tin whistle; Derek Pelley on bass and vocal harmonies. This second album was released in November 1983.

In the meantime, Figgy Duff decided to turn Figgy Duff into Flip Side when playing in Newfoundland. This meant the other side of Figgy Duff: instead of emphasizing the traditional side, they were emphasizing the rock side. "Flip Side" is actually slang for the other side of a "single", a 78 or 45 rpm record. When they began as Flip Side in May 1983 in St. John's, they would do a set that was all traditional, one that would be an eclectic variety of rock tunes and a third

set would be a mixture of both. Later on they played mainly rock cover songs from Cream, The Doors, Rolling Stones, Tina Turner, Fleetwood Mac and The Police. They changed the name of the band to Flip Side so that people would not go to their gigs thinking that they were going to hear what Figgy Duff usually played and be disappointed. Flip Side existed until 1986. During this time they would still be playing as Figgy Duff outside Newfoundland and in Newfoundland occasionally, but whenever they stayed for several months without getting a tour outside the province they would play mostly as Flip Side in Newfoundland. Flip Side was basically a means of surviving financially, because Figgy Duff in Newfoundland was not popular enough to be able to play in many places and earn enough money to survive. As Flip Side they were more a dance band doing the kind of music many people in Newfoundland wanted to hear, so that it was easier for them to get booked. The members of the band also needed some time without touring outside the province in order to do some writing and Pam Morgan did not really want to tour very far from Newfoundland for personal reasons. She explains:

> . . . it was just because Rhiannon [her daughter] was just born . . . I didn't really want to be doing a lot of uh out of the road work and I had my mind preoccupied for a last little while. We hadn't been doing much writing or anything like that, it was sort of a down period in that I didn't really feel like going too far away (Tape no 2.3).

Geoff Butler did not play in Flip Side, because they did not need any traditional instruments. The other members were the same than those in Figgy Duff at the time: Noel Dinn, Pamela Morgan, Dave Panting, Derek Pelley. Two musicians were added to Flip Side in 1983, Geoff Panting, Dave Panting's brother, on keyboards for a little while and Bruce Crummell on electric guitar. In Flip Side, Morgan would still do the majority of the singing but Dinn, Pelley and Panting also sang a few songs.

The same year Bruce Crummell also joined Figgy Duff. Bruce Crummell, born in 1955, is from St. John's. His father was a machinist. His mother plays the accordion a little but his family is not very musical on the whole. Crummell

got his first guitar when he was eleven or twelve years old. He learned by ear, does not read music but in 1974 he learned classical guitar for a year. He was musically influenced by Eric Clapton and his style of guitar playing, Ritchie Blackmore, and by rock music in general. When he was 13 or 14 years old he began to play lead guitar in a band which included two other boys; they were playing rock 'n' roll, tunes from The Beatles and The Rolling Stones at school assemblies. After that Crummell carried on playing in various rock 'n' roll bands, some of which played mainly blues based music. One of these bands was October in which Dave Panting was the lead singer. In 1976, Bruce Crummell played in Red Island with Jamie Snider, Don Walsh and Derek Pelley, who were doing traditional songs to a rock background.

Bruce Crummell joined Figgy Duff in 1983 but he did not play with the band on a consistent basis. For quite a while he was more "a sideman" than a real member of the band, he explains why:

> It was a really hard situation actually because, when a tour would end there wouldn't be much happening, so everybody kind of go and do their own thing . . . I know I would anyway a lot of the time and then when it came time to do it again I might go or I might be into something different you know, that kind of way so that happened a lot . . . I had to do something to keep going, keep money coming in you know, it was not always easy you know . . . (Tape no 3).

In the same way Derek Pelley played on and off with Figgy Duff over the years, at times he would feel more part of the band than others but would not be a constant member.

In the summer of 1983, Figgy Duff, including Crummell and Pelley, went to play at the Caravan in Toronto. In November 1983, their second album was released and also received very good reviews from the press both in Canada and in the United States.

At the end of 1983, Dave Panting who had been a full time member of Figgy Duff for eight years, decided to leave the band because he felt that he could not really express himself in it musically the way he wanted. He gives his reasons for leaving:

> . . . I was doing a fair bit of creating but uh especially in the later years it got to the point where it was basically Pamela and Noel and uh . . . I was beginning to realize that there wasn't a lot of room for me to do, I was sort of expanding but I was feeling very restricted you know about 83 . . . eight years later or so I was really realizing that the band had really ran out of potential for me personally but I put a lot of work into that band . . . and I grew up in playing in that group really musically and personally . . . I wrote a few songs but the band never did any of my songs, one of the reasons I left actually because I had to do the stuff and Noel and Pamela were at that time writing songs and . . . you know there really wasn't room there right . . . . I wasn't learning anything new, it was becoming to the point where Noel and Pam were doing most of the arranging and uh I was beginning to feel more and more like a session player and it really wasn't what I wanted because I'm not cut out for that . . . I felt more and more like I was wasting my time (Panting 5.1).

After he left Dave Panting recorded an album solo and later on formed a band now called Rawlins Cross. He nevertheless played with Figgy Duff on certain occasions later on, if they needed a musician to replace somebody else and if he was available.

Until then there had already been several personal changes in the band and Noel Dinn, Pam Morgan and Dave Panting had been the only constant members from 1975. From around 1983 until 1990 many different musicians played on and off with the band, like Bruce Crummell and Derek Pelley, who would not be full time members; or a musician might be a full time member for several months and then leave and maybe play later with them on another occasion. Some musicians would play with them only on one particular occasion, replacing a member who would be involved doing something else at the time. Kelly Russell comments on this:

> The band went through a whole period of time when uh say they'd line up a tour over in England . . . or across Canada or something and then they'd get a band together to do it, it was not a solid band throughout that whole period, we'll say from 83 almost till a year ago, uh any time you would hear or see Figgy Duff you'd be pretty certain that the line up was going to be different than the last time you saw them . . .(Russell, tape no 4.1).

Kelly Russell, who had left the band in 1977, did not play with Figgy Duff until around 1984. In between he had played with The Wonderful Grand Band, a local band which was quite popular in Newfoundland, that combined traditional music, rock and comedy. He started playing with Figgy Duff again on and off without

being really part of the band. He was not committed to the band because there were other things he was involved in: he taught the fiddle for eight years, started his own record label, Pigeon Inlet Productions, and he was also playing with Jim Payne and Rufus Guinchard.

In 1985, Figgy Duff was invited by CBC and the Canadian Government to play in Quebec City at a show for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan. With a band that included Frank Maher (accordion) and Kelly Russell (fiddle), they played three Newfoundland tunes in front of eighteen hundred people and were featured on CBC. Frank Maher was not officially part of the band at that time, he was only replacing Geoff Butler. The same year Figgy Duff went to play at the annual Dublin City Irish music festival. The line up in Ireland was Noel Dinn, Pam Morgan, Derek Pelley, Kelly Russell and Frank Maher. Anita Best also sang with Morgan and the band for that particular occasion. Then they went to London, England, to launch the release of their album "After the Tempest" in Europe. The album was distributed by Celtic Records in England. The first compact disc of Newfoundland music came out of their second album, which was manufactured for Celtic Records in England and came back to Newfoundland as an import (Parsons, tape no 9.1).

Around 1986, Geoff Butler left Figgy Duff and accordionist Frank Maher officially joined the band. Frank Maher was born in 1934 in St. John's. His mother and her parents all played the accordion. He started to play the harmonica when he was thirteen. He was sixteen years old when he decided to learn the accordion, he is self-taught. He would occasionally play the accordion at parties and at a few dances. He played a few times with The Quidi Vidi Minstrels. Musically, Frank Maher was influenced by the McNulty Family, an Irish American group, and locally, he was influenced by accordion player Frank Stanton. After high school he worked in an office, on a farm, as a truck driver and as the manager of a bar, the latter for twenty-seven years. He met Figgy Duff while he was managing The Harbor Inn, now called The Picadilly Pub,

where several members of the band would go and drink. Frank Maher had already played with Figgy Duff even before 1985 but only now and then, replacing Art Stoyles and later on Geoff Butler when they could not do a particular gig. When Butler left the band Noel Dinn asked Maher to join them.

Around 1986, Bruce Crummell began performing more often with Figgy Duff, playing bouzouki in addition to electric guitar. In the fall of 1986, George Morgan, Pamela's younger brother, joined the band. George was also taught piano by his mother when he was five years old; later he took piano lessons with another teacher. He also learned the trumpet and cornet. When he was at the university he played for a few years in a concert band, a jazz band, and the symphony; and after that in various rock bands, music theatre and some solo performances. His musical influences are rock 'n' roll and classical music. After studying the trumpet for three years at Memorial University he felt that he would be better suited to percussion. After he graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Percussion and Performance he went to Germany for a year to study in a music conservatory. When he came back in 1986 he decided to join Figgy Duff (G. Morgan, tape no 11).

At about the same time bassist Dave Vivian also joined the band. Dave Vivian was born in St. John's but moved to Grand Falls with his family when he was very young. He was introduced to music by singing in church choirs and school choirs. As a teenager he learned the guitar. Then his family moved back to St. John's in 1966, where he jammed occasionally with other musicians. When Vivian was nineteen years old he bought his first bass. In the early seventies he orientated himself towards contemporary jazz music. He played in various local bands including pop rock, jazz and blues bands (Murray, "Profile: Dave Vivian").

From the fall of 1986 until August 1987, Figgy Duff included: Pamela Morgan (lead vocals, acoustic guitar, keyboard, tin whistle, synthesizer); Noel Dinn (drums, bodhran, piano, hammered dulcimer); Frank Maher (button

accordion, harmonica); George Morgan (percussions); Dave Vivian (bass) and Bruce Crummell (electric guitar and bouzouki). In the fall of 1986, the band played at the Fishing Admiral in St. John's and celebrated their tenth anniversary with a reunion concert at the Arts and Culture center in St. John's where everybody who had played with Figgy Duff was invited to play. In 1987, Figgy Duff toured in Alberta and British Columbia from mid-January until mid-March. During the summer they went to play in Ontario and played in a few places in Newfoundland on the way. When they came back they played at First City Motel on Kenmount Road and at the Fishing Admiral again. In August, George Morgan decided to leave the band. After he left he started to teach privately before forming a band called The Ear Relevants.

In 1987, Noel Dinn expressed his concerns about the future of the group in an article in The Sunday Express. He pointed out that although they were feeling strong musically they were at a critical stage because for them to survive in Newfoundland they had to keep touring outside the province or constantly play in bars (Geoff Dale, "Critical Acclaim", 30-31). He related:

> If things don't improve we'll have to consider splitting up or moving away . . . We don't want to take the latter route because we've always taken pride in the fact that we were based there and not just another Newfoundland group who had to leave the province for Toronto (qtd. in Dale, 30).

After George Morgan left, other musicians were in Figgy Duff. Rick Murphy, an accordion player from the Southern Shore, played in the band for a while replacing Frank Maher, and a bassist by the name of Jack Dawe also played with them for a couple of months after Dave Vivian left. In 1988, the band went to play at New Orleans Jazz festival with Newfoundland West-Coast traditional fiddler Emile Benoit with whom they had occasionally played over the years, and from there toured the southern part of the United States. Figgy Duff was very well received by the audience at the festival. For this tour besides Pam, Noel and Frank Maher the band also included Derek Pelley (bass) and Sandy Morris (electric, acoustic guitars and bouzouki). Sandy Morris had never played with Figgy Duff before, although as we have seen, he had played with Noel Dinn in

various bands. Sandy Morris is a session musician and he chose not to be in a band for any long period of time:

> I was never rooted in one particular kind of music, I liked to get up and play them all . . . and also of course there was the economic factor, wherever there was a dollar to be made, I also wanted to be involved in that, so I ended up doing a lot of television and radio work because it was lucrative even if it meant playing music that didn't particularly attracted me but you know it paid the rent (Morris, tape no 10.1).

He was asked by Noel Dinn to play on that tour because they needed musicians and Sandy accepted because he was not involved in anything else at the time and also for the trip: ". . . it seemed like an interesting trip [laughs], if it had been to Northern Canada I probably wouldn't have gone" (Morris, tape no 10.1).

Around 1987, Noel Dinn, Neil Murray and John Parsons, who was in Spain at the time, all went to Cannes, France, where all the record companies from all over the world get together once a year. They went to talk to different people there, trying to find a record deal with a major label. They were successful and signed with a major label A & M Records (Parsons, Tape no 9.1). In 1989, the band began to record their third album, which would eventually take about a year and a half. Noel Dinn and Pam Morgan decided to do the album with half traditional songs and tunes and half with the songs they wrote themselves. They had reached a stage where they felt like doing more original songs than they had before, but at the same time chose to write songs which would have a popular appeal to attract a broader audience and to gain international recognition. In the same way Dinn and Morgan felt that they needed to have a solid band in order to achieve this goal. In January 1989, Dinn asked Russell to join the band as a full time member:

> KR: . . . the band itself basically had a new determination of "okay, we're going to do an album, a video, we're gonna make this thing happen now within the next year or so or we're going to give it up . . . we're going to make a final push to hit the bigger market, uh, do you want to be part of it?" and I thought about it for a day or two and I said "yes, I'll be part of it", which meant giving up certain other things, it wasn't easy, there was a couple of gigs that I could have done with Jim and Rufus . . . that I had to pass off in order to work in the band.

L: So why did you go back with them at that point?

KR: I think ultimately it was that I knew if Newfoundland music was conveying an impact in a big way that was Figgy Duff that was going to do it . . . you want to get so far, it wasn't just for myself, my prime motivation over the years has been to music, Newfoundland, the stuff we've got here and what's best for that, like we're going to be content just to produce locally and have it happen here . . . or we're going to bring the thing out in a big way and Figgy Duff was obviously the only way that was going to happen, plus I love the music, I love the concept of Figgy Duff . . . (Russell, tape no 4.1).

The bed-tracks (bass, drums and guitar) for the album were recorded in a studio in Port-Erie near Niagara Falls. The rest of the album was done in various studios in Toronto. It took the band a long time to record it because several changes in regards to their original songs were made in the studio, as Russell explains:

> . . . a lot of reworking, a lot of changes, there's actually one song that was recorded, a song called "Mamma is a Gypsy" and the same bed-track for that song is now a song called "Heart of a Gypsy", and "Mamma is a Gypsy" was an entirely different song with a different melody, different lyrics but the same chord structure so the song was reworked . . . melodically and lyrically to the same bed-track so the song actually developed in the studio and "Weather Out the Storm" is kind of like that too, it's got written and rewritten and the recording, the tracks have changed . . . (Russell, tape no 4.2).

The musicians on the album are: Noel Dinn on keyboards, bodhran, drums and vocals; Pamela Morgan on lead vocals, tin whistles, acoustic guitar and piano; Bruce Crummell on electric guitar and bouzouki; Kelly Russell on fiddle, Celtic harp, mandolin and bouzouki; Frank Maher on accordion and harmonica and Rob Laidlaw on bass. Geoff Butler and Jamie Snider also played on some of the songs as guest musicians. Other people got involved with the album such as Sandy Morris who did some pre-production work on a few songs; Anita Best did back vocals for a few songs but only one of them, "Inside the Circle", was kept on the album; John Parsons helped with some of the promotion of the album. The album was produced by Tom Treumuth and Gary Furniss, as the two previous albums were.

In 1989, Figgy Duff was awarded a grant of $7,500 to do a video. The grant came from the Video Foundation to Video Fact, which is funded entirely by Much

Music, the music video television network distributed on cable systems nation wide (Geoff Meeker, "$13,500 To Produce Two Video Productions"). Pam Morgan put the video together and a company from Toronto which had been recommended by the record company came to Newfoundland to do the video (Morgan, tape 2.6). The song that was used in the video was "Weather Out the Storm".

Rob Laidlaw, in his late twenties, is a session musician from Toronto. He was hired by the studio to play on the album because they did not really have a bass player. Rob Laidlaw has played on a lot of different rock bands' albums. He has also played in a lot of bands which played very different styles of music such as heavy metal, rock and funk. Because Laidlaw liked the Figgy Duff album, the members of the band and the music he decided that he wanted to tour with Figgy Duff.

In 1989 and during the first half of 1990 Figgy Duff did not yet have a solid band and although Kelly Russell, Frank Maher, Bruce Crummell had officially joined Figgy Duff they were still playing on and off with the band. On December 31st, 1989 Figgy Duff played at Bridgett's in St John's; the line up included Noel, Pam, Frank Maher, Kelly Russell and a bass player, Paul Wade, who only played with the band for two months. Figgy Duff had not played in St. John's and anywhere else in Newfoundland for over a year at that time. In April and May 1990 Figgy Duff toured in the United States. Various musicians played at different times with Noel and Pam during this tour. Kelly Russell began touring with them and was then replaced by Jamie Snider; Frank Maher toured with them before being replaced by Geoff Butler; Rob Laidlaw played with them in certain places during the tour but bassist Brian Canney replaced him at times.

In the summer of 1990, the band came back to Newfoundland, playing at various folk festivals across the province and played for a week at Bridgett's in St. John's. Besides Noel and Pam the band included Kelly Russell, Jamie Snider, Rob Laidlaw, Frank Maher and Bruce Crummell. The third Figgy Duff

album, entitled "Weather Out The Storm" was released in October 1990. A tour followed the release almost immediately. They played at the Arts and Culture center in St. John's on November 6th with George Morgan on percussion as guest musician. They played at other Arts and Culture centers across the province before touring across Canada including Montreal where they opened for the Water Boys. After playing at the Loft in St. John's in January 1991 where the show was filmed by CBC, they left for another tour in West Canada in February. They were nominees at the East Coast Music Awards in Halifax in February.

All the members interviewed have agreed that Figgy Duff is now a solid band with full-time members including: Noel Dinn, Pamela Morgan, Rob Laidlaw, Kelly Russell, Frank Maher and Bruce Crummell. The members are now all committed to the band and the creative input is becoming also more collective whereas for a long time the arrangements of the songs were mainly done by Noel and Pam. According to Pam Morgan lack of commitment to the band by a lot of musicians in the past was due to a lack of organization of the band as well as financial problems:

> . . . we didn't have the members who would commit themselves, well because first of all it's not the most financial lucrative thing in the world you know, we'd be touring, doing really raunchy tours, no one in their right mind would ever dream of doing for very little money and uh so you wouldn't have anybody who would commit to it, and we never had the organization to know that 'okay' we would like you to do this tour in November, I mean what we would be doing, we'd ask somebody to do a tour in November, we'd ask him the 1st of November [laughs] . . . We've been so disorganized you know and everything else, I mean it has been . . . really by the skin of our teeth for so long that we never really had a band. But like now that with this new record and it's getting favorable reviews and we've got a new manager . . . (Morgan, tape no 2.3).

The members and ex-members of the band think that Figgy Duff has a better chance to be internationally known and to attract a wider audience with their last album especially now that they have a committed band. They are also trying to find a manager in Toronto because they feel it is important to have somebody outside the band to take care of the business matters. The album has received good reviews and according to the band members it seems to be selling quite well. So far, although the first two albums had also received good press reviews, they were not very successful financially. Pamela explains why:

> . . . we didn't sell enough copies and they weren't very good deals, we signed shady deals with shady characters, we didn't know they were shady of course, because that's one of the disadvantage of working out of Newfoundland, because you don't really know what's going on and it's easy for people hood wink you and they will too if they can, so we did bad deals unknowingly. We didn't sell any anyway but like the record companies they didn't want to make sure that they did sell any or anything like that . . . (Tape no 2.6).

The video of "Weather Out the Storm" is played on the TV channel Much Music and the song itself is played on various radio stations and has even entered the Canadian Top Forty. Figgy Duff deliberately chose to do the video of one of their original songs as opposed to a traditional song because they felt that again, it would attract a broader audience and it would be more profitable for them financially:

> . . . one of the reasons why we've never made any money too, it's because another way an artist makes their money it's through publishing and every time your song is played on the radio in theory you're supposed to get a few sheckles for it but if it's just a traditional song, public domain, you're not the writer, you're the arranger so you don't get nearly as much money so even if a traditional song became a huge hit you wouldn't make a fraction of the money that you would make if it was your own songs . . . (Morgan, tape no 2.6).

With all these positive assets, Figgy Duff after sixteen years of mixed success and struggles is now on a slightly different path which could lead them to more fame and recognition.[2]

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[2]We will note that in March 1991, Rob Laidlaw left Figgy Duff, and was replaced in April 1991 by another musician from Toronto, Erik Soustar, playing a six string bass.

CHAPTER II. NEWFOUNDLAND IDENTITY

Figgy Duff must be understood as an ongoing attempt among Newfoundland artists and intellectuals to construct a sense of national identity. Figgy Duff must be appreciated specifically within the context of the cultural nativist movement that took place in Newfoundland during the early 1970s. The nativist movement of the 1970s was part of an intellectual process by which an urban elite attempted to construct Newfoundland identity. The basis for this symbolic construction is the idea that Newfoundland is a distinctive place. Anthony P. Cohen points out that "identity is always constructed in reference to others" (109). The construction of a national identity begins indeed with an awareness of belonging to a place which is different from other places and where people are different from those in other places. This difference is the result of a shared past, and the experience of life within a particular community. Out of this sense of distinctiveness individuals ascribe values and qualities to their region or country. These values and qualities are not fixed in time but always changing.

Identity in the Newfoundland context was constructed in response to political and economic realities that have defined the Newfoundland experience. The way people have dealt with these realities and constructed a sense of themselves as being different from others has varied over the years. The Newfoundland experience has always been a marginal one in that it has been characterized throughout its history by physical isolation and economic and political dependency. The national identity of Newfoundlanders is built from this shared experience. Cohen argues that the sense of one's identity is "increased when one perceives oneself to be marginal or peripheral relative to the others 'against' whom one defines one's identity" (109).

Calhoun defines identity as "an analytical construct which corresponds to the mental process by which the individual understands who he is" ("The National

Identity" 6). He carries on by saying that identity involves an individual's political, economic, religious, social, familial, sexual, historical, ethnic and national identities. According to him, national identity is:

> a process by which the individual feels he belongs to a group of people who occupy, or feel they should occupy a certain segment of territory and exercise political control over this territory . . . this also involves a feeling of community with the group and a feeling of being distinct from those who do not belong to the group ("The National Identity" 6-7).

This feeling of belonging to the Newfoundland community varies depending on the individual as this particular aspect of one's identity interacts with other aspects of one's identity. Calhoun argues that Newfoundlanders developed the feeling of a racial consciousness which allowed them to feel that they were different and had a different way of life ("The National Identity" 45). According to Calhoun racial consciousness is closely related to the concept of ethnicity.[3] George De Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross define an ethnic group as being:

> . . . a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include "folk" religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity and common ancestry or place of origin (9).

According to Calhoun, the awareness of these shared traditions provide an individual or a group of people with a means by which they can differentiate themselves from members of other communities ("The Maintenance and Transformation" 13).

1) Nationalism and Nativist movements

Many definitions of nationalism have been given but the definition I will use for the purpose of this thesis is that of John Plamenatz:

> Nationalism is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened or to desire to transform or even create it where it is felt inadequate or lacking (23).

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[3]The idea of Newfoundlanders as an ethnic group based on the fact that they have a well defined and shared identity has also been expressed by Janice Drodge in her thesis (5).

He points out that a sense of national identity or "national consciousness", to use his own terms, is being aware of what distinguishes one's own culture from another whereas a sense of nationalism is different because:

> Nationalism . . . arises when people are aware, not only of cultural diversity but of cultural change and share some idea of progress which moves them to compare their own achievements and capacities with those of others (23).

Two main forms of nationalism can be distinguished: those who want separation from another state or nation, like the French Canadian separatist movement, and those who want to preserve their own culture but without advocating separation, which better applies to the sentiment of nationalism in Newfoundland. This form of nationalism can also be called nativism.

Ralph Linton defines a nativistic movement as "Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (230). These conscious efforts to preserve certain aspects of culture can arise when a society feels that the existence of its own culture is threatened either by other cultures or progress. According to Linton, nativist movements seek to eliminate alien persons, customs or value from their culture (233). Linton distinguishes two kinds of nativism: the revivalistic nativism, which is an attempt to revive elements of culture that have ceased to exist, and the perpetuative nativism, which merely wants to perpetuate current elements of culture (233).

Nativist movements are revitalization movements. According to Anthony F. C. Wallace "a revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfactory culture" (267). Wallace argues that those involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, at least in parts, as a system which they consider to be unsatisfactory. Revitalization is a special type of culture change. Unlike cultural changes which occur through history and evolution as part of an unconscious process, in a revitalization movement these changes are consciously made by a group of the society who is not satisfied with its culture (Wallace 265-266).

Nativists are often urban, middle class artists and academics who choose to preserve and revive certain traditional forms of expression they see as relevant to what they perceive as their national culture. Because they feel that their culture is threatened, their desire is to create a more satisfactory culture by reviving cultural elements from the past, found among what they perceive as the "folk" society, and incorporate them to the present and the urban society. These elements of the past, selected to represent a traditional culture, are then placed in total different contexts and consequently take on different meanings (Handler and Linnekin, 276). Nativists only choose to preserve and revive certain aspects of their culture to which they give symbolic value -- these aspects become representative of this culture. If these elements are very distinctive from other cultures they can easily become "symbols of the society's unique character" (Linton 231). As Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin point out once "reconstructed or interpreted as 'tradition' these elements come to signify national identity" (276). Nativists often change the traditions they attempt to revive and may even invent new traditions which will symbolize the uniqueness of their culture (Handler and Linnekin, 276-280). Handler and Linnekin argue that tradition is always changing and thus invented traditions motivated by a nationalist ideology as in Quebec for example are legitimate: "Tradition is not handed down from the past, as a thing or collection of things; it is symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present" (280).

Eric Hobsbawm explains that the term "invented tradition" refers to traditions which have been constructed and formally instituted and those which have emerged within a few years and have established themselves very rapidly(1). He states that:

> "Invented Tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to indicate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past (1).

Hobsbawm argues that invented traditions sometimes use ancient materials to

construct these new traditions with a new purpose. He gives the example of Switzerland where members of the society, motivated by a nationalist ideology, modified, ritualized and institutionalized some existing customary practices like folksongs for new national purposes. In this new context, traditional folksongs were supplemented by new patriotic-progressive songs which were often composed by school masters (6).

According to Alan Dundes "feelings of nationalism may be tied to feelings of cultural inferiority" (15). Very often, countries which have been dependent or acculturated by other countries and as a result suffer from a sense of inferiority, feel the need to invent tradition. For example, Scotland, Germany, Finland and twentieth century America all suffered from inferiority complexes and felt the need to invent tradition and consider it as such (Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes" 6). In "Defining Identity Through Folklore", Dundes points out that folklore "is one of the most important sources for the articulation and perpetuation of a group's symbols" (40). He argues that nations or groups within nations which have been the most active in carrying folklore research were usually those feeling the most anxious about their own identity. Thus, folklore collecting motivated by nationalism is used as a means to find symbols of the nations's or group's cultural identity as well as to reaffirm one's own identity. For example, intense folklore collecting has been done in Finland and Ireland in a search for national and cultural identity. The use of folklore in the making of modern Greece is another typical example where academics went sometimes as far as modifying the folklore material they obtained so that the content would correspond to the way they saw their culture and wanted to present it to others (Herzfield).

Wendy Reich says that in revitalization movements, which occur during periods of rapid social changes, items of folklore are indeed often created or revised and these can be transmitted quickly by word of mouth in the same way as folklore is handed down through generations (235). Even if something has

been written down it can still be passed down by word of mouth and spread to the group in this manner (236). Reich states that an important use of folklore is then the creation of an ideology for the revitalization movement and that "Folklore is also used to justify an action and a particular ideology" (236). She also argues that in periods of rapid social changes "folklore can be seen as an agent for change in that it provides a sanction and rationale for change" (243).

We have then seen that nativist movements arise mainly among an educated middle-class urban population who feel that the culture of their country or region is threatened by outside forces. In a search for their cultural identity they decide to make a conscious organized effort to preserve or revive certain aspects of this culture, which may become its unique symbols. The elements they want to revive, are usually taken from the "folk culture" of their country or region, because it represents continuity with the past. These nativist movements may even invent new traditions but often try to preserve this continuity with the past.

2) The Newfoundland Context

Before discussing nationalist sentiments and nativist movements within Newfoundland, it is first essential to consider the physical and historical background which provided the basis for the construction of a national identity.

National identity has been constructed out of the marginality of Newfoundland. From its early history, Newfoundland has always been economically and politically dependent and underdeveloped. The attributes of marginality which are, according to L. D. McCann, "unemployment, low incomes and a weak political voice" are those of Newfoundland (561). This marginality is both the product of its past and geography. J. D. Rogers points out that "policies, geography and economy have kept Newfoundland eccentric and peripheral in the British North American scene" (170). L. D. McCann argues that all societies have a center which is characterized by concentration and profit, and a periphery

which is characterized by "fragmentation and financial plight" (561). He adds that the periphery usually borrows what is created by the center. The center constitutes an elite but this elite can also exist in the periphery. The economic dependency of Newfoundland, either on an elite within Newfoundland or outside Newfoundland has existed since the early settlements. The physical isolation of the island also reinforces the economic dependency of Newfoundland. Michael Staveley points out that: "eco-development has been hindered by a difficult and restrictive physical environment" (170). This physical environment has restricted the economic development of the island because it was far from mainland markets. The climate in Newfoundland is not very favorable to agriculture either and this has led Newfoundland's economy to rely on its fishery, but fog and frequent storms, as well as the uncertainty of fish stocks have made the fishery hazardous.

The physical isolation of Newfoundland gives the island a very distinct character. The province of Newfoundland, which includes Labrador, is very large. The total area of Newfoundland and Labrador is 156, 000 square miles, Newfoundland's area being just over 43, 000 square miles and Labrador's area being almost 113, 000 square miles (Frederick Rowe 3). Labrador is part of the mainland of Canada and is separated from Newfoundland by seventeen or eighteen miles. The ferry takes six hours to cross between Port aux Basques and North Sydney, Nova Scotia, and the plane takes at least an hour from St. John's to Halifax. A large part of Newfoundland's population is scattered along its coast, living in small fishing outports.[4] The rest of the Newfoundland population lives in the city of St. John's, towns like Grand Falls, Gander and Corner Brook and in the few inland communities. The outports are not as isolated as in the past when very few roads existed and most of the communities could only be reached by boat. However, people living in these outports are still

[4]Outports are small coastal communities.

relatively isolated from the the rest of the island. Many Newfoundland communities are located far from the Trans-Canada Highway and a number of them can still only be reached by boat.

John Calhoun points out that the physical isolation of Newfoundland allowed its people to maintain their own dialects, customs and traditions ("The National Identity of Newfoundlanders" 45). Newfoundlanders are indeed also distinct by their language. Some of the dialects spoken around the island are derived from seventeenth century dialects from Cornwall, Devon and Southern Ireland (John Calhoun, "The Maintenance and Transformation" 11). The fact that Newfoundland is mainly composed of small isolated communities has also contributed to the keeping of old traditions and customs longer than in many places which were reached by modern technology long before rural Newfoundland. The feeling that Newfoundlanders constitute a race apart with their own language and culture seems to be shared by Newfoundlanders themselves and Canadian alike (Calhoun "The National Identity" 31; Drodge 57).

Most of the population of Newfoundland originally came from England, Ireland, Scotland and France. As early as 1519, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese boats were fishing off the coast of Newfoundland. As the English fishery depended more on local fish processing than the French, Spanish and Portuguese fisheries, English fishermen and their families tended to develop summer colonies on the island and progressively patterns of settlement emerged (Rowe 100-101). From 1610 to 1661 seven colonies of British settlers were founded in Newfoundland. The West Country Merchants of Dorset, Cornwall, Devon, Hampshire and Somerset were controlling the fishery on the Southeast Coast of Newfoundland while the French were controlling the Southwest and Northeast coasts (Rowe 99). The West Country Merchants did not always regard settlement on the island favorably, as settlers had easy access to fish and the Merchants had been given monopoly on the fishery, but they did not try to prevent this permanent settlement (Rowe 107). In 1832 Newfoundland acquired the status of British colony.

Since its first settlement Newfoundland has been almost exclusively dependent on the fishery as the land is not suitable for agriculture in most parts of the island with the exception of the Codroy Valley (Szwed 31). This dependence on the fishery was already a feature of marginality in the Newfoundland economy. Wealthy merchants centered in St John's took advantage of this situation by establishing a system of credit by which the necessary goods were provided by the merchant to the fisherman each spring in return for the promise of a share of the fisherman's catch in the fall. This system of credit meant that fishermen were totally dependent on the merchants as prices for supplies generally exceeded the value of fish caught, causing the fishermen to be in a state of continuous debt. The merchants constituted an elite who lived comfortably in the city while the fishermen and their families living in the outports remained poor (Rowe 353-55).

In 1855, Newfoundland acquired Dominion Status under which it was independent except for the control of its foreign policy and the West Coast of the island where France retained a claim to the fishery. With the end of direct British rule in Newfoundland merchant control was further decentralized to small merchants who operated on a regional or community basis. The interest of the merchants was primarily to appropriate themselves the largest part of the fish caught. This semi feudal system functioned well until the economic collapse of the 1930s (Rowe 355-56).

During this period of responsible government Newfoundland experienced several financial crises before becoming financially destitute. After this short period of independence, Newfoundland had to depend once more on Britain for its economic recovery. In 1934 responsible government ceased and a commission government composed of six members, three of whom were Newfoundlanders, was appointed by Britain (Rowe 403). Newfoundlanders fought in the second World War as part of the British forces. During the war Newfoundland was dependent on the American and Canadian bases located on

the island which provided employment and new revenue. Britain reviewed the condition of Newfoundland after World War Two and decided to let Newfoundlanders choose the form of government they wanted. A national convention was formed in Newfoundland and discussed four possibilities of forms of government: retention of the commission of government; restoration of responsible government; Confederation with Canada, and economic and political union with the United States (Rowe 450-52). J.R. Smallwood, the chief spokesman for Confederation, encouraged people to choose Confederation by emphasizing the economic benefits that Newfoundland would receive. His idea was that a union with Canada was an economic necessity for Newfoundland (R. Gwyn 72-73).

At that time the rural population of Newfoundland was as poor as in the early days of settlement. The rural economy was one of self-sufficience for the most part. People built their own houses, made their own clothes, cultivated some vegetables for their own use and usually had a few farm animals. The inshore fishery or family fishery was the only way of surviving for most of the population living in the outports. As a result of the credit system established by the merchants, most fishermen and their families had remained poor. Very few of them had in fact ever had much cash. In 1948, most people in rural Newfoundland had not been reached by modern technology and were living more or less in similar conditions to that of their ancestors. A lot of families did not have the basic amenities such as electricity, indoor plumbing and other modern appliances. Social benefits were almost non-existent. A high illiteracy rate existed in rural Newfoundland. Harold Horwood and Stephen Taylor comment on Newfoundland prior to Confederation:

> Before Confederation, life for most Newfoundlanders had been an endless struggle with no prospect of any real comfort, no hope of accumulating property or putting anything aside for old age (63).

Joseph Smallwood encouraged Newfoundlanders to vote for Confederation with Canada, stressing that this was the only way to improve their conditions of

living. Two national referendums were held in 1948. In the first referendum, in June 1948, 69, 400 people voted for responsible government, 64, 066 for Confederation with Canada, and 22, 311 for Commission of Government (Rowe 456). The third option was dropped for the second referendum, which was held in July. The results were 78, 323 votes for Confederation against 71, 334 votes for responsible government (Rowe 458). Rowe mentions that the results of the second referendum led to much controversy in Newfoundland, as some people believed that there had been a conspiracy designed to force Newfoundland into Confederation with Canada (459). In 1949 Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation. After having been dependent on Britain, Newfoundland was now relying on Canada for the improvement of its social and economic conditions.

After Confederation, Newfoundlanders were granted various social benefits which had not been available before, such as pensions, health benefits, unemployment benefits and welfare. They also benefited from the basic amenities they did not have before in many outports such as indoor plumbing and various modern appliances. The way of life of many Newfoundlanders did improve because of these various benefits but some things did not change and other problems emerged for rural Newfoundlanders. Ralph Matthews argues in "There's No Better Place Than Here" that by uniting Newfoundland with Canada J.R. Smallwood aimed at, "the social and economic development of the province to equal standards of living in other parts of Canada" (1). He continues to argue that many Newfoundlanders did not share this view and although they were poor they did not wish to give up independent rural life and move to an urban center and work in a factory (1). After 1949, a resettlement program whose goal was to relocate entire small isolated communities to designated growth centers was started. Some people had already left their small communities before Confederation to go and look for work in bigger places. In 1965 a revised programme was inaugurated, sponsored by both federal and provincial government, which goal was to evacuate six hundred communities in

Newfoundland and relocate 70, 000 people in growth centers (R. Matthews 2). According to Matthews in another article entitled "I'd Sooner Be Here Than Anywhere":

> Resettlement often occurred as a result of fear and intimidation within the community and was hastened by rumours of future government neglect if they did not move (120).

Many Newfoundlanders did not mind leaving their home communities for urban centers in order to raise their standards of living, while others resisted and stayed in their own communities as long as they could. Sometimes whole communities refused to be resettled. The resettlement program was supposed to solve the problem of population dispersion but "many rural people regard this 'solution' as a major attack on their goals and values and a threat to their way of life" (R. Matthews, "There's No Better" 2-3).

Confederation has thus improved conditions of living for many Newfoundlanders but many problems which existed prior to Confederation still remain today. Newfoundland still has the highest rate of unemployment in Canada. The Newfoundland economy still relies heavily on its fishery. After Confederation the inshore fishery began to gradually disappear as frozen fish processing plants were established around the island. Most of the products of Newfoundland's fishery are reprocessed elsewhere: cod filets, for example are frequently packaged into sixteen pound cod blocks in Newfoundland before being exported to the American market where they are turned into fish sticks and other forms of portioned fish for the fast-food industry. The lack of secondary processing in the fishery as well as an underdeveloped industrial sector maintains Newfoundland in a state of economic marginality. Most employment opportunities in Newfoundland outports are still restricted to involvement in the fishery. Only a very limited number of employment opportunities in other fields are available. As before Confederation, many people still have to leave their communities to find work somewhere else, others go away to work for several months at a time before coming back to their communities. The number of fish

plants around the island is also declining. In communities where there is a fish plant it is often only opened for six months of the year. This means that people have to draw unemployment benefits for the other six months. They are therefore dependent on the government and the fish plant for their survival. Those who cannot find employment have to go on welfare which is an even bigger dependence on the government.

Thus, the economy of Newfoundland today is still under-developed. Newfoundland's industrial sector which is small, because most goods are sent outside the province to be processed, is characterized by lower incomes than in the rest of Canada. Politically and economically Newfoundland is still very much dependent on mainland Canada. Janice Drodge argues that Newfoundland's position is comparable to that of a colonized and politically dominated people who only have a "weak control over their own resources and economic destiny" (62). Newfoundland's economic relationship with Ottawa has in fact often been called the "dependency syndrome" (5). This economic under-development and dependence throughout history combined with geographical realities have given Newfoundland its marginal status. (Michael Staveley 247-285). All these particular geographic, historic and economic conditions have led to the development of a distinctive life style in Newfoundland.

3) Nationalism and Nativist Movements in Newfoundland

After discussing the physical and historical background of Newfoundland, which were the basis for the construction of a national identity, we will now see how this identity was constructed by nativists at various stages of Newfoundland history and how the symbols selected to represent Newfoundland culture have changed over time.

Sentiments of nationalism appeared in Newfoundland as early as the nineteenth century. Keith Matthews argues that Newfoundland's identity developed before and during the period of separation (1855-1949) while

Newfoundland was as much a "nation" as any other part of the Commonwealth or Europe (249). Keith Matthews shows how local patriotism in Newfoundland started by the 1830s among those who had arrived recently from the British Isles, while the locally born were indifferent to this issue. "One of the first rallying calls" demanded that jobs in Newfoundland should be given to Newfoundlanders rather than to those who were not born in Newfoundland (250). Ironically the earliest and strongest advocate was an Irishman by the name of John Kent who had only arrived in Newfoundland in the 1820s. The creators of Newfoundland nationalism were then not the native born Newfoundlanders but foreigners of the educated elite who thought that "Newfoundland should control its own destiny" (250).

Matthews explains this irony by the fact that the elite at the beginning of the 19th century were the first mercantile group to live in St. John's long enough to develop a sense of identity, not necessarily with Newfoundland but at least with each other. Because they were living there they were much more concerned with local economic and social conditions than were the merchants before them, who did not reside on the island permanently (K. Matthews 251). Matthews adds that this attitude was in fact similar to the elites in all the white colonies and therefore this sense of nationalism did not rise from their living in Newfoundland as opposed to somewhere else:

> Thus an important part of the development of Newfoundland nationalism was not perhaps "nationalism at all", but the demands of a group of Britishers who happened to live in Newfoundland, to play the role which their contemporaries at home were also demanding (K. Matthews 252).

Philip McCann relates that in the first years of Representative Government people in Newfoundland were not very committed to British colonial rule and this created tensions on the island, especially between 1837 and 1838, which seemed to prevent social and political integration. Newfoundland being a British colony, its education system and religion were very much British oriented. Philip McCann reports that in 1851 the Secretary of the society's British teachers in Newfoundland declared that this society was part of a colonizing effort which aim

was "to transplant England's laws, England's language, England's children, England's Church from the mother country and give them room and opportunity to develop abroad" (qtd. in McCann 92).

During this time of tensions the British Government intervened:

> not only instituting constitutional reform but also "inventing tradition" by sponsoring and encouraging organization and rituals which attempted to inculcate imperial sentiment on the basis of a "patriotic" and nativist outlook (87).

According to McCann, General Sir John Harvey who was appointed as the Governor of Newfoundland in 1841 played a major role in this process. Harvey began a campaign to modify the "cultural outlook of Newfoundlanders" and this was achieved through the support he gave to the Natives' society (92). This society was an organization dedicated "to the formation of a Newfoundland consciousness in opposition to the immigrants from Britain" (92). The society had been created in 1836 by a native Catholic who wanted to assert the rights of Newfoundlanders against the policies of the Liberal Catholic politicians. Very quickly this society became very significant as a "third force" in Newfoundland political and cultural life. The Native's Society was mainly constituted of urban middle-class people who "fused nativism, patriotism and a respect for social order into a political creed" (93). McCann relates that because Newfoundland had very few cultural heroes or great figures in its history, the Natives looked to "the beloved Sovereign of the British Dominion" in their search for identity (94). Ceremony and symbol played an important role in the construction of a nativist sentiment, for instance the annual dinner with patriotic toasts rapidly became an institution. Various societies and groups began to have processions marching with flags and patriotic banquets, inaugurating various rituals within their groups and giving tributes to the Queen and British constitution (94). Annual celebrations for school children created at this period were all infused with a strong patriotic and moralistic content including obedience and veneration of the Sovereign. What these groups and societies were in fact doing was inventing tradition, "promoting cultural rituals which were moulding the consciousness of

Newfoundlanders" (94). Harvey was trying to impress the people with the public display of civil and military power and expenditure on soirees banquets, balls and processions. Annual events which are still existing today such as the Regatta held at Quidi Vidi Lake and the frequent race meetings at Mount Pearl, both organized and controlled by merchants' interests had become well established by the 1840s (95).

These events and celebrations organized by the elite class were also a way to control "the populace" by bringing all classes of society together and creating a sense of unity. McCann points out that these regular or annual meetings, processions, celebrations and festivities added a sense of stability and continuity to everyday life (98). Paradoxically, this patriotism towards Britain, the sentiment of being British subjects living in a colony co-existed with a strong nativist sentiment. This was illustrated when in 1857 members of all parties and all religions united to oppose the British government's grant of additional fishing rights to the French on the West coast of the island, as a result of which, ". . . little permanent damage was done to British-Newfoundland relations but Newfoundland's sense of nationhood was greatly enhanced" (98). Many Newfoundland traditions which are today regarded as "immemorial Newfoundland tradition, enshrined in institutions, rituals and attitudes" date from this period of history in which Harvey played a major role (100).

Nativist and patriotic feelings are also expressed in a lecture entitled Newfoundland of Ours delivered by Reverend Mr. Harvey in 1878 in which he emphasized that Newfoundlanders had to cherish and love Newfoundland because it was their own. He also talked about the pure race of Newfoundlanders:

> Now it seems to me the people of Newfoundland are come of a good stock; and moreover, that the blood has been kept pure and the race so far, developed under favorable conditions (7).

The nativist sentiment which developed in the 19th century has continued to be an important political, economic and cultural force in Newfoundland

particularly among urban middle-class educated people (Overton, "Towards A Critical Analysis" 223). Feelings of pride and uniqueness of the Newfoundland culture in particular have been emphasized throughout the twentieth century by writers, politicians and the promoters of tourism. From the beginning of the 19th century efforts have been made to develop tourism in Newfoundland. For example in 1904 Old Home Week was organized with the support of the Newfoundland government with the idea of urging Newfoundlanders who were living in other countries come back for this occasion. This event attracted six hundred ex-Newfoundland residents from the United States. Governor Sir Cavendish Boyle (1901-1904) who had composed a patriotic song "The Ode to Newfoundland" wrote another one for this particular occasion entitled "Avalon is Calling". Several local songsters were also published for the occasion. Most of these songs emphasized the Newfoundland identity, pride, patriotic and sentimental feelings. These sentiments are reflected in the first four stanzas of "Avalon is calling":

> Avalon is calling you, calling o'er the main
> Sons of Terra Nova, shall she call in vain?
> Dwellers in the new land gather to her shore
> Gather in the old land, the Homeland loved of yore.
>
> All her strand shines golden 'neath the summer sheen,
> All her hills show purple, all her fields are green,
> All her woodland song-birds chant in joyous strain -
> To Avalon, to Avalon, welcome home again!
>
> Fleecy clouds are sweeping round the azure bowl,
> Bays respond sonorous to Atlantic's tidal roll
> Newfoundland is calling, calling 'cross the main,
> Children in the far lands, must she call in vain?
>
> Belle Isle's northern foreland, Fortune's southern bay,
> Humber's winding river, where the leaping salmon play;
> Western shore built hamlet, forest lake and plain
> Join in kindred chorus, come to us again.
> (Frank W. Graham, 183-184).

This song, written for the expatriate Newfoundlanders coming home, focuses on the beauty of the Newfoundland scenery. The description given also emphasizes

the uniqueness of Newfoundland through the uniqueness and distinctiveness of its landscape. At the same time it gives a happy and welcoming image of Newfoundland rural life: the birds "chant in joyous strain", the salmon "play" in the river and the land displays its nicest colours. Other patriotic songs including "The Ode to Newfoundland" at the time also used the image of rural Newfoundland and particularly emphasized its distinctiveness through its beautiful and rugged sceneries. The use of the landscape as a metaphor for the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Newfoundland was to be a recurrent one throughout the 20th century not only by the tourist industry but also by the nativist rhetoric.

Overton points out that since this time the folk music of Newfoundland "increasingly became the symbol of national identity and pride in a fairly widespread growth of nationalist sentiment" (93). At the same time the folklore of Newfoundland representing local distinctiveness and ethnicity became a major orientation in the tourist industry (93). Tourist brochures of 1925 were romanticizing Newfoundland, as in "Avalon is Calling", by emphasizing its natural beauty. They depicted Newfoundland as a rugged beautiful place, ideal for a vacation, where people are very friendly and hospitable. Nothing is said about poverty or the struggles of the rural Newfoundlanders. The image presented is that of a happy Newfoundland with a happy people. For example this tourist pamphlet written in 1925 claims:

> . . . a land of historic annals, scenic beauty, and charming climate, possessing a people whose chief characteristics are their kindness, generosity and hospitability . . . The people of the dominion are sociable, obliging, hospitable and democratic and will do every thing possible to make the visitor's stay a happy one (Newfoundland For Business and Pleasure 9).

Newfoundlanders had already a sense of their own inferiority in the first half of the 19th century, resulting from their economic dependence on Britain, their poverty, lack of education and the general sense of "backwardness" that Britain and Canada attributed to Newfoundlanders. As Dundes pointed out, a sense of nativism is more likely to come out strongly in cultures suffering from inferiority complexes. Establishing a sense of pride in one's culture particularly with the

use of folklore is a way to compensate for one sense of inferiority. Gerard S. Doyle, a businessman in St. John's, attempted to awaken people in this direction as early as 1927 when he published the first edition of Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland. Texts of songs were interspersed with advertisements for the products sold by Doyle. Doyle's reasons for publishing this songbook were not only commercial as he was also inspired by nativists sentiments and wanted to preserve the Newfoundland cultural heritage and instill a sense of pride in it through Newfoundland folksongs. These nativist sentiments are reflected in his introduction to the first edition of his songbook in 1927:

> . . . all these songs are of the people and from the people of our Island Home and are reddent of the happy past and breathe a spirit of co-mingled freedom, independence and human sympathy that characterized the good old days of our forefathers . . .(1).

Neil Rosenberg says about Doyle that he "believed that only things local and native could truly reflect the culture of the people ("The Gerard S. Doyle Songsters" 17). Another Newfoundlander, P. K. Devine, who was an amateur folklorist and the co-editor of The Christmas Messenger wrote several articles in 1927 presenting Newfoundland folklore, including legends, folksongs, folk sayings and remedies, to his readers. Like Doyle, Devine was interested in preserving Newfoundland traditions and making people feel proud of their cultural heritage.

In 1937 Joseph R. Smallwood also made an attempt to establish a sense of pride in Newfoundland culture with the use of folklore. He began a radio show called "The Barrelman" which was broadcast six nights of the week from October 1937 to 1943. This show was dedicated to "making Newfoundland better known to Newfoundlanders" through the presentation of geographic, economic facts, historical information and folklore (Peter Narváez, "Joseph R. Smallwood" 47). Through this program Smallwood's mission was to "rid Newfoundlanders of their inferiority complex" and to create a sense of Newfoundland nationalism among Newfoundlanders. In this show, Smallwood was attempting to validate Newfoundland culture focussing on successful Newfoundlanders. He would tell

success stories, also providing educational historical information "which furthered the validation of Newfoundland culture through instilling a sense of regional pride in heritage" (Narváez, 53). Smallwood collected and broadcast many Newfoundland oral traditions. He was encouraging people to send him stories and his efforts were successful, many people sent him tall tales in particular. There were tales concerning extraordinary hunting and fishing incidents, strong men performing amazing physical feats and they all reflected "a strong regional flavor" (Narváez 53). With his show Smallwood then turned to the folklore of Newfoundlanders in order to find symbols of the group's cultural identity and to instill a sense of pride in the Newfoundland's cultural heritage.

Although nationalist sentiment, with an emphasis on the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Newfoundland culture already existed before 1949 it grew even stronger in the years following Confederation. After Confederation Newfoundland became quickly integrated into the Canadian economic and political systems and experienced a period of very rapid socio-economic development. Many changes which had already began to occur in Newfoundland before 1949 such as urbanization, modernization, the creation of a state bureaucracy, the inauguration of various hydro-electricity and mining schemes, and the decline of the inshore fishery became accelerated processes after Confederation (Overton, "Towards A Critical analysis" 223).

After the war, and the developments following Confederation, Newfoundland was more and more exposed to the North American influence. In the post war period some Newfoundlanders were concerned about the disappearance of the traditional way of life in the outports as more and more men left the fishery. In this period several Newfoundlanders, such as Harold Horwood, Herb Cranford and Art Scammell began to write about Newfoundland taking a nationalist perspective. Their writings celebrated the "virtues of the vanished and vanishing way of life of the small producer in the fishery" (Overton, "Nostalgia and Tourism" 90-91). These writers tended to romanticize the life in

the outports and pictured it in the stories they wrote as having been better in the past than in the present. James Overton comments on them:

> In general, via various forms of literature and the media of this group of people formed and shaped the Newfoundland of the mind for a large number of people both inside and outside the island in the years after the second world war ("Nostalgia and Tourism" 91).

Tourism, which increasingly developed in the sixties, continued to emphasize the uniqueness of Newfoundland through its rural landscape. The tourist industry, still using this romanticization of rural life, created "the real Newfoundland" (Overton, "Promoting" 115). The "real Newfoundland" refers to the outports, places remote from towns or highway and the people living in the outports. This vision of rural Newfoundland presented by the tourist industry is then idealized and romanticized: the life in the outport is the real life, people are happy because they lead a simple life, they have great community spirit and they have real culture (Overton, "Promoting" 119). Rural Newfoundland was even more romanticized and idealized by tourism after Confederation as the processes of industrialization and modernization which had been established in most places in North America were also beginning to affect Newfoundland. The images of Newfoundland that tourism has been promoting are those emphasizing strength, pride, independence, respect for the past, love for the environment, hospitality, simplicity, generosity and kindness. These images were hiding the reality of unemployment, the struggles of the people against underdevelopment. Overton argues that in fact underdevelopment in Newfoundland "provides the contexts for attempts to use tourism as an economic development strategy" ("Promoting" 119).

For many, the resettlement program of 1966, the decline of the inshore fishery, and various accelerated processes of development meant the destruction of rural life. For many Newfoundlanders, Confederation with Canada had meant the improvement of their conditions of living and the entrance in a world of progress which they saw as a solution to the economic underdevelopment of the province, but in the 1960s Newfoundlanders began to question Confederation

with Canada especially after the resettlement program. An increasing number of people began to question the idea of progress. Overton comments:

> That people accepted for so long what Canning has termed "the illusion of progress" is not surprising, considering the force with which the illusion was projected by politicians, academics, business people, the media and government employees ("Towards A Critical Analysis" 226).

Accelerated processes of urbanization and industrialization had taken place in Europe and in the rest of North America before they occurred in Newfoundland. In all these places many people especially among the younger generation had reacted against urbanization and industrialization, fighting against high-rises and other urban developments, forming various "back to the land" or "return to the roots" movements in the 1950s and 60s. In Newfoundland by the mid and late sixties many people realized that this period of developmont and modernization was not a success. Many of the development schemes had failed, the fishery was in a serious state of disarray and the province had still the highest rate of unemployment in Canada. These North American developments were applied to Newfoundland without really taking into account the history and special needs of the province, the resettlement program being an example. Through the homogenization of Newfoundland, landscape and culture were being threatened of becoming undistinguishable from the North American mass culture. For instance various schemes aiming at the development of downtown St. John's were started in the late sixties and in the 1970s: high-rises were planned to be built downtown; various changes were made to the harbor front, an arterial road was built downtown, shopping malls and various chain stores like Dominion and Woolco had begun to multiply in various parts of the city. All these developments led to various controversies. The Community Planning Association in St John's was opposed to the building of the arterial road, high-rises and other developments on the harbour front.

In this period of rapid changes in Newfoundland nativist feelings grew stronger. During the 1970s, a Newfoundland nativist movement flourished in the city of St. John's primarily among intellectuals, artists and academics who felt

that Newfoundland's cultural identity was threatened. The nativists reacted against these industrialization and urbanization processes. The nativists felt threatened by increasing North American influence on the province. For the nativists applying the Canadian model to Newfoundland meant the destruction of all that had made Newfoundland distinct from the other Canadian provinces, in particular the traditional way of life in the outports. They also felt that St. John's threatened to become just like any other North American city. The nativists felt that Newfoundland culture, which they regarded as unique, was going to be absorbed in the mainstream of North American culture. Education, movies, plays, music, literature, visual arts in Newfoundland were all influenced by the North American culture. For example Christopher Brookes, founder of the Mummers Troupe argues:

> Culturally, Newfoundlanders were bombarded by the North American media. From children's schoolbooks to television, a whole arsenal of cultural weaponry threw images of North American lifestyles as romantic as Cinderella's slipper, but with a distinct poorer fit. Newfoundland's own culture was virtually trampled to death in the stampede to create pliable consumers for the North American market. It was a kind of mass brainwashing . . . (37).

In reaction to these perceived threats, urban middle-class artists, academics and writers especially, turned to the Newfoundland cultural heritage to emphasize the uniqueness of the province. This was the beginning of the "Newfcult" or "Cultural Renaissance" to use Sandra Gwyn's terms (38). This cultural renaissance has been compared to Quebec's quiet revolution of the 1960s (Gwyn, 40). Celebrating cultural distinctiveness was a way of compensating for the underdevelopment and dependency of Newfoundland's economy on mainland Canada. Janice A. Drodge relates:

> The Cultural renaissance reflects a desire on the part of many Newfoundlanders to preserve and enhance a cultural identity and dignity felt to be eroded and threatened by such outside forces - most significantly in the form of mainland Canadian and American influences (4).

The nativists felt that Newfoundlanders had always been considered "backwards" first by Britain then by mainland Canada because of their economic and political dependence, the traditional way of life in rural Newfoundland, the

high rate of illiteracy in the province at the time of Confederation, and the lack of progress and modernization. These nativists felt that Newfoundlanders had been made to feel inferior by Britain and by mainland Canada. They felt that mainland Canada was now trying to turn Newfoundland into mainstream North American culture because it did not take Newfoundland culture seriously. Britain had thought that Newfoundlanders ought to be British subjects speaking with English accents, adopting the English culture as their own because it was the only legitimate culture. The nativists believed that after Confederation with Canada, the Newfoundland dialects and the Newfoundland traditional culture were considered inferior by mainland Canada. Nativists felt this strongly and wanted this acculturation of Newfoundlanders to stop. Chris Brookes' comments reflects the anger against the fact that Newfoundlanders were seen as inferior:

> . . . Newfoundlanders were supposed to be some sort of second-class Canadians. We were a national joke. Canadians laughed at accents like mine (4).

These nativists were also strongly reacting against "Newfie Jokes" which were jokes told by other Canadians at the expense of Newfoundlanders. The "Newfie" jokes which began to spread in mainland Canada after Confederation enter the category of "ethnic jokes", jokes which ridicule people belonging to an ethnic group because this group is perceived by the larger and more powerful society as "differing from the norm" (Gerald Thomas, "Newfie Jokes" 43.) These "Newfie jokes" usually portray Newfoundlanders as being backwards, lazy and stupid, making fun of their poverty, lack of education and dialects. According to Thomas:

> It would be possible to argue that the characteristics of stupidity, poverty, dirtiness and laziness attributed to the Newfoundlander derived from his confrontation in the post Confederation era with the sophisticated urban societies of Toronto, Montreal, to which many Newfoundlanders flocked after the island became Canada's tenth province in 1949 (143-44).

Thomas argues that surprisingly these "Newfie" jokes were not only popular with mainland Canadians but also with many Newfoundlanders who seemed to accept the stereotype of themselves as the "Canadian numskull" (143). The nativists certainly did not. Newfoundland painter Gerry Squires comments:

> You see in 1949, Newfoundlanders were made to feel the most inferior people in North America. As if there were some great monster out telling us we were 200 years behind the times. But now we're starting to get our identity back. And our dignity (qtd. in Sandra Gwyn 40).

The urban nativists also felt that they had been deceived by Smallwood. Smallwood had promised Newfoundlanders that by joining Confederation with Canada they would improve their standards of living. Nativists perceived that Smallwood was ready to destroy Newfoundland and its culture in favor of modern technology. For example Brookes comments on the Smallwood government:

> The new provincial government had plunged the economy into a programme of industrial development based on upper-Canadian models which proved to be quite impractical for Newfoundland's resource base (41).

The nativists regarded Smallwood and mainland Canada as enemies who were robbing Newfoundlanders of their culture and identity in order to assimilate them into the North American mass culture.

According to the nativists Newfoundland culture was not only considered to be inferior by outside forces but by Newfoundlanders themselves who had been taught to perceive it this way. The nativists felt that many Newfoundlanders, particularly in the outports, participated in the process of their own acculturation because they were eager to be absorbed in the Canadian and North American mass cultures in the name of progress and become like other Canadians, and as a result were ashamed of their own culture. Many Newfoundlanders were trying "to forget their heritage in order to 'catch up' with progress and sophistication which was the ideal of the mainland" (Drodge 7). Overton argues that paradoxically this cultural movement was led by the new urban middle class who had been created by modernization:

> Much of this movement of rediscovery and popularization of local culture is directed by, and intended for the consumption of the new middle class, a class which -- paradoxically -- was created by the very process of modernization that has been (and is) regarded as a threat to natural culture ("Towards a Critical Analysis" 229).

The urban nativists thought that they had to act for the rural Newfoundlanders and make them conscious of the fact that their culture was as

valuable as anyone else's, and that they should feel proud about it. According to the nativists, if nothing was to be done to save Newfoundland culture it was going to disappear. At the same time it was a search for their own cultural identity. They also wanted to show to mainland Canada and other countries that Newfoundlanders had a very distinct and unique culture which was as valid as any other. They wanted to show people outside Newfoundland that even though Newfoundlanders had always been poor, economically dependent, and living in isolated communities they had a distinct indigenous cultural heritage which other provinces in Canada except Quebec did not have.

The nativists chose to celebrate the Newfoundland way of life by preserving and reviving certain aspects of traditional Newfoundland outport culture. This was a conscious effort to preserve the past in a search for cultural identity as well as to create a more democratic society by finding a means of expression that transcended class boundaries. The traditional way of life in outport Newfoundland as well as folk traditions were selected as being unique symbols of Newfoundland culture and society. As Drodge points out:

> A way of coping with deprived social status is to selectively emphasize certain elements of this identity while de-emphasizing others (65).

The nativists chose to find pride in the elements that had marked Newfoundlanders as being different, such as traditions, dialects and rural values. In this process traditional rural life was being romanticized and idealized. James Overton points out that:

> Often included in the concern is a sense of loss and nostalgia for outport life and a questioning of the values expressed in the "urban dream" and the industrial goal ("Towards A Critical Analysis" 227).

The nativists' idea was also to take these traditions out of the "folk context", to revive them and adapt them to an urban context before giving them back to the "folk". After legitimizing these traditions by making them acceptable to an urban elite culture they were presented back to the rural Newfoundlanders as being symbols of their culture they ought to be proud of. These traditions were collected, preserved and revived in the form of writings, paintings, plays, music

and songs. I will briefly discuss how the urban nativists in the cultural renaissance used each of these media -- with the exception of songs which will be discussed in length in the next chapters -- to preserve and revive Newfoundland culture.

In 1973 Breakwater Books, a publishing company was created in St John's by Clyde Rose, Pat Byrne and Richard Buehler. Clyde Rose and Pat Byrne travelled around the island to give conferences and organize book fairs (Byrne, tape no M-2). Another publishing company, Jesperson Press, was also created in St. John's. This was of particular importance because it meant that more Newfoundland writers could be published as they no longer needed to go outside the province in order to do so. These local companies published a wide range of materials all of which had "a strong folkloric content" (Drodge 3). As we have seen earlier, a few Newfoundland writers had already written about Newfoundland in the post war period emphasizing the uniqueness of Newfoundland and expressing a certain nostalgia for the past. These local writers who had began to write prior to this period such as Ted Russell, father of Kelly Russell, mentioned earlier, Harold Horwood and humorist Ray Guy became very popular locally during this cultural movement. They were all pro-Newfoundland in their writings. As part of the cultural renaissance more and more young urban Newfoundlanders also began to write novels, poetry, plays, essays which depicted their feelings about Newfoundland culture and Newfoundland identity.

These writers were emphasizing the uniqueness and rich cultural heritage of Newfoundlanders by talking about various aspects of outport life and culture. They were also communicating a sense of loss, frustration and many tended to romanticize the now disappearing rural life. The fact that Newfoundland writers were writing about their own culture was a means to show both to Newfoundlanders and people outside the province that Newfoundland culture was as legitimate as any other. For example several writers in Baffles in the

Wind and Tide: An Anthology of Newfoundland Poetry, Prose and Drama, a Breakwater Book edited by Clyde Rose in 1974, captures this mood. Most of the stories celebrate the past and rural life, depicting life in the outports, talking about the struggles of people to survive. The hard life of the fishermen and the fact that many of them have died at sea is also depicted in some of these stories like Al Pittman's "Shipwreck at Frenchman's Cove" (92). Several of these, either as poetry, fiction or essays talk nostalgically about the destruction of outport life and sense of loss among the people who were forced to resettle, such as Helen Porter's essay "Moving Day" (17-20); Al Pittman's "Death of an Outport" (45-50); and Ted Russell's "Rumbly Cove" (33). Other stories or poems are about the destruction of rural traditional life by progress and bureaucrats from the mainland. For example, Enos D. Watts' poem "Precision":

> According to the elemental proposition
> the island
> should not have been there;
> but it withstood the assault
> from all compass points
> of unpunctilious waves
> that struck out blindly
> taking only the weakest part of the rocks;
> And the men were not broken by the sea.
> But other
> horn-rimmed, vertically moving
> half-men
> knowing nothing more of the taste of tears
> drew neat, symmetrical
> paradigms
> and did
> on some leisurely afternoons
> what the sea could not do
> in a thousand years (1).

This poem argues that Newfoundland exists in spite of all the hardships it has known, and its people have also survived in spite of all these hardships. According to Watts' poem, although both Newfoundland and its population had to struggle against the sea from the very beginning, Newfoundlanders resisted and were not destroyed by it. What destroyed outport life was in fact the doings of other men. These other men succeeded only in a few days to destroy outport life

while no natural force had succeeded all these years. When Watts talks about "horn-rimmed, vertically moving half-men", he is referring to bureaucrats from the mainland who are only "half-men" because they did not have to struggle all their lives in order to survive. This poem is then about the destruction of Newfoundland outport life by the resettlement and other forms of developments.

Symbols of Newfoundland culture were also preserved and revived in the forms of paintings. Christopher Pratt, Mary Pratt, David Blackwood, Gerry Squires and Roger Aldworth were some of the local painters who took part in this cultural Renaissance. Through their paintings they celebrated the past and traditional life in the outports. A portrayal of a distinct Newfoundland life style which appeared in writings also emerged in the paintings of these artists. Mary Pratt said in Sandra Gwyn's article that what she was trying to "celebrate the kinds of things I think are good about our society" (qtd. in Gwyn 44). Mary Pratt paints scenes from everyday life such as food and kitchen ustensils. Others paint Newfoundland landscapes or other aspects of Newfoundland rural life. Sandra Gwyn relates that the Memorial Arts Gallery directed by Edythe Goodridge was a major landmark for Newfoundland cultural revolution because it did not only expose the works of Newfoundland artists but it was also:

> sort of an open forum and information exchange for painters, sculptors, actors, directors, fiddlers, poets, playwrights, community planners, architects, folksingers, film-makers, photographers, visiting feds, ecology freaks, conservation nuts and anyone else who happens to be on the go (Goodrigde, qtd. in Gwyn 41).

Theater also played an important role in this cultural revolution. When the Mummers Troupe was founded by Chris Brookes in 1972, it was the first time in Newfoundland that a theater company presented real events, characters and situation from Newfoundland's history (Drodge 12). The Mummers Troupe, and later other local companies such as CODCO and Rising Tide, produced shows built almost entirely on the history and culture of Newfoundland. Drodge comments about these companies:

> These companies were the first to explore critically and in depth many of the largely ignored, forgotten, or little known areas of Newfoundland's heritage,

> and have succeeded in creating both highly entertaining and relevant dramas about them (12).

The plays produced by these theater groups reflected the nativist mood of the cultural renaissance and intended to create a sense of pride of their cultural heritage among the audiences.

CODCO, Rising Tide and the Mummers Troupe all manipulated what they selected as being symbols of Newfoundland culture in order to raise people's consciousness. Brookes comments:

> Any political theater which intends to really move its audience (I am referring to activism, not emotionalism), over the long term and on a wide social level, must seek a language not just of issues and ideology, but of ritual and ceremony rooted in a collective consciousness beyond language. It does not need to preach political awareness; it simply needs to dust off the awareness which already exists (55).

The Mummers Troupe was trying to revive the tradition of mummering and the Mummers play. Mummering still existed in rural Newfoundland but this tradition had been prohibited in St John's for more than a hundred years (Brookes, 49). Academics at Memorial University had began to study Newfoundland culture and the Folklore Department had already started to take interest in mummering in Newfoundland. In 1969 Herbert Halpert and George Story edited Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, a series of essays in anthropology, folklore and history. The Mummers Troupe brought the Mummers play, the texts of which were in Halpert and Story's book, into an urban context presenting it to people as a tradition to be proud of. However the Mummers play itself was not a widespread Newfoundland tradition. In Newfoundland "the house visit was the older and more widespread version of the mummering custom" (Gerald Pocius 63). Pocius argues that the Mummers play was a British tradition which was one of the most popular genres performed by folk revivalists in Britain (63). According to Pocius, the Mummers play seems to have been "an imposition of a genteel behavorial form on the lower classes in Britain, discouraging the rowdiness of the unstructured house visit" (62). The Mummers Troupe had, then, selected a custom which was not widespread in

Newfoundland, which had been an elite imposition on the working class, and celebrated it as a symbol of indigenous and working class culture. The Mummers Troupe was in this sense inventing tradition based on an outside model of social action.

A political theater group like The Mummers Troupe had been influenced by the international political theater movements which had spread in the sixties. Chris Brookes for instance had graduated with a theater degree from an American university in the 1960s and had been involved in the theater scene in Toronto as a director. He had then taken this influence and brought it to Newfoundland; as he comments: "It was the area of the Living Theatre, the San Francisco Mime Troupe and the Chicago Seven, an era of theatre moving off the stages and into the streets" (Brookes 5).

The Mummers Troupe went from door to door around St John's at Christmas time and if they were "allowed in" they performed the Mummers play. They also mummered various public places such as bars, restaurants and even a city bus. They chose to do it this way rather than on stage so as to recapture the mummering tradition and because "the essence of the mummers play lies in its proximity to its audience" (Brookes 52). The Mummers Troupe also produced various theatre shows, mostly political, which would be performed both in and outside Newfoundland. One of these was "They Club Seals Don't They?" in which they supported the Newfoundland seal hunt which was under strong attack by Greenpeace and other animal rights organization. The Mummers Troupe did not have a permanent theater space until Brookes and his Troupe decided to buy the Longshore men Protection Union Hall (LSPU). Two other companies CODCO and The Newfoundland Travelling Theater were supposed to join the Mummers Troupe in the purchase of the Hall but they later retracted and only the Mummers acquired this space. In order to be able to afford the expenses it entailed Brookes decided to make a "downtown cultural center" out of it, a space which would be open for use by other groups on a rental basis (149-156).

Brookes turned the LSPU Hall into an alternative theater space which became an important symbol of the alternative nativist movement. As mentioned in the first chapter, Pam Morgan and Geoff Butler had joined the Mummers Troupe before becoming members of Figgy Duff.

Comedy played an important role in all these companies but especially in the CODCO productions where it was used as a means to communicate their message. Drodge says that "CODCO exploited the very elements which traditionally worked negative feelings and a stigma upon it" (80). For example they would use elements such as the Newfie joke, aspects of outport life, Newfoundland accents and turn them around to make people laugh. This was also a way to raise people's consciousness. Figgy Duff has always had a strong connection with CODCO and they put on several shows together.

Another theatre troupe, Sheila's Brush, also part of this nativist cultural movement began to perform plays combining songs, dance and theater "based on the seasonal rituals and folklore tales of Newfoundland's past" (Drodge 15). Phil Dinn joined Sheila's Brush after he left Figgy Duff.

Following this nativist ideology Rising Tide produced a play called the "Newfie Bullet" which was turned into a variety radio program from 1979 until 1981. Among various artists, Both Pam Morgan and Kelly Russell, played the role of performer passengers in the "Newfie Bullet". The play was a nostalgic, "specially reconstructed and personalized recent past which was superior to present circumstances" (Peter Narváez, "The Newfie Bullet" 70). This play gave a mythic version of the past which was very often embraced by these nativist urban artists. Again the past and rural life before resettlement were celebrated as embodying the good life, where people had simple lives, were close to nature and knew how to enjoy themselves with the simple pleasures they created themselves. This mythic vision of the past has been recurrent throughout this cultural renaissance. Overton argues that: "the romanticization of rural life and the idealization of the independence and national life of the rural producer, have

long been a feature of middle-class structure" ("Towards A Critical Analysis" 239).

It seems that nationalist and nativist sentiments have been present throughout Newfoundland history since the 19th century but the Cultural Renaissance of the 1970s which was inspired by a strong nativist ideology among urban artists and academics as a reaction against the post Confederation developments in the province marked a significant change. According to Overton, "neo-nationalism in Newfoundland is basically the expression of a particular class, the new petite bourgeoisie" (242). Indeed not all Newfoundlanders accepted the Newfoundland identity promoted by these various media and artistic forms. Romanticization of the past and rural life in Newfoundland was done, as it is usually the case, by urban educated middle-class people in a desire to return to their roots and as a reaction against industrialization. As mentioned earlier "return to the roots" movements had appeared in all countries or regions which had experienced increasing urbanization and industrialization. The Newfoundlanders who lived in the outports could not always accept these values because they lived this traditional rural life on a day to day basis. They had known outport life before Confederation: it meant a hard life and poverty. For these reasons the ideological rhetoric of the return to the past did not always find a sympathetic audience among rural Newfoundlanders. The nativists, being urban and belonging to a young generation for the most part did not know what life in the Newfoundland outports really was. For instance Derek Pelley comments:

> . . . I think we get a pretty biased thing living in St. John's, because I mean the media come from here . . . I remember sitting down, I lived in Trinity Bay for quite a while, I can remember sitting down watching CODCO on TV, people didn't know what they were doing . . . it didn't reflect their lives at all . . . (Tape no 16).

Nevertheless the urban nativists saw rural Newfoundland as being "the real Newfoundland" in the same way the tourist industry chose to promote Newfoundland. For the nativists their vision of the "real Newfoundland" of the

past was not necessarily only a happy and beautiful one, but it was idealized as being simple life, close to nature where people were friendly and hospitable and knew how to enjoy themselves simply.

The urban nativists were then selecting aspects of Newfoundland traditional culture and incorporated them to urban life. A part of the nativist ideology was to bring back these traditions to rural Newfoundlanders once they had been recognized as acceptable by rural audiences but during this process of adaptation these rural traditions were modified to suit an urban middle-class or elite aesthetics. Not all rural Newfoundlanders could identify themselves with this process. This paradox characterizes the relationship between the urban elites who are concerned with the construction of a rural identity and the rural working-class whose way of life and culture is being presented as the defining quality of Newfoundland identity. Figgy Duff typified this aspect of the nativist cultural renaissance of the 1970s by reviving Newfoundland traditional songs and adapting them to urban middle-class aesthetics.

CHAPTER III. FOLKSONG REVIVAL

Figgy Duff was part of a larger Newfoundland folksong revival which began in the early 1970s. This particular revival was part of the Newfoundland cultural renaissance. Not all revival movements are nativistic but the folksong revival in Newfoundland had a strong nativist dimension. Newfoundland traditional songs were collected, revived, and preserved along with other folk traditions in the form of writings, plays, and paintings, and were selected to symbolize Newfoundland's unique culture. This folksong revival was also following the trends in other countries at the time. The folksong revivals of this period were not only a response to socio-economic conditions, but also a response to previous revivals which have existed on and off, both locally and internationally, throughout the twentieth century. Figgy Duff was part of these two folksong revival traditions: first the ongoing Newfoundland revival, and second the international revival.

Determining Figgy Duff's position within the local and international folksong revival is not as simple as it may appear. There are two different ways of thinking about influence in the case of Figgy Duff. The first way is to consider the influences Figgy Duff themselves recognize. Various band members or ex-members say they were influenced by the British folksong revival and in particular by the trad-rock movement which began in the latter part of the 1960s in Britain. As seen in the first chapter, Neil Murray in particular brought records from England of bands like Fairport Convention which had an influence on various musicians who played with Figgy Duff and Lukey's Boat. Neil Bishop comments:

> . . . on listening to the records of Fairport uh, I think really that sort of gave the band Lukey's Boat an incentive to delve into the traditional music a little so that from Laverne's involvement originally, from Laverne and Neil and then Noel picked up the idea also . . . (Tape no 12).

Phil Dinn, Anita Best, Neil Bishop, Kelly Russell, Dave Panting and Derek Pelley

were also all influenced by Fairport Convention and Steeleye Span. Noel Dinn claims that these British trad-rock bands "helped along the way but they didn't give us the original concept" (qtd. in Dave Larsen, "Figgy Duff Gives Tradition").

The second way to think about influence is in terms of a larger international and local folksong revival which can be interpreted as a context of ideas to which Figgy Duff responded. All revivals are characterized by patterns of rejection and synthesis. Figgy Duff and the other Newfoundland revivalists of the 1970s rejected the previous local revival as well as the American folksong revival of the 1960s, which had been first embraced by the St. John's artist community. In the same way British and Canadian revivals first embraced the American folksong revival before rejecting it. This pattern of rejection is often linked to sentiments of nationalism. The British folksong revivalists rejected the American folksong revival of the 60s because they wanted to preserve and revive the traditional music of their respective cultures. Then the Canadian and Newfoundland revivalists followed the example of the British revivalists reacting against the American revival domination and focussed on the revival of their own traditions. In this process the Canadian and Newfoundland revivals, and Figgy Duff as part of the Newfoundland revival, embraced some aspects of the British revival while reviving the folk music of their own cultural heritages. Ironically, in the late 1960s, the American revivalists also embraced the British model. As the American revival scene became more and more fragmented in the late sixties, some performers moved away from folk music and turned to rock, blues or other musical forms. Those who continued on the folk route tended to embrace the British style.

Much of what Figgy Duff was trying to accomplish was very similar to what other musicians were trying to accomplish in North America and Britain as part of the international folksong revival. Figgy Duff, as part of the Newfoundland folksong revival of the 1970s, shared certain patterns with the international folksong revival which had started a decade earlier. This international folksong

revival had in common a reaction to modernization and industrialization, and the assimilation of people into mass culture, which created a desire among young urban people to rediscover their roots and celebrate the values of rural life. This desire led young musicians to learn and perform traditional songs found in the rural areas of their countries or provinces and adapt them to urban aesthetics. An overview of the North American, British and Newfoundland revivals will allow us to better understand these shared patterns and the context of ideas in which Figgy Duff operated.

The folksong scholars' definition of the term "folksong" usually referred to songs which have been passed down orally from generation to generation, which exist in several variants and are from unknown authorship (Joan Barbara Kosby 3). Among revivalists the term "folksong" can also take other meanings which are not all agreed on. The term can also be used for recently composed folksongs or contemporary songs of known authorship whose style or themes are based on traditional songs, or the term may refer to contemporary songs accompanied by acoustic guitar, even if they do not resemble traditional songs (Joan Barbara Kosby 3). To avoid confusion of terms, revivalists in the late sixties began to refer to songs which had been handed orally and were from unknown authorship as "traditional songs".

1) North American and British Folksong Revivals

The first urban folk music revival dates back to the European romantic ballad revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries, with Thomas Percy and Sir Walter Scott, who renewed interest in ballads, formerly considered as "primitive poetry, unworthy of study" (Allen 65). By the late 19th century, England experienced a folksong renaissance which was inspired by a nationalist sentiment. The collectors were taking pride in their national heritage and wanted to show that Britain had its own traditional songs (Wilgus 125). This revival was spurred by the many collections published at the time, including those edited by Cecil Sharp,

and the establishment of the Folk Song Society in 1898 (Wilgus, Anglo-American Folksong 126). In the United States the interest in traditional songs remained exclusively academic, with collections like those of Francis James Child, until the early part of the twentieth century (Wilgus 144). The depression years of the 1930s saw a renewed interest in American folk music as John and Alan Lomax, two folklorists, went to the Southern States to collect folksongs, and compiled an extensive collection. In the 1930s and 1940s folk music became increasingly identified with the working people throughout the world (Brauner 19). In the United States leftist political groups turned to rural folksongs as a means of struggle for the oppressed proletariat (Allen 67). As part of this folksong revival traditional songs, and singers such as Aunt Molly Jackson and Woody Guthrie, were brought to the cities.

In 1958 another American folksong revival influenced by the early revival of the 1940s began to appear. In 1958 The Kingston Trio, a pop-calypso group originally, recorded the North Carolina ballad "Tom Dula" under the title "Tom Dooley". The Kingston Trio with this song, which became a very big success, and two other artists, Harry Belafonte and The Weavers, helped to set the stage for the "commercial 'folk' boom" of the 1960s (Lund and Denisoff 396).

B. A. Botkin argues that the folksong revival of the 1960s is more than just a renewal or resurgence of folksong interest and activity, "it is a burgeoning made possible by the mass-media and by the substitution for 'oral' transmission of the 'aural' transmission of the phonograph, radio and television" (97). Kenneth Goldstein argues that each technological advance in mass-communication helped to produce a folksong revival. For instance, the introduction of the tape recorder and long-playing records in the 1950s contributed to the folksong revivals which started at the end of the decade (3-4).

This revival movement like many revivals appealed primarily to individuals who celebrated traditions that were not their own (Bruce Jackson 195). Indeed this folksong revival like most revivals was an urban movement. The revivalists

regarded the "folk" as being simple people living in the country, leading an uncomplicated life, being close to the soil and knowing what their culture was because they made it themselves (Robert Shelton, The Electric Muse 8).

The urban revivalists, young for the most part, were reacting against the "evils" of urban industrialization and modernization. This happened in other countries where processes of modernization and industrialization rapidly increased in the fifties or sixties. There was a certain malaise among the American youth in the 1950s and 60s. During this period the romantic return to nature and honest values was first advocated by the beatniks but only a minority took this route. From 1958 on the majority took the "folk route" as: "The folk revival offered something that promised to be considerably more wholesome and constructive . . ." (Shelton, The Electric Muse 8). Shelton points out that the young revivalists, feeling "confused and uprooted", intended to rediscover themselves by turning to rural life (8). This was then part of a search for their identity through a return to "the roots". As a result of these feelings of confusion and alienation by urban modern life, these young people began to consider rural values as being pure and real. They thought that unlike people in the cities, rural people with their values, way of life, and traditions had not been corrupted. Shelton comments:

> It was part of a grand tradition, in which the victim of over-civilization finds himself rejecting the comforts and traps of that civilization and turning instead to the simple truths, for the seemingly uncomplicated fusion of life, thought and action that the so-called "primitive" enjoys (9).

These young urban people tended to romanticize, idealize and oversimplify rural life, not really taking into account its negative sides such as poverty, hard work, isolation, the narrowness and stifling atmosphere of small places. They only selected the aspects of rural life which fit into their ideals. These revivalists decided to incorporate aspects of these "uncorrupted" traditions of rural life into urban life. In this particular atmosphere many young musicians turned to folk music, which they regarded as the pure and uncorrupted form of music, as a way to rediscover themselves. Dave Laing argues: "Folk offered something else -- a

sense of commitment, political or otherwise and a whole way of life . . . opposed to the urban and industrialized world" (The Electric Muse 48).

Many "folksingers" began then to appear as professional performers in urban areas all over the United States on records, radio, in concerts and tours. In North America these "folksingers" performed mostly in colleges and universities, coffee houses and folk festivals. Coffee houses were non-licensed places located in the cities where the urban folksingers would go and perform. Folk festivals became more widespread. The urban revivalists would bring some rural performers to folk festivals. For instance at the Newport folk festival because the revivalists felt that the "roots" people were important but that they alone could not draw audiences to see them, the best-known revivalists played for minimum salary, drawing the crowds and creating revenue to pay for the traditional singers or musicians who would also perform.

Some traditional singers were also brought in to the cities during this "folk boom" but the "folksingers" in the cities were, for the most part, these young urban people who took folksongs from collections, or in some cases collected them themselves, and adapted them to urban singing styles. For example, popular female revivalist singers such as Joan Baez, Judy Collins, and Buffy Sainte-Marie began with a repertoire composed mainly of Child ballads and mountain songs (Laing, The Electric Muse 49). By the 1960s the freedom movement in America revived the protest song. The young people of the 1960s felt the need to write their own songs as they were feeling very different from the mountain "folk". Ellen Stekert comments: "The concept of folk or 'natural man' remained meaningful to the city singer only in terms of himself as an individual" (156). More and more singers began to write their own songs. Some would write them in the style or themes of traditional songs. Among the singers writing protest songs were Bob Dylan, Tom Paxton, Phil Ochs, and Peter LaFarge (Laing 49).

Stekert argues that in fact four main groups of folksingers were to be found in the cities at the time. First were the traditional singers who had learned their songs and style from oral tradition, second, the "imitators" who sang traditional songs in the style of traditional singers. Her third category is the "utilizers" who took folk material and altered it to suit urban aesthetics, usually changing either the tune, text, or style of the folksong. Finally came the "urban utilizers" who developed their own aesthetics, combining traditional and classical devices, for instance Joan Baez (Stekert 158).

From the beginning of the 1960s revival, two major groups disagreed on the theory and practice of folksong performance. The "ethnics" or "purists" felt that only the traditional style of performance could be reproduced, while "popularizers" felt that original sources should be respected but that some elements had to be added for the modern city audience, such as: "polish, musical suavity, nicety of phrasing, harmonies, instrumental filling out and augmentation" (Shelton 16). This ongoing debate also took place in the folksong revivals of other countries.

This "folk boom" started to decline in America in 1965. According to Bruce Jackson, various events happening during this period, such as the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, the Vietnam War in 1965, and the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, might have been linked to this decline. Jackson argues that romantic idealism which had been behind this folk revival seemed no longer appropriate in this climate of continually escalating violence (Jackson 202). People's interest began to turn towards different kinds of music like rhythm and blues, and rock 'n' roll, and around 1964 a new kind of music, folk-rock, started in America. Several of the American folksingers turned to folk-rock, including Bob Dylan and the young men who formed the Los Angeles folk-rock band The Byrds. At first many folk music fans who had taken a purist approach did not regard the combination of folk and rock music favorably. Other folksingers like Joan Baez continued to sing folk songs in the same style they had started with.

The beginnings of the 1960s British folksong revival can be traced to Lonnie Donegan, who in 1954, formed a skiffle band which played versions of American folksongs and blues (Goldstein 14). "Skiffle" is an American term. The origins of skiffle go back to the late 19th century in the United States at a time where jazz was evolving in New Orleans and those who could not afford instruments but wanted to play jazz started to use:

> primitive and homemade instruments such as kazoos, combs and paper, washboards, jugs, bottles and harmonicas. Old boxes were fashioned into banjos, guitars, fiddles (Kosby 56).

Skiffle was a simple music to play and as some of its instruments were homemade, many amateur skiffle groups began to appear in Britain. This skiffle movement did not last very long as the music became commercialized and people got tired of it. However, it set the stage for the folksong revival (Kosby 59).

In 1951, the American folklorist Alan Lomax went to live in Britain. There he collected folksongs, performed and produced various radio programs. The same year two other revivalists, who were to become important figures in the British folksong revival, Ewan McColl and A. L. Lloyd, began a series of radio programs with Lomax entitled "Ballads and Blues". In the mid-fifties another radio program "As I Roved Out" played field recordings of the few traditional singers known to be alive at the time (Goldstein 5). In 1953 McColl and Lloyd opened a Ballads and Blues club. In Britain a "club" is an association that meets in a pub once a week. Folk clubs began to appear around this time and were well established by 1956. During the 1950s and early 1960s some British folksongs were heard in folk clubs but American folksongs were predominant. Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, Peter Paul and Mary, and Joan Baez in particular were very popular in Britain (Kosby 70).

Performers like McColl, Peggy Seeger, and Lloyd became increasingly concerned with the lack of British songs in the British revival. McColl in particular became "the spokesman for intense cultural chauvinism on the folk club scene"

(Goldstein 5). Folk music from all over the world could be heard in the Ballads and Blues Club before McColl decided to allow only singers performing British folksongs. These revivalists felt that British traditional music was threatened by the invasion of American music. Their aim behind their decision was:

> to recover an understanding and mastery of traditional elements as the basis for a new popular culture that would reassert and combat the flattening of indigenous musical styles by the American juggernaut (Armstrong and Pearson 96).

Kosby points out that part of the rationale for their policy was that "people can best perform the songs of their own cultural area . . ." (74). This decision was also part of a search for a British national identity. As in the British folksong renaissance of the late 19th century, a nationalist sentiment led to the preserving and reviving of British folksongs. Revivalists like McColl felt that British people should be proud of their own cultural heritage which was as rich and valuable as the American heritage.

McColl's policy created much resentment at first but progressively the idea that the British tradition was just as rich as the American tradition began to develop. Soon many folk clubs concentrated on performers who sang British material in a near approximation of traditional style. Accompaniments became less influenced by American models. The emphasis was on "cultural uniqueness and the need to assimilate the techniques and styles of the past" (Armstrong and Pearson (97). The folksong revival movement in Britain, like in North America, was also a reaction to modernization and tended to idealize and romanticize the past and rural life.

The British traditional songs revived were first taken from the folksong collections such as those of Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould, Lucy Broadwood, and Cecil Sharp, but there was very soon the need to discover new traditional songs for the revivalists' repertoire. Goldstein points out that as nobody was ready to call newly composed songs "folksongs", old songs had to be discovered (5). Peter Kennedy went on a BBC sponsored field trip with a tape-recorder and discovered other traditional singers throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland.

More and more people began to go and collect folksongs from rural singers as the recording equipment was less costly and easier to handle. These newly discovered traditional songs became the repertoire of the British folksong revival (Goldstein 5).

The folksong revival movement spread out in Britain in the 1960s. The folk club was the physical base of the British revival as the coffee house was the physical base of the American revival. The folk club was usually housed in the backroom of pubs (Armstrong and Pearson 97). The urban revivalists and a few traditional performers would go and play at the folk club. The guitar was the most popular instrument among revivalists but other instruments such as the fiddle, mandolin, banjo and concertina were also used. Some of the revivalists would sing unaccompanied. In the late sixties there was a trend toward the use of electronically amplified instruments to accompany contemporary songs and traditional songs in some cases (Kosby 3). As in North America folk festivals also began to develop in Britain as another outlet for the revival.

As in North America, this "folk boom" in Britain began to decline towards the end of the 1960s, and rock started to become more popular than folk music. According to Robin Denselow what went wrong was:

> the limited presentation of this music to the public and the lack of interest and awareness shown by those in the clubs towards the developing music scene outside (The Electric Muse 139).

Denselow argues that the clubs which had started with an open attitude became gradually narrow minded. Some clubs became "purist" in that they only accepted singers who performed traditional songs in the prescribed manner and discouraged any wider outlook on the material (139).

The bridge between the world of folk and rock was to be made by uniting the two musical genres, in the form of folk-rock or trad-rock, which began around 1968 in Britain. The British folk-rock sounded very different than American folk-rock as the British folk-rock bands developed their own style. The first English trad-rock band to appear on the scene was Fairport Convention. They were first

a rock band but after finding their new lead singer, Sandy Denny, they began to look for something different to play. As Sandy Denny had previously been a folk soloist, she sang some traditional songs and the band provided a rock back up. Gradually they incorporated an increasing number of traditional songs in their repertoire and they released their first complete folk-rock album in 1969 Liege and Leif (A & M 4257). The members of Fairport Convention changed often over the years but among the band personel were Richard Thompson, Sandy Denny, Dave Mattacks, Tyger Hutchins and Simon Nicol (Denselow The Electric Muse 157-163). Another well-known British trad-rock band was Steeleye Span, founded by Tyger Hutchins in 1970 after he left Fairport. Like Fairport their line-up saw various changes but the two constant members were Maddy Prior and Tim Hart. Unlike Fairport, which was a rock band that had drifted into folk music, Steeleye wanted to be "traditional musicians working with electric instruments" (Denselow 164). Their second album entitled Please to See the King (Chrysalis 1120) was, according to Denselow, a minor masterpiece (The Electric Muse 165). Steeleye Span was the British folk-rock band which captured the most public attention and sold the most records. A few other folk-rock bands were formed in Britain, mainly by musicians who had played with Fairport Convention or Steeleye Span, but were not as successful and did not last very long. Some bands or musicians in other countries combined folk music with electric instruments and became well-known in Britain, such as the Irish band Horslips and the Breton Alan Stivell.

As in North America folk-rock was not regarded favorably by many of the revivalists. The "purist" revivalists or the "ethnics" thought that folk music combined with rock music was not "authentic". A. L. LLoyd points out that, like all traditions folksongs change constantly, the only difference is that today the changes are more drastic and happen faster (15). He points out that while some revivalists have chosen a style that resembles that of the past, others have decided to use the technology of their times:

> . . . on the other end of the spectrum are those who feel that modern electronic instruments allow songs to speak more clearly to present-day audiences because electric music is the popular music of the day (15).

The "folk boom" of the 1960s had caught on in many other countries around the same period. At first young musicians in Canada as in Britain followed the American style of the revivalists, singing American folksongs that had been popularized by American revivalists. The coffee house scene also developed all over Canada at about the same time. The Canadian folk scene centered in Toronto was slow in developing its own distinctive voice because it was dominated by the American revival. Many Canadian folksingers in fact made their career in the United States, including Gordon Lightfoot and Joni Mitchell (Laing, The Electric Muse 69). As in Britain, a certain nationalism began to grew in Canada among the revivalists who felt that Canadian traditional music was as worthy as its American counterpart. Jamie Snider talks about this Canadian nationalism among revivalists in Ontario in the 1960s:

> . . . in Ontario at the time in the 60s and 70s, early 70s there was a bit of Canadian nationalism going on, return to your roots and that kind of a thing, I just felt that way but I think it was definitely in the air as well and instead of listening to all these old blues guys and rock 'n' rollers from the Deep South, I realized that hell I knew people from the same age and just as venerable and knowledgeable about music and had as much guts and truth or whatever it was you look for in . . . traditional music, than say these old blues guys from Mississipi. I mean there's fiddlers in the Ottawa Valley with the same kind of quality and their language was a lot closer . . . I could understand it a lot better . . . (Tape no 15).

In the late sixties, early 70s a group of Canadian singer-songwriters emerged led by Bruce Cockburn, Murray McLaughlin and David Wiffen (Laing 69). In the late 1960s the Canadian revival turned to the British revival and the coffee houses were replaced by folk clubs. Various folk festivals appeared all over the country. Gradually Canadian revivalists began to sing more Canadian traditional songs or would write their own songs trying to develop their own style.

2) Newfoundland Folksong Revival

Before discussing the folksong revival of the 1970s in Newfoundland and showing how it was influenced by the North American and British revivals it is necessary to discuss the early folksong revivals in Newfoundland. The Newfoundland folksong revival, as other revivals, has been a continuous process with different musical trends and focuses. The first compilation of Newfoundland folksongs was made by John Burke in 1894 entitled, The St. John's Advertiser and Fishermen's Guide: A Racy Little Song Book. Then various other folksong collections appeared in the early part of the twentieth century such as the collection edited by James Murphy, Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland, Ancient and Modern, in 1904; Gerard S. Doyle, Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland, in 1927; Elizabeth B. Greenleaf and Grace Yarrow Mansfield, Ballads and sea Songs of Newfoundland, in 1933, and Maud Karpeles, Folk Songs From Newfoundland, in 1934 (Clara Murphy, "A Chronological History"). These early collections of Newfoundland folksong were part of a revival as they made these traditional songs available to a wider audience and provided material which would later be used as part of the 1940s-50s revival.

A central figure to the early Newfoundland folksong revival was Gerard S. Doyle, who has already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Doyle was from King's Cove, Bonavista Bay, but moved to St. John's in the 1920s where he became a very prominent businessman specializing in patent medicine. In 1927 Doyle's songster, Old-Time Songs and Poetry, was distributed free of charge by his company. This songster was the first of five editions. The first edition presented song texts without music. Most of its songs came from earlier broadsides and songsters published in St. John's (Rosenberg, "The Gerard S. Doyle Songsters" 1). Doyle's songbooks were directly linked to the revival and preservation of Newfoundland cultural heritage as it is expressed in his 1940 edition:

> The most cultured countries have long ago learned the value of their folklore songs, but Newfoundland has only in recent years been awakened to a sense of the rich treasures of her ballads, songs and folklore. We take pardonable pride, therefore in saying that it was our book of songs published thirteen years ago -- the first book of its kind so widely distributed in Newfoundland -- that was responsible in a large measure for this new interest in local songs (Doyle, qtd. in Taft xiii-xiv).

Most of the songs figuring in the Doyle's songsters were songs which had a chorus, were up-tempo and could easily be sung by a group of people at parties; they were what Rosenberg calls "rollicking sing-alongs" ("The Canadianization of Newfoundland" 6). Several of the songs figuring in Doyle's songbook became Newfoundland "standards" and were recorded by several performers in the 1940s and 50s, for instance songs such as "I'se The B'y That Builds The Boat", "The Badger Drive", "The Kelligrew's Soiree", "Jack was Every Inch A Sailor", "The Squid Jigging Ground", "Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary's", and "Lukey's Boat", after which the band Lukey's Boat was named (Rosenberg, "The Gerard S. Doyle Songsters" 17). These songs were adopted as Newfoundland folksongs by the revivalists of the forties and fifties and were accepted as such by other Newfoundlanders from the same generation.

Gerard S. Doyle also helped finance the recordings of local songs made by the Newfoundland poet Art Scammell. No musical recordings had been made by Newfoundlanders until 1943 when Art Scammell recorded "Squid Jigging Ground" (Rosenberg, "The Canadianization of Newfoundland" 5). Art Scammell had composed, "Squid Jigging Ground", in 1928, in his home community of Change Islands in Newfoundland. This song had been performed several times on a popular St. John's radio show, "The Irene B. Mellon", before its first printing in 1937 by J.R. Smallwood in The Book of Newfoundland (Rosenberg, "The Gerard S. Doyle Songsters) 14). Art Scammell's recording being successful, Gerard S. Doyle decided to commercialize other Newfoundland songs through phonograph recordings which were also distributed free of charge. Doyle hired a popular Canadian group, "The Commodore Quartet" to record twelve songs, six of which appeared in his songsters. These first commercial recordings of

Newfoundland folksongs were made in Toronto and Montreal mainly for the urban middle-class Newfoundland audience "but found their way into the collections of Canadian folk music enthusiasts" (Rosenberg, "The Canadianization of Newfoundland" 6).

Since Greenleaf and Mansfield had collected folksongs no outsiders had come to Newfoundland for this purpose until after Confederation. In 1950 and 1951, MacEdward Leach, from the University of Pennsylvania, collected folksongs from Newfoundland outport singers. Only a few texts of his collection were printed in a book entitled Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast. However, his work had little impact in Newfoundland and the rest of Canada (Rosenberg, "The Canadianization of Newfoundland" 7). Another collector whose work had much more impact was Kenneth Peacock, a musician who came to Newfoundland during the summers of 1951-1952 and 1958-1961 to collect folksongs for the Folklore Division of the National Museum of Canada. Peacock came to collect Newfoundland folksongs because now that Newfoundland had joined Confederation, the director of the museum wanted to document Newfoundland culture (Rosenberg, "The Canadianization of Newfoundland" 7). Peacock collected over seven hundred songs from various parts of the island. In 1965 the National Museum published four hundred and nine of his songs in the three volumes of Songs of the Newfoundland Outports. Many songs of the Peacock collection were to be performed by the Newfoundland folksong revivalists of the 1970s, including Figgy Duff. Paradoxically the urban revivalists of the 70s, who were part of the nativist movement and regarded Confederation with Canada as threatening for Newfoundland identity, used the Peacock collection which would not have been made without Confederation.

At the beginning of the 1950s two professional singers from central Canada, Ed McCurdy and Alan Mills, who performed mainly folksongs, included some Newfoundland songs in their live performances and radio broadcasts. They also

began to make commercial recordings of Newfoundland songs among which figured songs from the Doyle songsters such as "Jack was Every Inch A Sailor", "Lukey's Boat", "Kelligrews Soiree" and "I'se the B'y" (Rosenberg, "The Canadianization of Newfoundland" 7-8). Since then various Newfoundland traditional songs have entered the repertoire of other North American revival singers, for instance appearing on the records of Burl Ives, and Ian and Sylvia (Michael Taft, xvii). Taft points out that unlike Scammell and the Commodore Quartet, these mainland singers did not direct their records to a specific Newfoundland audience and thus have had a minimal impact on the culture of the island (xvii).

Another folksong collector and performer, Omar Blondahl, was to have "a far-reaching effect upon both Newfoundland culture and the recording of Newfoundland songs" (Taft, xviii). Omar Blondahl was a radio announcer and professional singer born from Icelandic parents in Saskatchewan. In 1955, on his way to Iceland, Blondahl decided to stop to Newfoundland and work for a while. He was introduced to Newfoundland traditional songs by the manager of the local radio station VOCM where he had applied for a job. The manager of the station showed him a copy of the newly published third edition of the Gerard S. Doyle songbook. As none of these songs had been recorded, Blondahl began to perform some of them; he would eventually record nearly fifty of the seventy-six songs of Doyle's third edition (Rosenberg, "Omar Blondahl's Contribution"). Between 1955 and 1964 he also collected Newfoundland traditional songs himself, selecting locally composed songs about life in Newfoundland, and he published a book of Newfoundland folksongs entitled, Newfoundlanders Sing! A Collection of Favorite Newfoundland Folksongs. Like Gerard S. Doyle, Blondahl published his Newfoundland songbook with the intent of preserving Newfoundland traditions and presenting this musical heritage to the public in a form that was accessible to them.

Rosenberg says that Blondahl was:

> . . . the first full-time professional performer to specialize in Newfoundland folksongs, and the single individual most responsible for introducing the guitar as the accompanying instrument for folksongs in Newfoundland ("Omar Blondahl's Contribution" 2).

Taft comments on Blondahl's style of performance:

> In his singing style he consciously strove for "authenticity" by adopting a Newfoundland type dialect, yet the strumming style of his guitar accompaniment owed nothing to Newfoundland traditional music (xvii).

Blondahl performed in Burl Ives style, playing small guitars like those played by Ives, "using a quiet plucking technique which utilized neither plectrum nor fingerpicks" (Rosenberg, "Omar Blondahl's Contribution" 5). Like Ives, who took the pseudonym of "The Wayfaring Stranger" from a song in his repertoire, Blondahl called himself "Sagebrush Sam" after a cowboy song, "Tying Knots in the Devil's Tail".

Blondahl rapidly became a popular radio personality in St. John's, and in 1956 he made his first of a series of records of Newfoundland songs for the Rodeo Record Company (Rodeo RLP-5, The Saga of Newfoundland in Songs) which included songs like "Squid Jigging Ground", I'se the B'y" and "Lukey's Boat". Blondahl recorded a single for Rodeo, which included "The Kelligrews Soiree" and "The Wild Colonial Boy", on which he was accompanied by local accordionist Wilf Doyle. This was the first example on commercial record of the Newfoundland accordion-guitar synthesis which would be later on used by other Newfoundland performers. Blondahl was also the first to use an accordion as accompaniment for a song on a commercial recording. Besides presenting Newfoundland folksongs to Newfoundlanders, he also presented them to the rest of Canada through his records and performances at folk festivals on the mainland (Rosenberg, "Omar Blondahl's Contribution" 10-14).

Wilf Doyle and his wife Christine started a radio show in 1954 on VOCM which "became very popular with lovers of Newfoundland and country music" (Murray, "Profile: Wilf Doyle" 13). Encouraged by Blondahl, Rodeo asked Wilf Doyle to make an album of his own, Jigs and Reels of Newfoundland (RIP-10).

This started a long career of recordings of Newfoundland accordion music by Wilf Doyle. Doyle and his group, the Wilf Doyle Orchestra, like other musicians of the period, played an eclectic mixture of old-time Newfoundland tunes and country and western material. Nevertheless Doyle and his band also attempted to adapt to changing fashions in popular music including rock 'n' roll and through this flexibility are still active today ("Profile: Wilf Doyle" 13).

By the 1960s, Newfoundland traditional music was still recorded and performed only by a minority of musicians in Newfoundland. After Confederation followed a period where many Newfoundlanders were not interested in their own music and culture as a whole. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Newfoundlanders were being absorbed into the North American mass culture and many Newfoundlanders were ashamed of their culture, which they felt was backward and inferior to that of the rest of North America. An American musical influence was already felt in the 1940s with the American radio stations located in the American bases in Newfoundland during the war. Country and western music in particular began to be very popular in rural Newfoundland.

During the 1960s, other Newfoundland singers, like John White, who according to Neil Murray, "contributed a lot to a revival of interest in old Newfoundland music" (Tape M-5), could be heard on a nationally aired CBC television show entitled "All Around the Circle". This show began to appear in the 1960s and was to last until the late 1970s. Apart from John White, the other regulars of the show were singers Carol Brothers and Evan Purchase, and band leader Ray Walsh. According to Pat Byrne, "nothing was going on in terms of folk music" in Newfoundland at the time except for this TV program (Tape no M-2). From the 1940s to the 1970s a radio program called "The Big Six" was aired in St. John's but it featured mainly Irish music. "All Around the Circle" had a certain revivalist dimension as it tried to present to a national audience music which was distinctively Newfoundland (Rosenberg, Tape no M-6). In 1966 a Come Home Year was organized by the Government and Tourist industry for

expatriate Newfoundlanders on the mainland of Canada or abroad. For this occasion, records of Newfoundland music and songs were made by John White, Bert Cuff, and Ray Walsh.

In 1968 a Newfoundlander from Bell Island, Harry Hibbs, made his first record which included, "I'se the B'y" and "Mussels in the Corner" (At the Caribou Club Arc AS 794). This first album was recorded in Toronto, at the Caribou Club, a bar where expatriate Newfoundlanders meet. Hibbs was living in Toronto at the time but would later come back to Newfoundland and record more albums there. He was very popular among the expatriate Newfoundlanders in Toronto and in Newfoundland, particularly among working-class Newfoundlanders. Gary Miles writes in the Newfoundland Herald:

> Harry Hibbs was winning the hearts of Newfoundlanders both on and off the Rock by preserving for eternity the music that was both a cause and a result of what Newfoundlanders really were -- and still are (22).

Hibbs was also preserving and reviving old folksongs which had entered Newfoundland tradition but which were Irish for the most part. The reason he gave for singing mostly Irish folksongs was that "about ninety per cent of Newfoundlanders are Irish" (Hibbs, qtd. in Philip Marchand 26).

The accordion-guitar synthesis which had been heard first on the record by Blondahl and Wilf Doyle on a single released in 1956 for Rodeo crystallized in the sound of Harry Hibbs, "as the local commercial country sound" (Rosenberg, "Omar Blondahl's Contribution" 10). Hibbs synthesized Newfoundland traditional dance music with Irish and country and western music. Peter Narváez comments:

> In Newfoundland the traditional melodies, rhythms, and "sound' of the button accordion have combined with the musical content and styles of traditional forms from the British Isles and France and the country music of the United States and Maritimes and mainland Canada ("Country and Western in Diffusion" 109).

This synthesis of various musical styles is what Narváez calls a "case of syncretism" which is: ". . . an aspect of musical change in an acculturative situation which has resulted in a fusion of similar cultural elements into new forms" ("Country and Western in Diffusion" 109).

This musical style, which can be called Newfoundland country music, is very popular among working-class Newfoundlanders. It is necessary to stop here briefly on the terminology used to distinguish areas of Newfoundland which are outside St. John's and other towns. "Outports", "around the bay" and "rural Newfoundland" are all terms which are employed when talking about places in Newfoundland which are not towns but small communities. Both terms "outports" and "around the bay" suggest communities which are located along the Newfoundland coast. "Rural" applies both to places which are on the coast and to small communities inland. Terms like outport or rural Newfoundlanders or "baymen" sometimes mean more than just people living outside the city. There has been in Newfoundland a constant "'city versus country' dichotomy" reflected in the terminology "baymen" versus "townies" (Martin Laba 10). The "townies" are people from St. John's as opposed to the "baymen" who are people living in the country, "around the bay". The "townies" tend to consider "baymen" as ignorant, or backward and usually associate them with working class while the "townies" often consider themselves to be more sophisticated and superior. The "baymen" tend to feel a high degree of animosity toward "townies" for the stereotypes of the personalities and lifestyle of people in outport Newfoundland (Laba 10). Laba argues that this tension between "townies" and "baymen" is complex. "Townies" construct their identity on the believed superiority of the "townie" on the "baymen" but at the same time they are aware that, "the cognitive construction of the townie society . . . depends almost entirely upon the strength of the symbols of Newfoundland outport life" (Laba 16).

Here, "rural" Newfoundland, or "around the bay", or "outports" is used to refer only to people who do not live in St. John's or any other towns in Newfoundland but who live in the country. When reference is made to a particular social class of Newfoundlanders, this class will be indicated. Newfoundland country music is, then, more popular in places outside St. John's among working class people, but is also popular in St. John's among working-class Newfoundlanders.

Other Newfoundland musicians playing this musical style, in the tradition of Harry Hibbs, direct their music to the Newfoundland working class, particularly in the outports. Following a nativist ideology, they have played a role in preserving and reviving Newfoundland traditions. For instance Simani, who started in the late 1970s, is the most influential of the contemporary Newfoundland country groups. Simani is composed of two musicians from Fortune Bay, in outport Newfoundland, Bud Davidge and Sim Savoury. They play Newfoundland country music using a guitar, an accordion and a drum machine. Simani has sold many albums in Newfoundland and is very popular among working classes in rural and urban areas. Simani does not sing many Newfoundland traditional songs but concentrates more on writing their own songs about various aspects of life in rural Newfoundland, including a song on resettlement. Bud Davidge mentions in an article:

> I've always viewed the writing of our own work . . . as a contribution in some way to the culture of our province. I believe we have to create our own culture, utilizing the rich background and heritage that we have . . . (qtd. in Meeker, "Songs From the Heart of The Rock").

In 1983 they wrote and recorded "The Mummers Song" which became a very big success in rural Newfoundland. This song nostalgically describes the tradition of mummering as it was in the past but leaves out anything negative about the custom such as the occasional violence. Gerald Pocius comments on the nostalgic images in the song:

> Images in the song brought back memories of glowing -- and selective -- aspects of past lives: the warm kitchen stove (with its sounds and smell of burning wood); the small kitchen with the flickering kerosene lamp, crowded with friends dancing and drinking homebrew (77).

Mummering had already been selected, a decade earlier, as being a symbol of Newfoundland culture among urban nativists as reflected in the Christmas shows performed by Figgy Duff and the Mummers Troupe's attempt to revive the Mummers play. The "Mummers Song" had a strong impact, helping to revive the mummering tradition in some communities in rural Newfoundland where it had disappeared. According to Pocius:

> Mummering initially became more than a simple custom because of the work of intellectual elites like academics and revivalists, but finally, because of Simani's Mummers Song, it has become one of the most forceful of cultural identity symbols for ordinary Newfoundlanders (80).

The song itself has now become part of the activity of mummering and it is common to see mummers carry tape-recorders with them and play the song as they enter people's houses (Pocius 78). The Mummers Song as well as other songs from Simani's repertoire are taught in schools in rural Newfoundland. Meeker argues that Simani's popularity in rural Newfoundland is due to the fact that: "Their songs speak to the very heart and soul of Newfoundlanders" ("Songs From the Heart of The Rock 9).

My informants consider this Newfoundland country music as played by Hibbs and Simani as being stigmatized as "Newfie" music. The term "Newfie" appears to have been first used by American soldiers who were in Newfoundland during the second world war. The term, "Newfie", as in "Newfie jokes" is used by outsiders but sometimes also by Newfoundlanders. Laba mentions that some "townies" use the word "Newfie" to refer to "baymen" but do not consider themselves to be "Newfie" (14). The use of the word "Newfie" is actually very complex. On one hand it is pejorative when used by outsiders and people from St. John's talking about baymen because it implies backwardness and stupidity. On the other hand it is sometimes used in Newfoundland as a positive quality. For instance, I have seen souvenirs in stores marked "proud to be Newfie", or newspapers using "Newfie" also in a positive way. My informants reject the term, first because it is connected with the jokes, and second because it is a word which to many people is condescending and patronizing. "Newfie" music implies a stereotype of Newfoundlanders as humorous "folk" playing simple and humorous songs.

Another music which had a great impact in Newfoundland is Irish music. Since the late 1960s an ongoing Irish revival has existed in Newfoundland. The particular Irish revival trend, which has become popular in Newfoundland, first developped in the United States as a response to the American folk boom, which

started in the late 1950s. The Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem were among the first in the United States to establish the repertoire, sound with the five string banjo and the whistles, and sing-alongs which have since then become characteristic of this particular Irish musical trend. Several young Irish musicians who went first to the United States and then central Canada came to Newfoundland in the late 1960s, early seventies. Irish bands are particularly numerous in St. John's and on the Avalon Peninsula where many Newfoundlanders are of Irish descendance. One of these bands is The Sons of Erin, a group of Irish musicians formed by Ralph O'Brien. This band, which still exists today, came to Newfoundland in the 1970s and its line-up has since changed. One of the ex-members of The Sons of Erin, Dermot O'Reilly, along with two other Irish musicians, Fergus O'Byrne and Denis Ryan, formed a band called Ryan's Fancy, which was to be the most popular of these Irish bands in Newfoundland. They sang traditional songs, songs from known authorship and also some of their own composition. For example, in their repertoire figured Irish songs such as "The Rocky Road to Dublin", "Tim Finnegan's Wake" as well as Newfoundland traditional songs from the Gerard S. Doyle canon "The Star of Logy Bay", "I'se The B'y", "Jack was Every Inch A Sailor", "Now I'm Sixty Four" but also songs like "The Rocks of Merasheen" written by Al Pittman and Pat Byrne, and "Cape Breton Dream" composed by D. Ryan and B. Gough. John Perlin writes about Ryan's Fancy in The Ryan's Fancy Song And Other Stuff Book:

> I know of no other group which has come on the musical scene in Newfoundland in recent years that has managed to make such an impact and impression on people in all walks of life throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. I have been delighted to have been part of the development and promotion of Ryan's Fancy as a fine Newfoundland exposition of folk music which has a direct relationship to the origins of many Newfoundlanders . . . (15).

Among the numerous bands following this Irish trend in Newfoundland today is "The Irish Descendants" formed by three Newfoundlanders. Anita Best comments on what she calls "Irish cultural imperialism":

> . . . I mean Newfoundland music suffers enormously musically from Irish cultural imperialism, we talk about imperialism like the British imposed on us, the Irish cultural imperialism is just as bad, people assume that Newfoundland music and Irish music are the one and the same thing and that Ryan's Fancy is a Newfoundland band . . . all the traditional music that we heard on the radio was recorded by Irish performers or Irish American performers (Tape no 8.1).

Many people in Newfoundland do tend to think that Newfoundlanders are Irish and that Irish music is Newfoundland music as in Harry Hibbs' quote above.

While Newfoundland country music and Irish music were popular musical forms in various parts of Newfoundland, in the late 1960s a group of St. John's young middle-class artists and academics started a folksong revival. These urban revivalists were following the trend which had already taken place in other countries. As in Britain and the rest of Canada, the young urban revivalists in Newfoundland began to copy the American revival before rejecting it out of nativist sentiments. As in the rest of North America in the late 50s and early 60s, coffee houses began to appear in St. John's in the late 1960s such as The Upper Room, 21A, The Void, Cafe 22 and Cafe Y. Young people would go there and perform American folksongs which had been popularized by the American and Canadian revivalists such as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Peter, Paul and Mary and Gordon Lightfoot (Morris, tape no 10-1). Some people would write their own songs copying the style of these North American revivalists. Musicians like Sandy Morris, Derek Pelley, and Brian Hennessey began their careers in these coffee houses. Morris points out that at the time of the coffee houses, "there was little conscious exploration of Newfoundland culture at all" (Tape no 10-1). Very few traditional Newfoundland songs were indeed performed in these coffee houses. The coffee houses were a strictly urban phenomenon, as Anita Best points out: ". . .it wasn't a rural phenomenon so that you wouldn't get fellows coming with an accordion to play at coffee houses . . ." (Tape no 8-2). This coffee house scene disappeared in the early seventies.

The 1970s marked the emergence of the urban nativist movement reacting against the accelerated processes of modernization and industrialization that

took place after Confederation and the assimilation of Newfoundland culture into the North American mass culture. The Newfoundland folksong revival of the 1970s was part of the cultural renaissance which was inspired by a nativist ideology. At the same time the Newfoundland folksong revival of the 70s was part of the larger revival which had occurred in North America and Britain. The Newfoundland folksong revival was also following the nationalist ideology which had made British and Canadian revivalists shift from American to British hegemony. The American folksong revivalists had reacted to modernization, searching for another alternative to popular music, searching for their roots by rediscovering the folk music of their country. This trend spread out to other countries where the youth was feeling the same malaise. At first the rest of North America and Britain had received the American material of this revival but soon British revivalists felt that if Americans could revive their own folksongs, so could they with the British material. Canada then embraced the British orientation of the folksong revival and the nationalist feeling that musicians should perform music from their own culture. The Newfoundland folksong revival also fit into that trend.

At the same time the Newfoundland folksong revival of the 1970s was a continuity of the revival of the 1940s and 50s with a different focus. The young urban people of the 70s could not identify themselves with the music of Wilf Doyle, John White, Omar Blondahl and Harry Hibbs. Most of them had grown up with rock 'n' roll and blues, and could not appreciate the music of these early performers which they regarded as being the music of an older generation. The previous generation of musicians did indeed revive some Newfoundland songs and tunes but the urban revivalists of the 1970s did not like their musical style. For the young urban artists the Newfoundland music popularized by Doyle, White, Hibbs and others was old-fashioned, uninteresting and banal. Anita Best's point of view seems to have been shared by her contemporaries:

> . . . it was musically banal you know, it was like two chords, three chords and if there was a piano it was like piano vomping . . . it was just deadly . . . it's

> really boring and you get tired of it really quickly, I do anyway . . . for one thing it's the same songs over and over and it's the same kinds of tunes . . . there's no strange or mysterious melodies or anything like that in it . . . . people like Harry Hibbs and so on they were doing Newfoundland songs but the problem was that it was not interesting musically. . . (Tape no 8.2).

Best and her contemporaries found this music "boring" and "uninteresting" because they found that the arrangements and instrumentation lacked complexity, the chord structures were too simple, the repertoire of these musicians always sounded the same. On the other hand they wanted to hear "strange" and "mysterious" melodies, that is a music which arrangements and instrumentation are more complex in order to give the music a complex sound, a music which is not always played on the same beat, but a music creating various dramatic effects, effects which cannot be predicted from the first note of a tune.

The young urban revivalists of the 70s also rejected the stigma of "Newfie" music which had been applied to the Newfoundland country music style in which songs such as "I'se the B'y" and "Squid Jigging Ground" had been popularized by the earlier performers. Not only did the revivalists find "Newfie" music uninteresting, they also felt that if many Newfoundlanders were ashamed of Newfoundland music it was because "Newfie" music was the only one available. The urban revivalists felt that in the same way people outside Newfoundland did not realize the value of the Newfoundland musical heritage because only "Newfie" music had so far been popularized. The urban revivalists' intention was to look for Newfoundland traditional songs which had not been popularized and adapt them to urban aesthetics in order to show to Newfoundlanders and non-Newfoundlanders that Newfoundland traditional music was as valuable as any other music. They felt that by reviving these songs and making them acceptable to an urban context Newfoundlanders would no longer be ashamed of their own music. In other words because the urban revivalists were not satisfied with their "culture", they felt the need to re-invent it to make it more "mysterious", "interesting" according to their own aesthetics.

As in the American and British revivals, various kinds of performers following different musical trends participated in the Newfoundland urban folksong revival of the 1970s. There were the revivalists who sang Newfoundland traditional songs trying to reproduce the traditional style of singing from rural Newfoundland. Some of these singers sang a cappella, for instance Anita Best, Linda Slade, and Wilf Wareham, sometimes singing with his brothers. Pat, Linda and Joe Byrne sang both a cappella and with guitar accompaniment but still copying the Newfoundland traditional style of singing. This type of revivalist singers were for the most part people who were born in outport Newfoundland and had moved to St. John's later on. Taking a nativist perspective they chose to rediscover and revive songs they had heard when they were growing up in rural Newfoundland. Pat Byrne, for instance, had lived in the United States and Montreal and had been involved in the revivals there but in the 1970s he and his brother Joe began to sing traditional songs from Placentia Bay, where they were from originally. Later on they also wrote their own songs about Placentia Bay in a traditional style.

Another category of performers was the singer-songwriters like Jim Payne, Ron Hynes and Jean Hewson. Some of them like Payne and Hewson also sang some Newfoundland traditional songs accompanying themselves on the acoustic guitar while Ron Hynes mainly wrote his own songs. Some of the songs they wrote were about Newfoundland and reflected the nativist ideology of the cultural renaissance. For example a song written by Ron Hynes entitled "Back Home on the Island" captured this spirit, romanticizing Newfoundland outport life in the past.

> Back Home on the island people are
> remembering the better days,
> When it used to be a place
> where the fishermen gathered,
> Now it's only memories,
> And we can all drink a toast to the
> boys on the hill
> 'Cause they didn't give a damn and

> they never will,
> But we lived here then and we're livin' here still'
> And we're watching that ocean roll.
> (qtd. in Narváez, "On Rovers and Ron" 10).

A third category of performers were the traditional musicians, who were from rural Newfoundland and who had learned their music and songs from oral tradition. They were either singers or musicians performing in their own communities or who knew many songs or tunes but did not perform publicly before being "discovered" by urban revivalists and brought to the city to perform in folk festivals, folk club and bars. These traditional performers became part of the revival. This category includes traditional performers such as fiddlers Emile Benoit and Rufus Guinchard, singers John Joe English, Mose Harris, Josephine Costard and accordionist Minnie White.

Another trend of the Newfoundland folksong revival was the emergence of trad-rock. Figgy Duff was the first Newfoundland traditional-rock band, although as we have seen a few traditional songs had been arranged for rock in Lukey's Boat by Noel Dinn and singer Laverne Squires. The role of Figgy Duff in the Newfoundland folksong revival will be discussed in the next chapter. Other trad-rock bands in Newfoundland also emerged. Red Island, for instance, was composed of Jamie Snider, Don and Des Walsh, Bruce Crummell and Derek Pelley. Red Island adapted traditional songs to electric music but besides doing Newfoundland traditional songs they also played other Canadian music. John Parsons, who was also Red Island's manager for a while, describes their musical style:

> . . . they were playing even more electric, and more experimental arrangements of traditional music, heavier rock but I don't think that they would have been doing that if Figgy Duff hadn't been there and they were probably competing with Figgy Duff . . . (Parsons, tape no 9.2).

Red Island played in St. John's, in rural Newfoundland and in Nova Scotia where they played at the Atlantic folk festival and had a very positive response from tho audience. They disbanded while they were in Nova Scotia. Don Walsh and Des Walsh would later form an all-acoustic instrumental Irish folk revival band, Tickle Harbour.

Another band combining rock and Newfoundland traditional music was the Wonderful Grand Band, which started in 1978. The band had different line-ups but originally it was composed of Kelly Russell, Ron Hynes, Sandy Morris, Brian Hennessey on bass, Rocky Wiseman on drums, and Glen Simmons (Russell, tape no 4.1). The Wonderful Grand Band was doing rock versions of Newfoundland songs as well as their own songs mostly written by Ron Hynes (Morris, tape no 10.1). Their shows also combined music with theater. The band was a spin-off from CODCO created for a CBC TV series, "The Root Cellar". Kelly Russell feels that, ". . . probably the biggest success for The Wonderful Grand Band was the combination of comedy and music . . ." (Tape no 4.1). Kelly Russell left The Wonderful Grand Band in 1980 as the band was concentrating more on the rock element. Russell was replaced by Jamie Snider (Russell, tape no 4.1)). Morris points out that in the last year before they broke up the band did more and more cover and original rock songs: "as a result of pressure, as they were coming closer to have a record deal, to do less of the Newfoundland trad stuff" (Tape no 10.1). They finally disbanded after having made two records, The Wonderful Grand Band (Quay cs-78-014), in 1978, and Living in a Fog (GE 1001), in 1981. Figgy Duff was, then, the only Newfoundland trad-rock band to survive. As Neil Murray points out what Figgy Duff and the other trad-rock bands were doing by combining traditional and electric music was:

> . . . trying to appeal to a younger audience probably and in particular a rock audience . . . so all the kids who were following popular music at the time, they were hoping to introduce Newfoundland traditional music to that audience (Murray, tape no M-5).

The repertoire for the folksong revival was first drawn from collections of Newfoundland folksongs like those of Greenleaf and Mansfield, Karpeles, Leach and especially Peacock. For example, as we have seen in the first chapter, Laverne Squires, Noel Dinn, Phil Dinn, Pam Morgan and Anita Best all started by learning Newfoundland traditional songs from these collections. Then some of the revivalists took some folklore courses and began collecting songs themselves. Figgy Duff were among the first urban revivalists to go to

Newfoundland outports and collect traditional songs and tunes. Then some other revivalists also collected songs or tunes including Genevieve Lehr, Eric West and Des Walsh. The Folklore Department at Memorial University, formed in 1968, began helping the revivalists, as the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) started to lend tapes and tape recorders to revivalists wanting to collect folksongs. For several summers the Folk Arts Council also gave grants to three or four graduate and undergraduate students to collect folksongs and MUNFLA provided the tapes (Rosenberg, tape no M-6). In 1985, Genevieve Lehr, who was married to Dave Panting, and Anita Best edited a collection of Newfoundland folksongs entitled Come and I Will Sing You in which the music transcriptions were done by Pamela Morgan. Several of the songs figuring in this collection were included in Figgy Duff's repertoire. The creation of the record company Pigeon Inlet by Kelly Russell in St. John's was also important in allowing Newfoundland performers to record in Newfoundland instead of going outside the province. Russell got grants from the Canada Council and other funding sources to help produce virtually all of the records (Rosenberg, "Pigeon Inlet" 30-33).

Following the British folksong revival model the folk club became an important base for the Newfoundland folksong revival. A Memorial University folk club from 1973 to 1975 was held in the lounge of Hatcher House (Murphy and Hart 29). Another folk music club started in 1975 in the upstairs room of Bridgett's but closed on "management's whim" (Hart and Murphy, 28). Finally in 1976 the St. John's folk music club was founded by Memorial University Folklore graduate student Joan Kosby. Other people like Linda Slade, David Crosley, Anita Best and Jamie Snider were also founding members. It was founded in order to provide an outlet for folk music performers and their audiences as part of the folksong revival (Susan Hart, 11). The St. John's folk music club was held one evening a week in different locations over the years: first in the Continental Lounge on Duckworth Street, then in the basement of the Station Tavern, the

Graduate House on Military Road, the Kingsbridge Hotel, the Ship Inn, and finally Bridgett's where it is still held to this day. The St. John's folk music club was inspired and modelled on British folk clubs, and in particular the St. Alban's folk music club in Britain, which was the topic of Joan Kosby's Master's thesis (Hart and Murphy). The St. Alban's folk club, held once a week, had three kinds of performers: a group of residents, that is, the members of the club, who would warm up the audience at the beginning of the evening; the floor singers, people in the audience who were non-members or non-residents and who would perform a few songs; and the guests who were paid, proficient musicians. Audience members paid an admission fee at the door which was reduced if they had a membership card. The evening was divided into two parts by a fifteen minute intermission during which the floor singers would perform (Hart and Murphy 30). This structure was applied to the St. John's folk music club with a few variations: for instance, there was no group of residents warming up the audience but residents would often perform with one another and with floor singers and guests, and the floor singers would perform during the sets rather than in the intermission (Hart and Murphy 30).

Although the St. John's folk club was founded in order to promote Newfoundland traditional music, the music performed at the folk club tends to be eclectic. Anita Best comments on the eclecticism of the folk club:

> . . . it was . . . wide open, you could come and play a fiddle tune, you could come and sing an American Down-South song, you could sing gospel music, you could sing blues . . . (tape no 8.1).

All the various categories of performers who were part of the folksong revival described above could sing or play at the folk club. The folk club was still primarily an urban phenomenon as the revival itself but a few traditional singers and musicians occasionally played at the folk club.

Another important base for the Newfoundland folksong revival as in the rest of North America and Britain was folk festivals. The first annual Newfoundland and Labrador folk festival was held in Bannerman Park, St. John's, in 1977. In

the fall of 1977 and 1978 a Good Entertainment festival was also held at the LSPU Hall. Organizers Isabella St. John and Susan Shiner received a grant in order to do field work to find traditional performers and bring them to town for this festival. It was modelled on the Mariposa Folk Festival which had been itself modelled on the Newport Folk Festival (Rosenberg, tape no M-6). Then other places in Newfoundland started their own annual festivals such as the Conception Bay Festival in Carbonear and Hangashore Festival in Corner Brook. More and more festivals gradually appeared all over Newfoundland. By 1985 there were eighteen folk festivals in Newfoundland, most of which were organized by the Folk Arts Council with the exception of the festivals of the Codroy Valley, Twillingate and Labrador (Andy Samuelson, tape no M-7). Traditional musicians, revivalists, as well as a few Newfoundland country music bands perform at folk festivals. Folk festivals constituted a more substantial outlet than the folk club for the revival of Newfoundland music because they were spread all over the province in both urban and rural areas allowing for a wider participation of the traditional performers.

The media also made an important contribution to the folksong revival of the 1970s. Neil Murray in particular was to contribute to the revival through his writings in newspapers and radio program. Murray had already played an important role in encouraging Laverne Squires, Anita Best and other St. John's musicians to sing Newfoundland traditional songs. Like the other Newfoundland folksong revivalists of the 1970s, Murray was inspired by a nativist ideology, as this comment reflects:

> I encouraged the local musicians in St. John's and rock groups I knew in St. John's to make use of this store of beautiful melodies we have, instead of copying the rest of North America . . . I wanted to see these songs out on the radio. It was the only way to stem the tremendous influence of Nashville and Los Angeles (Murray, qtd. in Zieler 62).

In the atmosphere of rising nativism Neil Murray started to work for The Newfoundland Herald, writing the "Profile" columns. Each of these profiles were dedicated to a Newfoundland artist or musician for the most part. Through his

profiles Murray kept the public informed of the Newfoundland talents and the developments of the folksong revival (Murphy, "Neil Murray" 7).

Neil Murray also worked to revive Newfoundland traditional music through his radio program entitled "Jigs Dinner". This program was broadcast on CHOZ-FM from 1978 to 1982. Murray had intended to host a traditional music radio show for several years and he had proposed a show like "Jigs Dinner" to CBC but it had been refused. Murray pointed out in an interview with Murphy that there was very little traditional music on the Newfoundland radio stations at the time and the broadcasters did not realize that there was a wide audience for this music (Murray, tape no M-5).

"Jigs Dinner" was a Sunday show which was rebroadcast the following Saturday. In this show, Murray played recordings of various kinds of Newfoundland traditional music. He played the records of the forties and fifties of performers like Wilf Doyle, Omar Blondahl, John White as well as the old ballads and country music popularized by Harry Hibbs and Eddie Coffey. Murray also played Newfoundland music recorded by Newfoundland traditional singers such as Emile Benoit and Rufus Guinchard and unaccompanied singing by traditional singers such as Mose Harris and John Joe English. Murray played as well music by the new generation of Newfoundland musicians including Figgy Duff. Beside records from his own collection, the recordings of folk festivals provided live material for "Jigs Dinner". Murray did not only play Newfoundland music but also English, Scottish, Irish and Breton traditional music. He played other traditional music because he wanted to show the various origins of Newfoundland music. Newfoundlanders were not used to hearing this variety of traditional music on the radio because, as Best pointed out, people in Newfoundland identify Newfoundland music as being only Irish music (Murray, tape no M-5). Murray mentioned:

> I was consciously trying to broaden out, to play as varied a selection as possible just to show the full range of this type of traditional music (Murray, tape no M-5).

In his program Murray commented on the origins of the songs and told stories about the songs. He also invited performers to come and talk about their music during the show. This program proved itself to be successful as a large number of people in Newfoundland listened to it and seemed to be interested in hearing Newfoundland traditional music. In 1982, Murray left the radio station when a strike broke out and he refused to cross the picket line (Murphy, "Neil Murray" 12). Another show entitled "Jigs and Reels" replaced "Jigs Dinner" but was very different in format and intent. This new show was hosted by Bruce Morel, then John Wiles. In 1981, Neil Murray became the editor of The Union Forum, a fisherman's union newspaper and decided to write a column on Newfoundland music and related topics entitled "Newfoundland Breakdown" in each of the issues. In these columns as in his radio show he commented on various Newfoundland musicians, songs, records and festivals. Murray described these columns as: ". . . a collection of musical odds and ends that sets out to reproduce in print the spirit of the "Jigs Dinner" show ("Newfoundland Breakdown: Fine Recordings of Local Music" 25). He also encouraged people to send him songs and poems related to the Newfoundland fishery and presented them in some of his "Newfoundland Breakdown" columns ("Newfoundland Breakdown: 'You Can Trip Over Windfalls Too'" 25). Neil Murray, who died in 1988, was considered by many revivalists to have played a central role in the preserving and reviving of Newfoundland music and culture through his various articles and radio program.

The urban folksong revival which started in the 1970s still continues to this day and is now well established. The efforts of Neil Murray and other folksong revivalists did contribute to a renewal of interest among Newfoundlanders in Newfoundland traditional music, particularly in the 1980s, which was reflected in the success of Murray's show and the increase of folk festivals around the island. Nevertheless, ironically, the urban revivalists who chose to celebrate rural traditional music as a symbol of Newfoundland's unique culture were not very

popular in rural Newfoundland. They were not very popular in rural Newfoundland because they had adapted Newfoundland music to urban aesthetics and as a result many rural Newfoundlanders could not really identify with the revivalists' music. There are many trends of music which lay claim to Newfoundland tradition but many urban revivalists of the 70s, like most of the Figgy Duff members and ex-members, could not relate to some of them. They could not identify with Newfoundland country music or Irish American revival music because they did not fit into their own aesthetics. The urban revivalists of the 70s find Newfoundland country music to be simple and uninteresting. For this reason they cannot appreciate Simani even if they are aware of the group's great impact on the rural audiences in terms of preserving and reviving Newfoundland traditions. Another reason for the urban revivalists' dislike of Newfoundland country music bands like Simani is that the urban revivalists do not have any control on them and did not play any role in constructing the cultural representation of Simani's music. Many outport Newfoundlanders on the other hand identify themselves with music which speaks directly to them such as Simani's music and lyrics.

CHAPTER IV. THE ROLE OF FIGGY DUFF IN THE NEWFOUNDLAND FOLKSONG REVIVAL

Figgy Duff's decision to revive Newfoundland traditional songs was an expression of a nativist ideology. They wanted to communicate a certain image of Newfoundland and its culture by reviving Newfoundland traditional songs and adapting them to a contemporary sound. This chapter will examine the ideology underlying Figgy Duff's decision to revive and perform Newfoundland traditional songs. Not all the members and ex-members of the band were exponents of a nativist ideology to the same extent. Noel Dinn, Phil Dinn, Pamela Morgan, Anita Best, Kelly Russell were the most inspired by the nativist ideology of the Cultural Renaissance. Dave Panting also became influenced by this ideology, since as part of the group he was also involved in accomplishing its mission. The other Figgy Duff members or ex-members were not as directly influenced or inspired by this nativist ideology.

These particular Figgy Duff members, like the other revivalists, tended to romanticize and idealize Newfoundland folk culture and rural life. Their idealized view of rural Newfoundland was intertwined with the way they perceived this culture to be endangered. They themselves talk about their views of Newfoundland rural culture as being a response to the perceived threat of destruction of Newfoundland rural life by urbanization. This idealization of Newfoundland rural culture and rejection of North American urban mass culture is reflected in Pamela Morgan's view:

> . . . and like the whole resettlement thing, like people being booted out of their handmade little garden of Eden there that they had, you know houses that they built their own selves, gardens where they grew their own fruit, fishing out in the bay . . . their all beautiful self-sufficient way of life that people were trying to destroy, you know, by uprooting them, promising them these things like you know . . . you're just going to be like a mainlander, now, you're going to be able to go to the office and this and that and all this kind of crap. I mean people weren't, I think they've always realized the value of their own culture especially the older people, but like the younger people they were

> brainwashed into thinking this is not the way it should be, this is old fashioned, lesser than what everybody else has, you should value money . . . . I mean like the people shouldn't be made to believe that their whole way of life and their whole culture is inferior because in fact it is something that is invaluable and a lot of people, they don't have it and they've let go and gone in search of the all mighty dollar and what do they have? I mean nothing (Tape no 2.2).

In this comment rural values are depicted as the real and pure values which are: simplicity of life, self-sufficiency, cultural autonomy, and living close to nature. On the other hand urban values are presented as false values: money, progress, the absorption of everybody into an anonymous stream, confinement and living and working far from the land. Real and pure values refer to natural values like living off the land and sea, off the things that are in nature. False values on the other hand refer to values which have been totally fabricated by mankind, like money, confinement and office work. Urban culture represents alienation and uprootness, whereas rural culture represents closeness to one's roots and the leading of a pure life. The rural values are described as fulfilling, the urban values are depicted as only bringing emptiness: the "garden of Eden" bringing fulfillment because people have made it with their own hands and sweat, versus working in an office which only brings "the mighty dollar". Morgan idealizes working with hands, which implies working-class values, whereas she rejects working in an office, which implies middle-class values. In other terms she rejects the urban middle-class values she was used to.

According to Morgan and the other nativists, mainland Canada after Confederation was threatening to destroy this "beautiful" Newfoundland rural way of life in favor of the urbanized and industrialized modern world. Morgan implies that this rural way of life, which mainland Canada supposedly thought to be inferior, was in reality, much superior because it was a real and pure way of life which in the rest of Canada had been replaced by false urban values.

This idealistic view of rural Newfoundland as being the "real Newfoundland", and the view that everyone else was demonic, is also reflected in Kelly Russell's following comment:

> . . . to me the real Newfoundland is out there. It is not so much to be found in the city around here although this is Newfoundland, you know, but in my mind it's the outport where I didn't grow up but would prefer to live, it's being able to go out on a boat, it's fish, it's people helping people, a society of people working together, working hard, playing hard, getting the most out of life taking only what you need, it's the attitude I think of the people no matter how times get uh it's still a good life, let's enjoy it and the way of dealing with it, with a certain of humor, you know being able to sing about a tragedy . . . (Tape no 4.1).

Rural Newfoundland is idealized as a place where people work hard and might be poor and go through various hardships but are still happy. They are happy because they lead a simple life. They enjoy simple pleasures: they provide their own entertainment, they can go on a boat. Nature is there to provide them with what they need, like the "garden of Eden" in Morgan's quote. Here as well the idea that rural people make their own culture is also implied. The outport is presented as a place where people live in solidarity, where everybody knows each other and helps each other. Like Morgan, Russell emphasizes and idealizes the positive aspects of rural Newfoundland. Even if he recognizes that rural Newfoundlanders have sometimes had a hard life, he emphasizes the purity and realness of outport life and rural people's closeness to nature and to their "roots".

Figgy Duff also idealized the traditional music played in the outports as being the real music, Noel Dinn, for instance comments, in an article:

> The music has its own wildness, a sort of hybrid vigor . . . and the people are like that too. You meet some of these old fishermen, guys in their 70s, and they've got energy to burn, all quite mad and musical . . . When you get out to the coast, to the fishing villages, that's where you'll hear the real stuff. You can still run into some magical evenings from time to time (qtd. in Alarik).

Newfoundland traditional music, as the real Newfoundland music, is seen as representing the realness of Newfoundland culture. Traditional music, as part of rural culture, is seen as real because it is also considered to be part of a natural process. In Dinn's quote traditional music is perceived as a metaphor for rural Newfoundlanders. The music represents what people are, the energy and vigor of the music represents the energy of the people. Like Russell, Dinn also implies that rural people know how to enjoy themselves simply. Even if they worked

hard all their lives they are still full of life when they are old. "Magical evenings" refers to house parties in the outports where people play music. The three comments discussed also reflect a fascination and respect for the "folk" who make their own culture, live directly from nature, play their own music, and enjoy simple pleasures. This fascination with the "folk" is also expressed by Phil Dinn:

> . . . it's amazing to think that people are out there and they just live the way they live but they know the things they know, I'm just amazed by that, even to this very day . . . (Tape no 7.1).

Figgy Duff, like other urban nativists of the 1970s, viewed Newfoundland rural culture as being in danger of disappearing as the result of resettlement, modernization, urbanization and the absorption of Newfoundland into the North American mass culture. They perceived that this rural culture, which they saw as very valuable, was not only rejected by mainland Canada but also by Newfoundlanders themselves. Several of my informants express the idea that Newfoundlanders had been suffering from an inferiority complex because they had been taught by first the British and then mainlanders that they were inferior. Pamela Morgan's statement reflects this point of view:

> . . . when the main oppressors of your culture have been mainlanders coming in, like teachers, and telling kids that they don't talk right, when that's the way their parents talk, they grew up with this whole inferiority complex, you know like I don't talk right, it's the way my parents talk therefore they're not talking right, so they must be stunned, and that's the whole mentality that was breeding Newfoundlanders for years and years . . . . English people coming here and getting the best jobs because they have an English accent, not because they're more qualified for the jobs but because of the whole colonial mentality, you know mainlanders coming in and looking down their noses at Newfoundlanders . . . (Tape no 2.1).

Other Figgy Duff members interviewed also emphasize Newfoundland dialects or accents as being used by outside forces to stigmatize Newfoundland rural culture. The "oppressors" of Newfoundland culture are seen as being outside urban elites who wanted to impose their own ways of speaking, and by extension, their whole way of life on Newfoundlanders, because they considered Newfoundlanders to be inferior. Morgan describes this oppression as having been maintained through the conditioning of young Newfoundlanders, teaching

them at school to reject and feel ashamed of their own culture and own parents by telling them they didn't "talk right".

Figgy Duff perceived that mainland Canada was, in the name of progress, trying to absorb Newfoundland and its culture into the North American mass culture and that because many Newfoundlanders were ashamed of their own culture they were willing to become like "mainlanders". For instance Kelly Russell argues:

> . . . One of the strongest differences about Newfoundland people is that they've lived through uh situations and through times and dealt with circumstances that are unique to this particular area of the world . . . in Newfoundland it's the coastal living, the environment, the weather . . . the climate, the fog, uh the isolation . . . it's a way of life that has died out in a lot of places, that hasn't completely died out here because we're so much later in coming into the modern age, and some places it still hasn't happened you know, there are places that don't have telephones. In the western developed world, I think Newfoundland is probably one of the last places to come into this sort of modern age, and when you do enter the modern age it's a white wash . . . you just become like everybody else through the media and that. Newfoundland has maintained that difference, we still have a different accent than the rest of the country . . . because that sort of thing stayed with us longer than it has in other places. There's still that kind of hardship in certain parts of Newfoundland where people are, it's a whole different breed of people, there's only a few left . . . . there was a whole period, the whole Smallwood era was an attempt to change Newfoundland, to make Newfoundland something that it wasn't and that kind of attitude, politically and educationally and the kind of entertainment that uh people were subjected to had a tremendous influence . . . and people responded to it to the point that they rejected what actually was theirs (Tape no 4.1).

Here Russell is stating that the particular geographic and economic conditions to which Newfoundlanders have had to adapt over the years have made them different from people in other parts of Canada. After Confederation this difference and uniqueness, which were the product of Newfoundland's geography and past, were being threatened with disappearance. Russell implies that the entrance into the "modern age", like the absorption of Newfoundland into North America mass culture, would mean the loss of a community's identity and particular character. It would also mean a world where everybody speaks in the same way and everybody listens to the same music. We notice that, here again, "accents" are emphasized as a distinguishing trait of Newfoundland rural culture.

On the other hand, he implies that rural Newfoundlanders who had stayed away from progress had kept a way of life distinct from the North American culture: they spoke differently, they had a distinct music and had kept their own traditions. Russell stresses the fact that Newfoundlanders are a "different breed", and because they are a race apart they have preserved what others have left behind in order to enter the "modern age". Russell is also speaking here against Smallwood, and the many Newfoundlanders who followed him at the expense of their own culture.

Figgy Duff, as the other urban revivalists, felt that Newfoundland music as part of Newfoundland culture was threatened of disappearing in favor of North American music. Kelly Russell points out:

> . . . most of us are children of uh Newfoundland's entry into the modern age and Newfoundland's rejection of its past in favor of the better life of the modern age tremendously influenced by America, country and western music, rock and roll music, uh the American culture that started to come in on the TV screen, on the radio in the 50s and 60s, it's the whole rejection of things that were locals . . . it was considered to be inferior. . . (Tape no 4.1).

According to Figgy Duff Newfoundlanders had rejected their own music, as any other indigenous cultural aspects which they considered to be inferior, in order to enter the world of progress. Some members of Figgy Duff felt that Newfoundland music was threatened with being lost in favor of Am. .can music, as the whole Newfoundland culture was threatened with being lost. They also felt that, as urbanization and modernization would make Newfoundland become like any other place in North America, Newfoundland music would also disappear in favor of popular music. Jamie Snider talks about the loss of sense of place as the result of urbanization, which he sees as being reflected in modern popular music:

> . . . the world moves so fast now that uh music on the radio now is city music, it's cosmopolitan music. Music is very superficial . . . in a sense that it has no attachment to a place, it's just like the strip you see in every modern city, the parking lots and car washes and g' ..ges and used cars, there are all the same. You can go to Chicago and go to that area and it'd be the same as that area in Toronto and in Kenmount Road in St. John's, Newfoundland, and the music is like that, very little sense of place in it . . . (Tape no 15).

Here again music is seen as a symbol for culture. Anita Best argues that: " . . . if

you spend a long time listening to music that's played by other people you begin to forget that you have music yourself" (Tape no 8.2). Figgy Duff and the other nativists thought that people would soon forget having any culture of their own, including music, if something was not done to prevent this acculturation.

Most of the Figgy Duff members interviewed agreed that through preserving and reviving traditional songs they were idealizing and romanticizing an image of rural Newfoundland in the past, but that it was necessary in order to accomplish their mission. Anita Best explains:

> . . . I don't think we were aware of it to the same degree as I would say now . . . but at the time we would have wanted to idealize a past in which Newfoundlanders felt more proud of themselves, and it was our view that in the past Newfoundlanders stood for something in the world and they were proud of themselves, and now they were ashamed of themselves, and we preferred to think of Newfoundlanders in that romantic way . . . it was a way in which we wished that people still looked at themselves, people who were proud to be who they were and do whatever they did, and the golden age sort of Newfoundland, which in itself was a flawed perception from a point of view, but that was what we were looking to get back, the self-respect that people lost . . . and if we could remind them of a time when they had self-respect of a people, then that's what we wanted to do. So, in fact, yes we were glorifying the past for that reason . . . people were ashamed of themselves and that was unsupportable, we couldn't support that as young people, we didn't want to be ashamed of who we were, and I think that was a large reason why all that crowd of Newfoundlanders started to do what they started to do, the painters, the writers, I think that's what sparked the movement . . . we wanted to feel proud and strong and just as good as everybody else (Tape no 8.1).

This statement holds that, because the young generation of urban artists in the 1970s had grown up influenced by the North American culture, listening to North American music, and reading books written by North American authors, they did not really know what Newfoundland culture was. According to them the only thing they knew about Newfoundland culture was that they ought to feel ashamed of it.

As a reaction to the various development processes started after Confederation by mainland Canada, such as the resettlement program, industrialization, and modernization, a sense of rootlessness grew stronger among these young urban artists. They felt the need to construct a positive identity. This need existed on two levels: first, on a personal level some of the

Figgy Duff members wanted to find themselves by searching for a regional identity that they could be a part of; on a second level they wanted to make all Newfoundlanders discover their identity and be proud of their own culture.

First, on a personal level these Figgy Duff members chose to search for their own identity by rediscovering their "roots" which they saw as being in rural Newfoundland, close to nature. Pam Morgan comments:

> . . . I think the whole world could do with getting closer to the land, I think people are too far away from it, too far away from nature, surrounded by concrete, and that I think it's made people crazy. In order to keep your sanity you've got to be close to the land, have some contact with nature . . . (Tape no 2.3).

Morgan expresses what a lot of young urban people felt at the time, not only in Newfoundland but wherever industrialization and urbanization were distancing people from nature. Again this comment brings us back to an idealized image of rural life: living closer to nature would make the world better. A few Figgy Duff members and ex-members, such as Kelly Russell, Anita Best and Derek Pelley, tried to discover their roots by going to live around the bay, but on the whole the Figgy Duff members chose to rediscover their roots by collecting, reviving and performing songs.

Several Figgy Duff members felt the need to establish connections between themselves and rural Newfoundland culture, saying that even though they had grown up far away from this rural culture and did not really know it, it was a part of them. In the same way they claimed that Newfoundland traditional music was also a part of them, even if most of them did not come from a background with traditional music in it. They felt that traditional music was within them because it was in their blood, or to use Phil Dinn's terms it was "a genetic thing" (Tape 7.1). This "genetic thing" is used as a justification which connects the musical form to the performer. Even though most of them were urban, and were from a non-traditional music background, they felt that traditional music was part of them, and therefore that it was a birth-right for them to play this music. They claimed that this rural culture and traditional music heritage were their "roots" from which

they had been disconnected at one point, and they now felt a desperate need to rediscover them, to reestablish a connection with these "roots". For instance both Noel and Phil Dinn, who are from a rock 'n' roll and blues background, emphasize that traditional music is in their blood as much as rock 'n' roll and blues because their father played the fiddle. In the same way Kelly Russell says ". . . my father came from Coley's Point, Conception Bay, and there was that in me . . ." (Tape no 4.1). Ted Russell was actually a minister in Smallwood's cabinet for a while, but Kelly chooses to emphasize his father's birth-place because he needs to establish the "genetic" connection between himself and rural Newfoundland. Again, he feels that his traditional roots are part of him even if he did not grow up in rural Newfoundland.

Pam Morgan, who is from a classical music background, makes the connection between her interest in Newfoundland traditional songs and the old ballads that her father used to sing when she was very young, although she had not really paid attention to them until later on:

> . . . we used to go camping and stuff in the summer times, and my father is totally tone deaf, he can't sing a note . . . and my mother is not a Newfoundlander, she is from Nova Scotia, but my father would be singing all these old ballads, but he didn't have any music in him, it was just the words and stuff, but then I made the connection you know when I got in high school . . . all the songs he used to sing . . . they sort of made sense to me then . . . (Tape no 2.1).

Pam Morgan inherited her musical abilities from her mother, but her mother being classically trained and not a Newfoundlander, Morgan could only connect herself to Newfoundland traditional songs and Newfoundland rural culture through her father. She stresses the fact that her father was not musical, but because he was a Newfoundlander and sang Newfoundland traditional songs, she feels that this is part of her traditional heritage. It is only when she was in high school, and that, inspired by Ches Skinner, she began to take an interest in Newfoundland traditional songs, that she "made the connection" as she needed then to establish this link between the songs and rural life and herself. In the same way, Pam Morgan mentions in an article in *The Sunday Express*, "I grew

up in the woods in Grand Falls" (Kathleen Winter, "Pam Morgan: Hearing Music"). Grand Falls is a town, and Morgan is from a middle-class family and obviously did not "grow up in the woods" but in her need to be connected with outport Newfoundland, where she perceives the "real", "pure" life to be, where her "roots" are, she makes it sound as if she had grown up in nature.

Jamie Snider, who grew up in a town in Ontario, connected himself with the traditional music and rural culture of the Ottawa Valley in a very similar way:

> . . . something that had a big effect on me as a musician is the fact that, from an early age, I used to spend my summers . . . on my grand-parents' farm, and they had dances at the community hall every Saturday night, and the band would be fiddle, piano and maybe a drummer and a square dance caller, and people would be square dancing all night long, very little rock 'n' roll or pop music or anything like that, that's the very first live music I've ever heard was fiddle music, and I think that was always in the background, and I just forgot about it for a good few years . . . (Tape no 15).

Here Snider establishes a connection between himself and traditional culture and music through his grand-parents, who lived in a rural area. Even though he did not grow up in the country, and grew up listening to more rock 'n' roll than fiddle music, he feels that these summers on his grand parents' farm, and the fiddle music he heard at the dances, had a big influence on him. He believes that it was natural for him to learn the fiddle, as it was to be attracted by fiddle music when he was young, because part of him was linked to traditional music and rural culture.

Anita Best also establishes a strong connection with her "roots" in rural Newfoundland, but in her case this connection was made more easily as she and her family were from rural Newfoundland and her family used to sing traditional songs. Her family moved to St. John's when she was only twelve, and as a result she lost touch with her traditional background. Later on she remembered the traditional songs she used to hear when she was young, and, as a means to rediscover and reestablish a connection with her roots, she began to go and learn traditional songs from her relatives.

For these Figgy Duff members, and many other young urban revivalists, their identity was problematic because they felt that they did not have "pure" roots, like Morgan for instance, who is half Nova Scotian, half Newfoundlander. These Figgy Duff members needed to find a positive identity for themselves but on a second level wanted to create this positive identity for all Newfoundlanders. They felt that Newfoundlanders had lost the sense of pride in their culture. They began to look for this identity by turning to Newfoundland rural culture, as they perceived it to be before it became threatened with destruction by outside influences. Figgy Duff chose to emphasize a past which they perceived as a time when people were proud of their own culture, proud of the songs they made, and proud of their work. Noel and Phil Dinn point out that they did not really have a direct political message that they set out to communicate. They started looking for these songs and reviving them for the "love of the music", because they were attracted by these Newfoundland folksongs and wanted to discover rural Newfoundland. However, a nativist message was encoded in their decision to preserve and revive the culture of rural Newfoundland through the revival of traditional songs. All the band members interviewed declared that Figgy Duff wanted to communicate to Newfoundlanders that Newfoundland music was as valuable as North American or any other music, and that they should be proud of it because it was their own. They chose to emphasize the very differences, which, they believed, had made outsiders consider Newfoundlanders to be inferior, to show that these difference were in fact something to be proud of. Anita Best argues when discussing the message communicated by Figgy Duff:

> . . . it was a nationalist message, like this is Newfoundland music, wake up, listen to it, you don't have to listen to American stuff all the time, you don't have to draw your inspirations from outside, this is your own music, that was definitely the point behind it . . . you're made feel inferior to everybody else and so naturally you try to find things that will make you superior and that was our point, or at least take you out of the feeling of inferiority, I mean you can't live feeling than you're less than everybody else . . . (Tape no 8.1).

In order to make the Newfoundlanders stop feeling inferior the members of Figgy Duff selected Newfoundland folk culture as a symbol by reviving traditional music

and emphasizing that Newfoundland's cultural heritage was one of the few which had been maintained as distinct and unique. Their message was also addressed to non-Newfoundlanders, in order to get "Newfoundland recognized as a distinct culture that wasn't to be downthrodden by people who thought they were better than us" (Pamela Morgan, tape no 2.1). They wanted to show mainlanders that they were wrong to laugh at Newfoundlanders, and consider them to be inferior, because Newfoundland culture and music were as valuable as theirs, and in fact even more valuable than theirs, because it was still a rural culture and it was unique. Figgy Duff and the other revivalists emphasized the distinctiveness and richness of Newfoundland's cultural heritage in order to compensate for the economic dependence of Newfoundland. They wanted to show to mainland Canada that Newfoundlanders could do something on their own, and be good at it.

Some revivalists chose to write songs protesting the "oppression" of Newfoundland and the destruction of rural life, but Figgy Duff took a different route as they were primarily interested in the Newfoundland traditional heritage. Pamela Morgan talks about it:

> L: Have you ever thought of expressing these feelings through protest songs, instead of reviving traditional songs?
>
> PM: No, I've never ever sang protest songs, and I never intend to, actually, but they are a couple of political songs in on this album we're putting out now. I never really was a political person as such . . . my contribution to revolution, or a political statement as it were, is trying to bring beauty to people like . . . people recognize beautiful things in the world. I'm not about to get up with a sign and ram things down people's throat, I'd rather the more subtle approach of uh presenting beautiful things . . . make people see beauty and the real things that are important in life. These are things that the folksongs say, like, you know, things of family, like how family is important and your roots are important and love is important . . . folksongs a lot of times deal with the after life . . . death and spiritual things . . . things of the soul, which I consider to be very important, that are too often left behind and if people were more in touch with themselves and their family and their lives and nature, then you know maybe things wouldn't be in such a mess . . . (Tape no 2.2)

"The real things that are important in life" again refer to the values of life in rural Newfoundland in the past, which, according to Figgy Duff, were in danger of

being lost as Newfoundland was entering the modern world. Through traditional songs the band members were trying to rediscover their "roots", but were also suggesting to other people that a whole way of life with important values, such as family and nature, was disappearing. By reviving these songs they were preserving the music that had been handed down for generations, at the same time preserving, through their performance, the values of the rural life of the past in Newfoundland. The songs themselves did not convey a political message, rather they conveyed the uniqueness of the Newfoundland heritage through the uniqueness of the music itself. Dave Panting points out:

> . . . Noel's original idea was that he had faith in the music of Newfoundland, and he felt it was strong music, as strong as any music anywhere and uh somebody should be out there playing it, and that we could get out and show it to the world as well . . . and put the place on the map . . . and it was unique, like it was our own, we were doing something that no one else was doing exactly that . . . (Tape no 5.1).

Other Newfoundland musicians preserved the Newfoundland rural way of life and values through the reviving of Newfoundland traditional music, but Figgy Duff were the first Newfoundland revivalists to adapt these songs to an electrified sound. By doing so they were combining the past with the present. Kelly Russell comments on this combination:

> . . . the band's whole attention in the early years was to find the traditional music in Newfoundland and create a modern sound with it, drawing from the roots, creating contemporary arrangements with that music . . . It hadn't been done before, not in taking the music and making it really contemporary. It was a means of bringing ourselves and who we were out to other people, it's self expression . . . particularly when you're drawing from your roots, your traditional background, in a very direct way, then you're not only expressing yourself, but you're expressing where you come from, you're expressing the people you know, and, I think, that's the focus for me, it's the expression of this place, where my roots are, where my ancestors were . . .
>
> L: But why adapting these traditional songs to non-traditional music then?
>
> KR: I think simply because it is the sound of today . . . I grew up listening to rock music, it's part of me, just as the fact that my father came from Coley's Point, Conception Bay, and there was that in me, there was classical music in me . . . so that if a group of musicians get together that has to be part of their expression because that's part of who they are. I don't think it's so much a sort of planned thing, hey let's take this music and let's apply uh contemporary sounds to it and see what we get, it's . . . a natural way to draw from the past while still expressing the present . . . (Tape no 4.1).

On one hand, Russell mentions what has been discussed before: reviving traditional songs was, for these young urban Newfoundlanders, a way to rediscover their "roots" and express who they were. Again, he considers "drawing from your roots", or "traditional background", to be a "natural" process, as they were genetically connected to their traditional heritage through their ancestors. On the other hand, Russell points out that, because the Figgy Duff members had grown up in an urban context listening to contemporary music such as rock 'n' roll and blues, music had also become part of them. As they were young musicians looking for their identity, and wanted to express this identity through their performance, it was natural for them to bring together what they perceived to be all the various components of their identity. They wanted to think of themselves as connected to the past, to rural life, but without denying that they were urban, educated, young people, who had been strongly influenced by contemporary music during their childhood and adolescence. Dave Panting corroborates this idea:

> . . . I enjoy the rock element, I like playing rock 'n' roll, I grew up playing it and like it, I like amplified guitar, I like the sound of it, I like the feel of playing it, again, it's pretending to be somebody you're not . . . I mean I didn't grow up in a fiddle playing family from Ireland or anything, you know it's just not me . . . (Tape no 5.2).

Kelly Russell points out that combining traditional songs with contemporary sounds came to them "naturally" because both were a part of their identity, in the same way classical music was also part of his identity. Most of the other Figgy Duff members interviewed perceived this combination of traditional and contemporary music as the result of a "natural progression", to use Pam Morgan's terms (Tape 2.1).

The Figgy Duff members react strongly against the "purists" -- usually other folksong revivalists -- who think that folk songs should be sung in the "traditional" style and not by combining modern and traditional instruments. The Figgy Duff members feel that it is totally legitimate for them to combine traditional instruments with modern instruments, because they see folk music as always

changing and the instruments used have also changed over the years. Noel Dinn argues:

> Modern instruments sound alright when they are played in the old style of folk music . . . After all, the violin was only introduced to Irish folk music by the Italians in the 17th century. Today we can do the same thing with guitars (qtd. in Ted Shaw).

Pamela Morgan also expresses the same idea:

> . . . folk music has always used whatever is at hand, you know folk musicians have always adapted to the times . . . you don't pickle the stuff, you don't say "that's so precious I'm not going to touch it", or it would be dead long ago. And people adapted the songs for their own arrangements, for their own circumstance, they'd add verses, they'd take away verses, the songs get changed as they've passed down, people like, a word goes out of people common way of speaking so it becomes obsolete so people put another word that suits their own daily expression, I mean you know the songs have been changing all along, all throughout the years . . . to suit people's present day thing, you know the stuff is not going to die because we put bass and drums with it, because that happens to be the instruments of our times . . . and besides that we're bringing out across, to, like you know, for a while we were playing to rock audiences, blues audiences, just because we were using bass and drums, they wouldn't listen to you if you're gonna put a fiddle or something, unaccompanied voices, you'd never listen to those songs . . . (Tape no 2.1).

Morgan believes that folk music has always adapted to times and people's needs. Both Morgan and Dinn convey the idea that tradition always changes, and that, for instance, the introduction of folk music to certain instruments, now considered to be traditional, can be traced back to only one or two centuries ago. Noel Dinn argues that, "The only way to preserve traditional music is to make it live" (qtd. in Marilyn Duffett, "Figgy Duff: A Living Tradition" 8). This point of view, which is also expressed by Morgan in her previous comment, is shared by the other Figgy Duff members. They felt that Newfoundland traditional music had to be preserved or it would soon be lost, but it had to be performed in order to be "kept alive". They perceived that, in order to be "kept alive", traditional music had to be adapted to the present and modern technology. They did not perceive this modernity as part of the North American modernity they were opposed to in the Newfoundland context. They believed that modern instruments did not take anything away from the traditional music, but, on the contrary, the modern sound

made traditional music available to a wider audience. Noel Dinn even argues that "You can draw more out of a ballad, for instance, by using electric guitars and keyboards" (Ted Shaw, "Figgy Duff -- A Blend").

Although Figgy Duff wanted Newfoundlanders to recognize their music as good Newfoundland music, they did not direct their music primarily to Newfoundland rural audiences, but to urban audiences in and outside of Newfoundland. Because they were urban themselves, and had been influenced by various urban forms of music, they adapted traditional music to urban aesthetics. Figgy Duff's intention was to play "world-class" music, to use Panting's terms, and tried to develop a unique sound of their own through their arrangements of traditional music. They also thought that their music should be "world-class", in order to fit urban aesthetics outside Newfoundland, and to show to people in other places that Newfoundland traditional music could sound as good and be as sophisticated as any music from any other country.

They perceived their approach to the music as being very different from the approach of Newfoundland country music. Figgy Duff rejected Newfoundland country music because they considered it to be corny and uninteresting. Dave Panting talks about it:

> . . . it was a different approach to the music, uh I think we really tried hard to work on a music and make it sound like world-class, really tried hard to work on the arrangements, and also to prove in a way that you didn't have to have a typical sound, I think as much as having a Newfoundland sound. I think the idea was to prove that Newfoundland people were capable of having their own original ideas, and that you didn't have to sound like Joe next door to qualify to be representative of Newfoundland . . . like the whole Newfie idea, it's okay you know, it's a bit of fun but in the end . . . you had people all into one thing . . . (Tape no 5.1).

Panting expresses the opposition between Figgy Duff's music, which he sees as being serious, "world-class music", sounding unique, and "Newfie" music he sees as not being serious, "a bit of fun", all "Newfie" music sounding alike, lacking originality. This idea is shared by the other Figgy Duff members. They saw "Newfie" music as giving a pejorative image of Newfoundlanders, presenting them as stupid and backwards. Figgy Duff wanted to break this stigmatized

image of Newfoundland, which they considered "Newfie" music to be perpetuating.

They also found "Newfie" music uninteresting because it was too simple. The members of Figgy Duff, on the contrary, liked their arrangements to be complex. Anita Best comments:

> . . . people like Harry Hibbs and so on they were doing Newfoundland music, but the problem was that it was not interesting musically, the way it sounded, whereas the type of accompaniment Figgy Duff did was somewhat different, because the music itself was interesting, it was different . . . you know, you talk about what kind of chords would fit, and what the songs meant, and how the music should appear at this point in the song, and how you should change it and make it softer or louder or more dramatic or less dramatic, so we were trying to put music to the songs that would fit the text of the songs (Tape no 8.1).

Best here expresses a point of view shared by most of the other Figgy Duff members: Figgy Duff's music is interesting because the arrangements are thoughtful, precise, complex, whereas "Newfie" music or country and western music, which are both very popular in rural Newfoundland, are uninteresting because they lack all these elements. Figgy Duff thought that traditional music had to be arranged in a certain way in order to be acceptable to their urban aesthetics, and ideas of what music should sound like in order to be interesting. For instance Noel Dinn argues:

> . . . a lot of times too, like especially in fiddle tunes, if people only know like three country and western chords, that's one of the worst thing that happens to traditional music in Newfoundland and other places too . . . the beauty of the tunes don't come out . . . (Tape CBC.2).

Figgy Duff view the texts of traditional songs and melodies as being beautiful by themselves, but if there is to be an accompaniment to the songs they feel it should be done in a way which makes the tune sound beautiful. Dinn says that, on the other hand, when traditional music is played on standard major chord progressions of country and western music it does not bring the beauty of the music out, because the arrangements are too simple. In the same way Dave Panting points out, when talking about the images Figgy Duff conveyed through their music:

> . . . it certainly conveys a sense of beauty . . . especially Pamela's arrangements of ballads and so on, haunting kind of mystical quality that you don't get in a lot of Newfoundland music, it's mostly down to earth country stuff style that you hear, the Duff has this very etherial quality . . . more haunting quality (Tape 5.1).

Here as well Panting argues that Figgy Duff's arrangements bring "beauty" out by making the music sound "mystical". Both Dinn and Panting imply that the choice of instrumentation, and the way arrangements are done when performing traditional music, create a very different sound with different qualities. Anita Best expresses the same idea:

> . . . most people just slap the music on top of the song and the song is gone and it turns into something else entirely . . . a traditional song is a hard thing to accompany . . . you can do it with two chords . . . but you're turning the songs into something regular and boring, but if you carefully accompany a song you can turn it into something really beautiful so that everyone can hear what you hear in it without the music . . . (Tape no 8.1).

Figgy Duff thus rejected the simplicity and banality of the style of "Newfie" music, and in the same way they rejected the songs which had been popularized by these performers, songs from the earlier canon of Doyle like "I'se the B'y", "Star of Logy Bay". As Noel Dinn points out, they did not see the songs themselves as "being necessarily bad songs but they have been played to death" (qtd. in M. T. Kelly). Besides, the band members thought that, because these songs had been popularized in the Newfoundland country music style they had become associated with the "Newfie" stigma, which, according to them, was not giving a serious image of Newfoundlanders. From the beginning Figgy Duff, when collecting songs, were looking for the more unknown and the oldest songs.

Figgy Duff decided to go to rural Newfoundland to collect songs because, first, they were looking for more unknown songs, as they did not want to sing the songs that had been stigmatized as "Newfie" songs, and because they wanted to acquire a unique repertoire; and second, it was, for them, a way of "rediscovering their roots" they felt they had been disconnected with, by discovering rural Newfoundland, traditional music, and traditional singers.

The band looked for older songs because these corresponded to their own aesthetics, and also to their desire to celebrate "the golden age", to use Anita Best's terms, that is a time when "rural Newfoundlanders were proud" of who they were and proud of their culture. Pamela Morgan in particular, who collected most of the songs, preferred really old songs as she explains:

> . . . I really fancy ancient songs 'cause they're just intriguing, you know the way the language was, the things they talk about, the sentiments that are expressed in that . . . (Tape no 2.1).

Finding and performing these "ancient songs" which depicted life in the past, was also a way for the Figgy Duff members to construct a sense of history for themselves and to take pride in this history.

Figgy Duff had started by using folksong collections, but their chance of acquiring a unique repertoire would have been reduced if they had not looked for direct source material. The band members felt that there were still many traditional songs which had not yet been collected, and they wanted to preserve and revive these songs which would otherwise be lost as those who knew them were mainly old people. They also felt that these traditional songs were a natural resource, which had to be preserved before it disappeared. Philip Dinn comments on collecting songs:

> L: Why did you actually go and collect from these people, since you had the collections?
>
> PD: Well, Jesus, you've got somebody like Philip Foley for instance, Philip Foley got maybe four or five songs in the Peacock book but when you go and talk to him, and they see you're interested, it's amazing what happened to their memories, Jesus like those really old songs that are way way back there . . . songs that go back to the 14th, 15th century, I mean talking about issues that happened in them was amazing, those things never got in the Peacock book . . . Philip Foley knew about four hundred songs . . . (Tape no 7.1).

The idea that they could find, preserve, and revive "ancient" songs was very attractive to the Figgy Duff members. To say that these traditional songs "go back to the 14th, 15th century" makes them more mysterious. Dinn believes that the experience of learning these songs directly from the old people was as important as the songs themselves. As in Morgan's comment, we find this fascination for very old songs, as well as for traditional singers, and the fact that they were able to memorize all these songs orally.

This leads to the second reason for Figgy Duff collecting songs: the rediscovery of their "roots", as well as a learning experience. Most of the Figgy Duff members did not really know rural Newfoundland, and did not really know much about Newfoundland traditional music, except from the folksong collections. For all of them going to collect songs was a learning experience. Noel Dinn points out, "I was going and rediscovering Newfoundland . . . it was like a quest, it was so exciting . . ." (Interview with Dinn). In this quote Dinn implies very clearly that he was searching for his "roots" when he says "rediscovering" Newfoundland, as he had never really "discovered" it in the first place. A "quest" means that he was in search of his roots, past, and identity, and that it was more than just learning songs from traditional performers. Dave Panting also comments:

> . . . a lot of it was Noel wanted to go playing, he wanted to get the group on the go and we wanted to go out and find this music . . . it was a very strange frame of mind we were in at the time or at least I thought so, it was totally new to me because I didn't know anything of the island of Newfoundland I grew up on at all, you know I was a city boy from St. John's . . . so the best thing that being in that band did for me is that I got to see the whole island . . . going and finding this music, it was almost out in search of this legend or something . . . it was a very spiritual kind of thing, we were very fanatical about it . . . totally absorbed by this idea . . . (Tape no 5.1).

When Panting says "in search of this legend", as when Dinn talks about "quest", he refers to the Figgy Duff members searching for their "roots", searching for a certain ideal they perceived as being embodied by traditional music. This ideal was that of rural life and values. As discussed above, Figgy Duff had a mission to accomplish, and the first part of this mission was to go and find what they perceived to be "the real music" in the "real Newfoundland", the outports. This part of their mission constituted a need at a personal level, a need to return to their "roots", to find themselves through the discovery of this music. At the same time they combined this personal need with the desire to give back to Newfoundland rural people a sense of pride in their culture. Indeed they travelled around Newfoundland with primary goal to discover and learn the music, but they also played in local clubs or halls. The "gigs" they did around

Newfoundland while collecting songs helped them financially, but all the Figgy Duff members interviewed said that financial success had been secondary to their sense of mission, as Dave Panting explains:

> You'd go community by community, we'd pick a shore . . . and try to hit every community and see what was there, who was there, maybe try to find a little venue, a church hall or whatever, do our little show . . . meet somebody from the community, they might take us to see this person who was a singer and so on, we'd go and sit around this person's house, learn some songs or maybe play for them . . . so we might have a couple of bookings, no money involved, nobody wanted to pay us much, go for the door, we'd do it anyway . . . totally mad in a way, it made no sense at all from a business point of view you know, it was very few bands who would do that, if you'd thought about it now you think you're crazy but at the time we had a mission and the mission was to go out and find the music, learn about the music and learn about Newfoundland in general . . . and that's the price you got to pay I guess . . . (Tape no 2).

Pamela Morgan would be mostly responsible for the collecting of songs, while Kelly Russell, Noel Dinn, Dave Panting would collect instrumental tunes. At times the whole band would go and learn songs and tunes from traditional musicians. This would happen when the whole band ended up at informal gatherings, like house parties, after having played in the local bar or hall. At other times Pamela Morgan would go alone, or sometimes with Noel or Phil Dinn, to collect songs. Very often they would take names of traditional singers they had found in the Peacock collection and would try to book a venue in the community where this person lived. Sometimes they would ask people at the local bar if they knew anybody who sang in the community.

Usually the Figgy Duff members would not arrange to meet people who knew songs and tunes in advance but would just go and see them. They wanted to meet people and learn songs from them in an informal situation, an exchange, a friendship, rather than an interview situation. For this reason they did not contact the person ahead of time. For the same reason Pamela Morgan never used a tape recorder when she learned the songs. Morgan explains:

> . . . I never used a tape recorder ever 'cause I just didn't like the idea of it, plunk the tape recorder down in front of somebody and say "sing", you know, I never liked that . . . I used to learn them [the songs], I'd go back, I'd made friends with the person . . . we would exchange songs for the first part of it and I'd hear a song I really liked and then I'd sing one, and if there were some

> I really wanted to learn I'd go back . . . and there's an advantage with that too because a lot of the time you'd be dealing with people who wouldn't have sung this particular song for so many years, they wouldn't get the tune quite right and they'd say "oh yeah I left out this verse" . . . and "I got it mixed up with another melody", you know, and they would start thinking then, and not only that it would remind them of another song . . . and then you sing one, they'd say "oh that reminds me of this one" . . . that's the way I would do it . . . (Tape no 2.1).

This insistence on establishing a relationship, based on friendship and exchange of knowledge, with the traditional singers has been stressed by the other Figgy Duff members who have collected songs or tunes. Kelly Russell, when collecting tunes, used a tape recorder but, as Morgan, he emphasizes the fact that he tried to establish a relaxed relationship with the traditional musician. The encounter would be based on an exchange of tunes and Russell would make sure that the person was comfortable before turning the tape recorder on (Russell, Tape no 4.2). Noel Dinn also points out: ". . . We sit down and share our music, ideas and eventually friendship. It doesn't work without trust and sincerity. . ." (qtd. in Meeker, "Upbeat: Figgy Duff - Keeping the Music Alive"). 24).

The Figgy Duff members' emphasis on creating an exchange, a friendship, with the traditional singers they met, instead of a cold encounter, where they would have recorded the songs or tunes and left, can be explained by their need to establish a connection with these folk performers. They needed to establish connections between themselves and these rural singers in the same way they needed to connect themselves genetically with rural Newfoundland and traditional music. By creating these informal situations, based on sharing, trust, and friendship, they felt that they were not just urban collectors taking this material away from the rural performers. They actually did not consider themselves as collectors of songs but as "learners of songs", to use Morgan's terms. By creating a bond between themselves and the rural singers they were establishing a continuation between the tradition and their adaption of this tradition to a stage performance and urban aesthetics. In the same way Pamela Morgan would sometimes go back to see people she had collected songs from,

and would show them how she had arranged these songs, asking them for their opinion:

> . . . sometimes I played like two different ways of doing them and say "which one do you like better?" because it's interesting what the singer has in his own mind, I mean even though they don't play an instrument, they don't have a musical training, and people think they're not musical or whatever, they still have an ear . . . a lot of them hear in their head the music behind the song, right, and some of them had very definite ideas of which they liked better, which kind of chord structure better suited the song . . . I'd do that whenever I could because that was very interesting you know the way they perceived the songs . . . (Tape no 2.1).

Here as well giving the traditional singer the right to decide on her arrangements of a song is a way of establishing this connection between herself and the singer who had learned the song from oral tradition. The fact that Morgan chose to memorize the songs orally might also be a way for her to continue the process of oral transmission, by which the traditional singers had learned their songs.

Morgan, Russell, Panting, Phil Dinn all say that they did not have many refusals when going to ask people for songs or tunes. They did encounter suspicion at times, but the fact that they were musicians themselves and not just collectors with tape-recorders made the contact easier. To go back to the point made previously, Phil Dinn argues that they did not encounter many problems with the traditional performers because they tried to create a friendly interaction and exchange instead of just doing interviews, as folklore students would do:

> . . . we had great success at that, and even if we did run into trouble, it was not trouble that people accused us of doing something wrong . . . it was more shyness . . . we used to discuss too at those times how folklore students would come in and things like that, we ran into more opposition as to what they thought the folklore students were doing, their approach was like a cold kind of thing, get the gear and get out . . . all the people we dealt with we had some wonderful relationships with people . . . we were just trying to go about the land and make the thing come to the surface again, we were making no money at all at that . . . (Tape no 7.2).

Other members, as Phil Dinn, emphasize the difference between what they were doing and what archivists or folklore students were doing. They saw what they were doing as being a noble act, as it is implied here: "we were just trying to go about the land and make the thing come to the surface again". It seems that Phil

Dinn as well as the other members' emphasis on the contrast between folklore collectors and themselves implies that they regarded the way they found the music, and their intentions behind taking this music, were more legitimate than what folklore students or archivists were doing, because they were just coldly taking the music and putting it away. They viewed themselves as keeping the music alive, rediscovering their roots by establishing a connection with these "roots", respecting traditional musicians, and being motivated by their love for the music. Noel Dinn expresses the same point of view:

> I've always had a sense of the people when travelling around Newfoundland . . . the whole thing is wrong that we are the collectors and that they are the folk thing, it's not like folklore students putting folksongs in the archive, Jesus we're from Newfoundland and we're carrying on the tradition by keeping the music alive . . . we genuinally love the people, we lived with the people, partied with them, we never used tape recorders, we became friends with them . . . (Interview with Noel Dinn).

Here again Noel Dinn stresses the fact that what they did was not just collecting from the "folk", that they were not urban people looking down on rural people, but on the contrary they learned songs from these performers out of "love" for the "people" and for the music. As Phil, Noel believes that what they did was a noble act because they were not "collectors" taking the songs from the "folk" without establishing a relationship and putting them in an archive like folklore students do, but on the other hand, they were musicians trying to reconnect themselves with their roots and "carrying on" this tradition. Phil and Noel Dinn emphasize all these noble motives and even insist on the fact that they "were not making any money out of it", but they leave out the fact that they were also trying to make a living out of learning these songs as a professional band.

Among the traditional singers from whom Pam Morgan collected songs were: John Joe English, Paddy Judge and Joe Campbell from Branch, Jack and Ellen Carroll from Stephenville, Josephine Costard and Madame Dubet from the Port Au Port Peninsula, Mose Harris from Bonavista Bay, and Philip Foley from Fogo Island. The members of Figgy Duff also brought some of these traditional singers to perform on stage with them, mainly in front of urban audiences when

they were playing in bars or concert venues or at folk festivals, mostly in St. John's. Their reason for doing this was again, motivated by their need to create continuity between the traditional singers and themselves. They wanted to show this continuity to their audiences. They also wanted to share their fascination for these old traditional singers with other urban people. The traditional performer would sing a song on stage without accompaniment, and then Figgy Duff would perform the same song. This was a way to show to people that they had not changed either the melody or the lyrics of the songs but that only the arrangements were new. It was then a way to show that they were faithful to the traditional material. At the same time, they were establishing a connection between the song, as learned in tradition and performed in a traditional style, and their own style of performing. Among the traditional singers they brought on stage to perform were Josephine Costard and John Joe English. Figgy Duff also played now and then with fiddler Rufus Guinchard but more particularly with fiddler Emile Benoit. The band also learned many tunes from these two traditional fiddlers. Among the Figgy Duff ex-members and members interviewed only Dave Panting did not really approve traditional singers performing on stage, as he explains:

> . . . I was never actually in favor, where you have older people singing at outdoors festivals and stuff, it's all very well, but I find . . . the beauty doesn't translate to stage, it's not meant to be . . . it's good when you're in the kitchen with the person . . . because it's for a different purpose, it's not for the purpose of being up in front of people with a big P.A. system and stuff, it's not what it's about, it's not where it came from, uh a lot of the things is people taking turns in small situations like that, everybody has their turn, doesn't matter if they're good singer or not, and the people share the memory that these songs evoke, they have the connections to the person and to the family and there's all that stuff, that you totally lose when an older person who doesn't have a great voice tries to get up in front of two thousand people and sing through a large P.A system . . . it's not that they don't have the right to get up, they do but I just find that a lot of the time people don't get it, they just get turned off, they say "Oh, you know he can't sing" (Tape no 5.2).

Figgy Duff stands as representative of Newfoundland culture outside the province. Most of the band members and ex-members interviewed claims that Figgy Duff represents Newfoundland culture or at least certain aspects of it. Noel

Dinn, after having first said that "nobody can represent Newfoundland culture that's ridiculous", then claimed that "in a sense we are representing Newfoundland culture, we are doing the best we can . . . we try to keep the style and emotion in the songs . . ." (Interview with Dinn). Once more Dinn believes that by establishing a continuity with the rural performers through music, by carrying on the tradition, by having learned it directly from people, by deciding not to change the songs themselves, and by even trying to keep "the style and emotion" in the songs, they are representing Newfoundland culture.

Pam Morgan argues:

> It [Figgy Duff] represents a certain aspect of Newfoundland culture yeah, hum, there are people who think that uh we don't really do Newfoundland music like Simani does Newfoundland music, but we don't do Newfoundland music. Now I agree, Simani does Newfoundland music, and they do the kind of Newfoundland music that most Newfoundlanders want to hear, and that's fine, that's perfectly valid, but likewise our music is perfectly valid as well, I mean it's not the kind of music that makes, you know, people go stomping in a bar . . . but it still is representative about the place and the culture and the province you know. A lot of people have said that we were mainland Newfoundland music . . . because they don't understand the musical form of it . . . I don't want to sound snobbish either, but like it's not the kind of music that everybody would listen to in a bar, like you've got to be really interested in music for example. It is musician's music, or music lover's music, not homesick beer drinking music . . . it's presented like in a musical way and a great care and attention, and the counter melodies, and the instrumentation, and the orchestration and everything. I mean, you know, it's not your everyday sort of bar, accordion, bass and drums and country and western chords kind of music. But you know there's a place for all different kinds and all representation of Newfoundland music. (Tape no 2.4).

Morgan believes that Figgy Duff's music is representative of Newfoundland and its culture because it is music that they have taken from Newfoundland tradition. Morgan implies here that, even though Figgy Duff are from an urban background, playing mostly for urban audiences outside Newfoundland, and even though they have combined traditional music with contemporary music, their music is still representative of Newfoundland culture. Morgan argues that, because the songs in their repertoire have been handed down through several generations of Newfoundlanders, and most of them depict life in rural Newfoundland, they are representative of Newfoundland rural culture. The fact that Figgy Duff was said

to be "mainland Newfoundland music", is according to her, because people, in rural Newfoundland in particular, did not understand Figgy Duff's approach to the music, which was very different from the Newfoundland country music approach. Here again Morgan contrasts the two musical approaches. On one hand Newfoundland country music is "homesick beer drinking music", which means that it is not serious and complex music, it is just dance music, it uses simple chord structures and only basic instrumentation. On the other hand Figgy Duff's music is "musician's music or music lover's music", which means that it is a serious, complex music which can only be appreciated by people listening to the music and not by people who just want to "stomp" in a bar. She implies that music does not need to be Newfoundland country to be representative of Newfoundland and even though Figgy Duff's music is not popular among the majority of Newfoundlanders, it is still Newfoundland music. Dave Panting also stipulates that "Newfie" music is no more Newfoundland music than Figgy Duff's music. As Morgan he stresses that not every form of music can please everybody, and it does not have to either because there is as much a place for various forms of musical expression in Newfoundland as anywhere else (Panting, tape no 5.1).

Several other band members interviewed believe that Figgy Duff, through their revival of Newfoundland traditional songs, represent Newfoundland culture as well as Simani or other Newfoundland country music groups do, in spite of the fact that these groups are more popular than Figgy Duff among rural Newfoundland audiences. Bruce Crummell shares this point of view:

> L: Do you think that Figgy Duff represents Newfoundland culture?
>
> BC: I would say yes, not in a popular way but uh in a real way I would say yes . . . not in a popular way because you don't hear the uh regular songs that you usually hear around Newfoundland . . . like "I'se The B'y that Builds the Boat" . . . Figgy Duff kind of went after the uh, the ballads . . . songs that are there but they don't get upfront as much, you know, but great songs . . .(Tape no 3).

Crummell seems to imply that Figgy Duff's music is "real" because they revived old Newfoundland ballads and not songs which had been commercialized, like

"I'se the B'y". He also implies, as several other band members have, that these songs from the Doyle canon, and which were urban sing-alongs during Doyle's times, do not represent a serious image of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders. Songs like "I'se the B'y" are more popular than the old ballads sung by Figgy Duff but, according to Crummell, the old ballads are more "real" because they give a serious representation of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders.

In the same way Anita Best argues:

> . . . I think it [Figgy Duff] represents, it comes from a certain branch of the Newfoundland culture, not the same branch that Simani represents, but they represent an aspect of Newfoundland life quite as authentically as Simani does.
>
> L: So what aspects do you think they represent?
>
> AB: They're products of their own generation and they're all musically influenced by their own musical environment (Tape no 8.2).

As Morgan, Best thinks that Figgy Duff and Simani have taken different approaches to the music, and different musical forms of expression, because they come from different backgrounds and have been influenced by different musical styles; therefore they represent different aspects of Newfoundland music. Best thinks that the Newfoundland traditional songs Figgy Duff sing "authentically" represent some aspects of life in Newfoundland, and, consequently, Figgy Duff's music is as "authentically" representative of Newfoundland as Simani's.

Other musicians who have played with Figgy Duff, like George Morgan, Sandy Morris, Neil Bishop, think that the band represents Newfoundland culture musically because they play Newfoundland music and are Newfoundlanders. Neil Bishop also argues that Figgy Duff represents various aspects of Newfoundland culture through the different origins of the songs they sing:

> I think that Figgy Duff does a pretty good representation of Newfoundland culture, uh they haven't stuck to the Irish English thing totally, they've spent an enormous amount of time uh on the West Coast of the Island with Emile Benoit and they've taken a lot of that French culture also, which is really good. You know I live here, and I see a lot of this culture, and they've taken that and incorporated that, so they really haven't sort of stuck into one small field of the Newfoundland tradition which is great. So I think they're representing quite a vast majority of the cultures in Newfoundland, of course there are so many

> from different places, and of course the isolation over the years uh certainly has had its own effect on the certain cultures and the certain traditions that were passed onto Newfoundland or that Newfoundland brought here from away . . . (Tape no 12).

Bishop's point of view is that, by taking songs coming from the various traditions that are to be found in Newfoundland, Figgy Duff gives a representation of all these different traditions and is thus representative of Newfoundland culture.

Phil Dinn agrees with most of the other members that Figgy Duff does represent Newfoundland culture through their music, even though they combine Newfoundland traditional music with contemporary music and modern instruments. He argues that taking these modern influences and applying them to Newfoundland traditional music does not make their music less representative of Newfoundland as music always evolves. Frank Maher, on the other hand, claims that the "old stuff" represents Newfoundland culture, as opposed to the "new stuff" (Tape no 6). He means that the traditional songs and tunes Figgy Duff perform represent Newfoundland culture, but the rock side does not.

Kelly Russell, like Morgan and Best, thinks that Figgy Duff represents certain aspects of Newfoundland culture through the songs themselves which "speak volumes about the people" (Tape no 4.2). Nevertheless, he argues that representing a culture is "too broad a statement for a band", and that there are many aspects of Newfoundland culture that they do not "touch on" (Tape no 4.2). Dave Panting agrees with Morgan on the fact that Figgy Duff's music was as representative of Newfoundland as Newfoundland country music, but he shares Russell's point of view in that many aspects of the culture are not represented by Figgy Duff. Panting goes even further and argues that a band cannot really represent a culture:

> To be perfectly honest I don't think that any band can claim to represent the culture of a place, I've always found that a fallacy . . . that's one thing I've learned over the years . . . personally I feel I don't speak for Newfoundland in my music, I don't think you can do it, sometimes the message that Figgy Duff projects is spot on . . . sometimes it's off base, it doesn't really represent anything in particular, sometimes it represents the personalities of the band . . . you do what you're happy with yourself you know . . . and also you're in the entertainment business . . . if you're in the entertainment business . . . if you're

> in a band that's been together for ten or fifteen years, that's a business, now there is a whole other side . . . (Tape no 5.1).

Unlike most of the other members interviewed, Panting calls attention to the business side of running a band -- trying to make a living, to succeed both financially and artistically -- he stresses that this particular "side" cannot be ignored. Jamie Snider, as Panting and Russell, does not think that Figgy Duff represents the whole Newfoundland culture. He argues that there are many different musical forms in Newfoundland, and Figgy Duff only represents one of them. Besides, he sees them as representing more the dark side of Newfoundland through their music, as he explains:

> . . . the Duff seem to go for the darker side, the more somber side, and that's only half of the story, and that's the one thing about the band that if I was to find fault with them, I think they only tell half of the story. They seem to go for the sad stuff, the murder ballads and all the jigs and reels in the minor keys, geez that's not even half of the story. Most traditional music is happy, the dances and everything it's energy, it's the energy of people in a new land finding their freedom, finding their place you know, uh I think the Duff have taken some of the city intellectual . . . you know they see a reflection of their own rootlessness sometimes I think in some of the Newfoundland music, they seek that out, it's the reflection of their own selves and it's not really a reflection of Newfoundland, or one side of Newfoundland yeah for sure . . . they're probably more representative of St. John's than they are of Newfoundland, but in a sense they represent Newfoundland culture too because rock 'n' roll is part of Newfoundland now as are the jigs and reels and the ballads . . . (Tape no 15).

Snider implies that some of the Figgy Duff members' "rootlessness" and problematic identity is reflected, not only in the songs they choose to perform, but also in the way they arrange and perform these songs. Snider also states that Figgy Duff's need for "mystery" and "mysticality" in the music is a reflection of their "rootlessness". They find traditional songs, particularly "ancient" songs, very attractive to them because they find these songs more mysterious than the recently composed ones. They find the past, especially the distant past, intriguing and "mysterious". They felt that their personal histories with the places where they grew up were not intriguing enough, so that they needed to construct for themselves an "intriguing" and mysterious past through the songs themselves and their own arrangements of the songs. Their need for mystery made them

look for songs which presented "the darker side", like sad and slow ballads, but even when the songs or instrumentals were not sad in themselves Figgy Duff still arranged them in a way to make them sound mysterious and somber -- by, for instance, arranging the jigs and reels in minor keys.

Derek Pelley, as Snider, argues that the Figgy Duff members represent more St. John's culture than rural culture:

> . . . I've always had a bit of problem with Figgy Duff and CODCO in that it's been pretty well based in St. John's and consequently it has that sort of philosophy and uh, sort of almost the Irish mentality, in a lot of ways I've often thought that they hadn't had much relation to what has been really going on in Newfoundland, in the outports . . . I do have that feeling that they were almost imposing the way of playing and thinking about things on rural audiences . . . I was very familiar with rural Newfoundland . . . and the people from Figgy Duff weren't, they were townies except from Pamela who is from Grand Falls, another town, and, you know, I've always had that feeling that there was something there that wasn't quite clicking . . . (Tape no 16).

Pelley talks here about the dichotomy between Figgy Duff and the rural audiences. The Figgy Duff members were urban idealists trying to find themselves through traditional Newfoundland music which they saw as a symbol for the culture. Pelley feels that the rural audiences could not understand this "quest" because this need did not correspond to the experience of rural people.

All the band members and ex-members interviewed think that Figgy Duff has played a major role in the Newfoundland folksong revival, and has had a major impact on different levels. They believe that the band has succeeded in preserving and reviving Newfoundland culture and music, which would have otherwise disappeared. They also feel that Figgy Duff has made people outside Newfoundland realize that Newfoundland music could be as good as any other, and made Newfoundlanders, especially the younger generation, aware that Newfoundland music was as valuable as North American, or any other, music. Pamela Morgan talks about Figgy Duff's role in raising people's awareness of Newfoundland music and culture outside Newfoundland:

> Well, I think that we had a big role in the revival of traditional music here, I don't like to brag or boast or anything but I don't know if anybody has worked [laughs] any harder at it . . . I've really devoted most of my life to it, you know to uh preserve, not preserving, but like to perpetuating it, and making it come

> to life, and bringing out for the people to see them . . . we've done tours you know everywhere, like all across Canada and the U.S. and U.K. and everything . . . I've done all I can basically to do it, and I think that Figgy Duff, well I mean Noel deserves a lot of credit for it too, he's devoted his whole life to it as well . . . oh yeah we've done a lot . . . more than everybody realizes it . . . People hadn't heard of the place most of the time, but if they had like you know, well actually this whole thing of . . . Newfie jokes sort of bullshit stuff is mostly a Canadian thing, in the United States they don't even know where Newfoundland is [laughs] (Tape no 2.1).

Morgan believes that by taking Newfoundland traditional music, and presenting it to mainland Canadian audiences, they have showed that Newfoundland music and culture was as valuable as theirs. She also implies that by performing in other countries they have made people aware of Newfoundland's existence and aware of the Newfoundland music and cultural heritage.

Most of the other Figgy Duff members also regard the band as having changed the views people had outside Newfoundland, as well as Newfoundlanders' views on their own music. For instance, Dave Panting points out:

> Oh yeah, they see something different in it, they can say "oh you guys have this music down there, I didn't realize" . . . a lot of people don't care of course but uh the ones that would come out to see us, they'd get the taste of one side of Newfoundland anyway . . . I think gradually over a fifteen year period the band has uh, it's in the musical consciousness of the country . . . It certainly had an impact on the way that people looked at Newfoundland music, and it certainly had an impact on the way Newfoundlanders look at their own music and culture . . . (Tape no 5.1).

He argues that because Figgy Duff's music has entered "the musical consciousness of the country", that is because it has become recognized in the rest of Canada and other places, Newfoundland music has also been recognized. Panting, as the other band members, thinks that they have played an important role in renewing an interest in Newfoundland music among Newfoundlanders themselves. Anita Best, for instance, argues that Figgy Duff have succeeded in making Newfoundlanders be proud of their culture by getting recognized at a national and international level:

> It made people feel proud, I mean I think now Figgy Duff is having the reaction that we've always sort of hoped it would have. I'll tell you an example of it, I went into the Strand . . . and it was on the juke box . . . I was here for a couple

> of hours and I heard "Weather Out the Storm" being played maybe six times during this couple of hours . . . and there was a really broad spectrum of people . . . and D., who works in there, was telling me that like it's on all the time, it's really popular and people are really proud and really like it, and people who normally wouldn't like folk music, or wouldn't think of folk music as worth anything are really playing it all the time and getting a lift and you can see that they're proud . . . and they see it being played on Much Music and they're proud of that . . . (Tape no 8.1).

This comment reflects that, with their last album, and the song "Weather Out the Storm" in particular, Figgy Duff have become more popular: the video is played on Much Music, a national video cable channel, the song is often played on the radio, and it can be heard on juke boxes in bars. As a result Figgy Duff has begun to attract a wider audience than before, not only appealing to folk music lovers. The song itself is not a traditional song, but the Figgy Duff members believe that through this song more people will buy their most recent album and become familiar with Figgy Duff's music and consequently Newfoundland traditional music. Best argues that as a result more people, including young people in Newfoundland feel "proud" of Newfoundland culture through Figgy Duff.

Jamie Snider, Pam Morgan and Kelly Russell also share this point of view. They all claim that Figgy Duff has had a big impact on Newfoundlanders, and in particular young people in Newfoundland, who would were rejecting their own music because they thought that Newfoundland music was old fashioned, as Kelly Russell explains:

> Figgy Duff within Newfoundland has had a tremendous influence on younger musicians particularly, and just younger people . . . it's very easy for a teenager growing up to reject anything to do with the past . . . because it's not hip, it's not modern, it's not today, it's not like I see on T.V, it's not like standard, so it's easily rejected, and it's a difficult job too. I mean older people have been trying to do it with younger people for years, "when I was young, we did it this way", "oh come on, Dad I don't wanna hear about that, it's foolish, Dad's music", you know the stuff that your grand-parents listened to. Once again it comes back to self-expression. A teenager growing up is getting influences from wherever and is wanting to express himself or herself, not in terms of their past or in terms of what their parents were or what they ancestors were, but who they are, and they are what . . . the type of music they listened to on the radio, type of TV shows they watch . . . so when they come to look at Much Music and see Madonna and then they see Figgy Duff,

> they say "Jesus, what's that? Newfoundland music" you know. It's an awakening, that's like "Jesus, maybe there is something to this, maybe I am part of a slightly different society, something that's unique, maybe there's something good about this", that's the influence I think Figgy Duff has on the younger people . . . (Tape 4.1).

Russell argues that young people in Newfoundland rejected Newfoundland music because the only product available sounded old-fashioned to them. He implies that everyone is a product of one's generation, and different generations receive different influences, they listen to different types of music. Therefore the young people did not want to listen to the same music their parents listened to. Young Newfoundlanders were listening to rock 'n' roll, pop music and other contemporary music on the radio. That was the music of their generation. In the same way most of the Figgy Duff members and the other revivalists in the 1970s had rejected Newfoundland music because it had only been popularized in a style they considered to be old-fashioned. According to Russell, Figgy Duff, by combining the old and the new, that is by adapting Newfoundland traditional songs to a contemporary sound using the technology of their times, have showed young people that Newfoundland music did not have to be old-fashioned. According to Russell and the other members, Figgy Duff have attracted various kinds of audiences because they do not only play traditional music. My informants perceive that because they use modern instruments and have a contemporary sound it does not sound old-fashioned to young people, and therefore they can appreciate Newfoundland music. "It's an awakening" means that young people have realized the value and uniqueness of Newfoundland music through Figgy Duff.

In the same way Russell and several other Figgy Duff members think that the band has had a big impact on young musicians in Newfoundland in showing them that Newfoundland music was worth playing, as Dave Panting argued:

> I think that our contribution was to uh, . . . we were not the only ones by any means but we were unique in the way that we were presenting Newfoundland music . . . and we put certain ideas in the repertoire of Newfoundland musicians and made people say yes . . . we can do that . . . we're as good as the next guy and we can go out there into the world . . . and present people with something really worth listening to . . . (Tape no 5.1).

Several of my informants also claim that Figgy Duff has had an impact on older people in Newfoundland, including those they learned the songs from, because they showed them that these songs, which represented their past, was not going to die with them. Kelly Russell comments:

> On older people . . . I've seen it you know, people who I'm sure were almost certain that this kind of music and this kind of way of life was gone, they were seeing everything change around them, but then to see young people coming to them and saying I'd like to learn their songs and then to take it, to put it on the stage, to put it on the TV screen and on the radio and bringing out to other countries, it must make them feel tremendous you know. (Tape no 4.1).

The members and ex-members of Figgy Duff thus consider the band to have succeeded in its mission by showing to the world that Newfoundland music was as good as any other music. They also feel that they have communicated to Newfoundlanders and people in other places the uniqueness of Newfoundland culture, through the uniqueness of their music. They believe that they have also succeeded in giving Newfoundlanders, particularly young people, a sense of pride in their own music that they had rejected in favor of contemporary music. According to them they have succeeded in "perpetuating" Newfoundland traditional music, which would have otherwise been lost forever.

I think that Figgy Duff have succeeded in giving a positive image of Newfoundland music to people outside Newfoundland, and may have succeeded in giving young urban Newfoundlanders in particular a sense of pride in their own culture and music. Combining traditional music with contemporary instruments has indeed made Newfoundland traditional songs and music more accessible to the younger generations who had grown up with rock 'n' roll. Figgy Duff had more impact among urban people, both in and outside Newfoundland, than they did in rural Newfoundland. They did direct their music primarily to urban audiences, but at the same time wanted to give back the music to the "folk" once they had adapted it to their own aesthetics, which very much reflected their need for a mysterious past and present and their search for their "roots". This did not work very well among rural audiences in Newfoundland and it could not have, as these audiences had themselves their own aesthetics and were leading very

different lives than the Figgy Duff members, and their different needs were reflected in the different musical forms they appreciated.

Figgy Duff at the Loft, 13 April 1991

Photograph on the next page:

From left to right. Front: Bruce Crummell (electric guitar), Kelly Russell (bouzouki), Frank Maher (accordion), and Pam Morgan (acoustic guitar). Back: Noel Dinn (drums), and Erik Soustar (bass).

Figgy Duff at the Loft, 13 April 1991

Photograph on the next page:

From left to right. Front: Pam Morgan (lead vocals and acoustic guitar), Frank Maher (accordion), and Bruce Crummell (electric guitar). Back: Noel Dinn (bodhran).

Figgy Duff at the Loft, 13 April 1991

Photograph on the next page:

From left to right. Front: Bruce Crummell (bouzouki), Kelly Russell (fiddle), Frank Maher (accordion), and Pam Morgan (acoustic guitar). Back: Noel Dinn (drums), and Erik Soustar (bass).

CHAPTER V. REPERTOIRE, PERFORMANCE AND AUDIENCE PERCEPTIONS OF FIGGY DUFF

Figgy Duff's performances are communicative acts which must be understood within the context of their ideological goals. The songs Figgy Duff choose to include in their repertoire do not in themselves communicate any overt revivalist or nativist message. This message is communicated through their musical style, arrangements, choice of songs, instrumentation and stage presence. The group encode this nativist message in their translation of traditional culture into an essentially urban musical style. They take Newfoundland traditional music and consciously translate it into a different musical idiom.

In this chapter I interpret Figgy Duff's performance as a text conveying a meaning, and discuss how this meaning is perceived by audiences in rural Newfoundland, St. John's, and outside Newfoundland according to the band members themselves and the media, and how it is perceived in Newfoundland according to a group of people surveyed.

1. Repertoire

Figgy Duff's repertoire is composed of two main categories of songs: those taken from oral tradition in Newfoundland, either locally composed or originating from other countries but which have entered the Newfoundland tradition; and the songs they wrote themselves. The Figgy Duff members, Noel Dinn and Pamela Morgan in particular, did not start writing their own songs in the beginning, as they were concentrating on finding Newfoundland traditional songs and music and adapting them to a contemporary sound. The traditional songs and tunes still constitute the largest part of Figgy Duff's repertoire.

Figgy Duff's traditional repertoire consists of Newfoundland traditional songs that they took from collections, particularly during the early years of the band, or learned from traditional singers in rural Newfoundland. They did not radically alter the texts and melodies of the songs, but added arrangements and chord structures to songs which were traditionally sung unaccompanied. Occasionally Pam Morgan would omit a verse that she did not like or, if there was a line or word missing, she would invent what she considered to be a suitable replacement.

The terms used by the Figgy Duff members to categorize the band's repertoire are: tragic and love songs or ballads, murder songs or ballads, shipwreck songs or ballads, "ditties", and bawdy songs. Folklorists define "ballad" as a song that tells a narrative. The Figgy Duff members use either "ballad" or "song" when referring to a song that tells a story. In the Newfoundland folksong tradition, "song" is sometimes used for a song whose intent is serious, or which is about a specific time and place and contains a 'true' event (Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham 399). The term "ditty" is used in the Newfoundland folksong tradition to refer to non-serious songs including bawdy songs, satirical lyrics, chin music and children's songs (Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham 399).

Figgy Duff's choice of songs reflects several criteria. First, they wanted to acquire a repertoire which was representative of the various Newfoundland traditions: including songs which were originally French, Irish, English, and Scottish, as well as the locally composed songs. For the same reason they included different categories of traditional songs.

Second, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Figgy Duff preferred to perform more or less unknown songs because they considered them to be more genuine than those which had already been popularized. They preferred to perform songs which were not familiar to them or their contemporaries, and which had not been commercially recorded or performed by other revivalists.

However, some of the songs they included in their repertoire were well known among rural singers in Newfoundland and other places. They did occasionally perform a few of the songs that had already been popularized, particularly at the beginning -- for example "She's like the Swallow", "Lots of Fish in Bonavista Harbour" and "Squid Jiggin' Ground". They felt this was necessary in order to "get people listen to you" (Morgan, tape no 2.1). Even though they aspired to be a uniquely Newfoundland band, with a unique sound and repertoire, they believed that they sometimes had to fulfill the audience's expectation of what a Newfoundland band should play. For the same reason the band, when touring around Newfoundland in its early years, had to include some "cover" versions of rock hits, for example a few Beatles and Doors songs, in their repertoire which they could sing if the traditional songs were not well received by the audience.

Third, the Figgy Duff members chose songs on the basis of their personal preference, and chose those which were more appropriate to the style of music that they thought would convey a serious image of Newfoundland. The members of Figgy Duff -- Pam Morgan, especially -- have always preferred to sing sad ballads, rather than ditties. Because of this personal preference, which seems to be shared by most of the other members, Figgy Duff's repertoire includes a large number of tragic love ballads, but only a few ditties. Morgan emphasizes that in spite of her personal preference for sad ballads, they needed to include a few ditties in order to create a balance in their repertoire. They felt that in order to please different audiences, they had to include different kinds of songs in their repertoire, as Morgan explains:

> . . . I've learned a lot of murder ballads and that and you've got to be really careful about how many of those you include in your repertoire . . . you've got to try and strike a balance which is certainly not easy to do . . . you know like an entire evening of tragic love or shipwrecks gets a bit maudlin for most audiences unless they're really avid of folk music, so you sort of got to choose in term of variety of themes, you don't have much luck for variety of mood unfortunately, but then you can upset that with jigs and reels which is what makes the band work more so than if it was just singing or just jigs you know. . . . you try to get a cross section of areas and types of song, from different people and places but when it comes right down to it it's a matter of which I like the best . . . (Tape no 2.3).

Scholars have long attempted to find a satisfying system of ballad classification. It is difficult to find a classification system that can be applied to various corpus of ballads, whether classified by theme, subject, or narrative elements, in such a way that the various categories do not overlap. G. Malcom Laws in his Native American Balladry uses the following categories: War Ballads, Ballads of Cowboys and Pioneers, Ballads of Lumberjacks, Ballads of Sailors, Ballads about Criminal and Outlaws, Murder Ballads, Ballads of Tragedies and Disaster, Ballads on Various Topics, and Ballads of the Negro. Similarly in his American Ballads from British Broadsides Laws classifies the songs as: War Ballads, Ballads of Sailors and the Sea, Ballads of Crime and Criminal, Ballads of Family Opposition to Lovers, Ballads of Faithful Lovers, Ballads of Unfaithful Lovers, and Humorous and Miscellaneous Ballads. Laws only considers in his classification non-Child ballads -- that his ballads which do not appear in the five volumes of Francis James Child's The English and Scottish Popular Ballads. Laws' system of classification is unsatisfactory because murder ballads could also be considered as ballads of tragedies and disasters, or as ballads about criminal and outlaws and it does not have any place for love ballads. There are also visible inconsistencies in the categories he uses from one book to the other. D. K. Wilgus points out that in Laws' classification, ballads are divided according to their geographical origins, which leads to problems in the placement of adopted and recomposed ballads (Anglo-American Folksong 250). Wilgus further argues that in Laws' classification: "The divisions themselves are somewhat ideologically based on subject matter or origin or both" (254).

Colin Quigley distinguishes five main categories of Child Ballads in Newfoundland: Religious Ballads, Semi-Historical Adventure Ballads, Comic Ballads, Romantic and Tragic Ballads, and Riddling Ballads (19-20). He points out that the largest number of ballads collected in Newfoundland falls into the the "romantic and tragic" category (19). Quigley, following David Buchan's categorization of the romantic and tragic ballads, divides this corpus into four

sub-categories: murder and revenge; family opposition; stories of the other love and central pair love stories (19). According to David Buchan, the romantic and tragic ballads refer to stories in which a love relationship encounters difficulties that are either resolved at the end by the lovers being reunited, or by death or murder. Buchan divides these ballads on the basis of a "Third Character's" relation to the central hero/heroine pair (83-86). Buchan argues, in his analysis of Mrs Brown's ballad corpus, that there is always a triangular situation: a man and a woman and a third person who threatens to disrupt this relationship (83). Consequently he distinguishes three sub-groups on the basis of the interaction between the three characters: ballads of familial thwarting, of "other love", and of murder and revenge (86).

Eleanor Long and D. K. Wilgus propose a broader classification, which includes both Child and non-Child ballads, based on "narrative themes", "thematic units", and "narrative units". Long defines a "narrative theme" as "a cluster of events and traits . . . which tends to persist in tradition regardless of vehicle and in spite of fragmentation or shifts within functional categories" ("Ballad Classification" 204). A "thematic unit" is defined as "any event which is capable of constituing a whole ballad", and, a "narrative unit" is defined as "the particularized variations which may occur within each thematic unit" ("Ballad Classification" 204). As an example, Long's category A: Encounters/ Confrontations/Visions/Messages, consists of the narrative units: a. erotic, b. violent, c. informative/ominal, d. exploitative and e. instrumental/helpful. The sub-types of these narrative units then would be for a. (courtship/ flirtation/rape/prostitution); for b. (unpremeditated) and for d. (robbery/manipulation) ("Ballad Classification" 212).

I found difficult to apply any of the previous classification systems to the categorization of Figgy Duff's repertoire, because I am here only concentrating on a part of the band's repertoire, and the songs either did not fit well in all the categories of one particular classification system, or categories which would have

fit were missing. With Figgy Duff's repertoire, as with any specific repertoire, a unique classification system needs to be created because any classification system is incomplete: there are always different ways of looking at a repertoire. Performers themselves classify the songs in their repertoire in different ways depending on where, and for whom, they are singing on a particular occasion. Consequently I have chosen to create my own classification system, using the motif of the song which seemed to be the most central to the plot, drawing upon the categorization used by the Figgy Duff members and the classifications of the scholars discussed above.

Figgy Duff's repertoire is composed of ballads and non-narrative songs. I have distinguished three main categories of ballads in their repertoire: comic ballads, sea disaster ballads, and romantic and tragic ballads. The last category is further sub-divided into: murder and revenge, family opposition, foiled seduction, rejection, and separation. Foiled seduction occurs when intercourse does not take place, although one person desires it. Rejection includes ballads in which somebody is rejected after intercourse. Separation includes ballads in which the two lovers are separated for reasons other than family opposition or rejection by one of the two lovers.

A) Comic Ballads

The ballads in Figgy Duff's repertoire which fit into this category could also be called bawdy songs. These are "Yankee Skipper", "Tinker Behind the Door", and "Rabbits in a Basket". These are ballads are about casual seduction ("Tinker Behind The Door" and "Yankee Skipper") or hope for casual seduction ("Rabbits in a Basket"). Whereas in romantic and tragic ballads, love, promise of marriage and fidelity are presented as very important values, in these bawdy songs casual seduction and infidelity are without consequence. For example, in "Yankee Skipper", the last line says that the girl lost her true love because she was unfaithful with the "yankee chap", but "she got herself a fine pair of boots, cost five dollars in Boston".

"Yankee Skipper" was locally composed by Peter Leonard from Placentia Bay and has entered the Newfoundland tradition under the name "Peter Nelson". However it does not seem to be very well known; there is only one version of the song in The Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA), collected from Jack Pittman of Fox Harbour on Placentia Bay.[5]

"Rabbits in a Basket", as "Yankee Skipper", did not appear in any of the folksong collections consulted. Two versions of the song collected in Newfoundland were deposited in MUNFLA, one sang by Robert Child from Ramea and the other by Luke Walsh from Little Bay. Figgy Duff got their own version from Mose Harris of Bonavista Bay. The three texts are very similar.

Pam Morgan took "Tinker Behind the Door" from the Peacock collection as sung by Leonard Hulan, and it is the only version that I found. Of these, only "Yankee Skipper" is performed by the group.

B) Sea disaster ballads

In Figgy Duff's repertoire, "The Greenland Disaster", "Jim Harris" and "Henry Martin" belong to this category. "The Greenland Disaster" and "Jim Harris" are stories of shipwreck caused by the sea: "The Greenland Disaster" is about the sinking of a sealing vessel, and "Jim Harris" is about the captain of a schooner who runs into another boat by mistake. "Henry Martin" is different from the other two ballads in this category as it tells the story of a pirate, who in his attempt to rob a merchant ship, makes it sink and everybody on the attacked ship dies. Nevertheless I put it in this category as the focus of the story seems to be placed more on the encounter and the sinking of the ship.

Two different variants of "The Greenland Disaster" are reported in Mercer, Newfoundland Songs and Ballads in Print, 1842-1974. The variant sung by Figgy Duff is the no II, which Morgan took from the Peacock Collection. It can

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[5]The MUNFLA numbers for these songs as well as the full annotations for all the songs discussed in this section are given in Appendix I.

also be found in the Canadian folksong collection of Fowke and in Saunders'essay "The Greenspond Saga in History, Song and Story." Variant I appears in the collections of Newfoundland folksongs by Greenleaf and Mansfield, Peacock, Blondahl, and Doyle, and is also mentioned in Laws", Native American Balladry, as dD34. Although both variants are about the sinking of a sealing vessel, "The Greenland", the content is quite different.

"Jim Harris" was also written by Peter Leonard from Placentia Bay. The song has been printed only in Come and I will Sing You and was collected from Pius Power, Jr. from Southeast Bight.

"Henry Martin" is a Child Ballad (no 250). Child gives seven different variants, from England and Scotland. This ballad is considered to be derived from another Child Ballad, "Sir Andrew Barton" (no 167). Coffin and Renwick mention that the significant difference between "Henry Martin" and "Sir Andrew Barton" is that Henry is killed and his ship sunk by the very first ship he meets and engages (250). According to Coffin and Renwick "Henry Martyn" was a popular stall ballad in the nineteenth century but there is no record of "Sir Andrew Barton" being printed in North America (113). This ballad is well known in Britain and the United Sates. Doucette and Quigley list seven variants of "Henry Martin" in Canada: three in Newfoundland, three in Nova Scotia, and one in Ontario (11). Only "Henry Martin" is still included in Figgy Duff's repertoire.

C) Romantic Tragic Ballads

a. Murder and Revenge

Among the ballads of murder and revenge that have been included in Figgy Duff's repertoire are "Babes in the Greenwood", "The Jealous Lover", and "The Wexford Girl". In "The Jealous Lover" a man kills the woman he loved because she refuses to marry him. In "The Wexford Girl" a man kills his girl friend because she is pregnant. In both ballads the murderer is arrested and executed. In "Babes in the Greenwood" a lady is made pregnant by her father's clerk who does not want to marry her; she kills the two babies she gives birth to and is afterwards haunted by them.

According to Malcom Laws, "The Jealous Lover" is a ballad native to the United States and is one of the most popular ballads there. Many different variants of the song exist but the closest to Figgy Duff's version is called "Florella, Florella". Laws argues that this version is one of the most popular of all white ballads native to the United States. In that variant, innocent Florella is fatally stabbed by her angry and jealous fiance, Edward, and is later imprisoned for life. Morgan collected this song from Ellen Caroll in Stephenville.

"The Wexford Girl" is, according to Laws, from a British broadside. It also appears in Vance Randolph's collection of Ozark Folksongs. Morgan took it from the Peacock collection where it had been collected from Mike Kent, Cape Broyle.

"Babes in the Greenwood" is a variant of the Child ballad, "The Cruel Mother" (no 20). It is a very well known ballad. Child gives thirteen variants of the song, most of which are Scottish, and he points out that some variants of "The Cruel Mother" exist in Denmark, and another variant would have spread in Germany. Doucette and Quigley report twenty six variants of this ballad in Canada: twelve in Newfoundland and fourteen in the Maritimes (10). Morgan took "Babes in the Greenwood" from The Peacock collection. All the versions in Child are very similar to that in Peacock. Only "The Jealous Lover" is still performed by Figgy Duff.

b. Family Opposition

A rich man or woman falling in love with someone beneath their station, and the opposition of one of the rich parents to this union is a recurrent theme in many of the ballads chosen by Figgy Duff. In "Rosy Banks of Green" a lady from a noble family falls in love with a sailor; her father opposes their union, and as they are trying to run away together he shoots at the sailor, accidentally killing both of them when the girl jumps in front of her lover. In many of these, however, there is no murder committed: one of the lovers may die of grief because they are separated, or they may be reunited in the end. In "Matt Eiley" and "John Barbour" the father of the girl who falls in love with a man beneath her station is

opposed to their union but changes his mind at the end, and the lovers get married. "The Sailor Courted A Farmer's Daughter" also has a happy ending: the sailor's mother threatens to disown him if he marries the farmer's daughter but he decides to marry her in spite of his mother's opposition. In "Thomas and Nancy", a noble girl falls in love with a sailor but her father opposes to their union and sends Thomas to sea; the boat he is sailing in sinks and, on seeing his dead body, Nancy dies of grief.

"Rosy Banks of Green" can be found in the Leach collection, from which Morgan took it, and in two variants in the Peacock collection. Peacock argues that it is an "uncommon ballad" (704), and Leach also claims that it is not very popular (326). The two versions in Peacock's collection are very similar to that of Leach.

"Matt Eiley" was collected by Morgan from Ellen Caroll in Stephenville. It must not be a well known song as it does not appear in any of the collections I consulted.

"John Barbour" is a variant of the Child Ballad (no 100), "Willie O' Winsbury". It is a well known British ballad, which according to Coffin and Rewnick, is quite popular in Newfoundland (96). Child gives nine different variants, one of which is an English version called "Johnnie Barbour" and which is the closest to Figgy Duff's version. All but two of the Child texts, as in the version collected by Figgy Duff, contain the motif of the father, who on seeing John Barbour all dressed in silk, says that he understands how his daughter fell in love with him and that if he was himself a woman, John Barbour would be his "bedfellow". The variant in the Greenleaf and Mansfield collection is called "Young Barbour" or "The Seven Sailor Boys" and is also very similar to that collected by Morgan from Mose Harris. Two other variants collected in Newfoundland are also given by Peacock. Doucette and Quigley list twelve variants of "Willie O' Winsbury" in Canada, all found in Newfoundland (11).

"A Sailor Courted A Farmer's Daughter" does not seem to be a very frequently collected ballad. It appears in Laws, American balladry from British Broadsides as O41 under the name, "The Constant Lovers". I found two other variants, both from The Maritimes, one in Helen Creighton, Maritime Folk Songs (44-45), which is basically the same version that Figgy Duff collected from Philip Foley, on Fogo Island. Another similar version appears in Helen Creighton, Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia, as "A Sailor Courted". The variant in Laws is also very similar to that sung by Figgy Duff: the first verse is basically identical.

"Thomas and Nancy" (Laws K15) is from a British broadside but has entered the North American folksong tradition. The song also appears in the Greenleaf and Mansfield, Peacock and Lehr collections. The four versions are very similar, however in some versions, the ship is wrecked soon after leaving port and the song ends with Nancy seeing the dead body of her lover and dying of grief. In the version collected by Lehr, which Morgan sings, there is a storm and the ship crashes as Thomas is returning home. Nancy finds his body on the shore and the song ends with the two of them being buried in the same tomb. "A Sailor Courted" is still occasionally performed by Figgy Duff.

c) Foiled Seduction

"The Maid on the Shore", still performed by Figgy Duff occasionally, fits into this category. It is the story of a maiden living alone on the shore; a young captain tries to seduce her and brings her aboard his ship but, after she sings and puts the whole crew to sleep, she robs them of their silver and gold and returns to the shore. This ballad, listed in Laws as K27, is quite well known: it appears in the collections of Newfoundland folksongs of Greenleaf and Mansfield as "The Maiden who Dwelt By the Shore" and Peacock as "The Maid On the Shore O". Roy Mackenzie also found two variants in Nova Scotia called "The Sea Captain" which are very similar to the version collected by Figgy Duff from Mose Harris. According to Mackenzie this ballad is one of the numerous

developments of the motif of "Lady Isabel and The Elf Knight" and is closely related to the Child ballad (no 43) "The Broomfield Hill".

d. Rejection

"Blackwater Side" was learned by Morgan from Philip Foley and is still part of Figgy Duff's repertoire. It is about a young girl who has an affair with a young man who, despite promising her to marry her, leaves her when she becomes pregnant. Another song by the same name, which seems to be more popular than this "Blackwater Side" exists, but it is a totally different song. A variant of this "Blackwater Side" can be found in Peter Kennedy, Folksongs of Britain and Ireland as "Down By Blackwater Side". The difference between this variant and Figgy Duff's is that in Kennedy's the man, who has promised to marry the girl, leaves her after spending the night together. "Blackwater Side" is still performed by Figgy Duff.

e. Separation

"Siúl a Ghrá " and "Dans La Prison de Londres" fit into this category. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a song can be considered a ballad or not, and "Siúl a Ghrá " is a good example of this. It tells the lament of a girl for her love who fled to Ireland to seek his fortune in France; in the refrain she wishes her love farewell until she sees him again and hoping he will be safe. It is not a usual ballad, in which each verse recounts an episode of the story until the denouement is reached but I think that this song can be considered a ballad for it nevertheless tells a story. In "Dans La Prison de Londres" a Frenchman in jail in London convinces the jailer's daughter to let him out and, as he swims away he promises to mail her a present.

"Siúl a Ghrá " is an Irish song. One variant is to be found in Alfred Perceval Graves, The Celtic Song Book, under the name "Shule Agra" (50-51). The first and last verse of the two variants are basically identical with a few different words, in the other verses the version in Graves has historical references to the King which Figgy Duff's version does not have. Graves' version refers to the

Irish army going to France in 1691 to serve under the French King, following the Wilamite Wars in Ireland and the signing of the Treaty of Limerick (Lehr, 166). This song seems to be very popular, particularly in the United States, where many variants have been collected under diferent names. It appears in the American Folksong collections of Randolph as "Shule, Shule", Lomax as "Shoo, Shoo, Shoo-Lye", and Belden as "Shule Aroon". All the variants have some verses which are totally different from the version in Figgy Duff's repertoire, but in most of them one or two verses are very similar.

"Dans la Prison de Londres" was learned by Morgan from Marie-Josephte Dubé in Mainland, on the Port Au Port Peninsula. Gerald Thomas also has this song collected from the same person in Songs Sung By French Newfoundlanders (21). There is a song in the Peacock collection called "Dans Les Prisons de Nantes" he collected from Jean Ozon, Cape St. Georges which is very similar. "Siúl a Ghrá " is still included in Figgy Duff's repertoire.

A small number of non-narrative songs are in Figgy Duff's repertoire, among these: "The Ten Commandments", "The Darby Ram", "The Fisher Who Died in His Bed", "The Banks of Newfoundland", "Quand J'Etais Fille De L'Age de Quinze Ans" and "Woman of Labrador". "The Ten-Commandments" is an old, religious, cumulative song which is very popular in West of England and throughout North America. A Hebrew version of "The Ten Commandments" is to be found in the service for the Passover. The song is known under different names such as: "The Twelve Apostles", "The Carol of The Twelve Numbers" and "Green Grow The Rushes O". Although many of the words are different from variant to variant the number 2 is always the same: "two of them are little white babes clothed all in green o" and the number ten is always "ten the ten commandments". Some of the variants do not stop at ten but go until twelve. Figgy Duff still performs this song.

"The Darby Ram" is a song which Figgy Duff categorizes as a "ditty". The song is similar to a tall tale and describes a ram seen at a market. The

exaggeration of the features of the ram produces a comic effect. According to Randolph, "The Derby Ram" is of English origin and has been reported from many parts of the United States (398). I also found one version in the Peacock collection and one in Keith Bissell, Six Maritime Folksongs, Set One. It is no longer part of Figgy Duff's repertoire.

"The Fisher who Died In his Bed" is a lament for the death of a well respected local fisherman. This song was originally a poem entitled "Jim Jones, The Trawler" written by Clarence Goodland, which won an award in the O'Leary Newfoundland Poetry Award in 1945 (Harrington 16-17). Morgan took it from the Peacock collection. The first and last verses of the song are almost the same as the original poem, however one verse of the poem has disappeared:

> Could any young nipper jig squid like our skipper
> While gnawing fat pork on the cuddy head;
> I'm not sure no old banker ne'er hauled up his anchor
> Like our old skipper, who died in his bed.

This song is no longer included in Figgy Duff's repertoire.

"The Banks of Newfoundland" is about people fishing on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. Laws (K25) mentions that it is a song from a British broadside. This song figures in the Doyle, Greenleaf and Mansfield, and Peacock collections. A variant has been found in Nova Scotia and several variants have been found in Maine. Mackenzie points out that the song resembles "Van Dieman's Land", no 22 in his collection, Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia, and claims it has been popular in Great Britain and Ireland. Pam Morgan took this song from a Newfoundland school text book but does not remember the name of it. It is still performed by Figgy Duff.

In "Quand J'Etais Fille De L'Age De Quinze Ans" a woman complains that when she was fifteen all the boys came to court her, but now that she is older and has children to care for, they no longer take her dancing. It is a locally composed song, from the West Coast of Newfoundland. Morgan learned it from Josephine Costard in Loretto and Peacock also collected it from her. This song is no longer part of Figgy Duff's repertoire.

"Now I'm Sixty-Four" is about an old man complaining about his life now that he is old and says that it was much better when he was young. It is a very popular song in Newfoundland and has been recorded and performed by various singers. Figgy Duff actually learned this song from hearing it on the radio. The song appears in the Ryan's Fancy Song and Other Stuff Book and I found three different variants in MUNFLA: one collected from Gordon Burton in Luddex Bight; one collected from George Earle of Change Island; and one, under the title "Sweet Sixteen", from Gerald Hayes in Cape Broyle. Harry Hibbs recorded it on At the Caribou Club under the name "Sweet Sixteen". This song is still performed by Figgy Duff, sometimes sung by Noel Dinn and sometimes played as an instrumental.

"Woman of Labrador" talks about a woman whose husband has gone trapping for a long time leaving her alone to take care of the children. This song was composed by Andy Vine and is not very well known. It is part of Figgy Duff's current repertoire.

Several of these traditional songs are no longer performed by Figgy Duff for various reasons. First as Pam Morgan points out, a band cannot always have the same repertoire because their audiences would rapidly get tired of the same songs or tunes. Second, there are also some songs that Pamela Morgan no longer wants to sing for personal reasons, for instance, because she "got tired" of singing them or because she disagrees with the message or theme of the song. Morgan explains that at the beginning she would perform songs which presented "all different point of views" even though she did not necessarily agree with the message communicated in the song. Whereas now if she does not agree with what is said in the song she refuses to sing it. Morgan gives an example:

> . . . I'm not really fond of these songs where the chap comes back after a number of years and tests his woman, you know like I used to find them interesting, but nowadays I won't sing those because I don't think it's a good thing to do, I think it's morally wrong to go away and come back after seven years and you know put you through a test like that . . . . for example "A Sailor Courted a Farmer's Daughter" that's a good thing because uh he says "ma, I don't care what you think about her or how rich you think she is, I'm gonna you

> know take her anyway". I still like that song because it has a message I totally agree with, which is like you know you don't bother with the class angle of things, you make your matches for love not for money, it still is true in these days too . . . (Tape no 2.3).

Morgan adds that the traditional songs which she now prefers to sing are those about lost love or false love, "which is eternal through any age", songs about the power of the sea, or those which are of historical significance.

Figgy Duff no longer looks for traditional songs. They are now concentrating more on writing their own songs because they want to attract a wider audience and be a more successful band. So far only five songs of their own composition are included in their repertoire and featured on their album "Weather Out The Storm". "Honour Riches" which was on their album "After The Tempest" was of their own composition but the lyrics were taken from Shakespeare's "The Tempest". The five songs of their own composition are: "Inside the Circle" and "Heart of a Gypsy" by Dinn; "Snowy Night" and "Bad Blood" by Morgan; and "Weather Out the Storm", which is a joint composition by Dinn and Morgan. These songs were not written in a traditional style as far as the text or melody is concerned, but as Morgan comments:

> . . . I think it's in tune with the values expressed in traditional songs uh more so than the melody or specific content, we're trying to do it with the instrumentation, the words and stuff . . . a lot of the words are contemporary and they're more personal . . . most folksongs are in the third person . . . you're telling a story about somebody else and when you write original stuff it's more personal so in that way it's different . . . I wouldn't write a song about how somebody's mother wouldn't let me marry a certain chap [laughs] but love songs are timeless . . . (Tape no 4.5).

The band decided to write songs and perform them in a style which would appeal to a wider audience, particularly "Weather Out the Storm", "Inside the Circle" and "Heart of the Gypsy" as Morgan pointed out:

> . . . there are all songs with commercial aspirations and were moulded with that in mind rather than being just pure sort of thing . . . we went through a lot of processes trying to make it viable for Joe Public's ear . . . (Tape no 2.5).

The inclusion of these songs in Figgy Duff's repertoire was motivated by a desire to be a more commercially successful band whereas in the early stages the band's primary goal was to discover and play "Newfoundland traditional music", and "get it recognized" and not so much to succeed financially.

As pointed out earlier, Figgy Duff used to adapt their repertoire to the venue and the audience. Morgan says that with their last album, now that they seem to have succeeded in broadening their audience and that their music is becoming more familiar to the audience, they want to try to have a set performance they can use for several venues over a certain period of time, only occasionally changing a few songs and tunes.

In the same way the Figgy Duff members were looking for relatively unknown traditional songs, they were also looking for relatively unknown traditional instrumental pieces to include in their repertoire; that is tunes which had not yet been popularized. As with the songs Figgy Duff included tunes which were from different origins but they mainly concentrated on those which were distinct to Newfoundland. For instance they included in their repertoire many jigs and reels composed by local traditional fiddlers Emile Benoit and Rufus Guinchard. Among the Emile Benoit tunes performed by Figgy Duff are: "Noel Dinn's Reel", "Bridgett's Reel", "Jim Hodder's Reel", "The Flying Reel", "Breakwater Boys Breakdown", "The Wedding Waltz", "Brother's Jig", and "Emile's reels". Among the Rufus Guinchard tunes in Figgy Duff's repertoire are: "Big Ben", "Off Go Those Young City Girls", "Centennial Highway Reel", and "Jim Rumbolt's tune".

Figgy Duff also included in their repertoire a certain number of tunes from Irish origin including: "The Teetotaler's Reel", "The Maid Behind the Bar", "The Ships for Sailing", "Sean's Reel", "Cooley's Reel" composed by Joe Cooley, an Irish accordion player, "She Said She Couldn't Dance, "Geese in the Bog", and "Auntie Mary" which is a variant of the Irish tune "Cock of the North". This particular piece also has a refrain:

> Auntie Mary had a canary up the leg of her drawers
> While she was sleepin, it was creepin up the leg of her drawers

Other tunes also found in Newfoundland which originated from England are "The Dorset Four Hand Reel", "The Kissing Dance" which is danced in Red Cliff, Bonavista Bay, and "Running the Goat" which is danced in Harbour Deep. One

instrumental, "Mother On the Doorstep", is a Quebequois tune. Other Newfoundland tunes are "Larry's Lancer" and "Half Door".[6]

A tune which is still performed by the band called "The Gypsy" was composed by Dave Panting. All these tunes are still performed by Figgy Duff, some more frequently than others, like "She Said She Couldn't Dance", "Auntie Mary Had A Canary", "Running the Goat", "Breakwater Boys Breakdown", "Heel and Toe Polka", "Paddy's Jig", "Jim Rumbolt", "The Wedding Waltz", and "The Brother's Jig". As with the traditional songs they present these jigs and reels using their own arrangements and combining electric and acoustic instruments.

2) Performance

I have seen seven Figgy Duff live performances in St. John's, five of which were in bars: at Bridgett's on December 31st, 1989 and on August 1st and 4th, 1990; at the Loft on January 13th and April 13th, 1991. One was at the St. John's folk festival on August 5th, 1990 and one was at the Arts and Culture Center on November 6th 1990. I have chosen to describe in depth one Figgy Duff performance, the concert at the Arts and Culture Center.[7] This concert followed the release of the group's third album "Weather Out the Storm" and was the first of a tour across Canada. First, an overall description of this particular concert, drawing parallels with the other Figgy Duff performances observed, will be given, in order to suggest the features of a typical Figgy Duff performance. Second, I will examine the musical style and effects created by Figgy Duff on stage in order to discuss what they communicate through their musical arrangements.

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[6]The information on the tunes was obtained from different sources: from the announcement of tunes by Kelly Russell during live performances; from Noel Dinn's comments on the second album, found in Meeker, "A Fine Album From a Unique Group," The Newfoundland Herald 19 November 1983; and from Pam Morgan (obtained by telephone).

[7]In order to describe this live performance my own observations and a recording of the concert, dubbed for me by Fred Maret from C.B.C were used.

a) Overall Description

The concert started at eight p.m at the Arts and Culture Center. When I arrived around 7.45 p.m quite a few people were standing and chatting in the lobby while others had already taken their seats in the auditorium where the show was to be held. In the lobby Figgy Duff tapes and albums were being sold as well as the new Figgy Duff tee-shirts, available for the first time, which did not seem to be selling very well.

The Arts and Culture Center is a very formal venue and I felt this formal aspect when entering and taking my seat in the large auditorium and on seeing the very large stage. The fact that it was a concert at the Arts and Culture Center which had been well advertised and which was marking the release of Figgy Duff's new album seemed to have attracted people who do not usually go to see Figgy Duff in a bar venue. As the concert was about to begin the house was quite full. People of all ages, from small children to elderly people, could be seen in the crowd. The usual Figgy Duff following in St. John's, composed mainly of people from the St. John's artistic community between thirty and fifty, was also present. These people from the St. John's artistic community are usually called "artsy types". This term mainly refers to a style associated with counter culture. A few people were wearing formal dresses or suits but the majority were wearing more casual clothes.

The audience was very attentive and polite during the concert. The somewhat formal aspect of the Arts and Culture Center setting, where everybody is seated and distanced from the performers, contributed to this factor. However, with the exception of the most recent Figgy Duff gigs at the Loft, the audiences at the Figgy Duff shows in bars which I observed were also very attentive and polite, usually sitting down and listening carefully to the music, at times politely clapping but rarely dancing. For instance when Figgy Duff played for a week at

Bridgett's in August 1990 nobody danced; people who could not find a chair were seated on the floor near the stage and listened attentively and respectfully. It is true that a large part of Figgy Duff's repertoire is not very easy to dance too. However, during the last two concerts at the Loft, on the other hand, people started to dance almost right from the beginning and carried on until the end of the show -- I even noticed some people standing and dancing on tables, which seems to be quite unusual for a Figgy Duff gig in St. John's. This could be a result of the video of the song "Weather Out the Storm" which seems to have had quite an impact particularly on the young people in St. John's. At these two Loft concerts there were many more young people in the audience than before the release of the last album and the video.

On the stage of the Arts and Culture Center all the instruments, about twenty, had been placed on stands, next to the nine or ten microphones. A large white screen was on the wall at the back of the stage. At around ten-past-eight, the house lights dimmed and the audience became quiet. The Figgy Duff members came on stage in the dark and took their respective positions. That evening Figgy Duff had seven musicians on stage. On the far left hand side of the stage was Kelly Russell playing the fiddle, bouzouki, concertina, Celtic harp and tin whistle. To his right and slightly back was Bruce Crummell on electric and acoustic guitar and bouzouki. Next to him was Frank Maher seated on a chair playing the harmonica and accordion. He had three accordions in different keys, to be used depending on the number. To his left was Pamela Morgan on lead vocals, acoustic guitar, keyboards, synthesizer and tin whistle. Behind her was drummer Noel Dinn who would at times move in front of his drums to play the bodhran and, once or twice, keyboards. To his right and slightly forward was Rob Laidlaw on bass. On the far end, on the right hand side, was George Morgan on percussions and keys. Pamela Morgan was wearing a long dark velvet dress and high dark green suede boots while the men were wearing more casual clothes.

As they began checking their instruments, the audience applauded. The stage lights came up as they played the first number of the evening, "Yankee Skipper". After the first song which was well received, Pamela Morgan addressed the audience for the first time while the other members were setting up their instruments without looking at anybody. This is usually the case at each Figgy Duff performance: only Pamela Morgan and, occasionally, Kelly Russell talk to the audience, and only the two of them seem actually to be aware of the audience's presence. Usually it is Pam Morgan who announces the songs and Kelly Russell who announces the tunes. Morgan announces what the next song is going to be almost every time. Besides announcing songs she is also the one who welcomes and thanks the audience and introduces the musicians. At the Arts and Culture Center she welcomed the audience, after "Yankee Skipper", by saying:

> Thank you, thank you very much, welcome everybody, sufficiently warmed up now to talk to you [laughs]. It's nice to be playing back here again. You always know you're home when you can see the stars [Some people laughed in the audience]. Both outside and here inside.

When she talks about the stars inside she means the lights on the ceiling of the auditorium which indeed look like stars. At each Figgy Duff live performance I have seen, Morgan occasionally gives a brief summary of the traditional song she announces and mentions the collection or name of the person she learned it from. She also sometimes reminds the audience of the fact that she has spent a lot of her time learning songs from singers around Newfoundland. She alluded to this point twice during the concert, once while introducing the song "Siúl a Ghrá ": A lot of our songs we learned from older people around Newfoundland . . ." She emphasized this aspect again after the song, as she talked about the next one "Blackwater Side":

> I've been learning folksongs around Newfoundland for more years than I care to admit, but I found uh that among a lot of folksongs as a recurring theme, several actually, uh love and death are two main ones and uh then there is uh one like this next one we're gonna do which is of an unfaithful man and uh how they always sort of disappear especially when you're pregnant [some people laugh in the audience] . . .

Morgan, both at the beginning and end of the concert, insisted on the fact that they were glad to be playing in St. John's because it was their home, as she announced the last tunes of the evening:

> . . . this is the start of our cross-Canada tour and uh I wish I could say thank you to everybody who helped us because this is like our hometown, we really feel strongly about being here and it's really lovely to be playing for all of you people first, get warmed up on you see [laughs] . . .

The way Morgan addresses the audience is very controlled; she takes a high cultural approach introducing the songs, describing what they are about, sometimes trying in a subtle way to make people laugh.

As mentioned above, with the exception of Morgan and Russell, the other members do not interact at all with the audience and rarely look at the audience during and in-between the songs, usually checking their instruments while Morgan or Russell speak. They all seem to be cut off from the audience, withdrawn in their music. Even though Morgan does interact with the audience she is also withdrawn in herself, the way she interacts with the audience reflecting a certain barrier existing between the audience and herself. Morgan points out that she became the one who spoke to the audience because "nobody else wanted to do it" but she did not like it more than the other members (Tape no 2.5). The Figgy Duff members seem to be physically uncomfortable on stage, not really playing for an audience, hiding themselves behind their music as if the music was a curtain separating them from the audience. Kelly Russell is the only one who appears to be playing for an audience -- less withdrawn into himself and his music than the others.

Clinton Sanders, writing in 1974 about revival performers, distinguishes two kinds. First are the "entertainers", those who emphasize the totality of the stage presence rather than the music itself and who consider the performance and relationship with the audience as the "primarily orienting focus of their stage presentation" (265). Through their presentation on stage, choice of repertoire, verbal interaction with the audience the purpose of the entertainers is "to provide an enjoyable show for the audience" (266). The second category is what

Sanders calls the "musicians" who are more orientated towards communicating an aesthetic:

> In this case the musician values vocal and instrumental skill over the ability to verbally interact and a "feel" for the emotion of the music over the ability to verbally control the audience . . . (268).

Sanders argues that when the "musicians" speak to the audience it is usually to introduce the songs, talk about the historical background of the songs or technical aspects. He claims that t'.ese are also "part of a conventional control technique by which the musician attempts to construct a definition of the situation in which his presentation would be seriously accepted by his audience" (269). While the "entertainers" choose to maintain control of the performance interaction by trying to "provide an enjoyable show for the audience", the "musicians" choose to maintain this control by presenting themselves as being "seriously concerned with emotional and technical artistry" (268). Sanders also claims that while the "entertainers" emphasize a career orientation with financial success, the "musicians" stress artistic freedom and the appreciation of the audience (269). Sanders here is talking about two extremes of performers, which does not mean that there cannot be other options as far as stage presentation and style of performance is concerned.

Figgy Duff falls into the category of the "musicians". They value their musical ability, the complexity of their music and their "emotional and technical artistry" over the ability to entertain and interact with the audience. When Morgan or Russell talk to the audience it is usually to introduce the songs or tunes and sometimes talk about their content and background. As mentioned earlier, until recently Figgy Duff emphasized artistic freedom and an appreciative audience more than financial success, but even now that they are trying to orient themselves more than before towards a financially successful career, they still stress artistic freedom.

We can feel some tensions arising in Figgy Duff's performance because, on one hand, the Figgy Duff members take a high cultural approach, stressing their

musical ability, technical and emotional artistry. They are "musicians" not "entertainers", who wish to present a serious image of themselves through their choice of repertoire, the complexity of their musical arrangements, their stage presence and their choice of verbal interaction. This serious approach gives a formal aspect to the performance. On the other hand the band members want to present themselves as being rooted in the Newfoundland folk culture by singing traditional songs, establishing the connection between themselves and the folk performers during the performance, using colloquialism, and by attempting to give an informal aspect to their performance with a sing-along like "The Ten Commandments" for example. Figgy Duff uses "The Ten Commandments" in many of their live performances as a means to break the barrier which exists between themselves and their audiences.

Morgan and Russell always use the same routine by which they attempt to make the audience participate to the singing and thus attempt to bring in the audience into their performance. This routine also took place at the Arts and Culture Center towards the end of the first set.

> Morgan: Okay, we've got a song now for the young and the young at heart, which we hope includes all of you, I know we've got a few littler people here tonight because I can see some in the front rows, I know I have two nephews here and a daughter so, I'm sure there are some, and let's bring up the house lights now so we can get a good gawk at ye all. [The lights are turned on]
>
> Russell: Look at them all out there, [both Morgan and Russell laugh] hello [to the audience].
>
> Morgan: And the reason why we're bringing the house lights here is so that we can see which of you are participating and which of you aren't because the ones that aren't won't be allowed to leave after the concert and will have to stay there until they do it with us after, the song that is. Anyway it's one you probably have heard before because it's our on second album, and if you've heard it, you may have remembered this song. I'm gonna to start it off and I'll sing "Come and I will sing you" and you answer back "what will you sing me" and I'll sing "I'll give you one o" and your answer is "What will the one be" and I'll tell you it goes on like this until ten. So would you like to know what the melody is before we start? [nobody answers] Yes? [some people laugh in the audience]. You don't know it but you're gonna start anyway, it goes like this:
>
> Come and I will sing you
>
> Russell: What will you sing me?

> Morgan: I will sing you one o
>
> Russell: What will the one be?
>
> [Nobody sang along with Russell]
>
> Russell: Listen you've got to help me out, don't leave me all by myself, please. [people laugh]
>
> Morgan to the audience: you want to try? [nobody answers]"
>
> They go through the verse again, nobody is still participating.
>
> Morgan stops singing and says: "You up on the top [refers to people in the balcony] you're not getting away with it right" [more people laugh in the audience].

After that Morgan said "okay here we go" and Dinn, who had moved in front of his drum set began to play the bodhran. Morgan and Russell joined in leading the song. A few people might have quietly sung along with Russell but nobody in the audience could be really heard participating. The song is only accompanied by the bodhran and the other musicians with the exception of Frank Maher clapped their hands during the song. A few people in the audience also clapped along.

Morgan and Russell perform this song and this routine as a way of breaking this barrier between themselves and the audience, especially when the audience is listening respectively to them which was the case at Bridgett's in August 1990 and at the Arts and Culture Center. They did not perform this song at the Loft in January and April 1991 because people were dancing from the beginning and there was a very lively atmosphere. Consequently they did not feel the need to bring the audience into their performance in these two instances because the fact that people were dancing was a sign of close attention by the audience. It was very clear at these last two performances that the band and in particular Morgan and Russell received the energy of the audience by putting more energy in their music. At the Arts and Culture Center on the other hand the distance between the audience and the performers was wide due to the formality of the setting and this song was an attempt to bring both closer to each other.

This attempt is at the same time motivated by their desire to represent Newfoundland folk culture. In a way Figgy Duff want to be common, they want to

be the "folk" but they do not want to represent the stereotypes associated with Newfoundland folk culture. They cannot do what CODCO does, which is turning stereotypes of Newfoundland folk culture upside down, because they want to be serious, play serious music, and give a serious representation of Newfoundland music and culture. The fact that on one hand, they want to be "of the people" but on the other hand, they want to give a serious image of themselves and their music creates a dilemma which is reflected in their performance. Notice the use of colloquialism when Morgan tried to make people participate to the song: for instance, when saying "a good gawk at ye all". This use of colloquialism contrasts with the high cultural approach of the performance in the same way that the attempt to make the audience participate contrasts with the stage presence of the band during the performance. Both times I've seen them perform this routine it was not very successful -- people were amused by it but did not really participate. In the same way Morgan or Russell at times tell people that they should dance, this does not work either if people do not feel a certain energy coming from the band. I think it is difficult for the audience to become more involved with Figgy Duff's performance because there is a curtain drawn between the two and one attempt to make the audience participate during the performance is not enough.

With the exception of Morgan and Russell, the other members rarely even look at each other while playing. Russell and Morgan often face each other when playing a jig or reel and they both now and then look at the others. None of them really moves on stage either. Kelly Russell is again the only one who sometimes dances on the spot as he did during the instrumental tunes at the end of the concert and "The Ten Commandments". Morgan occasionally moves slightly her body but not her legs, as when she sang "The Ten Commandments" and the instrumental tunes during the concert. The others just play their instruments and seem to be oblivious of the world around them.

The numbers performed at the Arts and Culture Center were in the following order:

First set
1. "Yankee Skipper"
2. "Inside The Circle"
3. "Jealous Lover"
4. "Woman of Labrador"
5. "Siúl a Ghrá "
6. "Blackwater Side"
7. "The Gypsy" (instrumental)
8. "The Ten Commandments"
9. "The Goat Medley" starting with "Running the Goat", ending with "She Said She Couldn't Dance".

Second set
1o. "Henry Martin"
11. "Heart of a Gypsy"
12. "The Banks of Newfoundland"
13. "Snowy Night"
14. "Bad Blood"
15. "Weather Out The Storm"
16. "Auntie Mary" followed by "The Brother's Jig" (Instrumentals)
17. "Jim Rumbolt" (instrumental)
18. "Heel and Toe Polka" followed by "Paddy's Jig" (Instrumentals)

Figgy Duff played less jigs and reels here than they usually do in bars. They usually try to establish a certain balance and continuity in the way they choose to order their songs or tunes during their live performances. After starting with the comic ballad "Yankee Skipper", they carried on with one of their own songs, "Inside The Circle", followed by four slower songs. They continued with "The Gypsy", followed by the "Ten Commandments" with their attempt to make the audience participate and they finished the first set with more lively tunes. In the second set after the sea disaster ballad "Henry Martin", they played one of their own songs, "Heart of the Gypsy" followed by three slower songs. Then came their hit "Weather Out The Storm" followed by the instrumental tunes, which gave a more lively mood. Their gig at the Loft in April 91 was slightly different than usual in that they played more jigs and reels so that people could carry on dancing whereas when they play several slow or sad songs, people stop dancing and it is sometimes difficult to revive the dance mood again four or five numbers later.

During the concert at the Arts and Culture Center, images were projected on the large screen behind the stage, on and off during most of the songs. This was a last minute addition. The day of the concert Pam Morgan asked the lighting man at the Arts and Culture Center if he had any "back-drop scenes" and she chose among those that were available, as she explains:

> . . . he told me what I could and couldn't have in combination, so some of these images were superposed upon like two things on the one, in combinations that he would never had dreamed of . . . the mood of the song limited to what they had, but what they had that remotely was what was going on in the song I got them . . . (Tape no 2.5).

We note that Morgan here again emphasizes the uniqueness and originality of the band as she made a point to choose unusual combinations of projections. During "Inside The Circle" a globe representing the moon, trees and a castle in the middle appeared on the screen, stayed for a while then disappeared and the screen became red. At other times it was half a moon with a group of stars on each side and red smoke appearing on the screen, as for "Woman of Labrador". During "Henry Martin" red and yellow fire were projected on the screen, during "Heart of the Gypsy" the color of the screen changed to deep blue. A flash of lightning appeared on the screen at one point during "Weather Out the Storm". These projections did not really seem to illustrate what was going on in the songs but I found them interesting as they added something new to the performance. At the same time they were also another element beside the music behind which the performers sheltered themselves and added to the separation between performers and audience.

Figgy Duff very often has sound system problems during their shows. This happened at the Arts and Culture Center. The first feedback occurred during "Henry Martin" and started again during "The Banks of Newfoundland" and lasted throughout the song. As usual when this happens, the band looked worried, especially Morgan and Russell. Pam Morgan gave Noel Dinn a brief look of concern and carried on. Because Figgy Duff set for themselves a very high musical standard through their craftmanship and arrangements they also seek a

perfect sound and when they have sound problems, they always look worried, sometimes reacting badly. For instance at the St. John's folk festival in the summer of 1990, some of the Figgy Duff members had not come to do the sound check when it was planned to occur during the dinner break, consequently they had to do it in front of the audience just before playing. As soon as they started playing, they had serious sound problems, worse than usual, which lasted throughout their performance. The fact that the members were becoming more and more impatient with the incident was visible as apparently not much could be done to solve it. Morgan in particular could not really hide her anger while playing. Their sound problems do not always last long and the members' visible worry soon disappears, as was the case at the Arts and Culture Center. These sound system problems in fact contrast with their professional image and the high standard they set for themselves. As discussed in the first chapter, the Figgy Duff members explain these sound problems by the fact that they never had the financial means to have their own sound man, somebody who would do the sound for all their shows and therefore would know the kind of sound they need. Another explanation they give is that because they use many instruments, both acoustic and electric, it is very difficult to have a good sound. Besides, the fact that they have, in Morgan's words, "always been disorganized" as a band, may be another reason for their sound problems.

Figgy Duff's concert at the Arts and Culture Center was well received by the audience. People applauded quite warmly as the concert progressed. Some songs were extremely well received with some people shouting and whistling in appreciation, and applauding enthusiastically, for instance after "Woman of Labrador", "The Ten Commandments", "The Kissing Dance Medley" at the end of the first set and after the tunes "Auntie Mary" and "The Brother's Jig". After these two tunes, which had been announced by Morgan as being the last ones of the evening, Figgy Duff left the stage -- Pamela Morgan having said "thank you" and Kelly Russell, "Thank you" and "Good night". After a little while during which the

audience was applauding loudly and enthusiastically, shouting and whistling, the band came back on stage for the requested encore, Russell saying "Thank you, we do appreciate that, that should set us off on the road quite well . . ." After playing "Jim Rumbolt" the band left once more. The audience again applauded very warmly, more people shouting and whistling, then some people began to stand up, still applauding, and soon everybody in the auditorium stood up acclaiming the band. They came back for the second time, Pam Morgan saying "Thank you so much, thank you, you should stay up and dance". People laughed, a few applauded but everybody sat down as Figgy Duff played the last instrumentals of the evening, "Heel and Toe Polka" followed by "Paddy's Jig". The audience gave them the same warm reception, Morgan and Russell thanked the audience and left for good this time. It was ten o'clock, people slowly began to leave, looking pleased as I was myself. I heard people saying that "it was a good show".

b) Style

As mentioned earlier, through the choice of musical arrangements and instrumentation Figgy Duff seeks to create a unique sound. They arrange their songs and tunes in a complex and precise way that reflects their views of what music should sound like in order to be "interesting". Both the media and Figgy Duff consider their music to be mysterious, beautiful and somewhat mystical as well as serious, complex and thoughtful. These adjectives are vague but they are associated with particular sensations produced by Figgy Duff's music. We will now see by taking some examples of songs and tunes as they were performed at the Arts and Culture Center, how these effects are created by Figgy Duff and what they communicate.

Figgy Duff uses many different instruments both on records and during live performances. All but the accordion are "coloring" instruments to use Pam Morgan's terms, while the accordion is essential in order to play Newfoundland traditional music (Morgan, tape no 2.6). A recurrent pattern for Figgy Duff is to

create a building effect with their instrumentation so as to produce layers of sound. For example a song may start with bass and drums, or cymbals and guitar, or accordion or tin whistle alone, then the fiddle or accordion or electric guitar might come in, and so on. Some instruments might start and then disappear or only come back at the end of the song. Not only does the instrumentation create a building effect, the various instruments often interact playing different melodies. The use of counter melodies played by the guitar, fiddle or other instruments, various instrumental breaks or vocal or instrumental bridges within a song or tune is a recurrent pattern in Figgy Duff's arrangements. "An instrumental break" takes place when the instruments without vocals play the same melody of the song or play chords. A "counter melody" is a melody different from the melody of the song and is played over the melody of the song. A "bridge" is a melodic piece different from the rest of the melody. A "vocal bridge" occurs when the voice sings on a different melodic piece from the rest of the melody of the song. A "turn-around" is a short melodic piece played in between the verses of a song.

Figgy Duff does usually have turn-arounds in between the verses of a song. They sometimes intersperse traditional instrumental tunes between the verses of a song like the "Jealous Lover" or "Yankee Skipper", or they sometimes put a traditional tune at the end of a song. The fact that they often play several instrumental tunes together, one after the other without stopping, is also a recurrent pattern. This is actually common practice among folk instrumentalists. Morgan explains why this is done:

> . . . because it gives the music a lift you know . . . it makes it more of a piece of music . . . it has some changes in it, it gets boring playing one tune over and over again, no words to listen, nothing like that . . . (Tape no 2.5).

It is also common for Figgy Duff to try to illustrate with the instrumentation what happens in the song or the mood of a song, for instance by rendering a dramatic situation described in a song with a dramatic instrumental effect. For example in "The Greenland Disaster" the tin whistle, drums and accordion try to render the

sound of seagulls, while the cymbals represent the waves and the accordion tries to reproduce the sound of a fog's horn (Morgan, tape no 2.5). Some of the devices used by Figgy Duff such as the use of counter melodies, instrumental breaks, bridges, and the attempt to illustrate with the instrumentation what happens in the song are classical music techniques. Illustrating what happens in the song's lyrics with the instrumentation in particular is very orchestral and operatic. The British trad-rock bands also used these classical devices.

The sensations of "mystery" and "mysticality" in Figgy Duff's music are created by the visual conventions associated with the music. These effects are cinematic effects: like those produced by the sound-track of a movie. The effects created by Figgy Duff's music are illustrative of what happens in the song, they are very visual, suggesting images, expressing the mood of the song. The alternation between slow, loud, soft, sad, echoing effects in Figgy Duff's music makes it sound dramatic and creates this sensation of mystery and mysticality.

We will now look in depth at a few examples of songs and tunes as they were performed live at the Arts and Culture Center, sometimes drawing parallels with the recordings on the albums, in order to see how these stylistic devices occur. We will first take "Yankee Skipper" as an example; the song with which Figgy Duff began the concert. Noel Dinn tapped his drum sticks to count off the time and drums and bass, keeping the rhythm, started playing. Then the bouzouki came in playing the melody. The fiddle came in next playing a counter melody. As Pam Morgan began to sing the first verse of the song, the fiddle stopped and the other instruments carried on:

Concerning of a Yankee chap
He came to Clattice Harbour
He acted like he owned the place
And his name was Peter Nelson

To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido

Morgan stopped singing and they played the same turn-around as the previous one with the fiddle coming in to play a counter melody, stopping when Morgan sang the second verse:

He said fair maid come for a time
She never made an answer
But after a while she gave consent
Away the two of them scampered

To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido

Figgy Duff inserted three different tunes in between the second verse and the rest of the song. These were supposed to represent the dance attended by the two protagonists. As it often happens Dinn hit his drums twice and they shifted to the first tune illustrating the dance. The accordion played the melody while drums, guitar, bass and percussion kept the rhythm. The bass is often loud during Figgy Duff live performances, and it was the case in this tune, as it could be heard as distinctively as the accordion. Traditional tunes have often two or three parts repeated through several times. Following this usual pattern the tune here was played through twice. Dinn hit his drums twice again and they moved to a different tune with different time signature and rhythm. The concertina played by Kelly Russell and the accordion came in while drums, bass and acoustic guitar were also playing. This tune was faster than the first one with a 2/4 time signature which according to Morgan is indigenous to Newfoundland (Tape no 2.6). The first and second tunes were played in 9/8 time. After playing the tune around three times, they shifted to the third tune played in the same time signature as the previous one, but with a different beat. Cymbals were used here twice in the tune while the same instruments as before were playing. Then they suddenly slowed down as they returned to the melody of the song again, changing beat and rhythm. Morgan sang the last verses of the song, with electric guitar, drum, bass and fiddle which replaced the concertina:

They came out of the dance
And as they never could be easy
He met a man, said this to him
Land us aboard if you please Sir

To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido

So dark as pitch they went on board
All awhile they're chaffing
The man that landed them aboard
Knew her by her laughing

To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido

They went down to the cabin boys
Into the bunk they tumbled
Whatever the captain asked of her
The maid she never grumbled

To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido

For sleeping with the yankee chap
Her own true love she lost him
But she got herself a fine pair of boots
Cost five dollars in Boston

To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido
To me right for la di di fa
Do do la di di right for lor a-laido

As soon as she finished singing they shifted to another different tune which is supposed to illustrate the tumble in the captain's cabin. This same tune is inserted in between the fifth and the last verse on the album instead of being at the end of the song. Morgan calls this tune "a slip jig" which is played in 6/8 time (Tape no 2.5). Kelly Russell started the jig alone with the fiddle whereas on the album it is the accordion which starts alone. I found the fiddle playing here quite impressive, communicating a great deal of energy. Noel Dinn in the meantime had moved in front of his drums and started playing the bodhran which added to the mysterious effect created by the fiddle part. The sensation of mystery was created here first by the dramatic effect of the fiddle part and echoing effect of the bodhran. Kelly Russell himself is a very dramatic fiddle player and Noel Dinn is also a very dramatic drummer and bodhran player. The guitars came in while the fiddle was still playing the melody, dominating the other instruments. Next all the other instruments stopped playing and there was a bass solo which created a

strange effect in a traditional tune. I think that the bass solo was here unfortunate especially on this tune which was rendered very energetic by Russell's fiddle playing. After the short bass solo, the fiddle started playing again with bodhran, guitars and bass. The bass was still very loud here.

As in all the songs, Pam Morgan's singing voice alternates between two scales: at times she sings in a pure high soprano voice and at other times she shifts to a lower, fuller voice. Morgan sang "Yankee Skipper" very quickly at the Arts and Culture Center even though she always rushes through the words of the faster songs, which are often bawdy songs. On the other hand when she sings slower songs she tends to draw out individual sounds, stressing the last syllables of some of the words, often at the end of a line, but she still does not pronounce the words themselves very clearly and it is often difficult to be able to understand all the lyrics. It seems that the meaning of the songs is incidental; the way she sings sounds as if the music and the quality of her voice is more important to her than the words she sings.

I said earlier that Figgy Duff preferred serious songs -- slow, sad ballads to comic songs or ballads. Indeed the way they arrange and perform bawdy songs for instance, like here "Yankee Skipper", does not make the song sound as if it was a bawdy song. The only difference with the bawdy songs in Figgy Duff's performance is that the rhythm is faster and Morgan sings the song very fast. Because it is then difficult to understand the words, the fact that it is a bawdy song does not really come out. With "Yankee Skipper" all the different tunes between the verses of the song and the different rhythm and instrumentation gives a complex texture to the song and does not make it sound like a "bawdy" song either.

As Snider points out the songs that are supposed to be "happy" do not really come out as such with Figgy Duff's arrangements and performances because of the emphasis on giving the music a mysterious, complex and serious quality. As noted earlier the Figgy Duff members on stage hide behind their

music, in fact they hide behind the arrangements and the texture they want to give to the music. They take shelter in the perfection, precision and complexity of their music. This is not only reflected in the way they arrange and play the song but also in the way Morgan sings. Figgy Duff is very theatrical with the songs and tunes they play but not with their stage presence. The Figgy Duff members have adopted another classical device which is playing with great expression but without drawing the attention of the audience to themselves. What is presented to the audience is an experience of sound, but the group plays and sings in a very controlled fashion, in the same way Morgan talks to the audience. As "musicians" this experience of sound is more important than their ability to verbally interact with the audience. Kelly Russell is the only one who seems at times to be letting himself be carried away with the music, playing in a less controlled way as in the last instrumental tune at the end of "Yankee Skipper".

Another song performed at the Arts and Culture Center was the slow murder ballad, "Jealous Lover". The instrumental part, which starts the song and is inserted among the verses of "Jealous Lover", is a different tune from the melody of the song itself. It is an Emile Benoit tune called "The Wedding Waltz". This combination is ironical as "Jealous Lover" is about a man who murders his fiancee because she refuses to marry him. Morgan explains how she put the two pieces together:

> . . . it's really funny, both going together was an idea that struck me when I was out there at the time because Emile [Benoit] lives also in that area you see, and he was playing that song around the same time I was learning "Jealous Lover" so they sort of went together like that (Tape no 2.3).

Frank Maher started "The Wedding Waltz" playing the melody with the harmonica and Pam Morgan playing acoustic guitar. On the album it is the concertina starting the tune instead of the harmonica. Then cymbals came in, the harmonica stopped, the drums replaced the cymbals, and the bass also came in. Next Russell joined in with the bouzouki. Then they shifted to the melody of "Jealous Lover". Pam Morgan sang the first three verses of the song:

One night as the moon shown brightly[8]
And gently winds did blow
It was to her father's dwelling
This jealous love did go

What say we take a ramble
Down by the willow tree
And then if you'll forever
Consent to marry me

Oh ask me not she pleaded
Oh ask me not she cried
You know I've never loved you
How can I be your bride?

Kelly Russell put down the bouzouki and started playing the fiddle when she sang the third verse, and Bruce Crummell joined in with the electric guitar at the same time. After this verse they shifted to "The Wedding Waltz" again with the harmonica playing the melody over the other instruments. The fiddle stopped; Morgan sang the next three verses. Note that the next two verses were not included in the version on their album:

The night is dark and dreary
No longer can I stay
And really I think I am weary
I must retrace my way

Retrace your way no never
On this earth no more you'll roam
So bid adieu forever
To friends and happy home

Down on her knees she bended
A pleading for her life
Into her snowy white bossom
He plunged a bitter knife

After this verse the harmonica came back for the instrumental part, and the fiddle joined in at the end of the instrumental. The harmonica and fiddle stopped playing as she sang the rest of the song:

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[8]The syllables or words underlined in the song are those Morgan emphasizes while singing, drawing out individual sounds.

He laid her down quite lowly
Down by the willow tree
Left nothing but one snow bird
To bear her company

It was about three weeks after
On scaffold he did hang high
He was condemned for murder
He was condemned to die.

Cymbals were used several times during the last two verses over the electric guitar, creating a dramatic effect. After the last verse the instrumental part with the harmonica and fiddle at the end was played through twice.

As we can see most of the syllables stressed in the song are parts of words at the end of lines with a few exception. This way of singing contributes to making the song sound more dramatic as the arrangements and instrumentation do in the case of a slow, sad ballad like "The Jealous Lover". In the same way Figgy Duff's arrangements and instrumentation produce a mysterious and dramatic effect, Morgan's voice and her way of singing also have a dramatic and mysterious quality.

Figgy Duff does not always need to have complex instrumentation in order to make the song sounds mysterious and mystical, as the next example, "Woman of Labrador". George Morgan started playing the tambourine alone, then the synthesizer, producing a low drone came in. Shortly after, the bodhran came in while the synthesizer and tambourine were still producing the same sounds. Pam Morgan started singing shortly after, the synthesizer producing a different kind of drone.

Woman of Labrador
Children around your cabin door
Wondering when their daddy will be home
He's gone on the trapping line
Seems like such a long long time
Since he waved his last farewells
And left you alone

As she stopped singing, Kelly Russell, playing the tin whistle came in, then Pam Morgan, also playing the tin whistle, joined in while synthesizer, tambourine and

bodhran were still playing. The tin whistles played a different melody than that of the song. The plaintive sound of the tin whistles as well as the sound of the tambourine added to that of the bodhran and the synthesizer were producing sad, somber, echoing sounds, which created a sense of mystery in the music. The tin whistles stopped as she sang the last verse.

Woman of Labrador
Turn your mind to daily chores
Hunting and catching fish to feed your family
At night when they're all in bed
Go outside and raise your head
Watch the Northern light go dancing
Far over the sea

The same short instrumental bridge as before followed played by the tin whistles, the second tin whistle coming in shortly after. Again the tin whistles stopped as she sang the last verse.

Woman of Labrador
Those days are here no more
Wondering if your baby will ever understand
The hardships that you endured
When everyone you knew was poor
Sharing everything they had
And living off the land

After the last verse there was the same instrumental bridge with the tin whistles, then they stopped, the synthesizer shifted to a slightly different kind of drone, the bodhran and tambourine also carried on playing a little while longer, then the tambourine and synthesizer disappeared and the bodhran ended the song alone.

These efforts to give the music an etherial, mysterious quality and their desire for complexity in the music is not only reflected in their traditional repertoire but also in the songs of their own composition. As quoted earlier Pam Morgan mentions that three of these songs, including "Weather Out the Storm", were composed with "commercial aspirations" and were not "pure sort of thing" (Tape no 2.5). Nevertheless these songs still have the musical complexity they give to the folksongs, for example "Weather Out the Storm".

Noel Dinn hit his drum sticks twice to count off the time. Dinn on drums, Crummell on electric guitar, Kelly Russell on bouzouki, George Morgan on

percussion and Pam Morgan on piano began to play, then Morgan started singing while the same instruments were carrying on:

Sometimes it feels like freedom
Sometimes it feels like pain
From the sea of love and heartbreak
The tide rolls in again
I'm running out to meet it
But you just run away

Chorus
Don't have to hide away your pain
We'll help you weather out the storm
The shades of color in the rain
We'll help you weather out the storm

A turn-around followed the chorus before Morgan started singing again:

Sometimes it feels like evil
Sometimes it feels like rain
For some a dream of passion
For others just a game
But if it once has touched you
You know you'll never be the same

Chorus
Don't have to hide away your pain
We'll help you weather out the storm
The shades of color in the rain
We'll help you weather out the storm

The same turn-around as before was played, then a bridge, that is a melodic piece different from the rest of the melody started as she sang the third verse:

A phantom ship adrift without a port of call
Lost refugee I've watched you fall apart
Between the devil and the deep blue sea
Open up your heart oooo
There was hysteric laughter, I heard you crying after
Outside of your disaster the rain was falling faster

A second bridge, different from the last one, started when she began singing the next verse:

So tell me tell me tell me
Why it makes you cry
It was your first time in the sun
Once burned twice shy
I's come around again

Did it really hurt so bad it let it pass you buy

After this last verse the instruments go back to the melody of the chorus:

Chorus:
Don't have to hide away your pain
We'll help you weather out the storm
The shades of color in the rain
We'll help you weather out the storm

Chorus:
Don't have to hide away your pain
We'll help you weather out the storm
The shades of color in the rain
We'll help you weather out the storm

The synthesizer and bass came in during the second verse after she sang the word "passion". Dinn, Laidlaw and Russell sang harmony on the second and fourth line of each chorus and at the last two lines of the third verse beginning with "There was hysteric laughter . . ." During the last two verses cymbals were used repeatedly. After she sang the chorus twice an instrumental with an electric guitar break came to conclude the song. This electric guitar break, as most of the times it occurs in Figgy Duff's songs, did not dominate the other instruments but was more used as a colouring effect.

Even though they tried to make this song more accessible for "Joe Public's ear" to use Morgan's terms, the tune is certainly not easy to remember and is very difficult to sing because of the various melodic changes that occur when she sings it. Thus we find the same musical complexity as in the arrangements of traditional songs and the same efforts to give the music a mysterious, etherial quality. Morgan points out, commenting on "Weather Out the Storm", that having two bridges in a song is an "unorthodox behavior". This reflects their desire to maintain a unique sound through the complexity of their arrangements in their own songs even though they tried to make them more popular. In the same way she mentions that another of their own songs "Snowy Night" is very unusual because the beat she wrote in 3/4 was then turned around producing a "weird" effect and it is also unusual in that "it's just one all piece melody that doesn't fit any verses format" (Morgan, tape no 2.5).

All these musical effects we have described constitute the uniqueness of the Figgy Duff sound. We have seen that a certain paradox is reflected in Figgy Duff's live performance. On one hand their performance, especially at the Arts and Culture Center, was very high cultural in their arrangements of the Newfoundland traditional songs and music and urban musical influences, their behavior on stage, the distance between performers and audience, the attentive and respective ears of the audience. On the other hand they wish to be representative of Newfoundland and its culture, by which they mean rural Newfoundland culture, through their performance of Newfoundland traditional songs. Their wish to represent Newfoundland is shown through their emphasis on doing Newfoundland tunes and songs, on reminding the audience of the fact that they have learned songs from older people around Newfoundland, that they have spent a large part of their life looking after this music, and their use of certain Newfoundland colloquialism.

3) Audience Perceptions of Figgy Duff

After discussing the message communicated by Figgy Duff's performance we will now see how Figgy Duff and the message they communicate in their performance are perceived by their audiences. First we will see how the band members themselves think that they are perceived by audiences in rural Newfoundland, St. John's and outside Newfoundland. Second, I will discuss how Figgy Duff is perceived by the media in and outside Newfoundland. Third, I will examine how Figgy Duff is perceived by people in Newfoundland. In order to discuss how the Figgy Duff members think that they are perceived by their audiences, I will use their accounts and stories concerning their experiences in rural Newfoundland, St. John's and outside Newfoundland. In order to see how they are perceived by the media in and outside Newfoundland, I will particularly use press reviews and articles. In order to get a sense of how people in Newfoundland perceive Figgy Duff I have surveyed forty people in St. John's.

a) Audience Perceptions of Figgy Duff from the Band Members' Perspective

All the Figgy Duff members interviewed believe that the band has always been perceived differently in rural Newfoundland, St. John's and outside Newfoundland. They all agree that Figgy Duff has never been very popular in rural Newfoundland. In many communities where they played people did not like Figgy Duff's music and in some places they were openly hostile. The band sometimes encountered negative individual reactions to their music as Kelly recalls one particular incident:

> . . . I was told uh playing in a bar in Twilingate in a place that was called the "Pig and Whistle" and uh this uh really hefty, burly sort of chap came up to me in between songs and told me "if you play one more tune on that fiddle, I'm going to shove it up your hole" . . . [laughs]
>
> L: What did you do then?
>
> KR: I put down the fiddle and picked up the mandolin [laughs], I was afraid for my life that night . . . (Tape no 4.2).

It happened that the whole audience did not receive Figgy Duff very well, as a result they have on occasions been fired from the bar where they played. This was the case on Fogo Island as several of my informants remembered. Kelly Russell recalls:

> . . . I remember the Fogo Island Motel where we had a week-end gig three nights Thursday, Friday, Saturday, we played the Thursday night and nobody liked the band and we got cancelled for the two other nights, the few people that showed up that night didn't like the band and the guy who hired us didn't like it either . . . (Tape no 4.2).

On several occasions as soon as the band started to play, the people in the audience would leave, as Panting points out: ". . . We went through really strange things in the early days, people actually got up and walked out of clubs, we cleared out whole clubs . . ." (Tape no 5.2). Frank Maher recalls a time where most of the audience in a bar left because they did not like Figgy Duff's music:

> I remember one Halloween dance we've played, I forget where it was, out around Holyrood down that way, we started to play and everybody walked out,

there was about ten or twelve people who stayed, we went down and sat down with them and started to play . . (Tape no 8).

On other occasions people in the audience started a fight and Figgy Duff had to run away. For instance the Figgy Duff members interviewed who played in Terrenceville, doing their Christmas show, all remember this incident, which was an extreme case, as being one of the worst. Phil Dinn tells the story:

. . . that was the most eeriest place we've ever dealt with was down in Terrenceville . . . we were doing a Christmas show down there, it was like a mummer's play . . . we were in the gymnasium and they had it all done up, Christmas tree and all that kind of stuff. And we got there Jesus that was an eerie spot . . . they sent the school principal down, the school principal walked through the door and somebody whapped him over the head with the chair, just knocked him cold right on the floor and they just took over the gym, they tore down every decoration that was in the place.

L: While you were playing?

PD: Yes, they tore the whole place down and then we stopped and we said "look that's it we're packing up and we're leaving", so myself, Art and Kelly we went down in one corner right back down the gymnasium, we were just acoustically playing, and like bottles were sliding across the floor smashing up against the chairs, crash . . . on the other end Des Walsh was on tour with us and people like that at that time and they were frantically packing up the gear so what we were doing was distracting while that was going on and then the equipment was in the van and before they knew it, we just packed up the accordion, zip in the van. Next one these big boulders are coming down breaking out the side of the window. Then we got out, we got down the highway and there was only one gas station and whatever happened . . . we never had enough to get out of Terrenceville . . . and they were getting in their cars back there so we had about ten minutes grace, and this guy got up out of bed and he came out and said "no, no, no the gas station is closed and we said "look you got your fucking arse off here quick and get some gas in this van". Jesus just as we got out on the highway pulling out again . . . they were coming after us in the cars so we just stepped down and got out of there really quick . . . (Tape no 6.2).

In other places the whole community would be hostile towards the band as soon as they arrived, before they even played. Pam Morgan recalls such an instance:

. . . Little Bay Islands we were out like and this was a place where of course everybody knows each other because it's a very small community, right . . . we got off the ferry and it was winter, and icy roads and we were pushing the van up over these hills and everybody was looking at us at their windows and nobody would help us right, nobody . . . they knew who we were and we got about ten kids at the concert and that was all and the person who said we could play at the hall there didn't even show up to open the door, he sent a kid

> over with the key and let us in to set up, so we set up after having pushed the van up the hill and it was awful, just awful . . . (Tape no 2.1)

Not in all the communities where they played in rural Newfoundland were they badly received; in some places the audience liked their music. Most of the members point out that the audiences reacted differently from one community to the next. Dave Panting comments:

> . . . at other times it'd be just great, you'd hit the right crowd of people . . . communities in Newfoundland vary anyway, attitude wise, the whole feel of the community can vary just a few miles down the road, it has nothing to do with the other people at all, one place might be very friendly, the other place might be kind of frustrated and might have a bit of violent atmosphere . . . (Tape no 5.2).

Some of my informants argue that usually the band was better received in smaller communities where people were not used to see bands playing and where there were no bars. In these smaller places Figgy Duff would usually play in the school. Russell comments: ". . . I think generally when we played in clubs where bands usually played we didn't go over . . ." (Tape no 4.2). In places which had no bars and which therefore were not used to having bands, any concert would be an event for the whole village. On the other hand when Figgy Duff played in the bar of a community which was used to having bands playing every week, people going to the bar had a definite idea of what they wanted to hear and usually it was not Figgy Duff's music.

The Figgy Duff members interviewed offered several explanations for the lack of the band's popularity in many of the Newfoundland outports. First, my informants argue that people going to the local bar in their community on a Friday or Saturday night usually wanted to hear country and western or rock 'n' roll bands because that was the kind of music they were used to, they enjoyed and wanted to dance to. Because it was the community bar where the locals went to regularly they wanted to dictate the kind of bands they wanted to hear and if the band playing did not correspond to what they expected they left or became hostile. For instance the band Red Island got the same negative reaction in many places around the bay because they did not correspond to what the rural audiences wanted to hear, as Jamie Snider comments:

> . . . Usually that universal hatred [laughs], that revulsion from the audience was what we got, uh 'cause people usually wanted to hear old rock 'n' roll or country and western . . . (Tape no 15).

Second, my informants also claim that another reason for Figgy Duff's lack of popularity among rural Newfoundlanders is that many of them, especially young people, rejected Newfoundland music because they considered it to be old-fashioned, the music of their parents, in favor of rock 'n' roll. These songs that they considered to be "old-fashioned" were not the kind of songs the people who went to a bar on the week-end wanted to hear.

Another reason given by some of my informants is that the traditional songs performed by Figgy Duff were the songs that the people in the audience might have heard being sung by their parents or grand-parents or other people in their kitchen and to them were not songs which should be performed on stage and combined with electric instruments. For instance Anita Best recalls singing some songs in a community where she had actually learned the songs and several people in the audience knew the songs. However Figgy Duff was not very well received in this particular place because the people there did not want to hear these songs in a bar but also because they were used to hearing these songs sung a cappella and in a total different context. Besides, the sad ballads which constituted a large part of Figgy Duff's repertoire could not be danced to. Again people going to the local bar wanted to be able to dance and not sit down and respectfully listen to murder ballads.

Some of the Figgy Duff members also believe that a culture lag existed between Figgy Duff and the rural audiences as Figgy Duff members, being urban, had been exposed to various contemporary musical forms. For Figgy Duff it was a natural progression to create a new sound combining rock with folk music. On the other hand people who were about their age in rural Newfoundland were just discovering various kinds of rock 'n' roll and as a result that was the music they wanted to hear. Pam Morgan tells an anecdote which seems corroborate this idea:

> . . . So one particular club we went to, and they really, I mean "play rock 'n' roll, play rock 'n' roll" all night long so that was okay. So about eight years later we went out as Flip Side and like we didn't play hardly any traditional songs, I mean we didn't have an accordion player with us in Flip Side, we just went out and play, "play some Figgy Duff, play some Figgy Duff" right and that's what we heard all night long. They didn't want it, they wanted to hear Figgy Duff 'cause by that time the news of the band had filtered in through like you know and we're just, we got drunk that night and had the biggest kind of laugh over it. I mean it was just like you know, what is one supposed to do? I mean they always want what you don't give them it seems . . . what you're not playing is what they want for some strange reason, I don't know what it is . . . but that was the most sort of blatant example of what generally . . . was happening like, we were getting really tired of trying to get this music accepted and people were just started to accept it . . . like they were several years behind us, and then we were several years behind them, it could never seem to quite connect in some ways, it was really bizarre (Tape no 2.3).

Another explanation given by some of my informants for the lack of Figgy Duff's popularity in rural Newfoundland is that the audiences in the outports could not identify themselves with either the musical form Figgy Duff was presenting or the appearance and stage presence of the band members. As Panting points out:

> . . . we were getting some really strange reactions because we were doing something totally off the wall and in some of these places . . . when you're coming with a certain energy that people weren't used to at all . . . and we weren't used to it either, you know it wasn't only them, it was us too . . . (Tape no 5.2).

It was very much the meeting of two totally different cultures in some ways: a group of young, urban, idealist, middle-class revivalists performing in front of rural, working-class people. Both had lived apart from each other, had had different experiences and identified themselves with different musical forms.

Besides as several of my informants point out, Figgy Duff looked like "a bunch of long haired hippies" to use Pam Morgan's terms. All the men in the band, except for Art Stoyles, had long hair in the early days, most of them wearing very colourful clothes, Pam Morgan wearing long dresses to perform, all travelling in an old van. Most people around Newfoundland could not identify themselves with these young "hippies", they were too different from them. Anita Best talks about this:

> . . . And you had Phil there, hair down to his waist almost and Noel long hair you know and Noel always dressed most outlandishly, like brilliant jade green coduroy pants or red velvet pants. Men around the bay don't dress like that, I think maybe five years ago was the very first time I ever saw Noel Dinn in a pair of jeans, he simply didn't wear jeans because everyone wore jeans so he wouldn't wear jeans . . . he looked more like a man from Jamaica more he did like a Newfoundlander from the point of view of his dress, he was very colorfully dressed all the times and wearing colourful hats and . . . that didn't go over around the bay, they weren't interested in that, what the fuck you know, and then Pam and I used to wear long dresses, everybody would be looking, everybody would be coming in polyester slacks and blouses and there you'd be in a long sort of diaphonous dress so they're not going to relate to you at all . . . that was another way the audience was alienated from us, we looked weird to them . . . (Tape no 8.1).

If it happened that they played in front of an audience in rural Newfoundland who was composed of young people who did look like "hippies", they would not understand why Figgy Duff was playing these "old Newfoundland songs" and this traditional music. For them counter cultural music was rock 'n' roll. They rejected Newfoundland music because to them it was the music of their parents and grandparents and the fact that Figgy Duff combined Newfoundland music with electric music was not enough. They were looking for their own expression away from any kind of Newfoundland music. Phil Dinn relates:

> I remember we went to this one place on Twilingate Island there one time and we walked into the club . . . and there were kind of an isolated hippy type of club, there younger chaps, younger fishermen and dope was on the move . . . and all of us had long hair, you know sort of taking on the image . . . in a couple of places it was quite eerie situations, we'd come in and they figured out the exact, like we would supply exactly what they thought, they looked at us and they thought now we are one . . . they are comrade of ours until the band started to play and then Jesus then you'd get this reaction . . . (Tape no 7.2).

Besides looking like "hippies", both their stage presence and approach to the music itself were very different to what rural audiences were used to and expected. We have seen in the analysis of Figgy Duff's live performance that Figgy Duff are "musicians" and not "entertainers", they do not really interact with the audience, hiding themselves in the complexity of their musical arrangements. Both Panting and Best argue that many people around the bay were also put off by the band's attitude on stage, because that was not what they were used to,

they seemed to prefer "entertainers", bands who made them laugh and dance. Anita Best comments:

> . . . Figgy Duff has always stood there, looking very dour [laughs] not smiling or anything, they don't interact with the audience very well . . . whereas the Grand Band were hopping around everywhere [laughs] doing all this showbiz type thing . . . it's the same reason why The Thomas Trio[9] is very very popular and Dead Reckoning[10] is not so popular because Dead Reckoning turns their back to the audience and plays through [laughs] it just like what Figgy Duff used to be right, you either like the music and you go because you really like the music, you certainly don't go to watch the performers perform because they don't perform . . . (Tape no 8.2).

Figgy Duff's approach to the music was not always appreciated around Newfoundland either. Among people in rural Newfoundland who would have listened to traditional songs and music, there were those who did not like the way Figgy Duff arranged and performed these songs. Pam Morgan recalls how an old traditional singer from a small community in Newfoundland told her at a folk festival that he did not like Figgy Duff's music because he found there was "too much noise" which prevented him from hearing the song itself (Tape no 2.1). According to Morgan she had encountered other people from around the bay who had the same reaction. Because of the combination of electric and traditional music, this music did not sound familiar to people who were used to one particular way of performing Newfoundland traditional music. For this reason some people around Newfoundland have told Figgy Duff that they were not playing Newfoundland music, because the way of performing this music was not the way they were familiar with. According to Snider the fact that Figgy Duff presented "the darker side" of Newfoundland music by singing many sad ballads and also in their ways of arranging the music as to make it sound mysterious and dramatic was not appreciated by many people around the bay.

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[9]The Thomas Trio is a local band playing funk music, which won a trip to Japan in the "Battle of the Bands" and is now playing mostly in Toronto. Their presence on stage is very lively, they interact with the audience, jump around the stage on occasion -- especially the lead singer -- and bring the audience into their performance.

[10]Dead Reckoning is a local rock band which is still playing locally. Unlike Thomas Trio and more like Figgy Duff they do not really interact with the audience, looking dour and not really moving while performing.

Several Figgy Duff members feel that because of the complexity and seriousness of their music people in rural Newfoundland considered them to be high-brows, urban snobs who thought themselves to be superior to rural Newfoundlanders. Anita Best presents this point of view:

> . . . they thought that Figgy Duff was an academic elite, rarified intellectual crowd of people . . . there is a whole crowd of Newfoundlanders who think this music is too rarified, it's too intellectual, it's too unfamiliar, for one thing if you try to put interesting musical accompaniments, look at Simani, I mean three chords, four chords very familiar, you know what you're gonna hear, you hear the first three bars and you know what the rest of the song is going to be, the words are interesting but the music is very standard you know you've heard the first minute of the song, you've heard all the song but people like Noel and Pam especially couldn't possibly do that, it's just too boring and then people feel like you're being superior . . . because you're doing something more complicated and more complex . . . but then you won't find a musician in Newfoundland who doesn't appreciate the Duff, musicians know what's happening and this is a really interesting chord and this is a really interesting arrangement . . . and they appreciate that but the general audience they don't regard that kind of complexity as laudable, they regard it as an exercise in separation. They think Figgy Duff is stuck up because they make their music complex, they're not one of the boys, Simani are one of the boys, they're just like us sort of thing whereas Figgy Duff always seemed to people, that's my reading of it anyway, to have the attitude "we're superior to you" . . . but in fact that wasn't the case and we really longed for people to accept us, especially Newfoundlanders, we really longed for them to understand what we were trying to do and it was a big frustration when our own people didn't understand what we were trying to do . . . (Tape no 8.2).

People living in rural Newfoundland interpreted Figgy Duff as being "high brows" or "stuck-up" not only because they did not appreciate the complexity of their music but because that was also the meaning they read in Figgy Duff's distant attitude on stage, their lack of interaction with the audience, their distinctive appearance, and their serious approach to the music. The fact that they were urban, middle-class and educated for the most part, was very clear to the rural audiences which were often working class, and the same applied to working class audiences in St. John's. This immediately created a dichotomy between the band and the audience. The working class audiences both in rural and urban areas felt that Figgy Duff was imposing their own views of how Newfoundland music should be played in order to sound interesting and be good music. Rural Newfoundlanders felt that people in St. John's considered

themselves to be superior and they interpreted this imposition on their own aesthetics as being another expression of an urban elite superiority.

Best and Panting also point out that Figgy Duff refused to compromise just to satisfy the audiences, either by changing their looks or clothes or by playing what the audiences wanted to hear. Their appearance as well as their music was the way they chose to express themselves and they were not going to give them up in order to be better accepted, even though they had included a few rock songs in their repertoire. As Best points out, the members of Figgy Duff wanted to be accepted by rural Newfoundlanders and did not understand why they encountered this resentment and these hostilities. Ironically they did not want to compromise by changing their appearance, although they were aware that this was alienating the rural audiences from them, but at the same time wanted to be accepted by the rural audiences. The Figgy Duff members wanted to be different -- the way they chose to look and dress expressed a counter cultural statement -- but they also wanted to be accepted for who they were and for the music they did.

To the Figgy Duff members their craftmanship, complexity and precision of arrangements made the music sound beautiful and they did not really understand why the rural audiences did not hear the beauty of the music they were presenting to them. They were willing to sing a few rock 'n' roll songs if the audience reacted really badly but they were not going to change their entire musical style in order to please the rural audiences in Newfoundland when they were trying to be accepted for who they were and what they were trying to do. On the other hand many rural Newfoundlanders had different musical aesthetics, they liked country and western or Newfoundland country music or rock 'n' roll and they could not relate to the music that Figgy Duff presented to them, it did not correspond to their aesthetics. To the rural audiences Figgy Duff was not representative of Newfoundland folk culture. As mentioned earlier Figgy Duff's performance reflects on one hand their desire to be rooted in the Newfoundland

folk culture and on the other hand they want to present a serious image of themselves and their music which leads them to taking a high cultural approach. The rural audiences felt that Figgy Duff were not part of Newfoundland folk culture because they could not relate to the band's musical style, appearance, presence on stage. To these audiences Figgy Duff was just a riddle.

The members of Figgy Duff all claim that they have always been more popular in St. John's than in the rest of Newfoundland. They have had from the beginning a following in St. John's composed for the most part of urban middle-class artists and intellectuals although they now seem to attract a wider audience. Apart from their usual following Figgy Duff was not received well by all audiences in St. John's. They were not always popular in bars which attracted a more working class audience and who were used to a different kind of music, for the same reasons that they were not always popular around the bay. For instance George Morgan recalls a gig they did at the First City Motel on Kenmount Road in St. John's, which is mainly a country and western bar and where Figgy Duff was not appreciated:

> . . . we didn't go over very well . . . very few people and they didn't wanna hear Figgy Duff, well actually . . . the manager I think overheard some comments, people saying "that's not Newfoundland music", right you know what Figgy Duff were doing, it's not real Newfoundland music (Tape no 11).

Anita Best relates that the same thing happened when she was part of Figgy Duff and they were playing at the Benevolent Irish Society downtown: ". . . a couple of fellows got drunk 'that's not fucking Newfoundland music'" (Best, tape no 8.1). It also happened when playing in some bars in St. John's that they were booed off stage depending on the type of bar and type of customers who were there.

Several Figgy Duff members or ex-members point out that even though the band has always been more popular in St. John's than in the rest of Newfoundland, they were never popular in terms of attracting a large crowd of people who would line up to see them. However after their third album, more people in St. John's are going to see them perform; there was a line up at the Loft in January 1991 to get in.

All the Figgy Duff members interviewed argue that the band has always been more popular outside Newfoundland, particularly in the rest of Canada and the United States, than in Newfoundland. They occasionally would encounter some negative response from the audience in the early days of the band when playing outside the province but it was usually because they had been booked in the wrong places. Dave Panting talks about it:

> You can get booked in a wrong room and that's totally a business thing, I mean if you go to some rock club in North Toronto . . . if your agent books you in a biker club North of Toronto or something, there's not a bit you can do about that, they don't want to hear you, you're in the wrong place . . . that kind of stuff would happen, uh over the years we got booked in some ghastly places, totally out of wack with what the band was trying to present but it was a matter of trying to stay alive, trying to make money, that happens to every band no matter what they play has to go through that, be stuck in a place where they don't belong . . . (Tape no 5.2).

They also occasionally encountered "purist" reactions from other revivalists who did not think that traditional music should be combined with electric music. Sometimes a few Newfoundlanders in exile who were in the audience would not like what the band was doing and would express it, for example Panting recalls:

> I had one man, a Newfoundlander, come up to me in a club in Montreal and just say like you know . . . he couldn't understand where the hell we thought we were from, we had nothing to do with Newfoundland at all . . . (Tape no 5.2).

Phil Dinn also remembers being booed off stage a few times when they played at Newfoundland clubs in Toronto. Apart from these specific cases Figgy Duff was on the whole well received by the audiences outside Newfoundland. The Figgy Duff members explain that they were more popular when playing in front of a non-Newfoundland audience because these people did not have any preconceived ideas of what music should sound like in order to be Newfoundland music. For instance Derek Pelley points out:

> Well, you know there's always a sort of uh, especially in Newfoundland a bit of contempt almost for your own music . . . your own things that you're familiar with and I think people elsewhere it was something new to them, they hadn't been inundated with it since they were kids and therefore it was sort of with fresh eyes . . . (Tape no 16).

Besides, some people in the rest of Canada, the United States, and Europe had

heard Fairport, Steeleye and other folk-rock groups so that even though what Figgy Duff was doing was "a revolutionary thing", to use Noel Dinn's term, in Canada, some listeners were already familiar with trad-rock.

b) Media Perception of Figgy Duff

From the articles written on Figgy Duff in the Newfoundland newspapers, mostly from St. John's, and the newspapers from outside Newfoundland that were available to me, the press is usually favorable to Figgy Duff, except for the occasional complaint about their sound system problems. It should be pointed out that many of these articles were given to me by Noel Dinn, Pam Morgan and John Parsons so it is possible that they only kept the good reviews. The other articles, which I found in The Memorial University Center For Newfoundland Studies, were however also favorable to Figgy Duff.

As there are some differences between the media perception of Figgy Duff in Newfoundland and outside, I will separate the two. We will first look at the media perception of Figgy Duff in Newfoundland. The media in Newfoundland tends to stress the importance of Figgy Duff in reviving and preserving Newfoundland cultural's heritage. For example, Geoff Meeker writes in his review of a Figgy Duff show in 1981:

> . . . Figgy Duff has showcased several songs from a Bonavista gentleman named Mose Harris, a well known man in local circles who has since deceased. If it weren't for the ardent attention of Figgy Duff, Mr Harris's songs would be lost forever, save the humming and whistling that his family doubtless carries on . . . Now do you see the importance of what the band is doing (Meeker, "Upbeat: Figgy Duff Keeping the Music Alive" 24).

Most of these articles also stress the importance of Figgy Duff in reviving traditional songs by adapting them to contemporary music. For instance Geoff Dale argues in the RB Weekender, 1984, that:

> Figgy Duff captures the essence of the island's Newfoundland history (much of it learned by word of mouth from residents along the coast). What makes the group intriguing is its success in infusing these elements with the power of pop, largely though the arrangements and Dinn's instruments ("Weekender Pop News After The Tempest: Figgy Duff").

Several articles mention the importance of Figgy Duff's role in renewing young Newfoundlanders' interest in their own music, as Len Penton writes in 1984:

> Their music has inspired a whole generation of Newfoundlanders to examine and enjoy their cultural heritage with a well earned understanding of their present electronic and electric age . . . (qtd. in The Daily News, "CBC to Record Figgy Duff for Arts National").

Several of these articles stress the fact that Figgy Duff is composed of talented musicians and they give particular attention to Pamela's Morgan voice and manner of singing. For example James Wade, in The Sunday Telegram, 1980, describes her voice as "astonishingly beautiful" ("Figgy Duff: Magic and Memories"); John Gushue declares in The Sunday Express, 1990: "The purity of Pamela's Morgan voice is Figgy Duff's most precious instrument . . . " ("An Enchanted Evening with Figgy Duff"); and Len Penton also argues in The Evening Telegram, 1980: ". . . Pamela Morgan . . . whose voice has remained a strong and important stamp of the band" ("Figgy Duff's First Album" 15).

Another recurrent theme in these articles is the uniqueness of the Figgy Duff sound and the uniqueness of their style and arrangements. Neil Murray writes in the Newfoundland Herald in 1980:

> The harmonies are strikingly original. Most "trad-rock" bands never get beyond imitating the type of arrangements introduced by the British groups Fairport Convention and Steeleye Span which quickly degenerated into a stale formula. When they first started the Duff sounded a bit like Fairport or Steeleye, but now they have a totally distinctive style that owes as much to classical music as it does to rock (Record Review: "Figgy Duff").

As another example Geoff Meeker emphasizes in The Newfoundland Herald, 1983:

> . . . No one sounds like Figgy Duff . . . they take a basic tune on a fiddle, or even a simple recitation, and wrap it in layers of electric bass, drums, accordion, bodhran, hammer dulcimer, guitar and other instruments, to create music that is touching, beautiful, yet faithful to the note of the original, much simpler verse. You better believe it's unique! (Geoff Meeker, "Figgy Duff: A fine Album for a Unique Group") 37).

Apart from "unique", words like "beautiful", "pure", "magic", and "real" are also commonly used to depict Figgy Duff's music. For instance James Wade in his review of Figgy Duff's concert at the Arts and Culture Center of November

6th, 1990 writes: ". . . the group delivered two fine sets of music which delighted the audience with its magic and stirred many memories . . . " ("Figgy Duff: Magic and Memories"). The realness of their music is also emphasized, for example in The Newfoundland Herald TV Week, 1978, it was said that "The Newfoundland music they play is the real thing, gathered from the original sources through several years of dedicated work" (Figgy Duff: Newfoundland Traditional Band Signs World-Wide Pact").

In a few cases the media in St. John's portrays Figgy Duff and the uniqueness of their music as a metaphor for the uniqueness of Newfoundland and its culture. For example James Wade stresses that: ". . . As with all great ensembles, they are the product of a unique time and place. Only Newfoundland in these times, could produce a Figgy Duff" ("Figgy Duff: Magic and Memories"). In the same way Laurie Brown uses Figgy Duff several times as a metaphor for Newfoundland in a CBC national television report, in January 1991:

> Throughout pretty steady hard times, Newfoundland has somehow managed to hold on to its individuality, spun from that unique culture is Figgy Duff, a folksie band seeking Newfoundland traditional music (Tape no CBC.3).

In the same program she uses the band and their music as a metaphor for Newfoundland climate, hardships and its people:

> For fifteen years Figgy Duff has been making traditional Newfoundland music, some things haven't changed in that time, the winters are still as difficult. So is trying to sell this kind of music to the rest of the country, but their new album "Weather Out the Storm" has the band looking to new horizons, no matter how far afield they go, Figgy Duff still has that remote Newfoundland perspective of being a land apart . . . . "Weathering Out the Storm", Newfoundlanders are legendary in their ability to make a good time, there's a lot of cold grey days and weeks of sleeting snow in Figgy Duff's music so the great find is discovering that so much joy grows in such a cold and rocky place (Tape no CBC 3).

In this last quote Figgy Duff becomes equated with Newfoundland as if they were one, confusing one with each other at times. However Figgy Duff as a metaphor for Newfoundland's uniqueness, landscape or climate, is not used as much in the St. John's media as in the press outside Newfoundland as we will now see.

As in the St. John's articles, the press outside Newfoundland usually emphasizes the fact that Figgy Duff got its traditional material directly from performers, that they preserve traditions that would have otherwise been lost and that they do not change the words nor the melody of the songs. In these reviews Figgy Duff are very often compared to Steeleye Span and Fairport Convention, much more so than in the Newfoundland newspapers. As in the St. John's newspapers most of these articles stress the competence of the musicians, and praise Pamela Morgan's voice for being "beautiful" "pure" and "powerful". For example, a review by Maritza Morgan in The Chautauquan Daily (New York), 1982, argues:

> Pam Morgan is a wholesome young woman with a gorgeous voice, full bodied, void of twangs, twists and reediness usually affected or I should say burdened by many so-called folk-singers ("We Could Have Danced All Night").

Figgy Duff's music is usually considered to be "beautiful" and "emotional", as is Pamela's Morgan voice. For instance a review in The Globe and Mail (Toronto) says:

> Pamela Morgan is a treasure, a vibrant singer whose voice can communicate the eloquence of traditional singing, while her fresh, inventive phrasing blows away any hint of the perfume and stale air of the concert hall. The whistles, mandolins, accordions and even flashes of synthesizer are played with respect and unpretentious skill. With music this full of life and emotion, Figgy Duff could risk giving folk a good name again ("Figgy Duff Returns Good Name to The Folk").

Several of these reviews, as in the last quote, argue that Figgy Duff's contemporary sound and arrangements made folk music sound better. Another example is Michael Clugston in Maclean's, 1981, who says that "Figgy Duff's modern arrangements are enriching the traditional songs of Newfoundland".

A large number of the articles found in the non-Newfoundland press praise Figgy Duff very highly, considering them to be among the best folk bands. For instance Peter North in The Edmonton Sun, 1987, calls Figgy Duff "The roots of Newfoundland's greatest gift to the contemporary folk scene" ("Figgy Duff's Folk a Feast for the Ears"); Greg Allen in The Press, Atlantic City (New Jersey), 1981, writes that: ". . . Canada's Figgy Duff is the most exciting and inventive folk find

I've heard since the Chieftains arrived on the scene" ("Figgy Duff: A Superb Record Indeed"); Peter Goddard in The Toronto Star, 1976, claims: "This band is simply one of the finest, most enjoyable, and most stimulating groups to appear in the country in years" ("Figgy Duff Band Not To be Missed").

Most of these articles also emphasize the uniqueness of their sound and arrangements. Besides being portrayed as "unique", Figgy Duff's music is also commonly described in the non-Newfoundland press as being "mystical" and "haunting". Dave Larsen in The Dayton Daily News (Ohio), 1990, talks about "the haunting hybrid of Figgy Duff's music" ("Figgy Duff gives Tradition A Musical Twist"); Fiona Martin in Fresh Weekly (Oregon), 1990, writes: "They enhance the mystical nature of the folklore from this remote island"; Eve Zibart in The Washington Post, 1990, also argues: "Vocalist Pamela Morgan has a voice both powerful and shimmering and as mystical as her name" ("The Doctor's Bag").

Some of the Canadian and American newspapers emphasize the fact that Figgy Duff reflects the uniqueness of Newfoundland, for example, Chris Probert in Entertainment Weekly (Toronto), 1977, mentions: ". . . Figgy Duff was able to draw on the unique aspects of Newfoundland culture". The majority of these articles in the Canadian and American press views Figgy Duff as representing Newfoundland culture. They talk about Figgy Duff's music evoking images of Newfoundland culture and they equate Figgy Duff with Newfoundland culture. Figgy Duff's music becomes a metaphor for Newfoundland. For example, Ken Roseman in The Unicorn Times (Washington),1981, claims that with Figgy Duff's music: ". . . one gets a sense of what it's like to live on the rocky Newfoundland shore, eking out a living as a sealer or fisherman ("Old Meets New"). Jeff Davis writes in The Press and Sun Bulletin (Binghamton, New York), 1990:

> I've never been to Newfoundland but after last Wednesday night I shall always think of Canada's easternmost province as a lyrical place of stark and stunning beauty. I can thank Figgy Duff for that . . . ("Figgy Duff's Music is New-found Source of Joy")

Fiona Martin in the Fresh Weekly (Oregon) says: "The Music of Newfoundland is, like the island itself, wild and beautiful . . ." Figgy Duff is often portrayed as

evoking the images usually associated with Newfoundland as in Roseman, Davis and Martin's comments: a beautiful, wild landscape, a rocky shore, and also the sea as in the following remark: "You can smell the brine when Figgy Duff plays" (Ted Shaw "Figgy Duff: A blend of Past and Present", 1982).

Some of these articles go even further in using Figgy Duff as a metaphor for Newfoundland in that not only the music is a metaphor but the band itself and parts of their bodies become metaphors for parts of Newfoundland. For example, Graeme Morton in The Cowichan News (Vancouver), 1980, comments: "Pamela Morgan is quite simply a stunner, with huge brown eyes the size of Placentia Bay" ("Figgy Duff a Tasty Musical Treat"). In the same way in several articles the members of the band are a metaphor for the traditional Newfoundland pudding Figgy Duff is named after. Alan Kellog in The Edmonton Journal, 1982, writes: "Figgy Duff's Noel Dinn sounds about as tired as an old dish of the raisin-studded pudding Newfoundland's premier folk band is named for" ("Figgy Duff Captures Imagination"); "Like the popular native pudding of its name, Figgy Duff is a tasty blend of musical ingredients" (Shaw, "Figgy Duff: A Blend Of Past and Present").

Most of these articles also use various stereotypes associated with Newfoundland and its music and apply them to Figgy Duff and their music. For example, Graeme Morton writes:

> The group was as its best when it burst into a dazzling array of lively jigs and square dances, the kind you'd hear in a tiny community hall in Codfish Harbour with the whole town dancing, drinking Screech and generally carrying on like folks possessed while a winter gale howled outside ("Figgy Duff a Tasty Musical Treat").

Several of these articles also tend to emphasize the "bawdy" songs in Figgy Duff's performance and the lively jigs and reels which get people "stomping". As mentioned earlier, "bawdy" songs have always constituted a very small part of their repertoire.

The media, in St. John's and outside of Newfoundland generally portrays Figgy Duff as representing Newfoundland culture. In Newfoundland the press

praises Figgy Duff because it has been successful outside the province; it is more than just a local band, and for this reason the press treats them like celebrities. Outside Newfoundland, the journalists also praise Figgy Duff and very often present the band as being representative of Newfoundland culture. To these journalists a Newfoundland band playing Newfoundland music is representative of the culture as they imagine it to be.

c) Audience perceptions of Figgy Duff in Newfoundland According to a Survey

Forty people in St. John's were also asked their point of view on Figgy Duff in order to obtain a sense of how Figgy Duff is perceived in Newfoundland, even though these people only represent a very small number of the population. Among these forty informants, ten were people I knew and whom I talked to directly while the remaining thirty were people around the university who I asked to fill in questionnaires. Ages ranged from seventeen to fifty years old. All the people I approached, either by questionnaire or directly, knew who Figgy Duff were, with the exception of one student who had never heard of them, but many people did not know the band's music very well. Several young people in their twenties seem to have only learned of the band after their last album, because they heard them on the radio and saw the video.

As the data was obtained differently I will discuss separately the people surveyed by questionnaire and those I talked to. The questions asked were: how long had they known of the band, had they seen them performing, did they own any of their records, what did they think about Figgy Duff and its music, and did they think that Figgy Duff represented Newfoundland culture.[11] Out of the thirty people surveyed by questionnaire, there were seventeen students, two secretaries, three accounting clerks, a mason, a copyright officer, a travel agent,

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[11]A copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix III.

a geologist, an archeologist, a publications assistant, a managing editor and a teacher. Nine of them were from St. John's, five from Mount Pearl, eleven from rural Newfoundland, and five from other towns in Newfoundland. Most of the people surveyed seemed to like Figgy Duff music, some more than others. Some said that they did not know their music well enough to express a point of view. Twenty of them said that Figgy Duff represented Newfoundland culture mostly because Figgy Duff are Newfoundianders, play Newfoundland traditional music and in one case because Figgy Duff's music is "dedicated to different parts of Newfoundland". Mary, seventeen from Bay D'Espoir believes that: "yes, it keeps the music from our ancestors of 'old Newfoundland' alive and strong, thus promoting Newfoundland culture".[12] Peter, twenty-three from Bonavista answers:

> Yes I do. For their music especially, traditional, does have popular and relatively broad based support. People of my age group can enjoy it and relate to it for not only are they skilled musicians but they utilize electric instruments more commonly associated with popular music. They strike an acceptable balance between traditional music and the popular music which most people today are more familiar with.

A different answer is that of Bob from St. John's.

> In that Newfoundland culture is rapidly becoming a reflection of mainstream North American popular culture, I'd consider them representative. There are elements of traditional genres in their music and instrumentation but their music is principally a light-rock formatted approach here.

Another person says that he is not sure if Figgy Duff represents Newfoundland culture but he feels that they "present an extremely positive image of the island. They are modern, tasteful and very polished".

Six people say that they do not know of them well enough to decide whether or not they are representative of Newfoundland culture. One thinks that their new songs are not really representative of Newfoundland culture but the traditional songs are. Three out of thirty do not really think that the band represents Newfoundland culture. Michael, a mason, from Marystown argues:

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[12]The names used here are fictive.

> Well, is there really anything or anybody who really represents Newfoundland culture, they may present the cultural music but the Newfoundland culture itself is best represented by our past as opposed to our present.

Joyce, in her thirties, from Gander, a copyright officer who has followed the band since the 1970s believes that:

> Somewhat, although they're a little too 'high-brow' technically to be truly representative of typical Newfoundland culture. (The typical is found 'around the kitchen table'. If can't do it without benefit of electricity it's not really typical.)

Finally Kate, twenty-five, a student from Gambo argues:

> Not really. I think that's a misconception about all Newfoundland folk artists. just because you're a Newfoundlander does not mean you know enough to be a cultural symbol . . .

Out of the ten people I asked for their point of views directly, there were six students, a secretary, a teacher, a sound man and a light man. Only one of them had not seen Figgy Duff perform live and did not know their music very well. They all think that Figgy Duff are good musicians but not all of them like Figgy Duff. One of them who is involved with the Folk Arts Council states that when she saw them the first time about ten years ago, they "looked like hippies" and that gave her a bad impression and she does not like the fact that it is difficult to understand the words when Morgan sings. Sarah, forty-two from Grand Falls, secretary, supports the idea of preserving and reviving Newfoundland traditional songs but she does not like the fact that they "seem to be only preserving melancholic" songs and they lack of variety of mood. She likes bands like "The Sons of Erin", "The Irish Rovers" where people go "to have a good time". She does not think that they represent Newfoundland culture:

> . . . they look like hippies and they say they represent Newfoundland, they're a lot of people in Newfoundland who've never heard about these songs . . . celtic music is not typical of Newfoundland music, I don't want Newfoundland music to be portrayed like that.

Lynn, twenty-two, a student from St. John's, did not know them well enough to decide whether they represented Newfoundland culture or not but she was wondering how they could be representative of the culture if they were not very popular around the bay. Richard, in his late twenties, student from St. John's,

thinks that the "whole idea of representing Newfoundland culture was kind of silly". He argues that what they were doing was "basically to make money", and that all culture is becoming commodified, but he does not see anything wrong with that in itself because "ideology is fine but people have to make money". Two students in their early twenties believe that Figgy Duff represents some aspects of Newfoundland culture but that it is impossible to represent the whole culture. Carol, twenty-three, student from St. John's, thinks that Figgy Duff represents the Newfoundland culture of today and that they have brought "the past and present together", to her what is from the past should not be untouched but adapted to today's time.

The three others have been part of Figgy Duff's following in St. John's from the beginning. John, in his thirties, teacher, liked what they were doing in the beginning but not any more. He believes that at the beginning "what they were doing was pure, simple whereas now, it's more and more electric". He feels that now "they just want to get a name, they just want success". He thinks that they were representing Newfoundland culture when they only sang traditional songs but not with their new album.

Henry, in his thirties, who has always been a "fan" of Figgy Duff, is disappointed with them, he feels that they have betrayed their loyal following in St. John's because they refuse to play here often.[13] He perceives that "now they're only after fame and they don't care they have a loyal following there, they took their stuff from Newfoundland out and now they won't even play here". He also preferred the "old stuff", the traditional songs to their new songs. He claims that their stage presence has sometimes contributed to their lack of popularity with some audiences:

> ". . . they seem to take it all as jobs it seems, rather than having fun with what they're doing . . . not putting forward what the enjoyment of the music has to offer . . . like if they're not showing that they're having a good time, it's going to go against the audience too looking at it and saying 'Jesus, they're not into this' . . . (Tape no 14).

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[13]Part of this interview was tape-recorded.

Henry feels that Figgy Duff shares Newfoundland culture but does not truly represent it, "there's more to it than it's music, of course it was the hardships and the different lifestyles and ways people lived . . . " (Tape no 14).

Brian Best, Anita Best's brother, who has worked with Figgy Duff as a sound man and has gone on tour with them very often thinks that Figgy Duff represents Newfoundland culture:

> Sure it do because they're Newfoundlanders and they're part of Newfoundland culture and they're thinking human beings . . . and doing something about it . . . and hopefully you'll get some rewards for it . . . the music is good now as it ever was, it has been changed but it hasn't been compromised, the folksongs that are being done are still being done with a great deal of intelligence, their arrangements are being done the way I like them . . . and a lot of people around here feel the same way but still you're in the minority in terms of audience, the popular vote is still not with Figgy Duff . . . (Tape no 13).

We have seen that Figgy Duff's performance communicated a message which was interpreted differently by audiences in rural Newfoundland, St. John's and outside Newfoundland. According to the band's accounts of the audiences' reaction in rural Newfoundland, Figgy Duff was not considered to be representative of Newfoundland but was seen as "high-brows" who were imposing their own musical aesthetics on the audience. From the results of the survey in St. John's, which included urban and rural Newfoundlanders, the audiences in Newfoundland appear to be divided as to whether Figgy Duff is representative of Newfoundland culture. Some think that they do because they sing Newfoundland traditional songs and are Newfoundlanders while others feel that because Figgy Duff's musical style, presence on stage, and appearance communicates a high-cultural image they cannot truly represent the whole Newfoundland culture. The press in Newfoundland tend to consider Figgy Duff as being representative of Newfoundland culture at least to a certain extent. Outside the province, most of the American and Canadian newspaper articles assume that Figgy Duff is representative of Newfoundland culture, and Figgy Duff is sometimes portrayed as if they were one with the culture itself. The Canadian and American journalists feel that Figgy Duff is representative of

Newfoundland culture because to them a band of Newfoundlanders singing Newfoundland traditional songs, connecting themselves with Newfoundland folk culture is representative of this culture. The fact that they take a high cultural approach does not really matter to these audiences because they are urban themselves and it does correspond to their aesthetics. Many of these journalists do not really know Newfoundland or they only know the stereotypes associated with Newfoundland. Some of them apply these stereotypes to Figgy Duff and their music even if Figgy Duff does not evoke these stereotypes but just because they are a Newfoundland band.

CONCLUSION

Several paradoxes concerning Figgy Duff have been noted in this thesis. First they were a group of young, urban, for the most part educated and middle class, artists who began to search for identity and affirmation among the old, rural, and working class people. They thus turned to a world which was totally opposite to what they knew in order to find their identity.

The Figgy Duff members, on one hand, had a tremendous respect for rural Newfoundlanders, and for the qualities of truth and beauty they perceive to be represented in traditional music. On the other 'nand Figgy Duff felt the need to transform this traditional music, that they respected so much, into a different idiom. They did this transformation because they needed to find their roots in their own idiom. They were themselves young urban people who had grown up with urban values and urban music. They were not satisfied with these urban values and felt that rural values would be more fullfiling. At the same time they could not renounce the urban values they had grown up with, in the same way they could not renounce the music they had grown up with and had learned to play, either classical music, various kinds of rock 'n' roll, blues or jazz. Thus bringing urban and rural values together, by bringing traditional and contemporary music, was a way for them to solve their problems of identity.

Another paradox comes from the fact that the music created by the members of Figgy Duff out of this folk culture had no place in that very society. Even if on a personal level they established lasting relationships with some of the people they learned the music from in rural Newfoundland, who they were as a band had no place in this culture. This leads to the last paradox: even though the members of Figgy Duff had a tremendous respect for traditional performers and rural people, many rural audiences seemed to consider Figgy Duff as "high-brows" and "urban snobs". Noel Dinn even insists on the fact that they were

fighting against the 'townie' versus 'bayman' dichotomy, and that unlike most 'townies' they were not "looking down on 'baymen'" (Interview with Noel Dinn). However, many rural audiences interpreted Figgy Duff's performance, through their stage presence, appearance and musical style, as "townies", who were showing that they were more sophisticated and who were trying to impose their own urban aesthetics on the outport Newfoundlanders. The fact that the members of Figgy Duff adapted this traditional music to their urban aesthetics in order to make it sound "more beautiful" and "more interesting", instead of performing it in the traditional style they had learned it in, seemed to convey that they thought of themselves as being more sophisticated. As we have seen they do emphasize the fact that their music is serious, complex, mysterious, well thought of, that it is "a music lover's music". The rural audiences perceived this emphasis as being an expression of urban elite superiority.

The Figgy Duff members and other revivalists, not only in Newfoundland but also in urban areas of other countries, turned towards folk culture and rural life because they had problems in finding their identity in societies which were becoming increasingly modernized and urbanized. In order to find their identity the members of Figgy Duff were trying to construct a notion of Newfoundland as a distinct place to which they could belong to. They synthesized various urban contemporary musical forms with traditional music representing the different traditions found in Newfoundland because they wanted to create a Newfoundland which could embrace a common way of life with shared traditions and a shared music, which would transcend class boundaries. They wanted to create a Newfoundland without class divisions, without an urban versus rural dichotomy. They felt that music could be the unifier because it was a common bond shared by all Newfoundlanders.

The members of Figgy Duff, like the other urban revivalists, in fact did not want to recreate a culture that they admired, but they wanted to create an image of a shared past rooted in the Newfoundland tradition which also embraced the

present day. They wanted to construct the idea of Newfoundlanders as one people, who would be proud of their own culture, with their own tradition, their own music and their own ways of life, one people who would be proud of who they were.

Figgy Duff and its contemporaries did not succeed in bringing about that sense of unity by tearing down all barriers within Newfoundland, but they did succeed both in St. John's and outside Newfoundland in rehabilitating a positive image of Newfoundland and its culture.

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APPENDIX I

Folksong Annotation

"Yankee Skipper": One variant collected from Jack Pittman in Fox Harbour by Sheldon Posen and Wilf Wareham on March 6th, 1971 is in MUNFLA, no C1078/68-7[1]

"Rabbits in A Basket": A variant, entitled "Two Rabbits in a Basket" was collected from Robert Child in Ramea by Jesse Fudge on December 19, 1967, Munfla no C477/68-7; another variant, "The Rabbits" was collected from Luke Walsh in Little Bay, Marystown, by Neil P. Power on April 27th, 1987, MUNFLA C1996/74-178.

"Tinker Behind The Door": Newfoundland: Peacock, 1965: 318.

"The Greenland Disaster": "The Greenland Disaster" II. Newfoundland: Mercer 128; Peacock, 1963: 215, 1965: 926; Fowke, 1967: 51; Saunders, 1960: 19 (fragment).

"Jim Harris": Newfoundland: Lehr, 106.

"Henry Martin": Child ballad no 250 called "Henry Martyn". This ballad is derived from another Child Ballad "Sir Andrew Barton", no 167: United States: "Sir Andrew Barton", Coffin and Renwick, 250; "Andrew Bardeen" (Child 250):

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[1]Each time archive numbers are given, the first one is the tape number and the second is the accession number corresponding.

Randolph I 177-178; Belden 87-89. "Henry Martin": O'Moore 115-117. Newfoundland: Karpeles, 1971: 103 (A). Seven variants reported in Canada, three in Newfoundland, three in Nova Scotia and one in Ontario, Doucette and Quigley 11.

"Jealous Lover": Laws, Native American Balladry, p. 191, lists this as F1 in the "Murder Ballads" category. See Laws for American texts. Maritimes: Creighton, 1979: 103.

"The Wexford Girl": American texts: See Laws, American Ballads from British Broadsides p. 267 as P35 in the "Ballads of Unfaithful Lovers" category; Newfoundland: Peacock, 1965: 634.

"Rosy Banks of Green:" Newfoundland: Leach, 1965: 326; Peacock, 1965: 701, 703.

"Babes In The Greenwood": Child no 20 "The Cruel Mother". Child gives several Scottish variants. United States: Coffin and Renwick 221-222. Newfoundland and Canada: "Cruel Mother", Doucette and Quigley 10, they list 26 variants in Canada, 12 in Newfoundland and 12 in Nova Scotia. Newfoundland: Karpeles, 1971: 34-36. "Babes in the Greenwood", Peacock, 1965: 804-805.

"John Barbour": Child Ballad no 100, "Willie O' Winsbury", Child mentions an English variant called "Johnie Barbour" and lists Scottish texts. United States: Coffin and Renwick 96. Newfoundland: Greenleaf and Mansfield no 13, "Young Barbour or, The Seven Sailor Boys"; Peacock, "John Barbour", 1965: 534-36; "Willie O' Winsbury": Doucette and Quigley 10, found twelve versions in Newfoundland.

"A Sailor Courted A Farmer's Daughter": Laws in American Balladry from British Broadsides, p. 246, as "The Constant Lovers", O41, in the "Ballads of Faithful Lovers" category. Maritimes: Creighton, 1966: 99, "A Sailor Courted"; Creighton, 1979: 44.

"Thomas And Nancy": Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides, p. 148, lists this as K15 in the "Ballads of Sailors and the Sea" category. Newfoundland: Greenleaf and Mansfield 114; Peacock, 1965: 729-73.

"The Maid On The Shore": Laws in American Balladry from British Broadside, as K27 in the "Ballads of Sailors and the Sea" category. Newfoundland: Greenleaf and Mansfield 63: "The Maiden Who Dwelt By The Shore"; Peacock 1965: 296, "The Maid on The Shore O". Nova Scotia: Mackenzie, 1928: 74, this variant is called "The Sea Captain". This last variant is closely related to "The Broomfield Hill", Child no 43.

"Blackwater Side": Britain: Kennedy no 151, p. 351: "Down By Black Water Side"; Other variants' titles "Down By The Greenwood Side" and "Down By The Shannon Side".

"Siúl a Ghrá ": Ireland: "Shule Agra", Graves 50-51. United States: "Shoo, Shoo, Shoo-Lye", Lomax, 1934: 298; "Shule Aroon", Belden 281; "Shule, Shule", Randolph I, 400-402; Sharp II, 1932: 50; Hudson 1936: 275-276.

"Dans La Prison De Londres": Newfoundland: Thomas, 1978: 21.

"The Ten Commandments": Newfoundland: Lehr 39-40; Mercer 189; Greenleaf, 1968: 91, "The Carol of The Twelve Numbers"; Karpeles 1971: 251;

Peacock, 1965: 801. For American texts see Campbell and Sharp, no 109 (North Carolina); Flanders and Brown, 1914: 88-85); Fuson, 1931: 187. For English texts see Sharp no 97, 1975 edition: ppXLii-XLiV; Williams Alfred, 1923: 286-288.

"The Darby Ram": Newfoundland: Mercer 112; Peacock, 1965: 10. Maritimes: Bissell, 1970: 14. United Sates: Randolph I, 398-400; Sharp II, 1932: 184-187; Fuson, 1935: 58; Flanders and Brown, 1931: 100-101; Belden, 1940: 224-225.

"The Fisher Who Died In His Bed": Newfoundland: Mercer 120; Peacock, 1965: 125; Canadian: Fowke, 1967: 64. The original poem "Jim Jones, The Trawler" is to be found in Harrington, 16-17.

"The Banks of Newfoundland:" United States: Laws in American Balladry from British Broadsides, p. 153, as K25 in the "Ballads of Sailors and the Sea" category. Newfoundland: Doyle, 1927: 21; Greenleaf and Mansfield 230-31. Nova Scotia: Mackenzie no 161.

"Quand J'Etais Fille De L'Age De Quinze Ans": Newfoundland: Peacock: 1965: 581.

"Now I'm Sixty Four": Newfoundland: Byrne, *The Ryan's Fancy and Other Stuff Book* 85; variant in MUNFLA collected from Gordon Burton in Luddex Bight by John Widdowson and Harold Paddock, no C303/66-25; other in MUNFLA collected from George Earle, Change Islands by W. Wareham and J. Kellum, no C4647(A)/77-264; "Sweet Sixteen" in MUNFLA, collected from Gerard Hayes, Cape Broyle, by W. Gertrude Keduglt and M. F. Furlong, no C2014/74-22b; Harry Hibbs, "Sweet Sixteen" 25284-12, At the Caribou Club ARC AS-794.

APPENDIX II

List of Figgy Duff Songs and Tunes On Commercial Recordings

First Album
Figgy Duff. LP: Posterity Ptr 13014; Cassette: Hypnotic Productions, WRC4-5841, 1980.

Side One:
1. Half Door; Larry's Lancer; Mother On The Doorstep

2. Rabbits In A Basket

3. Now I'm Sixty Four

4. The Greenland Disaster

5. Tinker Behind The Door

6. Fisher Who Died In His Bed

7. 4-Stop Jigs

Side Two
Quand J'Etais Fille A L'Age De Quinze Ans

8. Kissing Dance Medley

9. Rosy Banks of Green

10. Geese In The Bog

11. Matt Eiley

12. Emile's Reels

Second Album
After The Tempest. LP: Boot BOS 7243; Cassette: Hypnotic Productions,

WRC4-6162, 1983.

Side One
1. Honour Riches; Breakwater Boys Breakdown

2. Heel And Toe Polka; Paddy's Jig

3. A Sailor Courted A Farmer's Daughter

4. Centennial Highway Reel

5. Cooley's Reel

6. The Darby Ram

7. Auntie Mary; Brother's Jig

Side Two
8. The Gypsy

9. The Ten Commandments

10. Lake St. John's Reel; The Blackthorn Stick

11. Dans La Prison De Londres

12. Thomas And Nancy

13. Jim Rumbolt's Tune

Third Album
Weather Out The Storm. Cassette: A&M Records, 71356-1000-4, 1990.

Side One
1. Weather Out The Storm

2. Heart of A Gypsy

3. Jealous Lover/Wedding Waltz

4. Snowy Night

5. Woman of Labrador

Side Two
6. Inside A Circle

7. Yankee Skipper

8. Rumbolt

9. Bad Blood

10. Henry Martin

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire on Figgy Duff

1) Age:

2) Male Female

3) Profession:

4) Home Community:

5) What kind(s) of music do you prefer?

6) How well do you know of the band Figgy Duff? Please give details (For how long have you known of the band? Have you seen them perform live? How often? Do you own any of their records? Have you heard them on the radio? and so on.)

7) What do you think of Figgy Duff and its music? Please be as detailed as possible.

8) Do you think that Figgy Duff represents Newfoundland culture? Why or why not?

APPENDIX IV

Tape List and Concordance

The following is a list of tape recordings which have been used for this thesis, showing the numbers which have been assigned to the tapes. This list is divided in three parts:

1. Taped interviews (Including my own and those of Clara Murphy)
2. Interviews recorded from radio and TV programs
3. Private recordings of Figgy Duff performances

1. Taped Interviews

a. Own taped interviews

In this section of the list only, seventeen tapes are assigned MUNFLA shelf list numbers. The MUNFLA accession number for these seventeen tapes is 91-226. The other tapes do not have MUNFLA numbers when the people interviewed did not wish to deposit the recordings in MUNFLA.

No 1		Noel Dinn, October 1990.
No 2		Pamela Morgan
2.1		15 October 1990.
2.2		15 October 1990.
2.3		15 January 1991.
2.4		21 January 1991.
2.5		21 January 1991.
2.6		5 February 1991.
No 3	C14309	Bruce Crummell, 19 December 1990.
No 4		Kelly Russell
4.1	C14310	3 January 1991.
4.2	C14311	3 January 1991.
4.3	C14312	3 January 1991.

No 5		Dave Panting
5.1	C14313	7 January 1991.
5.2	C14314	7 January 1991.
No 6	C14315	Frank Maher, 17 January 1991.
No 7		Phil Dinn
7.1	C14316	22 January 1991.
7.2	C14317	22 January 1991.
7.3	C14318	22 January 1991.
No 8		Anita Best
8.1	C14319	31 January 1991.
8.2	C14320	31 January 1991.
No 9		John Parsons
9.1		3 February 1991.
9.2		3 February 1991.
No 10		Sandy Morris
10.1	C14321	29 January 1991.
10.2	C14322	29 January 1991.
No 11	C14323	George Morgan, 29 January 1991.
No 12		Neil Bishop, February 1991.
No 13	C14324	Brian Best, 18 February 1991.
No 14		Henry, 10 March 1991.

No 15 Jaimie Snider, March 1991.

No 16 C14325 Dereck Pelley, 23 March 1991.

b. Interviews Conducted and Recorded by Clara Murphy

No M-1. David Benson, 27 November 1991.

No M-2. Pat Byrne, 29 November 1991.

No M-3. Paul Mercer, 26 November 1984.

No M-4. Neil Murray, 19 November 1984.

No M-5. Neil Rosenberg, 28 November 1991.

No M-6. Andy Samuelson, 20 February 1985.

2. Interviews Recorded from Radio and TV Programs

No CBC-1. Interview with Figgy Duff. 17 September 1977.

No CBC-2. Musical Friends. Interview with Noel Dinn, Pamela Morgan and Emile Benoit. 16 September 199O.

No CBC-3. Interview with Noel Dinn. 23 October 1990.

No CBC-4. Documentary on Figgy Duff aired on CBC television. January 1991.

3. Recordings of Performances

No P.1. Figgy Duff at the Arts and Culture Centre. Why Do You Want to See the Harbor For?. Recorded by Dereck Pelley. St. John's, April 1975.

No P.2. Figgy Duff at the Brand E Saloon. Recorded by Flip Janes. St. John's, [1985?].

No P.3. Figgy Duff at the LSPU Hall. Recorded by Flip Janes. St. John's, [1987?]

No P.4. Figgy Duff at the Arts and Culture Centre. Recorded by Fred Maret. St. John's, 6 November 1991.

APPENDIX V

List of the St. John's Bars and Halls Mentioned in the Thesis

Bridgett's Pub, 29 Cookstown Road.

Benevolent Irish Society, Queen's Road.

Continental Lounge, (no longer exists), Duckworth Street.

Dirty Dick's, (now The Ship Inn), 265 Duckworth Street.

Fishing Admiral, 203 Water Street.

First City Motel, 479 Kenmount Road.

Graduate House, 112, Military Road.

Harbor Inn, (now The Picadilly Pub), 83 Duckworth Street.

Kingsbridge Hotel, 2 Kingsbridge Road.

LSPU Hall, 3 Victoria Street.

Station Tavern, (no longer exists) Water Street.

The Loft, Haymarket Square, 223 Duckworth Street.