FOLK DANCE AND DANCE EVENTS IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND

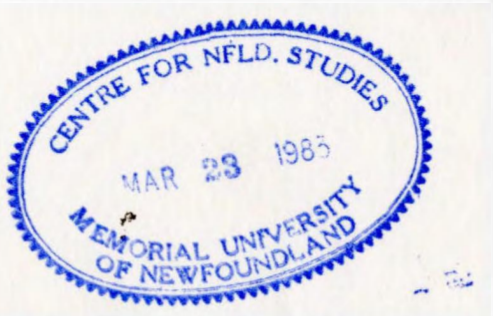
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FOLK DANCE AND DANCE EVENTS IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnography of folk dance in Newfoundland based on a holistic view of dance behavior in culture. Descriptions of dance movements and their performance contexts are presented. Research was conducted in archives, through interviews with informants, and by means of observation in the field. Detailed study in several communities around Plate Cove East, Bonavista Bay, has served as a standard for comparison among these sources.

The dances are classed as group, individual, or couple in organization. Informants' descriptions of dances are used to identify significant aspects of movement articulation within this tradition. Examples of each dance type are described, and one, a square dance, is transcribed from a videotape recording. The transcribed performance is compared with other notated variants. A repertoire of basic movement possibilities and structural movement units is identified, and a common structural framework among the different versions is deduced.

The dance event contexts are described in detail, with "house times" and "hall times" identified as the two major types. Informants' descriptions of dance events illustrate the variety of actual practice. The expression

of sexuality, rivalry, and integrative goals are found recurrently in many aspects of the behavior typical at dance events.

The dance movements are interpreted as enactments of the same concerns which permeate their performance contexts. The means by which the Newfoundland folk dances embody functions, social relations, and cultural values are identified using the concepts of proxemics and theories of dance communication.

The many changes in Newfoundland dance culture since the Second World War -- often perceived as the product of abrupt abandonment of older forms -- are examined as a reorientation of the expressive role of dance in response to shifting social emphases within the dance events. The use of older forms in new contexts is discussed as part of Newfoundland's "cultural revival."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the help and encouragement of many people, this thesis would never have been completed. Among them are the many informants who gave generously of their time to teach me something about their dance, music, and way of life. I would like, especially, to thank the Keough and Tracey families, Gerald Quinton, Larry Barker and Lloyd Oldford, who patiently answered my many questions, as well as Mrs. Geraldine Keough, in whose home I stayed while working in Plate Cove East. Rufus Guinchard and Emile Benoit, two fine traditional fiddlers, were both very generous with their time and knowledge, as were many other musicians and dancers too numerous to list. I hope my work can contribute in some way to an increased appreciation of their artistry, its transmission and preservation.

I would like to thank both Memorial University and its Department of Folklore for their financial support of my work, through fellowship and field work funds.

Throughout my career as a student at Memorial University, I have appreciated the encouragement and interest of the faculty of the Department of Folklore; especially the advice and editorial efforts of my thesis supervisor, Neil Rosenberg, during its writing. Herbert Halpert provided references from his collections, as well as editorial comment on some sections of this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

In Newfoundland today, one can find many types of music and dance. In St. John's, the urban center where I live for instance, and even "around the bay" in more rural areas, there are places to dance to rock-and-roll, disco, or country and western music.[1] Instruction is available in ballet, modern, jazz, tap, ballroom, and European folk dance. There are even a few troupes of dancers who perform "Newfoundland" dances and, in certain clubs, one can hear traditional accordion music played "close to the floor" and see people "step it out," or "wallop-er-down" on the dance floor.[2]

This thesis is an ethnography of the dance traditions which have come to be identified as Newfoundland dance. It is not a history of these dances, although their history is important for an understanding of how they have been used and adapted within the socio-cultural context of rural Newfoundland. Rather, I wish to document the patterns of dance behavior within this delimited cultural/geographic region and analyze the expression of cultural values in dance movement.

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[1] "Around the bay" is a local phrase to indicate the rural communities located along the coastline of Newfoundland.

[2] "Club" is the local term for a public house licensed to sell liquor, and is so used in this thesis. "Step it out" and "wallop-er-down" are descriptive phrases applied to traditional music and dance discussed in more detail in Chapter II.

Folk dance traditions in Newfoundland have rarely been recorded, much less systematically described or analyzed. Although similar and clearly related to historical dance forms in Britain and their derivatives elsewhere in North America, dance traditions in Newfoundland are distinctive. They reflect, as would any folklore genre, the unique characteristics of environment and culture which distinguish this region. My purpose in this thesis has been to describe the dance movements, social settings, and attitudes which make up these traditions to ask how they are related and what expressive needs they meet. Why, for instance, was the dancing here, although composed of familiar Quadrille figures, "distinguished by the magnificent stepping of the men . . . tremendously rhythmic and vigorous and also very individual," as Maud Karpeles noted in 1929?[3]

Because there are so few published ethnographies which describe dance and related aspects of Newfoundland culture I have included many transcripts from my interviews, and excerpts from archival sources, as well as descriptions of the dances themselves. Inclusion of this primary data should give the reader necessary background for assessing

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[3]Maud Karpeles, Folk Songs from Newfoundland (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 255.

the reliability and validity of my analyses, as well as a feeling for the diversity of actual behavior.[4]

The first chapter is an exposition of the theoretical framework within which my analysis is set. It describes the available resources for this study and my methodology in using them. My research was conducted through field work in several Newfoundland communities and among archival collections which document traditions from throughout the Province. These are held primarily in the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive, hereafter abbreviated as MUNFLA.

The dance movements are then described and one exemplar is notated in detail in Chapter II, "The Dances." The social settings for dance performance are described in Chapter III, "The Dance Events," and the two related in Chapter IV, "The Dances as Non-verbal Communication."

In the final chapter, I return to the present scene and the transition from the recollected past to the observed present. The current use of the dances previously identified and analyzed is described and the dynamics of change and continuity in Newfoundland dance culture examined.

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[4]See Judith Lynne Hanna, "Toward a Semantic Analysis of Movement Behavior: Concepts and Problems," Semiotica, 25 (1978), 99-100, in which she calls for the inclusion of such information.

My findings show that the visible changes, although often perceived as abrupt abandonment of the older forms, are only one aspect of a reordering of the entire configuration of behavior which is Newfoundland dance culture. Within this expressive system, there have been many continuities as well as changes throughout the span of living memory.

CHAPTER I

THEORY AND METHODS

Theoretical Background

My analysis of Newfoundland folk dance is based on several major tenets drawn from the scholarly literature of folklore and anthropology. My primary assumption is that the significance of any folklore item resides not only in its "text" but also its "context," and even more importantly the two together. There have been many articles discussing the implications of this attitude and case studies demonstrating its application in folklore since it was clearly articulated by Dan Ben-Amos in his article "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context."[1] This growing awareness in folklore studies was not an isolated event among the academic disciplines. Anthropologists of dance have recognized this essential of cultural interpretation and directed researchers' attention to "dance events rather than . . . dances and dancing."[2]

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[1]Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 3-15.

[2]Anya Royce, The Anthropology of Dance (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977), pp. 10-13. Royce cites an unpublished paper by Joann Kealiinohomoku, "Culture Change - Functional and Dysfunctional Expressions of Dance, a Form of Affective Culture." IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, 1973.

One goal of my analysis has been to portray these dance traditions and understand their significance from the informants' viewpoint. I have adopted some of my methodology from the anthropological development of this approach, sometimes called ethnoscience. The ethnographic sections of this study seek to identify the classifications of dance and dance events recognized and used by the informants. These categories are then analyzed for their similarities and distinctive traits.

From folklore scholarship I have taken the organization of historic and geographic variation among the dances in a system of type, version, and specific variants.[3] Paralleling the methodology of folk narrative scholarship, I have identified movement units within the dances and analyzed their structural patterns. The structural similarities which are found among many different dances are seen to reflect the underlying, culturally determined patterning of dance expression.

While the literature of structural analysis in folkloristics is large, application of its methods to nonverbal behavior by folklorists, outside of European folk dance studies, has been negligible.[4] Alan Dundes' "On Game

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[3]See definitions of these in Laurits Bødker, Folk Literature (Germanic), Vol. II of International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1965), pp. 304, 310, 312.

[4]Such structural studies have been pursued in anthropology as well. For a summary of both see Royce, pp. 65-77.

Morphology: A Study of the Structure of Nonverbal Folklore," while suggestive of possible applications, fails to follow through with a thorough treatment of the genre.[5]

Folklorists have written considerably on the so called play-party games in which nonverbal behavior is a major component, but usually slight it in favor of the more accessible verbal texts which accompany them. Nevertheless, one of the best of these studies proposed a classification based on movement which has become standard. This identified the games as arch, circle and longways forms.[6] This, however, remains a classificatory scheme and the possible significance of these different forms was not investigated.

Gertrude Kurath, the first "dance ethnologist," proposed a similar classification of dances by "comparative choreography patterns" in her 1949 article, "Dance: Folk and Primitive."[7] Although her choreographic distinctions are reasonable, her interpretive comments are based on outmoded

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[5]Alan Dundes, "On Game Morphology: A Study of the Structure of Nonverbal Folklore," New York Folklore Quarterly, 20 (1964), 276-88.

[6]Leah Jackson Wolford, The Play-Party in Indiana, Indiana Historical Society Publications vol. 20, no. 2, ed. rev. W. Edson Richmond and William Tillson (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Historical Society, 1959), pp. 129-32.

[7]Gertrude Kurath, "Dance: Folk and Primitive," in Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend, eds. Maria Leach and J. Fried (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), pp. 277-96. Curt Sachs also examines choreographic patterns in his World History of the Dance (New York: Norton, 1937).

evolutionary theory. For example:

> Circle and straight line constitute the fundamental elements of floor patterns. The figures all doubtless have their origin in vegetation symbolism, now forgotten in the elaborate quadrille.[8]

Since Kurath's 1960 survey article,"Panorama of Dance Ethnology," the anthropological study of dance has become established as a field of study.[9] As several overviews of the many case studies written since then have been published I will not review them in detail.[10] Three major works attempt to define the anthropology of dance, develop a theoretical framework and methodology for its study. These were most influential in directing my approach to the dance traditions of Newfoundland. Anya Royce's The Anthropology of Dance is the best introduction to the field, covering its history, major perspectives, and techniques,and is illustrated by many examples.[11] Judith Lynne Hanna develops her own complex theoretical approach to the study of dance as human behavior in To Dance Is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication, citing, along the way, a vast

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[8]Kurath, "Dance," p. 290.

[9]Gertrude Kurath, "Panorama of Dance Ethnology," Current Anthropology, 1 (1960), 233-54.

[10]Anya Royce, "Choreology Today," in New Dimensions in Dance Research: Anthropology and Dance, ed. Tamara Comstock (New York: Committee on Research in Dance, 1974), pp. 47-84; Adrienne Kaeppler, "Dance in Anthropological Perspective," Annual Review of Anthropology, 7 (1978), 31-49.

[11]Anya Royce, Anthropology of Dance.

bibliography from the humanities and biological and social sciences.[12] Joann Kealiinohomoku's dissertation, "Theory and Methods for an Anthropological Study of Dance," was meant to serve as a "theoretical catalyst . . . not a handbook of techniques" and did just that for my own research.[13] There have been other significant articles addressing the study of dance from an anthropological perspective, but these three large-scale studies synthesize the major directions of current research and are referred to extensively in this study.[14]

The basic assumption of this "anthropological" approach, to quote Royce, is that "dance is one aspect of human behavior inextricably bound up with all those aspects that make up the unity we call culture."[15] To demonstrate how one might tackle the analysis of dance as culture, Alan Merriam cites "three major responsibilities

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[12]Judith Lynne Hanna, To Dance Is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1980).

[13]Joann Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods for an Anthropological Study of Dance," Diss. Indiana University, 1976.

[14]See for example, Alan P. Merriam, "Anthropology and the Dance," in New Dimensions in Dance Research: Anthropology and Dance, ed. Tamara Comstock (New York: Committee on Research in Dance, 1974), pp. 9-27; and Suzanne Youngerman, "Method and Theory in Dance Research: An Anthropological Approach," Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council,7(1975), 116-133.

[15]Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 17-18.

assumed in any kind of anthropological endeavor." The first is "dance viewed as bodily movement." The "least generalizing and most descriptive of the anthropologist's tasks," it is also that with the most extensive literature. This descriptive task, however, has important methodological standards which must be met to support any analysis. The second responsibility is to view dance as "human behavior." Merriam suggests this goes beyond physical behavior to "social behavior on the part of the dancer and his audience." Hanna has divided this further into cultural, social, psychological, economic, and political behavior, while viewing dance as communicative behavior to be underlying most "dance motivation and actions."[16] Merriam's third responsibility "for the non-performing, analytically-oriented anthropologist is to indicate the relationships between the study of dance and other disciplines." Folklore scholarship, which can potentially contribute to the study of dance and in turn gain from it, has thus far paid it little attention.

Merriam's assertion that "dance is human behavior" and therefore within the purview of cultural anthropology offers a methodological stance for its study. He suggests that

> dance must be viewed holistically, that dance is not only product, but behavior and concept, too, and that all three aspects are tightly interlocked, both among themselves and within the framework of culture and society. Thus the study of one aspect of dance is incomplete without reference to the

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[16] Hanna, To Dance, pp. 3-4.

> others, and we will only understand dance when we also understand that it is not one, but rather a constellation of human behaviors.[17]

Kealiinohomoku employs this holistic view to define "dance culture," which she elaborates as follows:

> By this term, I am referring to an entire configuration, rather than just a performance. By dance culture, I mean the implicit as well as explicit aspects of the dance and its reasons for being; the entire conception of the dance within the larger culture, both on a diachronic basis through time and on a synchronic basis of the several parts occurring at the same time.[18]

While the interpretive schemes employed by anthropologists of dance are varied, they share another assumption which has received some attention in folkloristics as well. Kealiinohomoku expresses it as follows:

> It may be said that dance and other forms of affective culture abridge and exemplify real life in culturally appropriate ways; they constitute a selective microcosm.
> . . . . . .
> The juncture that occurs wherever dance or some other means is channeled, is the point where affecting culture and affective behavior are actualized, and it is there that the scholar should focus attention for a profound understanding of the culture.[19]

For Anya Royce:

> Dramatic events range from a heated quarrel in the fish market to the pomp surrounding the opening of

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[17]The preceding quotes are from Merriam, pp. 18, 22, 24-25.

[18]Joann Kealiinohomoku, "Dance Culture as a Microcosm of Holistic Culture," in New Dimensions in Dance Research: Anthropology and Dance, ed. Tamara Comstock. (New York: Committee on Research in Dance, 1974), p. 99.

[19]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," pp. 61, 63.

> a new bridge to actual dramatic, dance, or musical performance. What all social drama shares is an intensification or exaggeration of ordinary behavior. These kinds of events allow an outsider to see values stated forcefully.[20]

Roger Abrahams identifies some social dramas as "enactments." There are many enactment events but all are "more highly focused, framed, more redundant, and stylized than other areas of our experience." The genres of folklore, so often found within these events, writes Abrahams, "simply because they are overtly formulaic, redundant, predictable, mark those moments when valued relationships are enacted, participated in, and invested with significance." The relationship of enactments to everyday life is complex and may involve intensification or inversion and be structured as play, game, performance, ritual, or festivity to different degrees. In practice, he notes, "all enactments imply and potentially call upon other types under the umbrella of license, participation, and intense preparation and interaction."[21]

Clearly, dance events are enactments in this sense. What distinguishes them as dance enactments is their use of purposeful, intentionally rhythmic, culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements, other than ordinary motor activities, and having aesthetic value, to paraphrase

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[20]Royce, Anthropology of Dance, p. 27.

[21]Roger Abrahams, "Towards an Enactment-Centered Theory of Folklore," in Frontiers of Folklore, ed. William Bascom (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1978), pp. 79, 85, 100-01.

Hanna's cross-cultural definition of dance behavior.[22]

Kealiinohomoku asserts that as effective communication dance reflects cultural values, crystallizes distinctive features of cultural ethos, communicates to the members of a society what those values are, and can succinctly communicate these distinctive features to outside analysts.[23] These observations are similar to Abrahams' comment that enactments may embody "a restatement of cultural norms, teaching and celebrating the group's sense of order at the same time."[24] Newfoundland dancing and dance events are so considered in this thesis.

The theoretical stance and concomitant methods proposed by the anthropologists of dance are also compatible with the emphasis now being placed on "context" in folklore studies. A folklorist's "responsibilities" today are not all that different from those of Merriam quoted earlier. Folklore studies, though, are often distinguished by what they study as often as how they study it. Not surprisingly, the nature of "folk dance," has been much discussed.

While taxonomies of dance are confused and often ethnocentric, the term "folk dance" is a persistent one.[25] Jan Brunvand, in an introductory folklore text, makes the

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[22] Hanna, To Dance, p. 19.

[23] Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 115.

[24] Abrahams, p. 95.

[25] A consideration of dance typologies which I do not discuss is Judith Lynne Hanna, To Dance, pp. 54-56.

following observations:

> Folk dances are those dances that are transmitted in a traditional manner, whatever their origin, and that have developed traditional variants, whatever their other developments. Perhaps more than in any other field of folklore, such distinctions are extremely difficult to apply.[26]

Depending upon how one interprets "tradition," this definition could well apply to almost any dance form.

Joann Kealiinohomoku devotes most of her article "Folk Dance," in Dorson's Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, to a discussion of "what is folk dance?"[27] She succeeds in describing its characteristics more thoroughly.

While recognizing the confusing nature of the subject matter, she distinguishes folk dance as,

> a vernacular dance form performed in either its first or second existence as part of the little tradition within the great tradition of a given society.[28]

The term "vernacular" indicates the "native and homegrown" nature of folk dance while allowing her to include "polished professional performers along with nonprofessional performers, who may also be gifted dancers."[29] The

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[26]Jan Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1978), p. 260.

[27]Joann Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard Dorson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 381-404.

[28]Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," p. 387.

[29]Marshall and Jean Stearns, Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1968), p. xiv; Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," p. 385.

distinction between first and second existence folk dance was suggested by Felix Hoerburger. In its first existence "folk dance is an integral part of the life of a community." In its second existence, as the "property 'only of a few interested people,' . . . it is usually . . . not part of a larger context that requires oral transmission."[30] This distinction parallels that between survivals and revivals which is frequently noted. Brunvand, for instance, observes there is little American folk dance in a

> purely traditional context . . . as a result, American folk dance scholars must often content themselves with investigating the nature of the revival movement itself.[31]

Kealiinohomoku's third defining concept depends upon Robert Redfield's description of the peasant community, which she glosses elsewhere as, "economically and culturally . . . in symbiotic relationship with a larger society with which it constantly interacts."[32] While Redfield's description of the "peasant" society has been criticized in its turn, the existence of "little" and "great" traditions is generally recognized.

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[30]Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of Folk Dance," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 20 (1968), 30-31, as quoted in Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," pp. 385-86.

[31]Brunvand, Study of American Folklore, p. 261.

[32]Joann Kealiinohomoku, "An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance," in Impulse 1969-1970: Extensions of the Dance, ed. Marian Van Tuyl (San Francisco: Impulse Publications, 1970), p. 30.

Taken together her three characteristics could apply to many dance forms, including most social and popular dance. They exclude primitive, in the Redfieldian sense, dance as well as art and classical forms. These latter belong to their respective "great traditions," although they may well have their own associated folklore.

This thesis is concerned with the folk dance culture of Newfoundland. I was interested in describing its indigenous, little tradition in any existence. The older forms, in which I was primarily interested, share many characteristics with the contemporary popular dance forms which have largely replaced them. An important difference to note in the present discussion is that the older forms had many years of use in a relatively stable, conservative social environment during which time they were transmitted in a traditional manner and developed traditional variants, to return to Brunvand's criteria. The newer popular dance forms, disseminated in part and validated through the mass media, are perhaps less vernacular but still traditional in the above senses. I have given these less attention, but discuss the recent dynamics of change and continuity in Newfoundland dance culture in detail in Chapter V.

Sources for British/North American Folk Dance Study

Sources for the study of folk dance and its derivitives in North America are of several types: instructional manuals, historical studies, and field collections. My

purpose is not to survey the entire literature. Rather, I wish to characterize each type, its contributions to scholarly study and its limitations, citing works relevant to the present study.

Instructional collections of dances are not a new phenomenon. Such collections of dances related to British/North American folk dance appeared as long ago as Playford's first 1651 edition of The English Dancing Master.[33] Cecil Sharp and others, following his lead, have drawn heavily on such sources for material used in the English folk dance revival. Instructional collections continued to appear from that date but became much more plentiful in the 19th century and continued to document changing fashion up until the present day. How closely these manuals reflect actual practice must await further research to clarify. The dancing of the rural "folk" rather than that of the fashionable, urban ballrooms is particularly hard to document, as Burt Feintuch's recently unsuccessful search of "regional literature, travelers' accounts and other printed records for descriptions of square dance events" in south central Kentucky demonstrates.[34]

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[33]Margaret Dean-Smith, Playford's English Dancing Master 1651: A Facsimile Reprint (London: Schott, 1957).

[34]Burt Feintuch, "Dancing to the Music: Domestic Square Dances and Community in South Central Kentucky (1880-1940)," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 18 (1981), 50.

While the thrust of this study is not historical, the existence of reliable secondary sources enabled me to make historical references when available. To carry research to the primary document level outside Newfoundland was beyond the scope of my study. Unfortunately, the history of popular dance in the 19th century, from which most of the Newfoundland folk dances derive, is not well documented in any secondary source. I was able to obtain a few 19th century dance collections published in England and America and have made reference to them when appropriate. There are so many of these publications, however, written from so many different perspectives, that they must be studied themselves to clarify their significance.

In England most histories focus on dances of the 18th century and earlier. The search for "national" forms in both music and dance motivated much of the early 20th century revival which in turn spawned the historical arguments begun in Cecil Sharp's Country Dance Book and still continuing in the Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.[35]

Philip Richardson's The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England is a history of popular dancing among the middle and upper clases. It provides a good survey of its subject, but seems written primarily for a popular audience and makes no real effort at analysis of

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[35]Cecil Sharp, The Country Dance Book, 6 vols. (London: Novello, 1909-22).

the changes it documents.[36]

Breandan Breathnach's Folkmusic and Dances of Ireland, though brief, is the standard work on the subject.[37] He discusses clearly and succinctly the history and major forms of folkdance in Ireland. He does not attempt to notate the dance movements, but describes their typical forms. This short work notes regional diversity within the tradition but only its general characteristics are described.

Scottish dance traditions are rather more distantly related to Newfoundland practice, but the Fletts' Traditional Dancing in Scotland is an excellent study, based on oral sources, emphasizing detailed reconstruction and notation of the dances themselves. Their Traditional Step-Dancing in Lakeland uses similar techniques to reconstruct the step dance traditions of one region in England.[38] These studies are models of field work in reconstructing dance traditions, if not of the analytic frameworks which may be applied to them. A comprehensive survey, A Social History of Scottish Dance, was attempted by George Emmerson, but its many minor errors and lack of rigorous argument compel the serious student to refer to numerous less comprehensive,

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[36]Philip Richardson, The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960).

[37]Breandan Breathnach, Folkmusic and Dances of Ireland (Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland, 1971).

[38]J.F. and T.M. Flett, Traditional Dancing in Scotland (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966); J.F. and T.M. Flett, Traditional Step-Dancing in Lakeland (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1979).

but more reliable, studies.[39]

In North America, Foster Damon's The History of Square Dancing remains the "most complete of its type," despite its brevity.[40] Anya Royce has written a case study of American colonial dance from an historical perspective, in which she links various dance styles with the multiple identities of Americans at the end of the colonial period.[41] She draws heavily on printed historical sources, which, we have noted, are scarce.

Several studies have attempted to explain dance history in terms of larger social changes. Frances Rust's Dance in Society is the only such major work.[42] Its subtitle, An Analysis of the Relationship Between the Social Dance and Society in England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day, gives an idea of its scope, which is far too large to permit analysis at the detailed level we have seen called for by anthropologists and folklorists. The theoretical framework is set at a high level of

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[39] George S. Emmerson, A Social History of Scottish Dance: Ane Celestial Recreation (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972); for criticism of this book see T.M. Flett, rev. of A Social History of Scottish Dance, by G.S. Emmerson, Scottish Studies 18 (1974), 136-39.

[40] Foster Damon, The History of Square Dancing (Barre, Mass.: Barre Gazette, 1957); Joann Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," p. 402.

[41] Anya Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 110-31.

[42] Frances Rust, Dance in Society (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969).

generalization as well, employing four functional categories for dance: (1) pattern maintenance and tension management; (2) adaptation; (3) societal goals; and (4) integration.[43] Such broad interpretations must be built up from detailed specific studies; superimposed by the analyst a priori they over-simplify the multiple and changing functions of dance in the specific contexts.

Most documentation of folk dance traditions in both Britain and North America has been motivated by an interest in their revival. This movement has spawned a large body of "how to" literature of which Joann Kealiinohomoku observes:

> At most such books include a few pages of 'background' and perhaps include a chapter of definitions with some vague theorizing. Often these pages are far too subjective or simplistic to be of much value to scholars in other fields of folklife.[44]

I became intimately familiar with the literature and practice of the folk dance revival through several years work with the Country Dance and Song Society of America. This society maintains close connections with the English Folk Dance and Song Society from which it originally split.[45]

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[43]Rust, p. 3.

[44]Kealiinohomoku, "Folk Dance," pp. 390-91.

[45]There are many sources for the history of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, its Journal, and Maud Karpeles, Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) among them. The Country Dance and Song Society of America's activities are less well documented but

Through their teaching, I learned the basic characteristics of traditional dance in England, New England, the southern Appalachians, and French Canada. On subsequent visits to some of these areas, I attended many traditional dance events and observed the dancing in a more natural context. I also learned the English country dances reconstructed by Sharp and now taught by the societies, as well as historical dances of the 18th century United States.

The folk dance instruction books contain thousands of dances, but usually provide no information on their sources and too often "adapt" what dances have been "collected" for easier use by recreational groups. Bibliographies are numerous, that in Richard Nevell's A Time to Dance containing the major sources available to the British/North American folk dance revival enthusiast.[46] Jan Brunvand gives a brief list of the better documented sources in The Study of American Folklore.[47]

While the "how to" books are not good ethnography, they have developed a workable notation for dances within

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followed those of the mother institution for many years. More recently they have sponsored research in American dance traditions, though they always promoted the recognized American forms: the "running set," contra dance, and called square dance.

[46]Richard Nevell, A Time to Dance (New York: St. Martin's, 1977), pp. 252-77.

[47]Jan Harold Brunvand, pp. 270-71.

this tradition. This combines track drawing with verbal shorthand for both conventional and basic steps.[48] Its great advantage over the more detailed and universally applicable systems, such as Labanotation, is that once familiar with its vocabulary the non-specialist can easily visualize the movements. Because of my own familiarity with this system and its accessibility to others, I adapted it for use in this thesis.

Attention to folk dance by modern folklorists has been slight despite the token acknowledgement it receives in most introductory texts. The only large scale study I know of is David Winslow's 1972 dissertation, "The Rural Square Dance in the Northeastern United States: A Continuity of Tradition."[49] He combines field work and historical research to describe different types of dance event.

A growing number of journal articles, conference papers and more popular media, such as record notes, are beginning to document local traditions in North America. Conspicuous by their absence, however, are studies which unite dance notation and contextual analysis in a holistic view of dance behavior in a delimited community. This

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[48] Anya Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 38-44, discusses these types of notation in an historical context.

[49] David Winslow, "The Rural Square Dance in the Northeastern United States: A Continuity of Tradition," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1972.

thesis is an attempt to fill that gap.[50]

Newfoundland Research

The research for this thesis has been diverse and extended over several years. Published sources and archival holdings were examined for descriptions of dancing. Though useful, these proved too limited for the type of analysis I had in mind. Field work was required to thoroughly document the traditions of one region.

The range of informant testimony incorporated in this study is, therefore, quite large. One hundred and seventy-six (176) individuals may be termed informants, although not all contributed equally. From some I recorded detailed interviews of several hours length, while others may have made only a few comments in a student collection. Some informants were prominent musicians or accomplished solo dance performers who could not only recall the social settings of dance activity but also demonstrate its actual practice. Others merely danced at social events which called for it. The dancing tradition in general is not characterized by star performers as are singing or

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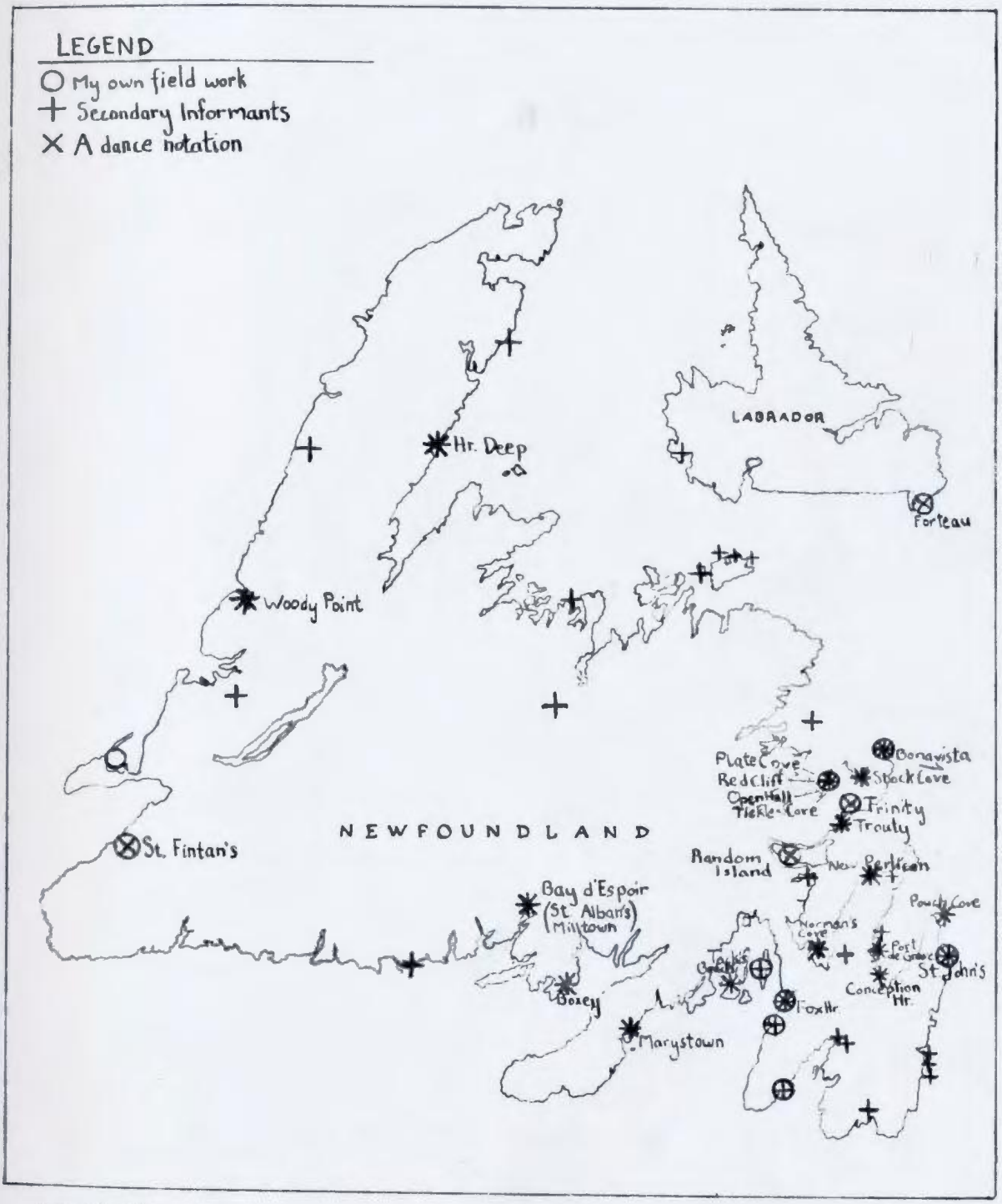
[50]See for example: Robert D. Bethke, "Old-Time Fiddling and Social Dance in Central St. Lawrence County," New York Folklore Quarterly, 30 (1974), 163-84; Feintuch, "Dancing to the Music"; Elizabeth Harzoff, "Square Dances and Play-Parties as Settings for Community Social Interaction in Trigg County, Kentucky," American Folklore Society Meeting, Pittsburgh, 16 October 1980.

storytelling traditions. Dancing is an activity in which anyone may engage and virtually all will, given the proper social circumstance. The testimony of non-specialists is vital to a complete picture of the tradition as it exists in a community. Such knowledge is necessary to an understanding of the tradition's role in social life.

This large number of informants should ensure a balanced and relatively accurate composite reportage of traditional practice. Tabulation of biographical data about these informants to ensure a representative sample is difficult. The same data is not always available for all informants, but, based on what is known, some generalizations may be made. Religion is the least well documented variable, but the three major denominations -- Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United Church -- are all represented. Male informants are slightly better represented than females, one hundred and seven (107) to sixty-nine (69), respectively. This is largely because of my participation in many predominantly male gatherings during my field work. Such gatherings are an important context for dance and music performance as well as for establishing rapport with new acquaintances. This imbalance is offset by the more in-depth interviews I conducted with several female informants. Among the secondary informants in archival sources, the ratio is closer with eighty-four (84) men and sixty (60) women represented.

The ages of one hundred and twenty-five (125) informants were either given or could be deduced. Thirty-eight (38) of these were under thirty (30) years old, and were mostly the student collectors of archive sources. In general, they seem to have chosen older informants, as twenty-one (21) were over fifty (50) years old, and another forty-five (45) were over sixty (60) years of age. Only twenty-one (21) informants were between the ages of thirty (30) and fifty (50). Ten (10) of these were from the Plate Cove region where I had the time to meet them. The old and young age groups represented are probably the most likely candidates as informants; the younger generation exploring their heritage, the older reflecting upon it. As a result, my information covers primarily recollections from about 1900 to 1950 and 1965 to 1980 most thoroughly. The poorly represented middle years are most apparent when discussing the transition from the traditions recalled by the older informants to those of their young interviewers and my own field observations in Chapter V.

A good geographical spread of informants has been achieved as can be seen in Map 1. Although the map indicates that field work was conducted and dances recorded on the Port au Port Peninsula and in St. George's Bay, I chose not to incorporate these areas into the body of this study, as the importance of French influence in these areas would have necessitated additional research beyond its scope. To demonstrate the links between socio-cultural environment



MAP 1 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES

and dance expression required some measure of cultural homogeneity in the region sampled. I limited myself, therefore, to Anglo-Irish Newfoundland, which, although it contains a great deal of diversity in dance as well as other cultural forms, shares many common elements. A brief comparison is made with other, not unrelated, traditions once the Anglo-Irish picture has been sketched.

Historical Background of Newfoundland Folk Dance

The overwhelming majority of contemporary Newfoundlanders in the areas this study has sampled are "descended from immigrants who came originally from highly localized source areas in the southwest of England and the southeast of Ireland."[51] Seasonal and temporary migration to Newfoundland began in the late 16th century and continued until the early 19th century. The establishment of a permanent population came primarily during the first quarter of the 19th century. Although some regional disparities persisted, there was considerable intermingling of English and Irish on the island and many mixed communities developed.

After the 1830s, the population continued to expand, but natural increase accounted for a large part of it.

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[51] John J. Mannion, "Introduction," in The Peopling of Newfoundland, Memorial University of Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 8, ed. John J. Mannion (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), p. 5.

Settlement expanded by subdivision of existing properties among heirs, by gradual occupation of sites within settled coves, and by extension along the northern, southern, and, eventually, western shorelines.

By the end of the 19th century, the "basic structure of modern outport society began to emerge," and as the fishery declined, the outports "became increasingly introverted and isolated from the outside world."[52] This resulted in conditions well suited to the development and preservation of a folk dance tradition.

The earliest historical report of dance in Newfoundland I have is an 1859 newspaper advertisement for "Dancing Deportment and Calisthenics:"

> Mr. A. Asch begs to announce to the ladies and gentlemen of St. John's, that he intends forming day and night classes for instruction in all the latest and most fashionable dances - namely, Valse, Mazourka, Gorlitza, La Polka, Galloppe, Guaracho, Quadrille, etc.
>
> A. Asch feels confident that after considerable practice in diff. parts of the provinces of N.S. and New Brunswick, his method of teaching need only be tried to be fully appreciated.[53]

In 1879 the Evening Telegram carried the following advertisement for a "Dancing School:"

> Mr. Wm. Caldwell, late of Brown's Dancing Assembly, Boston, has associated himself with the talented violinist Mr. Henry Bennett, for the purpose of opening a dancing school for instruction in American plain & fancy dances.

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[52] Mannion, pp. 11-12.

[53] Public Ledger, 29 May 1857, [p. 2], col. 4.

> "Plain Quadrilles", "Waltz-Quadrille", "Polka Quadrille", "Lancers-Quadrille", "Portland Fancy", "Chorus Jig", etc.
>
> Particular attention will be given to the "new Schottische" and the "Boston dip waltz reverse" two of the most popular dances of the day in the New England States.[54]

These two newspaper advertisements, only a representation of those that could probably be discovered, indicate there was contact, through professional teachers, with developments in fashionable and popular dance on the mainland. Whether such dances ever got out of St. John's is not documented, but certainly there was contact and some influence. Another newspaper description of a ball held in 1900, to be discussed in Chapter III, "The Dance Events," illustrates the influence of urban models in the outport context. St. John's continued to be a center for the introduction of popular and sophisticated culture to Newfoundland. Situated on the main sea routes between Europe and the eastern seaboard of North America, travelling theater shows often played in St. John's. Judging from the evidence of the 1879 advertisement, the outports seem to have held conservatively to the popular dances of the late 19th century. During the first half of the 20th century, these dances became the folk dances of Newfoundland.

The conservative choice of the outport dwellers was significant especially because of the accessibility, albeit minimal, of more up to date forms. Ruth Katz has made a

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[54] Evening Telegram, 11 Dec. 1879, [p. 1], col. 2.

similar point in connection with the advent of the waltz in early 19th century Europe.[55] Although whirling couple dances had long been in the folk repertoire, they swept the European ballrooms when they suddenly became compatible with changed social conditions. In a parallel way, though "modern" dances were always present in Newfoundland, they only recently displaced the 19th century-derived folk dances on a wide scale.

Published Sources

There are very few published descriptions of Newfoundland dancing. None attempt to represent the complete, or even typical, repertoire of one area. I have used these descriptions as pieces in the puzzle of Newfoundland dance practice I have had to reconstruct from many such fragmentary sources.

The folk dance revival movement, so prolific in other areas of North America, never became established in Newfoundland, nor did folk dance enthusiasts take an interest in its traditions, in spite of the visits by Maud Karpeles, who was a leading proponent of the folk dance revival. She published three of the four dance notations I have discovered but, because Miss Karpeles considered most of the dancing she saw in Newfoundland "not of great value"

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[55] Ruth Katz, "The Egalitarian Waltz," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 15 (1973), 368-97.

or "of no use for purposes of revival," she left the bulk of it unpublished.[56]

She did publish two "quite nice" country dances-- that is, dances in a longways formation--which were much like those revived from the older dance collections by Cecil Sharp.[57] These two dances appeared in Twelve Traditional Dances, along with dance tunes to accompany them, in 1931, immediately following her visit to Newfoundland.[58] The tunes were published again in Folk Songs from Newfoundland in 1971.[59] This book also contained a description of the "Kissing or Cushion Dance," which she had seen performed in 1929. Although her notes contain good descriptions of other dances performed on this occasion, she published only the Kissing Dance. It was apparently considered worthy by virtue of its inclusion in several historical sources.[60]

Karpeles' standards for the publication of dance material are not dissimilar to her attitudes

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[56]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 8, p. 23; folder 7, p. 4; folder 1, 18 Sept.

[57]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 1, 3 July 1929; folder 8, p. 23.

[58]Maud Karpeles, Twelve Traditional Dances (London: Novello, 1931).

[59]Karpeles, Folk Songs, p. 258.

[60]Karpeles, Folk Songs, pp. 255-58. She first published this description in "The Cushion Dance," Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, 3 (1937), 133-34.

towards the collection and publication of folk song. Her collection, Folk Songs from Newfoundland, reveals a conscious choice to record and publish only those songs which fit her conception of folk song, which derived from that of Cecil Sharp. Carol Henderson Carpenter, discussing Karpeles' work, comments as follows:

> Maud rejected native material in favour of British derived songs; she simply was not interested in the indigenous traditions when she collected in Newfoundland. Even her great interest in folk dances was not enough to encourage her to stray beyond the published cannons of British tradition to notate the ubiquitous Newfoundland step dancing. She maintained that it was too idiosyncratic and variable.[61]

Happily, the MUNFLA has in its collection Miss Karpeles' diaries, notebooks and correspondence from both her Newfoundland trips.[62] She did not restrict her note-taking quite so severely as her publications, and these give a more representative picture of the dancing she saw. Her notes include the notation of several dances performed in Stock Cove, Bonavista Bay, nearby the region of my own intensive field work, providing an important comparative source.

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[61]Carol Henderson Carpenter, "Forty Years Later: Maud Karpeles in Newfoundland," in Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publication Series, Bibliographical and Special Series, No. 7, ed. Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), pp. 116-17.

[62]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003.

The only other published dance notation from Newfoundland I have discovered is for the "Caribou Reel" found in Complete Calls and Instructions for Fifty Canadian Square Dances as Called by Bert Everett, Port Credit, Ontario.[63] This is a dance with little formal structure which

> I have seen danced many times by Newfoundlanders. No name, tune or formation being mentioned, just a group of friends forming into lines and dancing, while the rest of those on the floor are step-dancing and jigging with their partners and perhaps another couple.[64]

Without more contextual information, little can be made of this dance, but seen against the backdrop of dance traditions described in the following pages, it becomes more significant and I will return to it in the final chapter.

Greenleaf and Mansfield, in their 1933 Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland, give excellent impressionistic descriptions of Newfoundland dancing, as well as several photographs of step dancers, and notations of dance tunes.[65]

Despite the many folkloristic, anthropological, and sociological studies conducted in Newfoundland, there are very few descriptions of dance by trained ethnographic observers. Gordon Cox gives a brief history of dance events in Green's Harbour, Trinity Bay, and describes

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[63] Bert Everett , Complete Calls and Instructions for Fifty Canadian Square Dances as called by Bert Everett, Port Credit, Ontario (Toronto: Dancecraft, 1977), pp. 4, 130.

[64] Everett, p. 4.

[65] Elisabeth Bristol Greenleaf and Grace Yarrow Mansfield, Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland (1933; rpt. Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1968).

several events which he attended.[66] Louis Chiaramonte describes the dancing he observed during a mummers' visit on the South Coast in his article, "Mumming in 'Deep Harbour.'"[67] Both describe the social scenes and basic interactions which occurred, but stop short of notating the dance movements themselves.

There are scattered references to dance in the literature of "personal reminiscences" and local history. Though often written with a knowing intuition, such accounts are usually too brief to offer more than a little evidence of the variety of dance traditions and confirmation of patterns discerned among many fragmentary sources.

Elizabeth Goudie, in Woman of Labrador, briefly mentions the dances popular in her youth, "lances, cotillions, and the Birdy Dance," as well as familiar tunes and the instruments played.[68] Len Margaret recalls that "step dancing and waltzing were competitive dances but everyone engaged in the Square Dance, Virginia Reel and the Lancers" at garden parties in St. Leonard's, Placentia Bay, and Victor Butler remembers dancing as a boy in

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[66]Gordon Cox, Folk Music in a Newfoundland Outport, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Paper, No. 32 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980), pp. 56-70.

[67]Louis Chiaramonte, "Mumming in 'Deep Harbour,'" in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, ed. H. Halpert and G.M. Story (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 83-87.

[68]Elizabeth Goudie, Woman of Labrador (Toronto: Peter Martin Assoc., 1973), pp. 14-15.

Harbour Buffet and young man on Iona, in Placentia Bay as well.[69]

In his local history of Eastport, Harold Squire includes a chapter on entertainment in which he describes the "Chisel," a variation of the Lancers:

> It was an exhilarating experience to dance to the fast music which continued for approximately an hour. The men stripped to their shirts. Even then they would be entirely saturated with perspiration by the time the turn was completed.[70]

He goes on to comment on changes which took place after 1900 when "dancing really came into its own. . . . The newly built halls provided better floors and plenty of space and the event rarely ended before well into the morning."[71]

One such book was a valuable source for this study. Aubrey Tizzard's On Sloping Ground, an account of life in Leading Tickles, Notre Dame Bay, was edited by folklorist John D.A. Widdowson and is distinguished by a wealth of detailed specific recollections, which make it especially

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[69]Len Margaret, Fish & Brewis Toutens & Tales: Recipes and Recollections from St. Leonard's, Newfoundland, Canada's Atlantic Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 7 (St. John's: Breakwater, 1980), p. 8; Victor Butler, The Little Nord Easter: Reminiscences of a Placentia Bayman, (Canada's Atlantic Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 4 (1974; rpt. St. John's: Breakwater, 1979), pp. 14-15, 114-15.

[70]Harold Squire, A Newfoundland Outport in the Making (n.p.: n.p., 1974), p. 41.

[71]Squire, p. 44.

useful as an ethnographic source.[72]

Literary accounts of dancing, while often generalized and not traceable to any particular time or place, may portray the experience of a dance more succinctly and powerfully than an informant's conversational recollections. Newfoundland humorist, Ray Guy, for instance, writing about "times" in his own outport community, pictures the dances as follows:

> The windows were up with the snow blowing in, the door was open, the stove was let die down. But whenever the fiddler stopped, the men, in their shirtsleeves with sweat running down their backs would lurch for the door and fall across the bridge rail outside, with the steam flying out of them in the frost.
>
> And the women panting for breath with their hands to their bosoms would stagger off toward the kitchen to dip a cup in the water barrel. They would shake their heads to the other women in the kitchen and puff their cheeks and say, "Ohmygod! I'm just about dead."
>
> The Reel was even worse. When someone would mention having the Reel there would be groans all around and people saying, "Oh, no, not the Reel. For God's sake not the Reel." Reels took an hour or more apiece.[73]

Despite the humorous intent, this knowledgeable and talented writer has highlighted just those elements of the experience which best communicate its nature to the reader. Here we find heat, sweat, exhaustion, long

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[72] Aubrey Tizzard, On Sloping Ground, MUNFLA Publications Community Study Series, No. 2, ed. John D.A. Widdowson (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979).

[73] Ray Guy, "The Poor We Have with Us Always," in his You May Know Them as Sea Urchins Ma'am, ed. Eric Norman (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1975), p. 91.

duration of the dances and separation between the men and women, features we will encounter over and over again in informant descriptions. Such accounts as this may be treated, with caution, as the recollections of particularly eloquent informants and subjected to an analysis of distinctive and recurrent elements similarly to informant interviews.

Visual Sources

There are a limited number of visual records of Newfoundland dance. Greenleaf and Mansfield's song collection included several still photographs of step dancers performing on a wharf in Sandy Cove to a fiddle accompaniment.[74] Memorial University Extension Media Services has produced a film of dancing from Harbour Deep, on the east coast of the northern peninsula, called "A Square Dance," which was filmed in 1978.[75] Unedited footage of the entire dance performance used in this film is held by the MUNFLA.[76] Memorial University Educational TV has produced several programs of performances from the 1977 "Good Entertainment" folk festival held in St. John's, among which is a step dance performance by Johnny Power, from Grand Falls.[77]

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[74]Greenleaf and Mansfield, pp. 12, 376.

[75]A Square Dance, Memorial University Extension Media Services, 1979.

[76]MUNFLA, Videotape, 80-126 (not yet assigned).

[77]"Good Entertainment '77, Part B," Memorial University of Newfoundland Educational TV, tape cat. #10 304, 1979.

Included in the film, "Introduction to Fogo Island," are short scenes from a wedding in which fragments of a square dance may be seen.[78] Some of my major informants appeared in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television program, Land and Sea, filmed during 1977.[79] This program is discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

Several unpublished visual sources are available in the MUNFLA. Two student papers were submitted with films: one of a step dance performance at a wedding in Leading Tickles, Notre Dame Bay, and the other of a youth group from Conception Harbour performing the Lancers.[80] I deposited a videotape recording of a step dancer from Bonavista whose dancing is discussed later in more detail.[81] The MUNFLA photograph collection has no significant records of dancing.

Most useful to this study were videotape recordings made of dances performed at the St. John's Folk Arts Council Dance Workshop, held in March of 1978.[82] These tapes contain performances by the same informants who appear in the Land and Sea program, A Time in Red Cliff.

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[78]"Introduction to Fogo Island," National Film Board of Canada, #106B, 0168 065, n.d.

[79]"A Time in Red Cliff," Land and Sea, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, n.d.

[80]MUNFLA, Ms., 72-39; Ms., 80-118.

[81]MUNFLA, Videotape, 79-339/v. 56.

[82]MUNFLA, Videotape, 78-364/v. 39, 41, 42.

Their performances at the workshop are the source for my transcription of the Square Dance, and are discussed in detail in Chapter II, "The Dances."

Unpublished Sources

Unpublished sources, especially student papers, proved especially valuable to this study. The Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive provided the bulk of these, while the Maritime History Group Archives and Dr. Thomas Nemec's Archive of Undergraduate Research on Newfoundland Society and Culture both hold student papers which bear on dance traditions.

The student papers were generally written for course work at Memorial University and fall into several major types. The most significant were those which attempted description and notation of dance movements. There were only a few of these, considered in detail in Chapter II. The bulk of student papers investigated the social context of the dance traditions in one community or small region through interviews with several informants. Most were so written that the informants' contribution could be distinguished from the students' commentary. Often the students themselves became informants, writing about their own home communities and reporting on their own experiences. My method for collating, and comparing data from these sources is explained in detail in Chapter III and a sample of the format I used provided in Appendix B.

A few of the MUNFLA student sources gave accounts of actual dance events attended by the collectors. These were, unfortunately, not generally of high ethnographic quality. They did, however, allow comparison with my own observation of current dance practice.

Field Work[83]

While published accounts and archival resources provide much information on dance traditions from many areas of Newfoundland, none systematically document the different aspects of tradition in one area in enough detail to support an holistic analysis. Neither would short visits with performers to record dances suffice. Intensive field work in one "dancing community" was required to provide an ethnographic description of sufficient detail.[84]

My field work was conducted in several phases. Ongoing participation in revival activities around St. John's provided many opportunities to observe such dancing and meet potential informants. More intensive, full-time field work was conducted during the summer months of 1980. I chose for this field research an area of Bonavista Bay in which I knew several active musicians and dancers resided.

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[83]All my field work collections have been accessioned as MUNFLA, 81-271, this includes tapes, transcripts, and field notes.

[84]This concept is based on Dell Hymes' concept of "speech community" in, Foundations in Socio-Linguistics: An Ethnographic Approach (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), p. 51.

These were performers who had appeared on CBC television and at several folk festivals in recent years. I thus felt assured of some informants who were still competent in the older traditions. I intended to document these traditions from them, and find out what place they now held in community life. My initial contacts led to many more informants, performers or others who told me their own recollections of dancing. I also observed and documented any dancing naturally occuring during my stay in the community and asked about events at other times of the year.

A difficulty I did not fully forsee when I began this latter field work was the largely inactive character of the traditional dance repetoire. I had seen a few performers from a particular area and assumed it would not be too difficult to get them together again in a more intimate setting. Unfortunately, this proved difficult, despite assurances, at first, from my contacts that they would be happy to comply. Naturally occuring occasions for such gatherings were very infrequent and I was unable to create an "induced" natural context. As a result, I had to rely more than I expected on interviews and the video-tape recording of my informants performing for a complete record of the dance.

Interviews were both directive and non-directive and ranged from informal social visits to pre-arranged interview

sessions.[85] Most interviews were conducted in the kitchen of the informant's house with several family members present. This tended to make the gatherings informal and I encouraged all present to contribute their own recollections and observations on the subject being discussed. But this setting made it more difficult to keep to one subject for any length of time or pursue more than a few follow-up questions. Such in-depth probing is not usually socially acceptable, nor does natural conversation focus intently on one subject in this way. I had, therefore, to return to my questions on a number of successive visits before I felt confident I had elicited as much information as I could. Such repeat questioning enriches one's data, as no informant is likely to remember all they know about a subject on demand. It also helps to establish the verity of the collected information.[86]

Previous collectors in this area had not pursued detailed contextual accounts of performance traditions, but rather simply recorded songs, tunes and stories. Among those informants with such previous experience, there was an initial period of misunderstanding in which they tried to give me what they thought I wanted and I tried to direct the conversation elsewhere. I quickly decided to go along

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[85]This terminology is taken from Kenneth S. Goldstein, A Guide For Fieldworkers in Folklore (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates Inc., for the American Folklore Society, 1964), pp. 108-12.

[86]Goldstein, Field Guide, pp. 113-14.

with my informants' inclinations, hoping to turn the discussion to my ends later. With those who had never been informants before, I was able to direct the conversation more easily. In both cases, my contextual questions were relatively new to them and elicited generally factual responses. I tried to ask as specific questions as possible to avoid the generalized stereotypical responses some had developed.

I observed many social occasions for dancing during my field work. A musician and dancer myself, my role was that of participant observer, though I usually kept my participation to a minimum and observed the general scene and others' dancing.[87] In naturally occurring contexts, such as dances at clubs or weddings, I was able to slip into the background and primarily observe. The behavior of participants at these occasions would have been much the same whether or not I had been there. Smaller gatherings often coalesced around me and my collecting activities, particularly if these included eliciting musical performances. In such situations, I was a more prominent participant, at times one of the principals, though I always attempted to step back from center stage. If the gathering began to disintegrate I would again come forward. At such times my interest was primarily in eliciting performance items, not observing a naturally occurring social

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[87]This role is described in Goldstein, Field Guide, pp. 78-80.

scene. I did find myself part of a natural, informal performance context on several occasions in which I was only one contributor among those present.

Jos. Konig has commented on the somewhat problematic role of fieldworker as performer.[88] He found that the many informal music sessions, in which he participated during the first months of his field work in Ireland, seemed to die away once local residents transferred him from the role category of visiting musician to that of a colleague. The presence of a visiting musician in the community created performance situations which would not otherwise have occurred. In a study which sets out to document the social context of a performance tradition, such possibilities must be carefully considered.

My own role in Plate Cove was similar to Konig's in Clare, though perhaps not so clearly defined by my informants, as visiting musicians are still relatively rare. The local residents do, however, have experience with folklore collectors, from both without and within the community, and I was clearly placed in that category. In my first conversations with many people they related previous contacts with collectors, usually with some pride. Acquaintances would often probe to see if I was interested in their "old songs," stories, or reminiscences. This is not

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[88] Jos. Konig, "The Fieldworker as Performer: Fieldwork Objectives and Social Roles in County Clare, Ireland," Ethnomusicology, 24 (1980), 417-29.

altogether a bad thing as many of my interests lay in those directions. It becomes a problem when informants develop formulaic responses to folkloristic questions and simply recite these for the collector. More prolonged social contact and modification of one's role assignment are required to go beyond such stereotyped responses. As the time available for my field work was relatively short, I was able to achieve this transition with only a few informants.

There are special problems associated with the collection of dance traditions and several field guides exist to aid the researcher.[89] Most emphasize choreographic observational data and notational techniques. These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II. Gertrude Kurath's 1952 "Choreographic Questionnaire" directed observation to the ground plan, steps, gestures, posture and style of dance performances.[90] The more recent guides, such as Judith Lynne Hanna's list of "Movement Data Categories," reflect the increasing sophistication of movement analysis in recent years.[91] She uses many concepts from Effort-Shape notation, as does Alan Lomax's "Choreometric

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[89]Anya Royce has a good discussion of several. Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 55-63.

[90]Gertrude Kurath, "A Choreographic Questionnaire," Midwest Folklore, 2 (1952), 53-55.

[91]Hanna, To Dance, pp. 245-46.

Coding Book."[92] Effort-Shape elements are useful to describe the basic quality of any movement style.[93]

Anya Royce has identified Joann Kealiinohomoku's field guide as the best.[94] Designed for cross-cultural application, its questions are relatively abstract. In addition to a detailed guide for movement description, she suggests the following topics for "elicitation from informants:"

> What is the meaning and purpose of the dance?
> When are dances performed? For how long?
> How are dances composed? Invented? Borrowed?
> Who owns the dances?
> Who are the dancers?
> How are the dances learned? Special training? Imitation? Rehearsed? Improvised?
> What qualifies a person as a dancer? Belonging to some society? Special talents?
> What are the most important criteria (in the culture involved) for judging a good dancer? Grace? Strength? Endurance? Ability to improvise? Good memory?
> How does one dance type of the area significantly differ from another dance type of the area?

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[92]Alan Lomax, Irmgard Bartenieff, and Forrestine Paulay, "The Choreometric Coding Book," in Folk Song Style and Culture, American Association for the Advancement of Science Publication, No. 88 (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968), pp. 263-73.

[93]For an introduction to Effort-Shape see: Cecily Dell, A Primer for Movement Description: Effort/Shape (New York: Dance Notation Bureau Press, 1977); for an application see: Irmgard Bartenieff, "Effort/Shape in Teaching Ethnic Dance," in Comstock, pp. 175-92.

[94]Joann Kealiinohomoku, "Field Guides," in New Dimensions in Dance Research, ed. Tamara Comstock (New York: Committee on Research in Dance, 1974), pp. 175-92; Royce, Anthropology of Dance, p. 56.

> How do these dances compare with dances of other ethnic groups in the same culture area.[95]

In actual research situations I found that the level of my questions had to be much more specific to elicit a concrete, detailed response. The Handbook of Irish Folklore provides just such an interview guide, rich in suggested questions applicable to the Irish dance tradition.[96] I adopted a similar style of concrete questioning. Kealiinohomoku's formulations, however, showed me a more general viewpoint. Her questions are made from a higher level of abstraction from which one can address the issues of "the explicit roles and implicit functions of dance, and how these roles and functions affect the members of a society."[97] I developed my own questionnaire to elicit both the details of Newfoundland traditions and indicate their relation to such general questions (see Appendix A). Several students used it to guide their field work for papers which have been incorporated into this thesis.[98]

While interviews can provide access to the dancers' own cognition of the tradition, methods are also required

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[95]Kealiinohomoku, "Field Guides," p. 260.

[96]Seán Ó Suilleabhan, A Handbook of Irish Folklore ([Ireland], 1942; rpt. Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970), pp. 688-90.

[97]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 340.

[98]MUNFLA, Ms. 79-630; Ms., 79-714; Jacquey Ryan, "Dancing in Tack's Beach with Mrs. E. Best," unpublished Ms., 1980.

to record its "extrinsic" visual, auditory and kinesthetic expression.[99] The use of film or videotape in the field proved difficult and I chose to rely instead on the pre-existing videotape documentation for a visual record of my informants' dancing. Even if mechanical recording of dancing in its natural context had proved feasible, dance scholars agree that such recording is not sufficient in itself. Moreover, it is never feasible to record everything one sees. The detailed notation systems employed by dance ethnologists for permanent records of performances are too unwieldly for use in the field. Most dance researchers rely instead on their own shortened notation, adapted to the traditions within which they are working.[100]

My solution was to record events with a tape recorder while taking brief written notes. The tape recorder preserved the music for future transcription and I was able to write up a detailed dance description shortly afterwards, usually later that night or the next day. Joann Kealiinohomoku has commented that such "memory ethnography,"

> can be used for a complex dance style if the basic movement lexicon has been identified previously . . for simpler dance styles it is possible to train

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[99]This use of extrinsic follows Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 334.

[100]Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 52-55, discusses these issues.

> oneself to remember movements and sequences because many movements are repeated again and again.[101]

Dance traditions in Newfoundland have a number of organizational levels of varying complexity and I could only make approximate records of some.

The skills required for such observation and mental recording are twofold:

> drilling to perceive and remember details and patterns, and training the visual perceptors to synaesthetically interiorize and remember kinesthetic movements and dynamics.[102]

My experience as a square dance caller developed an ability to see and remember complex floor patterns and sequences not unlike those found in Newfoundland traditions, while I was trained to "see" dancing in the way she describes through learning related dance styles.

I also attempted to learn the dances and music of my informants. Anya Royce comments on the usefulness of performing dances oneself as follows:

> Ideally, one will be in a situation where it is possible to learn dances and dance styles. Actually learning the dances is very important, and it should be attempted if at all practical in a particular field situation. First, by learning the dances well one can record them more easily and accurately at one's own pace. Second, by being criticized one develops a sense of what is important enough in the local style to be valued or disliked. Third, the situation lends itself to questions which are often not appropriate for dance events themselves.[103]

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[101] Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 341.

[102] Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 341.

[103] Royce, Anthropology of Dance, p. 51.

All three observations apply to my own field work experience. Additionally, I found that my ability and desire to make music and dance with my informants was an important means of establishing rapport and demonstrating the seriousness of my interest.

Maud Karpeles has suggested methods for the recording of dances "that have fallen into abeyance" which I found useful:

> In cases where there are only a few surviving dancers - or perhaps even only one - the task is more difficult, but with skill and patience a dance can often be reconstructed provided that the collector is able to hum, whistle or play the accompanying tune. If the dancer is not too old to dance he should be asked to take his accustomed place in the dance and go through it to the accompaniment of the tune, imagining that his companions are dancing with him. This will enable the collector to note the steps and gestures. It is a more difficult matter to get the figures, as verbal explanations are not often satisfactory. Sometimes the drawing of a diagram will help or the shifting about on a table of small objects, such as china ornaments.[104]

Several solo dance steps were noted in this way and my notation of the group dance figures checked. I also found that, as Karpeles suggests:

> It is advisable to get information concerning the dance from several people. The descriptions will not always accord. Apart from faulty memories there may have been variations at the time the dance was practised. All individual versions should be noted.[105]

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[104] Maud Karpeles and Arnold Baké, Manual for Folk Music Collectors (London: International Folk Music Council, 1951), p. 16.

[105] Karpeles and Baké, Manual, p. 16.

Karpeles goes on to discuss dance notation, suggesting that each collector "will usually have to devise his own system of dance notation," and listing those elements deserving note: number of participants, general formation, track, steps, gestures, tune, "any technical terms used by the dancers themselves," and the "style of performance." Since the latter is so hard to capture, collectors are encouraged to "take part in the dance so that he may get the feel of it."[106] A list of questions, overly biased towards English ritual dances, is also suggested to elicit "as full particulars as possible of the ceremonies, customs, folklore, etc. with which the dance is connected and of its social setting."[107] It is unfortunate that Miss Karpeles did not see beyond her ethnic biases and take her own advice while collecting in Newfoundland.

I relied on existing videotape recordings as the source for a detailed notation of a typical dance performance, as well as mental and written notes to make shorthand notations of dancing as seen in the field. Together these techniques provide both a micro view of one dance performance and several less detailed notations of dancing from a variety of social contexts for comparison. The problems of notational techniques are discussed further in Chapter II.

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[106] Karpeles and Baké, Manual, pp. 16-17.

[107] Karpeles and Baké, Manual, p. 17.

Field Work in the Plate Cove Region

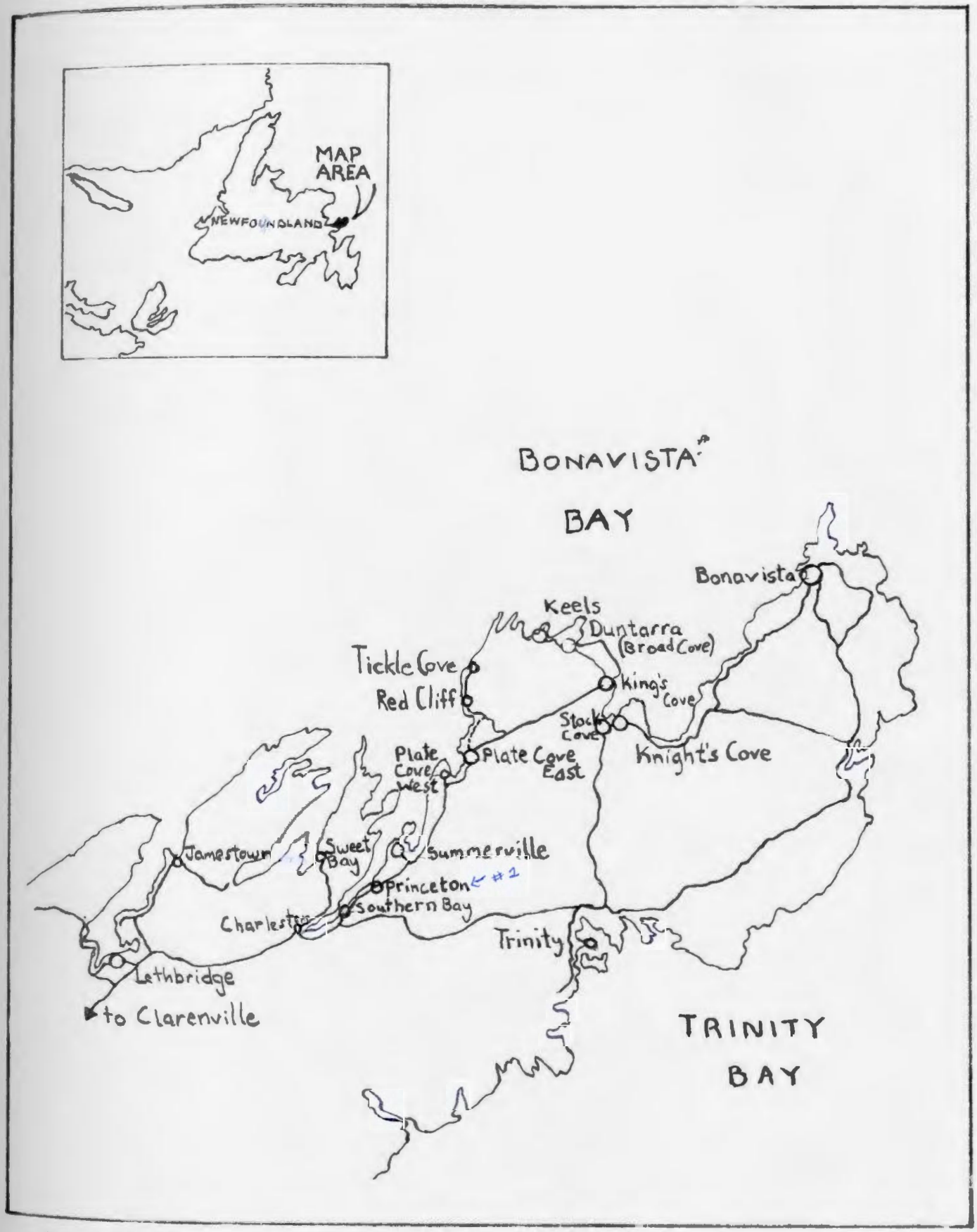
I first saw the performers who formed my initial field work contacts on a videotape recording of the CBC program, Land and Sea.[108] I met them on the July 1st weekend of 1979 at the St. John's Folk Arts Council Bannerman Park Folk Fesival where they performed as the Red Cliff Dancers. When I decided the next winter to conduct field work with them, I wrote to Mrs. Patricia Keough, of Plate Cove East, Lloyd Oldford and Gerald Quinton of Red Cliff, and Larry Barker of Open Hall, requesting their help. A map of this part of the Bonavista Peninsula, in which my most intensive field work was conducted, locates these and other communities which figure in the text (see Map 2).

When I first visited the area in May 1980, I found a warm welcome. I was helped by Larry and Gerald to look for accomodations, which I found, thanks to Mrs. Keough's recommendation, with Mrs. Geraldine Keough in Plate Cove East. The climax of this weekend visit was an evening spent in the office of Gerald Quinton's grocery store in Red Cliff listening to him and Larry Barker play the mouth organ and accordion. It was one of the few times I was to hear them play together in this way.

I returned to Plate Cove East for a week's stay at Mrs. Geraldine Keough's on Monday, June 23rd; from July 8th to the 14th I stayed at an empty house in the nearby

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[108] "A Time in Red Cliff," Land and Sea, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, n.d.



MAP 2 THE PLATE COVE REGION

community of Jamestown and made day trips to Plate Cove and environs; from July 19th to the 22nd I was again at Mrs. Keough's; and from the 24th through the 5th of August I stayed again in Jamestown. Jamestown was close enough to permit easy access to informants for interviews while allowing some respite for reflection and planning.

At first situated by chance in Plate Cove East, I began my field work with Therese Keough, expecting to travel the few miles to see Larry and Gerald frequently. I found myself, however, completely immersed in the community of Plate Cove East for that first week; another reason I later chose to spend some time in Jamestown. My initial contact with Therese Keough led quickly to an acquaintance with her immediate family and, on subsequent visits, her near relatives. It was not until the end of my field work that I began to spend much time with other families in the community.

Major Informants

Therese's father, Michael (Mick) Keough, was born on 28 September 1890 in Plate Cove East. His father, Patrick Keough, was also born in Plate Cove. The family traces its origin to Patrick's grandfather, Andrew, said to have come from County Carlow, Ireland.[109] During his life Mick seems to have traveled extensively, working around Grand Falls in the lumber industry; Sydney, Nova Scotia in the mines;

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[109]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 40.

St. John's "with the Americans;" as well as fishing at home in Plate Cove. His father, Patrick, played the fiddle and his uncle, "Big Mick," the fiddle and concertina. Mick learned to play from them, and in his own time was known as "fiddler Mick," and "counted the best fiddler on this shore."[110]

One afternoon in June "Mister Mick" related to me the story of how he learned to play.

CQ: When did you start playing?

MK: When I was about thirteen. I had a notion of playing then. And anyhow, me father he had a violin one time, and he got sick and ill and he give it all up and he throwed her out into the old back house and she unglued and that. And me uncles . . . When they thought about who could learn to play they turned to and they got her. And they glued her together and they got her together. And they turned to and they commenced, you know they fiddled her out. They commenced to play, you know. They used to go into the house and here and that. Anyhow me uncle got another violin, a new violin and laid this one to one side. And said, "take that," he says, "and see would you do anything with it." Anyhow I took it and turned to. And I thought I was made up. Thought I could play. Yes, and here be gar, I busted what strings was on her and I tore the hair out of the bow. And I used to turn to, get pieces of thread and put on her. And anyhow, I used to turn to with a horse would have a long tail. I'd go and cut the tail, the hair off her tail. And used to get it and tie it onto the end of the bow. And turn to and tie it together. And here'd be the big knot in the center. And by and by, be gar, after a spell I commenced to sound out a jig. Commenced to sound out another one. Me brother . . . he had a notion, anyhow, he turned to and he got a rig out. And here

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[110] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 75

> we commenced, we commenced to learn . . . By and by . . . I got so where I could go to the dances and play and that . . . Me uncle says, "Boy," he says, "you can play now, but you can put a better sound," he says, "in your violin than I can." "Yes," I says, "you smothers it," I says, "but I don't."[111]

Mick's son, Cyril, then forty-seven years old, played the violin as well and knew many of his father's tunes. Cyril never married and lived with his sister, Therese, their father and her family. For the last twenty-four years, Cyril worked for the Canadian National Railroad on maintenance crews during the summer which took him all over the island. He returns to Plate Cove when possible, but was only home two weekends during my stay. As Cyril's nephew observed:

> In Plate Cove he is known for his ability to play the violin, the mouth organ, sing songs and tell riddles and stories.

Cyril is an active tradition bearer and willing informant. An afternoon and evening spent with Cyril and his father playing, singing and talking was very productive and one of my fondest memories from my stay in Plate Cove.

In the summer of 1980, Mrs. Patricia (Therese) Keough was fifty-three years old, married to Brendan Keough, with two children, Bernard Michael and Brian. Although she does not, as far as I know, play an instrument, she loves to

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[111] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 75.

[112] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-336/p. 64.

dance. She has been actively involved in many community activities, such as the Garden Parties, and often organized and took leading roles in the dramatic skits presented at community concerts.[113] She has become a liaison between the Red Cliff Dancers and outside agencies, e.g. the St. John's Folk Arts Council, who contact her or Gerald Quinton to invite the group to their events. Mrs. Keough's father was from Plate Cove and his father and mother as well. Her mother came from Tickle Cove. Therese worked away from Plate Cove on the air base in Gander between 1947 and 1951. Her husband, Brendan Keough, whom she married in 1958, also worked in Gander at various times, though he now fishes in Plate Cove with an in-law, Jerry Tracey.

Jerry lives across the lane from the Keough's house with his mother, Mick's sister, Mrs. Margaret (Mag) Tracey. She was born in Plate Cove East in 1900 and lived there throughout her life, raising six children alone. She played the accordion and, in her own words, loved nothing more than "music and dancing and singing and trees and flowers."[114] Though eighty years old and suffering from arthritis, she graciously played many tunes for me and recalled the dances of her youth. Her son, Dan, and grandson, Paul, both played accordion for me as well, having learned from their mother. Mag recalled playing with Paul on her

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[113] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 87-95.

[114] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 34.

lap while he followed along with his fingers on the keys, often complaining that she went too fast.[115]

The specialization of individuals and families in certain performance genres has been noted before and was certainly the case in Plate Cove. The Keoughs were one of the two prominent musical families in the community. Among the members of this family the ability to play an instrument was almost assumed. Several family members described themselves as a "musical family."[116] Dan Tracey even told me he had once "tried the fiddle because there was music in the family [and] he thought he'd be able to play."[117]

While the transmission of musical traditions within families is commonplace, John Ashton has noted a pattern of "inheritance" among public instrumental performers in particular.[118] Mick Keough, formerly the leading fiddler in the area, apparently inherited this role from his uncle Michael (Big Mick) Keough. Big Mick was the leader of most dances in his time, a musician who also taught dances and could "call off" figures to the cotillion.[119]

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[115] MUNFLA, Ms. 81/271/p. 183.

[116] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 16-146.

[117] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 245.

[118] John Ashton, "Some Thoughts on the Role of Musician in Outport Newfoundland," Folklore Studies Association of Canada Meeting, Halifax, 22 May 1981.

[119] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 8, 241.

Mick played for dances in Plate Cove East and West, Open Hall and Tickle Cove. A story, treated in full in Chapter IV, indicates he did not play frequently in Sweet Bay. Cyril was never the pre-eminent dance musician his father was, but undoubtedly played at smaller gatherings in Plate Cove. His sister, Therese, seems to have adopted a public role within the sphere of women's activities. Mrs. Tracey played for occasional dances in Plate Cove but told me:

> I didn't make a practice of going around, just, I used to go to dances. I might take up the accordion because, you know, and play for a part of the dance . . .
>
> CQ: You must have played at home though, for yourself?
>
> MT: Oh my God yes. Even when the children were small. I sit down playing and they'd be singing the songs with us . . . I used to like to sit down in summertime, you know, I'd get a chair out there on the gallery and play some tunes.[120]

In more recent years, I was told, all the dances held in the Plate Cove School were played for by Thomas (Totty) Philpott. He and his brothers, Walter and Willie, had all died a few years before my field work, but I was able to meet Walter's sons, Raymond and Jim. Both play the accordion and knew many of their uncle's tunes.

My informants outside of Plate Cove East were mostly limited to my initial contacts, Larry Barker and Gerald Quinton. Playing accordion and mouth organ, they provide the music whenever the Red Cliff Dancers have performed. The partnership is a recent one, dating from the

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[120] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 116-17.

Land and Sea program. Larry and Gerald have known each other for many years, however, and Larry works at many jobs for Gerald's uncle, who ran the family business. They are now often asked to play for occasions which call for the older dance music.

Larry has been a public dance musician for many years and played for Garden Parties and dances "from Sweet Bay to Duntarra."[121] Larry learned to play from his father who also played accordion for dances.[122] Larry played for his first dance when thirteen years old, on a two-stop single row accordion, the smallest, least sophisticated available.[123] Stationed in Scotland for three years during the Second World War, he took lessons and learned to play a forty bass piano accordion which he subsequently used at dances for many years. At one time he also played the violin and he was planning to practice and relearn this instrument when I was there.

Gerald Quinton, fifty-six years old, has inherited the family merchant business in Red Cliff, which gives him a special status in the community. He remains somewhat of a mediator between the local people and the outside world and was very helpful to me in legitimizing my presence and interests in the area. Although he played the accordion as a young man, he was never a prominent public performer. He

[121] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 235.

[122] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 238.

[123] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 234.

now plays the mouth organ and appears publicly with Larry. Gerald was once highly regarded as a step dancer and was able to show me several steps, notated in Chapter II. He modeled his dancing on that of a Keels' man, Bobby Mish. At one time a road connected the two communities and Gerald often walked there for dances. He does not often perform now, complaining of gout in his legs.[124]

The Plate Cove Region

As I spoke with these and other people, the social geography of this vernacular region began to emerge, which should be apparent from even these few biographical comments.[125] The four communities of Tickle Cove, Red Cliff, Open Hall, and Plate Cove East and West form a closely knit group. Summerville, formerly Indian Arm, Princeton and Sweet Bay up the shore and Keels, Duntarra, and King's Cove down the shore form a larger and less cohesive region. Within the smaller group, formal and informal institutions were shared for many years. The four are always spoken of together whether one is discussing religion, schools, social events or family ties.

These four communities had all been settled by the census of 1836, though Plate Cove was clearly a new and

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[124] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 176-81.

[125] Gerald Pocius, "Calvert: A Study of Artifacts and Spatial Usage in a Newfoundland Community," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1979, pp. 48-50. Pocius discusses vernacular regions in Newfoundland.

growing community with no one over sixty and a relatively large number of children.[126] Like other communities in Bonavista Bay, they grew from summer fishing stations into permanent settlements during the first quarter of the century. The communities were always of mixed denominations, though either the Roman Catholics or Anglicans would dominate in any one place. Tickle Cove was mostly Catholic, Red Cliff Anglican, while Open Hall and Plate Cove were Catholic. The Roman Catholic church was centrally located in Open Hall and the Anglican in Red Cliff. Schools were built during the 19th century as well and, by its end, each community had one of its own dominant denomination. This remained the situation until the 1960s, when schools were consolidated.

The road system at one time ran along the shore linking each community from Plate Cove to King's Cove. It was this road which Maud Karpeles took in 1929. Summerville, just up from Plate Cove, was less accessible because of the large "Jigging Head" hill which the road climbed over between the two. This was largely impassible in the winter and has only recently been rerouted along the face of the cliff to reduce the grade. The old "back road" from Plate Cove to King's Cove eventually became the major highway. That between Plate Cove and Open Hall has not been used since the 1950s. It is now overgrown and difficult

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[126] Population Returns 1836 (St. John's: n.p., 1836), n.pag.

to even find, and the road which once connected Keels and Tickle Cove has been in disuse even longer.

When discussing social events with my informants, it became clear that people went back and forth between these communities frequently. Therese Keough commented that "you knew all of 'em" in each place. She knew Gerald and his brother, Dolph, "ever since we were young" and Gerald's wife, Hilda, who "belonged to" Open Hall, since they were all the same age.[127] Courting was an important motive for youthful mobility. As Therese explained, "Dolph used to go out with a girl from up here [in Plate Cove] and I used to go out with a fellow down there."[128]

The pattern appears to be quite old. A copy of marriage records from a King's Cove parish registry during 1825-1891 shows the great majority were between Red Cliff, Open Hall, Tickle Cove and Keels [Plate Cove was not included], while relatively few were within one community.[129]

Summary

My intensive field work in Plate Cove and its immediate region provides a model of the dance traditions in context with which the less detailed, but widely distributed and representative, information from my other sources

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[127] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 18.

[128] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 18.

[129] Wayne Muggridge, "A Study of the Community of Red Cliff, Bonavista Bay," Ms., in the Maritime History Group Archives, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

can be compared. Together these sources enable me to describe the dance culture of rural Newfoundland and analyze the significance of its dance forms, performance contexts, and the dynamics of change within this system.

Among my informants in this region we can see several interlocking "frameworks of interaction," as Faris calls them: the family and kinship networks, closely related to residence and labor units; "place," or community of residence; and the vernacular region or nearby communities.[129] The underlying structuring of interaction within these frameworks is found expressed in the dance traditions. Some musicians, for example, played within their families or at small gatherings of friends, others were known as public performers in their own place, and a few had reputations and performed throughout the region.

Dancing is also part of what Faris calls the "dynamic of occasion" by which license is granted for deviation from normal behavior.[130]

Chapter III is an ethnology of these occasions, or dance events, their participants, organization, and expected behavioral patterns. The folk dances performed in Plate Cove and throughout Newfoundland are described, and their historical sources briefly noted in Chapter II, in which I develop a structural typology and identify the underlying patternings of the dances. These two chapters

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[129]James Faris, Cat Habour, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 3 (St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972), p. 165.

[130]Faris, p. 167.

support the analysis, in Chapter IV, of the dances as non-verbal enactments of certain cultural values, social relations, and functions within the dance event contexts. Altogether, the thesis presents an holistic analysis of dance culture in rural Newfoundland.

CHAPTER II

THE DANCES

Many different dances have been performed in Newfoundland. These include the widely reported Square Dance, Lancers and Step Dance, such less well documented dances as the Reel, Sir Roger, and the Kissing Dance, and others which were merely mentioned in my sources.[1] Descriptions of most are inadequate for detailed analysis, but enough information is usually available to classify their organization as group, individual, or mixed-sex couple forms. I will examine specific examples of each category in turn.

I have notated one dance, the Red Cliff Dancers' Square Dance, in detail. It serves as a standard for comparison among other descriptions and the basis for the movement analysis in Chapter IV. Different levels of movement sequences are identified within this dance and their organization analyzed: a process analogous to the structural study of folk narrative. Other dances sufficiently well described are similarly analyzed and compared to discover the relations between dance types, their versions and variants.

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[1] Throughout this thesis, I have capitalized such terms as Square Dance when used as the title of a particular dance. As a generic term, it appears in lower case. Conventional titles for its parts are set in lower case in quotation marks.

In addition to the grouping of dancers in group, individual, and couple patterns, the floor plans dancers follow are the primary feature of dance design. Among the group dances, the largest category, floor plans are elaborate, prescribed and the most important basis for distinguishing one dance from another. The individual Step Dance is performed basically on one spot, and the couple Waltz is relatively free of floor plan elaboration.

Secondarily, rhythm contributes to distinctions made among dances. Many of the group dances which use different floor plans share the same rhythms. The phrasing of figures in these dances is largely unaffected by changes in meter. However, different parts within these dances are often distinguished by characteristic meters and tempos. The Step Dance, with little or no floor plan articulation, has several forms distinguished by meter and tempo. The Waltz is differentiated from these dances not only by its couple grouping and free floor plan, but also its rhythm, in 3/4 meter.

Dance Music

The structure of the dance, as seen in the Square Dance notation, is closely tied to that of the music. In common with British/North American traditions generally, the dance tunes usually have two strains of equal length,

each played twice in performance. This is usually indicated as an "AABB" format. According to Raymond Philpott in Plate Cove,

> The way we plays the cordene, we does . . . the one part twice. Then we turns off the tune and does him twice again and then you turn him back the same way again.[2]

Dance tunes are generally in duple meter and may be compound or simple time, predominantly in 2/4, 4/4, and 6/8 meters. Occasionally, one hears tunes in the triple compound 9/8 meter. The research to statistically quantify these impressions has not yet been done in Newfoundland, but I am confident of their general applicability. Individual players, and possibly regional styles, may be distinguished by an emphasis on one or another of these meters. My impression is the musicians in Plate Cove were especially fond of 6/8 time tunes.

Vernacular Terminology

Musicians themselves make general distinctions among dance tunes based on their rhythm. In Plate Cove the descriptive terms "single" and "double" were often applied to tunes, as well as identifications according to which dance or part of a dance they were used to accompany. For example, Cyril Keough described my playing of Soldier's Joy as

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[2]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 55.

"double," but demonstrated how one could "play he single" as well. The "double" used sixteenth notes, the "single" only eighth note divisions of the quarter note beat.[3]

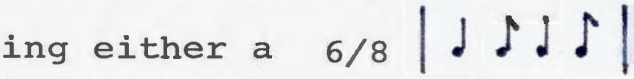
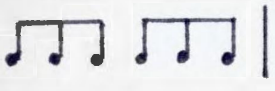
Some tunes used to accompany the Step Dance may often be identified as "triples." Cyril, for example, used this terminology occasionally.[4] Many people, however, refer to the Step Dance as the "Double," and the tunes which are used to accompany it, by extension, as "double tunes". This paradoxical usage of "triple" and "double" probably derives from a confusion of two descriptive systems, one for music and the other for dance steps, which both use the term "double."

Several informants from Harbour Buffett, Placentia Bay, use a "single," "double," and "triple" distinction among tune rhythms, but for them, "double" tunes are those in 6/8 meter. My Plate Cove informants had no name for this latter rhythm although they used it frequently, as do Larry and Gerald in the notated Square Dance (Tables 1-5). Whether identified by vernacular terms or not, these three rhythms, apart from the waltz, are those most used to accompany traditional dancing.

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[3]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 23; Tape, 81-271/C5186.

[4]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 23.

Among my Harbour Buffett informants, single tunes are played in duple simple time and usually subdivide a quarter note beat into eighth notes, occasionally using sixteenth notes as a rhythmic ornament. They are generally played at about ♩=MM152. Double tunes, in this system, are played in duple compound time using either a 6/8  or 6/8  rhythm, at ♩.=MM 160. Triple tunes are again in duple simple time, but they employ predominantly sixteenth note divisions of the beat, and are played at ♩= MM 132, a slightly slower tempo. As dance accompaniment, however, they require faster footwork of the dancer to beat out the sixteenth note rhythms.[5]

Particular tunes were favored for different dances or parts of dances. Although structurally interchangeable, tunes in the same meter may have different rhythmic qualities, and so might be better suited to some dance movements than others. Mrs. Tracey commented frequently on this aspect of tunes. After playing a version of the Rose Tree, which she knew as the Curly Buck, she commented it was good for the first part of a Square Dance.

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[5]I have discussed these distinctions in more detail in "Singles, Doubles, and Triples: Musical Terminology in Placentia Bay," Folklore Studies Association of Canada Meeting, Montreal, 1980. The sources for this paper were MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 437-39; and, MUNFLA, Tape, 79-54/C4107, 4108.

> Dance up. Dance a kind of quick jiggy one. "Form a line" calls for a slowish one . . . The last bar, "ladies in," you don't always have a real jig tune. But you can have it if you like, if people can dance. There's a lot of swinging in the last part in the last bar of the dance and cutting about.[6]

Gerald Quinton described the music he and Larry Barker play as "fast," explaining that the dancers "liked it better that way. It gives the dancing more life."[7] The tempo at which they play may in fact be especially quick. In the Square Dance accompaniment transcribed later in this chapter, the tempi increase as the dance progresses. Beginning in 2/4 time at MM 160, by the last part of the dance they are playing in 6/8 at MM 184 (Tables 1-5). All are significantly faster than the Harbour Buffet examples. The increase from beginning to end reflects the progressive immersion of musicians and dancers during the performance.

Their playing has a tremendous sense of driving, inexorable rhythm, which is accented by the loud foot tapping both use to accompany their playing. A story collected in the Dock, Conception Bay, illustrates this aspect of the musical aesthetic.

According to the informant:

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[6]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 39.

[7]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 126.

> Usually the fiddler or accordion player walked with a slight roll or limp since the heel of the right boot was usually worn down lower than the left.[8]

One assumes this is the result of energetic foot tapping as the musician "gave it to her."

Distinctions between floor plans are also found in the vernacular terminology employed by informants to describe and discuss their dances. The elaboration of names for floor plan movements in the dances, along with the distinctions made between dances on this basis, reflect the importance of spatial design in the tradition. The vernacular terms may be applied flexibly, but reflect in general the hierarchical organization of movement units in the dances. In describing a group dance such as the Square Dance, for example, informants usually gave the name of the whole dance, which identifies its grouping. They then divided this into parts, or "bars," named for a particular floor design, each of which consisted of several "steps," or "moves," by which was meant a smaller movement sequence. Step dancing is also composed of "steps," which are short sequences of foot tapping which the dancer combines when performing. A problem for the collector or analyst is the informants' application of many different names to similar dance patterns, and the same names to different patterns. Such confusion in terminology is probably due to the lack of occasion for verbalization about

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[8]MUNFLA, Ms., 75-25/p. 14.

the tradition. As long as dancers knew what to do, and the musicians knew what to play, which was usually learned primarily by observation and imitation, there was little need for a systematic descriptive terminology. The welter of diversity in terminology and practice as presented in my sources is typical of living folk traditions, in which performers adapt and invent forms in a creative expressive process.[9]

Aesthetic Norms

Underlying the diversity of design and rhythm in the Newfoundland dances is a characteristic use of the body. Dancers generally perform in an upright posture with little torso involvement. Movement articulation is primarily in the legs and feet, with which the dancers perform complex stepping, tapping out the musical rhythms with their heels and toes. The feet are, nonetheless, usually kept directly under the body. The arms and hands hang naturally at the dancer's sides or may be slightly raised with a flexed elbow. Arm and hand gestures are not considered a significant part of the dance, and too much movement of them is usually thought to detract from the performance.

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[9] A good discussion of this observation may be found in Ljubica S. Janković, "Paradoxes in the Living Creative Process of Dance Tradition," Ethnomusicology, 13 (1969), 124-28.

An interesting application of these norms can be seen in the construction of the "dancing dolls" sometimes found in Newfoundland, as well as elsewhere in North America. These use one block of wood for the torso, to which are attached legs and arms which freely swing. The doll is held by a stick placed in its back and bounced on a springy board, in time with a dance tune, to create a droll image of a dancing man.[10]

Informants recognize and will express these observable aesthetic norms of their tradition. Gerald Quinton, for example, told me that the most admired step dancers were the "tidiest," i.e. those who did not move all over the floor. Even in a step such as the "side step," which called for the dancer to move, or "cut," across the floor, he felt the footwork should still be "neat," i.e. kept directly under the body. In addition to neatness, "lightness" was also much admired. He illustrated this standard with the observation that some of the old people were so light on their feet they could dance on a tin, or enamel pan, turned bottom up on the floor.[11]

In Newfoundland short anecdotes of dancing on plates have been reported from St. Brendan's, Bonavista Bay, Port

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[10] See "Good Entertainment '77, Part B," for a videotape recording of such a performance.

[11] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 177-81.

de Grave, Conception Bay, Meerasheen, Placentia Bay, and on the Northern Peninsula.[12] I recorded one story of a man from Sally's Cove, on the West Coast, who could dance with a glass of water on his head without spilling a drop.[13] Herbert Halpert has recorded the expression, "so-and-so could dance on a tea plate," to indicate lightness on one's feet and the ability to dance without moving from a given spot.[14] Another man described this ability by claiming he could dance on a "thole pin," the wooden peg used as an oarlock.[15] One informant of mine commented that his father, a step dancer from Bonavista, could dance on a two-by-four if need be.[16]

Such stories seem to contain a traditional tall tale motif. Halpert has collected together a number of these

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[12]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-174/p. 21; Ms., 73-89/p. 8; Ms., 81-271/pp. 198, 273.

[13]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 273.

[14]Personal communication from Herbert Halpert, May 1981.

[15]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-158/p. 18. Normally pronounced "tow pin," the Newfoundland Dictionary Centre defines it as follows: "a wooden peg, often used in pairs, set vertically in the gunwale of a boat and serving as a fulcrum for an oar which is usually secured to it by a 'withe' or thong formed by a flexible branch, rope, or leather thong . . . It is frequently found in proverbial phrases". Personal communication, 10 August 1981.

[16]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-339/p. 24.

short anecdotes and Baughman has assigned two motif numbers to cover this traditional praise: *X969 - "Remarkable dancer" and *X969.1 - "Remarkable step-dancer dances on looking glass (or plate) without breaking it while balancing a full glass of water (cider) on head without spilling it."[17] Halpert has found references to such feats in sources from west country England, Ireland, and Nova Scotia, as well as from his own informants in New Jersey.

A parallel from Ireland is mentioned by Breathnach:

> The good dancer it was said, could dance on eggs without breaking them and hold a pan of water on his head without spilling a drop, and these fanciful descriptions underline the disciplined movements favored by the dancing masters.[18]

Benjamin Botkin quotes a description of a Negro jigging contest in the late 19th century which was lost by one dancer when "just a spoonful of water sloughs out his cup".[19] Marshall and Jean Stearns report they have seen "acrobatic dancers from Sierra Leone do similar tricks."[20]

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[17]Personal communication from Herbert Halpert, May 1981. The asterix included in the motif numbers indicates they are not included in Ernest Baughman, Type and Motif Index of the Folktales of England and North America, Indiana University Folklore Series, No. 20 (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

[18]Breathnach, Folkmusic and Dances, pp. 55-56.

[19]Benjamin A. Botkin, Lay My Burden Down (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 56-57.

[20]Stearns, Jazz Dance, p. 37.

These stories are apparently based on traditional step dancing feats performed by good dancers. A professed eye-witness of a plate dancing performance in Newfoundland described it as "something like a [Scottish] sword dance" in which the performer danced around and over the plate, turned bottom up on the floor, occasionally touching it with his toe or heel.[21] The dancer did not "plank 'er down," i.e. stamp heavily, right on the plate, a physical impossibility, but did contrive to make it seem that he was dancing "on" the plate. If nothing else, he demonstrated tremendous control of his movements and the same skills described by informants as 'neatness' and 'lightness'.

Other feats of dancing and particular steps will be described along with step dancing in general. We may note here that the dancing feats described above demonstrated the required qualities for good dancing. They formed the basis for narratives which were used to illustrate these same qualities. These folk narratives are traditional statements of aesthetic standards within the tradition.

Such standards are also implied in conventional phrases such as "close to the floor," which one hears as a shout of encouragement or in requests for a certain type of performance. Dancers, as well as being light and neat, are expected to keep their movements small and subtle. The

[21] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 198.

high kicking clog dance style of the Southern Appalachians would not be acceptable in Newfoundland.[22]

The upright postural norm is implied in the comments of Luke Gaulton on comic dancing:

> Sometimes you get fellows out dancing, actually a comic, eh. Does all the queer stuff, you know. Gets himself in all kinds of shapes, probably half shot, . . . but good for a laugh, eh . . . He'd try to dance like me or somebody else, but he'd do everything in the world with his body, eh.
>
> CQ - Instead of standing up straight?
>
> LG - Yeah, all kinds of shapes, eh.[23]

If there wasn't a standard of comparison the movements described would not be incorrect or funny.

These standards apply to individuals performing in the group dances as well. In his description of the New Perlican, Trinity Bay, Square Dance, Cyril Pinsent comments specifically that the dancers' posture was always "in an erect fashion, but loose, in the form of hand clapping."[24] Although special segments of the group dances were designated as times for the men to "dance," that is step dance, attention was paid to footwork throughout the dance. Mrs. Tracey and Cyril Keough explained,

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[22]See Nevell, pp. 48, 1970; and Chris Brady, "Appalachian Clogging," English Dance and Song, 43, No. 1 (1981), 12-13, for photographic examples of this style.

[23]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-339/p. 55.

[24]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 45.

> The old people, they never wanted to miss a beat. Could dance forward or backstep right with the music and never wanted to be off. Now the scattered one that didn't have an ear might make the big stamp when 'twas only half over [the musical phrase or dance step, that is] and they might put you out![25]

The movement qualities implied in my informants' descriptions may be more precisely expressed in terms of Effort/Shape concepts.[26] The aesthetic norms they emphasize require the dancers to concentrate their effort primarily on changing qualities of flow, weight, and space. They must maintain a bound flow of motion in their upper body, while alternating free and bound flow below the waist. Control is also required to maintain lightness of weight and yet accent the rhythm with strongly weighted steps. The dancers must focus their spatial attention on where they are going and how they will get there, as they move through floor patterns, giving their movement a direct quality.

Laban referred to this combination of efforts as the "spell drive," in which, "movements radiate a quality of fascination."[27] Informants often allude to this quality as well, both directly and metaphorically. For example, the

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[25] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 147.

[26] The following discussion is based on Cecily Dell, A Primer for Movement Description (New York: Dance Notation Bureau, Inc., 1970).

[27] Rudolf Laban, Mastery of Movement (London: MacDonald and Evans, 1960), p. 89, as quoted in Dell, A Primer, p. 38.

duration of these dances is always exaggerated and the total immersion of dancers in the performance frequently emphasized. One woman told me about a dance in which, during a group circling movement, one dancer broke through a window, but the dance continued, carried on by the collective momentum of the group.[28] Another informant observed that as the dancers were caught up in the performance they became increasingly "oblivious of others."[29]

The shape quality of movements in the Newfoundland dances are primarily articulated in the directional paths followed by dancers. Shape flow, or changes in the relationships between parts of the body, and conscious shaping of the dancers' bodies is not an important part of the traditional dancers' movement repertoire. Dancers in general maintain the same body attitude throughout their performance. The trunk remains a single unit and the body axis is held, while movement is largely articulated below the waist. As dancers execute the prescribed floor plans, the movements are primarily along linear paths. They usually move from one point to another with a minimum of curving deviation, or, at most, they may use an arced path. This, combined with the effort qualities, creates a sense of umimpeded free flow which can build tremendous momentum when all the dancers move together.

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[28]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 274.

[29]MUNFLA, Ms., 80-118/p. 35.

While a range of individual variation from these norms is typical, there is a pervasive contrast between male and female dance practice. In general, men take a more active role and perform energetic stepping throughout the group dances, while the women may simply stand in place. This is clearly shown in film footage from a dance on Fogo Island, in which the men step dance vigorously while holding their practically motionless partners in a closed position; neither do women often perform the solo Step Dance. When women do step dance they perform similarly to the men. While men were expected to be able to dance, "it was sort of a bonus if a woman was an especially good dancer". The woman from Port de Grave, Conception Bay, of whom that was said, was highly regarded because "she could sing, dance, and play as well as any man."[31]

There are many striking similarities between the Newfoundland dance traditions and Irish and Scottish dancing as described by Joann Kealiinohomoku.[32] Though recognizing the differences between the traditions of these two groups, she notes their similarities are more significant and has summarized their common characteristics.

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[30] Introduction to Fogo Island, National Film Board of Canada #106B 0168 065, n.d.

[31] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p. 109.

[32] Joan Kealiinohomoku, "A Comparative Study of Dance as a Constellation of Motor Behaviors Among African and United States Negros," in "Reflections and Perspectives on Two Anthropological Studies of Dance," ed. Adrienne Kaeppler, CORD Dance Research Annual, 7 (1976), 135-151.

She finds, in the spatial designs of the dances: there is a minimum of spatial disturbance around the dancer; all spatial complexities occur in the footwork which is close to the ground; the torso is pulled up taut, with the only variations in spatial levels promoted by the up and down bobbing of the body during foot articulations; and, highly patterned, restricted uses of space, with circles, squares, and parallel lines for even numbers of men and women. In temporal designs she observed: short dances in stanzaic form, with stanzas further divided into repeated phrases; moderate or brisk tempo; rapidity of foot articulation although rhythms are relatively straightforward and embellished with simple syncopes. In stylistic designs she notes: posture is undeviatingly erect with body weight taken on the balls of the feet, the dancer performs with a sense of centre, and the body is well pulled up, flexion occurs as part of leg articulation; there is a quiet torso, while limb articulations occur independently of the torso; emphasis is on neat, precise foot articulation, the rest of the body is self-contained and movements have a high degree of symmetry; tension is sustained throughout performance; there are predetermined and set movement patterns which are strictly rehearsed to achieve an exact standard of performance; exhibition and competition are the means through which a dancer's skill is acknowledged; there is a sameness of performance styles for men and women, and women who perform

step dances must do so in the style required of male dancers.[33] As there are obvious historical links between the dances of the British Isles and Newfoundland, many similarities are to be expected.

There are also some differences between her summary of Irish/Scottish dance and my observations of dancing in Newfoundland. While posture is "undeviatingly erect" the Newfoundland dancer will often put weight on his heels as well as the balls of his feet. The tautness and "pulled up" quality Kealiinohomoku describes is consequently less extreme. Despite the observable similarities between mens' and womens' dancing, it is the differences which are emphasized in Newfoundland.

Some differences may be due to her use of second existence dancing for analysis.[34] Her comment that dances are "performed in place except for entrances and exits," or the following observations that,

> performance [is] for exhibition but with no communication projected by the dancer to the audience [and] in Country dances [there is] couple awareness to the extent necessary for performance of patterns. The dance is all important and thus the dancers are merely the media through which the dance becomes visually alive.

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[33] The preceeding is taken, with only minor paraphrasing, from Kealiinohomoku, "Comparative Study," pp. 142-44.

[34] See the sources mentioned in Kealiinohomoku, "Comparative Study," pp. 150-51.

reflect the influence of a stage performance context.[35]

In Newfoundland, "couple awareness" often exists in the group dances at a higher level than the minimum indicated by Kealiinohomoku. While the elements of "exhibition and competition" are present in the Newfoundland tradition, they are not so formally expressed. In step dancing, for example, competition is usually informal and, though exhibition is sanctioned, communication is maintained between the audience and performer through such devices as conventional shouts of encouragement.

Kealiinohomoku notes that "emotionality is not permitted as part of dance performance, and facial expressions reveal the seriousness of purpose."[36] This observation is is confirmed by Honor Tracy, who writes of the Irish:

> their interminable jigs are precise and athletic movements of the feet with the arms held closely to the side, the torso rigid and the face set in a dull severe mask.[37]

While I wouldn't describe the Newfoundland dancers I have seen as so extremely restricted, individual expression and improvisation does remain within the confines of the form.

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[35]Kealiinohomoku, "Comparative Study," pp. 142-43.

[36]Kealiinohomoku, "Comparative Study," p. 143.

[37]Honor Tracy, Mind You, I've Said Nothing: Forays in the Irish Republic (1953, rpt. London and New York: White Lion Publishers, 1973), p. 142.

The dance, not the dancer, is prominent, a performance convention analogous to that found in singing traditons.[38]

The Irish dance tradition may well be more formalized than that of Newfoundland. Dancing masters, for example, seem to have played a more prominent role in creating and disseminating Irish folk dance than they ever did in Newfoundland.[39] As much of the basic form of Irish, Scottish and Newfoundland folk dance clearly derives from the sophisticated traditions taught by the dancing masters, some of the characteristics I have associated with second existence practice may be intrinsic, their expression conditioned by the social environment.

Group Dances

The group dances form the most numerous category of Newfoundland folk dance and they include several formations. The square dances are the most widely known. They include the Square Dance, Lancers, and Reel, which I will describe, and probably the Cotillion as well, for which I have no good descriptive source. Maud Karpeles collected two longways dances, in addition to Sir Roger, the Virginia Reel, and

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[38]MacEdward Leach, Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast, Bulletin No. 201, Anthropological Series, No. 68 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1965), p. 9.

[39]Breathnach, Folkmusic and Dances, pp. 51-56.

several others which are similar to the informal Caribou Reel mentioned earlier. The Kissing Dance is also a group dance, though quite differently organized. It is the only representative of a large group of dance-like games I will discuss in detail, since it was performed as a dance, and described as such in the Plate Cove region.

The Square Dance

The most commonly mentioned dance throughout my Newfoundland sources is the Square Dance. While this name has been used in many ways, in Newfoundland it refers to a particular dance, derived from the 19th century quadrilles. It is usually performed in a square formation, couples facing from one side to another, and has several distinct parts. The pairs of facing couples dance with one another, and all together, moving through different prescribed floor designs.

How it came to be known as the Square Dance is not clear. In the United States and mainland Canada, the term is often used in a generic sense, indicating a whole class of dances using this form. Discussing dances in Kentucky, Burt Feintuch, for example, uses the term to refer to modern derivations of such "square" dances which are performed in circle formations, as well as the social events at which

these dances take place.[40] Influence from the mainland during the Second World War may have furthered the use of this term in Newfoundland. As there is evidence of decreasing diversity since the nineteenth century in square dances, it may be that this generic term came to apply to the progressively standardized form which survived. In Newfoundland today, while the "square dance" does survive as a generic term, it most commonly refers to a specific dance. These vary from place to place, but a comparison of these variants shows them to be versions of the same dance type.

The term "break-er-down," referring to a session of lively square dancing, is likewise derived from an Americanism, i.e. "break down".[41] Variations of this expression are also common, such as, "wallop-er-down" and "plank-er-down," which seem to suggest other characteristics of the dance style.

The Red Cliff Dancers' Square Dance

I first saw the Newfoundland Square Dance on a videotape recording of the Red Cliff Dancers demonstrating and teaching the dance in March, 1978.[42] During their performances

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[40] Feintuch, "Domestic Square Dances in Kentucky."

[41] Personal communication, Newfoundland Dictionary Centre, 18 August 1981.

[42] MUNFLA, Videotape, 78-364/v. 39, 41, 42.

Larry Barker and Gerald Quinton provided the music, while Lloyd Oldford and Therese Keough danced and taught the floor patterns to others in the set. They would first dance a sequence and then help the other dancers through it, pointing and sometimes leading them in the right direction. Lloyd and Therese also employed a variety of steps, which are generally improvised by the individual dancer. They made no effort to teach these individual movements, and I have based my observations of this aspect of the dance on their own performance. Although not a recording of the dance performed in the context of outport social life, I have used these videotapes as the primary source for my notation of the Square Dance. While perhaps not "traditional," the teaching context is a useful one for highlighting the performers' conception of the dance.[43]

I have never seen this entire dance successfully performed in a natural social setting. I have seen fragments which only make sense if one knows the original form from which they are taken. Based on this videotape recording of

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[43]For a discussion of the relative "authenticity" of dances as performed in different contexts see, Richard March, rev. of Traditional Songs and Dances from the Soko Banja Area, ed. Robert H. Leibman, Folklore Forum, 10 (1977), 70-71.

the dance, observations at other performances, and interviews with the performers and others from their communities, I have reconstructed the Square Dance as formerly performed in the Plate Cove region.

I used one teaching performance as the source for my notation of the dance.[44] I depended on Lloyd and Therese for the correct movements, as the other dancers were not familiar with the patterns. Facing Lloyd and Therese across the set was a couple from Branch, St. Mary's Bay, and the other pair of couples dancing included three St. John's residents, unfamiliar with the dance, and another man from Branch, St. Mary's Bay. The Branch couple, though confused at times, were familiar enough with the form to catch on quickly. As a result, the floor patterns they performed with Lloyd and Therese are probably accurate, though the timing of the patterns with the music was not always exact. In general practice, I have never seen perfectly phrased dancing, although "keeping time" was frequently upheld by informants as a mark of good dancing.[45] Such confusion was not unknown in the traditional contexts either, and phrasing has always been somewhat flexible. This seems especially true of travelling figures in which the dancers move around the set. Stationary figures, such as the

[44] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-364/v. 42.

[45] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 147.

swing, are more likely to be successfully synchronized with the music. In my notation, I have indicated points at which the dancers' confusion appeared to affect the performance.

Even when it was well-known, each dance would be unique, depending upon the skill of the individual dancers and musicians, their mood, and the social context. Such variations and embellishments as performed by Lloyd and Therese on this occasion are indicated in the course of description.

I have used informant descriptions as a guide for my notation of the square dance as well. These indicate how the dancers perceive its component movement sequences, and provide a vocabulary with which to identify these parts. For convenience I have also employed certain commonly used terms in my discussion of the dance figures. These are not used by informants, but rather are derived from the "how to" literature of the folk dance revival. They are specific in meaning, not difficult to understand, and make the descriptions considerably less verbose.

According to my informants in the Plate Cove region, the Square Dance is composed of several parts, which are termed "bars."[46] These bars are separated one from another by a break in the musical accompaniment which would last long enough in the traditional performing context to allow

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[46]For example, MUNFLA, Ms. 81-271/p. 136.

both dancers and musician a brief rest. During the teaching workshops, Lloyd and Therese would occasionally continue from one bar to the next without a break, an atypical practice due to the unusual performance situation.

The most complete verbal description of the parts of the "Square Dance" I collected from a dancer was given by Therese Keough, as follows:

> We start, first is "off she goes," we used to call it. Then the next bar of the dance is "dance up." The next part is "form a line." The next part is "chain and take two." And the next one is "join together and "'round the house." And, oh, cut back and forth we used to do, you know . . . "cut corners," eh? . . . Like the couples are supposed to cut corner-wise . . . and then have a "grand cut," change, then, partners and have, you know, "grand cut," whichever way you like. But now we used to have "ladies in" one time.[47]

All musicians interviewed identified five bars, the first four named by Mrs. Keough and a final "grand cut," "ladies in," "close in," or "'round the house." The terminology was relatively constant for the first four bars, with only a few variations such as "chain leg up," instead of "chain and take two," for bar four. The final bar has apparently been done in several ways which might account for disagreement about its proper name. I believe we are dealing with at least two distinct sequences, which Therese identified as the "grand cut," and "ladies in," as well as

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[47] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 105.

several descriptive names for figures performed during the bar such as, "join together," "'round the house," and "cut corners," which may also be used to refer to the entire bar.

Variations in the terminology applied to different movements in the dance will be noted in the description which follows. For convenience, I have chosen the following names to identify the bars of the Red Cliff Dancers' Square Dance: (1) "off she goes;" (2) "dance up;" (3)"form a line;" (4) "take two;" and,(5) "grand cut," or "ladies in."

The notation I have used is adapted from that developed for figure dancing by Cecil Sharp.[48] It is not dissimilar to that employed by the Jankovics in their folk dance studies.[49] Their system was devised to show dance in its principal aspects of overall structure, types of steps, movements, and directions of motion. The resulting notated model is especially useful in understanding the typical structure of a dance, comparing versions and identifying types.

My notation is descriptive, not prescriptive, in intent and it focuses on the design of the dance, its floor patterns and the directions followed by individual dancers.[50]

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[48]Cecil Sharp, The Country Dance Book, 6 vols. (London: Novello, 1909-22).

[49]Ljubica Janković, "The System of the Sisters Ljubica and Danica Janković for the Recording, Description and Analysis of Folk Dances," Ethnomusicology, 19 (1975), 31-46.

[50]Charles Seeger, "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music Writing," in Readings in Ethnomusicology, ed. David McAllister (New York, London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971), pp. 24-34.

These aspects of the dance are the most clearly conceived and highly articulated. They constitute a prescribed framework within which dancers improvise steps.

Using Lloyd and Therese's dancing as a model, the basic parameters of individual improvisation may be outlined. In traveling movements, the dancers use a "dance walk," verging on a run. This is a simple one foot in front of the other step, with the weight well forward, at a brisk tempo. The dancers are free to vary this with more complex foot tapping if they are not travelling during the entire phrase of music available for the movement. This dancing is similar to the individual step dance. Lloyd, in particular, and the male dancers in general do more of this improvising. During the swings, dancers use either a walking step or "pivot" step. At some points in the dance a sashay, or side to side gallop step, is used. While stationary the performers continue to "dance" in this fashion. The men who could keep this up with undiminished vigor through the whole dance were often considered the "best" dancers.[51]

This individualistic stepping is characterized by an emphasis on the final beat of the musical phrase. Lloyd, for

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[51]Personal communication from Anne McLeod concerning the dancers she filmed in Harbour Deep, MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/ p. 443.

instance, will often mark this beat with a small jump onto both feet, while Gerald Campbell, a dancer from Branch, generally uses a stamp on his right foot. During the step dance sequences in the Square Dance, Lloyd will perform more complex steps, perhaps building to an exciting climax of hand clapping, high leg kicks, and stamping to conclude the phrase (Figs. 31, 36).

The "set" is the formation in which dancers begin the dance, within which and in relation to which they move. In the Square Dance, this is a square made up of pairs of couples facing one another from opposite sides (Fig. 2). One pair of sides is labelled "ends" and the other "sides." and the couples in them end and side couples, respectively. I will often describe floor patterns in terms of this square set. Dancers may cross from one side to the other or be "in the center." Each couple starts the dance in their "home place," or position in the set and dancers may, for example, "return to place," from another position. The pairs of facing couples may be called opposites, and to distinguish the couples of a facing pair, one is labelled first, the other second. Descriptions such as "first man swings the second woman" are then possible. For this notation I have placed Lloyd and Therese in the first couple's position.

The square dance was demonstrated by Lloyd and Therese in a four couple, square set. When more dancers need to be accommodated, each side of the square may be expanded by adding more pairs of "facing" couples. In one instance during the teaching workshop, a set was formed with five couples on a side. It proved a bit ungainly and is probably bigger than ever found in actual practice. Therese Keough described this flexibility as follows:

> Well, there'd be so many people for the dance then, you know. Used to be, sometimes there'd be just eight out and more times there'd be sixteen. More times there'd be thirty-two out.[52]

These were four, eight and sixteen couple sets.

The Square Dance Notation

The movements of each bar are first given in a condensed notation using verbal shorthand for the movements and showing the musical phrasing as transcribed from the videotaped performance. The musical accompaniment is transcribed at the beginning of each condensed notation and its A and B phrases are marked. These are used to indicate the movement phrasing and are to be read from top to bottom at the left of the notation. Each phrase is marked as it begins. Although individual dancers move to the beat of the music, the dance patterns do not always coincide with the

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[52]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 105.

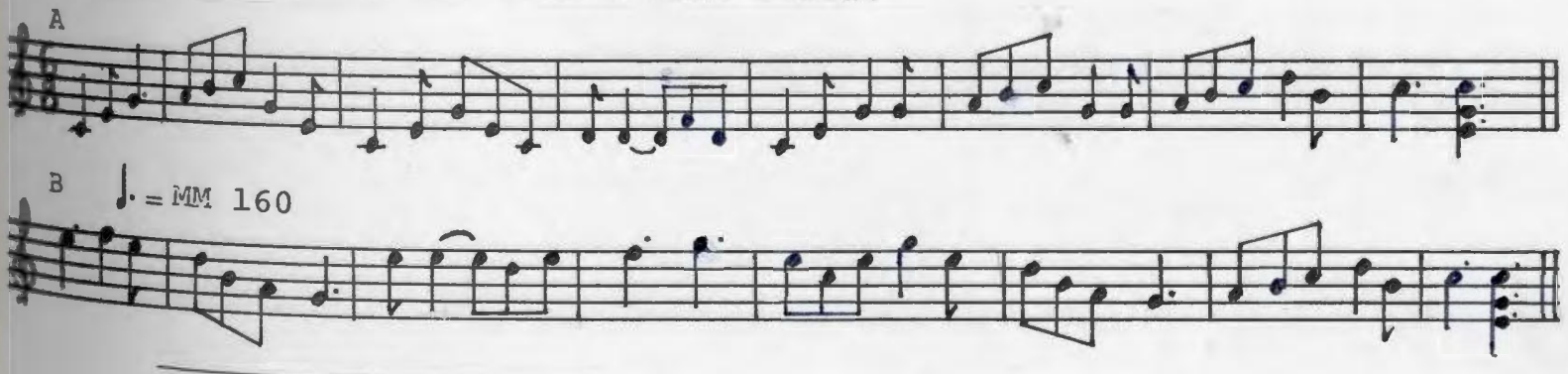
musical phrases. When they do this is indicated by a dotted line linking the music and movement notations.

Each movement pattern is identified by a term which indicates one of several basic movement possibilities. Within the square formation, dancers may cross the set, meet in the center, step dance more or less in place, spin with another dancer, or travel around the set. These basic floor pattern movements are performed in a variety of ways by different dancers and combined to create different designs. For example, dancers may cross the set, as individuals, or as couples, holding hands, or in a closed embrace. They may return immediately or after some other movement sequence. Rather than crossing the set completely, dancers may move forward to meet in the center. Couples may spin either clockwise (the usual direction for a swing) or counter clockwise, as was also found at points in this performance, using a variety of holds. When performers step dance during the performance, they do so without a prescribed floor plan to follow. The movement is ideally considered to take place on one spot, though in practice dancers may move about somewhat, usually into the center of the set. References to these basic movements are underlined in the notation. Following them is a condensed verbal description of the movement.

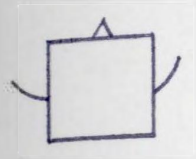
Following this verbal shorthand notation, the movements are illustrated by track drawings, with a descriptive

commentary on the recorded performance. The symbols used are common, but I found the illustrations in Jean Trudel's La Famille Verret/The Verret Family especially helpful as a model.[53] A legend of the symbols used is given in Figure 1. In studying these diagrams, the reader should note that solid lines indicate the dancers' position at the beginning of the movement described, the dotted lines their position afterwards. When more than one diagram is needed to illustrate one movement sequence, each continues sequentially. Once a movement sequence has been illustrated the diagrams are not repeated unless some significant change needs to be indicated. This keeps the notation to a reasonable length.

In the notated performance, Lloyd and Therese continued without pause after the first bar and danced the second to the same music. The musical phrasing indicated in Table 2 is in reference to this tune. There was a pause before the side couples began this bar, however, and Larry and Gerald changed the tune for their performances. I have transcribed the second tune below.



[53] Jean Trudel, Booklet Notes, La Famille Verret/The Verret Family, Philo Records, PH 2007, 1975 (37 pp.).

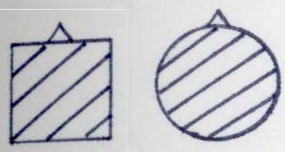


Man

The "nose" indicates the facing direction, arms are used to indicate linkage between dancers.



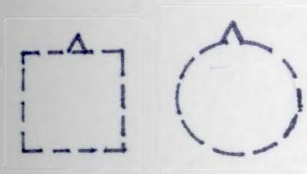
Woman



Shadow indicates the first couple.



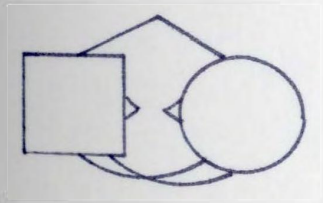
Path of movement.



Location of dancer upon completion of movement indicated, and the starting point for the next diagram if illustration is continued.



Indicates path of continued movement.



A typical closed, "social dance," position.

Figure 1. Legend of dance notation symbols.

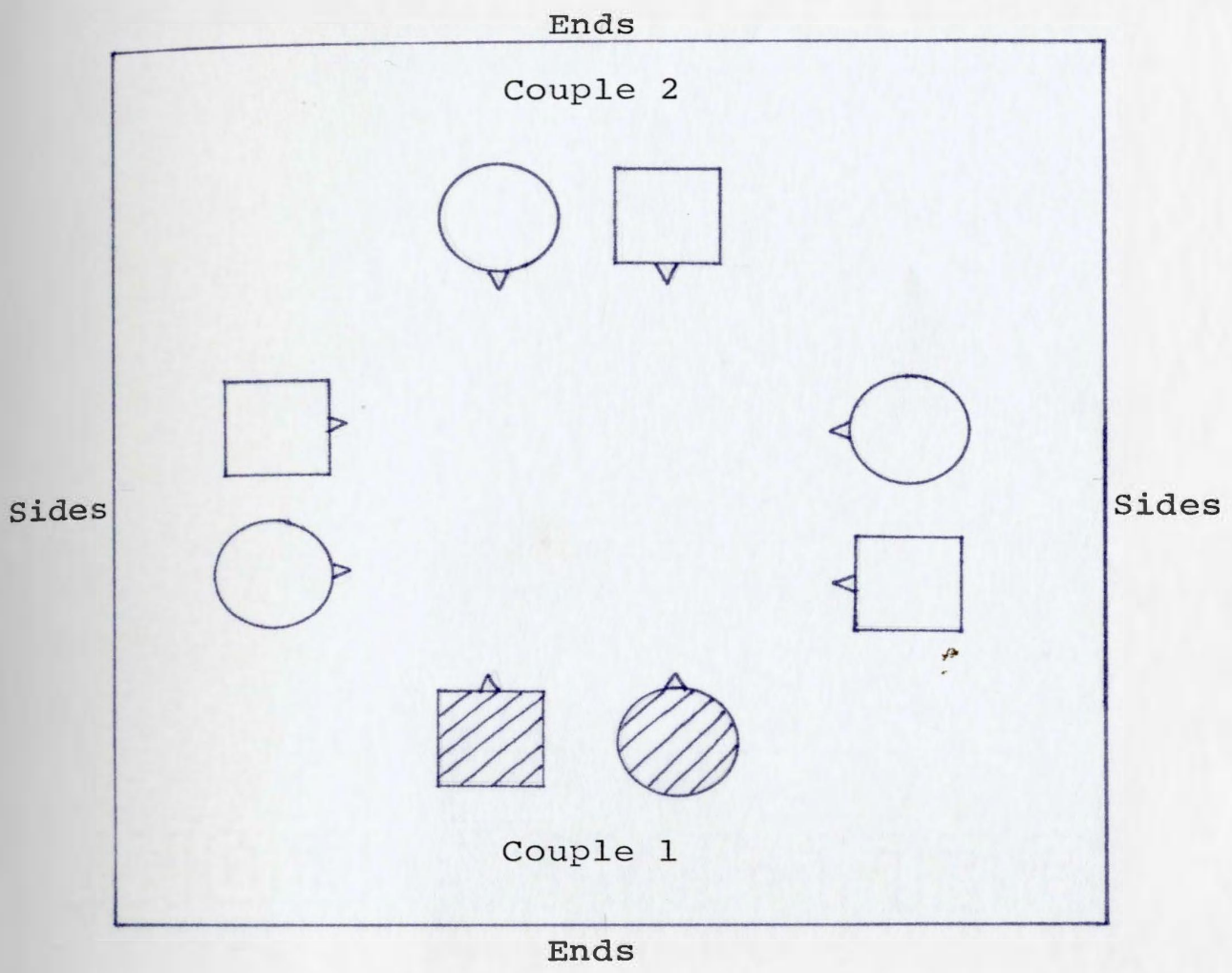
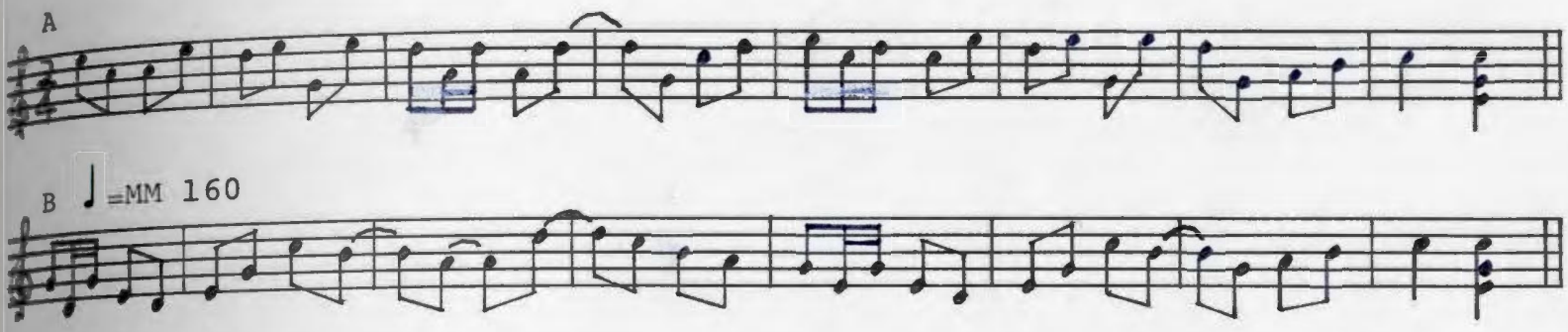


Figure 2. Formation of set.

To expand this, pairs of couples are added on either the ends or sides of the set.

TABLE 1

THE SQUARE DANCE: BAR I "OFF SHE GOES"



Music	Movement
	End couples begin.
A	E1. Cross singly. The women begin by crossing the set, the men following. Each then returns to
A	place (Figs. 3-6).
B	E2. Step dance. Once back in place the men step dance vigorously, the women less so (Fig. 8).
A	
A	E3. Spin. Partners swing clockwise in place (Fig. 9).
B	E4. Women cross. The women join right hands as they pass by one another (Figs. 10-11).
	E5. Spin. The women spin counter-clockwise with
A	the opposite men (Fig. 12).
	(Ladies chain) . . . . .
A	E6. Women cross. The women cross back to place, again joining right hands as they pass (Figs. 13-14).
	E7. Meet. The opposite couples dance forward to meet in the center and then backwards to place (Fig. 15).
B	E8. Step dance. Partners continue to hold hands and step dance as in E2 above (Fig. 16).
A	E9. Spin. Partners swing clockwise in place (Fig. 17).

Side couples repeat the sequence 1-9.

IE1.1

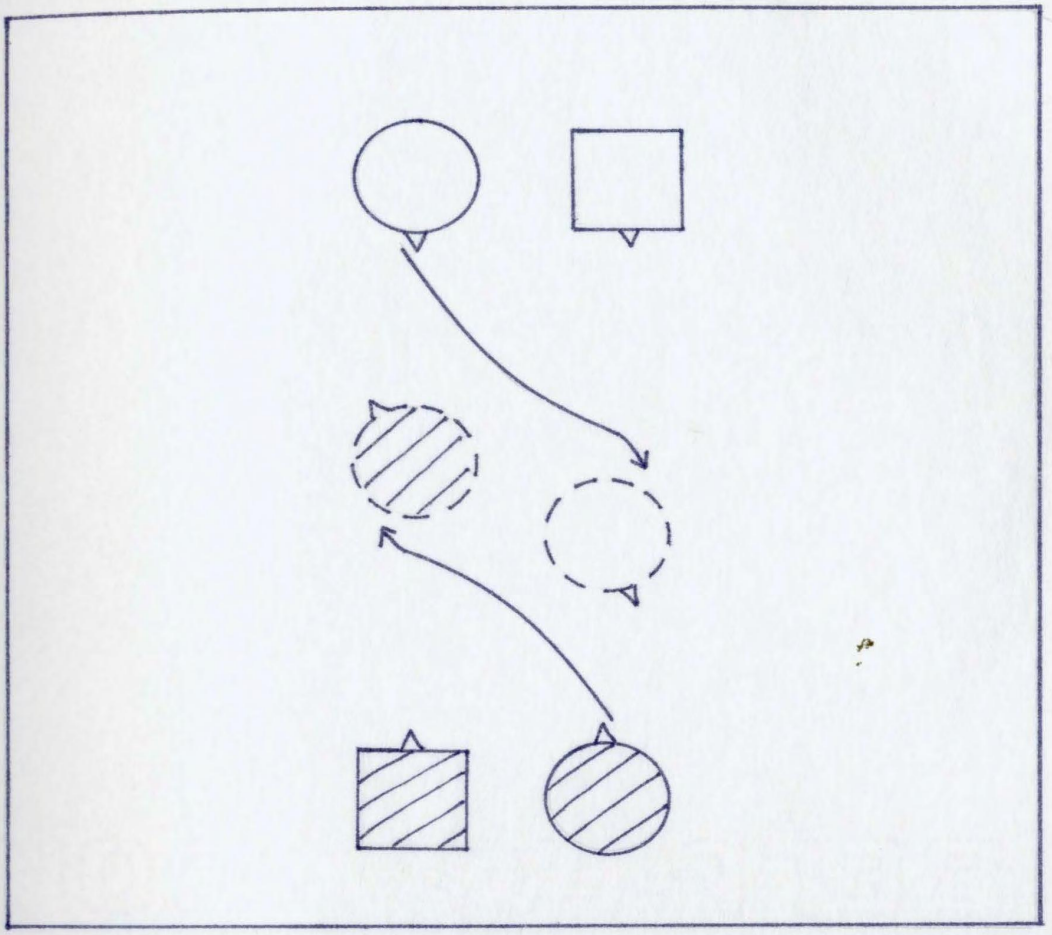


Figure 3. Cross singly.

The two ladies begin to change places, passing by right shoulders as they do so. Therese Keough referred to this movement as "ladies cut," meaning to travel across the set.[54] This usage is similar to Gerald Quinton's use of the term in describing the side step and that found in the term "grand cut."

[54]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 441.

IE1.2

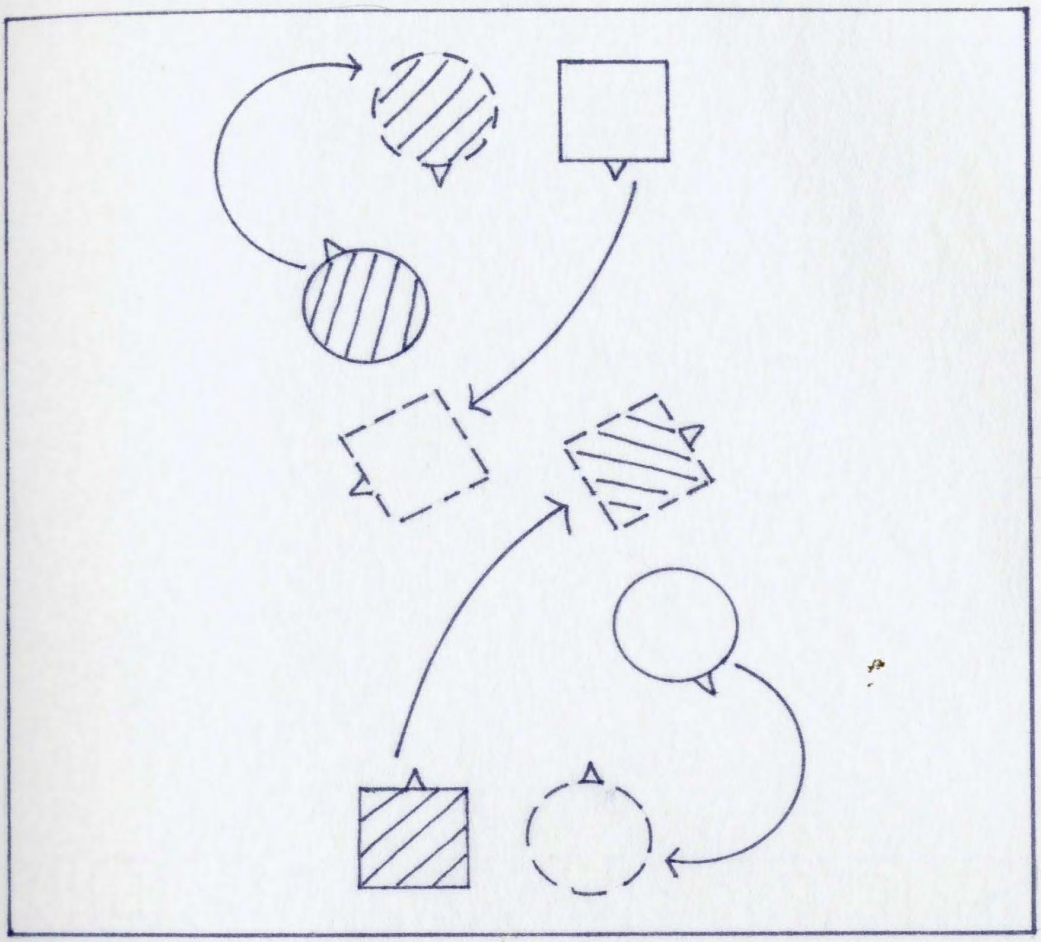


Figure 4. Cross singly.

The men join in the movement, crossing sides as well, passing right shoulders by the opposite women and then left shoulders with each other. This movement begins the men's cut. This figure is confused in the performance because the second couple do not appear to know it. Instead of simply crossing the set, as I have interpreted it, the facing couples may perform a "reel" for four, in which, after passing by the right, the women pass left by the men, turn left and cross back, passing left again by their partners, then right with each other and so forth. The track followed in this latter movement is shown in Fig. 7.

IE1.3

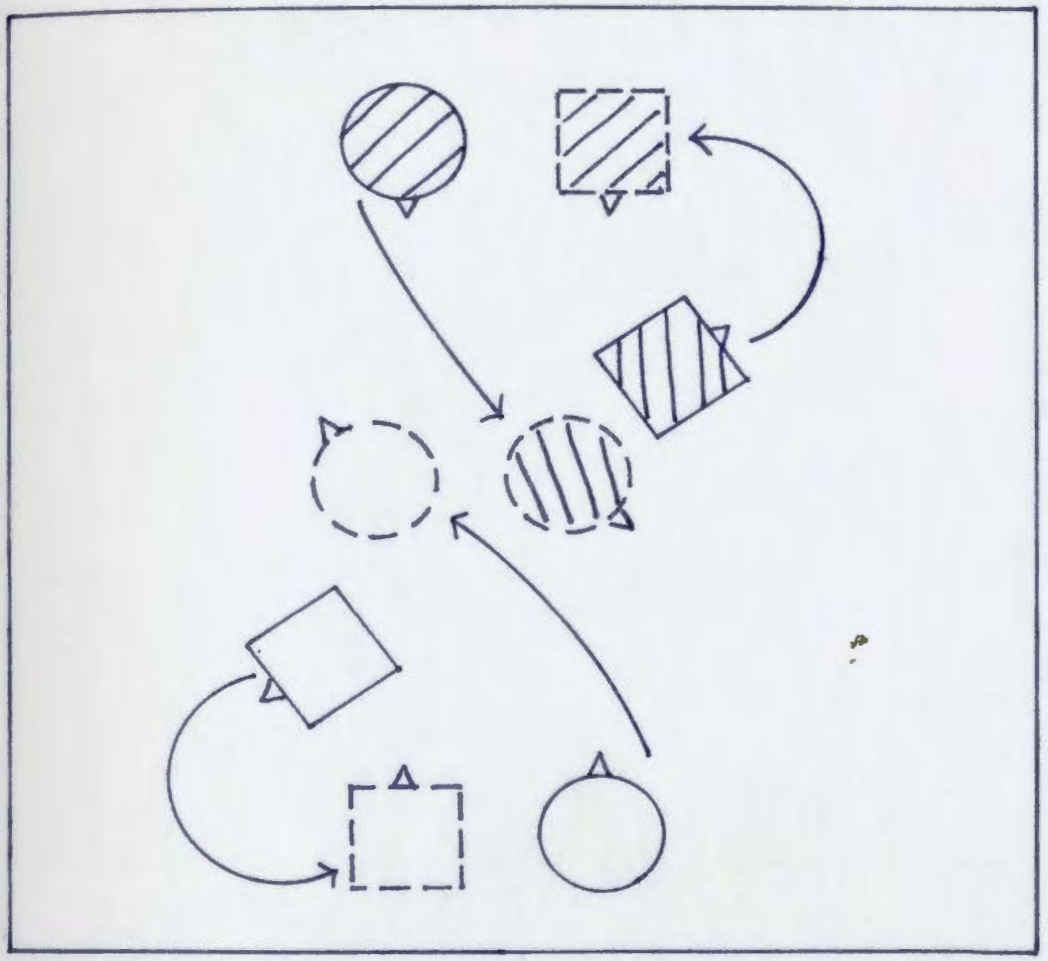


Figure 5. Cross singly.

As the men reach the opposite side of the set, the women again "cut" to return to place.

IE1.4

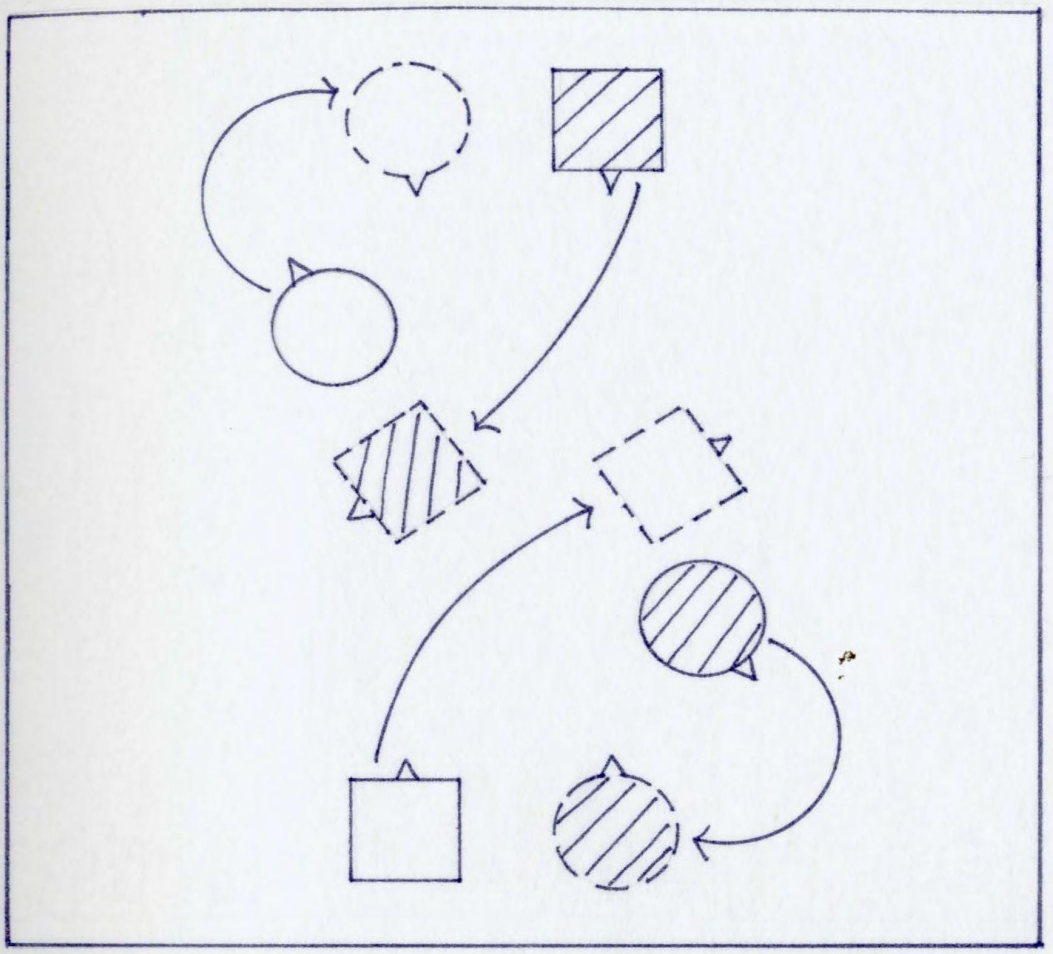


Figure 6. Cross Singly

The men also "cut" across the set to return to place.

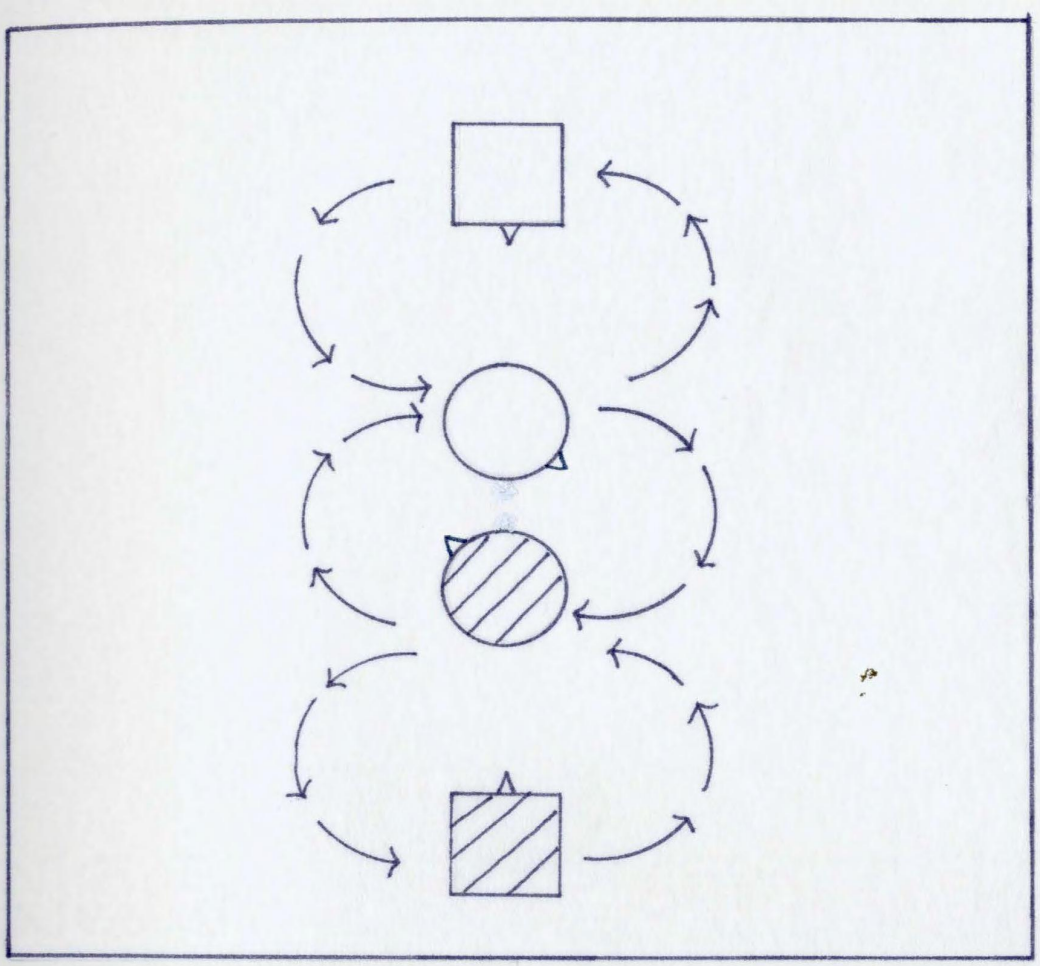


Figure 7. Alternate "off she goes."

A possible alternate to IE1 as illustrated. The women begin to cross, passing by the right, then left with the opposite men, turn left and cross back passing left with their partners, who have now crossed the set, then right with each other, and left with the opposite men again to return to place. The men follow the same track, shown in the diagram.

IE 2

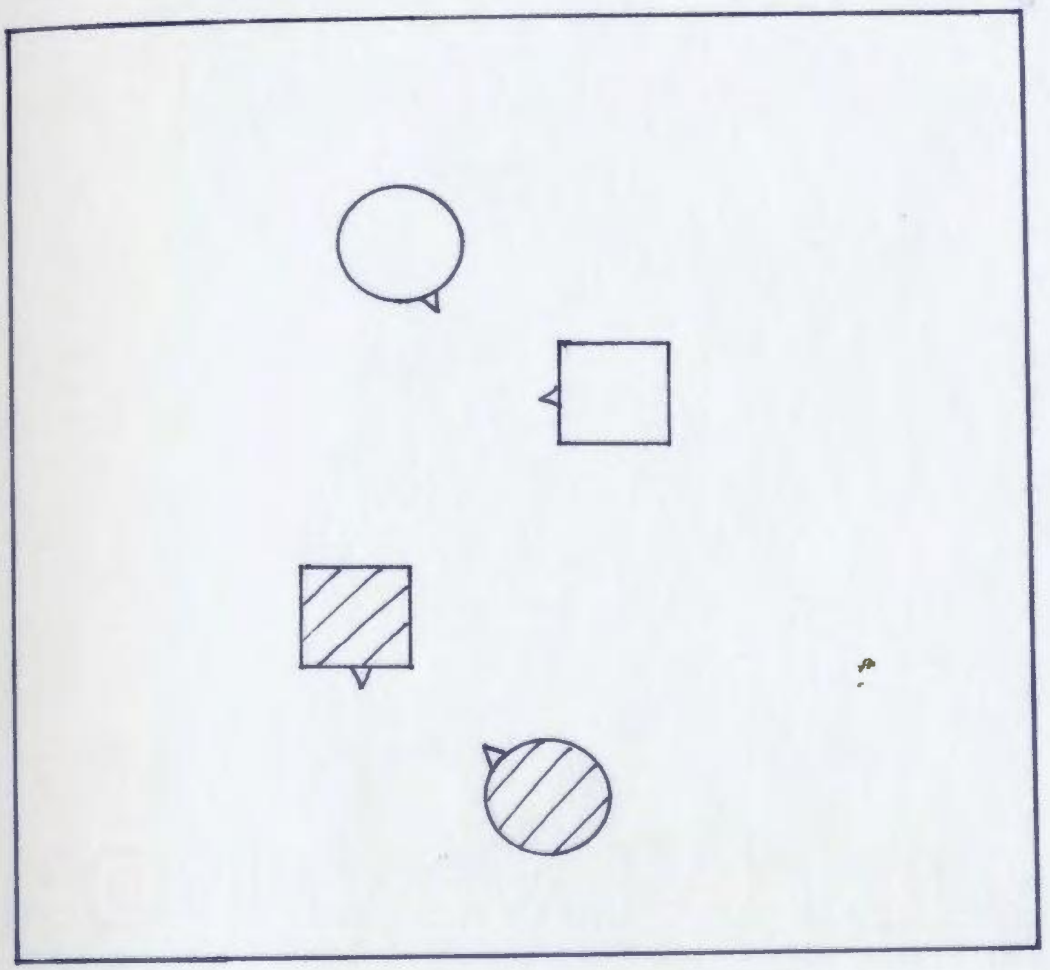


Figure 8. Step Dance

As the couples reach their place in the set, they begin to step dance. The men perform much more vigorously than do the women. While step dancing, Lloyd moves rather freely about the inside of the set.

IE3

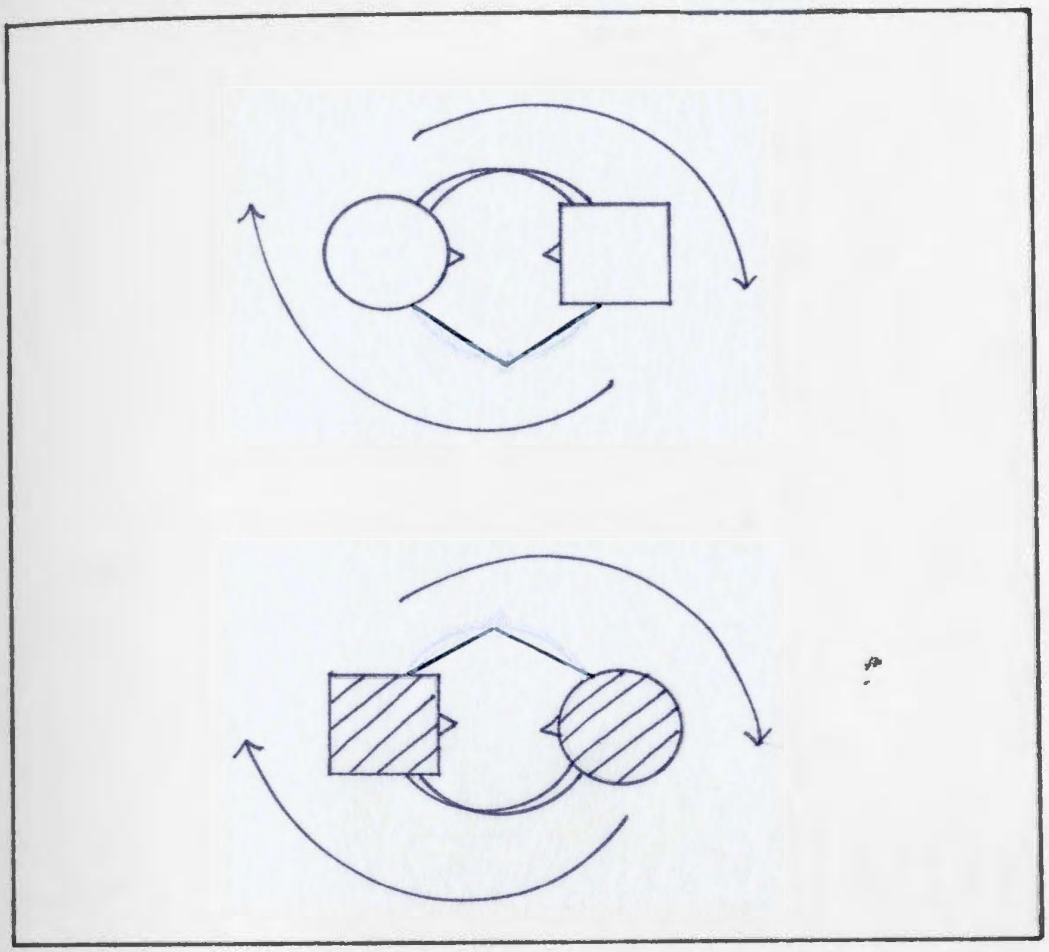


Figure 9. Spin.

Couples swing clockwise in a closed position. Lloyd and Therese use several arm positions while swinging, including, as seen at this point, the standard social dance position with the man's left arm extended, right around his partner's back, and her left arm on his shoulder, right hand in his left

IE4.1

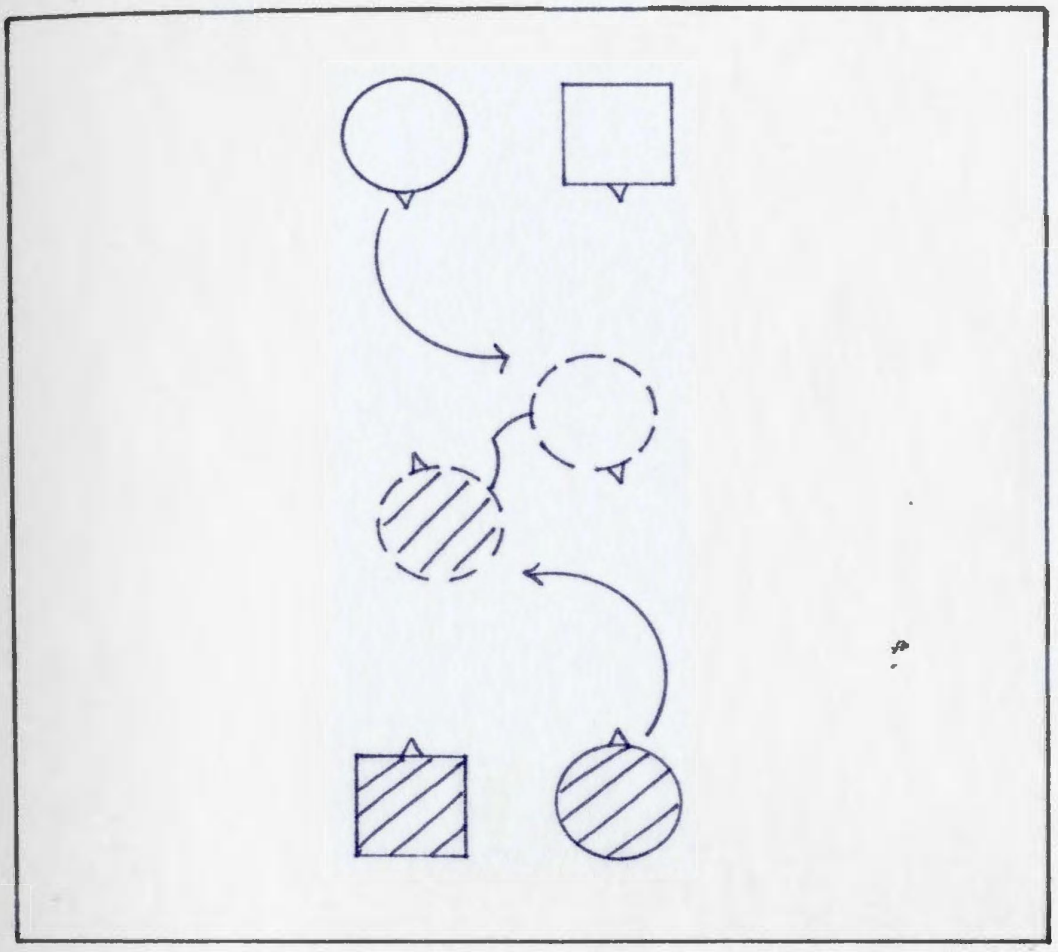


Figure 10. Women cross.

After completing the swing, the women cross the set, joining right hands as they pass by one another, or "catch hands," as Mrs. Keough termed it.[55]

[55]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 441.

IE4.2

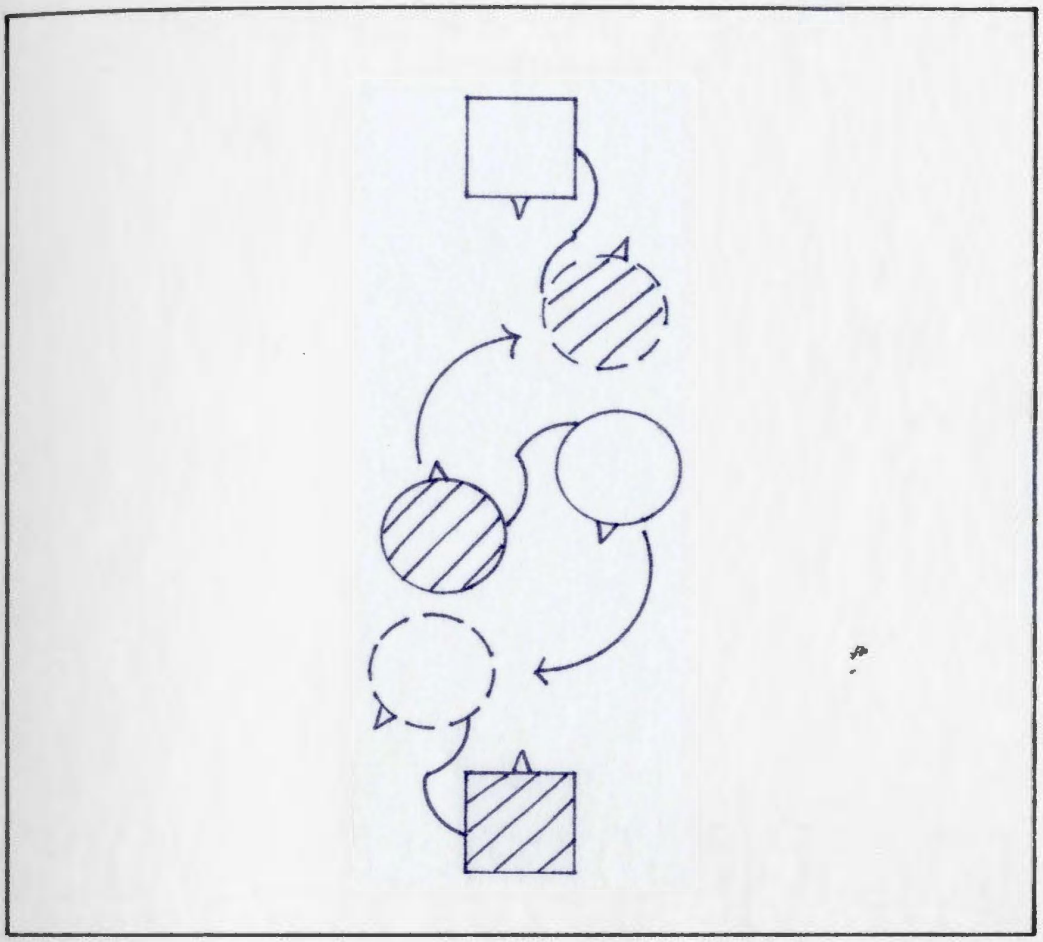


Figure 11. Women cross.

The women continue to cross the set and link arms with their opposite men, by grasping well up the forearm.

IE5

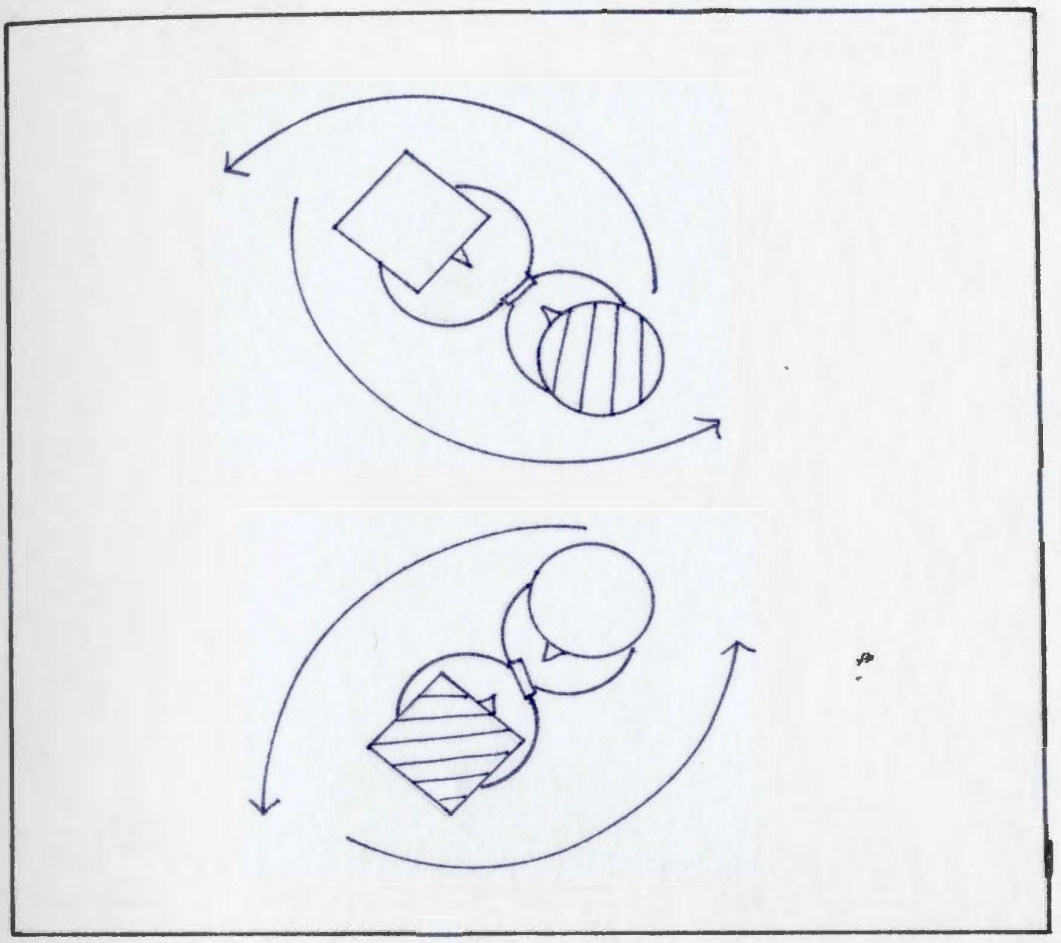


Figure 12. Spin.

Opposites join right hands over the left and spin counter-clockwise, three or four times around.

IE6.1

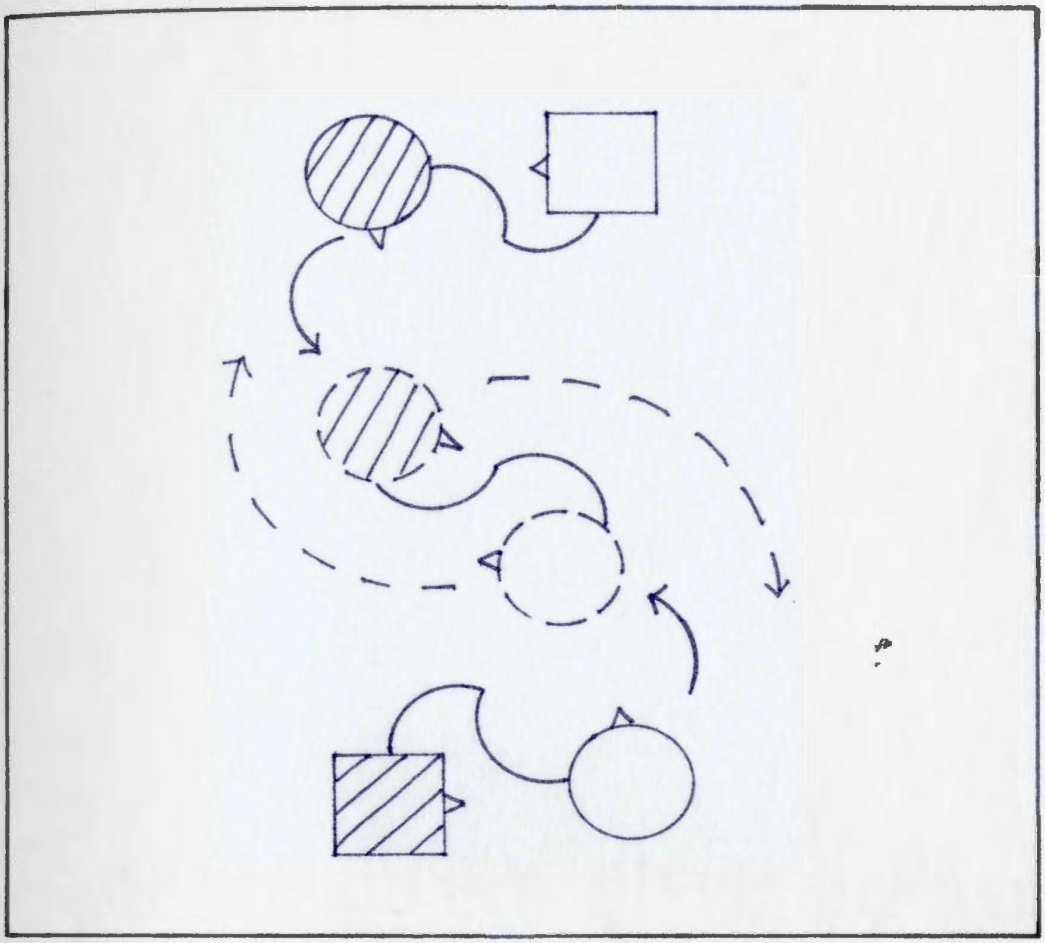


Figure 13. Women cross.

Women cross back to place,catching right hands again as they pass by.

IE6.2

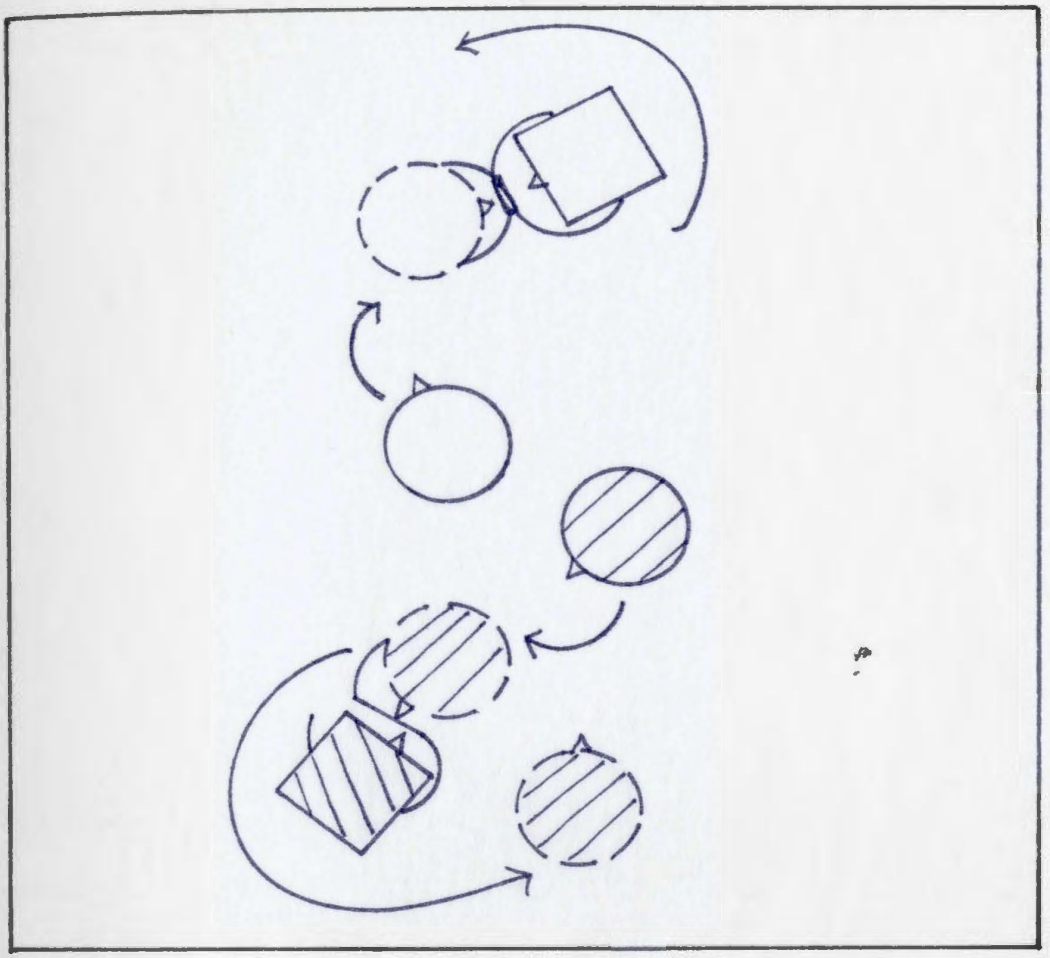


Figure 14. Women cross.

Women return to place. Couples may spin as in IE5, and then resume their home position, or the men may join right hands with his partner, passing his arm over his head as his partner travels behind him to place, as Lloyd does at this point.

IE7

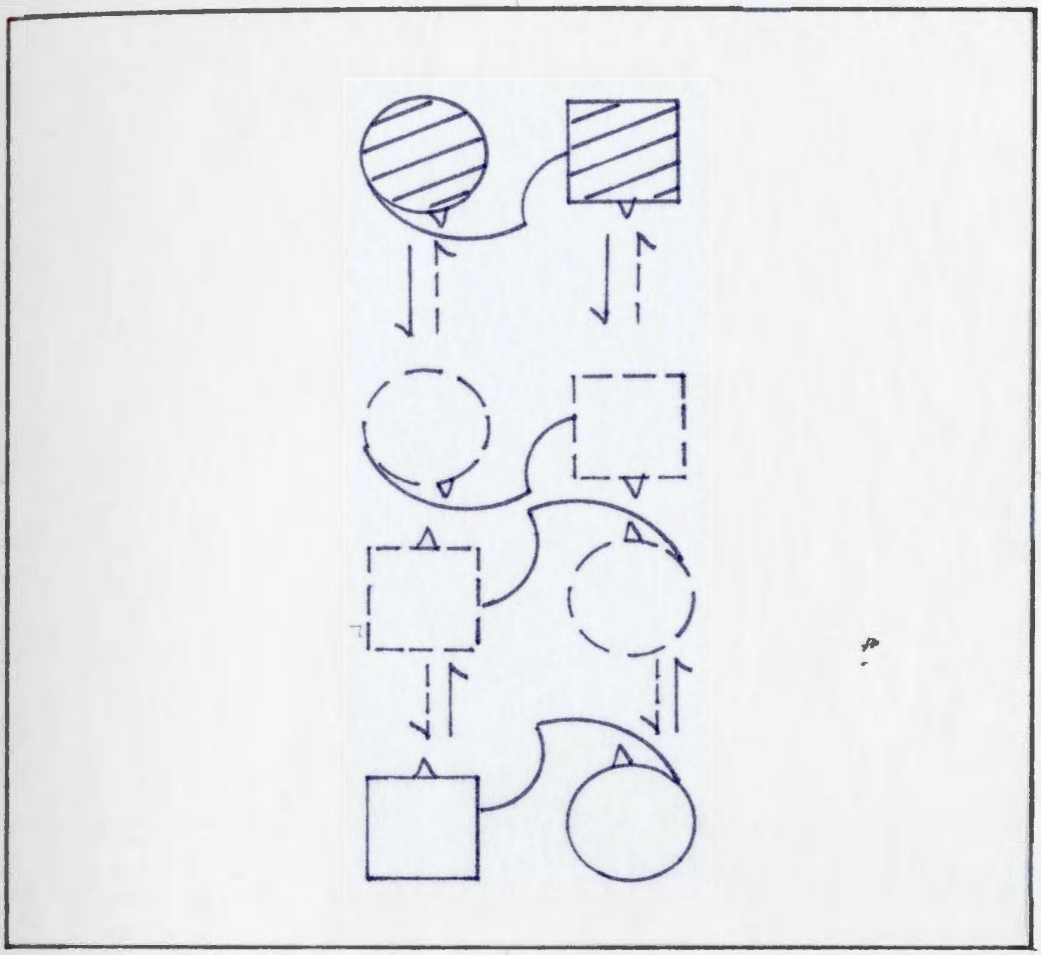


Figure 15. Meet.

Partners are left in place, holding right hands, and they dance forward to meet, and back, as in IA2. As they back up, Lloyd begins to step dance.

IE8

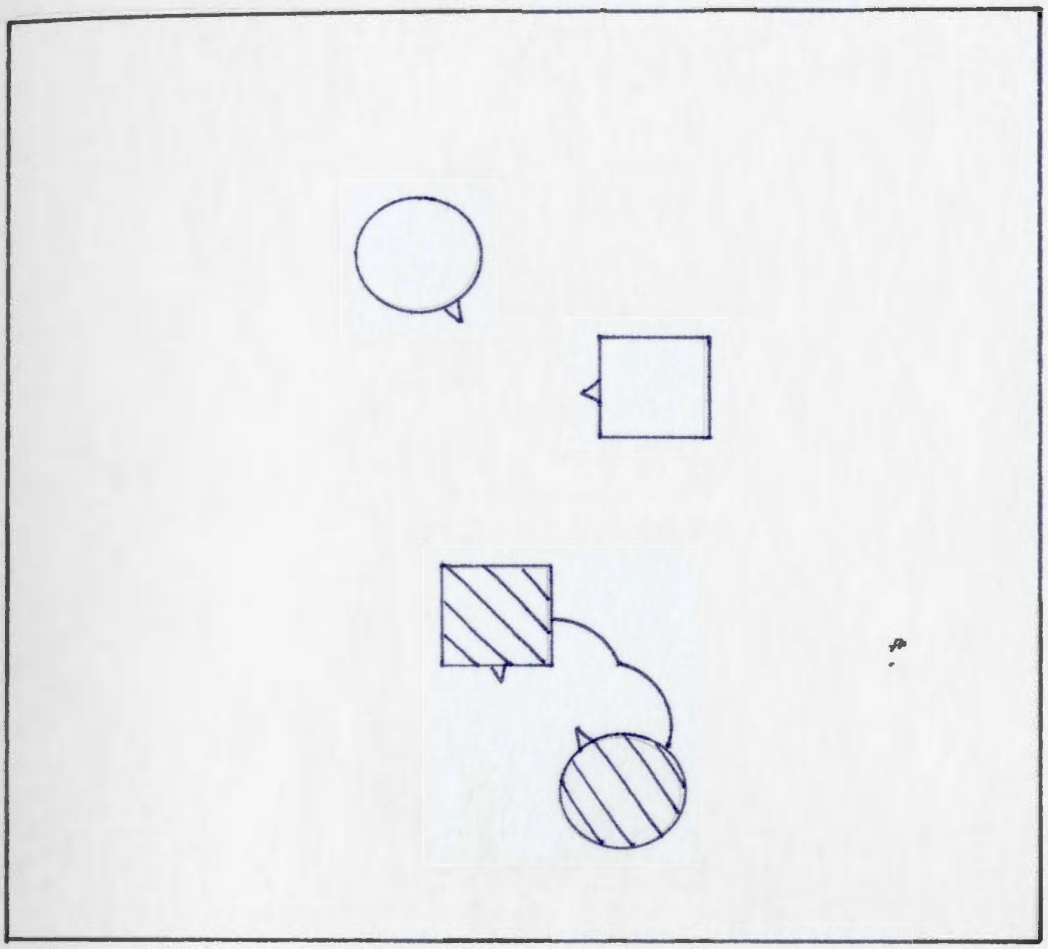


Figure 16. Step Dance.

The men move to the center and step dance. They may continue to hold their partners' hand.

IE9

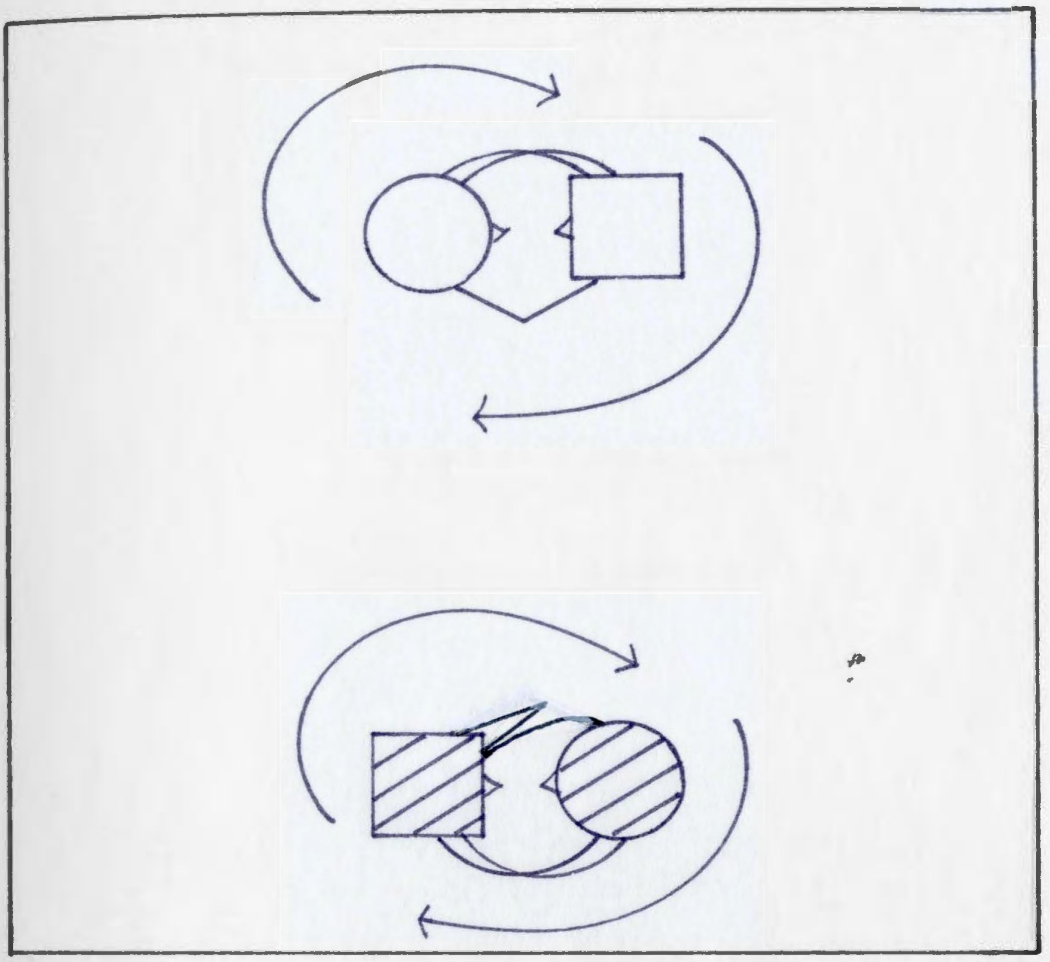


Figure 17. Spin.

Partners swing clockwise at their place in the set. Lloyd often takes his partner's right hand and places it, with his own, on his left shoulder during the swing, as he does at this point.

TABLE 2

THE SQUARE DANCE: BAR II "DANCE UP"

Performed to the same music as Bar I.

Music	Movement
	End couples begin.
A	E1. Meet. Partners holding right hands, opposite couples dance forward and back (Fig. 18).
A	E2. Step dance. Partners continue to hold hands
B	as in IE8 (Fig. 16).
A	E3. Couples cross. Opposite couples cross into each others place, still holding right hands, men passing by the left side (Fig. 19).
A	E4. Meet. Opposite couples dance forward and back from their crossed positions as in E1 above (Fig. 18).
	E5. Step dance. Partners hold hands as in E2
B	above (Fig. 16, sides reversed).
A	E6. Couples cross. Opposite couples cross back to place as in E3 above (Fig. 19).
A	E7. Meet. Opposite couples dance forward and back as in E1 above (Fig. 18).
	E8. Step dance. Partners hold hands as in E2 above (Fig. 16).
B	E9. Spin. Partners swing clockwise in place (Fig. 8).
	Side couples repeat the sequence 1-9.

IIE1

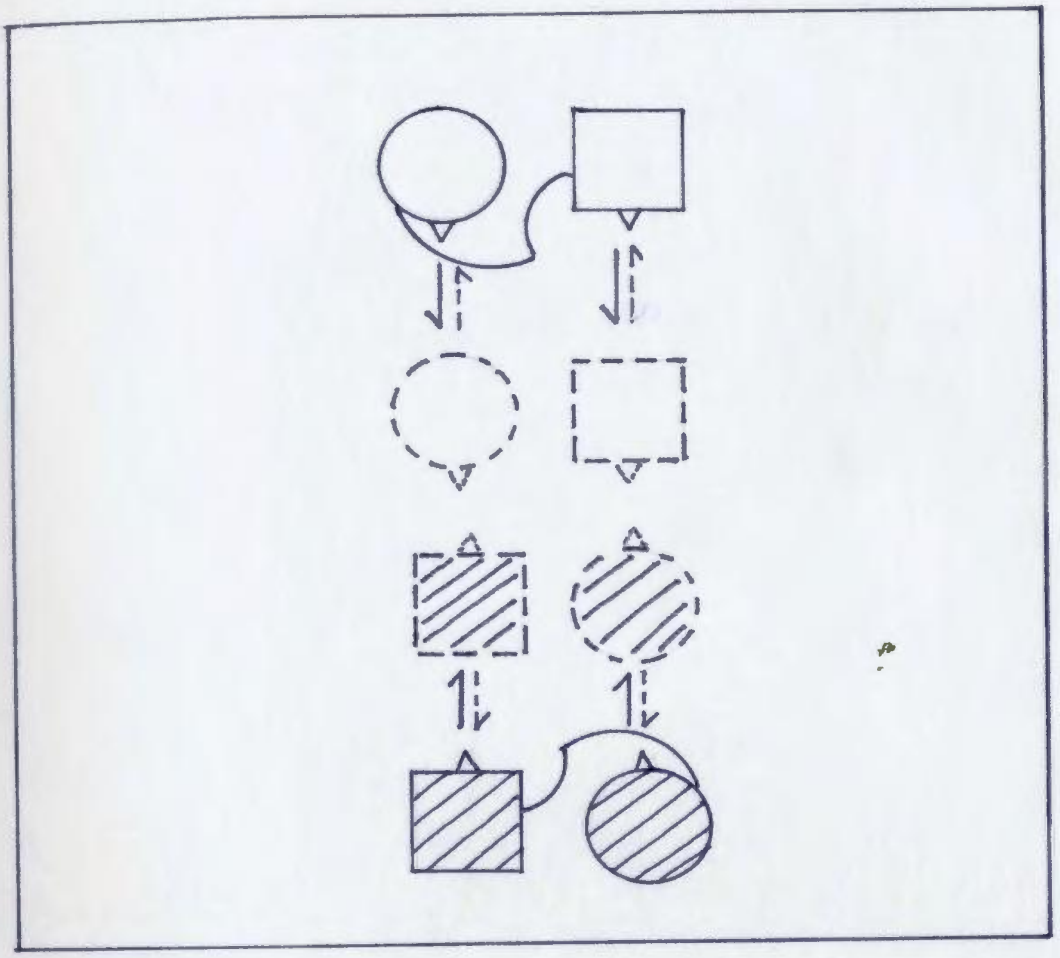


Figure 18. Meet.

The opposite couples dance forward to meet in the center and then backwards to place. Partners hold right hands, the woman reaching across her body.

IIE3

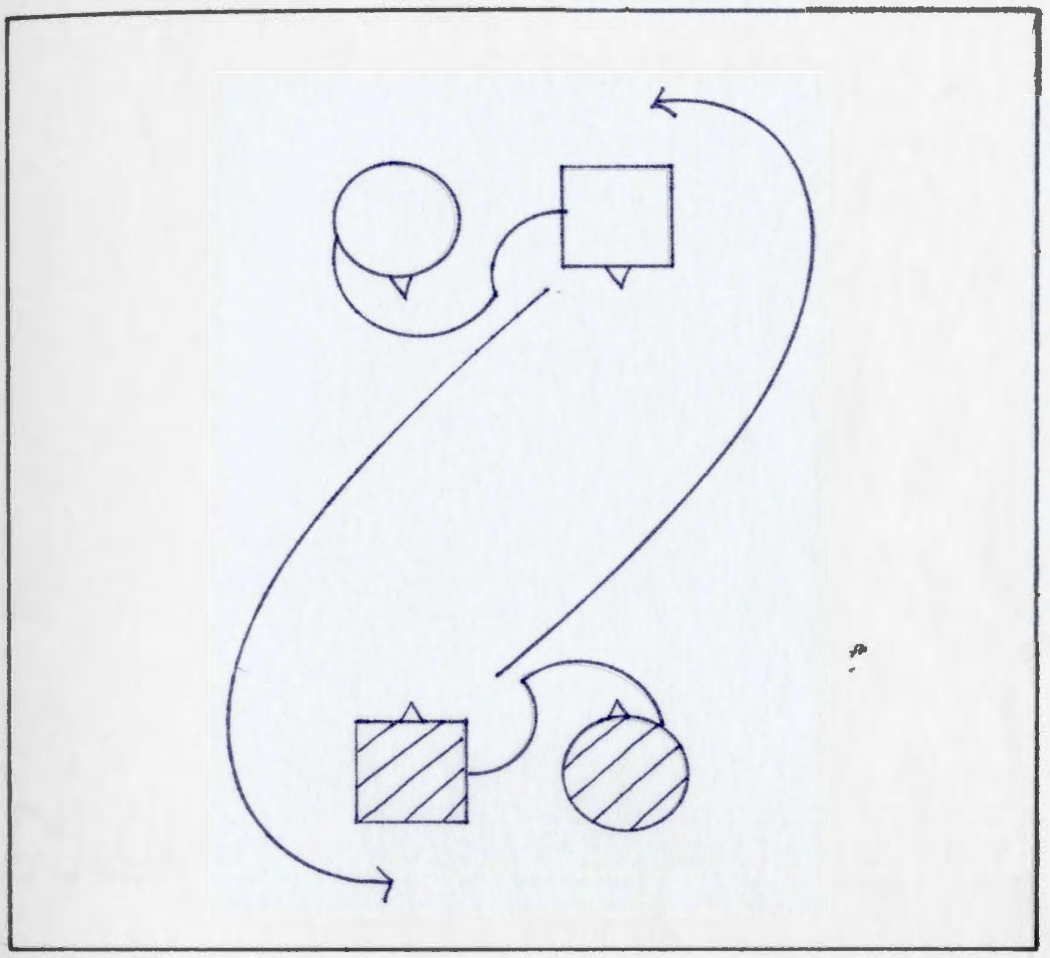
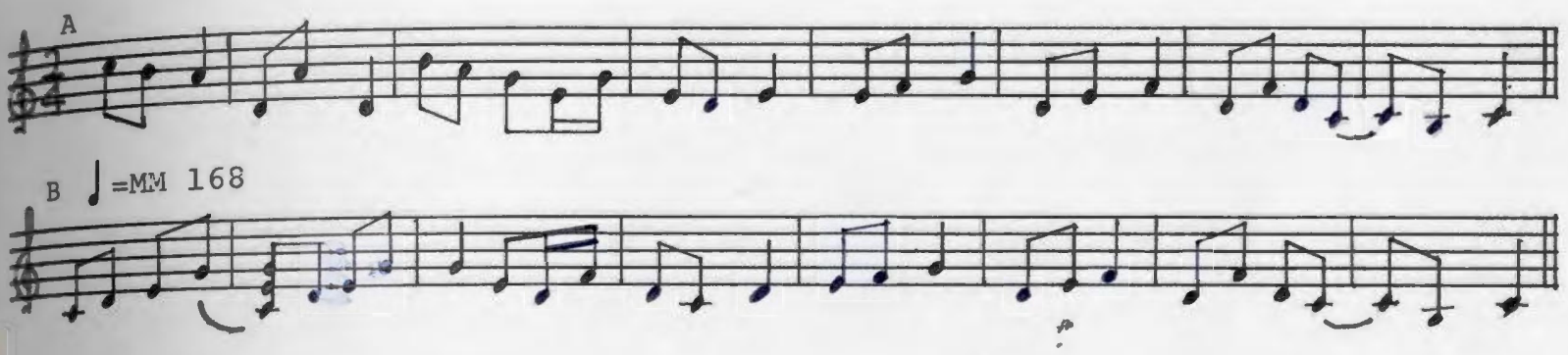


Figure 19. Couples cross.

The opposite couples travel across the set, men passing left shoulders.

TABLE 3

THE SQUARE DANCE: BAR III "FORM A LINE"



Music	Movement
	End couples begin.
A	E1. Form a line. The first man turns the second woman by the left hand once around and joins right hands with his partner. The second woman joins right hands with her partner to form a linked line of four dancers (Fig. 20).
A	E2. Step dance. The dancers step dance while all hold hands in the formation as above (Fig. 21).
B	
B	E3. Cross. The first man and second woman move from the center to her side of the set. The second man crosses to join the first woman on her side (Fig. 22).
A	E4. Meet. The two couples dance forward to meet in the center and then back to place, in a closed position (Fig. 23).
	E5. Step dance. Performed in closed position (Fig. 24).

TABLE 3 (Continued)

A . . . . E6. Spin. These couples (opposite men and women) swing in the woman's place (Fig. 25).

B . . . . E7. Men cross. The men cross back to their partners, who are on their own side of the set (Fig. 26).

B E8. Meet. The couples dance forward and back in closed position (Fig. 27).

E9. Step dance. In closed position (Fig. 28).

A E10. Spin. Partners swing in place (Fig. 17).

E11 - 20. End couples repeat 1-10, but second man turns first woman. Subsequent roles are also reversed.

Side couples repeat entire sequence 1-20 above.

IIIE1

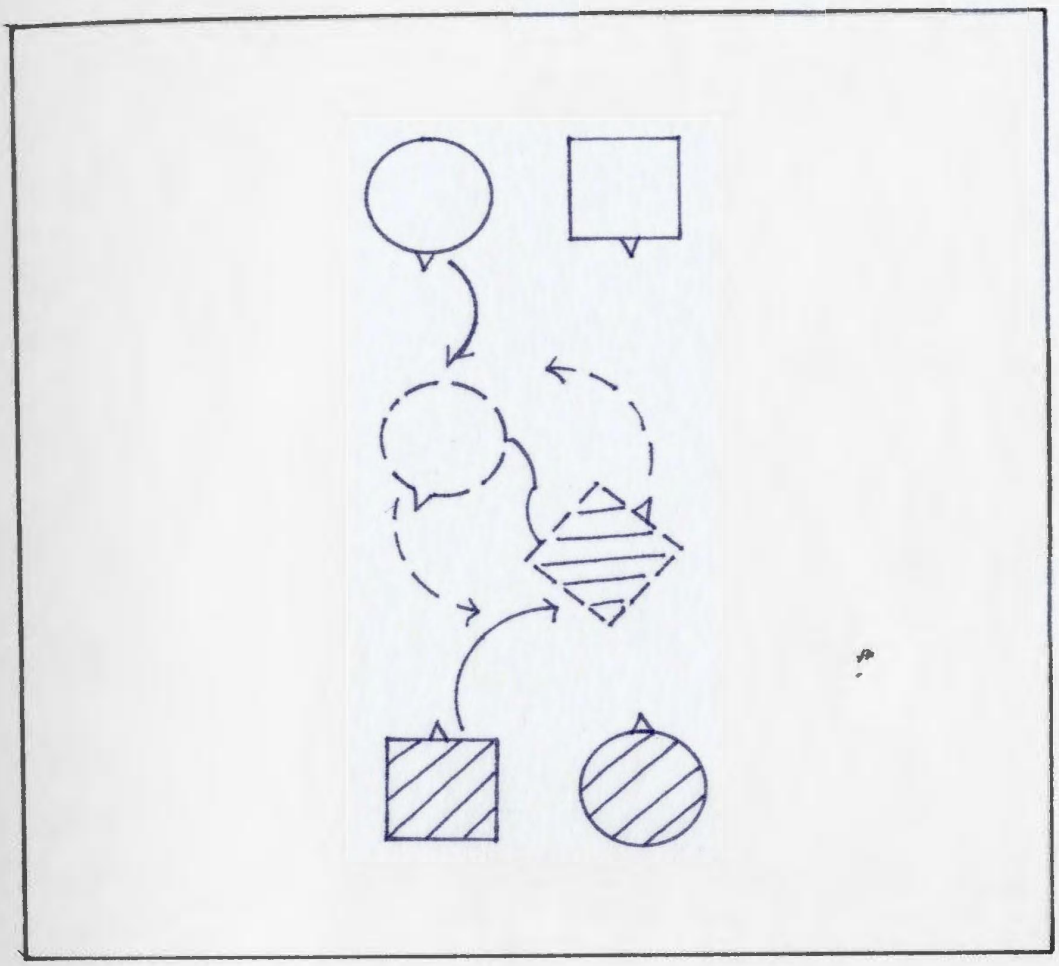


Figure 20. Form a line.

The first man turns the second woman once around by the left hand, into the position shown in Fig. 21. There is some confusion of this figure in the transcribed performance, caused by lack of communication between the dancers and musicians, who stop playing unexpectedly. This results in poor phrasing of the figure.

IIIE2

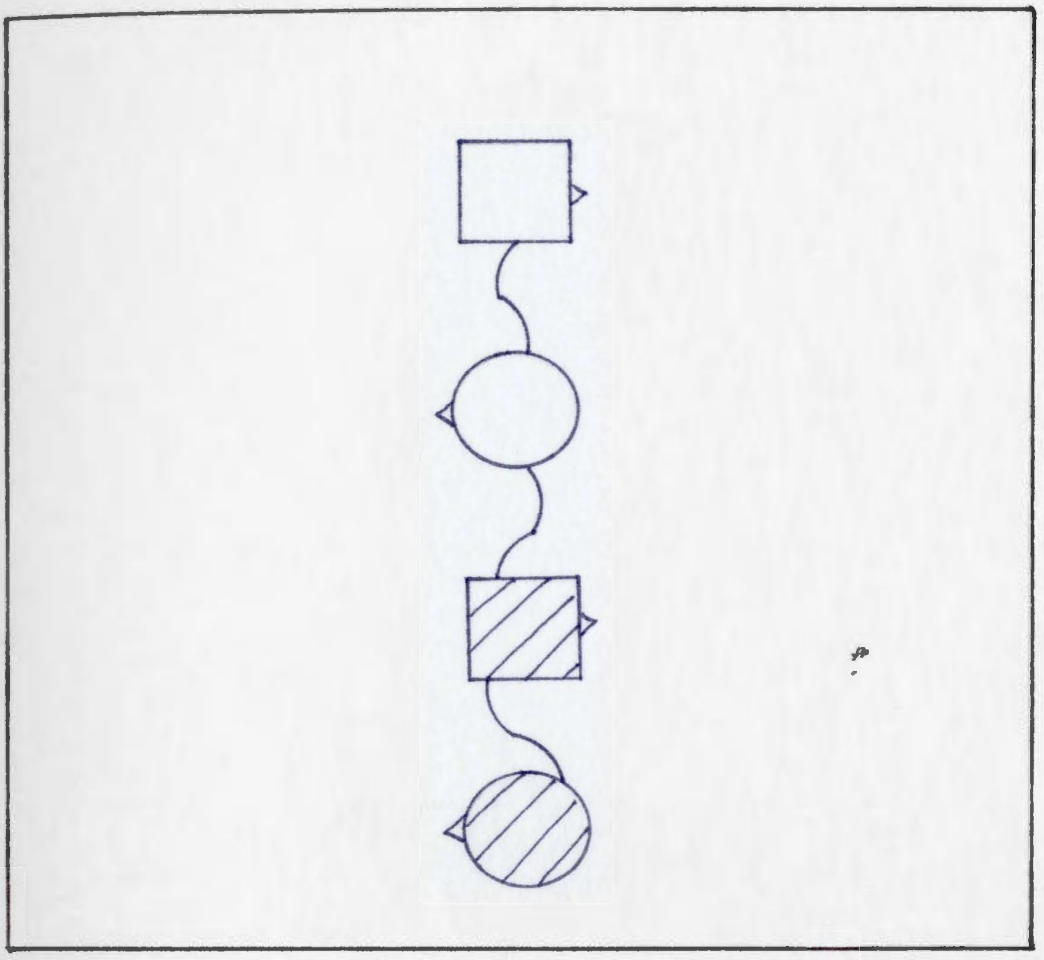


Figure 21. Step dance.

Having formed the line, dancers step dance in this position. This is an extended sequence lasting more than one musical phrase.

IIIE3

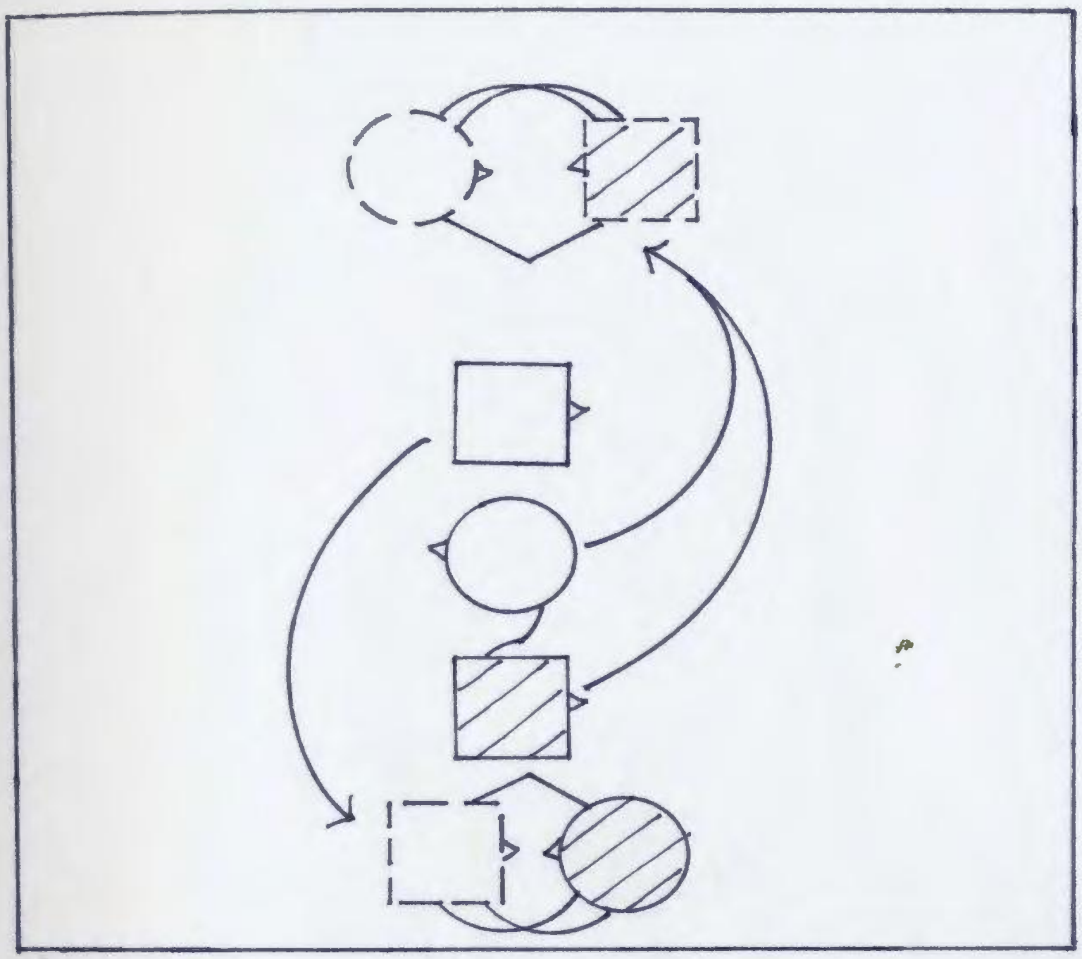


Figure 22. Cross.

The central couple move to the woman's side of the set. The woman backs up and the man falls in beside her on the left, as both turn towards her side of the set. The second man backs up and travels over to join the first woman. This latter movement is based on Lloyd's performance as the second man, in the subsequent repetition.

IIIE4

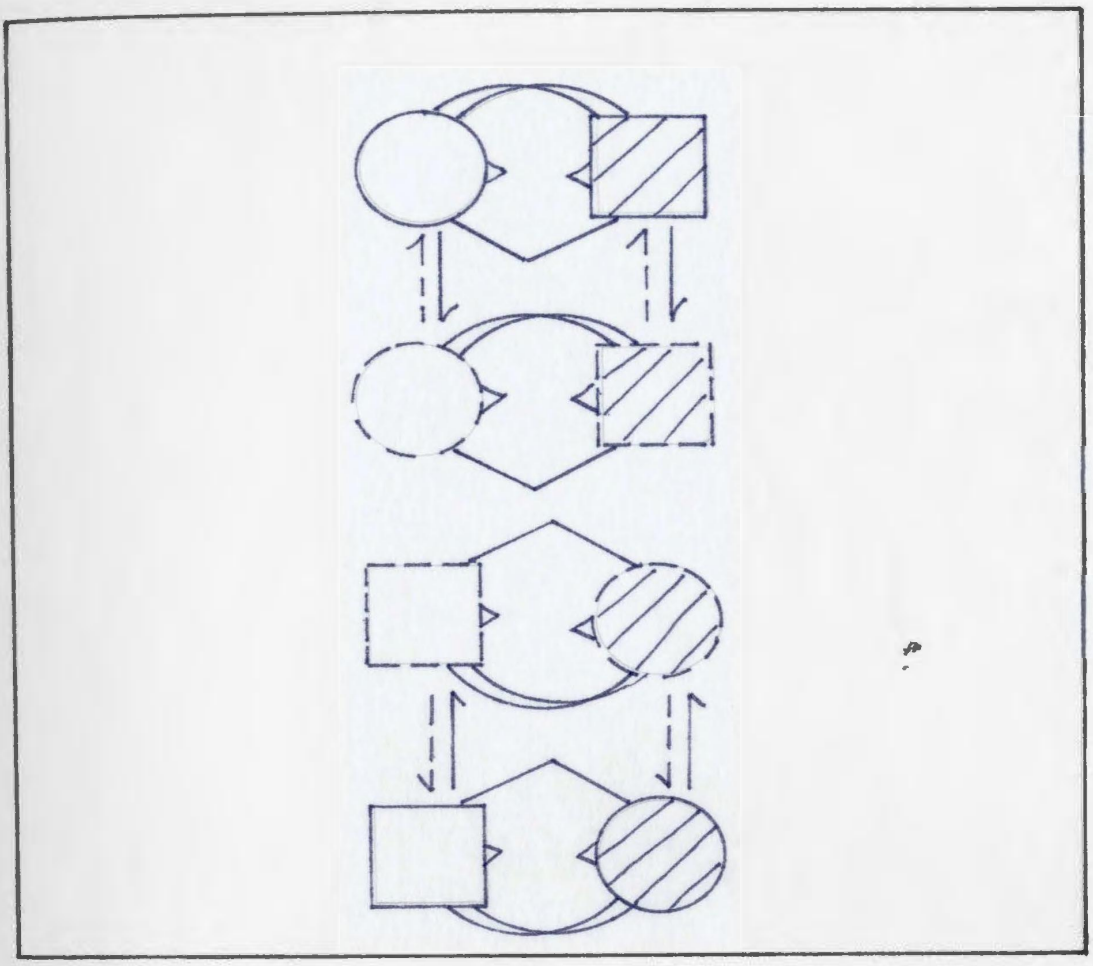


Figure 23. Meet.

The couples dance forward and back, meeting in the center. They begin to step dance in this position, the men, as usual, taking the lead. Both movements occur within one phrase and are not clearly distinguished in this performance. During the step dance, couples may move around their home place somewhat.

IIIE5

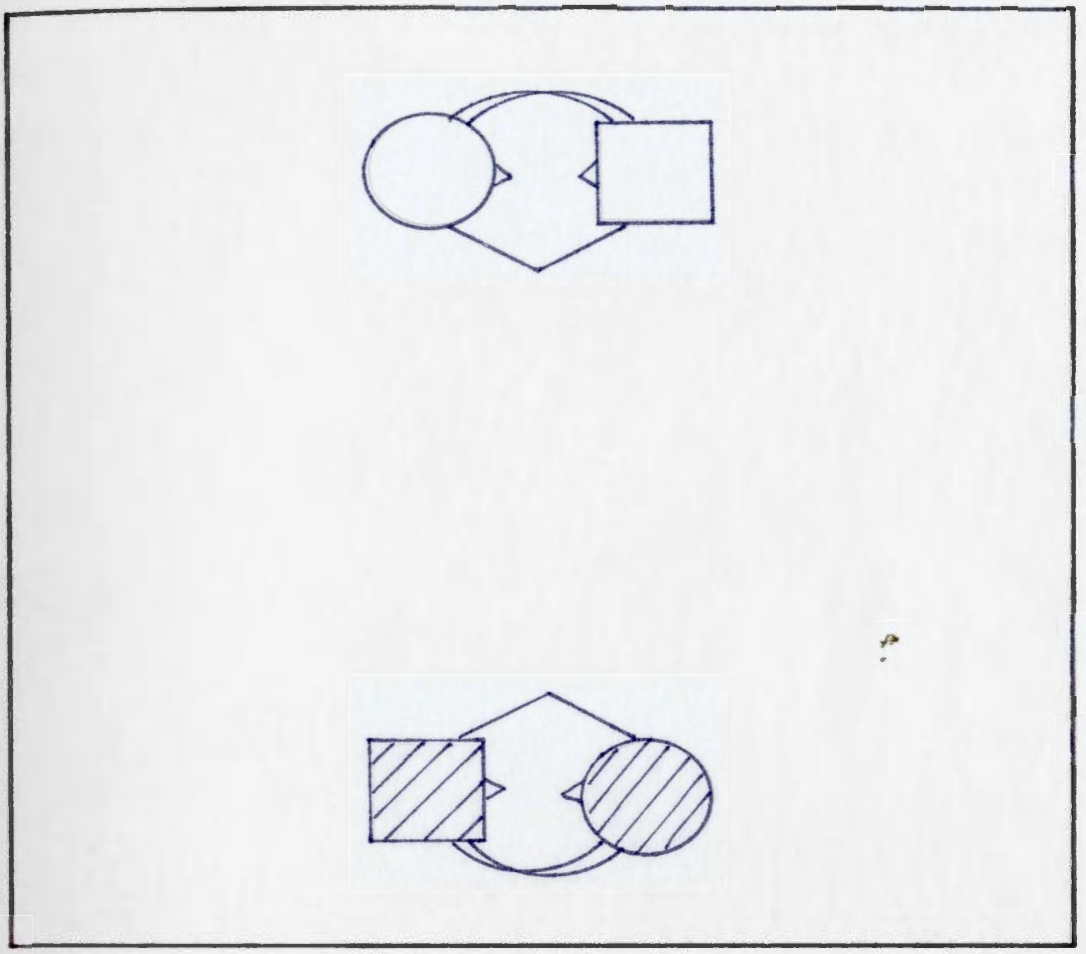


Figure 24. Step dance.

This step dance sequence is performed in closed position.

IIIE6

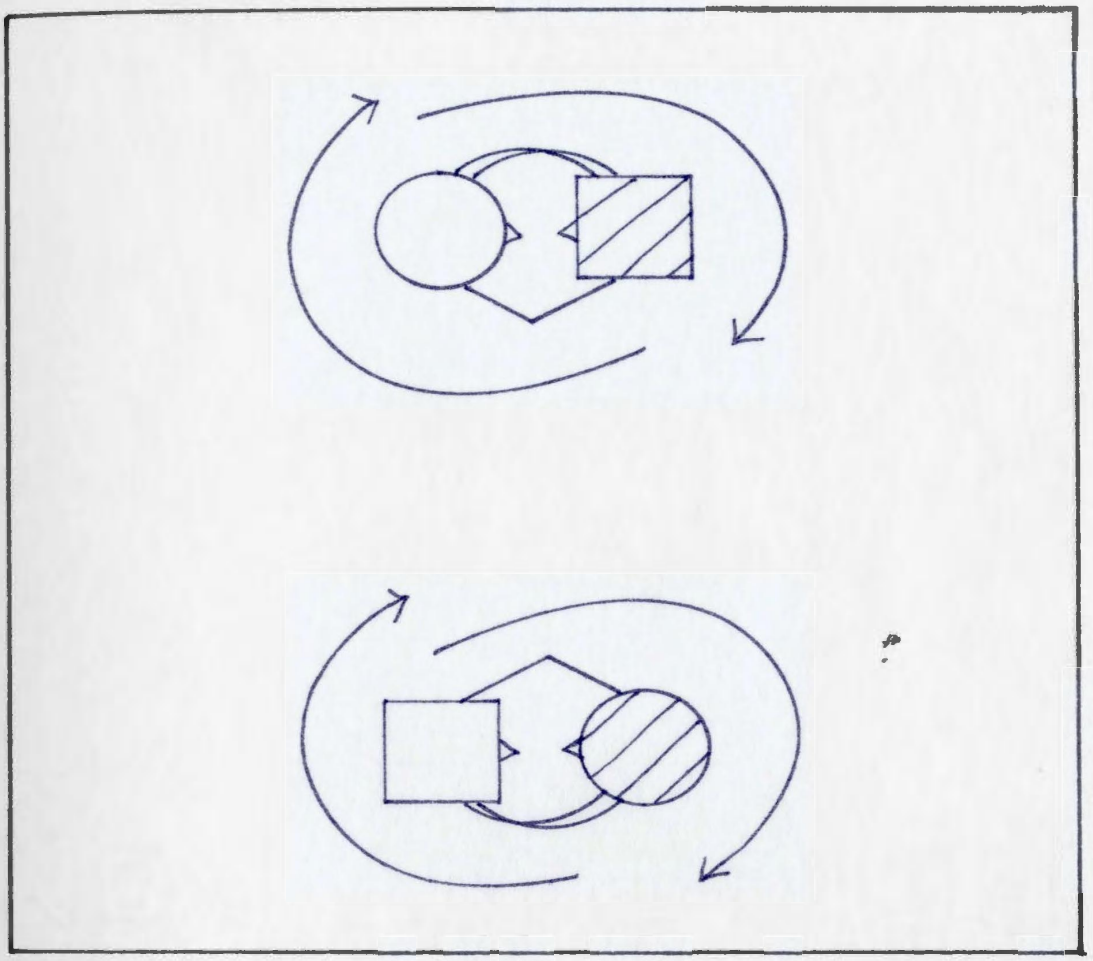


Figure 25. Spin.

Opposites swing clockwise in the woman's place.

IIIE7

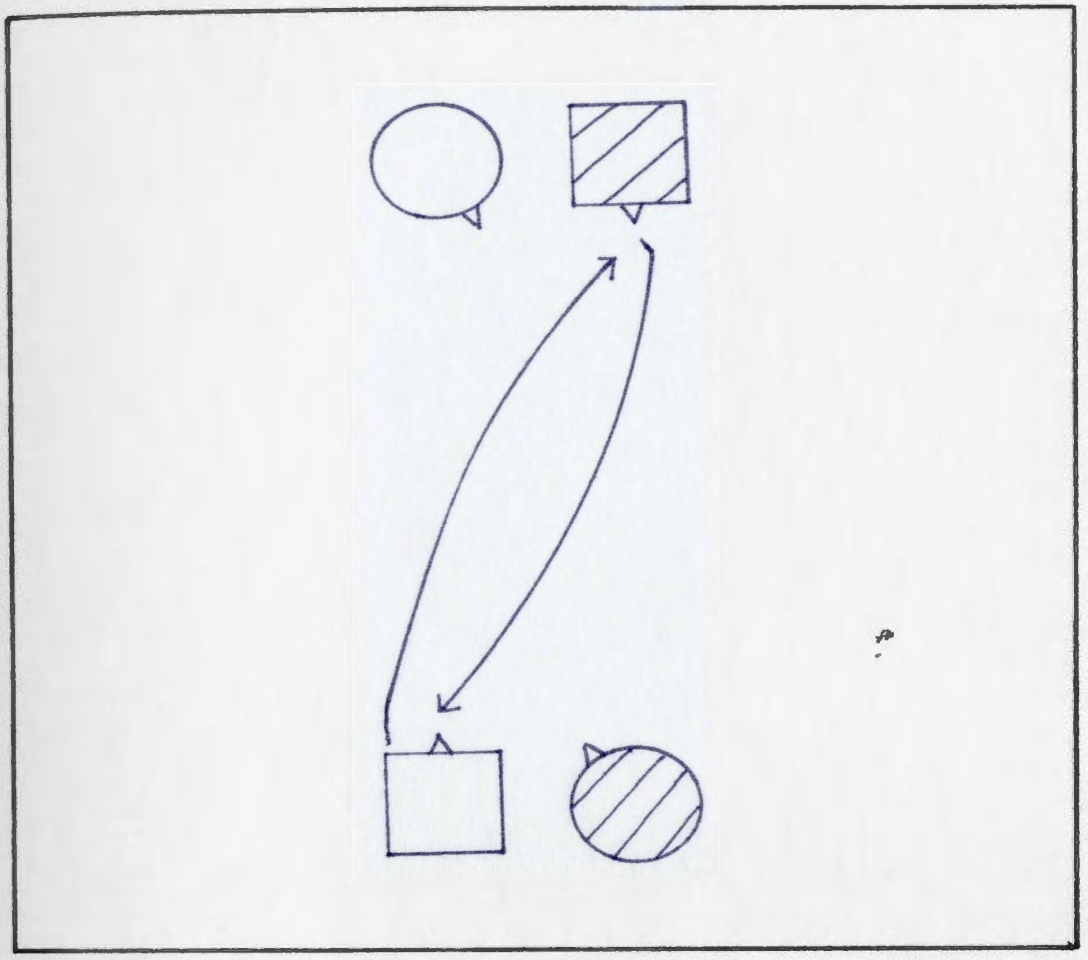


Figure 26. Men cross.

The men cross back to their partners and assume a closed position. This is not an elaborate pattern, the men simply travel across the set.

IIIE8

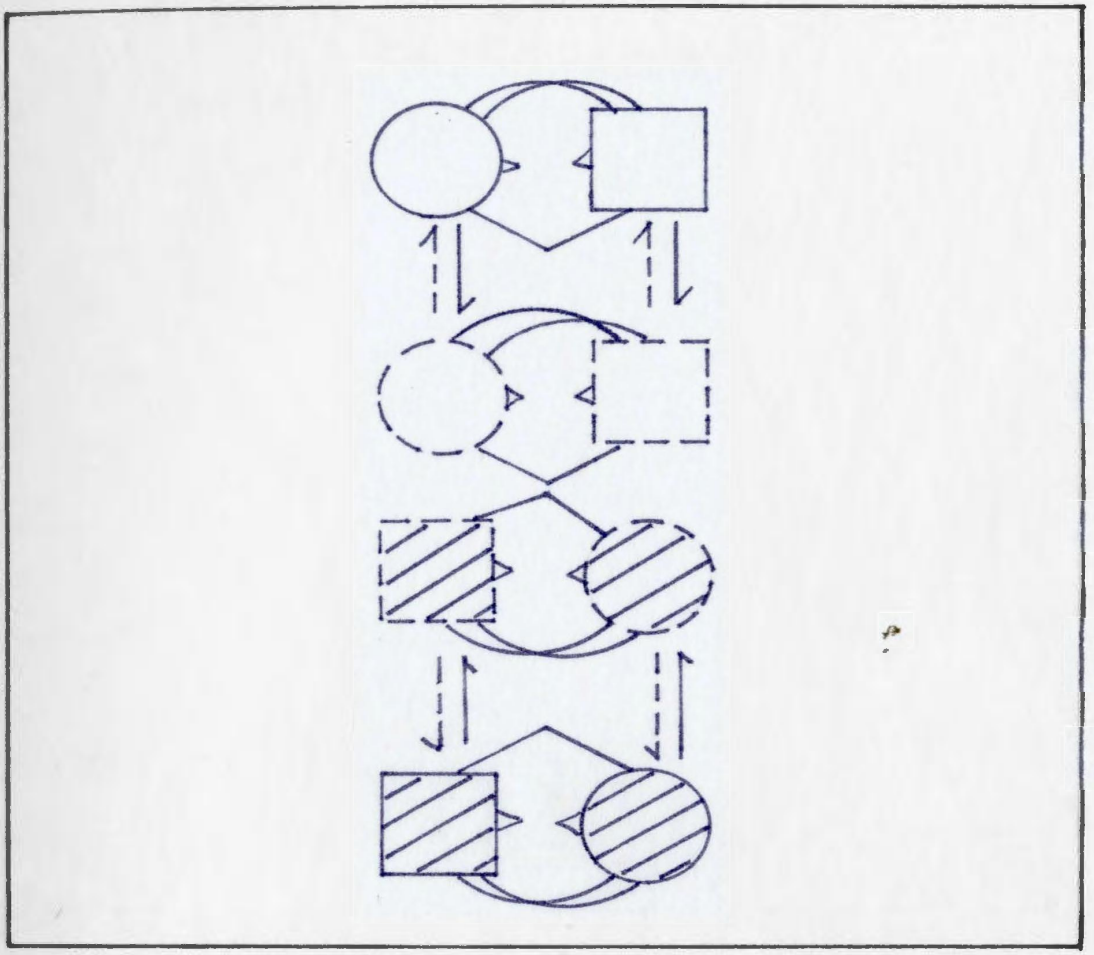


Figure 27. Meet.

Couples dance forward and back in closed position. A side step may be used.

IIIE9

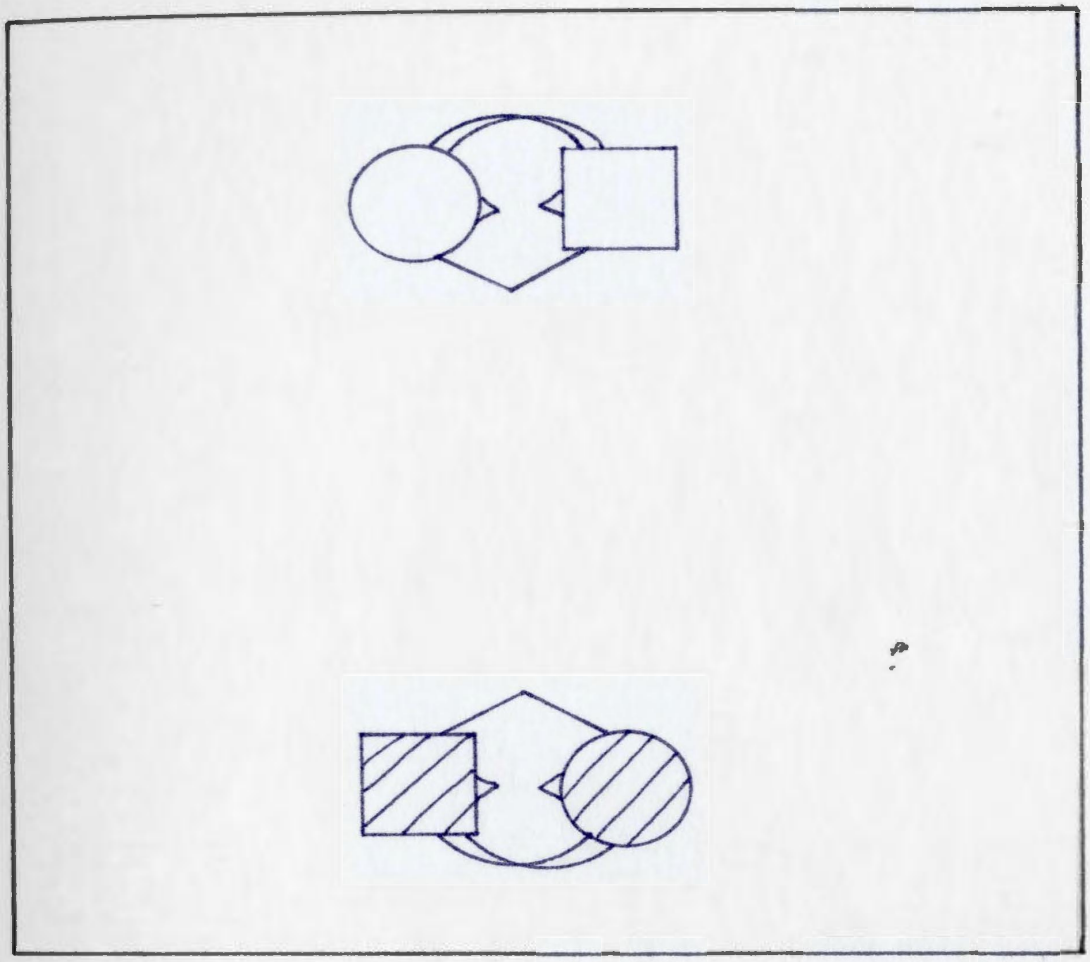


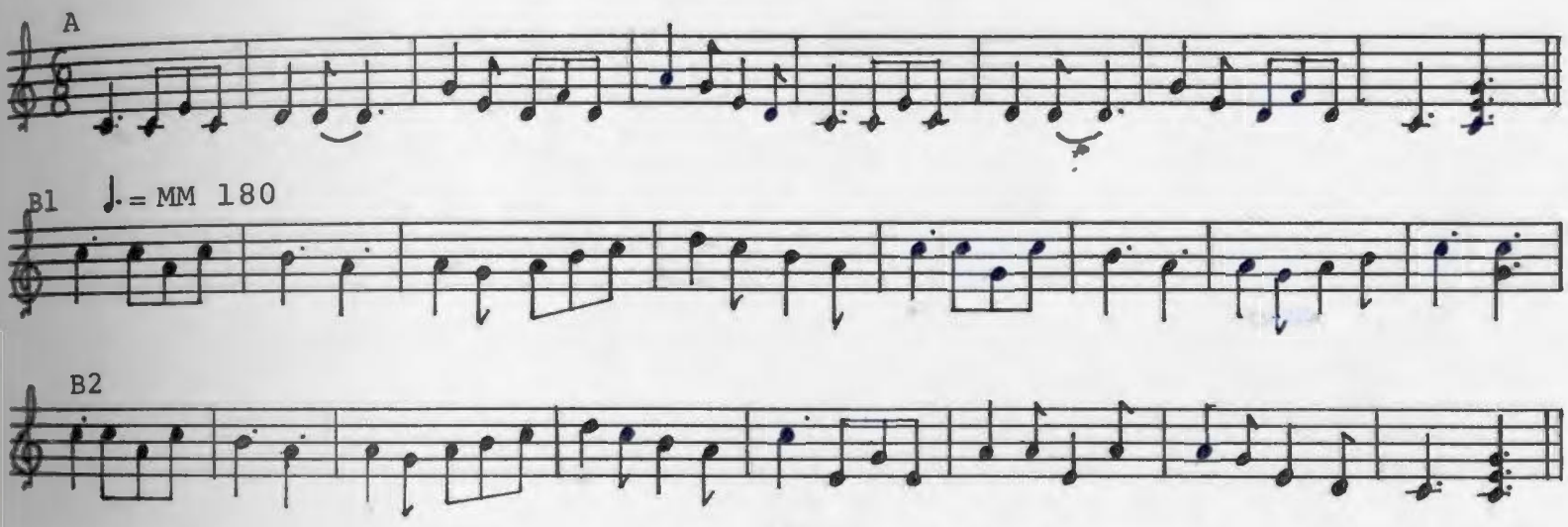
Figure 28. Step dance.

Couples step dance in closed position in home place.

TABLE 4

THE SQUARE DANCE: BAR IV "TAKE TWO"

This bar is also known as "chain up," "chain up and take two," and "chain leg up" among my Plate Cove informants.



Music	Movement	
	End couples begin.	
A	E1. Women cross	Ladies chain (Figs. 10-14).
A	E2. Spin.	
B	E3. Women cross.	
B	E4. Meet.	As in IE7-9 (Figs. 15-17).
	E5. Step dance.	
A	E6. Spin.	
A	E7. Take two. The first woman crosses to stand on the second man's left. All three (2nd couple, 1st woman) put their arms around each others'	
B	backs (Fig. 29).	

TABLE 4 (Continued)

B E8. Step dance. The first man, now alone, performs an especially vigorous step dance (Figs. 30-31).

A E9. Cross. The second couple crosses to the opposite side, the first man joins his partner in the second couple's place (Fig. 32).

A E10. Step dance. Performed in closed position (Fig. 33).

B . . . .E11. Couples cross. The opposite couples cross back to place in closed position, men pass back to back (Fig. 34).

B E12. Step dance. Performed in close position (Fig. 28).

A E13. Spin. Partners swing in place (Fig. 17).

A E14. Women cross.
B E15. Spin — Ladies chain (Figs. 10-14).
B . . . .E16. Women cross.

A E17. Meet.
A E18. Step dance. — As in IE7-9 (Figs. 15-17).
B E19. Spin.

(End couples repeat 7-13, reversing roles.)

B E20. Take two. The second woman crosses to join the first couple (Fig. 29, reversed sides).

A E21. Step dance. The second man performs a solo step dance (Fig. 30, reversed sides).

B . . . .E22. Cross. The first couple crosses to the opposite side, the second man joins his partner in first couple's place (Fig. 32, reversed sides).

TABLE 4 (Continued)

B E23. Spin. Partners swing clockwise instead of the step dance at E10 (Fig. 35).

A . . . .E24. Couples cross. The opposite couples cross back to place in close position (Fig. 34, reversed sides).

A

B E25. Step dance. Performed in closed position (Figs. 27, 36).

B

A . . . .E26. Spin. Partners swing clockwise in place (Fig. 16).

Side couples repeat 1-26.

IVE7

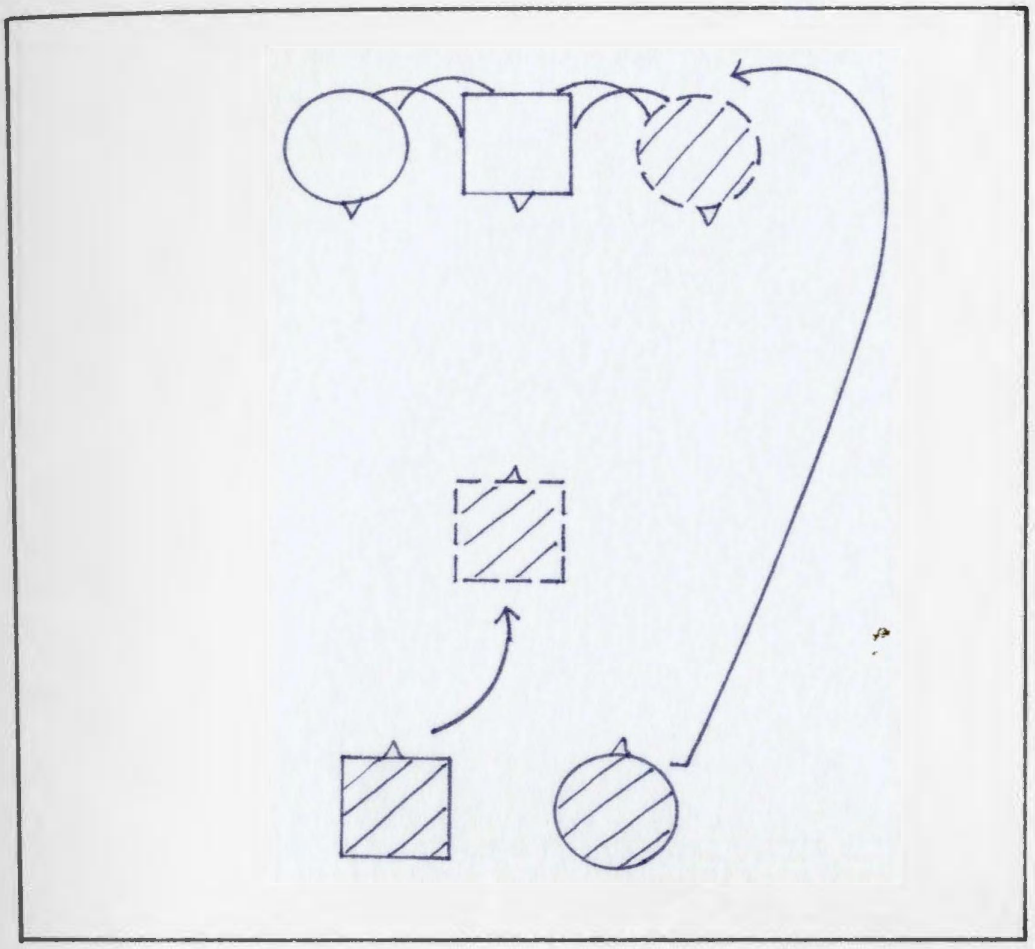


Figure 29. Take two.

The first woman crosses to stand on the left of the second man, they put their arms around each other's backs. The first man moves forward and begins to step dance. In more precise performances, this movement may begin with couples moving forward to meet, in the center, where the second woman can more easily move into position. This should take one phrase.

IVE8

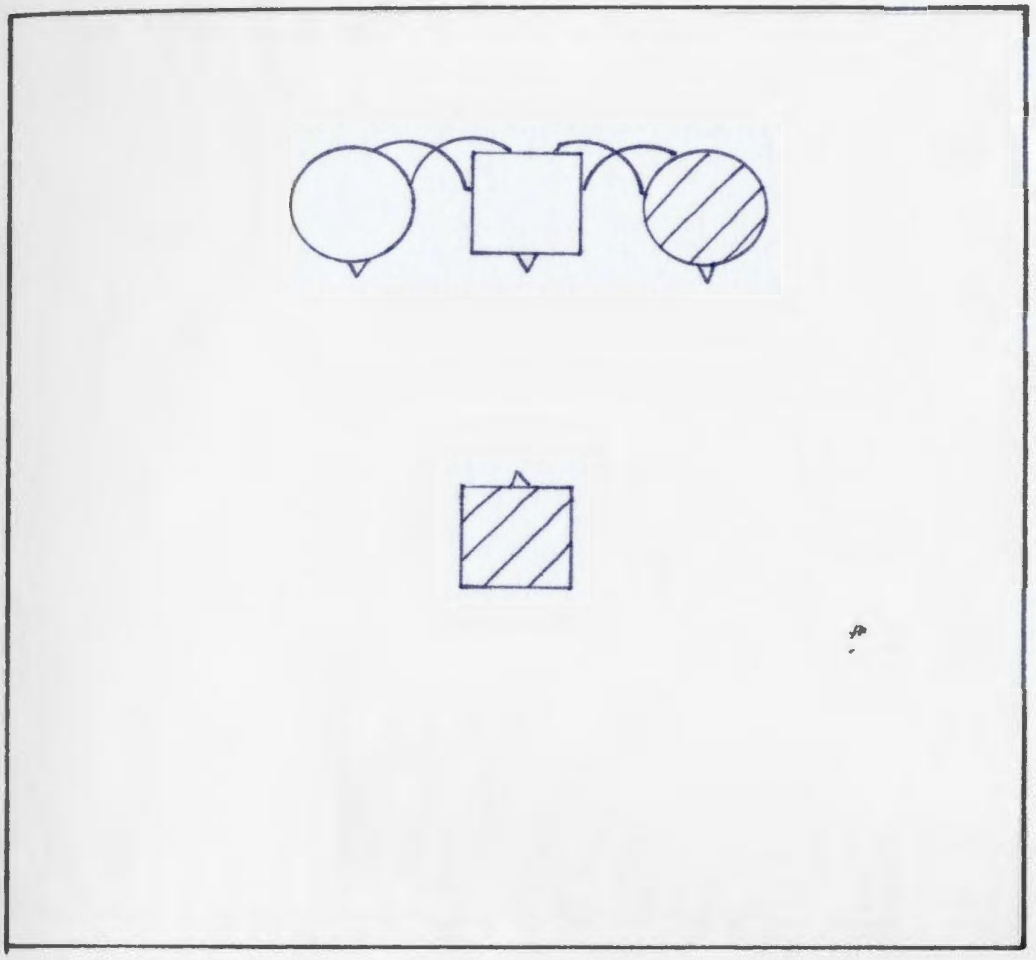


Figure 30. Step dance.

The first man performs a particularly vigorous step dance in the center. He may, as Lloyd does, move forward slowly, anticipating the next movement. The step dance sequence may be extended beyond a single strain of the tune, as Lloyd performs it here. He concludes the second phrase of stepping with a particularly striking sequence.

IVE8

Beat	Movement
6/8	
2	Clap hands in front.
1	Kick right leg up from hip, clap hands under it.
2	Kick left leg up from hip, clap hands under it.
1	Clap in front.
2	Stamp left foot.

Figure 31. Step dance.

Lloyd completes the musical phrase with a sequence of clapping, kicking, and stamping. For a discussion of the notation used, see the "Step Dancing" section of this chapter (pp. 222-23, 228).

IVE9

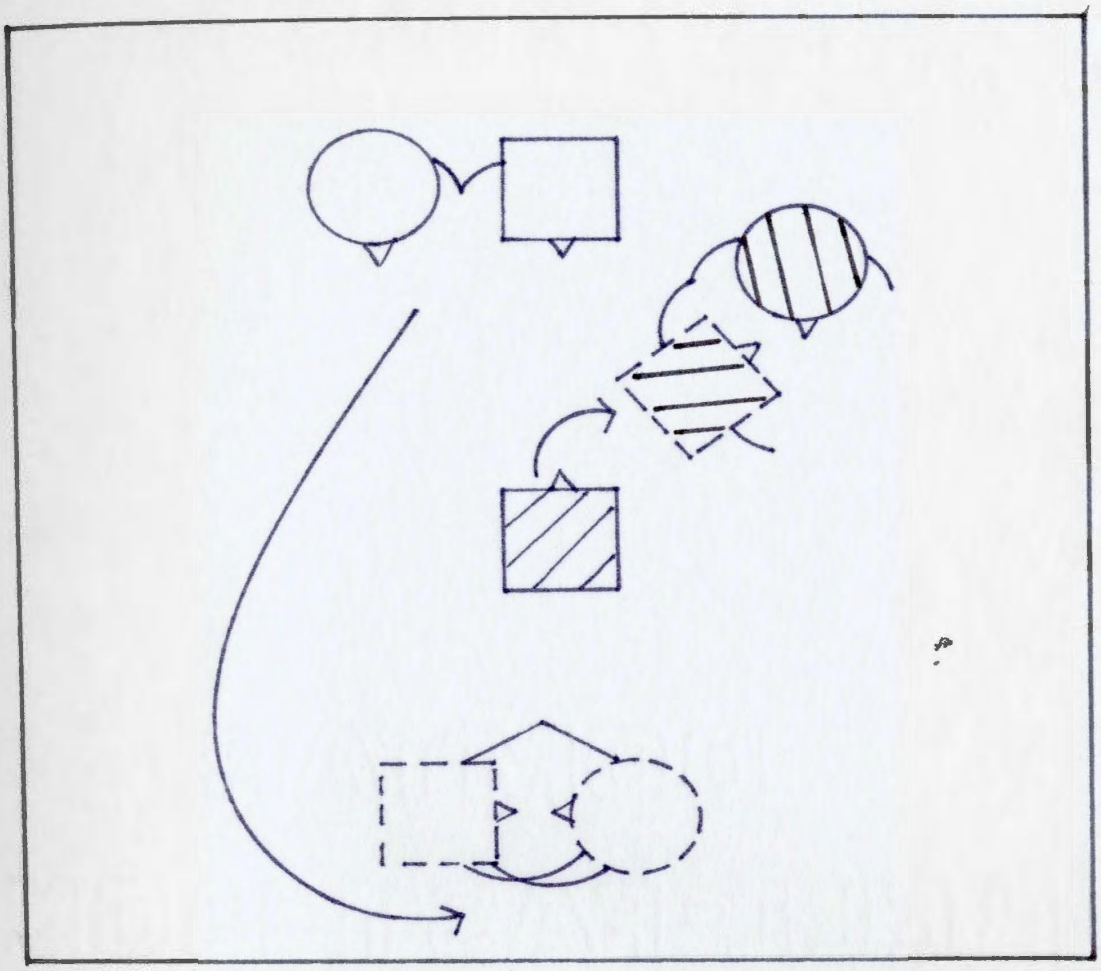


Figure 32. Cross.

Second couple cross to the opposite side, the first man joins his partner in the second couple's place.

IVE10

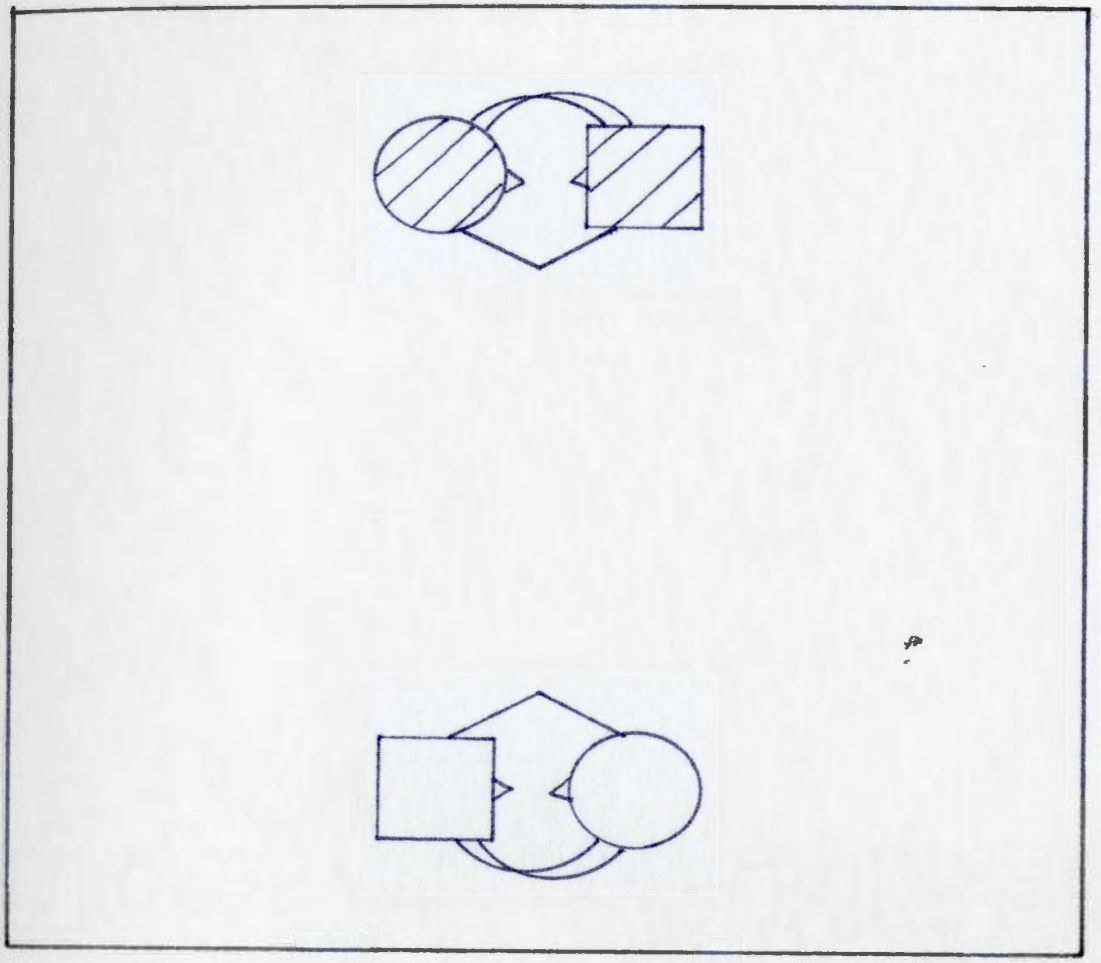


Figure 33. Step dance.

Couples step dance in closed position in opposite places.

IVE11

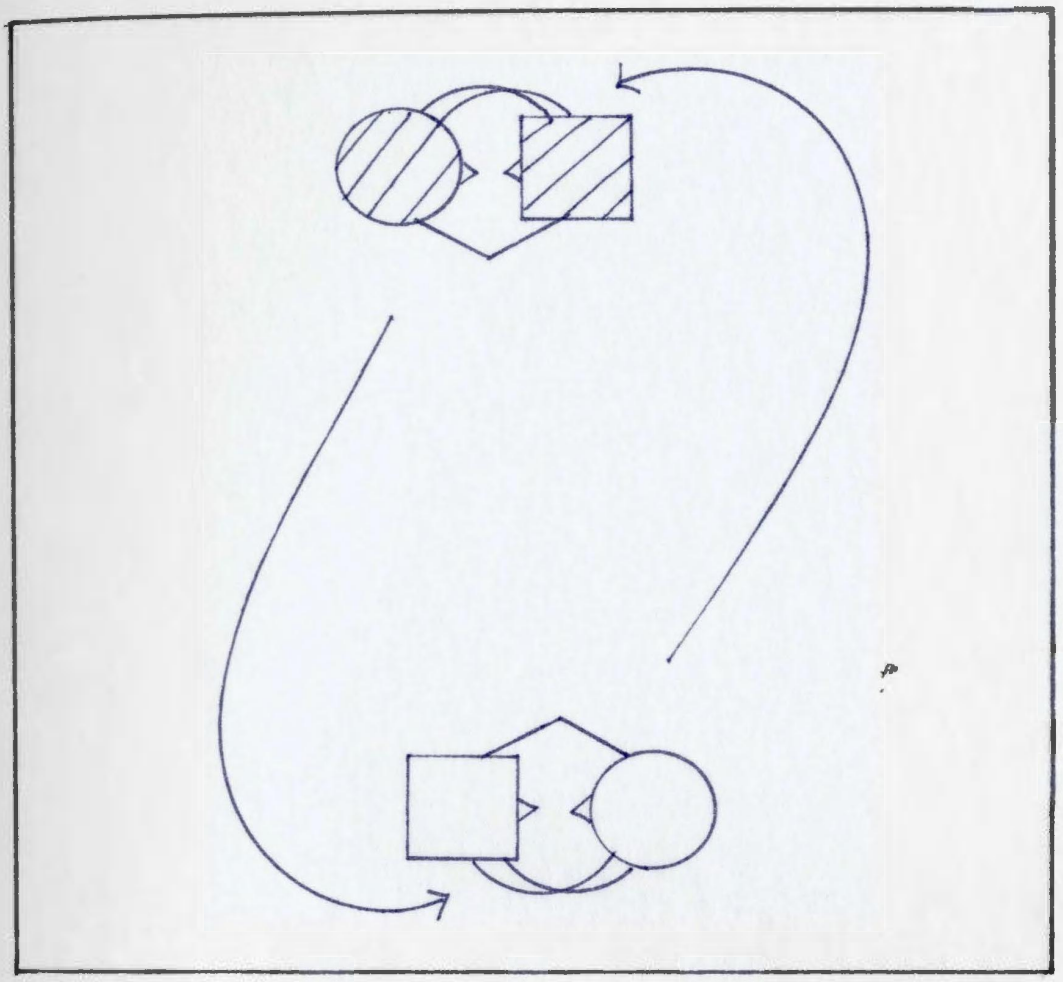


Figure 34. Couples cross.

Couples cross back to place in closed position, using a side step, the men pass back to back.

IVE23

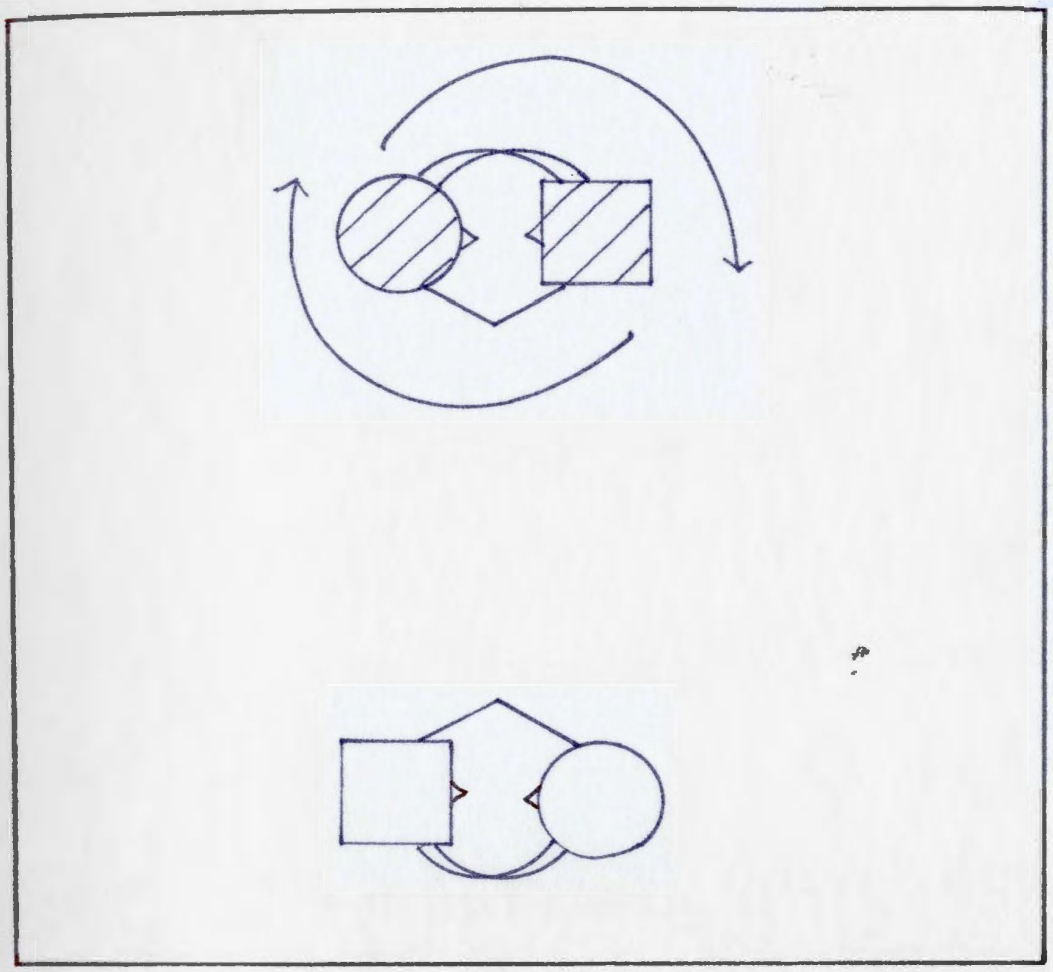


Figure 35. Spin.

Lloyd and Therese begin to step dance, which is what the symetrical repetition would require, but instead swing in the opposite place.

Lloyd extends the step dance sequence at IVE25 to more than two musical phrases. He breaks out of the closed position in which it begins to end with another show of clapping, kicking, and stamping, although not as much as in the previous example noted.

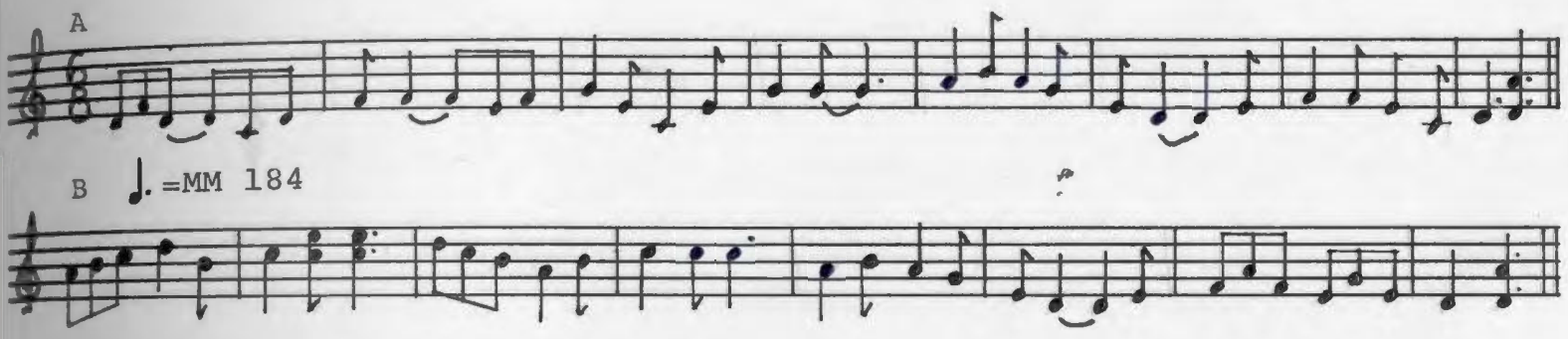
Beat	Movement
6/8	
1	Clap in front
2	Kick right leg up from hip, clap under it.
1	Clap in front.
2	Stamp right foot.

Figure 36. "Step dance".

TABLE 5

THE SQUARE DANCE: BAR V "GRAND CUT"

Up to this point in the dance, each bar has been danced alternately by the end and side couples. In this, the final bar, both groups dance together.



Music	Movement
A A	1. All <u>join together</u> and <u>step dance</u>. All the dancers join hands to form a ring and step dance, the men again taking the prominent role (Fig. 37).
B B	2. <u>Circle</u> clockwise. All continue to hold hands and the ring rotates to the dancers' left, clockwise, once around (Fig. 38).
A A B	E3. Ends <u>cross</u>. The set separates into couples, each in their original place and the end couples side step across the set and back to place, in closed position, twice (Figs. 39-40).
B	E4. End couples <u>spin</u> (Fig. 17).
A A	E5. Women <u>cross</u>. E6. End <u>spin</u>. E7. Women <u>cross</u>. — Ladies chain (Figs. 9-13).

TABLE 5 (Continued)

B . . .	E8. Meet. E9. Step dance. E10. Spin.	]	As in IE29 (Figs. 15-17).
A	11. All join together and step dance (Fig. 37).		
A B . . .	12. Circle counter-clockwise (Fig. 38, reverse direction).		
B A . . .	S13. Sides cross. The set again separates into		
A	couples. This time the side couples side step across the set and back to place, in closed position, twice (Figs. 39-40, side couples).		
B B	S14. Spin. Side couples swing (Fig. 17, side couples).		
	(Dancers confused.)		
A	S15. Side women cross. S16. Sides spin. S17. Side women cross.	]	Ladies chain (Figs. 10-14, side couples).
A	S18. Sides meet. S19. Sides step dance. S20. Sides spin.	]	As in IE29 (Figs. 14-17, side couples).
A	21. All join together (Fig. 37).		
B	22. Corners spin. Corners swing clockwise and then form new couple for following movement (Fig. 41).		
B A	E23. Ends cross singly. As in 1E1 (Figs. 3-6).		
	(Dancers confused.)		
A B	E24. Meet. E25. Step dance.	]	As in IE7-9 (Figs. 15-17).
B . . .	26. Spin.	]	

TABLE 5 (Continued)

A	S27.	Sides cross singly.	As in 1E1 (Figs. 3-6, side couples).
A	S28.	Sides meet.	As in IE7-9 (Figs. 15-17, side couples).
B			
B	S29.	Sides step dance.	
A	S30.	Sides spin.	
A . . .	31.	All join together and step dance (Fig. 37).	
B			
B . . .	32.	Corners spin. Swing clockwise (Fig. 41).	
A . . .	E33.	Ends cross singly.	As in E25-26.
A	E34.	Ends meet.	
B . . .	E35.	Ends step dance.	
B . . .	E36.	Ends spin.	
A	S37.	Sides cross singly.	As in S27-30.
A	S38.	Sides meet.	
B	S39.	Sides step dance	
B	S40.	Sides spin.	
A . . .	41.	All join together and step dance (Fig. 37).	
A	42.	Corner spin. Swing clockwise (Fig. 41).	
B			
B	E43.	Ends cross singly.	As in E23-26.
A			
A	E44.	Ends meet.	
B . . .	E45.	Ends step dance.	
B . . .	E46.	Ends spin. Swing.	

TABLE 5 (Continued)

A	S47. Sides cross singly.	⎫
A	S48. Sides meet.	⎬ As in S27-30.
B		
B	S49. Sides step dance.	
A	S50. Sides spin.	⎭
	51. All join together and step dance.	
	52. Corners spin. This returns original partners to one another.	
	E53. Ends cross singly.	⎫
	E54. Ends meet.	
	E55. Ends step dance.	
	E56. Ends spin.	⎭
	S57. Sides cross singly.	⎫
	S58. Sides meet.	
	S59. Sides step dance.	
	S60. Sides spin.	⎭
B	61. All join together and step dance (Fig. 41).	
A	62. Circle counter-clockwise (Fig. 38, reverse direction).	
A	63. Step dance. Still holding hands in the ring (Fig. 41).	
B	64. Circle clockwise (Fig. 38).	
B	65. Step dance. Still in the ring (Fig. 41).	
A	66 All spin partners. Swing clockwise (Fig. 42).	

V1

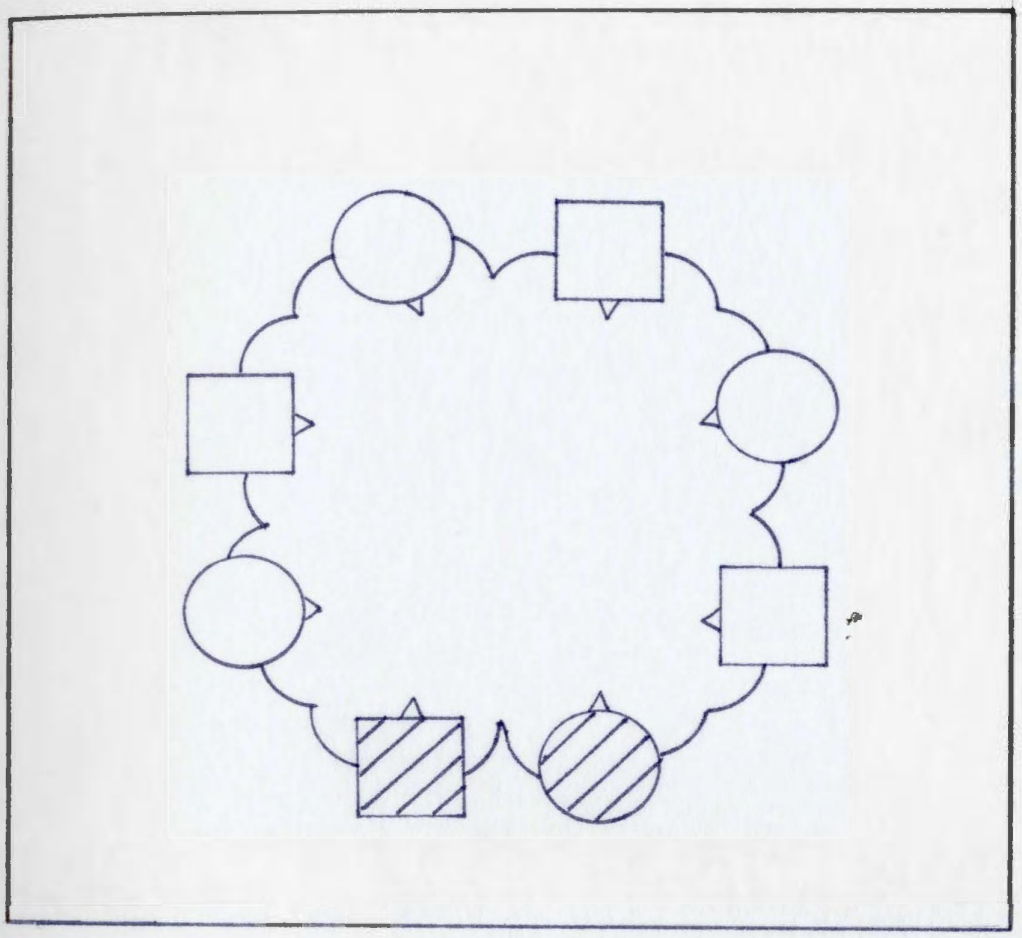


Figure 37. Join together and step dance.

All join together and step dance. As usual the men are the more active dancers. This lasts for two phrases of music in this performance.

V2

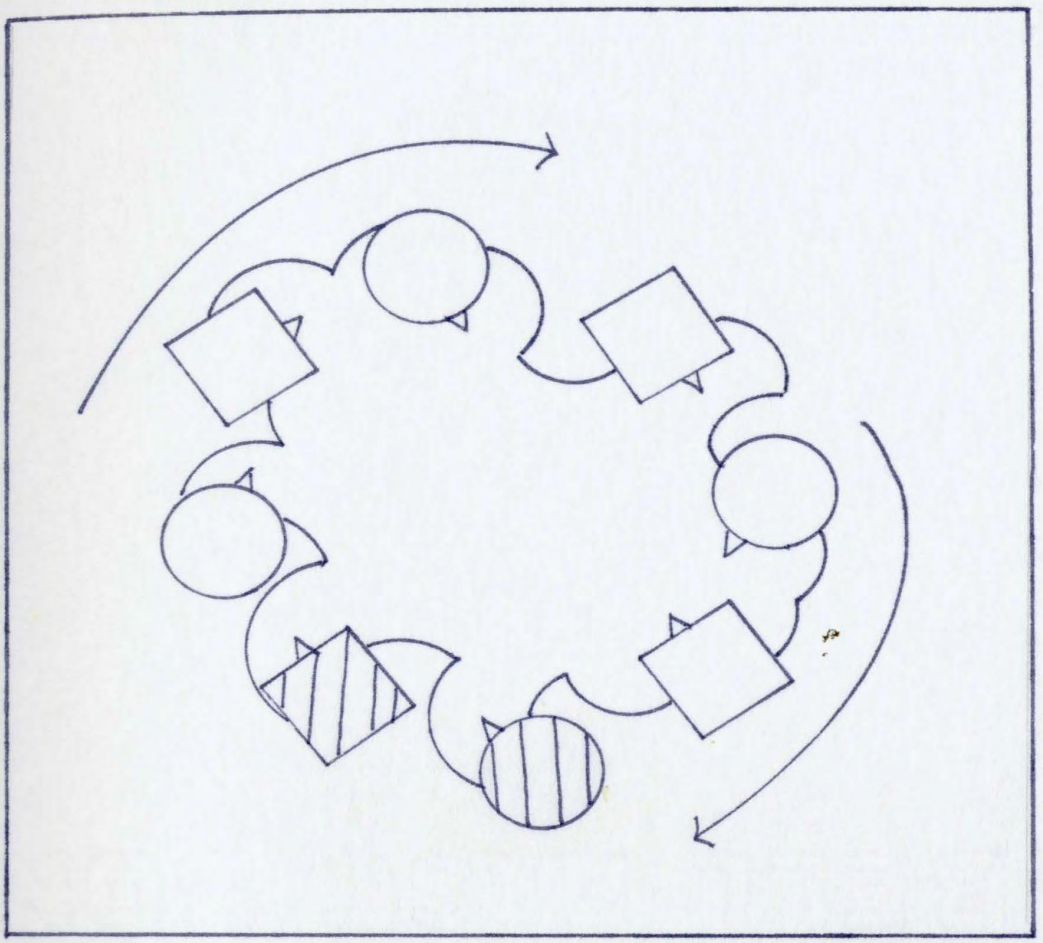


Figure 38. Circle left.

The dancers continue to hold hands and the ring rotates clockwise. Dancers are sometimes quite close to one another during this figure and may raise their hands up to their shoulders, flexing their elbows. The ring rotates once around.

VE3.1

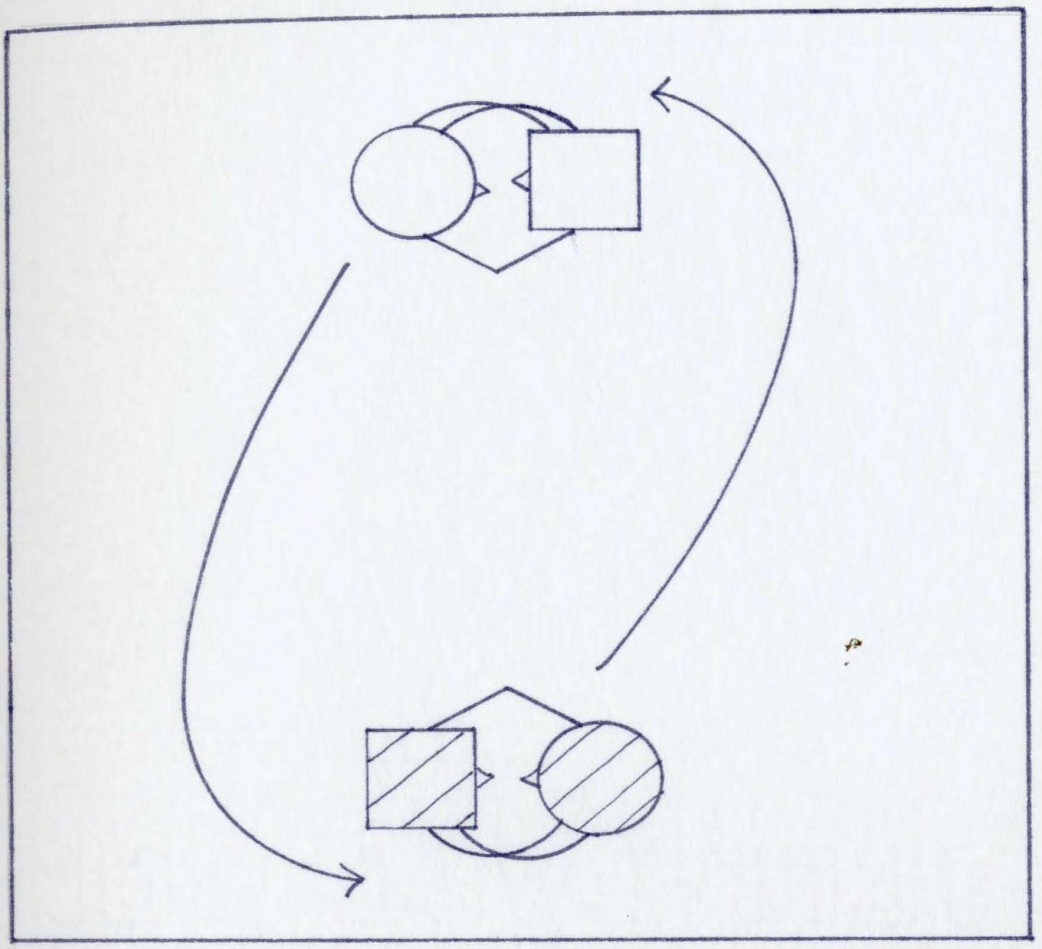


Figure 39. Ends cross.

The set separates into end and side couples again, each in their original position. The end couples side step across the set and back (see Diagram VE3.2) twice. This movement gives the bar its name "grand cut."

VE3.2

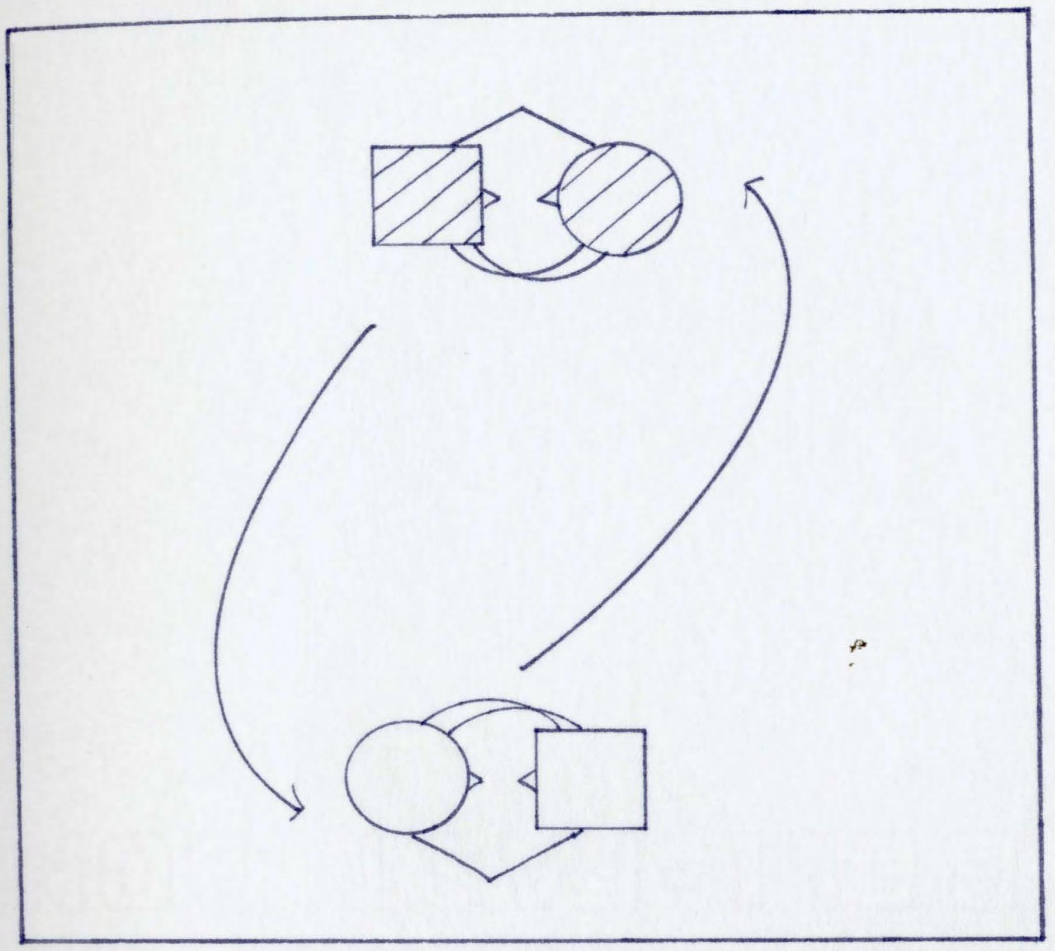


Figure 40. Ends cross.

Couples dance back across the set without rotating, although they will look in the direction they are going.

VE22

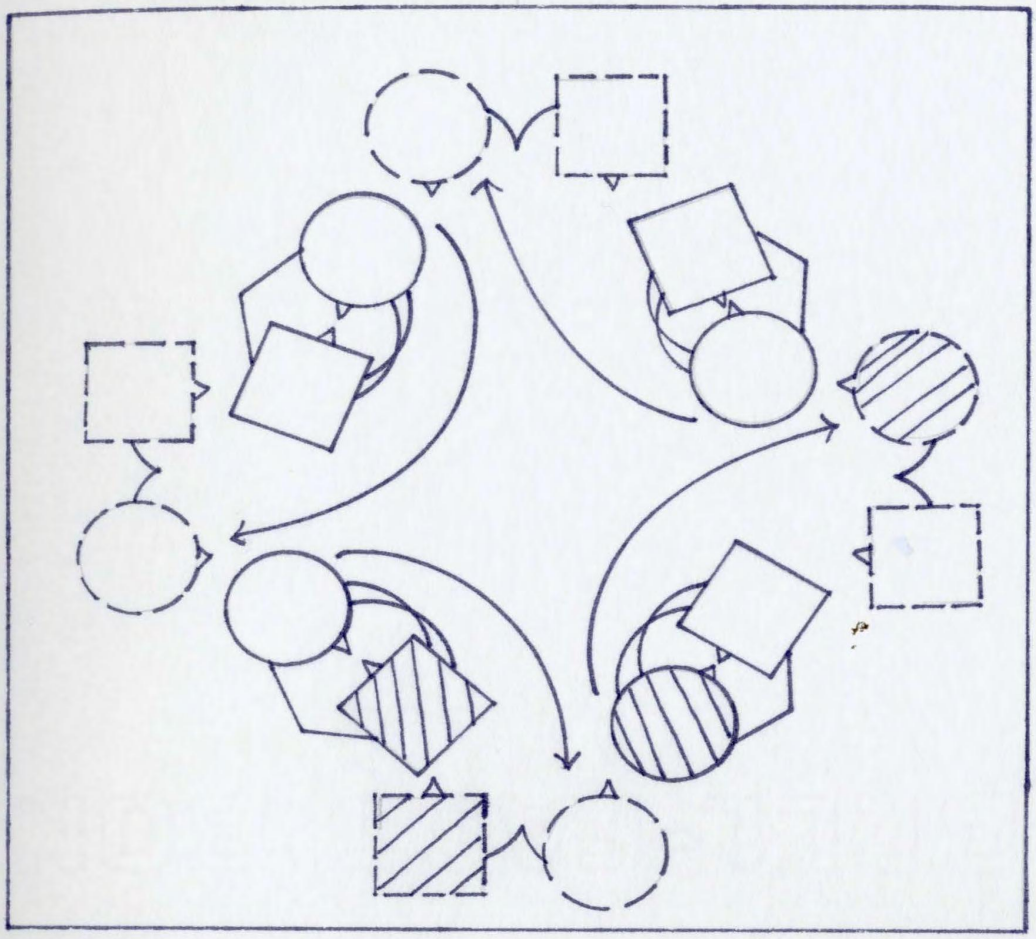


Figure 41. Corners spin.

Starting from the linked ring position shown in Fig. 37, dancers swing the person next to them, who is not their partner, i.e. their corner. These couples move into the man's place and dance as partners for the following cross singly sequence.

V66

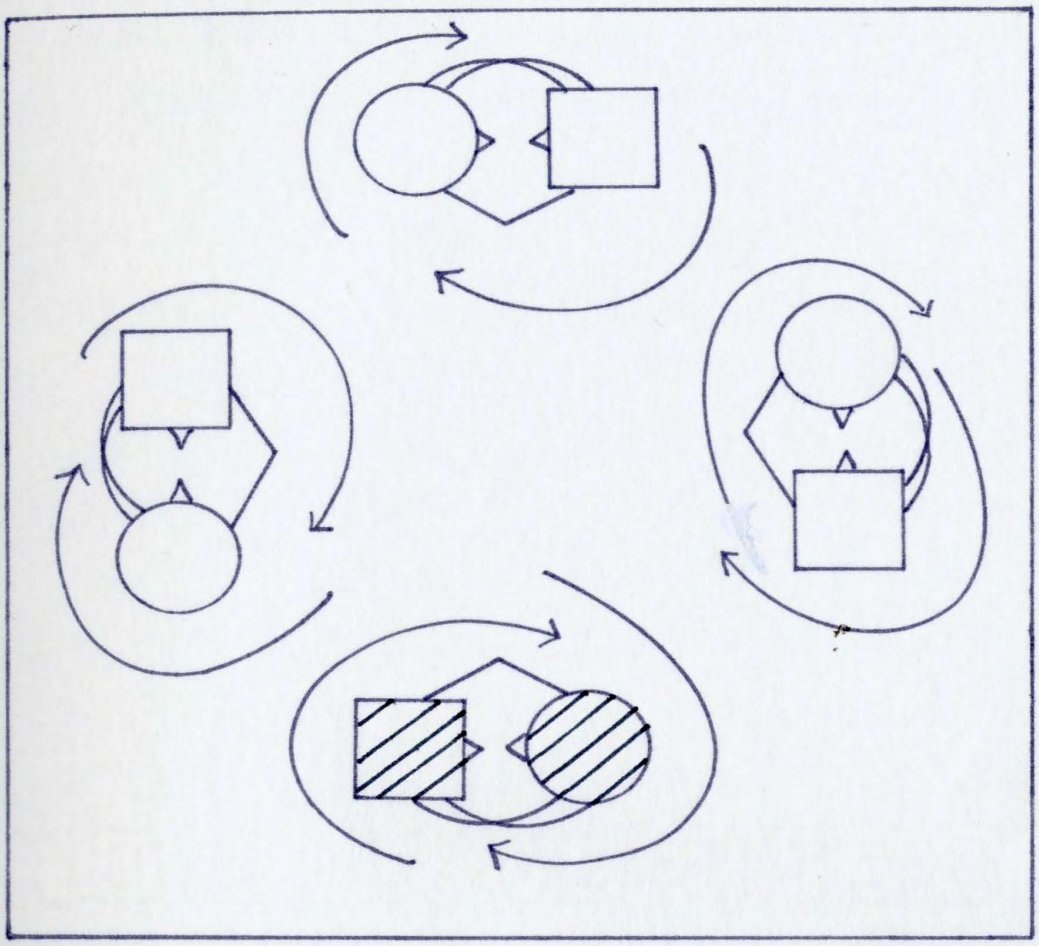


Figure 42. All spin.

All now have their original partners back, and they swing in place to end the dance.

The videotape recording of this performance ends at step V51. During another performance at this workshop, the conclusion of the dance was recorded, but begins at movement V61.[56] Based on the symetrical construction found throughout the dance and my own observations of other performances, which unfortunately often became confused at the end of the dance, I have indicated the movements I believe were not recorded. It is possible that no final repetition for original partners of the "cross singly" movements was done. This would not affect my conclusions concerning the movement units or structure of the dance, however.

The Square Dance Structure

From this descriptive model of the "square dance," it is possible to identify its morphological units and analyze its structural form. Anya Royce has reviewed two major structural studies of dance, that by Martin and Pesovár of Hungarian dance and Adrienne Kaepler of Tongan dance.[57]

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[56] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-364/v. 39.

[57] Royce, The Anthropology of Dance, pp. 65-72; Gyorgy Martin and Erno Pesovár, "A Structural Analysis of Hungarian Folk Dance," Acta Ethnographica 10 (1961), 1-40; Adrienne Kaepler, "The Structure of Tongan Dance," Diss., University of Hawaii, 1967; see also A Kaeppler, "Method and Theory in Analyzing Dance Structure with an Analysis of Tongan Dance," Ethnomusicology 16 (1972), 173-217; and, Folk Dance Study Group, "Foundations for the Analysis of the Structure and Form of Folk Dance: A Syllabus," Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council 6 (1974), 115-135.

Although I have not adopted their systems I have followed their method in identifying movement units at different structural levels.

The basic movements I have identified "cross," "meet," "step dance," "spin," and "circle," are the lowest level of significant movement. These may stand as minor units in the dance on their own, as do the spin at Bar IE3 (Fig. 9), the meet at Bar IIE1 (Fig. 18), the step dance at Bar IVE8 (Figs. 30-31), the cross at Bar VE3 (Figs. 39-40), or the circle at Bar V2 (Fig. 38). Each of these examples is closely phrased with the music, an important feature of minor structural units. The basic movements may also be combined in longer movement sequences, which are minor units. The movements at Bar IE4 (Figs. 10-11), women cross, and IE5 (Fig. 12), spin, form a minor unit of two strains' duration. Together with the following movement IE6 (Figs. 13-14), women cross, they form a variant of the movement sequence often called a "ladies chain" which is found throughout the British/North American repertoire. In this version the ladies chain is almost always followed by a meet and step dance sequence which complete the musical phrase, as at Bar IE7-8 (Figs. 15-16). This minor unit is in turn usually followed by a spin, as at IE9 (Fig. 17). The entire sequence IE4-9 is found as a minor unit elsewhere in the dance, at Bar IVE1-6, 14-19, and VE5-10, S15-120. The

latter half of this compound unit, the meet-step dance-spin sequence, is found again in Bar V, in a similar structural role, following the "cross singly" movements (VE23-26, S27-30, etc.).

Minor movement units are of several types: individual, couple, and group interactions. These organizational forms combine with the basic movements to create the different figures of the dance. The figures in turn are subsumed within the bar divisions, which together make up the entire dance. Each bar includes two sections, the end couple (here labelled E) and side (S) couple performances of each figure. In this version of the square dance, these divisions are easily distinguished, as one set of facing couples usually perform each bar length sequence of figures before the other begins.

There are some rules for combining the basic movements and minor units in sequence. All sequences eventually return the dancers to the position from which they began. If someone crosses the set, they will eventually cross back. Furthermore, any movements which are performed by the dancers in one couple of the facing pair will eventually be repeated by the others. In Bar III, "form a line" (Table 3), for example, movements IIIE1-10 are repeated as E11-20 to give the second man and first woman a chance to meet in the center. A similar repetition is found in Bar IV, "take two" (Table 4).

These design principles result in a symmetry which runs through the entire structure of the dance, except for the bar divisions which progress, each one different from the others.

While all the bars contain the same basic movements as minor units, each also contains a unique movement design which I call its "distinctive figure."[58] This distinctive figure often gives its name to the entire bar, as in "form a line" and "take two." "Dance up" appears to be a title for the distinctive use of the basic meeting movement which begins and repeats throughout this bar. "Off she goes" is, apparently, simply a reference to the beginning of the dance. The final bar is usually named for the "grand cut," but has also been referred to by titles taken from other figures within it, such as the "'round the house."

The other minor units, found throughout the dance, I have termed secondary figures. These may precede or follow the distinctive figure in a bar. The extended "ladies chain" sequence in "take two," Bar IVE1-5 (Table 4), for example, precedes the distinctive figure; a "meet-step dance-spin" sequence follows the distinctive "form a line" at Bar IIIE3-6 (Table 3). Secondary figures also occur between repetitions

[58] This term is commonly used in discussions of dance forms with a repertoire of basic floor patterns that are used in many dances.

for the distinctive figures, as does the extended "ladies chain" at Bar IVE14-19 (Table 4).

The duration of the basic movements, and some minor units, is flexible. While unintentional variations occur when dancers become confused or forget the next movement, as, for example, at Bar IIIE1 and 11 (Table 3), "form a line," intentional variation is more significant. Gerald Quinton, in an interpretation of the term "double," comments on this practice as follows:

> See, they call out "double it up" in a square dance after so long and they want to dance the same step over again.[59]

In this instance, the term "step" seems to refer to a minor unit in the dance. In this way, a "spin" or "step dance" sequence could be lengthened or shortened if the dancers wished. In "take two," for example, Lloyd step dances for one musical phrase at IVE12, during the repetition of this sequence at IVE25 he dances for almost three phrases before beginning the final spin (Table 4). This energetic burst is embellished with a striking sequence of claps and stamps to conclude the phrase (Fig. 36). In the first instance he merely stamps.

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[59] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 179.

Secondary figures may be substituted for one another. While not common practice within a single performance, Lloyd and Therese do this at IVE23, spin, the repetition of IVE10, which was a step dance movement the first time through this sequence of the dance (Table 4). Such variations are probably more common among different performances or regional versions.

Square Dance Variants

In conversations with Mrs. Keough and her family, I learned there have been changes in the Square Dance over the years. In particular, the final bar, here called the "grand cut" was, at one time, "ladies in." Mrs. Keough describes this figure as follows:

> But now we used to have "ladies in" one time. The ladies would stand in the center, and then . . . you'd put your arm around him and just go around in a circle that way, eh . . . the men on the outside and the ladies in and when, you know, when you get around to the, this part that you would get to [back home], well then you'd change partners again and then go around again, see? Until you come back to your own partner after that. When it's all finished you're supposed to [be back] to your own partner. So we used to have that. But now with the "grand cut," it's a swing, swing your left. . . . The older way was the "ladies in" . . . I'd say about thirty-five or forty years ago that's when they started this "grand cut," they calls it.[60]

[60] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 106.

The "ladies in" is frequently performed in other versions of the Square Dance. Based on her description, I have briefly notated it (Table 6).

Performances of this figure which I have seen, usually include a men meet and step dance sequence as well at the beginning. Movements 3 and 4 in Table 6 are usually called "'round the house" and often include a spin for each couple.

There was an additional figure which was sometimes performed after those taught by Lloyd and Therese. Commonly called "thread the needle," informants in Plate Cove also called it "through the bushes."[61] In Harbour Deep, it is known as "the Labrador," ostensibly referring to the practice of going into many small coves while sailing along these shores.[62]

Based on other performances and descriptions of this figure, I am sure it was a variation of the following pattern. Couples all join together in a ring and circle left. The first man lets go the hand of the woman on his left and moving into the center leads the line now following him under the upraised arms of his partner and the man to her right. The first man continues on around behind his

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[61] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 63.

[62] MUNFLA, Ms., 72-155/p. 23; Ms., 81-271/p. 443.

partner and back into the center again to lead the line of dancers under the next arch, that between the next couple to his right in the set (Figs. 43-45). He continues on in this manner, passing between each pair of dancers. When beginning, the last woman may begin to lead the set to her right around the circle. This will increase the speed of the movement and accentuate its spiral design. The first man may turn immediately under his own arm to start if he wishes, as well. Each man in turn leads this figure. Among revival groups, I have seen the women do so as well.

The formation, organization, and basic movements of the Square Dance are typical of 19th century quadrilles. While I have not attempted to trace the historical provenance of this variant, its origin may clearly be seen in even the earliest descriptions available to me. Richardson includes in his Social Dances of the 19th Century in England, a description of the "First Set" of Quadrilles introduced to English ballrooms from Paris in 1815.[63]

The most striking similarities are found in several distinctive figures which are easily recognized. The third part of this quadrille includes the "four-in-line" formation and the fourth part contains this familiar pattern:

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[63]Richardson, Social Dances of the 19th Century, pp. 134-141.

TABLE 6

"LADIES IN"

1. Women meet and step dance. Women move to the center of the set and step dance.

2. Circle. Couples, probably in closed position, travel around the set, probably counter-clockwise.

3. Change partners. Women move to the man next to them in a clockwise direction in the set.

4. Circle. These new couples travel around the set as in 2 above.

Steps 3 and 4 are repeated three more times, which returns original partners to one another.

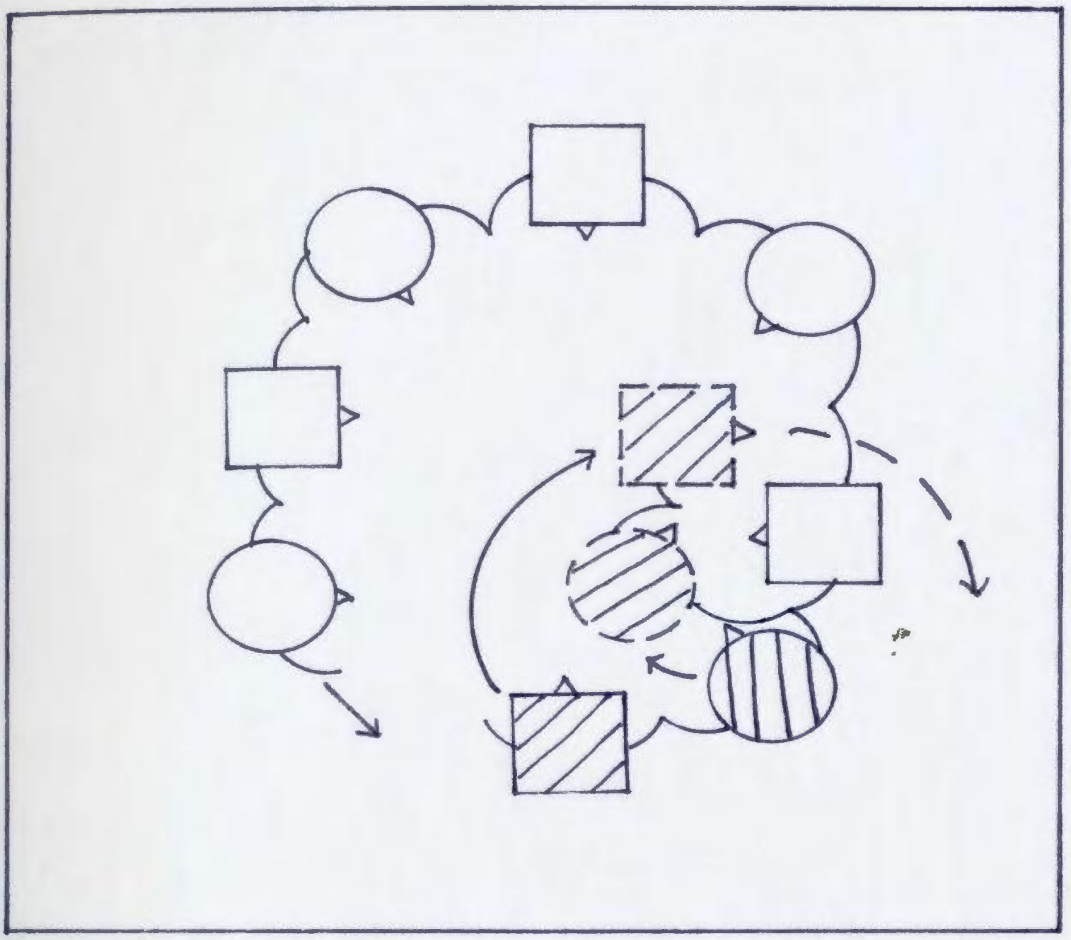


Figure 43. Thread the needle.

The first man, having let go of the woman on his left, leads the dancers to his right under the upraised arms between the couple to his right. The last woman may slowly lead the set counter-clockwise.

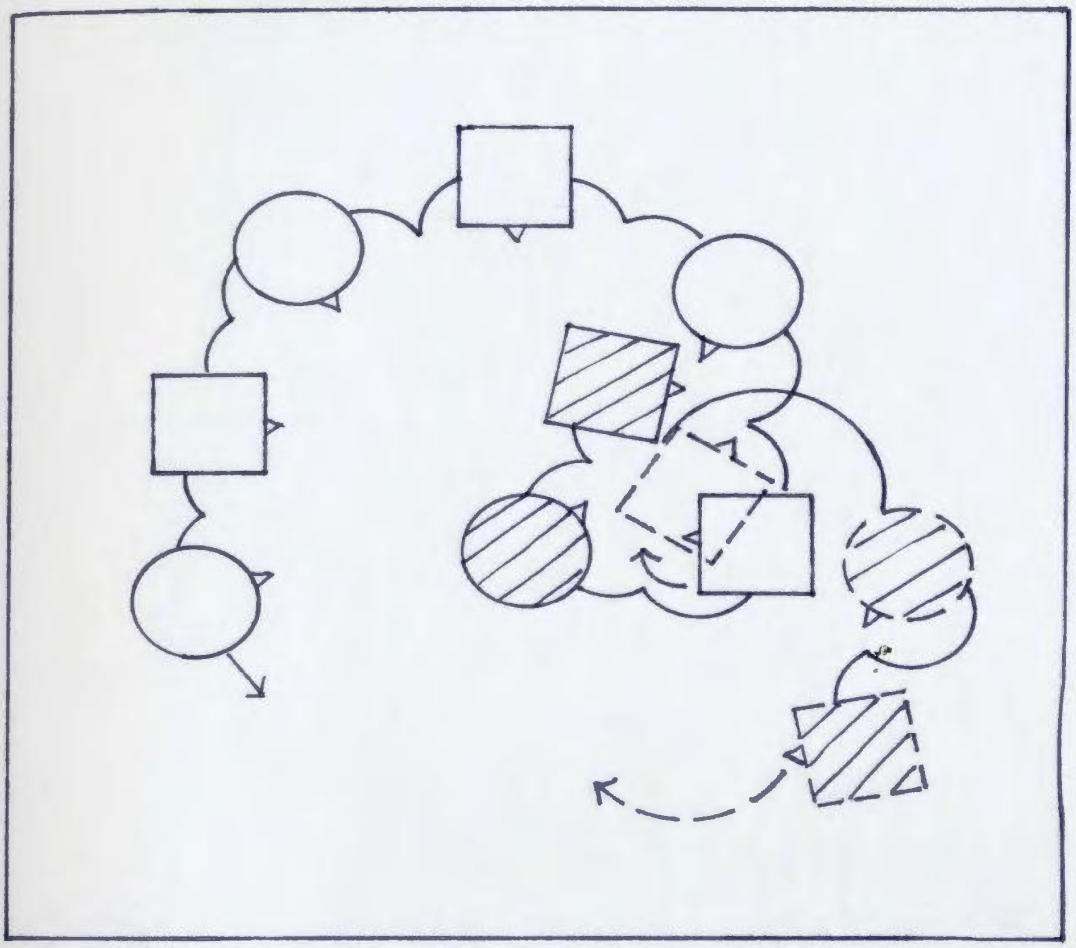


Figure 44. "Thread the needle".

The first man leads those behind him under the arch as well. The man on the left of the arch must pivot under his own arm. The first man continues to travel clockwise, behind this man, and back into the center of the set.

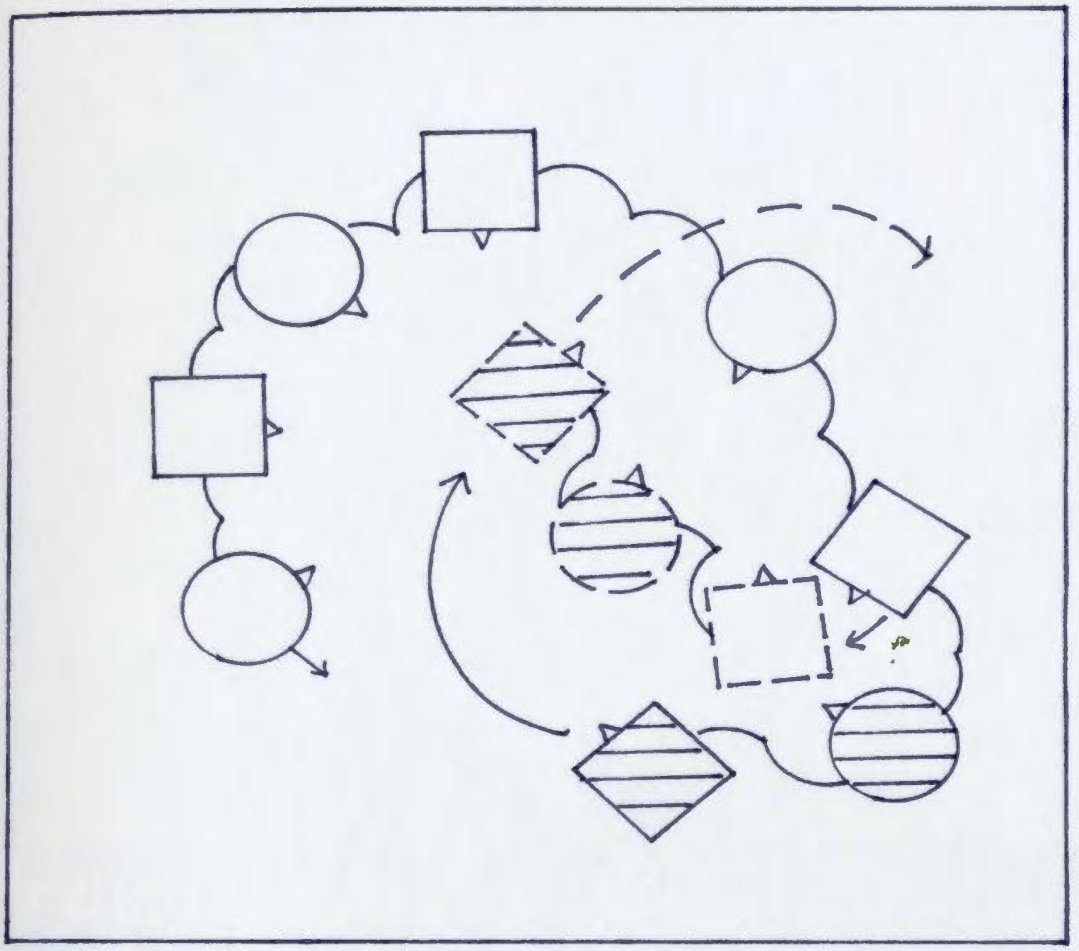


Figure 45. 'Thread the needle'.

The first man leads the line under the next arch. He continues, in this fashion (Figs. 43-45), to pass between each pair of dancers.

> A gentleman and his partner present hands, then advance and retire twice, leaving hands at the second time; the lady going off, places herself to the left of the gentleman opposite, returns and retires backwards. The opposite gentleman, who is then between two ladies, gives a hand to each of them, and all three advance and retire twice . . . The remaining gentleman, who is left alone, then advances in this turn twice also.[64]

The style of dancing, music, and performance context of the dance have undergone many changes since that description was written in 1830. The genetic connection is clear, however, and, significantly, is most obvious in the structure and distinctive minor units.

Different regional versions of the Square Dance are similarly consistent in structure and distinctive figures, although the secondary figures used and their position in the dance are often quite different. A close variant recorded by Maud Karpeles in Stock Cove, in 1929, demonstrates this relationship. Although Stock Cove is not in the immediate vicinity of Plate Cove and Red Cliff, they are linked through the larger regional center, King's Cove. Plate Cove is at one edge of the King's Cove region, Stock Cove at the other. During her stay in King's Cove, Karpeles travelled up to Stock Cove and down as far as Plate Cove, each within a day's travelling time.

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[64] Richardson, p. 138.

Unfortunately, she spent only an afternoon in Open Hall and Plate Cove before returning to King's Cove, because she heard that the good singers had all recently died.[65]

On September 18, 1929, Maud Karpeles attended a dance in Stock Cove, "got up in a private house," for her benefit.[66] Among the dances performed were square dances, "spoken of as 'sets' or sometimes 'plain sets'."[67] She described them in her correspondence of September 28th as follows:

> The sets are composed of Quadrille figures with a great deal of swinging of partners, and not very interesting except for the "stepping" which is very characteristic. Done only by the men whilst the girls stand holding their partner's hand in a lack-adaisical manner.[68]

She adds to this in her edited field notes,

> The "stepping" is done by the men only, although I am told that the older women used to do it. It is performed very vigorously and with splended rhythm. It was very individual and difficult to note. There was a good deal of stamping and the heel was used very freely. A stamp, sometimes almost a jump, was made at the end of the phrase.[69]

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[65] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 1, Sept. 21.

[66] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 7, Sept. 28, p. 6.

[67] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 2, p. 4690.

[68] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 7, Sept. 28, p. 6.

[69] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 2, p. 4690.

Her general observations apply as well to the Red Cliff Dancers of today. The description of stepping is much like that in the notated version. The final stamp Karpeles observed is probably the movement referred to by Mag Tracey and Cyril Keough as the "big stamp," which, misplaced, could put one out of the dance.[70]

The dance Karpeles describes is virtually identical to the Red Cliff Dancers' Square Dance. She notated it in her notes as follows:

> The figures were performed first by tops and then by sides. Sometimes instead of 8 dancers, 12 would take part, the top and bottom couples being duplicated. 16 could take part if there were room, sides being duplicated as well as tops.
>
> 1st Figure
>
> Corners cross and back to places, women crossing first.
> Men step to each other.
> Swing partners.
> Men step to each other (still holding partners).
> Women change (i.e. women change places with right hands and arm contrary partners left until end of phrase; then cross back to place with right hands and arm partners left).
> Swing partners.
> Side couples the same.

This is recognizably the same bar as "off she goes" (Table 1), although the step dance sequence is performed before the ladies chain rather than afterwards.

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[70]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 147.

The second bar of the Square Dance, "dance up" (Table 2), is similar to Karpeles' "2nd Figure," notated as follows:

2nd Figure

> Lead partners forward and back. Men step.
> The two couples change places moving round cl (c. cl.?)[clockwise, counter-clockwise].
>
> Return to places still continuing round cl. (or c. cl.?).
>
> Men release partners and step.
> Swing partners.
> Repeat these figures.
> Side couples the same.

Here again we find the same distinctive meeting figure, the "dance up," in combination with stepping and swinging.

The third figure contains the distinctive four-in-line formation:

3rd Figure

> Top man turns bottom women (sic) with left hand once around and the four stand in line thus,
>
> Men step.
> The couple in middle swing.
> Step and swing partners.
> Above movements repeated, bottom man and top woman standing in middle
> Sides the same.

The Red Cliff Dancers' variant, however, gives the men a chance to "step dance" and "swing" with the opposite

women after they form the line, by crossing the men (Table 3).

The fourth part Karpeles notates continues to follow the Square Dance sequence:

4th Figure

Women change (see 1st Figure).
Men step.
Swing partners.
The two women stand on either side of 1st man, and the three take hands, and men step.
Turn partners.
Above movements repeated, the women standing on either side of bottom man.
Sides the same.

As in the third bar, the Red Cliff Dancers elaborate this bar with additional crossing movements and a step dance or swing in opposite places (Table 4).

Karpeles' fifth figure is given as follows:

5th Figure

Hands-all to the center and back twice.
Men step.
Top and bottom couples go round each other twice, moving in a counter-clockwise direction.
Women change.
All to the center and back.
Sides the same.
Repeat above movements.

This is the same as the Red Cliff Dancers' "join together" and "grand cut" in their fifth bar, but it omits the circling movements (Table 5).

The sixth and last figure which Karpeles records includes the final "change partners" of the Square Dance (Table 5). She notates it as follows:

6th Figure

Corners cross.
Men step.
Swing partners.
Sides the same.
All to the center and back twice.
Swing contrary partners.
Repeat above movements until all regain own partners.
Hands-all and circle counter-clockwise.
Step.[71]

Her figures five and six together make up the final bar of the Red Cliff Dancers' Square Dance.

Unfortunately, Karpeles felt the dance, despite the "very wonderful" stepping, was "of no use for purposes of revival" and did not publish a more complete description.[72] There is no record of the music used, either, which was played on an accordion, because in Karpeles' view, "the tunes were of no special value."[73]

Miss Karpeles' skeletal notation does highlight the basic movements, minor units and structure of the dance, which are the same as those I notated from the Red Cliff Dancers. Both are variants of the Square Dance identified

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[71]Karpeles' notation is quoted from MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 2, pp. 4690-93.

[72]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 7, p. 6.

[73]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 2, p. 4690.

as such by their structure and common distinctive figures. Many variants of this dance have been reported from elsewhere in Newfoundland. Several have been described in detail and, despite their many differences, these aspects of the dance remain recognizably the same.

Comparison of Square Dance Variants

The other descriptions of the Square Dance available vary considerably in detail and thoroughness, from a mere mention of the title, through nearly incomprehensible descriptions with comments such as, "you have to see the dance in order to know how it's done," to complete verbal descriptions accompanied by diagrams.[74] I have used seven descriptions which were sufficiently detailed to compare versions of the Square Dance from different regions. The Square Dance Chart in Table 7 summarizes this comparison. The distinctive figure of each bar is identified by a verbal shorthand which indicates the basic movement or formation it employs. The bar divisions, marked by interruptions of the musical accompaniment, are indicated by vertical lines. The dance is also divided into structural sections, indicated at the bottom of the chart, which apply to all the noted versions.

[74] MUNFLA, Ms., 77-334/p. 25.

TABLE 7

DISTINCTIVE FIGURES OF THE SQUARE DANCE

	I		II	III		IV			
Red Cliff/ Plate Cove, B.B.	cross singly	couples cross	Form a line	Take two		join together (couples cross) exchange partners		join together (optional)	
Stock Cove, B.B.	cross singly	couples cross	Form a line	Take two		join together	exchange partners		
New Perlican, T.B.	couples cross	couples cross	Form a line	Take two		join together	exchange partners		
Trouty, T.B.	cross singly		Form a line	Take two	couples cross	join together	exchange partners		
Port de Grave, C.B.	cross singly	couples cross	Form a line	Take two	couples cross	exchange partners			
Tack's Beach, P.B.	couples cross		Take two	Form a line		join together	exchange partners		
Bay d'Espoir	women cross singly	couples cross	Swing one	Take two		exchange partners	join partners		
Torteau	women cross singly	couples cross	swing one	Take two	couples cross	join together	exchange partners	exchange partners	join together (optional)

The Red Cliff and Stock Cove dances have already been discussed. The Forteau, Labrador, version is one I recorded 12 July 1979.[75] My notes were not sufficient for a complete notation, but the distinctive figures and basic structure of the dance are clear. The other versions are taken from MUNFLA sources which attempted some degree of movement description and often included diagrammatic illustrations.

The most detailed is the study of the Square Dance in New Perlican, Trinity Bay.[76] The informant, somewhat of a collector himself, was also familiar with dance traditions from Boxey, on the South Coast, Bonne Bay, and Norman's Cove, Trinity Bay. I have noted the significant comparisons which he made between these. The collection of dances from Trouty, Trinity Bay, gives awkwardly worded descriptions which require some interpretation.[77] Another student described the dances in Port-de-Grave, Conception Bay, as recalled by her grandfather, a musician who played for them.[78] It includes a "Description of the Square Dance Quadrille," couched in verbal shorthand, without illustrative

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[75]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 276-85.

[76]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630.

[77]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147.

[78]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89.

diagrams. The Square Dance as performed in Tack's Beach, Placentia Bay, was described and notated by a student who learned the dance from her informant as a member of a performing troupe.[79] The Square Dance notation from Bay d'Espoir was also reconstructed from conversations with older informants. Brief and often awkwardly worded, with few illustrations, the descriptions are still useful.[80]

From a comparative analysis of these regional variants a conceptual model of the underlying dance form emerges. The Square Dance type usually has at least four major sections of one or more bars each. The opening section involves facing couples crossing the set, the second and third sections, reversed from the Red Cliff version in some cases, contain the more complex facing couple interactions of "form a line" and "take two," the fourth section includes two types of distinctive figures performed by all the dancers, also occasionally reversed or combined, the "join together" and "exchange partners" pattern. Each section, with its distinctive figure, is subject to forms of elaboration and abridgement by secondary figures, which may be interpolated at various points.

The first section of the Square Dance is usually found as two bars, as in the Red Cliff/Plate Cove version,

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[79] Jacquey Ryan, "Dancing in Tack's Beach with Mrs. E. Best," unpublished Ms., 1980.

[80] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46.

"off she goes" and "dance up." The first involves couples crossing the set separately as individuals, the second, as couples. As the table shows, this is fairly typical. Occasionally, one of these figures is omitted, the reason for grouping them together in one section. The "cross singly" figures may involve both men and women or just women, as in ladies chain figures. The common terms applied to this pattern are "off she goes," "chaining," or "cutting." The "couples cross" figures may be simply "pass by" each other or "going under" arches alternately.

In "off she goes," we found the facing couples exchanging places as individuals and returning, followed by a ladies chain, step dance and swing (see Table 1). From Port-de-Grave comes a nearly identical "off she goes" figure described as follows:

> Ladies lead off and go to opposite sides.
> Men follow and change sides.
> Men dance a bar step dance and all return to original places.
> Swing partner.
> (Sides repeat this figure).[81]

An additional step dance segment has been interpolated at the halfway point of the figure and the ladies chain omitted. The term "bar" is used above to indicate a musical phrase.

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[81] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p. 10.

In the Forteau version, only half of this distinctive figure is performed, as the women dance across the set and around the opposite man, who simultaneously performs a step dance. Couples swing in place to conclude the sequence.[82] Similarly, in Bay d'Espoir the first "set" of the Square Dance, "meet your partner," is done as follows:

> girls from each side leave their position, dance around opposite fellow, then return to original position.
> couples join hands; side up and back; then each couple swings.[83]

These versions omit the ladies chain and step dance sequence of "off she goes."

In Trouty, the opening figure, called "chaining," seems to be a ladies chain and swing, repeated at least once, which is followed by couples forward, step dance, couples back, and swing.[84]

Each of these versions use a "cross singly" figure, in combination with secondary step dance, swing and meet movements. The "couples cross" figure, however, is found in the opening bars of the two other versions.

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[82] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 278.

[83] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 24.

[84] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147/p. 10.

In the untitled opening figure from the Square Dance in New Perlican, facing couples join hands with their partners, dance across the set, turn in opposite place, and return similarly. Partners swing and the women then change sides, swing the opposite men and then return to place. Optionally at this point,

> the males proceeded to the center of the dance floor, turned to face their women and "stepped it out." At this point the accordion player would play a double jig at a fast pace and the men "danced to their partner" . . . During the "stepping it out" phase the females would remain in constant position and in some places, holds [sic] the male partner's hand while he step danced. She did not dance.

The bar ends with a partner swing in place.[85]

The first figure of the version from Tack's Beach, was called "the line," and is similar both to the New Perlican figure and "dance up." In it, the opposite couples dance to the center and back, "pass by" each other to the other side, and repeat this back to place. Partners then swing.[86]

The second bar of several versions contains "couples cross" movements. "Dance up" is one of these (see Table 2) as is the Bay d'Espoir "in and under," Port de Grave "advance," and New Perlican and Forteau second bars, all of which include the "passing under an arch"

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[85] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/pp. 41-43.

[86] Ryan, pp. 4-5.

movement. In Bay d'Espoir, couples "cross and join their hands, then meet at centre for first part." One couple forms an arch with their arms and the other passes under as they cross over. The couples repeat this returning to place, reversing roles.[87] In Port de Grave,

> Men and women hold hands and advance to center. (The ladies right hands are in the men's right hands).
> They meet the opposite couple and go back.
> Advance again. One couple raises hands, other couple goes through.
> Men dance a bar.
> Advance to center again and go back to original, [i.e. crossed] places.
> Advance again, other couple raising hands this time.
> Same pattern is repeated.
> (Side couples repeat all this).[88]

In New Perlican, the second bar begins, as all the facing couple movements in this version, with the women crossing over to swing with the opposite man. They return to swing their partners after which the men step dance. From this position,

> the couples would then meet half way across the distance before them. After meeting half way, the couples walked or danced back to their original positions. Here, in movement to the half-way point and then backward back to the point of origin, the partners did not embrace each other but the male took the female by the right hand, [her left] and then remained side by side through the motion, keeping in step and not running but dancing to the beat of the music. After the couples got back to

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[87] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 24.

[88] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p. 10.

> their original positions, they performed . . . "going under." Going under entailed [the first] couple holding hands as mentioned earlier, remaining side by side, and going under the upstretched clasped hands of the [second couple].

The couples immediately cross back, reversing roles.

> As a variation of this, instead of "going under," you "passed by" . . . In passing by, often the male took the girl by the hand and led the charge past the other couple.

Partners then swing, the women cross to swing the opposite man and return. The men step dance and partners swing, ending the bar.[89]

In Forteau, the second bar, as in all its facing couple bars, begins with the women crossing singly and partners swing sequence. Couples then take right hands and cross over and back, one couple arching as they pass, and complete the bar with a partner swing.[90]

The first structural section of the Square Dance, often composed of two bars, consists of facing couple interactions, involving exchanging of places in the set through several possible figures: solo "cutting," couples "passing by," or "going under." All are time-honored quadrille figures. Performed in conjunction with these patterns are secondary step dancing, meeting and swinging, which are interpolated at various points in the distinctive crossing figures.

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[89] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/pp. 45-48.

[90] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 279.

The third and fourth bars of our original dance were "form a line" and "take two" (See Tables 3, 4), and there is close agreement among our versions here. All, save the Bay d'Espoir "swing one" and similar Forteau figure, contain the same distinctive four-in-line and "take two" patterns. In the Tack's Beach version, the "form a line" figure -- known as "chain up" -- and "take two" movement -- "advance and loose your partner" -- are reversed and the latter is done first. In the Port de Grave dance, the two figures are run together, without a break, into a single bar. The patterns of the dance, however, remain the same. As in the first two bars, each dance version combines the distinctive figure with characteristic secondary movement patterns.

The New Perlican "form a line" begins with "a change of partners and swing," found in the first two bars as well, from which the women return to their partners. The first man and second woman swing in the center while their partners exchange places. All four then join hands to form the line. The men step dance in this position, and the center pair then swing again. They rejoin their partners, now on each others' sides of the set. To return home they dance forward and back and pass by. The second man and first woman then begin the same sequence by taking

the center position. Partners swing to conclude the bar.[91]

The Trouty "chain and form a line" begins with its characteristic ladies chain and continues with "form a line". The first man and second woman turn left hands round in the center, giving right hands to their partners to form the line. All step dance together. The center couple swing and return to their partners, in this case on their own side of the set. Their partners then lead off the same figure. The couples dance forward and back, and swing partners to end, as in the first bar.[92]

The third "set" in Port-de-Grave, "form a line," is described as follows:

> Lady of one couple and man of other couple meet at center, hold hands and turn around. Their partners taking their free hand form a line.
> Bar is danced.
> Two in center swing and go back to original partners.
> This is repeated by the other man and lady.
> Back in original position women cross the floor and change partners.

This sequence is followed by:

> Ladies advance and chain. (Right arms linked. Holding left hands).
> Go back to original partners.
> Bar is danced.
> Swing.[93]

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[91] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 49.

[92] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147/p. 13.

[93] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p. 10.

which leaves the dancers in position to begin the "take two" figure which follows. The handhold parenthetically described seems much like that used by Lloyd and Therese in their ladies chain figure.

In the Tack's Beach version, the end couples dance to the center and back. The first man and second woman turn right hands to form the line. They swing in the center and return to swing their partners in place. The side couples then dance this much, after which the ends repeat the figure reversing roles. The sides do likewise and all swing to conclude the bar.[94] This, however, followed the "take two," figure, called "advance and loose your partner." The two groups of facing couples alternate at the halfway point in both figures, but no indication of a musical break is given.

In Bay d'Espoir, the distinctive figure of this bar is called "swing one." The title is suggestive, but the description is obscure.

> change partners and swing.
> then fellow with his opposite partner's girl returns her to her original position. He leaves her there while he returns to his own partner who is now back in her position. Each couple then swings.[95]

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[94] Ryan, pp. 5-6.

[95] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 25.

While untitled, the third bar of the Forteau dance follows a pattern which could well be called "swing one." The first man and second woman meet in the center and swing. Their partners cross the set. Original partners rejoin one another in crossed positions, swing, and cross as couples back to place, and swing again. This sequence is repeated, begun this time by the second man and first woman.[96]

These "swing one" figures are similar in some ways to "form a line." Many of the "form a line" figures have the central pair of dancers swing in the center, and sometimes their partners cross the set as well. While an evolutionary relationship between the two would be difficult to establish, they are clearly related.

The "swing one" figures are named in distinction to the "take two" figure, called "swing two" in Bay d'Espoir, which is found in all versions. Each contains the distinctive pattern in which one of the men in the facing pair of couples dances with both women at once, leaving the other alone. In most versions the single man performs a step dance. As in the other bars, each version elaborates this distinctive figure in a characteristic way.

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[96]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 280.

The New Perlican dance contains "take two," which begins with its characteristic "changing of partners and a swing." The first man, his arm around his partner's shoulders, hers around his waist, dances forward to be joined by the second woman on his left. The second man "steps it out" and then moves across the set to join his partner, the first man and woman moving into his place. As in "form a line," we see the couples having crossed the set halfway through the distinctive figure. They dance forward and back in a closed position, pass by to return to place and swing. The second man and woman are then joined by the first woman, leaving her partner to step it out alone. The figure is completed similarly and ends with partners swinging.[97]

In Trouty, Trinity Bay, "take two" is similarly performed, but begins with the same "chain and swing" found in its other bars. Couples are left on crossed sides after the take two figures, and must dance forward and back, pass by to return to place and swing.[98]

The Port de Grave "take two" continues without interruption from the final swing of the ladies chain described earlier.

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[97] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 54.

[98] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147/pp. 13-14.

> Couples advance to center. One man takes the other man's girl. The man left with no one has to dance for his partner.
> Partner returns and couples swing.
> Repeat from where couples advance to center.
> Now the other man has to dance for his partner.[99]

As in form a line, couples are left on their own side, simplifying the figure.

The Tack's Beach version begins with its characteristic "opposite couples to center and back." This is repeated and the first couple returns to place taking the second woman with them. The second man, now alone, step dances. His partner returns and both couples swing. As in form a line, the side couples then dance this much. The ends repeat this, reversing roles, then the sides, and all swing to conclude the bar. As in Port de Grave, couples are left on their own side throughout.[100]

Once again, the Bay d'Espoir and Forteau versions of this distinctive figure are similar. In Bay d'Espoir, it has been described as follows:

> fellow sends girl to opposite fellow.
> fellow swings two girls, lone fellow may step dance, while waiting; girl returns to partner and both couples swing.[101]

As I saw this performed in Forteau, the man and two women really do swing as a trio. The effect of this is to lessen

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[99] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p.10.

[100] Ryan, p. 5.

[101] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 25.

the importance of the step dance by the single man, who no longer has an audience. As in the other Forteau facing couple figures, this bar begins with the women cross singly movement.[102]

In two versions, we find an additional "couples cross" bar called "cut corners." The movement, however, is also found as part of the final group figures in several of the other versions. In Trouty, partners swing and couples then "cut," or dance, probably with a side step, diagonally across the floor, exchanging places with their corner, and return in like manner. Partners then swing in place. The other group of facing couples perform the figure and all is repeated again.[103] This structure alternates end and side couple sequences within one bar, similarly to the Tack's Beach version.

As danced in Port de Grave, "cut corners" was done as follows:

> Couple move to opposite corners.
> Come back to original place on a side step.
> Dance a bar.
> Swing partner.
> Advance, join hands, go halfway and return.
> Go back to original places.
> Dance bar and swing partner.
> Other . . . couples repeat this.

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[102] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 281.

[103] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147/p. 14.

This is the same figure with an additional forward back, and cross sequence indicated by the cryptic "advance, join hands, go halfway and return."[104]

We find the same figure in other dances as part of other bars. Our New Perlican informant tells us that on the South Coast and in Bonne Bay, instead of "going halfway," that is, "forward and back, pass by," in form a line or take two, dancers could "side off" or "cut corners" in which:

> the couples would by going sideways in short quick steps attempt to go diagonally across the floor. Invariably, it meant finding your way where you would not collide with another couple.[105]

In Forteau, this movement has the marvellous name of "doughboys," perhaps for the round shape the dancers describe. In this figure, after the women cross singly yet once again, facing couples "do si do," that is, dance around each other, always traveling forward, in a closed position, twice. This is done first by the end couples. With no interruption of the music, the entire set joins together and moves to the center twice, and then separates to allow the side couples to dance the "doughboys" figure.[106]

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[104] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p. 11.

[105] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 60-61.

[106] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 282.

Similar couples cross movements appear in the Red Cliff and Stock Cove dances (see Bar VE3, Table 5, Figs. 39-40). The title of this bar, "grand cut," is probably descriptive of this movement.

Figures in the final section of the Square Dance are danced by both groups of facing couples together. Several figures are commonly found, of two basic types: the "join together" movements in which dancers join hands to form a ring (Figs. 37-38), which may include all the dancers or just the men or women; and, the "exchange partners" movements in which each man and woman dances with all those of the opposite sex (Fig. 41, Table 6). The final bars of the Square Dance often include one or more of these figures in a variety of combinations. My informants from Plate Cove, for example, recalled using the "join together" figures, "ladies in," and "close in," as well as "right and left," an "exchange partners" figure, which might, optionally, be followed by a final "join together" of "thread the needle". "'Round the house" is another common "exchange partners" movement, in which couples dance around the set (Table 6). Secondary facing couple figures may also be interpolated into the final section, as is the single cutting found in the Red Cliff Dancers' performance (Table VE23, for example).

The last bar of the New Perlican dance began, as its others, with one group of facing couples "exchange partners and swing." The other couples then got on the floor and

> all would then clasp hands and converge on the center and return with hands still clasped among each other.

"Ladies in" follows. The women form a ring in the center, the men around them and they circle in opposite directions, two or three times around. Partners meet and swing. All dance "left and right," the men traveling counter-clockwise, the women clockwise, giving right and left hands to each other alternately as they pass by. Upon meeting the second time, partners step and swing.[107]

The same informant recalled that in Norman's Cove, at the head of Trinity Bay, as well as in Boxy, on the South Coast, and in Bonne Bay, "'round the house" was substituted for "left and right." In this figure, as in Plate Cove, after "ladies in," partners promenade around the outside of the set. Each man then steps back and takes the next girl, swings and promenades again. This is repeated until "each male swung with each girl," or, in other words, they returned to their original partners. With sixteen couples on the floor, as he comments,

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[107]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 57.

> This would prolong the dance considerably and wasn't a favourite of the less vigorous.[108]

In Trouty, we have the "join together," "chain up and close in". One group of facing couples "chain," and all join hands in a ring. All move to the center and back, swing partners, and repeat this, ending with partners swing. The final part is "grand chain" in which all "exchange partners". All swing partners and then right and left around the set. Partners meet and dance and swing; dance and swing the next, and so on until partners are returned to one another.[109]

In Port de Grave, the final "set" is "ladies in," an "exchange partners" figure in which the men and women also dance separately as groups.

> Four ladies go to the center and dance a few steps.
> Return to places.
> Men go to the center and dance a bar.
> The man would go back and take his partner and they'd go all around the house swinging everyone.
> The other couples would be following right behind.[110]

In Tack's Beach, Mrs. Best reports "around the house" as the "dance" which "always finishes a set." All join hands and circle once each way. Couples promenade and men pass the ladies back on the left side to the man

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[108] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/pp. 61-62.

[109] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147/pp. 14-15.

[110] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-89/p. 11.

behind them, who then swing. This is repeated until partners are returned, and all swing. All join hands in a ring, move to the center and back twice and swing to end the dance.[111]

From Bay d'Espoir we have "'round the house," followed by "closing in." The first is the basic exchange partners pattern. Partners swing and the men take the girl from the couple "ahead" of him in the ring and "they make one 'round' around the dancing floor." These couples swing, exchange partners and repeat, until original partners meet. In "closing in," all join hands and "go around the floor in a circle." All then "come together with whoops and 'ho-whoos' into a tight squeeze of men and women," to finish the "final and most exciting set of the dance."[112]

In Forteau, the dance concludes with "'round the house," danced similarly to the versions already noted, followed by "rights and lefts." As in several other versions "thread the needle" was considered an optional final figure.[113] This was reported by my Plate Cove informants and recalled as typical at dances in Norman's Cove and Boxy. The informant from New Perlican has

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[111] Ryan, p. 6.

[112] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 26.

[113] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 283-84.

described its performance as follows:

> Each couple would be arranged in a circle, side by side. Then one couple would start by passing through the space adjoining the next two couples and the couple encircled would fall in behind the lead couple and proceed between the available space between the next adjoining couple, and the next encircled couple would fall in behind the first two and so on. This would go on until you had a long chain of people with everyone included and this signified the end of the dance, instead of "left and right."[114]

It seems in this version that couples start as separate units and join on the end of the growing chain of dancers, rather than beginning from a linked circle which keeps moving all throughout the figure, as described previously, emphasizing the cumulative character of the figure.

While structural formulas for each version could be constructed (building up from the basic movements to the bar divisions), these would, I think, be more confusing than helpful in conceptualizing the structural form of the Square Dance. Instead, I will summarize the constant structural framework and levels of variation as found in the preceeding descriptive comparsion.

All these versions of the Square Dance share a progressive sequence of distinctive figures, moving from simple to more complex facing couple interactions and culminating in several figures for all the dancers together.

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[114] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 63.

The distinctive figures remain relatively constant, while they are embellished with secondary figures which characterize the different regional versions. Where the Plate Cove version employs the 'ladies chain and swing' sequence, for example, the New Perlican dancers perform "change partners and swing," a variant of the same facing couple interaction. In Trouty, we find a similar secondary figure,while the other versions do not use this minor movement unit sequence at all. The distinctive figures may also be elaborated by maneouvering couples into crossed positions in the set. They must then return to place using something like the "forward and back, pass by" found in the New Perlican version. This provides another opportunity to interpolate a secondary 'step dance' or 'swing' figure.

In all these versions,as well, the dancers are divided into two groups of facing couples who perform the figures alternately. The alternation may occur halfway through the distinctive figure as in the Tack's Beach version, or, more commonly, after the entire bar sequence has been completed. In one version I collected in the Bay St. George region, the side couples had been eliminated completely and the facing couple figures were performed without interruption by one group of facing couples. This form retains the basic sequence of distinctive figures,

but eliminates its repetition and streamlines the dance considerably. In some places, one large set would accomodate all the dancers, as in the Plate Cove region, but elsewhere, as in Tack's Beach, several small sets, each with their own end and side couples, would perform simultaneously.

Throughout all the variations in vernacular terminology, organization, and movement sequences, the Square Dance retains its identity as a group dance consisting of a prescribed sequence of distinctive figures, performed by couples in pairs and all together. Within this framework regional variation occurs in the organization of these parts and the secondary movement units. Individual variation and improvization is found in steps and embellishments of the basic movements, such as idiosyncratic ways of swinging. The entire dance performance takes the dancers from a home position as a couple, moves them through a known sequence of figures in which they interact with each other in a variety of ways and returns them, at the end, home again with their partners. I will explore the significance of this experience to the dancers in Chapter IV.

The Lancers

Although fewer descriptions of the Lancers are available than of the Square Dance, it was certainly widely known and is mentioned in sources from most areas of the

province. It is organized similarly to the Square Dance, though performed only in four couple sets. Like the Square Dance, it consists of several major sections, each usually containing its own distinctive figure, with which secondary figures are incorporated.

Table 8 provides a comparative chart of three variants of the Lancers, recorded in Trinity, Trinity Bay, Pouch Cove, and Conception Harbour, Conception Bay.[115] It is similar to Table 7 for the Square Dance, in that each distinctive figure is identified and interruptions in the musical accompaniment are indicated by vertical lines.

As with the Square Dance, the Lancers begins with crossing figures for the facing couples. As I saw the dance performed in Trinity, opposite couples dance forward and back, then cross over the set, one couple forming an arch. The couples swing in the opposite place and return in like manner, the other couple arching. Both couples then swing. The side couples then perform this sequence. The first figure done in Pouch Cove has the same cross over arching movement found in Trinity, but without the swing in opposite place. All then swing their corners upon returning to place. In the Lancers, as performed in Conception Harbour,

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[115]These dances are described in the following sources: MUNFLA, Ms., 81-221/pp. 360-66, 429-35; Ms., 80-118/pp. 9-22.

TABLE 8

DISTINCTIVE FIGURES OF THE LANCERS

	I	II	III			IV	
Trinity	couples cross	women cross	star	basket	longways reel	exchange partners (right and left)	
Pouch Cove	couples cross	women cross	join together	longways reel	basket	star	exchange partners (right and left)	join together (thread the needle)
Conception Harbour	couples meet	women cross	basket	star	longways reel	exchange partners (right and left)	join together (thread the needle)

the facing couples dance forward and back, swing their opposites, and return to swing their corners. The side couples do this and the whole is then repeated.[116]

The second part of the Lancers is much the same in all three versions. Head couples dance forward and back and forward again, the women exchanging places and returning with the opposite men. These movements are repeated to bring the women back home. In Conception Harbour, both head and side couples do this twice, as in the first part. In Trinity, the couples bow after exchanging partners and then swing corners before repeating the movement to home place. The Pouch Cove Lancers is somewhat elaborated in this part. After exchanging partners, lines are formed by splitting the set through the side couples. The lines dance forward and back twice, then form rings and circle in both directions. They dance forward and back twice again, taking their partners to swing and return home upon the second meeting. The side couples then repeat the entire figure, the lines formed by splitting the head couples this time.[117]

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[116] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 360, 431-32; Ms., 80-118/p. 10.

[117] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 361, 432-33; Ms., 80-118/p. 12.

The central portion of the Lancers, as can be seen from Table 8, consists of three distinctive figures: the "star", "basket" and "progressive longways." Though they may appear in a different order, the figures themselves are much the same in each dance. To form the "star," men join right hands with the opposite man, putting their left arm around their partner. All dance forward and the "star" rotates once around. All then turn individually and reform a "star," men now joining left hands, right arms around partners, to return to place. In Conception Harbour, left hands are joined first. In both Conception Harbour and Pouch Cove, this followed and was considered a figure in the same part of the dance as the "basket." All three "baskets" are formed by the men crossing arms and linking hands with the man next to them. The women link their arms with the men's elbows, forming a tightly knit circle, which then rotates twice in each direction. In Trinity, the linked arms are raised and lowered in the center with increasing energy through one strain of the tune. My informant commented that it was usual to lift the women off the floor during the last spin of the circle.[118]

The "longways reel" figure is performed in lines or longways formation, which would be assumed during a break in

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[118] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 362-63, 434; Ms., 80-118/pp. 13-15.

the music. Partners face each other, the head couples at top and bottom of the set, side couples in between. The top couple begins by swinging together and then progressing down the set, swinging each person of the opposite sex in turn. In Trinity, this was done by turning once around by the left hand on the sides, and once by the right hand with partners in the center. The other two versions describe the movement as a 'swing'. The Pouch Cove figure was poorly remembered but clearly similar. As described, couples perform the progressive swinging simultaneously, a virtual impossibility, or only swing with those below them in the set, without progressing to the bottom to be swung in turn by those now above them. In the Trinity performance, once each couple reached the bottom of the set they sidestepped to the top and back again to the bottom between the two lines. All then faced down the set and took four side steps to their right, and then back to their left. The lines passed through one another, the women in front of their partners. The lines then "cast off" from the bottom, marching up the outside of the set individually, down again through the top and back to place. From this position, the next couple began the "longways reel" and the entire sequence was repeated for each couple.[119]

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[119] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 364-65, 430, 433; Ms., 80-118/pp. 16-18.

The final group figures of the Lancers, "right and left" and "thread the needle," are also found in some versions of the Square Dance, with some variation. In Trinity, dancers face their partners and bow to begin the chain, go halfway around the set, where they meet their partners for the first time, bow again and swing. They continue to chain, bowing and swinging with each one they meet until original partners are reunited in place. In Pouch Cove, where the figure is left (to partners) and right (to the next) after one circuit of chaining, the men and women similarly swing their partners, chain once around again then swing the next, and so forth. In Conception Harbour, after the first circuit of chaining partners swing and then reverse direction, chaining back the other way.[120]

"Thread the needle" is performed as a final figure in Pouch Cove and Conception Harbour; in the former community it is known as "spin the needle."[121] It is the same figure as that found in the Square Dance. The similar structure of the different square dances made adaptation and borrowing from one to another quite simple. I have already noted that the "thread the needle" figure was considered optional in

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[120]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 366, 434-35; Ms., 81-118/pp. 19-20.

[121]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 435; Ms., 80-118/pp. 20-22.

the Square Dance. It could just as easily be added to the Lancers if, as one Conception Harbour informant describes it in the following story, the dancers hadn't "had enough" after the "longways reel":

> We just finished playin' the Lancers an' Master Keating didn't have enough. He called for more music an' we had to play ya know, coz them times people got real mad if ya didn't do what de said. Will, we started 'er up again an' Jack got his crew on d' floor an started t' tread d' needle set. Dis was d' first time t'was ever done. It don't belong t'd Lancers. Na! It's part o'd' American Eight. An dat's how d' Lancers got t' be five sets now instid o' four.[122]

The presence of the "thread the needle" in other variants belies the specific aetiological claim of this explanatory tale. Rather, it relates a scenario undoubtedly enacted many times when the Lancers became popular.

The Lancers, like the Square Dance, begins with crossing movements and concludes with "join together" and "exchange partner" figures. Its three central distinctive figures distinguish it most clearly from the Square Dance. There is some variation of the "star," "basket," and "longways reel" figures. Structurally, the two are much the same. The smaller, four couple Lancers' set, however, allows more integration of the end and side couples throughout the dance in the form of more frequent alternations and "corner swings."

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[122] MUNFLA, Ms., 80-118/p. 35.

Another difference between the dances is expressed in informants' attitudes towards them. In Trinity, where both dances were known and performed at the same events, the Square Dance was considered rougher than the more sedate and sophisticated Lancers. Music for the Square Dance was provided by the accordion, while for the Lancers the local, female school teacher and a friend played the violin and piano. Only a few dancers were considered to know the Lancers well enough to perform it, while everyone could get through the Square Dance.[123] Vestiges of ballroom etiquette, such as the bow after exchanging partners in part two or upon meeting in the "right and left," reflect these attitudes in movement. In other reports where the Lancers is the only group dance mentioned, no such distinctions are made.

It appears that these dances are nearly identical and owe their differences to the historical sources from which they come. The Lancers was one of the most popular late 19th century quadrilles. It was introduced in England in 1817, revived in the 1850s and by the end of the century had developed many local variations in common performance, which were dubbed the Kitchen Lancers by dancing teachers of the time.[124] The Newfoundland versions are

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[123] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 358.

[124] See Richardson, pp. 70-73, 91-94; and Roy Dommett, "The Kitchen Lancers," English Dance and Song 41, No. 3 (1979), 7.

derived from these folk versions or introduced through the late-19th-century revival.

The Reel

Another group dance in square formation reported in Newfoundland is frequently called the Reel. Although its basic movements and minor units are similar to those of the Square Dance and Lancers, the organization of figures is different. The two couple figures are not performed by alternating groups of facing couples, but rather progressively, each couple in the set dancing in turn with all the others. In the usual four couple set, numbering the couples around it counter-clockwise, the first would dance a figure in turn with the second, third, and fourth couples. Each couple then repeats this pattern in turn.

I was never able to get a good description of the Reel from my Plate Cove informants, but it was frequently mentioned. Mick Keough, for instance, recalled ,

> That'd be eight hands out [i.e., the Reel], four men and four girls. That's a long dance too . . . I used to play for them here years ago.[125]

Along with the Square Dance and Kissing Dance, Maud Karpeles saw the Reel performed and described it in her notes as follows:

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[125]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 100.

THE REEL

Performed by 6 couples when I saw it, but it can be and is, I think, usually performed by 4 couples.

As in Running Set, each couple leads out the figure in turn, but numbering round counter-clockwise [i.e. counter-clockwise].

The step is very much the same as in the Sets, something between a walk and a run.

Each of the four figures starts with the following introduction.

Introduction

Hands all to center and back twice.

Men step (8 bars).

Swing partners (8 bars).

Grand Chain, giving hands, or sometimes arms (but not turning).

Swing partners.

The following movements are interpolated between the leads of the successive couples.

Swing partners, Grand Chain. Swing partners. Grand Chain is called 'Bush'.

1st Figure

1st couple takes hands with the 2nd couple, step, and then hands-four, and so on to each couple in turn.

2nd Figure

1st man arms partner with right, 2nd man left, partner right and so on.

Each man performs this figure in turn and then the women.

3rd Figure

1st couple lead forward and back.

Lead through 2nd couple and cast off round outside of set to places, and so on to next couple.

4th Figure

All take hands, except 1st man and 2nd woman.

1st man, followed by others, leads under arch made by 1st woman and her contrary partner, and so on passing under successive arches (as in Grape Vine Swing), except that all dancers are moving round clockwise all the time).

This is called "Thread the needle."[126]

There are few other descriptions of the Reel to be found in the Newfoundland sources and none sufficiently detailed to be of use here. However, the Goat, a dance referred to as a "cotillion" and collected in Harbour Deep, is similarly structured.[127] It includes the same figures, as well as a few additional patterns. While a detailed notation of this dance from the videotape recording would be possible, I have not included one as the major points concerning the relationship of movement units, structure, individual improvization and regional variation illustrated by the Square Dance hold true for all the group figure dances.

Although the organization of the Reel is somewhat different from the Square Dance and Lancers, the structural

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[126]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 2, pp. 4694-95.

[127]MUNFLA, Ms., 72-155; MUNFLA, Videotape, 80-126.

system is closely related. All three prescribe floor designs and dancer direction, using individual, partner, two couple, and whole group interactions. Despite their symmetrical, repetitive form, each contains a progressive sequence of distinctive figures, beginning with two couple interactions and culminating in whole group patterns. The similarities and the contrasts between the Square Dance, Lancers, and Reel will be taken up again in Chapter IV.

Longways Dances

Though performed from a different formation, the longways dances have many of the same structural features as the square and other group dances. The division of dancers into male and female roles is still essential. In this case, while partnered they are also grouped into sexes from the beginning. The basic movements are similar: dancers move around and across the set, they interact as individuals, partners, couples, and groups of men or women. The dances are similar in construction and are not divided into parts as the Square Dance or Lancers. Like the Reel, they repeat their figures progressively for each couple in turn. I have no information on the usual size of these sets, but suspect they varied considerably. Like the Reel, however, there are limits imposed by the

time it would take more than about six couples to perform one.

Longways dances are much less frequently reported than the mostly quadrille-derived, square dances. Maud Karpeles published notations for two, which were described to her by Dick Penny of Burin, a musician who played the flute and violin.[128] As they are long out of print, I will give them here. The self has a distinctive circling figure while Kitty's Rambles employs a "hey," or weaving figure similar to the alternate "off she goes" (Fig. 7). Each dance also employs travelling through the set and swinging as secondary figures.

THE SELF

Longways for as many as will (Triple minor set).

Music	Movements
A1	First man and first woman cross over right shoulders. First man then goes hands-three, clockwise (4 bars) and counter-clockwise (4 bars) with second and third women; whilst first woman goes hands-three with second and third men (r.s.) [running step].
A2	First man and first woman cross over left shoulders, and go hands-three on their own sides, clockwise (4 bars) and counter-clockwise (4 bars).
B1	First couple leads down the middle (w.s.) [walking step] and back again, and casts one place (ch.h.s.) [change hop step].
B2	First and second couples swing (ch.h.s.).

[128] Karpeles, Twelve Additional Dances, pp. 16-17. Karpeles originally published these in the tabular form which I have retained.

KITTY'S RAMBLES

Longways for as many as will (Triple minor set).

Music	Movements
A1	First man and first woman cross over, passing left shoulders. First man then heys with second and third women, facing downward and passing second woman right shoulders; whilst first woman heys with second and third men, passing second man right shoulders
A2	First man and first woman cross over, passing left shoulders, and hey on their own sides, first woman passing second woman right shoulders, and first man passing second man right shoulders.
B1	First couple leads down the middle walking step and back again, and casts a place skipping step
B2	First and second couples swing skipping step

Sir Roger was reported as a dance typically performed on Random Island. Its figures are derived from Sir Roger de Coverly, a dance found in Playford's Dancing Master of 1696 which since then has undergone periodic revival, as Chappell commented in 1859.[129] This same dance is likewise the basis for the Virginia Reel, popular throughout North America and reported in Plate Cove as well.[130]

As described to me, Sir Roger was performed in longways formation and the figures were as follows:

[129] William Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time, (1859; rpt. New York: Dover, 1965), II, pp. 534-35.

[130] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 68.

> Top couple dance down the center and back, apparently backing up, in open position, twice. They cast off, down the outside and the other dancers follow. The top couple forms an arch and the others go under it, returning to their original place. The top man and his "opposite partner" (i.e., the bottom woman) [the first corners] turn by the right elbow. The top woman and bottom man do likewise [the second corners]. The first corners and then the second, turn left elbow, then go back to back passing left, and then right shoulders. The top couple perform a longways reel to the bottom and all swing their partners. The dance then repeats with a new top couple.[131]

The longways dances are, as Karpeles observed, much like the English country dances revived by Sharp and the English Country Dance and Song Society. They would have been part of the repertoire brought by immigrants from Britain and were probably replaced by the quadrille derived dances, much as they were in England, during the latter nineteenth century.

The Kissing Dance

The Kissing Dance is another group dance, but quite different from the square and longways dances already discussed. It has changed significantly within my informants' recollection and I will take up the different versions in turn. All begin with an incremental sequence in which dancers join the performance one at a time. This process culminates in a join together movement. In the

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[131] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 380-81.

earlier versions, the incremental process is subsequently reversed and the dancers leave one by one. More recent versions omit this section. Several descriptions of the dance conclude with couple and join together movements.

Two variants of this dance were recorded and published by Maud Karpeles. The first was demonstrated in the lobby of the Newfoundland Hotel by Mr. P.K. Devine, a local historian and folksong enthusiast, as well as harbour master in St. John's, and a native of King's Cove.[132] She noted at the time:

> After lunch, Mr. Devine called to see me. An interesting old man and a great talker. I took down tune of Cushion Dance from him much to amusement of bell boys as he tramped round whilst singing it, finally kneeling down in front of me and presenting me with the cushion (i.e. my newspaper).[133]

His dance song accompaniment was as follows:

> There was an old woman lived in Athlone,
> Lived in Athlone, lived in Athlone,
> There was an old woman lived in Athlone,
> She had a daughter (or son), choose your mate, etc.
> Choose a good one, or else choose none.

A few days later, she saw the dance performed in Stock Cove.

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[132] Karpeles, Folk Songs, p. 256.

[133] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 1, 11 Sept. 1929. Among the better known of Devine's many publications is P.K. Devine, Devine's Folklore of Newfoundland in Old Words, Phrases and Expressions (St. John's: [privately published], 1937).

> On this occasion the dance was accompanied by a tune of little value played on the accordion and the dancers did not sing. The action of the dance is as follows:
>
> A member of the company, holding a handkerchief, walks round the room. He stands in front of the lady of his choice, putting the handkerchief in front of her face and kisses her (or sometimes, more modestly, the handkerchief). She then takes the handkerchief from him and places herself in front of him; they walk round the room, the man placing his hands on her shoulders. The woman then chooses a man in like manner, who takes up his position in front of her. And so on, until the file is complete, everyone in the room having been chosen.

This part of the dance remains largely unchanged in its other versions.

As she saw the dance performed in 1929, there was a second part in which

> the dancers take hands and form a ring, the last one who was chosen, and who has the handkerchief, sits on a chair in the center of the ring. After a while he chooses a girl from the ring, kisses her and gives her the handkerchief. She takes his place on the chair while he stands on one side. The girl chooses a man in like manner, and so on until all the dancers have been chosen from the ring.[134]

The import of this pantomime was not lost on Miss Karpeles who writes in her notes as follows:

> Confess I felt a little embarassed at joining in the dance because I knew that being the guest of honor I would be the first chosen by the very handsome young man who was standing in the center. However, all

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[134]These descriptions are from Karpeles, Folk Songs pp. 256-57.

> was well because I found that the handkerchief, instead of being placed on the floor and knelt on, was discretely placed between our two faces when the kiss took place.[135]

In contemporary performances, the handkerchief is used, playfully, as a screen behind which the dancers kiss.

My Plate Cove informants recalled the dance similarly to this description, though they placed less emphasis on the first part. Mick Keough described it as follows:

> The Kissing Dance? Yes, used to have that in the schools and that. There was no pause to that . . . Yes, get out in the Kissing Dance, and all the girls and fellas would line up, see, in a ring. And a fella put a chair in the center, sat down in the center. And he had a handkerchief see. And he had it up this way (demonstrating).
>
> CQ - In front of his face like.
>
> MK - Yeah . . . There's a tune for it we used to call the fool. We'd put a bit of rhyme on it, 'Now you fool you're in the ring, you won't get out till the eighth of spring (laughter) . . Then he'd kiss someone then. He'd kiss a girl and the girl would sit down, see. Somebody'd be playing, see, the tune.
>
> CQ - I see, then she'd sit down in the chair.
>
> MK - Yes, she'd kiss a fella and he'd have to sit down. Till everyone, perhaps there'd be maybe thirty or forty, fellas and girls. Now the last fella he was, he had no one to kiss out, see (laugh) he was the fool in the ring.

Mick recalled following this sequence with the first bars of the Square Dance, in which,

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[135] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 8, pp. 23-24.

> the ladies, two ladies would cut and then the men would cut. Then they come back again and swing.

The dancers also, apparently, performed a "flirtation" after this, which was similar to the final "ladies in" of the Square Dance.

> Flirtation they used to have it, see. Ladies would get on the floor and if they want to have a step they'd have it. They set back then to where their, to their partners. They'd have a 'left and right'. Go around. . . One would come up on this side and the other and you go right around the whole ring, till you come to your partner again.[136]

Mick's daughter Therese recalled the chair sequence as well, but with a different rhyme again. As she described it, there was no one left to kiss for the last one in the chair,

> and then they'll at him and say, "Now old man you're down for this". . . He's in the ring sitting on this chair like a fool, eh, and they going around.[137]

According to Therese, and as taught by the Red Cliff Dancers, in more recent years the second, subtractive sequence was usually eliminated, and once the ring of dancers had been formed, the concluding join together figures were performed. Because of their teaching and revivalist interest contemporary performances of this dance are common. It has changed yet again in this most

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[136] Mick's descriptions are from MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 101-03.

[137] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 108.

recent incarnation, usually omitting the final group figures. I will discuss a contemporary performance in the final chapter.

Structurally, then, the Kissing Dance as performed in the Plate Cove region has been adapted to the same form as the other group dances. It progresses from partner interactions to couple and group patterns. All the Plate Cove dances and the group dances generally are structured in this way. The significance of this structuring and its relationships to its performance contexts is considered in Chapter IV.

Maud Karpeles noted the similarity of this dance to the historical Cushion Dance, traced by Chappell to an obscure reference in 1580. He gives the earliest full description of this dance from the 1686 edition of Playford's Dancing Master.[138] In The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland, Gomme cites numerous examples collected in England.[139] In all these historical versions dancers kneel on a cushion rather than holding up a handkerchief. Karpeles was told in Stock Cove, that

> originally dancers used to carry a cushion on which the lady knelt before her choice, but that a handkerchief had been substituted for a cushion and

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[138] Chappell, I, 153-57.

[139] Alice Bertha Gomme, The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland (1894; rpt. New York: Dover, 1964), I, 87-94.

> gradually the kneeling had dropped out, so that the handkerchief had lost its original use.[140]

The Kissing Dance, while probably derived from the Cushion Dance, is also related to the games often performed instead of dances because of religious principles. Frequently called ring games in Newfoundland, these are also commonly referred to as singing games in most of the folklore literature about them. Gomme's versions of the Cushion Dance suggest this relationship as well, illustrating, in her words, a "transition from a dance to a pure game."[141]

Wolford has grouped a number of games together "in which choosing is the most important feature." She observes of them:

> Thirty years ago practically every choosing game was a "kissing game" . . . Today, the "kissing games" are either not played or have been changed so as to omit this characteristic feature. In place of choosing partners has come, it seems, a further development of the dance.

Instead of the endless repetition of the choosing patterns, more recent games use progressive figures, such as the exchange partners movements she describes as follows:

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[140] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 2, pp. 4696-97.

[141] Gomme, I, pp. 92-3.

> At the end of the first movement, each girl becomes partner to the boy who was formerly at her right. With each repetition of the movement she has a different partner, until all the players are in their original positions.[142]

A similar evolution from partner choosing game to dance is apparent among versions of the Newfoundland Kissing Dance.

The extent of crossover between dance and game forms is probably quite large. Aubrey Tizzard, for example, recalled such dance games as Tucker, Sir Roger, and the Ring, along with Musical Chairs, and Spin the Bottle, as typical of dance events in his Notre Dame Bay community.[143] What distinguished some of these games from dances is not always clear. Sir Roger has already appeared as a dance and, according to Mr. Tizzard, Tucker "was sort of a dance performance, yet not a dance."[144] The boundaries are blurred further by the use of instrumental music, in this case an accordion, and not just singing to accompany the games. We have already noted that vocal imitations of instrumental music and short verses were often used to accompany dances as well.

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[142] Wolford, pp. 127-28.

[143] Tizzard, pp. 228-29.

[144] Tizzard, p. 230.

In general, games place more emphasis on dramatic devices than dances. Dance movement is more stylized and abstract than the pantomimic game actions. There are, however, many continuities between game and dance movement forms. While participants found it convenient to so distinguish them, the form and functions of games are so nearly identical to those of dance behavior that further study is needed to elaborate on their relationship.[145] In this study, I have confined myself generally to those expressions identified by informants as dance.

Step Dancing

Step dancing is performed, as we have seen, in the context of the group dances, but it is also found as a distinct form in itself. The Step Dance at its most formal is a solo performance for an audience. It may also take the form of a competition between two dancers or a freely organized group of dancers all stepping together. I know of one instance where men and women linked hands to form lines and danced together back and forth across the room, while beating out the rhythm with their feet.[146]

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[145] Benjamin Botkin, The American Play-Party Song, (1937; rpt. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963), pp. 37-53.

[146] Personal communication from John Widdowson. August 1981. He was describing the dancing he observed at a wedding in Change Islands. See MUNFLA, Tape, 65-17/C161-62, for a recording of this event.

Step dancing is also frequently called "tap dancing" by informants, and the several rhythms to which it may be performed are, like the music for them, often distinguished as "single" and "double" steps.[147]

While most men in a community could probably dance a few steps, specialized skill in dancing, as with the other performance genres, belonged to particular individuals. Good dancers can often identify the men they tried to emulate, as Gerald Quinton did Bobby Mish of Keels. In St. Brendan's, Bonavista Bay, one family was particularly well known for skillful dancing. The first member of their family to emigrate from Ireland taught dancing and was known as a "Professor of Dance." Children were often taught to step dance by good dancers. The student stood between two chairs, supported himself on their backs and danced while someone sang the following:

> Go to bed, go to bed, go to bed Tom
> Get up in the morning and beat your drum
> When your drum is beat and your work is done
> Go to bed, go to bed, go to bed Tom.

The dancer most probably tried to tap out the rhythm of the words, a procedure "useful in gaining co-ordination in both legs, one of the basic requirements of a good step dancer."[148]

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[147] See MUNFLA, Ms., 72-124/p. 14; Ms., 75-25/p. 14 for examples of "tap dance."

[148] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-174/p. 19; a similar teaching jingle from Ireland may be found in Breathnach, p. 56.

According to oral tradition, in Port Kirwan on the Southern Shore, the Double, a solo step dance with thirty-two steps, was introduced in the early nineteenth century by an Irish School master, William O'Neill. He taught the dance to a few men and it became very popular because of its "unique style." When O'Neill died, Tommy Power was left to teach the others. He taught seven men of whom two were still alive in 1977. One was the student collector's informant. According to him, the music was very important to the dance. It was played on the accordion or fiddle, and had to be "close to the floor." While no detailed description is given of the steps employed its general character is apparent from the following:

> The double was a very serious dance. One man could perform [it] "with a fair bit of ease" but if another man joined in it was considered an honour to the late-comer and he would dance in front of the first dancer. If you danced in front of someone it was considered a privilege. But you didn't just dance in front of a man, you had to perform each step in time with your opponent, and if you made fun of him it was considered an insult to the first dancer. The result would be an immediate halt to the dance and possible hard feelings felt towards the person who made a fool of himself, the dance and most of all the men he danced against.[149]

Most step dancers, however, seem to have learned by observation and subsequent private practice. One of my

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[149] MUNFLA, Ms., 77-334/p. 20B.

informants, for example, taught himself by dancing on the wooden floor in the cow barn, while playing his own accompaniment on the mouth organ.[150]

The characteristic use of the body described earlier applies generally to the Step Dance, but there is a great deal of individual and probably regional variety in performance style as well. Several informants from Harbour Buffett, Placentia Bay, for example, told me that in their fathers' time step dancers strove to achieve a light and nearly silent dance style. Later on the sound of the rhythm danced became much more important, and many of the younger dancers sacrificed lightness for volume. They also felt that a good dancer should move only from the knees down.[157] In contrast, Johnny Power's performance at the 1977 "Good Entertainment" festival shows an increased animation as the dance progresses, as he swings and raises his arms freely, claps, and begins to move about the floor.[152]

Each dancer has his own style and often favorite steps. Styles may be differentiated by small differences in body stance, arm use, or characteristic ways of using the feet. Lloyd Oldford, for instance, rarely, if ever, puts his weight down on his heels as does Gerald. Rather,

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[150] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 439.

[151] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 438.

[152] "Good Entertainment '77, Part B."

he dances on his toes, lifts his feet a bit higher, and bends forward from the waist a bit more. A younger man, his style is a bit more flamboyent than Gerald's.

Gerald Quinton is known around Red Cliff as an accomplished step dancer. At one time, he told me he knew nineteen of the twenty-two steps for the Double. The Double is a name frequently applied to the Step Dance. In Port Kirwan, it was ascribed thirty-two steps, as was the "treble hornpipe" in St. Brendan's, and the Sailor's Hornpipe in the Dock, Conception Bay.[153] Gerald, similarly to other reports of the Step Dance, performed most often at large dance events in between the group dances. He usually danced alone in this context, but was occasionally joined by a second man. Gerald felt that when more than one dancer got up on the floor it detracted from the performance, which would become confused.

When performing, Gerald would begin with the easier steps and progress to the more complicated, which were usually those that sounded more subdivisions of the beat. As his performance got going he would "start beating it out." One of the most difficult skills needed in dancing, according to Gerald, is the ability to use both feet

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[153] MUNFLA, Ms., 77-334/p. 19; Ms., 73-174/p. 20; Ms., 75-25/p. 14.

alike, that is, to dance the same step sequence starting with either foot.[154]

Formal structuring of steps used in the dance is commonly mentioned by step dancers, but I have rarely seen it in practice. Changing performance contexts and a declining knowledge of dance among the potential audience may have eroded a once more highly structured form. Or, there may always have been a gap between the acknowledged ideal and practice. Luke Gaulton, a step dancer from Bonavista, who now lives in St. John's and performs both formally and informally, described his use of steps as follows:

> I use both my legs the same, eh? The way I mostly dance is, like say, "Mussels in the Corner" eh, I do one line, swinging one leg, eh, and then the next line I do it on the other leg, same thing. Then the next line I change it, do another step 'til I come back to the first one again. And then the third time I do a different step and come back to the first one again, always come back to the first.[155]

I will illustrate the many possible steps that dancers may perform with a few examples from among those I have seen. These will demonstrate the different rhythms used, the types of variation that distinguish steps one

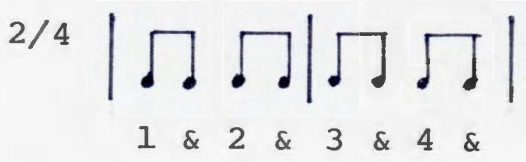
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[154]Gerald's discussion of his step dancing is in my field notes, MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 177.

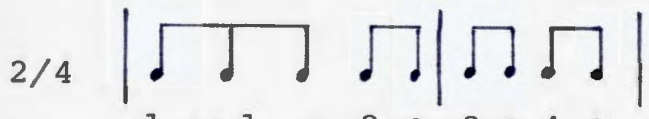
[155]MUNFLA, Ms., 77-339/p. 58.

from another, and the ways in which dancers construct performances from these step units. My notation is based on the system used by the Fletts and explained in their recent publication, Traditional Step Dancing in Lakeland.[156]

This notation is based on a system of counting beats and their subdivisions which are sounded by the dancer's feet. In a 2/4 time tune, the major quarter note beats are represented by the counts 1 2 3 4. I count through two measures because this is the usual length of a melodic phrase. The first subdivision, into eighth notes, is counted as 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 &, as in the following example:



Additional subdivisions are indicated by counting "1 and a 2" or "1 & a 2" as follows:





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[156]Flett, Traditional Step Dancing.

Movements made on these beats are indicated to their right. Throughout these descriptions, if no count is given on a musical beat, then there is no movement on that beat. The term "step" indicates that weight is placed on that foot. "Beat" indicates that a tapping motion is made with the indicated part of the foot to sound the beat, but no weight is placed on it. "Hop" and "spring" are used to indicate rising off the ground and landing again; in a hop weight returns to the same foot, in a spring weight is transferred. Dancers vary in the degree to which they keep their weight on the balls of their feet or allow the whole foot to rest on the floor. When this affects the step it is indicated in the description.

The starting position for each step is considered to be the normal upright posture with both feet directly under the dancer's body. In general, the feet do not move very far from this position, only so far as the dancer can reach a leg without bending the body or losing balance. Dancers strive for neat footwork, except in special circumstances. Additional descriptive information on the placement of feet or auxillary movements is indicated in parentheses.

I have notated several steps for the Double which Gerald showed me (Figs. 46-49).[157]

Beat (2/4)	Movement
1	Step on Left Foot (slightly stamping with heel).
an	Step on Right Heel (toe raised and turned out) slightly in front of left foot.
&	Step on Left Foot as above.
a	Step on Right Heel as above
2	Step on Left Foot as above.
an	Step on Right Heel as above.
&	Step on Left Foot as above.
a	Step on Right Heel as above.

Continue through the count of four, then,

1	Step on Right Foot (slightly stamping with heel).

Repeat first four counts reversing feet.

Figure 46. Gerald Quinton's first "double" step.

In this first example (Fig. 46), the pause when the feet are reversed may be filled with another heel step and toe beat if desired. This is the same step peformed

[157] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 181.

on alternate feet for four counts each, or half of one musical strain, the usual length of a melodic phrase. The step could be shortened and performed for fewer counts on each foot or extended to carry on longer, through such a simple step would probably become boring if repeated that much before changing it.

A very similar step which sounds the same rhythm is differentiated by the part of the foot used to make the beat (Fig. 47).

Beat	Movement
(2/4)	
1	Step on Left Foot (stamping heel slightly).
an	Step on Right Toe (slightly in front of left foot, heel raised).
&	Step on Left Foot as above.
a	Step on Right Toe as above.

Continue to count of 4, then reverse feet.

Figure 47. Gerald Quinton's second "double" step.

Using the feet in these two ways gives a different "look" to each step as the leg position and body carriage must adapt itself slightly. A third step shown to me by Gerald during the same session is created by

combining the first two (Fig. 48).

Beat	Movement
(2/4)	
1	Step on Left Foot (stamping heel slightly).
an	Step on Right Heel (slightly in front of left foot, toe raised and turned out).
&	Step on Left Foot as above.
a	Step on Right Toe (slightly in front of left, heel raised).
2	Step on Left Foot as above.
an	Step on Right Heel as above.
&	Step on Left Foot as above.
a	Beat on Right Toe.
3	Step on Right Foot (stamping heel slightly).

Continue from count of 1, reversing feet.

Figure 48. Gerald Quinton's third (combined) "double" step.

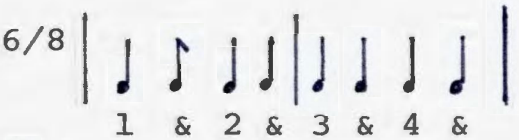
The most complicated step in the series he demonstrated employs more frequent shifts of weight between the feet (Fig. 49).

Beat (2/4)	Movement
1	Step on ball of Left Foot.
an	Beat Right Heel, slightly forward.
&	Spring onto ball of Right Foot.
a	Beat Left Heel, slightly forward.
2	Spring onto ball of Left Foot.
an	Beat Right Heel, slightly forward.
&	Spring onto ball of Right Foot.
a	Beat Left Heel, slightly forward.

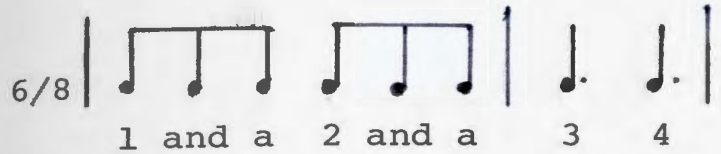
Figure 49. Gerald Quinton's fourth "double" step.

This series of steps goes from simple to more complex, even though they all sound the same beats. There is an increase in the amount of movement during each phrase and, thus, of energy conveyed by their performance. In the final step, the dancer is constantly springing slightly into the air, creating the sense of weightless suspension described previously. The good dancer will not spring very far off the ground. Actually the motion may not even be perceptible to the viewer, yet the dancer's weight will, in fact, be off the ground much of the time, which is perceived as the quality traditionally termed "lightness."

Luke Gaulton performed what he called the "single step," to tunes in 6/8 time (Fig. 50).[158] The dance notation for this meter is counted as,



or,



Beat (6/8)	Movement
1	Step on ball of Left Foot.
&	Swing right leg forward and across left, Beat Right Toe.
2	Drop weight onto Left Heel.
&	Swing right leg back, Beat Right Toe.
3	Step on ball of Right Foot.
&	Swing left leg forward and across right, Beat Left Toe.
4	Drop weight onto Right Heel.
&	Swing left leg back, Beat Left Toe.
1	Step on ball of Left Foot.

Continue as above to count of 8, which concludes the musical strain. This leaves feet ready to begin again from opposite foot.

Figure 50. Luke Gaulton's "single" step.

[158] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-339/v. 56; Ms., 79-339/p. 61.

This is a very common step, and is the one most often used by Mrs. Keough, for example. Many dancers, however, will not keep their weight on the balls of the feet to the extent that Mr. Gaulton does. Instead, they will stand on the whole foot and simply rise up on its ball and then drive their heels down again, sliding the foot slightly forward, to create the heel beats on weighted feet as I have notated. This is also the basic movement, with slightly different rhythm, used by Mr. Gaulton and others to dance to single tunes, which I described earlier as those in duple time (2/4, 4/4) with few subdivisions of the beat. Their rapid tempo makes the performance of the more complex double steps impossible.

Breathnach describes the Irish equivalent of this step, known as "single battering," as consisting of a "hop on the first foot and a tap on the forward movement of the other foot."[159] Other parallels between the Irish traditions he describes and Newfoundland practice will be noted as they occur.

Mr. Gaulton elaborated this step with additional beats thrown into the basic framework (Fig. 51).[160]

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[159]Breathnach, p. 47.

[160]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-339/v. 56; Ms., 79-339/p. 67.

Beat	Movement
(6/8)	
1	Step on ball of Left Foot.
and	Swing right leg forward and across left leg, Beat Right Toe.
a	Continue to swing right leg, Beat Right Heel. The movement is outward rotation of the foot, toe leading.
2	Drop weight onto Left Heel.
&	Swing right leg back, Beat Right Toe.
3	Step on ball of Right Foot.
and	Swing left leg forward and across right leg, Beat Left Toe.
a	Continue to swing left leg forward, rotate left foot out to Beat with Left Heel
4	Drop weight onto Right Heel.
&	Swing left leg back, Beat Left Toe.
1	Step on ball of Left Foot.

Figure 51. Luke Gaulton's elaborated single step.

Mr. Gaulton performed some steps which were based on visual impact more than sound (Fig. 52).[161]

[161]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-339/v. 56; Ms., 79-339/p. 61.

Beat	Movement
(2/4)	
1	Slide feet to cross, Left foot in front of Right, both turned out slightly.
&	Slide feet apart to shoulder width, or a bit further.
2	Slide feet to cross, Right foot behind Left, both slightly turned out.
&	Slide feet apart to shoulder width as above.

Repeat as above.

Figure 52. Luke Gaulton's "cross"

He performed another step while rotating, first one way and then the other.

Even these relatively simple steps, when performed with energy, convey the excitement and control of good dancing.

In addition to single battering, Breathnach describes "double battering," which, he writes,

> begins by the dancer placing the weight of the body on one foot and giving a slight hop. Then the other foot is thrown forward, the floor being struck with the ball of the foot, whereupon this foot is immediately withdrawn, the floor being struck again during the backward movement. The

> floor is thus struck three times, with a hop in one foot and a double tapping with the other, in time with the three quavers of the bar.[162]

A similar technique can be seen in the video recording of Johnny Power from Grand Falls, dancing at the Good Entertaiment Festival of 1977.[163]

This double beating, as the technique is termed by the Fletts and their informants, probably gave its name to the Step Dance known as the Double.[164] I have notated one such step as performed by Percy Wareham from Harbour Buffett (Fig. 53).

When performed "close to the floor," as Percy does this step, the movements that produce the sounds are impossible to see. The viewer has a sense of continuous flowing movement producing a flurry of beats. The rhythm is accented in a somewhat syncopated way as follows: 1 an and a 2 an and a. This creates a rhythmic pulse which cuts across the musical phrase and gives the step sense of forward drive and flow. This contrasts to the more static rhythms of the steps performed in the same meter and sounding the same beats, which Gerald showed me. Percy's double step is more exhilarating to see, hear and perform. He will occasionally accent it visually by lifting his right foot after the heel beat of the "2 an" count, as he hops at the "&," and his left foot at the "4 an &" count.

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[162] Breathnach, p. 46.

[163] "Good Entertainment '77 Part B."

[164] I watched Percy perform this on several occasions and was unable to "see" what he was doing to produce the rhythm and "look" of this step. After much experimentation, I was finally able to reconstruct and reproduce it myself.

Beat (2/4)	Movement
1	Step on Left Foot.
an	Swing right leg forward and Beat Right Toe.
&	Swing right leg back and Beat Right Toe.
a	Step on Right Foot.
2	Step on Left Foot.
an	Beat Right Heel.
&	Hop on Left Foot (or, make a Left Heel Beat).
a	Beat Right Toe.
3	Step on Right Foot.
an	Swing left leg forward and Beat Left Toe.
&	Swing left leg back and Beat Left Toe.
a	Step on Left Foot.
4	Step on Right Foot.
an	Beat Left Heel.
&	Hop on Right Foot.
a	Beat Left Toe.

Figure 53. Percy Wareham's "double" step.

Breathnach also describes "drumming," which is "performed by toe and heel in time to the triplet, and may be continued for a considerable time, or . . . . combined with other movements."[165] This technique was used by Luke Gaulton and is also the characteristic step of Val Ryan, a fiddler from St. Mary's Bay living in St. John's.[166] It is much like the heel and toe steps Gerald showed me, although performed to a 6/8 rhythm (Fig. 54).

Breaking out of the typical body attitude maintained during almost all dancing is a technique used sparingly during step dance performances to accent a movement and create excitement. Lloyd Oldford, for example, will often swing one leg up from the hip, keeping his knee straight, clap his hands under it and then stamp loudly to accent the end of musical phrases, as at the conclusion of his step dance at Bar IV, E8 and 25 in the notated Square Dance (Figs. 31, 36). Similarly, a highlight of every dance in the Dock, Conception Bay, was reported to be a tap dance performance by a man who did the final steps on his knees.[167]

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[165]Breathnach, p. 46.

[166]Val performs frequently in such venues as the St. John's Folk Club and I have seen him dance many times.

[167]MUNFLA, Ms., 75-25/p. 14.

Beat	Movement
(6/8)	
1	Step on Left Foot.
and	Beat Right Heel (slightly forward, to the side and turned out).
a	Step on ball of Right Foot, raising weight slightly off left foot.
2	Step on Left Foot.
and	Beat Right Heel as above.
a	Step on ball of Right Foot as above.
3	Step on Left Foot.
and	Beat Right Heel as above.
a	Step on ball of Right Foot as above.
4	Step on Left Foot.
&	Beat Right Toe
1	Step on Right Foot.

Continue from count of 1, reversing feet.

Figure 54. Val Ryan's step.

I have seen Lloyd drop to his knees in this way on several occasions. The audience responds with surprised incredulity. He is down on his knees and back up without losing the beat, almost before one realizes what has happened. Such striking visual and auditory changes are used to accent the dance and are seen as particularly exciting.

The "hornpipe" is only rarely mentioned as a dance form among my Newfoundland sources. The great uncle of a student collector on St. Brendan's, Bonavista Bay, for example, could dance the single, double, and treble hornpipes, while a great grandfather "could dance the ten steps of the single hornpipe when only nine years old."[168]

According to Breathnach the hornpipe dance in Ireland was

> usually danced by one man alone. It was rarely danced by a woman, as the steps were regarded as requiring the vigor and sound which only a man could bring to them.[169]

O'Keefe comments that

> when danced by two it [the hornpipe] assumes the character of a friendly contest, each man dancing his steps in turn, one resting while the other is dancing.[170]

Music for the hornpipe is in duple simple meter, and similar to a reel, "but it is played in a more deliberate manner,

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[168] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-174/p. 21.

[169] Breathnach, p. 48

[170] O'Keefe, p. 107.

with a well defined accent on the first and third beats of each bar."[171]

While the term hornpipe is not often applied to dance music in Newfoundland, there is enough evidence to conclude that the Double is derived from the Irish hornpipe. In Newfoundland, however, it is performed at a brisk tempo, and in a manner I would not describe as "deliberate."

While the similarity of Newfoundland step dancing to Irish traditions has been indicated in the dance techniques used and the terminology applied to both dance and music, it is a tradition known widely in Britain and North America. The Fletts have identified two major traditions of step dancing which were widespread in England within living memory. Elements of both can be seen in Newfoundland practice as well. The first they identify as "extempore dancing where the dancer just performs whatever movements come into his head to keep time with the music. He does not remember what he does, and the steps alter each times he dances." I saw such performances during my stay in Plate Cove. These dancers, however, move within the aesthetic parameters of the

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[171]Breathnach, pp. 63-4.

tradition, and were one to record enough of their dancing, a few basic movements would probably be found repeated in different combinations. Notation of steps, however, is very difficult unless the performer is able to repeat the shorter movement units within a performance for the collector to observe closely.

The second step dance tradition identified by the Fletts

> consists of definite sequences of movements, usually constructed from a small number of basic steps. Here too, we can distinguish two forms of step-dancing. There is, first the form in which movements are very close and compact, and the whole emphasis is on the beats and not on the visual effect of the steps . . . The second form has much wider movements; there is still strong emphasis on the beats, but the dancer seeks also to make a visual effect with his steps.

The first, they feel, originated in crowded pub settings, the second almost certainly on stage, probably during the eighteenth century.[172]

Both elements of the second more structured tradition can be seen in the steps I have described. In general, however, Newfoundland step dancing is of the non-stage variety. Its common use in the stage-like performance contexts, however, has encouraged the use of visual effects within the bounds of the traditional aesthetic.

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[172]Flett, Traditional Step Dancing, pp. vi-vii.

Several miscellaneous dance titles seem to refer to particular types of step dance. The Monkey Dance, for example, was described by Luke Gaulton as a step in which he would squat on the floor and kick his legs out alternately. "You've seen the Russians do it," he explained.[173] This dance movement is a part of British tradition as well, however. Cecil Sharp reports the Monkey or Kibby dance from Somerset and Devon in which the performer crouched on his haunches alternately throwing forward his legs.[174] A now well-known illustration from the tenth century, reproduced by Joseph Strutt, shows two Saxon glee men performing a dance in this squatting position. Strutt comments, writing in 1801, that, "attitudes somewhat similar I have seen occur in some of the steps of a modern hornpipe."[175]

Breathnach describes the Irish Frog Dance, or Cobbler's Dance, as follows:

> The performer crouches in a squatting posture, throws out his left foot with great vigor, withdraws it, repeats the action with his right, and proceeds in this somewhat grotesque manner around the floor.[176]

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[173]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-339/p. 43.

[174]Cecil Sharp and A.P. Oppé, The Dance (London: Halton and Truscott Smith; New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1924), pp. 12-13.

[175]Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England (1801, 1903; rpt. Bath: Firecrest Publishing Ltd., 1969), p. 177.

[176]Breathnach, p. 45.

"Cover the Buckle" is another dance title which I have occasionally come across, but which is seldom described. According to one source:

> This was done by dancing around and over a broom, which was placed on the floor, without touching it and required great agility.[177]

"Cover the Buckle" is included without comment or description as a solo "set" dance in O'Keefe and O'Brien's standard work on Irish dance, and is discussed by Captain Francis O'Neill in his Irish Folk Music: A Fascinating Hobby.[178] He summarizes an early description as follows:

> It appears that when a dancing master was prevailed upon to "take the flure" to give his admiring pupils "a touch of quality;" a door would be lifted off its hinges and placed in the center of the floor as a platform. For the occasion, a piper would "discourse most excellent music," and on the door would commence that wondrous display of agility known as "cover the buckle." This name, the author says, was probably derived from the circumstance that the dancing master, while teaching, always wore large buckles in his shoes and, by the rapidity of motion with which he would make his many twinkling feet perpetually cross, would seem to cover the appendages in question.
>
> The great effort was to exhibit all varieties of steps and dances without once quitting the prostrate door on which the exhibitor took his stand. The jumps and "cuttings" in the air, the bends, the dives, the wrigglings, the hops - these were all rewarded with such exclamations of approval as "That's the way," "Now for a double cut," "Cover the Buckle, ye divel," "oh, then 'tis he that handles his feet nately," and so on.[179]

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[177] MUNFLA, Ms., 72-124/p. 14.

[178] O'Keefe, p. 110.

[179] Capt. Francis O'Neill, Irish Folk Music: A Fascinating Hobby, (1910; rpt. Darby, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973), pp. 300-01.

These miscellaneous step dances are similar to the extraordinary feats discussed earlier, such as dancing on a plate, small surface, or balancing a glass of water on one's head while performing. Such exhibitions border on other types of physical contest and challenge in which young men often engaged.[180]

Step dancing generally in Newfoundland is improvisatory. Although it originates in a tradition influenced by the formalization introduced by dancing masters, in Newfoundland it has been primarily informal. Performances are found in individual, dual-competitive, or free group organizations. It provides a framework for the elaboration of individual dance movement and its aesthetic standards permeate all forms of traditional dancing.

Couple Dances

Mixed-sex couple dancing outside the framework of the group dances was not commonly reported in my sources. The Waltz was mentioned most often, but its performance was never described, beyond the comment that in some places it was "competitive."[181]

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[180]Some interesting examples of these are cited together with a discussion of the Double in MUNFLA, Ms., 77-334/pp. 21-23. They include such physical feats as standing on one's head or balancing on a small object.

[181]Len Margaret, Fish and Brewis, p. 8.

In my own dancing I found the "old fashioned waltz," as my dancing partners called it, to be a fairly typical folk waltz. In the usual closed position, dancers start moving to the man's left with a large step to the side on the count of one, slide the other foot closed on two, and change weight briefly on three, beginning again with the opposite foot on one. Couples rotate clockwise and travel more or less counter clockwise around the room while dancing.[182]

The Polka was mentioned a few times in my sources, but with no description. As I danced it in Branch, it was a whirling couple dance in which couples in closed position started to the man's left with a small leap onto that foot, followed by a hop on the same foot, then a leap onto the other foot, followed by a hop, and so forth. Legs could be kicked back from the knees when unweighted. Combined with a clockwise whirling motion and counter clockwise traveling around the room, this resulted in a minimum of control over one's movements and frequent collisions with the other dancers.[183]

Couples were reported as occasionally step dancing with one another to the sides of a room during group dances.

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[182]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 286.

[183]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 302.

This was not very frequently mentioned by informants, however, and always in passing. It was not, apparently, considered a distinctive dance form by them.

The lack of emphasis given these forms is important, as both the Waltz and Polka were very popular during the nineteenth century, along with the group dances which came to predominate in Newfoundland. Couple forms were known but not practised to a significant extent. The implications of this choice are discussed in Chapter IV. Couple dancing is much more important in contemporary dance events and this change is discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Summary

There are many dances performed traditionally in Newfoundland which I have not described in this chapter, nor have all available variants of those I have described been noted in complete detail. Rather than the compilation of such a catalogue, perhaps useful in its own right, my purpose has been to illustrate the major forms of Newfoundland folk dance, as defined in Chapter I, and analyze their choreographic structure.

Underlying all the dance movement I have described is a characteristic use of the body, which calls for an upright posture, single unit torso, and maintenance of the body axis. Movement is articulated below the waist

and the feet generally remain directly under the body. Dances are organized as group, individual, and couple forms, the first two types predominating. The group dances are highly articulated in floor plan and distinguished one from another on this basis.

The group dances may consist of one distinctive figure, as do the longways dances, combined with a standard repertoire of secondary figures, or several distinctive figures may be done in sequence, along with secondary movements, as parts of a longer dance. The latter form, usually in square formation, seems to predominate. Partner, couple, and group movements may be mixed together, as in the Reel, or performed in a progressive sequence, as in the Square Dance, Lancers, and Kissing Dance.

Within the structural floor pattern framework, dancers improvise their stepping. As an individual form, step dancing is also largely improvisational, although there are a few widely known traditional steps. Performances are constructed by combining short step sequences together. While an ideal structural form may be acknowledged, in practice the improvisatory character of the dance dominates. Dancers do, however, make an effort to increase the complexity and excitement of their movements

as the performance progresses. To do this they employ both the sound of their stepping and the visual impact of their movements.

Variation is found within certain acknowledged traditional aesthetic norms. Among the group dances, their structural organization and certain distinctive figures distinguish dances one from another. Among different performances of the same dance, even within one region or by the same dancers, variation is possible through changes in the duration of minor movement units or substitutions of equivalent movements. For example, a partner's step dance sequence may replace a partner's swing movement. Regional variation among versions of the same dance is found in the different characteristic secondary movements employed to elaborate the prescribed distinctive figures. The distinctive figures and structural framework of each dance remain relatively constant in all versions. Significant changes in the structural norms of dance expression in Newfoundland are discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER III

THE DANCE EVENTS

The dances previously described have been performed by Newfoundlanders at many different dance events. The dance event concept, as discussed in Chapter I, includes not only the dances but also the context of their performance in the analyst's purview. "Context" includes information about the physical setting of the dance, the participants, their behavior, the entire mise-en-scene of the dance event, and the larger cultural universe in which the dance event is set.[1] I will examine these contextual aspects of the dance events typical in Newfoundland and the cultural norms and values enacted in them. In the following Chapter, I will similarly analyze the dances.

Dance Accompaniment

Dance and music are inseparable parts of the dance event in which they occur, and although this thesis is an analysis of dance behavior, the dance accompaniment must be considered as part of the dance event. The relationship of dance and music structure has been discussed previously. Here I am concerned with the

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[1] Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 233.

varieties of musical accompaniment possible and their contextual significance.

Accompaniment for dancing may be played on a number of instruments. In Plate Cove, and probably throughout most of the province, however, the accordion, known as the "cordene," seems to be the most popular. In Green's Harbour, Trinity Bay, for instance, Gordon Cox reports the button accordion or simpler melodion was,

> by far the most popular instrument played at dances. . . . Playing the accordion gave added status to a young man, and consequently an accordion player had no trouble in picking up young girls. As one of my informants said, "You had it made for the rest of the voyage."[2]

The violin and harmonica, or mouth organ as it is called, were also played by informants in the Plate Cove region. Elsewhere the flute and flageolette, or tin whistle, are reported, though not often as used for dance accompaniment. Combs and jews harps are sometimes mentioned as musical instruments and the vocal imitation of instrumental music, often called chin music, gob music, or mouth music is also commonly reported.

The instrument most commonly seen in the Plate Cove area was a "single row" diatonic accordion, usually a Hohner, in the key of C. Its single row of buttons played by the right hand provides a little more than two octave range, with no accidentals. Some models have two "spoons"

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[2]Cox, p. 60. "Voyage" in this usage refers to the fishing season.

played by the left hand which provide a I and V chord and bass note. Most of those I saw in Plate Cove had six buttons for the left hand, giving the I, V, and IV chords and bass notes. Two informants owned larger "two row" accordions, but rarely used more than one row in the performance of any single tune. Other players I have seen do use both rows and some will use all three available on the large "three row" models. Larry Barker played a piano accordion at one time, having learned to play it in Scotland during the Second World War, but this was somewhat anomalous in the region. When he performs with Gerald Quinton, Larry borrows his "four stop" single row accordion. This is similar to the first instrument he played, a smaller "two stop." The four "stops" control four different reeds, two sounding the notes used on other models, the others sounding an octave higher and lower. He plays with all stops open, which makes a louder and fuller sound than those models without this feature.

The fiddle was not uncommon in this region either. Mick, for example, played his fiddle for most dances in the community at one time. As elsewhere, however, it seems the accordion took over this role. In later years it was the Philpott brothers or Larry Barker with their accordions who played for the dances. While the accordion replaced the violin, the older of the two instruments, for dance accompaniment, the term "fiddler" continued to refer to a

dance musician, regardless of his instrument.[3]

The mouth organ is also used to play dance tunes. Although not as loud as the accordion, it has a similar sound and is more easily carried. It is often played on impulse at spontaneous gatherings which may not be dances. I know of two accomplished players in Plate Cove, but expect there are many more men who could play. Gerald Quinton's mouth organ is actually many harmonicas mounted together on a spool. Each is in a different key, which allows him to play more easily with other musicians. It was purchased from a mail order catalogue.

Mouth music, also referred to as cheek music, chin music or gob music, is a musical tradition found throughout Newfoundland. It has been reported by the major folksong collectors. Elisabeth Greenleaf, living in Sally's Cove on the island's west coast in 1920, recalled the first dance she attended, which was

> held in the front room of a house cleared of furnishings because the family was moving to Bonne Bay. . . . After much hesitation and giggling [by the girls], partners were lined up, the singer began his drone, and the dancers their figures. . . . When there is no one to play even on a jew-harp, some man has to furnish "chin-music." As a "set" may take a half an hour to dance, endurance is one of the essential qualities of a good singer . . . the singer thinks of the rhythm required for the first figure and commences to tap it out with heels and toes of both rubber-booted feet. Many people say that, if you tied a

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[3]Peter Narváez, "Country and Western Diffusion: Juxtaposition and Syncretism in the Popular Music of Newfoundland," Culture and Tradition, 2 (1977), 108-09, discusses this transition and the use of "fiddler" as well.

> singer's feet down, he could not sing at all. A suitable tune soon comes to mind and he begins it, sometimes singing words, but more often vocables to carry the tune and mark the rhythm. The tunes are complicated with syncopations, rapid notes, slides, and turns, and the singer takes a breath when he can. Their effect is mesmeric and of all the dance tunes I heard, I was able to record but one correctly. The pitch is always true, and the masters of dance-song can sing for every other dance all the evening, conclude by favouring the company with a long ballad and show no sign of hoarseness at the finish.[4]

Kenneth Peacock included the chin music song "I Got a Bonnet Trimmed in Blue," in his collection, commenting as follows:

> 'Chin' or 'mouth' music is a vocal imitation of instrumental music and is used for dancing when a fiddle or accordion is not handy. Some singers, like Mrs. Mousseau [from whom he collected this song] become so proficient that they are often called upon even when instruments are available. The fact that she occasionally interpolates a verse among her 'diddles,' sometimes a naughty one, adds to the fun.[5]

Helen Creighton reported the comments of Mr. Breton Young who contrasted the diddling and whistling of dance tunes common in Nova Scotia with Newfoundland cheek music. He recalled that in Newfoundland,

> We'd get a bunch to meet of an evening, five or six old fellers and three or four women and they'd say "Let's have a couple of sets," and some old feller'd have no music and someone would say, "Here you go to work and give us a little cheek music," and one old feller' set down on the floor

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[4]Greenleaf and Mansfield, p. xxiii.

[5]Kenneth Peacock, Songs from the Newfoundland Outports, Bulletin No. 197, Anthropological Series, No. 65 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1965), I, pp. 60-61.

> and haul his legs up and put his elbows on his knees and his chin on them under his jaw, and he'd set there and sing for hours.

For example he sang the following stanza, well known in Newfoundland:

> Harbour Grace is a pretty place
> And so is Peeley's Island
> Daddy's going to by me a brand new dress
> When the boys comes home from swilin.[6]

The Newfoundland chin music tradition is similar to other mouth music such as the Irish lilting and Scottish puirt-a-beul, both vocal substitutes for instrumental dance music. The Irish mouth music is usually described as consisting of purely nonsense syllables, while many examples of puirt-a-beul use actual words. These are as a rule, "nonsensical, humorous, or satirical," a description equally applicable to the Newfoundland examples.[7]

Dance Tune Rhymes

While I heard no mouth music dance accompaniment in Plate Cove, my informants did often sing or recite short rhymes along with the dance tunes. Once I began asking for

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[6]Helen Creighton, Booklet Notes, Maritime Folksongs, Ethnic Folkways Library, FE 4307, 1962, p. 9.

[7]Francis Collinson, Traditional and National Music of Scotland. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 95; see Dr. Keith Norman MacDonald, Puirt-a-Beul (Glasgow: Alexander MacLaren, 1901) for examples; see Breathnach, pp. 65-66, on Irish lilting. Examples of mouth music including dandling and cantaireachd, not used for dance accompaniment, may be heard on Peter Kennedy, ed., Diddle Daddle - Mouth Music of Britain and Ireland, Folktracks Cassette, FSD - 60 - 301, 1977.

these rhymes I found they were commonly known and nearly always associated with the same tunes. I heard them during the informal social occasions that my collecting visits often became, from either the musician or a bystander, before or after a tune was played. My informants told me that at one time these rhymes were sung to accompany dancing as "chin music." When instrumental accompaniment was used the rhymes were often interjected by bystanders, both during and between dances. They were occasionally sung by the dancers themselves as in Change Islands, where,

> when the dancers cut corners, that is the couples hopped and skipped from one corner to the other, they would sing "Over the Hills to Granny,"[8]

a well known dance tune rhyme.

Rufus Guinchard, a fiddler from Daniel's Harbour on the Northern Peninsula, recalled for me the verses of a tune known as "The Leg of a Chicken," which he said the dancers would sing in full voice along with his fiddle as they moved through a "thread the needle" figure.

> The leg of a chicken is very good pickin'.
> The leg of a duck, the leg of a duck.
> We'll give it to Nelly to stick in her belly.
> The leg of a duck, the leg of a duck.[9]

Similar rhymes have been reported from throughout Newfoundland, and although they may be recited outside the dance event context, used as nursery rhymes, or taunts, they are primarily associated with dance music. Musicians and

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[8]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-75/p. 10.

[9]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 436.

dancers use these rhymes to remember tunes and shortened forms often serve as titles. Despite the occasional collection of these rhymes, I know of no scholarly study of their use or content. Since the number of dance tune rhymes available in the MUNFLA collections is large, I will briefly discuss the origins of only a few representative examples, their historic and geographic distribution, and illustrate by example the processes of variation and typical content found among them. The significance of these rhymes is related to the social occasions in which they are used; pre-eminently the dance event. They are a verbal expression which augments the nonverbal dance forms; both reflect the cultural values enacted in the dance event.

Dance tune rhymes are similar to the American fiddle and banjo songs. Robert W. Gordon has noted their major characteristics in the following description:

> Each verse is complete in itself, . . . they are brief and incisive; . . . most of them are decidedly humorous in tone . . . Many are in the form of a rhymed couplet, others are short line quatrains. Usually they have no refrain to check the swift snap with which they are sung. A chorus may or may not be used. But in many cases it is the instrument alone and not the voice that furnished the neutral repetition from which at intervals the stanzas leap out with startling vividness.[10]

Despite the similarity in form, I know of no common verses. The American fiddle songs also seem much freer in their use

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[10]Robert W. Gordon, Folk Songs of America, National Service Bureau Publication, No. 73-S (New York: WPA Federal Theatre Project, National Service Bureau, 1938).

of floating stanzas and minor textual variations to generate new verses than their Newfoundland counterparts.

The North American square dance "call," while it is associated with instrumental dance music, is not usually attached to a particular tune and rarely achieves a currency beyond the dance event context. They are what Benjamin Botkin describes as dance direction songs, which serve primarily to remind dancers of the dance movements.[11] The Newfoundland dance tune rhymes are an alternate channel through which the participants may express themselves. They are traditional forms for the expression of concerns relevant in the dance event context, but may be used in other situations when appropriate.

The dance tune rhymes may also be distinguished from the dance songs used to accompany singing games. While the same songs in general constitute a separate body of verse, there is some crossover, as among the dance forms themselves. Dan and Mrs. Tracey, for example, sang me the following verse,

> There's a rose in the garden for you young man,
> There's a rose in the garden for you young man,
> There's a rose in the garden for you young man,
> And a kiss for the girl with the white dress on.

part of a singing game reported from Connecticut in 1865.[12]

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[11] Benjamin Botkin, The American Play-Party Song (1937; rpt. Frederick Ungar, 1963), pp. 43-44.

[12] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 36; sung to the "Soldier's Joy" and used to accompany the Reel; Emma Backus, "Song Games from Connecticut," Journal of American Folklore, 14 (1901), 295.

One of the first rhymes to intrigue me will illustrate the typically wide historical and geographic dispersion of some of these rhymes. It was first sung to me by Dan Tracey, to the "Stack of Barley," a tune frequently used to accompany the Step Dance. It went as follows:

> Did you ever see the devil in the pratie garden digging
> With his wooden pick and shovel and his night cap on?
> And the ground it was so hard that the devil couldn't dig
> And he run around the garden with his tail cocked up.[13]

This rhyme is reported in different forms from several English sources. Thomas Mann mentions it as an English parlor game in The Magic Mountain.[14] Several variants from Warwickshire vary the rhyme in subsequent stanzas by substituting members of the devil's family performing various actions: his wife scrapes potatoes, his daughter washes them, while his son shoots the birds for dinner.[15] William Bottrell describes the use of a similar rhyme to accompany, "many a merry jig and three handed reel." In this rhyme, collected in Cornwall (well known

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[13] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 35.

[14] Thomas Mann, The Magic Mountain, trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter (1924; rpt. New York: Alfred M. Knopff, 1966), p. 632.

[15] G.F. Northall, English Folk Rhymes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1892), p. 306.

for its tin mines) the devil is digging not potatoes or cabbage in the garden, as in the Newfoundland versions, but rather, "tin by the bushel, with his tail cocked up."[16]

An American Negro version has been reported twice from the southern states as follows:

> Did you ever see the devil wid his iron handled shovel
> A-scrapin up de san' in his ole tin pan?
> He cuts up mighty funny, he steals all yo' money
> He blinds you wid his san'. He's trying to get you man![17]

This was apparently used to accompany step dancing, as was a variant of the first version which was reported from Trout River, Newfoundland. In these examples the relevant locale, activities and tools are adapted to the local context. The character of the devil alters from one of a ludicrous inability to dig potatoes to that of the threatening "cut up" who's "tryin' to git you, man." But enough similarity was present in the dance rhythms and format employed to make the transmission possible. Many other rhymes I have located are similarly localized by substitution and variation.

Parody is also frequently employed to localize traditional stanzas. One verse sung to the "Stack of Barley" and modeled on the devil digging rhymes is intended to taunt an individual or family. Though the specific

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[16]William Bottrell, Stories and Folk-Lore of West Cornwall, 3rd series (Penzance: F. Rodda, 1880), p. 165.

[17]Newbell Niles Puckett, Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), p. 549; T.W. Talley, Negro Folk Rhymes (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 93.

references are unclear, the intent is apparent in the following:

> Did you ever see a Kelly
> A going to a rally
> With the rounds on his sleeve
> Sayin' God save the King?[18]

which the informant refused to finish, not wishing to sing an offensive word for the collector.

Taunts between communities, similar to many blason populaire, are common among the collected variants. Two verses often heard to the tune "Mussels in the Corner" refer to the "Dirty Old Torbay Men":

> Down the street as thick as flies
> Dirty necks and dirty ties,
> Dirty rings around their eyes,
> Dirty old Torbay men.
>
> Ask the bayman for a smoke
> He'll just say his pipe is broke
> Ask the bayman for a chew
> He'll bite it off and give it to you
> 'Cause he's afraid that you'll take two
> Dirty old Torbay man.[19]

Variations on these verses seem almost endless.

The predominant theme among the dance rhymes, however, is sexuality. Most employ innuendo, as in the well known

> Chase me Charlie I got Barley
> Up the leg of me drawers
> If you don't believe it come and see it,
> Up the leg of me drawers[20]

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[18] MUNFLA, Tape, 66-25/6318.

[19] MUNFLA, Folklore Survey Cards, 68-5/54.

[20] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 21.

which was the most frequently recalled dance tune around Bay d'Espoir. Or, the following "Cuckoo's Nest" verse:

> Some like the girls who are pretty in the face,
> Some like the girls who are neat around the waist
> But I love the girls with a wriggle and a twist
> In the bottom of her belly is the cuckoo's nest.[21]

Sexuality could be rather coarsely expressed, but as a student collector from Change Islands noted:

> In spite of this [vulgarity] the people didn't mind because everyone was out to enjoy themselves.[22]

More explicit variants, often parodies, such as those using obscene language, would only be sung at a dance by someone so drunk that he didn't care what he said in front of the crowd of people. These would more often be sung at night among a crowd of young people courting, rather than in the lodge during a square dance. The explicit verses also served as sexual taunts shouted between groups of teenage boys and girls on the road.[23] Sexually explicit rhymes are also heard at male gatherings along with other forms of sexual humor.[24]

The social controls on sexuality are acknowledged as in the following stanza I heard in Plate Cove, which is

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[21]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-194/C5112.

[22]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-75/pp. 7-8.

[23]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-75/pp. 7-8, 11-12.

[24]See MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 51-55; Tape 81-271/C5194, for my record of such a gathering in Plate Cove.

widely reported among the archive sources:

> Rowed up in a dory
> Came down in a flat
> I'm a decent married woman
> Take your hand out of that.[25]

Proper courting behavior is emphasized in the following:

> The crazy girl that gets a kiss
> Goes home and tells her mother
> She got to get her lips cut off
> And never to kiss another.[26]

As I heard this verse from different informants in Plate Cove, the various actors' slots could be filled by either sex, but all versions agreed that kissing should remain a private affair.

While most rhymes found in the dance event context use sexual innuendo, what they are suggesting is perfectly clear. Even when they were not sung at dances, most participants knew the rhymes and could not help but recall them upon hearing their associated tunes. One informant commented that he would become embarrassed just hearing the tunes, much less their rhymes.[27] In my experience, crucial lines are often omitted or obscured in performances, yet the audience still responds with gales of laughter and appreciative howls. Obviously, they recognize and know the rhyme, even though the collector may not.

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[25]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 25.

[26]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 25, 51.

[27]Personal communication from Herbert Halpert, May 1981.

The dance tune rhymes are a verbal means of expression within the social enactment of the dance event. They express, through traditional, formulaic means, themes of community rivalry and, occasionally, personal rivalry or animosity, but predominantly sexuality, all with a satirical humor. While there is license to express sexuality, the community's social controls of courtship convention and marriage are also voiced. Even when not sung, the association of these traditional rhymes with particular tunes would bring them to mind. These rhymes reflect at least some of the functions of dance events, which, along with others, are also enacted in the dances themselves, the organization of the events, and their associated behaviors.

Occasions

Although each dance performance is a unique event, there are general patterns to which dance behavior in Newfoundland conforms. I have used the journalistic questions who, what, where, when, and how to elicit the contextual information which characterizes the different dance events. The general categories of dance events, their typical forms, and individual diversity are illustrated by detailed informant descriptions. My classification of the dance events is, as with the dances, based first on an analysis of the nomenclature with which the informants distinguish them.

To gather together the diverse descriptions scattered throughout my sources I used a dance data event form,

recording the appropriate information for each event described. A sample form is provided in Appendix B. I included the following information when it was available: identification, such as the MUNFLA number or an equivalent; the source community and bay; the informants, their age and sex; background information on the community, its size and religious affiliation; the dance event nomenclature used; the occasion with which the dance event was associated; any associated non-dance activities which seemed to be typical; the physical setting for the dance; a description of the event participants, for example their age, sex, clothing, and relationships, and, a brief summary of the dances performed. My classification of dance events and analysis of their typical structures is based on a comparison of these characteristics among the dance events described in my sources.

My own dance attendance was useful as a testing ground for generalizations drawn from the archival sources. It also permitted observations of more contemporary events than those usually documented in the archives. While my field work methodology has been treated elsewhere, I will remind the reader of my attendance at dance events. During my stay in the Plate Cove region I attended both adult and teenage dances at the local club, as well as informal house parties. I observed a wedding in St. John's, attended by my primary informants, at which both old-time and modern music and dancing was performed. I also attended two folk

festivals at which the Red Cliff Dancers participated. The experience of all these events and similar ones I attended elsewhere in the province, especially Trinity, Placentia, and the Port au Port, have contributed to my general impressions of dance in contemporary Newfoundland.

Informants used many terms to describe and identify the occasions on which they danced. Table 9 provides a representative sample:

TABLE 9

DANCE EVENT NOMENCLATURE

I	II
garden party	house time
wedding	hall time
concert	kitchen racket
Christmas	store time
mummering	bridge dance
Orangemen's time	wharf dance
	teenage dance
	Saturday night dance
	balls
	hungry dance

The first group of terms refer to social occasions which featured dance as only one part of a larger event. Some, such as garden parties, weddings and times, almost always

included dancing as one of the activities, while community concerts might do so only occasionally. The calendar customs observed on St. Patrick's Day, Candlemas, Easter, Christmas, St. Stephen's (Boxing) Day, St. Anne's Day, and Lady Day often featured dancing, though some more commonly than others.

The second group of dance events are more explicitly identified as such and then further described by their designation. These may indicate where the dance would take place, who would attend, when it would be held, or what non-dance activities would be associated with it. Some of these designations might be applied to dance events of the first group as well. Thus the dancing at a garden party could be described as a hall time, while a dance on Candlemas could be a kitchen racket. By these designations informants identify a gestalt for those who share their cultural experience. To call an event a "hall time," for example, tells another member of the dancing community much more about the event than simply where it is held.

The term "time" subsumes many of these events, referring as it does not to a specific social event, but rather

> a party or celebration, esp. a communal gathering with dancing, entertainment, etc.[28]

Times have been further described as occasions characterized by role reversal and sanctioned deviation from the

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[28]Personal communication, Newfoundland Dictionary Centre, 5 August 1981.

norms of social behavior. Drinking, dancing, and sexual joking of a manner normally thought out of order are indulged in and expected.[29] Most dance events could be described as times.

The significance of these terms for analysis is twofold. First, they idenfity categories and distinctions recognized within the dance culture. Second, they indicate some apsects of the dance events on which distinctions are based, i.e., where and when it was held, who participated and what else went on.

A comparison among my descriptive categories reveals the variety of dance events. Fixed calendar celebrations, the season of the year, an occupationally related social event, such as the return of men from the Labrador fishery, or more spontaneous social gatherings may be occasions for dancing. A dance may be performed out-of-doors, in a public building, or private home. The participants may come from several nearby communities, one community or "place," a social organization, "crowd," or age group. The term "crowd" is a flexible one often applied to a group of people at a time. In general use, it is a

> group of people, ideally with the same surname and occupants of the same garden or group of gardens, who may be linked in a common economic

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[29]Faris, pp. 157-63.

> endeavor. It is a territorial concept, but cannot be divorced from the kinship reference.[30]

While individual events combine these factors in a variety of ways, some general distinctions may be made.

Many dance events were community festivals recalled as high points of the social year. Most communities had at least one and often several such events during the year, usually held during the Christmas season or on other calendar or seasonal occasions. Dancing was almost always the culmination of these festivals. The dancing was often formally organized with recognized social roles assigned to particular individuals. One "fiddler," that is, an accordion or violin player, was hired to play for the entire dance. A floor manager was often appointed to keep order. Informants recalled the group figure dances as typical of these events, interspersed with a few individual step dances and sometimes a Waltz.

Another class of dance events, attended by smaller groups of people, were usually less formally organized and more spontaneous. They might occur whenever enough people felt like dancing, but were most common during the winter season. Many musicians might play for the dancing and the mouth organ, jews harp, and chin music were commonly used, as well as the accordion or violin. Similar dances were performed as at the larger festivals, but in smaller sets, and with less formal organization. Other performance

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[30]Faris, pp. 65-67.

genres, such as singing and story-telling, were also much more prominent at these events.

Informants often distinguished these two major categories of Newfoundland dance events as "hall" and "house" times. Their contextual characteristics are summarized in Table 10.

TABLE 10

CONTEXTUAL COMPARISON OF TIMES

	Hall Times	House Times
Where	public building	private building
When	calendar or seasonal	seasonal or spontaneous
Who	regional, community, or formal institution	kinship, work, or age group "crowd"

One difference between these two dance event types is clear in the attitudes towards them expressed by informants. Wilfred Wareham reports that,

> At these informal [house] "times" you could let your hair down. A person's behavior was not the subject of public scrutiny as it was at the formal hall "times." In this way, these "times" were more cathartic than the hall "times" which demanded proper behavior. . . . People were fully aware of the differences in the quality of the "times."[31]

[31]Wilf Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Tradition," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972, pp. 86-87.

Although other combinations among the contextual factors are possible, most dance events may be ranged along such a spectrum of formality.

These general distinctions are significant, but in order to understand the social dynamics which create them, we must turn to more detailed descriptions of the dance events. I will begin with descriptions of events from my Plate Cove informants and go on to compare them with the events reported elsewhere. I will use the informants' narratives primarily as descriptions of behavior. In the next chapter, I will turn to them for evidence of the participants' attitudes, perceptions, and motivations.

Hall Times

Hall times were often organized by the church or other formal institutions and used by them to raise money. They include such events as garden parties, Christmas sprees, and times sponsored by fraternal organizations. Along with dancing, these events employed food preparation and consumption as a formally organized social expression. Social drinking of beer and liquor was typical among the men, but remained informal and was not often allowed in the hall itself. Specific events might include other practices such as gift exchange at Christmas, a parade by lodge members at the Orangemen's time, or games of chance at the garden parties and other fund-raising events.

Garden Parties

Throughout Newfoundland generally the term "garden party" refers to a

> communal social gathering held each summer on ground surrounding the local church or in another field at which games and contests are held, food served, and funds raised for parish activities.[32]

They are similar to church fund-raising events elsewhere in North America, as Laurel Doucette observes in "Folk Festival: The Gatineau Valley Church Picnic."[33]

Garden parties fulfilled many other functions in the social life of the communities as well. George Casey has written a thorough description of a garden party in Conche, on the Northern Peninsula. This was the biggest social event of the year in the Conche parish and although a means to help finance the building and maintenance of schools and churches,

> it became a welcomed break in the work by providing entertainment and a time for celebration and revelry. Socially, the garden party further functions by providing opportunities to meet prospective mates, and one of the local adult expectations was that every young person would have an escort or "date" during this occasion. Any younger person who did not,

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[32]Personal communication from the Newfoundland Dictionary Centre, 5 August 1981.

[33]Laurel Doucette, "Folk Festival: The Gatineau Valley Church Picnic," Culture and Tradition, 1 (1976), 55-62; a similar event from Prince Edward Island is described in Edward Ives, Lawrence Doyle the Farmer Poet of Prince Edward Island, University of Maine Studies, No. 92 (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1971), pp. 22-24.

> became the butt of jokes concerning his inability "to get a girl and there were lots of 'em here."
>
> Additionally, it functions in giving community solidarity, where people work together for the financial good of the church, and for the public image of the community.[34]

Until about ten years ago, the Garden Party appears to have been one of the major occasions for dancing in the Plate Cove region. Each community, or "every place around," would have a garden party during the summer which attracted people from all the nearby communities. They featured games of chance in the afternoon, a supper in the evening and a dance at night. The entire event required a high degree of social organization to produce, and preparations were often co-ordinated by the schoolmaster.

In Conche, Casey reports, preparations were made through the election of a men's and women's committee. The men were responsible for providing for the physical needs of the event, such as tables and chairs, building booths, and installing extra stoves. The women were responsible for deciding the menu of the supper to be served, its preparation, selling tickets, and attending to the various booths.[35] My Plate Cove informants implied that a similar formalization of preparations took place there.

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[34]George Casey, "Traditions and Neighborhoods: The Folklife of a Newfoundland Fishing Outport," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971, p. 320.

[35]Casey, pp. 310-11.

The garden party dance was also formally organized. It was usually held in the school or parish hall after the supper was cleared away. In Plate Cove a single musician was hired, almost always an accordion player. Although someone might take his place to allow him a rest, this musician would, in fact, play throughout the night. A floor manager was sometimes appointed to keep order and ensure that everyone had an opportunity to dance.

Mrs. Keough recalled the garden parties in this way:

> Well I'll tell you what it was like one time. What you do is pay a dollar, a dollar fifty as you be going, what the old peoples call "on the door." Well, a fine day, fine afternoon, the desk would be out by the entrance coming in on the grounds and they would, uh, collect the money there and give you a ticket. And that entitles you then to your supper.
> . . . . . .
> Oh yes, out under the grounds, there would be probably Bingo, and would be swings for the children. And there would be all kinds of games and everything. And then they would have the gun, what they used to call the gun, shooting at the bull's eye, eh. . . . See who, you know, who'd go close to the bull's eye. And, oh yeah, made quite a lot of money then. Because I mean everybody would donate things, eh.[36]

Occasionally, dancing took place out of doors in the daylight hours as another fund-raising activity. In the community of Placentia, for example:

> A dancing platform was erected outdoors where dancing took place to the music of an accordion. Usually a fee of 5¢ per dance was charged.[37]

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[36] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 88-89.

[37] MUNFLA, Q71B-3/p. 7; also reported in Fogo, MUNFLA, Tape, 72-107/C1127.

Supper followed the afternoon fund-raising activities, and was held in the school building. Meanwhile, according to Mrs. Keough,

> A few fellers would get out. And one place and another give them a few beers. And drinking in the cars. Then they come in half loaded.[38]

Eventually, perhaps by 11:00 p.m., the tables were cleared away and the dance could begin.

People came from the whole area for the dance: Sweet Bay, Summerville, Open Hall, Red Cliff, Tickle Cove, King's Cove, Duntarra, and Knight's Cove. Therese commented,

> And sometimes we used to have them down in Melrose in Trinity Bay, oh yes. You know, they always like to come here in Plate Cove. Anyway, they always used to have good time they say. I don't know. I suppose we used to be so tired out you know, organizing this and getting it going that we didn't get the kick out of it, eh.[39]

Mrs. Geraldine Keough remembered the crowded square dances with "twenty-five or thirty dancers" on the floor at once, indicating the largest sets possible.[40] If a figure like "change partners" was done, "where all the girls had to swing with every fella was on the floor," it might take as long as an hour to get through the dance. Throughout the night there would be only six or seven such dances. She recalled at one time the musician was paid by collection:

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[38]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 90.

[39]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 90.

[40]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 58.

> First that I can remember, used to go around with the hat and take up a collection, used to call it. But that was more or less in my mother's time, 'cause we weren't allowed to stay there that late in the night . . . We would just be allowed to stay and watch one or two dances, 'till nine-thirty or ten o'clock. We'd have to go home then. I can see 'em going out, someone taking up, with a hat taking up a collection.[41]

In later years this became a formal fee, although it was always minimal.

Mrs. Therese Keough recalled that,

> the last years if they [the musician] came, you know, they, well whatever they'd ask, like twenty-five or thirty dollars, eh, whichever. But before then it was probably from a dollar.
>
> CQ: Cyril was telling me that your father used to play all night for two dollars.
>
> Mrs. K.: Two dollars and two fifty. Oh definitely, I remembers that.[42]

Larry Barker, for many years the musician hired for garden parties throughout the region, considered his services a donation to the church.[43]

Several informants commented on the practice of holding a smaller, "community-only," dance a short time after the garden party. In Long Harbour, Placentia Bay, for instance:

> Our Garden Party did not end when the Garden Party itself was over. It was considered to be ended on the Friday night after. A big closing dance would be held and I've heard many people say that the

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[41]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 61.

[42]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 88.

[43]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 166.

> dance after the Garden Party was more enjoyable because there were fewer people around.[44]

In Fermeuse, the Garden Party dance was always held on a Sunday night, but the following Tuesday another, usually better, dance was held without any "outsiders."[45]

Such comments emphasize the regional, inter-community nature of the garden party gatherings. For the successful performance of the group dances the participants depend upon a shared knowledge of the dance. The maxim that each place does the dance a bit differently is an important one which reflects the importance attached to this social unit. Naturally, the smaller, locally residential group would perform the dances more satisfyingly than the large and diffuse group attending the garden party. More subtlety and variety was possible within the smaller group. The regional group required more formal structuring of the dancing and forms which could accommodate large numbers of dancers. However, in both cases the dancing seems to give expression to the shared membership of the participants in a single social group.

Reports of overt conflict at these events are also frequent. Mrs. Geraldine Keough recalled:

> Used to be a scattered fight years ago but I don't remember that much. I often heard my grandmother saying there's a garden party over there between here and John Dooley's [a nearby house] and it was my grandmother, was born and reared up there.

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[44] MUNFLA, Q71B-5/p. 13.

[45] MUNFLA, Ms., 77-112/p. 55.

> Their names were Cheevers, and they had a garden party over there. I used to hear tell of it. I don't know, it could be back in the twenties. And it was only open two hours and they made five hundred dollars. But they had to close it because the big racket started. And that was as good as a million dollars now, or half a million anyway, five hundred dollars, them times. Anyhow, they made five hundred dollars and it was open two hours and they had to close it down because the big racket started (laughter).[46]

According to Gerald Quinton, there were so many dancers fighting to get onto the floor at the garden parties that the floor master was needed to keep order. He explained:

> there was lots of moonshine "on the go" then and the men would have a few drinks and get to feeling pretty good. It wouldn't take much then to start a fight.[47]

According to John Dooley's Plate Cove informants:

> It was customary to carry a flask of moonshine with you if there was a dance in the school. Everyone would stand outside the school and proceed to get drunk. After they went into the school then usually the big fight would erupt. It was not unusual for one of your friends to come along and hit you for something you said to him three months previous . . . the moonshine would go right through their heads and they would face the mad lion then.[48]

Kevin Philpott commented that during the garden party dance, held in the school, drinking "by[men from] all the communities there" continued on the wharf. Although there might be a few fights there, most of these occurred at

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[46]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 73-74.

[47]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 176.

[48]MUNFLA, Ms., 78-71/p. 18.

the school. It seems the wharf was considered more or less neutral ground. While fights were tolerated, property damage was not. If you were caught, "you never to attend another time in that community."[49]

Expressions of conflict which developed between individuals in every day interaction were apparently common at these dance events. Inhibitions were broken down by alcohol consumption, and conflicts appear to have been aggravated by the large size and multi-community nature of the gatherings. I supect that the social sanctions against the violent expression of conflict which normally function in the small, closely knit outport societies did not work as strongly in these larger, more anonymous groups. The informal restrictions must then be supplemented by formal regulations such as no alcohol in the hall, and the appointment of a floor manager to keep order. From the available descriptions it is difficult to know whether these conflicts erupted between members of the same or different places. The mention of such distinctions by informants, however, suggests that lack of restraints affecting members of different communities may also contribute to the high level of conflict expressed.

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[49]Kevin Philpott, "The Importance of the Community Wharf in the Social and Economic Life of Plate Cove East," Ms., No. 33 in the Archive of Undergraduate Research in Newfoundland Society and Culture, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Informants generally, however, emphasize the celebratory, festive nature of these gatherings. George Casey describes this ideal character of the event as follows:

> Although there was lots of drinking throughout the period of the garden party, the whole atmosphere was one of congeniality and rarely did any conflicts develop. Hospitality, generosity and friendliness were evident everywhere. Behaviour was certainly different at the garden party, as it was at any of "the times" or community social events, than it was in usual daily interaction. Behavior and comments normally thought to be improper, especially in mixed company, were now excused, and people danced, sang and told jokes and stories that were mildy bawdy.[50]

The cultural conception of this event emphasizes sexuality, courtship and integrative goals. Expressions of concomitant rivalries and ongoing conflicts are downplayed and considered as intrusive elements not really a part of the garden party event.

Christmas Sprees

In Tickle Cove, a community only a few miles down the bay from Plate Cove, the church-sponsored times were called "sprees" and were held once during the Christmas season. In the first decades of this century sprees were held to raise money for the upkeep of church and school buildings. Like the garden parties, they were patronized by the surrounding communities. In this description we see an event structure nearly identical to the garden party, but conditioned by different environmental specifics, such

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[50]Casey, p. 316.

as the season, geography, and community religious affiliation.

Due to the religious affiliations of local communities, Tickle Cove sprees were held on a weeknight during the Christmas season. The Roman Catholic parish church was three miles away in Open Hall and Mass was held early in the morning, which made it inconvenient for Tickle Cove Catholics to hold a dance on Saturday night. No fund-raising supper could be held on Friday because the Catholics could not eat meat, and the largely Protestant residents of Red Cliff would not attend a dance on Sunday. The week-night date was set perhaps a week or two in advance to avoid clashing with events in other communities and give the priest an opportunity to announce the event at services throughout the parish and make an appeal for generosity.

Planning and preparation involved purchasing gifts for the "tree." A musician was engaged for two or three dollars. The men met to decide who would "go on the door" to collect the admission fees of ten or twenty cents. Others were chosen to sell tickets on the tree or look after the "gun" and games of chance. The women met to plan the cooking and serving of supper. Decisions were made as to who would bring kettles, table cloths, cutlery and dishes. Extra bread was baked and "everything of the best was planned to make a good impression on the out harbour people."

> Then the day of the spree was really a busy one. There were slide loads of dried cut wood hauled to the school to assure a good fire to boil the kettles. Water barrels had to be placed in the school filled for use during the night. Lamps were filled with oil, wicks trimmed and the chimneys cleaned. The men constructed a long table for the meal and the ladies took time in the afternoon to set the tables and make sure there were pans and cloths on hand to wash dishes during the meal time. A special spruce or fir tree was cut and laden with all the prizes; each prize had a number attached to it. The tree was raised by a long rope and tied to the ceiling to be lowered later on during the night for the prize claiming. . . . The children were caught up in this as well and helped out wherever possible by doing errands and helpful chores.

By late afternoon everyone went home to get ready for the evening.

> The ladies had their hair curled and special new dresses, usually home made. Suits were pressed, collars starched and boots polished, and the men looked their best. . . . Some responsible person lit the lamps and the fire. . . . The fiddler arrived early and played a few tunes to get "warmed up."

The women and children arrived promptly, though the men usually stopped at a friend's house along the way for a drink. Although liquor was not drunk in the school, "men went from house to house in groups at intervals and came back to dance." The visiting men from other communities usually joined them for a drink. Although Mr. Tracey comments that "the residents of Tickle Cove were usually well-behaved and were not known to be involved in disturbances or brawls," the observation can only indicate that fights did take place.

> As soon as a reasonable number of people had gathered in the school, tickets were sold on the prizes that were tied to the "Tree" and raised

> to the ceiling. This went on throughout the night until about midnight, when the tree was lowered and the prizes were claimed.

The school desks were pushed back to the walls to make space for the dancing, which began early in the evening. The Square Dance and occasionally a Virginia Reel were performed.

> Some lively dancers would swing a partner so fast that it was a common occurrence to see a girl lifted off her feet or perhaps lose her balance and fall on her knees on the floor.

A supper of the "finest hamm butt port [sic] boiled with cabbage, turnip, carrots and potatoes," was served while the dancing went on. As the women finished their work, they joined in the dancing or sat and watched together with the young children who were still awake. Between the square dances, a step dancer was usually asked to perform a solo single or double step. All would watch and applaud his performance. Occasionally, a singer might receive similar recognition.

Eventually, someone would announce that the last dance would be the Kissing Dance. As one's choice of partner in the dance was often an indication of a choice of beau, "some curious old ladies who had heard rumours of possible courtship would wait around all night to see who asked whom out in the 'Kissing Dance'." The following day the school was rearranged and cleaned by the women:

> While this cleaning was going on there was much to be talked about, how things went, who escorted whom home, and the main topic, "everyone had a good time." The money was counted, the fiddler

and any other expenses paid and the proceeds given to the pastor who was grateful for same.[51]

Except for the restrictions imposed by the winter weather, the Tickle Cove sprees were identical to the summer garden parties described to me in Plate Cove. Each was a fund-raising event sponsored by the church, organized at the community level and attended by a regional group. The supper and dance were the major activities, and responsibility for them was roughly divided between the men and women. Social drinking was an important aspect of the men's behavior, but was covert and not allowed at the actual scene of the dance.

Throughout the available sources similar activities were found among predominantly Anglican and Catholic communities. In many communities dominated by the United Church, however, where dancing was often forbidden or at least discouraged, it was not a part of the church events. On Fogo Island, for example, the United Church forbade card playing and dancing at their times, in contrast to the events of other religious groups.[52] Likewise in Winterton, Trinity Bay, the United Church garden party allowed no games of chance or dancing. They offered only the supper and a grab bag for children, while Broad Cove, Conception Bay, had only singing and skits.[53]

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[51]This description is paraphrased and quoted from, Cecilia Tracey, "Sprees in Tickle Cove, Bonavista Bay," Ms., No. 438, in the Archive of Undergraduate Research on Newfoundland Society and Culture, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

[52]MUNFLA, Ms., 77-283/p. 38.

[53]MUNFLA, Q71B-4; Q71B-6/p. 15.

Communities with large populations of some protestant denominations often discouraged dancing in general. In Heart's Ease, Trinity Bay, for instance, opposition was strong to dancing in the United Church school. The day after one dance was held there, a man who lived nearby

> was going around trying to get people all on the go by telling how, "I never got asleep 'till de wee hours of the mornin". Dey was kickin' de old school down. What a racket." He said they were the devil's youngsters and it "shoulden' be allowed."

As a result, the older people "got up in arms" and there was no dancing there for quite some time.[54]

As noted in Chapter II, these communities often substituted ring and kissing games in the place of dances.[55] Or, a compromise solution might evolve. In Winterton, Trinity Bay, for example, the young people had to wait until twelve or one o'clock in the morning, when the older people had gone to bed, before they could start any dancing.[56]

These church-sponsored events seem to be continuations of older, more informally organized festivals. The garden parties apparently began in the early years of this century with the encouragement of Roman Catholic and Anglican clergy. Before then, community picnics were

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[54]MUNFLA, Ms., 68-4/pp. 51-52.

[55]See, for example, Tizzard, pp. 228-29; MUNFLA, Ms., 75-25/p. 14.

[56]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/p. 5.

held at the end of summer.[57] The Christmas spree is an institutionalization of the social activities which generally distinguish that season in Newfoundland tradition. This is apparent from the persistence of unsponsored events which parallel such observances.

Fraternal Organizations

There are many other dance events described among my sources which were similarly sponsored by formal social organizations, such as the Society of United Fishermen (S.U.F.), the Fishermen's Protective Union (F.P.U.), and the Orange Society, among others.

Cyril Pinsent has described a typical event of this type in New Perlican, Trinity Bay, during the 1940s. Everyone was expected to attend the time and if someone didn't go people wondered "what he had against the crowd," or might comment, "Some nippy, never even went over to have his supper." Despite such verbal sanctions there were still "certain crowds" who went only to their own association's times. The young people, however, he reports, went everywhere.

> In the morning, the S.U.F. or the Orangemen, whatever the time may be, always paraded the church after parading around the community with their brass band. After this the people from other communities in attendance (lodge members, etc.) would go to the invited homes for dinner, around 2 or 3 o'clock, and then have a drink of 1R or 2R rum. . . . The afternoon was spent getting the hall ready. Then suppers would be served around 6 o'clock and continue until

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[57] Tizzard, pp. 254-56.

> people were all served or the food ran out. There would again be a soup table and meat teas and this time, pork and cabbage, of course with "preserves" afterwards. The first part of the night they would always sell tickets for the "draw on the tree." Only as many tickets as there were gifts tied to the tree were sold, at a cost of ten cents. Other things sold on tickets would be a hundred of wood or a sack of potatoes. Now at the Orange Lodge you weren't allowed to play cards. There was no admission to these times, but you paid for the food you ate. After supper, around 9 o'clock there would be an instrument of hymns and Christmas songs from the brass band, and then, around 11 o'clock you would hear people saying, "Come on now, time to get a dance started or the night is gonna be gone." Once the dance started it never stopped to the finish . . . [and] would often last until 6 or 7 in the morning . . . 'if you lived in the next community and had to walk 3 or 4 miles, you were pretty tired by the time you got home, but I've done it, I've often walked five miles after dancing all night."

While there was no charge "on the door", one paid separately for the supper, draw on the tree, and for each dance. A dance was 25¢ and the men were expected to pay for their partners. What was raised on the dance went to pay the fiddler.

As at the garden parties, people always wore their "best bit [sic] and tucker," although as the dance progressed, "the tie would come off, followed by the jacket and then they would roll up their sleeves." There was always a large crowd at the dance and often a rush to get on the floor. The dancers were of all ages from their teens to their fifties, with a majority in their twenties or thirties. Square Sets and step dances were performed to accordion music played by a formally hired musician. Not much went on once the dance broke up, "except the

usual courting sessions of course . . . after one became of mature age,"and when the men gathered the next evening, "over to Uncle Dick's," budding romances were always a popular topic. Drinking and swearing were discouraged in the hall, but were indulged in outdoors by the men.

Although rackets and fights were uncommon according to Mr. Pinsent, at the garden parties, they might start when,

> there were some underlying concerns which had probably been festering for some time [these] would come out if someone got drunk.

In response to such behavior people might comment, "he had it in when he come here," or, "that's liquor talkin'."[58]

Mr. Pinsent goes on to comment that such fights were not caused by the dancing behavior itself. One could, he says, "ask anyone for a dance, unlike the modern dances where you go as a couple."[59] While the people of New Perlican may have been more polite than elsewhere, there are many indications that choosing a partner was serious business which could lead to open conflict. In a particularly frank essay, one student from the Change Islands describes partner choosing procedures as follows:

> Each person usually picked his own partner for the dance. At other times so many women's names were placed in a hat and the men chose their partner by drawing from a hat. Sometimes the women were also allowed to choose their own

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[58]This description is condensed and quoted from MUNFLA, Ms., 79/630/pp. 10-17.

[59]MUNFLA, Ms., 79/630/p. 16.

> partner. As a result of picking names from a hat some men would have to dance with another man's wife or girl friend. This, however caused fights. If a fight started, the person or persons involved was usually turned out of the hall for that night.[60]

At dances in Torbay, the mixing of unmarried men and women was recalled as an important activity during her courting days by a student collector's mother. While discussing strategies for getting a partner she comments:

> it was known which couples were going steady. While this couple did not dance exclusively with each other, no one else at the dance was allowed to pay too much attention to either of them. For example, neither of the couple could dance with the same person twice, as this indicated that they were interested in that person. Breaking this rule could start a fight.[61]

It seems Mr. Pinsent is expressing an ideal often associated with the old-time dance events more than he is describing actual behavior. The conflict between these reports, however, is probably due to the perspectives of different informants. For those with a strong courtship interest the choosing of partners was important and could cause conflict. Without this interest, a participant could indeed "ask anyone to dance."

In his book On Sloping Ground, Aubrey Tizzard describes an Orangemen's time in detail. It followed the same pattern as that described by Mr. Pinsent, but as Leading Tickle, Notre Dame Bay, was a United Church

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[60] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-75/pp. 5-6.

[61] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 12.

community no dancing was permitted. Instead:

> As soon as the concert was over, everyone was anxious for some fun. The chairs and stools were then moved back as close as possible to the wall, leaving as much space as possible on the floor. The fun included such games as 'Tucker', 'Sir Roger', 'You, you, you', 'Musical chairs', 'Spin the bottle', and so on. Dancing was not allowed; it was a sin to dance on the floor of the Orange Hall. A vote was taken on one occasion during a lodge meeting and the count was twenty-five for dancing and twenty-six against, and of course, the majority rules the day. The main game of all, that is the game which started off the fun, was a 'Ring'. Just about everyone joined in the Ring. There were a few that didn't, including my mother and father, and I never did see them take part in any of the games. The music for all the fun and games in the Orange Hall was supplied by an accordion. The accordion was owned by the Lodge and therefore could only be used for fun when the lodge had a time.[62]

Organized social groups also sponsored times for their own members only, such as those held by the S.U.F. in Change Islands. The lodge by-laws stated the fishermen were allowed three free dances a year in their building, while organizations holding other dances there had to pay a rental fee of $8.00. The lodge dances were held on Candlemas Day, February 2nd, Boxing Day, December 26th, and one other day, usually sometime in the winter when most members would be able to attend.

> On Candlemas day, the day when the fishermen had their "time," the lodge would be filled with members dressed in their regalia. First there would be the supper, which consisted of different dishes each year. The different varieties were bean suppers, soup suppers, or salt meat dinners. . . . After the supper was served the men cleared away the lodge for square dancing. Many times

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[62]Tizzard, pp. 228-29.

> there were three sets going in 'full swing'. This would cause some complications because the toe tapping of the men would overtop the accordion music. However, to remedy this the members appointed a "floor boss" to make sure all sets were doing the same procedures all the same time and that there wasn't too much shouting.[63]

An informant from Harbour Buffet, Placentia Bay, once commented to me that the "private" lodge dances were always better than the "public" times because of the fewer people in attendance. The dance floor was less crowded and noisy, thus the dancing could be performed with more success and attention to detail. In this way they were similar to the "community-only" events which sometimes followed garden parties.[64]

Informal Community Festivals

Festival-like dance events such as those I have been describing were not always organized through formal channels. The Christmas times reported to me in Plate Cove for example, did not emphasize church fund raising as did that reported in Tickle Cove. If held in the school, fees were charged simply to cover expenses. The dance behavior was much the same, but the context less formal. Musicians, instead of being paid a fee, were "paid" with frequent offerings of liquor from the men. As one musician from Harbour Buffet described it:

> They'd all give me some. I'd be playing for them, you know. A drink from this fellow, a drink from

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[63] MUNFLA, Ms., 73-75/p. 5.

[64] MUNFLA, Ms., 80-41/pp. 9, 15.

> that fellow . . . But I've often been that drunk, you know, that I had to shut my eyes . . . so I wouldn't fall off the chair.[65]

Mick Keough recalled the Christmas times of his younger days:

> after dinner about three o'clock, 'twould be get out in the big dances. Yes Quotillians [sic], square dances, reels, we used to have. And, anyhow, I used to play the violin and there would be no such thing as anybody else coming to play. There was very good players. "No, wait 'till Keough comes 'cause he can make her speak whatever way we wants her to." Now, very well, we'd dance away then 'till twelve o'clock in the night and all of that.

Although he didn't specify the locale here it seems these were held in the school house. He went on to say:

> and if I was invited to a hall or a school like we have along, you know, "Would I go play?" Oh, I'd go perhaps first most of the time and I'd get in the hall and tune up the violin and I'd start in playing. And by and by you could hear off half-a-mile. . . . Oh yes, yes. That's a silent night. And, "Boys," they'd say, "Keough is in the hall." By and by hear this rushing coming be the hall. "Ah he's in there now. Can make her the violin [speak]. Yes, can say the words, tunes and songs and everything." And they'd come in and crowd the floor. And now, they knowed how ta keep time and dance to [sic] you know . . . Square dances and reels, quotillians . . . Oh yes we used to have the kissin' dance the last of it . . . and waltzes.[66]

Mick's son, Cryil, recalled the dances of more recent years:

> Most every night there would be a dance in one community, one place, one community another night. Like all around the shore. It would be all square dances then . . . You'd walk to the dance, go

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[65] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-54/C4018.

[66] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-336/pp. 7, 23.

> down, and ha, whether it was up or down, whichever place there would be a dance . . . and have the violin playing or someone playing the accordion like that, the square dances. And every now and again you'd be out on those dances, those square dances. . . . And, oh well, you would be sweathing [sic] then. The water coming out of ya and ya come out by the door. Then probably, be three or four fellers then, your buddies, lined up. They'd have a bottle then come out by the door. Everybody would take out the bottle then and the moonshine (laugh). Everyone have two or three drinks out of it and get a cool off and shove the . . . bottle down in the snow. Like hiding in under the school or shove him down in through a layer of fence, or if there was a bit of woods around the school or whatever there would be. Put the bottle of moonshine down there and every now and again you'd go out. Every dance you had, you'd go out and have your drink, two or three drinks out of your bottle. You'd dance all night then and come home in the morning. . . . Come home three or four o'clock soaking from sweat - frost on your clothes - cold in the house - get in bed to warm it. Then father gets you up first thing to cut wood, etc. - no sleeping in - you'd perish. By night though you'd be ready to go - keep on for 12 days of Christmas.[67]

It seems there was very little change during the years between these two reports.

Mr. Pinsent describes a similar event held one Christmas in Boxey on the South Coast. He contrasts it with the sponsored times of New Perlican, where the dance was less important because it raised no money directly, but rather served to attract people to attend the supper. The dancing, therefore, began quite late. In Boxey the dance was the primary activity. It began earlier in the day, and more people of all ages actually danced. The

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[67]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-336/p. 83.

dances were longer and Mr. Pinsent found the dancers livelier and rougher than those in New Perlican. More people of both sexes played the accordion, as well, "and it was common to see half a dozen play for a dance." He describes the Christmas dance as follows:

> I remember Christmas day . . . they had built a new one room school in the community but the old one room school was still there so on Christmas day a crowd of the young people, older teenagers, . . . and some in their early twenties got together and went up [to the old school]. We got an older man up there to play the accordion, . . . I can see him now with his knee rubber boots on and he standing and playing for dear life. . . . So you go home and get something to eat, and you go up and then in the night the older married people, the married men and their wives came along. And there was plenty of St. Pierre rum floating around. And by and by I smelled this and I couldn't figure out what this smell was and when I looked they had the stove . . . and that was red and was lined with salt caplin. . . . So you would dance away and every now and then you go along and grab a caplin.[68]

The same elements of food and drink exchange, the same occasion, location and dances previously noted are present in these informal community dance events. Yet there is a relaxation of restrictions found at the more formal sponsored times. Social roles are less specialized. There are many musicians and no floor manager.

Community times of this unsponsored type were held on other calendrical festivals. Saint Patrick's Day, Candlemas (Calmus), and, possibly, Easter were all observed and celebrated with a dance in Plate Cove.

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[68]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/pp. 19-23.

Mrs. Keough recalled St. Patrick's Day as her family observed it:

> Then St. Patrick's Day would be another big day . . . My father would get up on the high head of the hall with the violin and my Aunt, when she lived in the other end with her children there, she would get down with the accordion and they'd start playing. And you had to get up then. Supposing it was seven o'clock in the morning, you had to get up. And then you'd have something to eat. Well, everything had to be green.

Mass was attended in the morning, followed by a big meal at home featuring green, lime jelly. By one o'clock in the afternoon:

> we'd all assemble to the school then. There was no parish hall then, which we have now. But, you go to the school, and that was opened up then and there'd be a nominal fee for getting in. Very small, eh. Just for expenditures . . . things have to be got for the school, right? . . . there was no electricity here then and you had to have lamps. So you had to buy oil. And then probably a globe would get broken or something like that, wouldn't it father? . . . Probably before the, before one o'clock there'd be a big fight (laugh). The dance was held all evening, right on up to one o'clock. And the minute the clock would strike one o'clock, was like cinderella, that's it . . . There'd be so many [at the dance] that you'd be waiting for to get a chance to get on the floor . . . Sometimes there'd be . . . thirty-two at a time. And then the rest'd be waiting for them to get in, for another crowd, another fresh crowd to get out.

According to Mick, "they'd be pushing for the last dance."[69]

While this is the most detailed report I have of dance activities on St. Patrick's Day, it is also mentioned as an occasion for dancing in a number of other predominantly

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[69]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 82-86.

Catholic communities.[70]

There are similarities among all the events discussed thus far, in addition to the general characteristics of hall times noted earlier. The structure of these events established boundaries between social groups. These groups might be defined by a variety of social relations, such as place of residence, church affiliation or membership in a fraternal organization. The festivals are sponsored by a group which makes the necessary preparations and hosts a larger social group of which it is a part. This larger group in turn supports and recognizes the smaller by its attendance. A community sponsors a time to which residents of nearby places come, a church group holds a fund raiser to which non-members come, or the S.U.F. holds a time to which all are welcome. The larger groups are, in fact, expected to attend. Thus, in addition to defining group membership, the events also provide occasion for the maintenance of relations across these boundaries.

House Times

The house times, hosted by a family and held in their home, contrast to the larger hall times. They were usually seasonal and fairly spontaneous, but were occasionally associated with calendrical observances. They

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[70]For example: Salmonier, MUNFLA, Ms., 78-11-/p. 17; Fox Harbour, MUNFLA, Ms., 77-331/p. 22; Petite Forte, MUNFLA, Ms., 77-149/p. 57; Bay d'Espoir, MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 17.

gathered together social groups, defined by the informal networks of kinship, friendship and age group, often referred to as "crowds." The hosting family usually provided the bulk of food and drink, though the guests would usually bring something. This was not formally planned, as at the larger hall functions. A musician or musicians would certainly be invited but not hired and several musicians took turns playing. Mouth organs or chin music was commonly used, as well as the accordion or violin. Performance genres other than dance were important at these events, especially story and song. The group dances were performed, but in smaller sets, and step dancing was likely to be more common and less formal, several men perhaps step dancing together.

The house times might be community-wide celebrations in those places small enough to permit it. Such events are similar to the Christmas time described in Boxey, and they are most often reported from the earliest years my sources cover. At that time communities often had no public building or hall, necessitating use of a private house. Occasionally, the owners of houses so used were paid a fee, making the house, in a sense, "public."[71] Thus house times seem to have preceded the more formally organized hall times. They also continued to be important occasions for dancing and had a parallel existence to the hall times, serving the more informal social networks.

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[71]For example see, MUNFLA, Ms., 77-334/p. 4.

My Plate Cove informants termed these "kitchen times" or "rackets." Mick and Mrs. Keough recalled the Calmus (Candlemas) times he used to play for as a young man:

> I'll tell you for one thing, Calamus, used to always have what they call the calamus cake, right? . . . The second of February. . . . Two weeks before that they would play cards and whoever lost the game had to make the cake. Isn't that right father? And then, they would have to supply some of the liquor too, eh? And well, they'd, there'd be so many, a lot of 'em playing cards, eh? Then the others would have a drop too, eh? My father would be asked in to play. Although he could dance and sing, you know, but he was the only one at that time then could play you know, and youthful, young for going around, eh? And so they used to have the big dance all night. They'd sing songs and dancing. . . . One year it'd be in one, someone's house, and the next year it would be in a different house, eh? . . . There'd be one end of the kitchen for dancing, one end of the house for dancing, one part, and the next part for eating and drinking. . . . You'd eat in the parlour and dance in the kitchens.[72]

Mick used to play for many of these 'house times' for free.

Reports of less formally organized house times abound in the Newfoundland sources. They are much the same wherever described, so I will give only a few of the best documented. An elderly fisherman from Trouty, Trinity Bay, recalled the house times as they were held there:

> Before the hall was built, about sixty or more years ago [c. 1910] there were plenty of house times during the winter time. Never had time for dances or any entertainment the rest of the year, we were all too busy with the fishery and our gardens. However, come winter, there was a time in someone's house almost every week. They'd take turns, you know, having dances. In October when the women were berry picking on the

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[72]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 81-82.

> barrens, they'd get together over a lunch and decide to have a dance the next week. Square dances was the best fun we had, you know. Perhaps one week, if I came to your house, you'd say, "John, we're having a square dance, a time, Friday night. Tell anyone you see, spread the word around, tell 'em to bring along some vegetables we'll provide the salt meat, we'll cook a scoff." Next week or so, when you came to my house, I'd tell you we were having a time. . . . The women would get the meal ready, cook the scoff. There'd be about twenty or thirty people, so two or three of the women would cook the scoff. The rest of us shaped 'er out for a dance. We'd roll up the mats and go to it. . . . About ten o'clock the tables, two or three, would be brought out in the kitchen. They'd serve as many as they could the first time 'round and then serve the rest. They'd clear away the dishes and put the tables back. What feeds some of these were: pork and cabbage, salt beef and cabbage and other vegetables. Rum was cheap then, fifty cents to a dollar a bottle, but it had to be sent out from St. John's by freight or someone in there in the fall by schooner would pick up so much before coming home. You'd never see anyone really drunk though. But we all had a good time. Once the dishes were cleaned off, and the tables put away we'd shape 'er out again. Some old woman would sing for the dance and some of them could certainly sing them jigs. Some of them could really step dance. They'd dance the double. That is a really fast step dance. The music was fast. We danced until daylight, set after set. We'd get home sometimes, change clothes, and take off for the woods. What times.[73]

Comments that the priests discouraged the house times are common. Not that they disapproved so much of dancing, rather they wanted the dances to be held under parish auspices. For example, the priest tried unsuccessfully to stop the house times in St. Alban's, Bay d'Espoir, and when Maude Karpeles visited Torbay in 1929,

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[73]MUNFLA, Ms., 73-147/pp. 15-16.

> [she] did some gate crashing, and went to a private dance at a house which did not belong to the Father's people. It turned out to be a poor affair - a few quadrille figures alternating with an interminable swinging of partners. Some of the guests turned out to be the Father's own people and they were quite discomforted to see him, as he does not approve of private dances, but likes them to be held in the parish hall.[74]

The church and, as we have seen, other institutions, co-opted the social forms of the informal social networks. Their motivation was no doubt partly financial and partly moral, as we have seen the rules of proper decorum more stringently observed at the institutional, hall times. Dancing, however, remained an important social pastime in the context of either milieu, and dance events continued to be held with and without institutional sanction.

Balls

"Balls" or "join(ed) balls," as they were called in Plate Cove, seem to have been a popular social event early in the century. Apparently a formalization of the house times, they are reported from several other communities as well. A number of couples, perhaps under the organization of the schoolmaster, would announce their intention to have a ball and other couples would join for a dollar or two, which would pay for the expenses. In contrast to the community wide celebrations at which all were welcome and even expected to attend, the joined ball was limited to those who had paid. A musician was hired

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[74] MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 28; MUNFLA, Ms., 78-003/folder 7, p. 4.

and the owners of the hosting house or parish, if it was held in the school, were paid a nominal fee. According to Mr. Mick:

> Well I'll tell you what a ball was. There'd be so many couples get together and, uh, you'd rig out then. Find your kind of stuff and get it all together. And eating and drinking and dancing and reels, cotillions, square dances.[75]

Larry Barker explained that balls in Open Hall were held in the old school, torn down in 1950, where Geraldine's grandfather taught. Unlike the dances and times which were also held there, only those couples who paid to join could attend the ball. The fee purchased the food for meals which the women did not bake themselves, liquor, and at Christmas a tree with decorations and gifts. The teacher, or one couple, would organize this. If there were not enough people in Open Hall, then they'd get people from Plate Cove or Tickle Cove. Larry contrasted these smaller events with the fund-raising times to which everyone came. The dances performed, however, were much the same.[76]

Mrs. Geraldine Keough had a damaged newspaper clipping describing a ball held in her grandfather's house in Plate Cove,

> about the nineteen twenties or nineteen thirties I guess. And such a one, Miss such a one was the belle of the ball and it described [you]

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[75]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 80.

[76]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 164-65.

know about the way they had it decorated, and uh, cotillions and quadrilles, and all the dances they had. So that would be way back. That was before my time, when they had the ball. . . . There's people from Red Cliff and Tickle Cove and Open Hall and all those. Only invited guests would come to those you know.[77]

This newspaper story, in fact, appeared on 16 February 1900, and read as follows:

Brilliant Ball at Plate Cove

Dear Sir - I beg to chronicle through the columns of your journal, a brief account of a ball given here by Mr. L Moss on Feb. 2 (Candlemas night). Eighteen couples were invited, and at 6 o'clock all repaired to the scene of festivities. The guests were not a little surprised on entering to behold the magnificent display of decorations with which the rooms were adorned. The ball room especially was

A Veritable Fairyland.

Festoons of evergreen were suspended from all parts of the ceiling, and this combined with the dazzling raiment of the ladies and the light shed by rows of Chinese lanterns, presented a panorama which would form an ideal subject for the pencil of an artist, and compare favorably with the most of the up-to-date ball rooms of the city. Supper was served at 7 o'clock, and then the music from the ball room offered inducements that few felt inclined to resist. Such an endless succession of reels, quadrills, cotillons, and mazurkas could not fail to chasing away dull care and making the night speed on eagle's wings. The wants of the inner man were attended to many times throughout the night and morn broke, alas! too quickly. At 8 o'clock

"Auld Lang Syne"

was sung and the guests departed, having spent a most enjoyable time.

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[77]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 69.

A list of some present at the occasion follows, indicating those who contributed songs. Those present who contributed songs and other "out harbour guest," from Open Hall and Tickle Cove are then listed. The women are conspicuously all unmarried and the males include "Mr. J. Long, R.C. teacher, Open Hall." It continued:

> Voting for the most popular lady and gentleman was a prominent feature of the entertainment, and Miss L. Cheevers was acknowledged
>
> "Belle of the Ball,"
>
> while Mr. M. Keough carried off the laurels as the most popular gentleman. Your sport from the city would shudder at the idea of spending a winter in one of the more distant outports, but if he had chanced to drop in at "Seaside Cottage" on Candlemas night, and view from an impartial standpoint the many and varied sources of amusement his opinion would be changed considerably, and he would say that grim winter after all has its attractions for the youth of the outport as well as of the city.[78]

While balls are not commonly reported in the Newfoundland sources, there are a few other mentions of them. A memorable "mummer's ball" was held in Tilting, Fogo, in 1906, where "dollar balls" were also popular. At these each guest had to pay a dollar to the "woman of the house." In later years these were held in the parish hall. As in Plate Cove, they featured the choosing of a Belle and Beau.[79]

In Ferryland, balls were held twice yearly; once before Christmas and again in early summer. While more of

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[78]"Brilliant Ball at Plate Cove," Evening Telegram 16 February 1900, [p. 3], col. 2.

[79]MUNFLA, Tape, 72-113/C1131.

a community affair than those described in Plate Cove, there are many similarities. The ball was hosted in a private house:

> The people who attended the Ball were generally the old man and his wife and a couple of the grown up children as well as younger married couples of the area . . . everybody chipped in to run it off. The host family was paid for the use of their house and the musician was also paid by the pass of the hat. . . . Around 7 or 8 p.m. the crowd started arriving, each bringing his or her donation of food or drink. When the crowd and fiddler were all there the dancing would begin. The first dance was usually an American Eight or a Square Dance with short breaks between each part. The male host would usually call off the dances but if it wasn't his practice to do so it was done by some other local person who did call off dances. . . . The dancing continued until eleven or so. . . . At eleven the scoff was held. This was the large meal that played an important part of the ball by introducing the purpose of the ball which followed the scoff. The scoff often consisted of a whole sheep. It was common practice to kill a sheep and prepare a meal around it. After the eating came the important part of the Ball, the choosing of the Belle and Beau. These were usually two of the younger people present. They were usually single and had never been chosen before. . . . After being picked Belle and Beau this couple would then have to dance a waltz together while the host couple and the couple who assisted the hosts in picking the Belle and Beau also danced. . . . The dancing and socializing continued till the small hours of the morning when the fiddler was paid and the rest of the crowd drifted on home.[80]

Balls are distinguished as formalized non-institutional social gatherings. They are an imitation of upper class society dance events such as those often described in 19th century dancing manuals.[81] This is

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[80] MUNFLA, Ms., 77-155/pp. 15-19.

[81] See for example Elias Howe, Howe's Complete Ball-Room Handbook (Boston: Elias Howe , 1958); or John M. Schell, Prompting: How to Do It (1890; rpt. New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1948).

clear in the newspaper description of the ball in Plate Cove, which compares it with city practices several times. Suggestions that the teacher was often responsible for organizing these events, and his presence in Plate Cove, additionally suggests an association with the more "sophisticated" society he represented in the outport context.

Weddings

Weddings provided another important occasion for dancing. As usual at times, the dancing followed the associated social activities, in this case the marriage ceremony. The wedding supper and, more especially, the dance provided an opportunity for those in the community not immediately related to the wedding couple to participate in the celebration. The event was open to all and, though invitations might be sent, once the dance started all were welcome.[82]

At weddings the bride and groom were sometimes recognized in a special dance. In St. Lawrence, Placentia Bay, the first dance of the evening would be "Haste to the Wedding." The bride and groom would "head it off" with eight other couples, the bridesmaid and bride's boy. The

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M. Schell, Prompting: How to Do It (1890; rpt. New York: Carl Fischer, Inc., 1948).

[82]See for example, the discussion of weddings in Faris, Cat Harbour, pp. 157-60.

bride and bridegroom were the first to come on and the last to leave the floor.[83] At a wedding dance in Change Islands the bride was obliged to dance with all the men there before the night was out.[84] The rest of the dance was similar to other community dances featuring group dances, solo performances and waltzes. A collection was taken up for the musician halfway through the night. The dance ended by one or two o'clock, although the party would continue in private houses for the rest of the night. As at most such events, there was always some fighting.

Mumming

The Christmas season, while providing occasion for community times, was also the season for informal house visiting and mumming. The most complete summary of these traditions is Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland edited by Halpert and Story, within which it is made clear that mumming was only one specialized form of social exchange practiced during this season.[85]

In her M.A. thesis, "The Newfoundland Mummers' Christmas House-Visit," Margaret Robertson discusses dance

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[83] MUNFLA, Ms., 72-124/p. 13.

[84] Personal communication from John D.A. Widdowson, 11 August 1981. This wedding was recorded by him as well, see MUNFLA, Tape, 65-17/C161-62.

[85] Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, eds., Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

as one form of entertainment the mummers were expected to provide for their hosts.[86] This usually took the form of step dancing which might be used as a means of identifying or concealing the identity of the mummers, as well as allowing mutual participation of both the mummers and household members. Their dancing was loud and often unruly. Mummers often danced with people they would not ordinarily dance with when not mummering, and might dance uninvited into the prohibited inner parlor of the house.

Group dances were not common during the mummers' visits, but might culminate the evening's rounds when the mummers, with their followers collected along the way, arrived at their final stop. In a few Protestant communities, where dancing was not allowed, the mummers played the circle and kissing games we have already encountered.[87]

Louis Chiaramonte has described the dancing during one mummers' visit he observed on the South Coast as follows:

> The four mummers danced their way to the center of the floor. One, carried away with the tune, began to do his special step. Almost immediately, everyone recognized him by his characteristic step, and calling him by his name, shouted encouragement as he danced. The men moved back to give him the center of the kitchen floor and towards the end of 'his step' one of them joined him in the middle of the floor. The two men faced each other, each doing his favorite step. The mummer, a very good step dancer, began to do a different step. The second man moved back slightly from the center of the floor, 'stepping

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[86] Margaret Robertson, "The Newfoundland Mummers' Christmas House-Visit," M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979, pp. 114-118.

[87] See for example, MUNFLA, Ms., 78-186/pp. 46-47.

out" an accompaniment.

> A type of dance-duel then begun - something which takes place frequently whenever two or more good dancers get together. When the mummer had finished his special step, the second dancer took over the center of the kitchen floor and began to tap out a new step. In turn, the mummer responded by beating a steady rhythm to the opponent's variations. The friendly duel came to an end when several of the other men and mummers joined them in a step.[88]

Once the mummer is identified in the opening moments of this scene a typical informal step dance interaction ensues.

Cyril Keough recalled the Christmas visiting customs in Plate Cove for his nephew, Bernard, in this way:

> And the next day, then Christmas Day, well you'd go then from one house to the other and that crowd. Singing and dancing, accordions and violins and mouth organs. Singing songs. One crowd would go to you're [sic] house, you'd go to theirs, go to someone else's and all like that. And have a dance then this place and scuff that place. 'Twas no carpet then, no. Some houses even no canvas or just the hard floor and you'd wallop her down.[89]

Similar customs are found throughout Newfoundland. One of the more complete descriptions is this from Ferryland and Aquaforte.

> Every year the men or sometimes the men and women did their Christmas visiting. After a few stops, each visit grew larger and the atmosphere became party like. The presence of music determined whether or not the visit became a dancing affair. If a member of the host family played an instrument and the right mood was present, he or she would break it out and play. Accordion and mouth organs were the most popular instruments . . . . The most popular form of dance at a Christmas visit was the step-dance which was primarily a man's dance, even though women could do it, as most of our area is Roman Catholic. These step dances

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[88]Louis Chiaramonte, p. 87.

[89]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-336/p. 71.

> usually occurred when the men were out visiting without their wives. When the wives were present although the step dance was still often done if enough people were present the lances [i.e., lancers] could be done. This gave more people an opportunity to get in on the action.
> . . . . . .
> As the later visits drew on the merriment slowly died out, the dancing stopped and a few folk songs and xmas songs became the order. They sat around the kitchen table, on which sat the bottle or two, and coaxed each other to sing.[90]

Bridge Dances

Descending the scale of formality, we come to more spontaneous outdoor events. These were seasonal, only possible only during the mild weather of the summer. Bridge dances were unplanned, though perhaps not unexpected, gatherings of young people on the wooden bridge which could be found crossing the stream which ran through most communities. The wooden surface was well suited to dance activity and the young men would often perform step dances and play mouth organ at these gatherings. When women were present there might well be figure dancing, though often only fragments of the entire dances were performed. The situation is often recalled as one where dances were first learned and practiced.

Robert Curran describes the bridge dances in Ferryland and Aquaforte as follows:

> Every community had a bridge or two where people gathered on the way home [from a house party] and wasted no time starting up the music again and beginning what is now called, "a dance on the

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[90] MUNFLA, Ms., 77-155/pp. 26-28.

> bridge," . . . Bridges were the favorite dance floors because they were such a solid wooden platform on which you could leave no rubber heel marks or tear canvas. As the crowd slowly gathered on the bridge chatting and explaining how good a time they had at a spree, someone would arrive with a mouth organ or accordion and start playing a few jigs, etc. . . . [Or] If a crowd of young people were in the same area on a certain night and there was no other pastime, one of them would play or sing a tune and they all practiced their steps in the cool night air on the bridge. . . . The dances were in no way formal. . . . Square dances and eights were unusual because of the lack of lighting and it was too organized a dance to be done in the dark. It was not uncommon to see two boys on the bridge at night practicing their steps and passing the time.[91]

Wharf Dances

Similar dancing seems to have been common on the other outdoor wooden surface available in most communities. Richard Fennely reports from Port Kirwin that during the summer months the wharf was used for dances when the hall was unavailable. There might be two a week, which, if fish was scarce, might last until the early morning hours. On Sunday afternoons the young people might dance on the bridge until late afternoon using instruments or gob music. During slack fishing the crowd might then move down to the wharf to be joined by the whole community. According to one of his informants, it was "really a sin to say, [but] everybody was delighted there was no fish," which gave them the opportunity to dance with a crowd of men from Placentia,

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[91]MUNFLA, Ms., 77-155/pp. 23-25.

there fishing for a few weeks.[92]

In the house times and less formal dance events informal social networks gathered together to maintain their relations and celebrate their existence. There was less emphasis on esoteric/exoteric distinctions than in the organization of hall times. In both types, dance serves as a unifying element. While tensions between groups and individuals do not disappear during the dance, they are at least temporarily submerged in the mutual participation and cooperation required for its performance.

Transient Participants

All the events described thus far were held within the confines of one dancing community. Individuals often moved beyond these boundaries, however, and might participate in dances outside their home communities. Sometimes visits from outside a community would actually occasion a dance event. In the late Fall on Fogo Island, for example, schooners on their way back from the Labrador would stop, and dances and suppers were held, attended by the locals and visitors from the vessels.[93] Similar events were held in Bay d'Espoir, Branch, and Petite Forte, when schooners came in from the Banks for bait.[94] These visitors were often from American ships. Cyril Pinsent attended dances all

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[92]MUNFLA, Ms., 77-334/pp. 29, 32.

[93]MUNFLA, Ms., 77-283/p. 30.

[94]MUNFLA, Ms., 74-46/p. 18; Ms., 77-149/p. 15; 81-271/p. 294.

around Newfoundland while working on coastal steamers. He described, and I have analyzed, how differences between regional dance traditions were noticeable but the similarities enough to allow participation wherever he went. Such differences were one aspect of local identity, while the similarities reflected a unified, pan-Newfoundland culture. As transportation improved during the twentieth century, dance traditions, along with other aspects of outport life, tended toward increased standardization.

Among my Plate Cove informants transient work scenes were an important environment for such out-of-community dancing.

Mick Keough went to work in Grand Falls several times and tells many stories of his experiences there. I recorded one about a dance he attended in which he expresses a sense of loyalty to his own "place," and his superiority, as its representative in dancing. He told it as follows:

> Mrs. Cashin see, she had a store, grocery store. And she turned to and she got a dance hall built onto the store see, where you could go out into the dance hall from the store. But now there was . . . me and another fella, we were . . . shackin' ourselves, cooking for ourselves in a shack. And now the shack belonged to her. She had shacks, you know, for people . . . if they wanted them. And anyhow, she got this piece onto the old dance hall and she was going to open it this night see, for to have a dance. And very well, she said, "Boys," she says, "come out," she says. Now, we lived about half a mile or that . . . from the hall. She says, "Boys," she says "get ready," she says, "Get your suppers early," she says, "and come to the dance."

The dancing was formally organized with a floor master in charge and numbered dances, which one booked at the beginning

of the evening. Mick described the scene which followed that night as follows:

> Be gob, we were booked for the fourth dance see. There was fellas ahead of us see. And, uh, we're talking. They knowed nothing about keeping time, only get out and go on like this, you know. And another man was saying he was a good fiddler and that's what I was told. And old Jack and I used to think it a pity the fine tunes that he was [not playing properly]. So be gar, all right, . . . by and by Mrs. Cashin, now she was a really good hand in a square dance. There was a lot of women there. She was about handy sixty-five then . . . she was a good hand in a dance. So all right, be gar . . . Mrs. Cashin says, "Jack," she says, "you never had a dance tonight." Jack says, "No ma'am." "My God," she says, "their at the sixth dance now," she says, "and you were booked for the fourth." . . . Anyhow, all right, she went to the floor master. She says, "They're two men here here never had a dance tonight and they were booked for the fourth dance." "Well," he said, "they couldn't be around," he says, "cause," he says, "I called out." And, "Whoa," he says, "boys," he says, "ye got to make room, to make room for those two men to get out," see. . . . And what they done, they all got on one side of the hall and leave the other side for Jack and me. Jack says to me, "That's a pretty good show for us," (laugh) I said, "yeah." And, be gob, the fiddler started with a tune and away they all goes (laugh). And, well, it come our parts you know, we just turned to.

As the story continues, the point becomes clear that he and Jack were good dancers and musicians while the others there were not:

> Alright now, when it comes our part of the first tune, of the first part of the dance, Jack and I just scuffed along you know. . . . And this other fellow now . . . Bill Cross was his name, now, and he belonged down to Tickle Cove see, and I knows him quite well. And anyhow, I said to Bill, I says, "I wonder," I says, "will he hasten the tune a bit?" "Come up," he said. "God," I said, "I don't know." "Yes," he says, "come up." I went up and he says, this man said, "The dance up bar," he says, "when it comes to your part," he says, "would you give the tune a little [words

> obscured] "Yes boy," he says, "Indeed I will." And all right, we went to our places. And we, dance up, now, when it come our part, we danced. He and I we could keep pretty good time, you know, in dances. And old fiddler says, "Men," he says, "I don't know who ye are," he says, "but by gob," he says, "it is a pleasure," he says, "to play for ye. Ye can keep good time," see. And that killed them altogether. (laugh).[95]

Such transient work scenes are often a source for cultural innovation. Mick's comment that "they only knew the Square Dance," suggests such contexts may be one element working towards the observed decrease in the variety of dances performed.

In a second story the sense of competition is even stronger. Mick again confronts strangers through the medium of dance and music, and this time proves his worth as a fiddler:

> Anyhow, I went to a dance one time, mind it was up Southern Bay. Feller was up there playing a cordene [accordion] and . . . another feller was, he was always being drunk or up dancing. But anyhow all right, I know the tune he was playing was the "Flowers of Edinburgh." And ah, other man was really a step dancer and he got out. And by and by he stopped, this man. And he come in on the tune again and he want on again and he got to that place and here he, he stopped again. And he said, "I'm giving the floor to you . . . I'll give the floor to you sir. I can't dance anymore." And he says, "You're the champion now," he says, "at the dancing." And I was out in the other grocery part of the store and this man there he had a violin. Now I, I took that, I took down the violin and I asked this man to come. And he said he'll listen to me play. He commenced to foot it out on the floor, step it out. He said, "If I had that," he said, "in there," he says, he says, "I wouldn't let me give the floor to Gun," this feller's name. . . . The other man's name was Moss.

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[95]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 94-97.

> And he said, "I don't," he says, "know who you are, but," he says, "if I got the floor for a step dance," he says, 'would you,' he says, 'mind just comin' and dancin'," says, "playin' that for?" "No," I says, I says, "I see your trouble," I says, "in there. I knows your trouble. Yes," I says. He said, "Will you be shy to play?" I said, "What?" . . . Anyhow, "All right," he said. Well now he asked for the floor, for the master, and he said, "Yes boy," he says, "Yes, you're going to try it again." And anyhow, . . . Gun, he says, "We'll try it again." "Oh yes," says Gun, "I will. I'll try it." He said, "I'll get more claps this time," Gun said. And anyhow, this feller took the cordene, you know, and he says, "You can put up your cordene," he says, "You're not playing for me now." And he didn't know I was out there see. And he says, "I'll wait one second," he says, "I'll have somebody to play for me." So I went in with the violin. Oh I had her out . . . and they were looking at me, asking, "Do you know who?" and said, "I don't know." . . . "Now," I says, "I'll play you," I says, "the whole bar," I says, "to see if its fast enough." . . . Anyhow he says, "That's just," he says, "what I wants." All right so I started. Commenced, you know. And he was going, you know, commenced footing away. . . . And then they commenced clapping and clapping and clapping and clapping and clapping their hands and by and by two girls come there and clapping and all like that . . . and I sat down. I says, "I don't know who ye are." He says, . . . "We're brother and sister, two of 'em." And he says, "We'd sooner that than five hundred dollars." Now five hundred dollars were a lot to pay that time.

Congratulations continue from others in the hall and drinks of smuggled rum are provided by the winning step dancer, Mr. Moss. And according to Mike, "They counted me the best fiddler on this shore."[96]

Summary

Dance events occur within and may be identified with a variety of contexts, including where and when they

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[96]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 76-80.

were held as well as what went on at them. Most important in distinguishing one from another, however, is who attended and why. The social group making use of dance as a form for interaction largely determines the other contextual variables. Regional gatherings were usually held in public buildings, often organized through formal institutions, and held on calendar or seasonal festivals. Formal institutions might also hold similarly structured but more local dance events. The informal social networks based on residence and kinship gathered at dance events which could be more spontaneously occasioned and were usually held in houses. Loosely related age groups gathered and danced spontaneously in such free public spaces as the bridges or wharves found in most communities.

This spectrum of formality is reflected as well in the recognition of such social roles as that of the musician, the instruments played, and the organization of dancing. While a similar tradition of dance forms is employed at all the dance events described, different aspects of its form are emphasized within the different situations. Its organization ranged from: 1) the group dances interspersed with solo Step Dance performances and sometimes Waltzes; through, 2) the group dances performed in smaller sets, the step dancing more often performed by several men at once and not much couple dancing; to, 3) freely organized step dancing and couple swinging. The first was once typical of all public, or hall times, and continued to be found at

most community gatherings until the music changed over from accordion and violin to the "bands." The second is typical of the smaller dance events, such as the house times. The least formal organization was common during the most spontaneous and smallest gatherings, the bridge dance, mummers' visit, and other occasions too loosely structured to have names.

The relationships between various social groups are reflected in the organization of dance events and expressed through typical behavior patterns. Sexual roles are probably the most often enacted. In the organization of dance events, men and women often took responsibility for different aspects of preparation. Formally organized at events such as the garden party, this division of labor would have been informally followed at other events as well. After dance performances the men are usually portrayed rushing outdoors to cool off and share a few drinks. Liquor has often been noted as a symbolic means of exchange between males and is used in the same way at dance events. At informal events, drinks may even substitute for money as the medium of exchange through which the status of the musician, or a fine step dance performance, is acknowledged. The women, meanwhile, are portrayed as congregating indoors, although equally "warm," where they gossip and share non-alcoholic refreshments.

Sexuality, its pursuit and control, is the main theme of the dance rhymes associated with many tunes. Sung,

or merely brought to mind, these contributed to the highly charged atmosphere of the dance event. Courtship activity is a recurring theme among my sources as well, and seems to have gone on during most dance events. The young unmarried people seem to have been the most avid dance goers and are often described as instigating dances. They also stay until the event has ended, after which they pursue their interests more directly.

The open expression of conflict among the men through fighting is also common at dance events. It is occasionally attributed to courtship rivalry but is more often seen as external to the dance event. Faris comments that "the few fights known in the outport occur at weddings," one of the community times he observed. He explains:

> Old grudges come to the fore and a man who has in any way violated the moral order is usually expected to be able to defend himself, and may be called to task or challenged about his transgressions. It must not be assumed that those who normally operate within the confines of the moral community initiate these fights, for it may be that the violators, who, perhaps because of the frustrations of being 'outsiders' in their own communities, usually start the fights.[97]

The euphemizing of conflict within the dance event context, such as that reported from New Perlican, reflects the ideally conceived integrative character of these events. Pursuit of integrative goals is implied in the frequent juxtaposition of dance behavior with the symbolic

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[97]Faris, Cat Harbour, p. 160.

use of food. Food preparation and consumption is so much a part of dance events that a time without food is called a "hungry dance" in Salmonier.[98] Faris has observed that food is considered "the only proper idiom in which to express hospitality."[99] As such, it is naturally found at events with a host/guest structure. Among the dance events, these include all but the most informal and contemporary gatherings to be discussed in Chapter V. At the others, dance serves to integrate the social networks being hosted.

Provision of the opportunity for participants to pursue their several goals may be seen as the function of dance events. These events are times of sexual license and expressions of sexuality permeate them. Dance events which bring together the larger social groups, such as regional gatherings, are especially important as occasions for courtship. The release of sexual energy through dancing, however, is pursued within a community context. Various networks of people use dance events to cement their relationships in a celebratory way. These networks may reflect any of the interaction frameworks noted previously -- kinship, place, or region -- as well as formal institutions such as church or fraternal organization. Through dance events such social groups pursue integrative goals, the participants achieve a cathartic release of energy, and sexuality is channeled in acceptable ways.

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[98] MUNFLA, Ms., 78-118/p. 9; Ms., 78-180/p. 3.

[99] Faris, Cat Harbour, p. 163.

CHAPTER IV

THE DANCES AS NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

While Newfoundland dancing has historical antecedents and shares many common characteristics with British North American traditions generally, it has also been molded by its local socio-cultural context. The special qualities of Newfoundland dancing may be found in the adaptation of traditional forms to the expressive needs of the participants. Dance events, ritualized and set apart from everyday activities, are, like other enactments, occasions in which social norms and cultural values are often strongly exemplified. Ideas about this world view, or ethos, are communicated

> by all patterns of behavior: postures, attitudes, interactions between persons, and the use of axial and locomotor space.[1]

In the patterns of behavior associated with dance events in Newfoundland I have identified the expression of sexuality, rivalry, and integrative goals. These same concerns are expressed at many levels in the dance movements themselves.

While the functions of dance as an expressive form have often been summarized in a general way, the

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[1]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 118.

interconnection between specific dance forms and their functions has been less often addressed.[2] Such study is crucial because, as Royce points out, dance usually has multiple functions, both overt and covert, which may change over time and among different situations. The communicative significance of dance movements within a particular culture must be understood as part of the dynamics affecting the choice of dance expression in different contexts.

Dances are a form of structured nonverbal communication among the dance event's participants. Their movements facilitate the pursuit of the dancers' individual goals and so embody the social functions which animate the dance events. They are enactments of the social relations among the participants.

Dancing is usually the central communicative event within a dance event occasion. In Erving Goffman's terms, the dances are the primary "occasioned activity" of most dance events. Goffman has called such communicative events "gatherings." A gathering is a visible phase, an embodiment of the occasion itself.[3]

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[2]See Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 76-85, for a summary of functional studies of dance.

[3]Erving Goffman, Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 194-96.

In Goffman's view, it is situational proprieties which give body to the joint social life sustained by the gathering. During a dance these proprieties require of the dancers a sufficient involvement to sustain the dance performance.[4] Dancers are free to make use of the usual means of interpersonal communication available in everyday interaction, but the dance performance requires involvement in a prescribed set of relationships. Dancers may participate reluctantly and communicate this to the other participants, but they must be involved if the dance is to continue at all. It is the significance of the obligatory relationships on which I base my following analysis of the dance patterns.

Contemporary students of dance ethnology agree that the meaning of dance is to be found in its special communicative capacities as expressive behavior. Kealiinohomoku, quoting Hanna, has described dance as a "multi-dimensional phenomenon" which is

> directed toward the sensory modalities . . . the sight of performers moving in time and space, the sounds of physical movements, the odors of physical exertion, the feeling of kinesthetic activity or empathy, the touch of body to body and/or performing area, and the proxemic sense.[5]

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[4]Goffman, p. 196.

[5]Judith Lynne Hanna, "Toward a Cross-Cultural Conceptualization of Dance and Some Correlate Considerations," IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, 1973 (rev. 1975), p. 10, as quoted in Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 86.

Royce identifies the same sensory channels and quotes, as well, from Hanna, to say that dance communicates affectively by providing "a qualitative experience, a presence, immediacy, and envelopment of sensuousnes."[6]

Dance communicates so well affectively because it is perceived not only through the well-known five external senses, but also a second group of senses which are "distinguished by the deep location of the receptors." These respond primarily to stimuli from the organism itself. Especially relevant to the dance experience is "kinaesthesis," which supplies the sense of movement and location of bodily parts. These sensations

> seem to be of major importance in . . . aesthetic responses and judgements. We are aware of our feeling tones, emotional responses, etc. through the . . . kinaesthetic sensations reaching the cortex.[7]

In Kealiinohomoku's view, dance communicates through its content, mode, and structure which together form a system for the correct transmission of dance communication.[8] Structure provides a framework of repetition and variation for the formulae that make up a dance performance. The

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[6]Hanna, Ibid., n. pag., as quoted in Royce, Anthropology of Dance, p. 196.

[7]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 173.

[8]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 100.

resulting redundancy of dance content, "permits dance messages to have affective power which offsets, in part, the lack of message extensiveness."[9]

These observations are particularly relevant to dances where the focus is on affectiveness within the performing group. In these cases "it is predictable that the repetitious patterns are content-minimal with a major thrust on symbols or reinforcement and any viewer is probably a vicarious participant or unexpected observer."[10] She observes that

> dance communication is predictably successful through the use of redundancy or repetition of gestures and stylistic formulae.[11]

These "gestures and stylistic formulae," the "content" of the dance, made redundant by its "structure," communicate primarily in the affective mode by actualizing certain "sensory modalities" over and over again for the dancers. These create culturally patterned and expected responses in the dancers or audience.

Within the affective mode which characterizes most dance communication, Kealiinohomoku identifies "subcategories of meaning" ranged along a "continuum of explicitness":

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[9]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 101.

[10]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," pp. 108-09.

[11]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 104.

> They are from least to most explicit: 1) pure or decorative dance with little or no programmatic content and concerned primarily with design (floor design, bodily gestural designs, rhythmic designs and so forth); 2) abstract or symbolic dance with symbolic referents that are not obviously denotative, but with connotative meaning for the informed; 3) iconographic, a form of mimicry, with select conventionalized motifs that are denotatively evocative of in [sic] idea, person, place, or thing; 4) dramatic pantomime with programmatic behavior, obviously denotative to those who are culturally aware, which create a "real" universe; and 5) exposition with ideas spelled out, perhaps narratively.[12]

Judith Lynne Hanna has taken the analysis of dance as communication farther than Kealiinohomoku or Royce, proposing a "semantic grid" which identifies a number of "devices" by which dance movement may convey meaning, and "spheres" within which these may operate.[13] She describes six "devices" as follows:

> (1) A concretization is a device which produces the outward aspect of a thing, event, or condition, for example mimetically portraying an animal . . . . (2) An icon represents most properties of formal characteristics of a thing, event, or condition and is responded to as if it were what it represents, . . . (3) A stylization encompasses somewhat arbitrary gestures or movements which are the result of convention . . . .(4) A metonym is a motional conceptualization of one thing for that of another, of which the former is an attribute or extension, or with which the former is contiguous

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[12]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods", p. 112.

[13]Hanna, To Dance, p. 42; also, "Toward Semantic Analysis of Movement Behavior: Concepts and Problems," Semiotica 25 (1978), 77-110.

> in the same frame of experience, for example, a war dance as part of a battle. It might be thought of as a sample. (5) A metaphor expresses one thought, experience, or phenomenon in place of another which resembles the former to suggest an analogy between the two, for example, dancing the role of a leopard to denote the power of death . . . (6) An actualization constitutes an individual dancing in terms of one or several of his usual statuses and roles.[14]

Many of Hanna's devices parallel Kealiinohomoku's categories of meaning closely, e.g., icon and iconographic dance, metaphor and symbolic dance. The overlapping of categories noted by Kealiinohomoku is explained, in part, by Hanna's recognition that the devices may operate in several "spheres," or contextual levels, of a performance. She identifies these spheres as follows:

> (1) the sociocultural event and/or situation; (2) the total human body in action; (3) the whole pattern of the performance; (4) the discoursive aspect of the performance (the sequence of unfolding movement configurations); (5) specific movement; (6) the intermesh of movements with other communication media (for example dance meaning is inseparable from song, music, costume, accoutrements, and/or speech); and (7) dance movement as a vehicle for another medium (for example, dance is merely background for a performer's poetry recitation).[15]

It is within these levels of dance context that meaning is encoded, by whatever devices. Any single dance performance is likely to use several combinations of device and sphere. Different dance traditions are likely to favor some more than others.

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[14]Hanna, To Dance, pp. 41-44.

[15]Hanna, To Dance, p. 44.

While I have not forced the Newfoundland traditions into Hanna's interpretive grid by attempting to fill all the points on her matrix, her work has suggested different levels of significance in the dance performances and possible symbolic modes of expression. My own analysis and conclusions parallel many of her observations, and reference will be made to her scheme when appropriate.

Newfoundland dancing places a strong emphasis on abstract floor design and individual rhythmic or, occasionally, gestural articulation. The floor patterns are significant in several of Hanna's spheres, including the "whole performance," "discoursive performance," and "specific movement," the gestures and rhythms of individual dancing, primarily in the "body in action" sphere. These patterns generally symbolize through metonymical or metaphorical devices. Their symbolic content may be understood through examination of the following major dimensions of significance: how, i.e., in what circumstances, the dancers use different movements; what dancers say about their movement; and, how the movements relate to other symbol systems.[16]

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[16]These are derived from Victor Turner's three major dimensions of significance to symbols as applied by Hanna to dance. Hanna, To Dance, p. 238.

We have already noted the typical social situations in which dancing took place and identified the concerns and values expressed in its associated behaviors. Dancers usually describe their dance experience metaphorically, through those elements they choose to recount. Long duration of dances, fatigue of the dancers, and physical expressions of this condition are probably the most common elements in dance descriptions. Their significance lies in the physical and psychological state they imply. I will return to this subjective experience of the dance later.

The most direct means to interpret the meaning of Newfoundland dance movement is through its relation to other symbol systems, especially those of everyday nonverbal communication. Proxemic codes are particularly relevant to the significance of floor design and organization.

In The Hidden Dimension, Hall defined proxemics as "the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture."[17] One part of this study is described by O. Michael Watson as "how man structures microspace, how he relates physically to other persons with whom he is interacting, and what is communicated by these physical relationships."[18] The

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[17]Edward Hall, The Hidden Dimension (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), p. 1.

[18]O. Michael Watson, "Conflicts and Directions in Proxemic Research", in Nonverbal Communication: Readings with Commentary, ed. Shirley Weitz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 230.

culturally determined meanings of proxemic behavior operate in dance as well as in everyday interaction, and provide a means to interpret what Kealiinohomoku called "pure or decorative" dance.

Proxemic messages at the interpersonal level are determined by a constellation of sensory inputs. Of Hall's eight proxemic variables, the ones crucial to my analysis are the axial, kinesthetic, touch, visual, thermal, and olfactory codes.[19] During the course of a dance the participants experience a variety of physical relationships with each other in terms of these codes. They turn towards and away from one another; move closer or further apart; touch one another in various ways; look at one another; smell each other; get hot; and perspire together.

Hall himself illustrates the importance of these latter channels:

> When I was younger, I often observed while dancing that not only were some of my partners hotter or colder than average, but that the temperature of the same girl changed from time to time. It was always at that point, where I found myself establishing a thermal balance and getting interested without really knowing why, that these young ladies would invariably suggest that it was time to "get some air." Checking on the phenomenon years later, I mentioned thermal changes to several female subjects and learned that they were quite familiar with them . . . Another subject used to rely on temperature changes in the chest of her dance partners and would take corrective action before things "went too far."[20]

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[19]Watson, p. 230

[20]Hall, pp. 53-54.

I have already classified the Newfoundland dances on a formal basis as either individual, group, or couple dances. Each form reflects a different nonverbal communicative structure: individual display before an audience or competition between two or more dancers; an emphasis on group interactions; or, a mixed-sex coupling. Each enables the participants to experience a different set of relationships through which they may pursue their personal goals, and in which the corporate goals of the participants, i.e., the dances' social functions, are enacted.

The courtship goals frequently referred to by dance participants are found expressed in several spheres. The division of dancers into male and female roles, for example, is the most significant and universal distinction in the movement style of individual dancers (e.g. Hanna's "body sphere"). These contrastive movement patterns are "metaphors for social roles."[21]

The men are expected to dance vigorously while the often "lackadaisical" women watch and, one assumes, admire. Men are also always described as taking the active role in partner choosing. The formal reversal of these roles is even identified as a distinct dance, the Ladies Privilege.[22]

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[21]Hanna, To Dance, p. 94.

[22]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-336/p. 28.

The distinction between male and female roles is also central to the structure of the group dances. Many "specific movements," or figures, within these dances involve mixed-sex coupling. Swinging, for example, is a secondary figure which permeates all the group dances. It is the most intimate relationship established, and is created proxemically as the dancers embrace one another. They can feel, smell, and see one another at close range. Visual, thermal, and olfactory codes come into play; all of them reinforcing the perception of intimacy. Several of the figures in which the individual men and women perform as separate groups emphasize this role distinction as well. "Ladies in," for example, separates the two groups, while "exchange partners" figures, such as "round the house," mix the two groups together as individuals.

Couple dancing, while integral to the group dances, is also found as a choreographic form in its own right. These dances, primarily the Waltz, are, however, infrequently reported from events at which group dances were performed. It seems group dances sufficiently met the need for this communicative structure. The transition to an increased emphasis on couple forms will be discussed in the following chapter.

Partner choosing games, such as the Kissing Dance, are the most elaborate courtship enactment in the dance

repertoire. The "specific movement" of kissing is a "dramatic pantomime," or "concretization," of courtship concerns. The group figures of the dance, as recalled by Mick Keough, are the "ladies in" and "right and left." These also reflect the distinction between male and female roles. The final figure is once again a partner swing; the most intimate coupling in the repertoire of "specific movements."

As a "whole performance," the Kissing Dance may be seen to enact the courtship concern which runs throughout the dance event. It is always reported as the last dance of the event, undoubtedly the most important coupling of the event, as testified by the interest of the Tickle Cove "old women."[23] Formalization of this function in the playfully ritual motions of the Kissing Dance protected the participants at the moment of high social risk, although their import might be acknowledged by all.

Display and competition are themes frequently expressed in informant descriptions of male dancing. These are closely related to sexual concerns, and thus step dancing in the group dances frequently preceeds or follows swinging, for example, after the "ladies chain" figures in the notated Square Dance. During these minor movement units the men will try to "outdance" one another in a competitive display.

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[23]Tracey, "Sprees", p. 9.

The men employ formal devices within the "body in action" sphere to create excitement and call attention to themselves. They break out of the typical body attitude and accent the rhythm with loud stamps or clapping, as Lloyd does at Bar IV.E8 of the Square Dance (Table 4, Figs. 30-31). Their partners may respond in kind, but never move so actively.

The egocentric display of step dancing is also an expression of friendly, or not so friendly, rivalry among the men. As an independent form, step dancing was commonly associated with male dominated gatherings such as forecastle times, and bridge dances. It reached its most formal expression as a competitive form at the regional and transient gatherings within which formal organization was substituted for informal social controls. In these contexts as well it probably reflected inter-community as well as courtship-based rivalry.

The descriptions of the dance events at which group dances were most often performed usually emphasize their integrative goals. Cyril Pinsent, for example, described the community times as follows:

> As the dance progressed the tie would come off, followed by the jacket and then they would roll up their sleeves. Between sets you'd head for the front steps and you'd see the steam flying. Only the men went outside and they didn't seem to mind the cold apparently, as it was "all considered part of the dancing" . . . After the dance was well underway, the sweat would begin

> to show on the participants and the odors would come through. But this wasn't as strong then as it is today, as most people wore home spun knitted clothing which absorbed the moisture somewhat. "Some of the lads with the home spun underwear used to have some trouble with the underwear shrinking."[24]

Mr. Pinsent is trying to describe the type of intimacy achieved during the dance event. This is apparent in his description of progressive deshabille during the dance; a motif he employs several times to emphasize an increase in the dancers' involvement as the dance progressed. The attitudes toward "sweat" and "odor" implicit in his comments reinforce the image of a personal level of intimacy. He is responding to olfactory and thermal codes and we should note that the crowded physical setting of the dance, and the physical exertion required in the performance, increase the distance at which these codes come into play. This creates a situationally enlarged intimate space.

Immersion of the individual in the dance experience is a related phenomenon commonly reported. Wilf Doyle, a locally well-known dance musician from Conception Harbour, Conception Bay, commented that during the Lancers the dancers "became so caught up in their dancing that for the next half hour their bodies were slaves to the music."[25]

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[24] MUNFLA, Ms. 79-630/pp. 12-14.

[25] MUNFLA, Ms., 80-118/p. 33.

We should recall the emphasis on alcohol consumption at virtually all dance events, and consider the contribution of mild intoxication to the dancers' experience. Thomas F. Johnston comments that Alaskan Eskimo dance events are

> the scene of a collective immersion in culturally ordered sound and movement and a communal subjection to complimentary psychobiological forces and bio-chemical changes . . . all of which tend to lower the affect-threshold for visual stimuli such as dance, and to reduce the individuals' resistance to the integrative goals of the social and ceremonial dance situation.[26]

Though the dance form he describes is quite different, perhaps encoding the "integrative goals" through different spheres and devices, the "psychobiological" environment of the dance event is not dissimilar to those found in Newfoundland. He describes the hall as heated to an intolerable degree while the dancers are subject to

> sensory rhythmic stimulation via extremely loud drumming, physical exhaustion, the inhalation of carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide (from the incomplete combustion of cigarettes), increased adrenalin flow, lowered blood glucose, incipient hyperventilation, accelerated perspiration, increased metabolism, increased blood pressure, and increased cerebral circulation.[27]

At the Newfoundland times where slightly intoxicated men and women perform long, strenuous dances in crowded rooms, the level of sensory stimulation is similarly high and dancers are subject to similar psychobiological effects.

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[26]Thomas F. Johnston, "Alaskan Eskimo Dance in Cultural Context", Dance Research Journal, 7 (1975), 2.

[27]Ibid, p. 2.

The integrative ethos of the dance events is enacted primarily in the group dances. Many of the "specific movements" within them integrate the dancers in a cohesive performance unit. The join together figures such as the circle (Fig. 37) symbolize this most clearly. In the "discoursive performance" of the group dances, the integration of individual dancers into a communal entity is proxemically encoded.

The Square Dance, in particular, employs this discoursive mode of progressive integration. It begins as a group of couples. These couples are formed into pairs and eventually the whole is welded together. Then the original pairings are broken down and everyone's mutual membership as man or woman, in the community of dancers is affirmed.

This progression is most clearly seen in the distinctive figures. The secondary figures, on the other hand, enact couple relationships, in swinging, or individual display, in step dancing. These secondary relationships are set within the framework provided by the sequential performance of distinctive figures.

In the first part of the Square Dance, in which dancers cross the set singly or as couples, the facing couples acknowledge each other as dance partners, but do not yet interact too closely (Table 1, Figs. 3-6). This bar is a preliminary interaction between the facing couples which stresses, primarily, the couple relationships, gives the men

a chance to show off, and begins the dancers' progressive surrender to the imperatives of the dance and music. When this introductory section of the dance is performed in two parts, there is often a progression from single crossing or couples passing by to an arch movement. "Going under" an arch demands more mutual attention and coordination of effort among the dancers than simply "passing by." Non-verbal cues must be consciously sent and carefully observed for the successful performance of these movements.

In "form a line" the facing couples link hands and the facing couples form a larger unit within the dance (Table 3, Figs. 20-21). Touch is introduced beyond the original partner linkage, and individuals begin to interact intimately with persons other than their own partner.

"Take two" carries this progression a step further as each man has the opportunity to relate intimately with both women at once (Table 4, Figs. 29-30). Significantly, the single man simultaneously does his best to attract attention with a display of step dance prowess (Figs. 30-31). The secondary figures may become more intimate as well, as couples "step dance" and cross the set, not hand in hand, but in a closed embrace (Figs. 33-34).

In the final section the dancers join together as one group, though still coupled with their partners. They

"close in," increasing their proxemic sense of intimacy and may circle as a group (Table 5, Figs. 37-38). The pairing of original couples is broken down and the women and men may both perform en masse, as in "ladies in" (Table 6). The relationship is now not so much between individual men and individual women, but rather the men and women as groups. Similarly in the exchange partner figures, the original couples are separated and individuals are mixed together (Fig. 41, Table 6). The dancers perform as individual male or female entities within the larger social group.

Although the Lancers' figures differ from those of the Square Dance, their progression is equivalent (Table 8). The dance begins with similar couple interactions, but moves more quickly to group figures. As in the Square Dance, some figures, such as the "longways reel," separate the men and women into groups. Others, such as the "basket" and "thread the needle," unite the dancers in a single group formation.

The Reel employs a similar repertoire of figures and relationships, but places less emphasis on their progressive sequence. The reel begins with both "all join" and "exchange partner" group figures, interpolating two couple interactions--swinging and solo stepping--throughout. There is some sense of progression in the couple interactions: the first figure involves a two couple

relationship; the second mixes the individual men and women; in the third, one couple moves through the entire floor space of the set; and in the final figure each man leads a "thread the needle." Between each, however, is the exchange partner group figure "grand chain."

The sets performing the reel were small ones. Maud Karpeles saw it done by six couples, but commented it was usually danced by only four. The Reel is reported from small dance event contexts, such as the house times in Harbour Deep or the older dance events in other communities, but seldom mentioned in larger group contexts such as the Garden Party or other hall times. Its choreographic structure is not well suited to expansion. An increase of only a few couples would extend the duration of the dance considerably. The Square Dance form, in contrast, could accomodate large numbers with no increase in duration. The reel may well have disappeared as dance events became larger and more dancers had to be accommodated.

Not only would the duration of a large reel set be unreasonable, the floor space required would be extravagant and large numbers of couples would be idle during the couple figures. In the Square Dance the same floor space was made to accommodate twice the number of dancers who could actually use it at once by alternating between the end and side couples. The duration of each sequence was sufficient

for the dancers to reach full involvement while performing, and then take a short rest, during which attention to the dance was not required at a high level. More rapid alternation between ends and sides is found in smaller sets, such as those described in the Tack's Beach Square Dance, or the Lancers, but dancers had then to remain involved in the dance, taking up space, even when not actively performing. In a large Reel dancers would need to be similarly involved, though physically idle.[28]

One of the most common observations of informants recalling the older dance traditions is their long duration. Although reported as lasting from one-half to a full hour, when performed without long pauses between the parts, the Square Dance and the Reel actually last closer to twenty minutes. This discrepancy may reflect a more relaxed performance style in the older dance events with longer pauses. It may also be an exaggeration meant to emphasize the degree of involvement in the dance performance, much like comments on the dancers' fatigue and perspiration. The modern dances are, however, much shorter in duration, and such informant comments are also meant to highlight this contrast.

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[28]This change is related to that noted by Feintuch in Kentucky, from four couple squares to large circle forms, Feintuch, pp. 64-65.

The Kissing Dance has also undergone abridgement within my informants' memories. The repetition of the partner choosing sequence was eliminated, and once the chain was formed group figures were performed. This change emphasizes the discoursive expression of progressive integration similar to that of the Square Dance and Lancers over the courtship pantomime.

There may well be a general historical trend to shorten dance duration. Several versions of the Square Dance were reported in which only two sides of the set were used, eliminating essentially half the dance. In one version I have seen which uses this formation, no breaks were taken between the performance of the facing couple figures, shortening the dance even further. An informant commented on this occasion that they had at one time used the more typical "end" and "side" couple formation with breaks between parts, but this had changed after the Second World War. He couldn't tell me why, except to say that the change made the dance go faster.[29]

Summary

The choreographic forms found in traditional Newfoundland dance culture seem to symbolize distinctive social roles, their relations, and an idealized integrative

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[29]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 329.

social ethos. These are expressed in dance formation and structure, contrastive movement styles, discoursive performance, and particular movements.[30]

The most significant social distinction within the dance is between men and women and the courtship function of these occasions is freely acknowledged by informants. As noted in Chapter I, the dancing community in the Plate Cove region includes the same communities among which the most marriages took place. The group dances include movements which enact relationships between individual men and women, pairs of couples, groups of couples, groups of men and women, and all individuals together. They subsume the relationships enacted in the solo male step dance and mixed-sex couple dance forms, within a discoursive unification of all participants in the dance group. The boundary of this integrated community identity is further symbolized in the entire performance which, "is always a bit different in each place."

Courtship, competition, and integration are expressed in many contextual spheres of the dance events. The dances employ proxemic codes to enact these functions. Each is given choreographic expression in a particular dance form, but all are subsumed within the group dances, the special function of which is the pursuit of integrative

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[30]See Hanna, To Dance, pp. 41-44, and pp. 91-100, for parallels in her analysis of Ubakala dance plays.

goals among groups of dancers. The integrative ethos may also be seen in the differences between local versions of the "same" dance. The emphasis placed on these relatively minor distinctions reflects the informants' identification with their place of residence. The "whole performance" then helps to unite a region which shares the same dance forms.

Kealiinohomoku has discussed the significance of redundancy in dance as a mechanism to reduce stress. She points out that "dance communication is predictably successful through the use of redundancy or repetition of gestures and stylistic formulae, because the coding/encoding processes between actors and reactors is highly predictable." The use of conventional gestures reduces stress because they may be "responded to with relative safety." She elaborates as follows:

> Redundancy reduces stress in two ways: the greater predictability of appropriateness of cue-giving, if it is not dependent upon innovation or extemporaneous creativity; and the greater predictability of appropriateness of cue-receiving. In other words, affective coding and affective encoding become reliable through patterned behavior. . . . It is suggested that a person would be threatened if, especially in critical situations, he was required to be critical of every input and consciously selective of his every response, and further required to behave innovatively with every reaction. Formulae and redundancy permit automatic and ritualized behavior on the part of both coder and encoder, and such ritualized behavior becomes stress reducing.[31]

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[31]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods", pp. 104-106.

Formulaic behavior and redundancy operate to ease the stress involved in pursuit of all three social goals. At its simplest in the Kissing Dance, the formulaic courtship pantomime is simply repeated over and over again. Indeed, in the older versions the entire sequence, redundant in itself, is repeated twice. Redundant expression of integrative goals is found not only in the repetition of the group dances several times during the night, but, more importantly, within different levels of the performance itself. The expectation of performer/audience division in the Step Dance helps ease the strain potentially produced by such an egocentric display. Within the bounds of the performance, such behavior is both tolerated and appreciated.

The same event ethos is redundantly expressed in dance event spheres beyond the movements themselves. The music is strongly associated with sexuality which is even more clearly expressed in its associated rhymes. When sung at the dance, these rhymes, expressing sexuality, personal and regional rivalry, use yet one more channel for expression of the same concerns.

Dance events were about the cultural conceptions of community organizations and the channeling of sexuality in acceptable ways. At these occasions license and cathartic release were achieved and expressed through dance. The structure of the dances provides a framework in which

the norms are made visible and through which dancers "let off steam" while affirming their allegience to the cultural order.

Feintuch has discussed the concept of a "community of couples" in relation to square dancing in Kentucky.[32] He observes that the older domestic square dances are symbolic of the "norms of community in which couples were the basic unit and their social networks - their neighborhoods - were represented as a bound unit, the square."[33] While this may be said of the Newfoundland domestic dances as well, I have gone on to identify the expression of these social norms within a number of other spheres of the dance event and through several devices.

Feintuch continues to compare the "closed system" of the domestic square dance with the open-ended, progressive circle, "square dances" now common at public dance events in Kentucky. While still based on the couple unit, these "reflect a social structure in which all do not know each other."[34]

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[32]He ascribes this term to Thomas A. Burns with Doris Mack, "Social Symbolism in a Rural Square Dance Event", unpublished ms., p. 37, as quoted in Feintuch, p. 59.

[33]Feintuch, p. 65.

[34]Feintuch, p. 65.

In Newfoundland, as the dance traditions moved from the house to the hall, there was a restructuring of the dances to accomodate more participants. The discoursive sphere became the primary level through which this larger group was integrated in the final group figures of the Square Dance and Lancers. This transition is emphasized further in those versions which condense the facing couple figures of the square dances, to "make it go faster," another response to the increased number of participants.[35] In Plate Cove, the Kissing Dance as well became increasingly adapted to this discoursive structure. The decline of this dominant structural type is considered in the next chapter.

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[35]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 329.

CHAPTER V

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN NEWFOUNDLAND DANCE CULTURE

New Dances at New Events

The dancing one is most likely to observe in a Newfoundland outport today is very different from that I described in Chapter II. The group dances have been replaced by the mixed-sex, couple dancing, to country or rock music, typically found throughout most of North America. There are two basic forms: the open position, with partners rarely touching; and, closed, with partners often tightly embracing one another, usually performed to fast or slow music respectively.[1]

These dances are performed, as well, in contexts different from the dance events described in Chapter III. The most common contemporary dance event is simply a "dance," usually sponsored by a club to attract business. On the Bonavista peninsula, and probably elsewhere, these include both "teenage" and "adult" dances, usually held on consecutive nights of a weekend. Teenage dances are for those under the drinking age of nineteen, where no liquor is served. However, young single people and married couples predominate at the adult dances as well. Participants at

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[1]For an interesting parallel see Bruce Taylor, "Shake, Slow, and Selection: An Aspect of the Tradition Process Reflected by Discotheque Dances in Bergen, Norway," Ethnomusicology, 24 (1980), 75-84.

both will travel outside their communities and even immediate regions to attend. One Saturday night I picked up some adolescent boys hitch-hiking home to Princeton and Sweet Bay from a teenage dance at Brennan's, a club mid-way between Plate Cove and Summerville.[2] Young adults of drinking age travel even further in cars, ranging all over the Bonavista Peninsula.

The Transition

Between the dance culture described in the bulk of this thesis, and the new dances and dance events, which have eclipsed the older traditions, there occurred a rather abrupt transition which is difficult to document. Neither archive sources which, as noted earlier, tend to focus on the "old times" or the present day, nor my own informants provided much information on dance practice between the two periods.

A typical explanation given by informants for the decline of the older dance traditions during the 1950s is that offered by Cyril Pinsent. There had been a lot of American influence during the 1940s, and Newfoundlanders had begun to travel more as well, which introduced people to

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[2]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 168.

other types of dancing. Different types of music became popular as well, made available on radio, juke boxes, and home hi-fi's. It became difficult to get anyone to play music for the older dances. People wanted to throw off their "rustic" image:

> Nobody wanted to be associated with it, we wanted to be more cosmopolitan. We became a part of Canada, our isolation seemed to go and I believe the overwhelming need to be absorbed, to be considered as part of the continent, a part of the whole as you will, and anything which designated us, as a rule, rustic people was not accepted.[3]

The image of a clean and abrupt break with the past and the importance given to media dissemination and validation of the new forms is typical. This image has some validity if one looks only at the dance forms themselves. As a part of the dance culture I have been describing however, they could not change independently of their performance contexts. Change in any aspect of the dynamic system of dances, dance events, and the cultural order they enact, related through the communicative nature of dance, is bound to have repercussions throughout. Recent changes in Newfoundland dance are not simply an abandonment of the older dance forms, but rather a reorientation of the expressive role of dance in society.

A few clearly transitional scenes are documented in my sources and I will draw on one in particular as an

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[3]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-630/pp. 31-32

exemplar. This MUNFLA collection, while not from the Plate Cove region, was made by a student using my questionnaire guide and provides a thorough and well-rounded description.[4] The informant was the student's mother who had attended dances as a teenager, in communities around St. John's in the 1950s.

These weekly dances were the main social event of the week for the young people who attended. The participants included a majority of young, single men and women, as well as some older men, both single and married, and young married couples who used to attend before their marriage. The young people came from a large area around St. John's and often traveled by car to attend, though there was always a "core group" of locals in each community where such dances were held. The informant, who lived in "a loosely populated area outside the city limits, but not within community boundaries," attended dances in Torbay and, less frequently, Portugal Cove and the Goulds. The latter dances were attended on special occasions, such as a garden party. She was not an "insider" at any of these dances, but was known and had many friends, especially in Torbay. Her socializing with this "crowd," however, was largely limited to the dance events and weekend visits "to meet and talk with friends."[5]

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[4]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714.

[5]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 2.

This situation is not unlike that I found around Plate Cove. The significant difference from the "old time" events seems to be the increased mobility among the participants. The availability of cars to travel further afield was as important in the Torbay area then, as it is today in Plate Cove. It seems that the large area thus made accessible results in less closely knit social groups at dance events. This change took place at different times in different areas of the Province depending upon when improvements were made to the roads. The effect of such changes varied in degree as the relative distance between communities is greater in some areas than others. The eventual impact, however, seems to have been much the same in the areas I have visited.

Before the improvement of transportation, most large inter-community gatherings, where young people could meet prospective mates from outside their immediate communities, were held in the context of festival occasions which served several social needs. Among these events, I found the enactment of integrative goals and the culturally sanctioned expression of sexuality to be paramount. The function of the modern dance events, in contrast, has become primarily to provide courtship opportunities. The impact of this change is apparent in the informant's description of her experiences at the dance and the dances performed.

The student collector writes as follows:

> The dance served as an opportunity for men and women to meet. Both sexes went to some lengths to 'catch the eye' of the other. The men engaged in what was considered 'manly behavior,' with drinking and fighting being a part of the image. They might also show off their strength and agility in their dancing by swinging the girls off their feet, etc. Both sexes dressed in their good clothes. Women wore blouses and wide flare skirts which were considered to look good when you danced.[6]

In order to procure a partner the girls employed a not so subtle strategy to overcome the men's shyness. According to the informant, the girls "would pass by a fellow pretending to be on the way to the bathroom, or to another friend, perhaps a couple of times so that he would notice her and ask her to dance". Acquisition of a partner to accompany one home was an important concern:

> At the start of the dance . . . the girls would look over the people there to see who was present. Both men and women singled out those individuals they would prefer to accompany home . . . Once a girl singled out the man she wanted to take her home, she would keep an eye on him and make sure she knew when he wanted to leave. Then, later, she would be subtly by the door, ready to leave so that he would have the opportunity to ask her if she wanted a run home. She might not be the only girl who was waiting, she might have a friend or two with her. Then the man would drop off the girls in a certain order so that he dropped off the girl he liked best last. If the girl did not want to linger with this fellow before going home, she would make sure she was not dropped off last.[7]

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[6]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/pp. 6-7.

[7]These comments on courtship are from MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 12.

While an informant who was an eligible young woman at the older dance event might recall similar concerns, the heavy hand of parental presence and community chaperonage served to subdue their expression and necessitated the use of protective and ritualized forms such as the Kissing Dance.

The dances most commonly performed at these events were recalled as the waltz, one step, jive, and two step, all mixed couple dances performed to "modern" music played by a hired band. These forms, however, were adapted by the dancers to fit their sense of propriety and satisfy their expressive needs. They are described as follows:

> Couples held each other while they did these dances, but the partners were allowed to hold each other only so close. If a couple started dancing too close, everyone on the floor would stop dancing and look at them. Thus a couple could not get away with being too intimate in public because everyone was watching what everyone else was doing.[8]

Not only were the new forms somewhat restricted by existing norms, they were also changed to express relationships not inherent in their structure. The student goes on to say:

> Except for restrictions on how close you could hold your partner, people felt free to improvise on the basic dances in such a way that they could include their friends . . . often a couple would start waltzing or doing a two step and grab onto another couple or two. Each individual would execute the basic steps but as many as four or more people might be strung together holding hands, kicking their feet up together.[9]

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[8]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 8.

[9]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 9.

The group forms survived in this context although in slightly changed form. The Lancers was performed when the hired band, playing music "from the radio," took a break. A local, unpaid "accordion player and singer" would then take the stage and provide music.[10] The sense of group integration implied in the groups of waltzing couples was here dominant, explicit and more clearly articulated. Everyone joined in the Lancers and for many of the older people it was the only dance in which they would take part. Not only did they probably feel more comfortable with the dance forms with which they had grown up, but without a strong courtship interest of their own, the Lancers would have been the only dance to provide the dance experience they desired.

The musician played traditional dance tunes while the singer, in actuality a "caller," prompted the figures. Despite this practice, each set had one or more experienced dancers who

> shoved the less experienced into position. The resulting dance was not meant to be a perfect example of this type of dance, but was a dance in which everyone who wanted to could get on the floor. The Lancers might continue for an hour if everyone was in the mood. Once the Lancers started none of the people were allowed to leave the floor or break the set. When the Lancers finished everyone usually went outside to cool off and the hired band resumed playing listening music or modern dance music.[11]

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[10] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 9.

[11] MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/pp. 10-11.

This performance is a microcosm, or encapsulation of the old time dance event ethos: "everyone who wanted" could dance; it lasted a very long time; it required all the dancers' involvement; and, got everyone very hot.

The basic movements remain much the same as those described earlier. The dance begins with facing couple figures and continues with a longways figure and variation of "thread the needle". The "basket" figure, however, was recalled as the climax of the dance. It is described as follows:

> Another sequence . . . was for everyone to form a circle, so that every woman was between two men. Everyone would then hold hands behind the next person's back so the circle was locked . . . [and] then side step to the music. The object of this was for every man to swing the girl next to him off her feet. The circle would go around faster, until the set finally ended when someone lost hold and a few girls went flying through the air.

What was described earlier as vigorous, "manly behavior" has overwhelmed the dancers' cooperation and effectively ended the dance. This behavior went so far that

> even when the couples were dancing singly the men tried to swing the girls up in the air. When the men were rather drunk they used to drop the girls regularly. My mother said she usually went home with several cuts and bruises.[12]

Instead of the subjection of the individual to the imperatives of the dance movements, with status awarded those who could "keep good time," the dancers seem here to

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[12]Both descriptions are from MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/p. 11.

struggle against the form. Instead of a progressive unification culminating in the group figures "right and left" or "thread the needle," the set literally flies apart at its climax. The form is not able to unite the disparate individuals, who are no longer members of a community celebrating their corporate identity in the dance event.

It is interesting that the solo step dance form did not survive in this new context at all. The only men who gave such performances were those considered "drunk." The women felt such a man was "making a fool of himself." Drinking, but not to excess, was considered appropriate behavior to be expected of the men. It helped them to "loosen up." Fights broke out frequently among the men and occasionally the women as well:

> The combatants had to go outside and often attracted a number of spectators from those who stepped out to cool off. Fighting was accepted by the participants as being a part of the general excitement.

Male interactions continued to involve drinking, in this case beer consumed in their cars, and fighting. The structured dance expression of their relationships -- the competitive solo step dance -- was not maintained. In the dance men displayed their "strength and agility . . . by swinging the girls off their feet."[13] These were not men with important social

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[13]These comments are from MUNFLA, Ms., 79-714/pp. 6-7.

ties outside the dance context; they could afford to fight more openly. Their primary interest was in impressing the women, which they did, sometimes quite physically.

Eventually, perhaps as the dancers still familiar with the older forms aged and stopped attending dances, the group dances ceased to be performed altogether. Contemporary dance forms continue to reflect these changes in the dance event contexts and, while styles follow mass media trends with some time lag, the mixed sex couple dances are now almost the sole surviving form of purely social dance.

Old Dances at Old Events

Older dance forms still persist in some of the traditional event contexts. House visiting and parties survive as a form of social gathering, especially during the Christmas season. As was the case in former times, singing and instrumental music is often performed at these events along with informal step dancing. The performance of group dances is apparently rare. Gerald Quinton reported playing at several such house parties during the Christmas season of 1980-81.[14] Similar events may occur more spontaneously throughout the year, especially on Friday and Saturday nights. These are often all male gatherings, such as that which coalesced at Raymond Philpott's house at the end of my field work in Plate Cove.

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[14]Telephone interview with Gerald Quinton, 27 December 1980.

This gathering continued throughout the weekend, moving from Raymond's to the club in Plate Cove West. The owner's wife, serving the bar, did not want any music played in the club, although another table of patrons, Dan Tracey and several others from that crowd, were obviously pleased. We decided to leave and went on to Brennan's, the much larger club just down the road towards Summerville, taking several young men and women with us from Plate Cove West. We stayed at Brennan's drinking, playing and singing until about two or three o'clock in the morning. I then drove a carful of people to their homes, discovered that some of the young women were interested in "parking," and eventually arrived back at another house in Plate Cove as the sun rose. Courtship was clearly still a part of such "times".

I expected this would be the end of the party but after Mass on Sunday morning, a number of the crowd gathered again at Brennan's and continued to drink, sing, and play music. Several men were there from Stock Cove, very likely related to some of Karpeles' informants, and although the two groups sat at different tables, each listened to the other's performances. The "juke box" was occasionally played by other patrons, but ignored by the performers and their listeners. Having made arrangements to be back in Jamestown that evening, I eventually had to leave, although the gathering did not seem to be ending. Step dancing was not a

prominent part of the entertainment, but was performed by Paddy Dooley, known for his ability as a dancer, after sufficient coaxing from "the boys," both at Raymond's house and later at Brennan's. It was recognized as an appropriate performance genre in that situation.[15]

Some informal social gatherings self-consciously emphasize the older performance traditions. Many of the social gatherings that I participated in were influenced by this attitude because of my expressed interest in these forms. Others were reported to me. I know of one instance during my stay when Gerald was invited to a house party specifically as a musician because some of the host's relatives were visiting from the States and wanted to hear the old music. He seemed to imply this was a common occurrence.[16]

Similarly, an informant from Conception Harbour commented that the "Yanks," meaning Newfoundlanders who emigrated to the United States, return every summer and always want to do the Lancers. In that community a garden party and parish dances are held during the summer months which cater to that group and at which the Lancers is danced.[17]

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[15]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 196-97; Tape, 81-271/C5194.

[16]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 258.

[17]MUNFLA, Ms., 80-118/p. 31.

The older forms of music and dance have become identified with a conception of Newfoundland cultural identity, particularly important to those who have left. The "Caribou Reel," for example, is reported as often danced by Newfoundlanders in mainland Canada. It is performed in long-ways formation, as follows:

> Each couple in turn, starting from the top will dance "free style" (a figure or step of their choice) down the middle from top to bottom of the set as those on the side clap hands and move up to maintain position.[18]

This is really just a couple dance in a group formation. There are no "join together" or "exchange partner" figures. It is a couple performance merely reminiscent of an older form with which the dancers may still identify, though they can no longer perform it.

A similar response may be seen in the phenomenon of "Newfy" clubs and music in Toronto, which support such performers as Michael T. Wall, "The Singing Newfoundlander," Harry Hibbs, and many others. The influence of mass media stereotyping, university courses in Newfoundland culture, visiting collectors, and returned emigrants, has contributed to a local awareness and conception of "Newfoundland culture" which is becoming increasingly identified as a separate category of behavior with its own appropriate occasions for expression.

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[18] [Everett], p. 130.

Weddings also continue to be occasions at which the older dance traditions are often performed. As a particularly significant rite of passage, weddings are naturally conservative events. They involve a wide age range of participants and so preserve many older forms. Until recently, as an informant from Wabush, Labrador commented, a wedding was not considered complete unless there were a few square dances and step dances.[19]

During my field work in Plate Cove, Larry Barker's daughter married a man from Plate Cove West, and the wedding reception was held at Brennan's. A band was hired to play modern dance music for most of the evening, but during their breaks, Larry and Gerald played and some square dancing was done, primarily by the older people. Although a few younger people took part, they didn't really know the dance.[20]

At Leith Quinton's wedding reception in St. John's on June 21, 1980, I observed several fragments of the Square Dance and a more extended Kissing Dance performance. The wedding party was attended by a number of friends and relatives from Red Cliff, among them Gerald Quinton and Larry Barker who had been asked to play music. Only four couples out of the hundred or so people there attempted the Square Dance and that without much success beyond the first two bars.

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[19] MUNFLA, Ms., 71-74/p. 3.

[20] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 175, 178.

The Kissing Dance was instigated by Leith himself, the idea, apparently, being to get everyone involved. The partner choosing portion continued for some time, eliciting a variety of responses from those approached, including one high point where a priest was kissed, amidst great hilarity, and joined the line of dancers. Eventually, a majority of participants had been included, those left out making it clear they did not wish to join in, but by that time dancers were loosing interest and leaving the set. The final group figures were not attempted.

The most successful traditional performance of the evening was a step dance by Lloyd Oldford, but he did not command the attention of very many in the room. Several waltz melodies elicited the most response from the dancers, who filled the floor in couples and sang the choruses as they danced. The dancing at this event seemed to reflect a desire to affirm some connection with the groom's family roots in Red Cliff, but an unfamiliarity with the dance forms among the majority of the participants, who were not from Red Cliff, prevented the successful incorporation of these dance traditions.[21]

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[21]MUNFLA, Tape, 81-271/C5180.

New Dances at Old Events

The community festivals, when they are observed at all, no longer provide occasion for dancing the group dances. The garden party, for example, once such an important event, has declined until only one was held in the Plate Cove region, in King's Cove, in 1979. Although a relative of Larry Barker's arranged for him and Gerald to play instead of hiring a band, it seems the square dancing was not very successful.[22]

Mrs. Keough noted that when bands became popular for dancing, "they changed everything," and explained that

> right now they don't have any garden parties because the majority of the younger people, they like the bands. And it's no good to the older people and plus it's quite a lot of money . . . Bands only play for a couple of hours eh, and it's not worth your money, 'cause that's two hundred and fifty, three hundred dollars.[23]

Other festivals have changed similarly. While in the old days there were probably several large dance event gatherings during the Christmas and winter season, according to Mrs. Keough, "they have the clubs and it's different now." She described the New Year's Balls as held in the clubs nowadays as follows:

> Well, you know, they have a band there . . . Sometimes you have to get your ticket, you know, about

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[22]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 92.

[23]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 87-88.

> two months beforehand. And, you don't have no, nothing to eat, except, they have cold plates there, you know, if you want them. Go up to the bar and get the cold plate see. And, twelve o'clock, you know, it's all decorated with balloons and everything, so twelve o'clock, whoever you're facing then you give them the great big, you have the little hats on, eh, you has a great big kiss. Give them the great big kiss. They you burst them [the balloons] . . . There's sometimes they do have the accordion, somebody who's there with the accordion. Probably Jim Philpott there with the accordion. Next thing you're out and, while the band is taking a break, you get out and have a go at it. It's really, you know, fun. You meet each other.[24]

These began in Plate Cove after the clubs opened, about five or six years ago, she recalls. Similar New Year's Balls were held in Gander, where she worked during 1947 through '51, with "Canadians and Americans" in civil aviation.[25] This is another example of the influence of mainland culture during and following the Second World War.

Comments contrasting the dances formerly typical at larger dance events and the modern dances are common and usually emphasize the same differences. For example, an informant said the following of Harbour Deep square dance in recent years:

> The Goat has just about disappeared and is replaced with a few belly rubs, a swing or two, a bit of arm

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[24]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 113.

[25]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 17.

> swinging and finger cracking and the dance is over.[26]

This comment disparagingly catalogues the important choreographic changes from the older group form. The new dances are shorter in duration, they are primarily mixed sex couple interactions, movements are more sexually explicit, with more freedom generally in the use of the body and limbs. The modern dances are not suited to expression of the social relations and integrative goals to which the festival events addressed themselves.

Old Dances at New Events

The group dances are found today in radically different social settings than those in which they acquired their characteristic forms. Contemporary performances of the group dances are most common at self-consciously "cultural" events. Such events range in formality from the house parties for visiting relatives, noted earlier, to such events as the dance workshop described in Chapter II, folk festivals, and media events. This cultural "revival," to use the term commonly applied to these expressions, may be expressed in other, naturally occurring events, as, for example, at Leith Quinton's wedding. Most commonly, however, dance performances of this type occur at special events consecrated to promoting and publicizing the ideals of the cultural "revival."

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[26]MUNFLA, Ms., 75-10/pp. 60-61

The organization of the dance performances within these new events is very different from that within the dance events of the past. These dances are most often stage performances for an audience. While performing the dancers must interact with one another, but the primary focus of their performance is external and directed toward a non-dancing audience. The dances are performed by a small group of interested and skilled dancers. At the older dance events, in contrast, all participants were potential dancers and their performances were internally focused.

Some of the dynamics at work in the process by which the cultural revival movement recruits performers and the impact it may have at a local level may be seen in the experience of the "Red Cliff Dancers," as told to me by Mrs. Keough.

Her involvement with the group began with the event which first brought them together as performers. This was the taping of a CBC "Land and Sea" program conceived by the producer Dave Quinton, Leith's brother and Gerald's nephew. The program was made in December of 1976 and entitled "A 'Time' in Red Cliff." As Therese told it:

> My brother and a couple from here [Plate Cove] was supposed to go down. They were asked to go down and then some of the boys backed out. I was on the way going to a bingo game when the phone rang. This was Gerald Quinton's wife. They wanted another few from

> up around here and when the others backed out, from up here, she said, "Well, I'll find somebody." So she phoned me. She said, "How would you like to come down," she said, "and go on Land and Sea." I said, "Okay, have somebody come up for myself and my brother," I said, "and we won't be long," I said, "going down." [Someone] came up here in the van, the CBC van and we went down. And the CBC crowd were out and we had a grand time that time. We had a wonderful time.

Significantly, the program was conceived outside the community and brought to fruition through the efforts of Gerald and his wife, Hilda, both of whom served as intermediaries within the community. They were able to draw upon knowledge of the local people to assemble a willing crowd of participants. That Gerald's family should play this role is no surprise. Merchant families have always been in an intermediary position in the out-port communities.

Therese's description of the program itself is also interesting, as it identifies and focuses on several signifiers of the "old times":

> It was in the old hall in Red Cliff. The old FPU Hall, the union hall. We had an old-fashioned stove and an old tea kettle all blackened up, and used to have that round chunks of wood like the old-fashioned. And had the kettle on and the water boiling. And we had a drop of whiskey and rum. We used to make a drop of punch. We used to get the hot water and sugar and make, you know, the old-fashioned. So then they started singing songs. Then we start dancing. Then we had to do the Kissing Dance.

The event self-consciously sought to evoke images of the "old-fashioned" times, and all were aware of this purpose.

The last big dance of a similar sort had actually been held six or seven years before.[27]

After this initial contact with the cultural revival outside the community context, a number of collectors, enthusiasts, students and popularizers began appearing on her doorstep. The folk revival group Figgy Duff, while on tour and performing in King's Cove, heard about the Keoughs from their appearance on Land and Sea and came to visit. As Therese relates:

> They all came here anyway, they all came here one day. And I just got enough of dinner on for our own selves. I know what I had. I had salt beef and turnip and dumplings, baking powder dumplings, and jam. And when they come what we did was shared it up with them. And they really enjoyed it, they did.

Shortly after, Aiden O'Hara, an Irishman working for CBC, undergraduate folklore student at Memorial University, and enthusiastic promoter of "folk arts" turned up:

> Aiden O'Hara come knocked to the door and he asked for Cyril Keough. When I seen him, it was the first time I met him, I said, "Are you Aiden O'Hara?" And he said, "Yes." Well I knew the Irish accent I guess, but I saw him on television. So he came in here. He came in. So then he opened the school and we had a big dance and everything you know.

This may have been one in a series of "grand times" the St. John's Folk Arts Council was then sponsoring in outport communities.

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[27]This narrative from MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 111.

Her story continues:

> In February of that year when we had to go in for a workshop at the LSPU Hall [in St. John's]. That's when we started the real thing. And we were in for two days. Two days, two nights that time.

In subsequent years, she received phone calls to ask the Red Cliff crowd, as they became known, to appear at folk festivals each summer. I first met them at one of these which was held in Bannerman Park, St. John's, during 1979. Therese recalled that subsequently:

> there was three or four, I don't know who they were, strangers I know, but they asked us did I want to come in and give five lessons on the Square Dance. But you know you want time for that.

In 1980, although Therese was anxious to participate, the others decided not to attend the festival. Lloyd Oldford was busy fishing, and Larry Barker and Gerald Quinton had just spent a week in St. John's after attending Leith Quinton's wedding. Such concerns have prevented them from participating in several other folk festivals to which they were invited.[28]

From this narrative it is apparent that the Red Cliff Dancers were formed in response to stimuli largely external to the communities they represent. In fact, they don't exist as a group within the local context at all. The individuals who became involved in performing do not interact

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[28]This narrative from MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/p. 112.

much on an everyday level at home. This was probably the major reason I was never able to get them together as a group to dance during my field work in the Plate Cove region.

The Red Cliff Dancers are typical of one type of performing troupe. These adult groups often perform, with little or no rehearsal, dances which have not been an active social tradition for many years. They often make mistakes in the performance of figures, but usually convey tremendous energy and command of the style as individual dancers.

The second major class of performing troupe, the youth groups, are taught and rehearsed by adult leaders. They usually perform the figures accurately, but often seem awkward and unskilled in their individual dance movements. One student collector commented on the performance of a group of children who were taught the Lancers in Conception Harbour as follows:

> Some of the natural movements and gestures employed by their ancestors are missing. . . . The children seem to lack the refinement, poise and litheness inherent in the steps of older dancers. They execute the steps [i.e. the figures] very well but do not seem to be "feeling" the music.[29]

The traditional dance movement aesthetic seems to be difficult to teach. Training of dancers was formerly

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[29]MUNFLA, Ms., 80-118/p. 40.

informal, based on observation, emulation, and practice from a young age.[30] Contemporary youthful performing groups are taught instead through more formal methods. As a result, the traditional dance style no longer seems to be a natural extension of the children's movement repertoire.

Intentional changes are occasionally made to the dances by these groups, motivated by an appreciation for the changed context of their performance. What is satisfying to a group of dancers performing the figures may not be satisfying to an audience watching them perform. Wanda Crocker, for example, leader of the East End Boys and Girls Club Dancers, has shortened repetitions in the Lancers, having each facing couple figure performed only once by either the head or side couples.[31]

Kealiinohomoku explains such changes in terms of the ritualistic stress reduction typical of traditional, internally focused dances versus the theatrical excitation required of those dances with an external focus:

> When a traditional dance is borrowed, especially when it is a non-audience dance, it must be abridged and made theatrically effective to appeal to an audience that does not have appropriate frames of reference for the original context, and which will not respond properly to endless repetition.

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[30] Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," pp. 255-57, distinguishes informal, formal, and technical training.

[31] MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 415-16.

> Redundancy, under these circumstances, is effective only so long as it makes the message clear; it is no longer a reinforcing device, because the message is drastically changed. Focus may change from the esoteric, specific, culture-based information bits to more universally cognitive, exoteric, generalized information bits.[32]

Anya Royce has discussed what she calls the "survival potential of dances," and observed that

> dances with a greater number of what Kaeppler calls allomorphokines (dance movements on the meaning level that can be substituted for each other with no change of meaning) coupled with less rigid sequential ordering of units probably adapt better to the stage than dances with fewer movements and greater rigidity. Because of its flexibility and hence potential for syncretic change, the former kinds of dances probably also survive longer in the local setting.[33]

Step dancing has been as frequently and successfully adapted for stage use as the group dances. Externally focused as a choreographic form to begin with, the Step Dance already employs many theatrical effects. A typical change made to increase its effectiveness on stage is the use of taps. My informant Luke Gaulton, for example, began using taps on his shoes to perform on stage for the St. John's Folk Arts Council. As he said, "There's no point in having someone dancing [when] . . . you see the legs moving but don't get the beat". Groups of step dancers

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[32]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 108-09.

[33]Royce, Anthropology of Dance, p. 73.

[34]MUNFLA, Ms., 79-339/p. 29-30.

often perform in unison, sometimes moving in choreographed floor patterns, to increase visual impact. Both are adaptations to suit the context of large audience presentations. Such adaptations are possible because the step dance form is more flexible than the group dances with their rigidly prescribed movements which often seem interminable when done on stage.

In the "local context," step dancing, as noted earlier, has syncretically adapted much more successfully than the group dances. The complexity of its stepping has declined due to the decreased general interest, individual motivation and opportunities for dancers to perform, but it has adopted the mixed-sex couple organization of dance now preferred. Always practised, but not recognized as a specific dance form, couple step dancing is now seen at almost all dance events with any traditional music. The traditional movement style has simply been adapted to the new structural norms.

I would characterize some other performing troupes as revival groups. These are usually composed of young adults who have self-consciously learned the traditional dances. One such group in St. John's has adopted an attitude which inhibits the adaptation of the dances for stage use. For this troupe the dance form is almost sacrosanct. In their view, to change the figures would defeat their purpose

in performing, since the audience would no longer be seeing a Newfoundland dance. The identity of the dance for them lodges almost entirely in its prescribed sequence of figures. They expect the long duration and redundancy of the dance, and their immersion as dancers in its performance, to communicate to the audience. This attitude is reminiscent of that noted in Chapter II where the dance was seen to be paramount over the dancer.[35]

In Felix Hoerburger's terms, these stage performances are in their second existence as folk dances. He notes the following as one distinguishing criterion:

> Folk dance in its second existence . . . is not the property of the whole community any more, but only of a few interested people.

This is certainly true of most contemporary performances at the Newfoundland group dances. They have, as Hoeburger suggests, become less of an "integral part of community life."

He observes further that

> generally speaking, we find that folk dances have to be taught to the dancers by special dance teachers or dance leaders. But this type of intentional teaching does not exist in the first existence of the folk dance. Here folk dances are learned in a natural, functional way. Everybody participates from the very beginning of his life. Maybe, he has been carried when a baby by his mother, while the mother participated in the dance, and so has grown up with the dancing community.

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[35]Personal communication from Cathy Ferri August, 1981. This group has had many names, most recently the Sheila's Brush Dancers.

I have noted such in formal training of dancers throughout Newfoundland.

Finally he comments that

> folk dance in its first existence is not fixed, is not unchangeable in choreography or music. Steadiness and continuity can only be found in the general style, in some framework, in certain formulas. Each new performance is only a kind of improvisation within a specified framework, not a definitive form.
>
> In the second existence there are fixed figures and movements, which vary only slightly.[36]

The freedom of form in Newfoundland dancing is best exemplified by the many traditional variants of the same structural form which have been recorded. Individual dancers were familiar with a repertoire of figures or floor pattern movement units, and the frameworks within which they could be performed. Musical accompaniment was varied as well within the confines of the traditional aesthetic norms. When learned primarily for stage presentation, this flexibility is lost and the dancers and musicians work to polish a set routine to perfection.

Kealiinohomoku has distinguished two types of dance events which often parallel Hoerburger's distinctions. She describes the "contained" event as "an end in itself, no matter how imbued it is with other functions; it needs a limited number of skilled practitioners; it uses a specific

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[36]The preceeding quotes are from Hoerburger, p. 31.

piece of time." "Extended" events contrast with these characteristics. She elaborates as follows:

> For the former [contained event] if the culture and functions change drastically, the dance could be lifted out as an entity and continue to exist as an opus; but for the latter extended event if the culture and functions changed drastically, the dance would have to keep up with these changes or die. . . . The former could survive as a museum piece for the latter survival would necessitate its metamorphosis into a contained dance event while the extended dance event became a memory.[37]

In Newfoundland, changing "culture and functions" have altered the old extended dance events to the point where the dances once integral to them have disappeared from that context. Simultaneously, these extended events have also metamorphosed into new contained dance events in which the older dances survive, albeit slightly changed to suit their new environment.

Anya Royce has noted that some dances are

> used explicitly as a symbol of identity on occasions when more than one cultural group interacts or when there is a desire to create a feeling of group solidarity even in the absence of outsiders.

These she calls formal, in contrast to informal dances which are used for recreation. Although step dancing has been adapted to the stage frequently, it is the group dances which seem to fulfill this role most often. Floor patterns are more easily learned than the movement control necessary

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[37]Kealiinohomoku, "Theory and Methods," p. 236-37.

for good step dancing, making these dances more accessible to the youth and revival groups most likely to perform them. Royce has observed that

> formal dances require more technical skill than the average individual in the particular culture possesses.

This has become true of the group dances as well as step dancing. Although they were once informal, recreational dances, knowledge of the group dances is now very limited.

Royce continues:

> Because one wants the highest status possible for one's own group, one generally chooses symbols that will be accorded prestige by both outsiders and members of one's own group.[38]

This choice is conditioned, however, by the identity one wishes to symbolize.

I attended a May 1981 meeting for leaders of 4H Club youth groups from throughout Canada held in St. John's at which this was strikingly demonstrated. One group, the 4H Club Dancers from Fox Harbour, Placentia Bay, performed versions of the Square Dance, Lancers, and choreographed group step dancing. They were introduced as demonstrating their heritage of Newfoundland dancing. From the community of Dunville, only a few miles away from Fox Harbour, a group of young teenaged girls called the Eager Beavers, performed a disco dance routine to a Bee Gees' recording. Two more different identities could not have been juxtaposed,

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[38] Royce's discussion is in Royce, Anthropology of Dance, p. 164.

yet both used dance in the same way to express the performers' conception of themselves to the visiting 4H Club representatives.

The meaning of the group dances in these new contexts, their significance to the audience and performers, even the subjective experience of dancing them is very different from that discussed in connection with their first existence. Nevertheless, they still symbolize by similar means. The various spheres of "body in action," "specific movement," "discoursive," and "whole performance" through which the dancers once enacted their social relations, cultural values, and the event's functions serve as a metaphor for that very experience in the new contexts. The dance forms in their new contained event context stand for the ethos of the older extended events of which they were part. These folk dances have come to represent a cultural ideal with which many Newfoundlanders wish to identify.

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[39]MUNFLA, Ms., 81-271/pp. 405-14.

CONCLUSIONS

The interpretation of dance forms as expressions of social relationships and cultural values is not a new idea. This approach has even been applied occasionally to folk dances of the British derived North American tradition. Colonial dances in America, I noted, have been interpreted as reflective of the participants' various social identities.[1] The square dance has been said to suggest the American fascination for process, and been described as symbolic of the dancing "community of couples," as well as reflective of the social networks which bring them together.[2]

These and most such interpretations are based on analogies between impressionistic responses to the dance forms and other types of social organization. Drawing on the literature of non-verbal communication, I have illustrated specific means by which dance movement serves its functions, embodies social relationships, and communicates the cultural values which are enacted in the dance events; thus demonstrating the connections between dance form and its expressive functions in Newfoundland.

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[1] Royce, Anthropology of Dance, pp. 110-131.

[2] Louie W. Atterbery, "The Fiddle Tune: An American Artifact," in Readings in American Folklore, ed. Jan Harold Brunvand (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), pp. 332-33; Feintuch, pp. 64-65.

To the researcher familiar with the traditional dance culture in Newfoundland, the observed changes in form and context are explicable as the integrated responses of an expressive system to many changes in the society which it serves. As the size and complexity of communities increased, dance forms placed more emphasis on the discoursive integration of couples. Unlike Feintuch's Kentucky dancers, who evolved an open-ended system, in Newfoundland, dances remained closed, though enlarged, reflecting the strength of community identification, especially with "place." Increased standardization of the structural form used allowed the square dances to serve as the pan-Newfoundland dance form, while retainging local distinctions.

Through these dances participants achieved the release of sexual energy, but were reminded of its proper expression within the bounded community of married couples. The distinction between male and female sexual roles in the community was embodied in the norms of men's and women's dancing, as well as together with couple divisions, in the movements and structure of the group dances. All dancers, male and female, and the separate couples, however, were integrated in group figures which affirmed community membership as the overarching social value.

Sexual and integrative expressions were found in almost all aspects of the dance event context. The organization of dance events, the behavior that was typical at them, the use of food and drink, the music and its associated rhymes, the participants' clothing, the dance movements, and what informants said about the events -- all redundantly expressed aspects of the same dance event ethos. In the context of different occasions throughout the year, various networks of people employed such events to enact, in a celebratory way, the socio-cultural order of which they were part.

This dance culture changed significantly when transportation improved and the Newfoundlanders' negative attitudes towards their past encouraged the adoption of dance and music which was identified with the mainstream of North American culture. The character of the dance events and the dances performed changed together. Courtship in particular, always an important motivation for dancing, was taken out of the context of community affirmation, as young people could more easily travel outside their immediate regions to meet one another. They created new events at which to dance the couple dances which became popular. Within the context of events at which the old community organization and values continued to be expressed, the older dance forms persisted longer.

With the return of appreciation for the unique cultural identity of Newfoundland, the older dances have been adapted, within an altered social structure, as symbols for the society they once served. In this new use they have been changed yet once again, to better communicate in their new settings.

While I agree with Hanna that "problems of valid and reliable symbolic analysis loom large," the consistent repetition of meanings discernible in dance event behavior is evidence for the applicability of my interpretations.[3] The dance movements, their associated verbal genres, and customary behavior at dance events all reflect the same social issues. A final validation of such interpretations comes from one's subjective experience. The corroboration of my intuitions as a dancer, through conversations with my informants and in the analysis of objectively gathered information, has been the most satisfying result of this study.

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[3]Hanna, To Dance, pp. 240-241.

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APPENDIX A

NEWFOUNDLAND DANCE DATA GUIDE

I The Dance Event

A. Does the dance event have a name? For example, time, garden party, bridge dance, ball, spree, teenage dance, etc.

B. When might it be held? For example, a particular date, during a certain season, occasioned by another event (visiting schooners), more spontaneous (describe).

C. Where would it take place? For example, a school, parish hall, private home (kitchen, parlour), empty house, bridge, special platform.

D. What were the preparations for the dance event? For example, how announced, planned, etc.

E. What non-dance activities are associated with the dance event?

1. If part of a larger event context, describe it. For example, fund raising at a garden party, parade at an Orangemen's time. How did dancing fit in with these other activities?
2. Food. What was cooked, how, when and where served?
3. Drink. What, where, when, by whom?
4. Fighting. Where, when, by whom?
5. Courting?

F. Who participated in the dance event?

1. How large a group?
2. How related to one another? For example, place of residence, family, age, sex, church, or fraternal organization, etc.

F. Cont'd

3. Were there special roles associated with the dance? For example, floor manager, musician, caller.
4. Were there different roles for different groups? For example, women cook and serve supper, men prepare and offer drinks.
5. Participants clothing. For example, "dressed up," or special accoutrements such as tap shoes, or a uniform.

G. Were there expected activities which followed the dance? For example, courting, singing, story-telling.

H. Was the dance a topic of conversation afterwards? What was said about it, in what context?

II. The Dances

A. Does the dance have a name? For example, Square Dance, Lancers, American Eight, Step Dance, Tap Dance, Double.

B. How is it organized? For example, group, couples, individuals.

C. How many dance at one time?

D. What is its geometry? For example, square, line, two lines, circle, pairs of couples, separate couples, indivuduals on one spot. If there is a sequence of geometric forms, describe these.

1. Do these patterns have names? For example, form-a-line, thread-the-needle, cutting, spinning.

E. The individual dancer's movement.
   1. Posture. For example, upright, single unit torso, body axis held.
   2. Body parts. For example, feet and legs move, arms remain at sides.
   3. Locomotion. For example, walking, running, with occasional "step" elaborations.
   4. Steps.
      a. Do the dancers have names for their movements, such as single or double steps?
      b. How are these steps distinguished? For example, rhythm, visual effect.
   5. Are there distinctions in the typical dance movements of different groups? For example, men move more vigorously than women.

F. How are dances learned? For example, formally taught, or by observation and private imitation until movements are mastered.

III. Dance Accompaniment

A. What instruments are used? For example, accordion, fiddle, harmonica, vocal music.

B. Are certain tunes better suited for some dances than others? If so, why?

C. Are there terms to describe general distinctions among tunes? For example, singles, doubles, triples. If so, what distinguishes them?

D. What tunes are most common?

E. Are there words associated with the tunes? For example, rhymes, such as, "Chase Me Charlie." If so, who sings them, where and when?

IV. Informant Commentary

A. How is dancing characterized by informants? For example, strenuous, exhilarating, long duration, loud.

B. What characterizes good dancing? For example, "lightness" on one's feet, "tidy" movements.

C. Are there stories of exceptional dancers and dancing feats? For example, dancing on a plate, or balancing a glass of water on one's head while dancing.

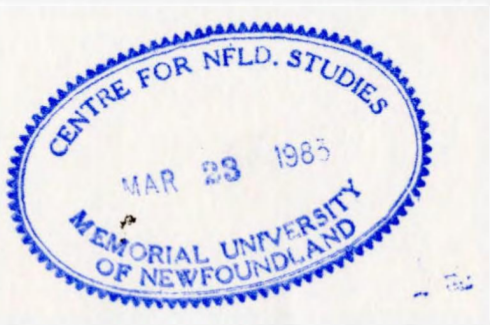
APPENDIX B

SAMPLE DANCE EVENT DATA FORM

MUNFLA 77-155, Ferryland, Aquaforte, 1900-'40, Collector: male, under 25 years. Informants: 2 males, 60, 69 years.

Dance Events	Where, when	What (non-dance)	Who	Dances
Semi-annual balls	Held before Christmas and in early summer, in a house (community had no public hall in the early years), a small fee was paid to the hosting family.	Women bake and cook, men bring "shine." Belle and Beau chosen, meal at 11:00 p.m.	60 or more people, a community event, not private. Musician hired.	American Eight, Square Dance, Lancers, Step Dance, Waltz, Polka, Belle and Beau dance special waltz with hosts.
House time, or spree	A private party, held in a house.	Owners may provide food and drink. Folk songs and talking as well as dance.	No hired musician.	Square dancing and Eights, but not always finished as musicians might not want to play that long.
Bridge dance	Held after a spree or on a warm night when young people gather outdoors. Bridge is wood, good for dancing. Usually after dark.		Mostly young people.	Squares and Eights unusual, boys may practice steps.
Christmas	House visiting by men during Christmas season. Dancing might happen if there was music in the house, especially at the last stop.	Drinking, singing, often later in the evening.	Primarily men.	Step dancing, usually just the men. If wives were present, Lancers might be done.
			Women.	Step dancing by women more common among the Roman Catholics in Ferryland, than the Anglicans in Aquaforte.

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