

SONG AND SINGING TRADITIONS  
AT CHILDREN'S SUMMER CAMPS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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SONG AND SINGING TRADITIONS  
AT CHILDREN'S SUMMER CAMPS.

by

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## ABSTRACT

Children's summer camps have been little studied by folklorists, though the camps exhibit many of the characteristics of "classic" folk groups, and their members have shared a body of songs, among other lore, which have been passed from generation to generation of camp people. This thesis argues that the songs and singing at summer camps comprise bona fide folk traditions, and describes in some detail the nature and function of the traditions within camp culture. The thesis is based on fieldwork carried out at camps in Ontario and Newfoundland, interviews with camp people, official camp literature, and the writer's extensive experience at summer camps.

Summer camps are organized by adults for the purposeful recreation of children. As such, camp culture operates on at least two levels, the official level, at which goals are set by camp authorities for the campers, and practices instituted for the fulfilment of those goals; and the unofficial level, at which the campers strive to achieve their own goals. The structure is similar to that of a religious group, and the terms "liturgical" and "lay" can be substituted for "official" and "unofficial."

Camp provides traditional contexts for singing at both the liturgical and lay levels. The singing is usually carried out by more than three persons, such that it is pertinent to speak of camp songs in terms of "group singing" and "group repertoire." The level at which singing takes place in any situation is indicated by the

behaviour of the group in initiating the singing (and selecting the songs, and defined according to the functions served by the singing. Singing often reflects the concerns of lay and liturgical groups, and may point to areas of social or psychological stress or accord within camp culture.

Singing has long been a practice at the liturgical level at summer camps. Repertoires and singing practices at modern camps show the combined influences of the singing traditions at recreation and leftist camps during the first half of the century. Since about the 1950's camp singing traditions have been influenced with increasing intensity, and in turn been influenced by, the commercial folksong revival. Nonetheless traditional repertoires and singing practices have been retained at many camps.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In assembling the data for this thesis, and finally writing it, I have often felt like the leader of a camp singsong who depends upon the persons he is working with for the successful fulfilment of his efforts. In my case I was working with a large group.

My thanks go first of all to Dr. Neil Rosenberg, my thesis advisor, for his guidance and patience during all phases of my work, and to the other faculty members of the Folklore Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Dr. Herbert Halpert and Dr. David Hufford, for their advice and encouragement. I was able to discuss some of the ideas for this thesis with my fellow graduate students at Memorial, in classes and more informally, and I thank them for their comments and their interest. In addition, I am grateful to Memorial University for a graduate fellowship which enabled me to complete my coursework and fieldwork unencumbered by financial worry.

This thesis could not have been possible without the generosity and co-operation of the two camps at which I did fieldwork. To the directors, staff, and campers at Camp Nimaka and Camp Green River go my thanks for allowing me to take part in the life of their camps. I owe a special debt to Mark Burnes, the director of Camp Nimaka, for his enthusiasm for my project, and his confidence and warm encouragement at all times. I am also obliged to my former camps, and to the many camp people who talked to me of their own camp experiences, offering insights into the workings of camps I have never attended.

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Finally, thanks go to my parents, Bernice and Aaron Posen, who sent me to camp in the first place, and to whom this thesis is dedicated.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis grew out of a term paper which I wrote for an introductory folksong class during my first year of folklore studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland. In discussing topics for the assignment, Dr. Rosenberg had encouraged us to keep in mind our musical traditions and to incorporate our reactions to these traditions, along with objective description and analysis, when it came to writing the paper. As a beginning folklore student who had been much involved as a performer in the folksong revival<sup>1</sup> in the 1950's, I saw folklore as belonging to the members of small, isolated, rural communities. I was from Toronto, a large Ontario city, and was not aware as yet of the existence of urban folk traditions.<sup>2</sup> I was frankly jealous of the experience upon which my fellow classmates -- mostly Newfoundlanders from small outports -- could draw for their papers: Christmas mumming, kitchen "times" (parties) and wakes, in a "classic folk environment."<sup>3</sup> I therefore cast about in my former experience to find some situation which had been roughly analogous to a relatively small, relatively isolated, relatively homogeneous community, in which singing had played a significant part.

The situation I hit upon was the children's summer camp. I had spent nearly every summer of my childhood and adolescence at summer camps, most of them small, self-contained institutions in rural Ontario. The camps were quite different from each other in many respects, but singing had played an important role for me at each one. At Camp

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Katonim, a day camp which I attended in 1953 and 1954, the day opened with a forty-five minute singing session consisting primarily of old popular songs like "Daisy, Daisy" and "Darktown Strutters' Ball". In 1955 and 1956 I attended two Jewish camps, Camp Shalom and Camp Massad, the latter a religious camp where we sang sacred songs as well as Israeli folksongs. In 1957 and 1958 I was a camper at a recreation camp, Camp White Pine. There I was introduced to the folksong revival through records by Pete Seeger and The Weavers that my counselors owned, and through the singing of such songs as "Lonesome Traveller" and "Michael Row the Boat Ashore" in camp singsongs. From then on I chose camps according to their music program. Determined to learn how to play the guitar, I attended a then new arts camp, Camp Manitou-Wabing, in 1959 and 1960, taking guitar lessons and listening to recordings of other performers of the folksong revival such as The Travellers, The Kingston Trio, Theodore Bikel and Burl Ives. I began to read Sing Out! magazine and to perform "folksongs" around camp with a friend who played the banjo. In 1961 and 1962 I spent the summer at National Music Camp at Interlochen, Michigan. There I met American campers and staff who played guitar and sang "folksongs", and expanded my repertoire and songleading skills, listening to newly-popular "folksingers" such as Joan Baez and Tom Rush.

By this time I was singing in Toronto at coffeehouses, churches, synagogues, and at school, and had learned to play the banjo "Seeger style." In 1963 I applied back to Camp White Pine as a staff member, listing "songleader" among my qualifications. I led songs at White Pine, in addition to teaching swimming, for two years. The bulk of the

songs sung those summers were the "old" songs we had sung years before at White Pine, plus songs which I and the other leaders were learning from records and from Sing Out!, such as "Blowing in the Wind" and "Guantanamo". In 1965 I returned to National Music Camp on staff, and sang informally with other camp personnel interested in "folk music". In the winter of 1967 I sang with a friend from National Music Camp in a coffeehouse in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and performed semi-professionally in Toronto. In the summer of 1967 I returned to Camp White Pine, again as a songleader/swim instructor. My final year at camp was 1968, when I was a counselor and the music director at Towhee, a camp for children with learning disabilities.

My choice for a topic for the folksong paper, then, was dictated by this experience with singing and songs at summer camps. The topic also seemed appropriate in that it had been through my interest in folksong acquired at summer camp that I had eventually entered the graduate program in Folklore at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The paper for the folksong class was a collation of my experience with singing during seventeen seasons at summer camps. It focused chiefly upon the songs which were sung as part of the official camp program, in an effort to define the term "camp song". The paper was well enough received that, when the time came to select a thesis topic, I proposed a detailed folkloristic study of the singing and songs at an Ontario camp. At the suggestion of Dr. Herbert Halpert, my topic was extended to cover a camp in Newfoundland as well.

During the first summer of research I found that the scope of my original conception of the topic had been too narrow. Camp was a

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complex Gestalt in which the official songs, as items of culture, were extremely functional. They were selected and used at camp according to rules, both stated and tacit, which were determined by other elements in the culture. To deal adequately with the songs, I had to deal with the entire culture and the place of the songs within it. This meant, too, that I would have to take into consideration not only those songs in the official camp program, but also the songs which campers sang on their own and which were not, as I then saw them, "camp songs".

One of the problems presented by thus extending my field of enquiry was how to deal with those other songs. I had been working under the unconscious assumption that, as camp was a "folk context", therefore all songs that appeared in that context, whether "camp songs" or not, were more or less equally camp folksongs. During the following years at Memorial, coursework included further study of the criteria which were used in the discipline to define "folklore". While the definition had broadened in recent years, it was obvious that opinion was divided, and that at various times folklore was defined in terms of the group which possessed it, the items themselves, the processes of tradition which the items underwent, and the functioning of the items in context. While I had no wish for my thesis to be the forum for a restatement of the arguments set forth by scholars such as Dundes and Ben-Amos, the main objective of my thesis work shifted away from simple description towards an attempt to discover and establish some basis whereby camp could be considered a "folk group", and the singing and songs by the members of that group, a "folk tradition". The problem was compounded by the fact that at camp, unlike most other

folklore contexts, there were situations in which authorities told the group that singing would take place, and dictated the selection of songs.

In research away from camp I discovered that there had been little detailed study of the singing and songs at North American summer camps by scholars of any discipline. Most of the literature that does exist<sup>8</sup> has been written by professionals in the camping and recreation fields whose main concern is prescriptive rather than descriptive. This approach, which tells the reader how to do it rather than portraying "what actually happens," leads to an incomplete and often misleading impression of the singing which takes place at summer camps. It does not cover, for instance, the songs that are sung by children when adults are not present, and there is often a considerable discrepancy between the idealized treatment which camp singing receives in print, and the contextual reality. At best, official camp literature was most useful in determining the esoteric goals set by the movement for the singing activity in its program, and in providing theories of singing and songs which could be tested in the field.

Camp songs and singing have received negligible attention in print from folklorists, though it would seem that folklorists themselves have been aware of them for some time. There are indications from a random survey that many folklorists have attended summer camps as either campers or staff members. For example, three members of the current faculty of the Folklore Department at Memorial University (Dr.'s Halpert, Rosenberg, and Hufford) have been to summer camp. Some folklorists of relatively recent vintage seem to have been actively

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involved with singing at summer camp through their interest in the folksong revival. For example, Joseph Hickerson was a member of "The Folksmiths," a group of college students who toured summer camps singing and teaching folksongs and games.<sup>9</sup> During the 1950's, Richard Reuss belonged to a group called "The Folkmeisters" who sang songs at camp which they had learned from records by revival groups such as The Weavers.<sup>10</sup> The interrelationship of camp, the folksong revival, and folklorists is a tantalizing subject unfortunately outside the scope of this work. Documentation is incomplete and further speculation must await such studies as the folklorists' personal histories project now underway.<sup>11</sup>

There are few references to camp and camp songs in folklore journals or in periodicals devoted to folk music. For the most part, the references are made only in passing to illustrate other matters, and there is no recognition of a separately defined camp singing or song tradition, even by those writers who have attended camp themselves.<sup>12</sup> Herbert Halpert, for instance, in proposing that the presence of parody is an indication of the strength of a singing tradition, refers to summer camps as a repository for "older college parodies which have largely died out in college circles."<sup>13</sup>

In Hoosier Folklore, David McIntosh gives the text only of a story which his son had heard at camp and Jane Bagby the texts of two camp songs.<sup>14</sup> Finally, between 1955 and 1962, various articles appeared in Sing Out! which focussed on summer camp as a suitable place in which to sing "folksongs;"<sup>15</sup> however, none addressed the question of why camp had become such a good context for singing any kind of song, let alone "folksongs."

The delimitation of the status of songs at camp as folksongs necessitated an examination of individual situations in which singing took place. Special attention had to be paid to the dynamics of the behaviour in each situation surrounding the singing itself, and the functions served by the singing. This was made especially difficult by the fact that in most camp singing situations the singing is done by anywhere from three to three hundred persons. For them to sing together, all have to know the songs. In addition, direction has to come from some quarter for the singing itself to take place, and for selection of the songs to be sung by the group.

I therefore directed my research towards work done on singing by groups of persons in both sacred and secular contexts. For sacred group singing I looked to the work of Don Yoder<sup>16</sup> and G.P. Jackson,<sup>17</sup> and for secular singing to Guy Carawan's work in the Georgian Sea Islands,<sup>18</sup> books by Stan Hugill<sup>19</sup> and Bruce Jackson<sup>20</sup> on singing among isolated occupational and penal groups, and folksong revival writers such as Ed Badeaux<sup>21</sup> and Barry Kornfeld.<sup>22</sup> In most of the literature there were hints of the behavioural patterns I was looking for. For principles that applied to knowledge by several persons of a body of songs they could all sing, I examined studies of repertoire of individual persons done by such scholars as Kenneth Goldstein,<sup>23</sup> Rosenberg, Casey and Wareham,<sup>24</sup> and William H. Jansen.<sup>25</sup>

I had tried throughout my research to restrict the study to the two camps I had chosen for fieldwork. In organizing the material, however, it became evident that there were historical and cultural influences which had determined the patterns of singing and songs which appeared at the two camps. Some historical perspective was

therefore required. This was especially true for determining the relationship between camp singing and the folksong revival during the 1950's and 1960's. Since there was no account which covered all aspects of the history of organized camping (especially leftist camps) or official camp singing, I compiled a "working history" of each of those areas.

I was aided in this task by articles in camping literature and books and periodicals dealing with the folksong revival, as well as interviews with former camp people: my parents and their friends, my friends, and new acquaintances who inquired about the subject of my research and met my reply with, "Oh, I went to camp!" The result of this part of the project was the realization that the subject constituted a thesis topic in itself. However, the major details, as I understand them, were condensed and incorporated into the body of this thesis. Much of the description of modern camps and camp singing was based on my own observations and conversations with camp personnel.

The continuing difficulty in organizing the materials for writing was the apparent division at camp of official singing led by the staff, and the singing done by the campers on their own, often of the same songs. I had no theoretical framework into which to fit the singing or the songs, and had tentatively made an analogy between camp songs as they were sung in the official program and privately by the campers, and religious songs which are sung in church and also privately in homes. I was not satisfied with this analogy until I received a suggestion from M. Carole Henderson to look at Yoder's examination of orthodox and folk religion, and at his division of a religious group and religious culture into various levels. I found the analogy apt, and applied Yoder's model and terminology for the

different levels -- "theological", "liturgical" and "lay" -- to summer camp.

This thesis has been organized as follows: the first chapter contains a history of organized camping and a discussion of camp people defined as a cultural and folk group. I examine camp folklore in general and how it functions for camp groups both inside and outside the camp context. In Chapter II, I treat camp singing as a specific aspect of camp folklore. I examine the concepts of "group singing" and "group repertoire", and apply them to the singing which occurs at camp. A history of liturgical camp singing also appears in this chapter. Chapters III and IV consist of detailed description and analysis of the cultures and singing at the two camps in which I did fieldwork. I apply the principles outlined in the preceding chapters to describe the nature of the singing traditions at the camps and the factors which have influenced them. I also describe some of the functions of the singing which took place during the summers I attended the camps. The names of the camps and of their personnel which are given anywhere in the thesis are pseudonyms. In Chapter V I again address the problem of the existence of a camp singing tradition in light of my findings at the two camps. I also set out some of the general patterns which seem to apply to camp singing in general.

## I THE SUMMER CAMP

### 1. Definition and History

When I speak of "camp" and "summer camp" I am referring to an institution which provides organized activities for children during the summer months under the supervision of adults, in a relatively isolated, outdoors, rural environment. While modern camps operate more or less independently of each other, they have long been organized as a "movement" and share certain basic ideals, goals, and practices -- the elements of camping philosophy. These have their origins in the beginnings of organized camping, and have been reinterpreted and developed in three broad streams through successive generations of camp administrators, staff, and campers up to modern times. These streams are represented by the recreation camp, the leftist camp, and the "liberal progressive" recreation camp. An understanding of the history of these three types is essential to the study of any modern summer camp.

#### Recreation Camps to 1950

The first summer camps were organized in North America between 1860 and 1910. In their original forms and philosophies, early camps may be seen as one of several "nativistic"<sup>1</sup> "back to the land" living-experiments which had been taking place in the earliest settled regions of North America since the mid 1800's.<sup>2</sup> These experiments

were a practical reaction to the increasing urbanization and industrialization of the continent, with a philosophical basis in the Romantic movement. In an intellectual atmosphere which regarded nature as a source of human spiritual well-being and model for societal order, individuals and whole communities sought refuge from "corrupting cities" in isolated wilderness locales. Henry David Thoreau's sojourn on the shores of Walden Pond took place in 1845; Oneida, Brook Farm and other so-called "utopian" communities established their ideal societies in the quarter century following. It was amidst such activity that organized camping, certainly less radical but no less idealistic in its intent than that of the Utopias, was conceived.

Summer camps began as short term outings for boys in a natural setting. They were organized by urban adults -- clergymen, doctors, or teachers -- who were involved with youth and interested in their activities. The outings were designed, on the one hand, to remove city boys from "unhealthy" or "slothful" pastimes during the summer months, and on the other, to build their characters by teaching them wholesome outdoor skills and an appreciation for the natural environment. One of the first experimentors in this field was the naturalist Ernest Thompson Seton. In 1901, Seton led an expedition of "delinquent" boys into the woods near his home for a weekend camping excursion. He used the North American Indian as a model for his group and its activities, organizing the boys into a "tribe" with a "chief" and a "Council of 12", himself acting as "medicine man" and advisor. During the outing, Seton instructed the group in woodcraft skills and wildlife knowledge, and took pleasure in the fact that the boys were "governing

themselves, learning useful skills, improving their health, and having fun into the bargain."<sup>5</sup>

Seton's reports on this expedition led to the development of the Woodcraft Movement, a forerunner of the Boy Scouts. Seton was himself Chief Scout in the United States from 1910 to 1915. Though his Indian example for the scouting organization was supplanted during his lifetime by the military structure of Lord Robert Baden-Powell, the impact of the Indian model and Seton's theories about nature can still be seen in camp names, programs and philosophies.

Permanent camps had begun to supplement outings such as Seton's during the 1880's. In cities in both Canada and the U.S., "youth serving" organizations acquired land and established summer camp programs. The YMCA was one of the first (1885), followed in succeeding decades by the Boy Scouts (1909) and Girl Guides (1912). Private camps were also begun at this time. In Canada, for example, A.L. Cochrane established Camp Temagami in 1901; Fanny Case, Northway Lodge Camp in 1906; Taylor Stattén Camp Ahmek in 1921; and Mary S. Edgar Camp Glen Bernard in 1922.

The founding of the first summer camps and their development to the 1930's took place at the same time as the recreation movement<sup>6</sup> was gaining momentum, and some connection between the two is evident. The founders of the recreation movement were educators and group workers in urban centres whose concern was for the organized, purposeful use of leisure time. Focussing on youth, recreation people organized programs of activities at public parks, community centres, and churches. The YMCA was itself part of this movement. Recreation activities included already recognized games, for example, baseball, as well as

those such as basketball which were devised by the recreation people themselves in response to the needs of their groups. The structure of recreation activity centred upon a "leader" who organized his "group", gave them instructions if required, and supervised their activity.

Though it is not clear which influenced the other, many of the individuals who led early camps were also involved with recreation groups in the cities. Taylor Statten, for example, had worked with the Toronto YMCA for ten years before starting his camp. Summer camps to the present day exhibit structural systems, activities, and goals which show the influence of the recreation movement. In fact, the type of camp which evolved during the years up to 1930 and which still constitutes the mainstream of the camping movement, is known as the "recreation camp". It is regarded by many camp people as the "true" form of the institution.

By the 1930's, most recreation camps were organized along similar lines. Campers were divided into living groups of eight or ten children of the same age (the unit being called a "bunk", "cabin", or "tent") each with a leader (or "counselor") at its head. Several cabins of roughly the same age group comprised "sections". The daily camp schedule was heavily structured. Cabins took part in organized periods of instruction and activity led by staff specialists in such areas as swimming, canoeing, fire building, campsite construction, and wildlife identification. Recreation camps at the time stressed the attainment of skills in all these areas, and offered campers awards similar to those of the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and the YMCA. There were no co-ed recreation camps, although contiguous camps like Ahmek

and Wapameo in Ontario considered themselves "brother and sister" camps, and held limited co-ed activities.

The philosophical basis for the early camping movement lay in the inherent values of its "nature" and "Indian" models. The activities recreation camps offered promised not only "fun", good fellowship, and "adventure", but were also expected by camp administrators and parents of campers to instill in the children such values as wholesomeness, decency, moral uprightness, and co-operation among peers. These values became to a great extent identified with the summer camp, since camp provided, more than any city organization could, the opportunity actually to "live" them, given the self containment of the camp locale and the control which camp could exert over the lives of its personnel. In offering activities and values unique to its own society, camp was for many an escape from the physical and spiritual venalities of city life.

Religion and nationalism also played important roles at many camps, supplementing or replacing Indian themes with religious, ritual and patriotic ceremonies. Camps affiliated with church groups and with the YMCA, Boy Scout and Girl Guide organizations held Sunday services, sang graces before meals, and generally tried to make campers aware of the spiritual and religious aspects of life in the out-of-doors. At many camps, the day was begun with flag-raising and ended with flag-lowering, accompanied by singing the national anthem. National holidays that occurred during the summer were occasions for special ceremonies, presentations, and programs on historical themes.

During the 1920's and 30's, recreation camps proliferated and the camping movement was formalized. Camp administrators founded regional and national camping associations (for example, The American Camping Association, 1935; Ontario Camping Association, 1933) and held conventions at which they and their prospective summer staffs could discuss common problems and establish policies. The national associations also published periodical journals, such as Camping Magazine (American Camping Association, Martinsville, Indiana, 1930- ), containing articles written by their members which dealt with camp topics. Through both meetings and journals, a large degree of standardization of camping practices and objectives was achieved.

During the 1940's, the so-called "liberal progressive" recreation camp<sup>8</sup> emerged. Emphasis at these camps shifted away from achievement in athletic and woodcraft skills towards a more conscious means of developing the personalities of its children. Their approach was influenced more by contemporary theories of psychology or sociology than physical education or "pure recreation". Camps which adopted the "new" approach often de-emphasized the rigid activity schedule, and eliminated the awards systems. They added drama, music and crafts to the regular camp program.

#### Leftist Camps to 1950

The camps begun during the late 1930's and early 40's by leftist and union labour groups represented a stream in the camping movement separate from and smaller than that of the predominant recreation camps of the same period.<sup>9</sup> The importance of the leftist camps in this history lies in the influence which they exerted on recreation camps

when they began to feed personnel into the mainstream during the 1950's. They also provide another example of how summer camp serves a community by using the camp environment and structure to teach the community's ideals to its children.

The primary aim of the leftist groups which established camps was to provide their children with a healthy rural environment in which to spend the summer. They liked the idea of children's summer camps, but chose to organize their own rather than send their children to established camps. This was for several reasons. Many of the members of leftist groups could not afford the fees of established camps. In addition, the members of many leftist organizations tended to be recent immigrants of one religion, often Jewish. They preferred their children to spend the summer "among their own", or else felt that their children would not be welcome in a predominantly "WASP" environment. Most of the leftist camps were located in the vicinity of urban centres such as New York and Toronto. Their ties with their sponsor organizations in the cities were close. At several camps parents maintained cottages on or near camp grounds and visited frequently. Large contingents of organization members, whether they had children at camp or not, came up on weekends. The camps were staffed by leaders from within the city organizations.

Leftist camps generally stressed "cultural activities" over athletics and woodcraft. The New York area camps in particular were known in leftist camp circles for their creativity. Camp Unity at Peekskill, for example, attracted "poets, musicians and theatre people" who created or introduced works to be presented by campers "which were

not being done anywhere but at camp." <sup>10</sup> Artists who performed for parents in the cities often visited camp on weekends and performed there for the personnel. A network existed among leftist camps in both Canada and the U.S., through which choirs and drama instructors, as well as plays, pageants and songs, circulated.

Almost all of the activities at the leftist camps stressed issues of political, social, economic and religious import which were the concern of the sponsor organizations in the cities. When compared with the recreation camps of the same era, leftist camps seem to have provided their campers with a somewhat more outward-looking awareness of their relationship to the outside world. Both movements were the same, however, in providing their respective campers with an idealized set of values which contrasted with the values predominating in city society.

#### Recreation Camping: 1950 to 1970

Following the Second World War and with the coming of camp age of the children from the post war "baby boom", the whole camp movement began to accelerate in growth. During the 1950's and 60's, recreation camps especially increased both in size and number. Camper enrolments swelled, such that at one camp studied for this thesis, for example, the roster expanded from under 60 to over 300 in ten years. Former camp people started their own camps, and growing requirements for staff led to the hiring of personnel from recreation, leftist, and "liberal" camp backgrounds. Policies and practices which had become standard within each of the three camping streams merged, and increasingly

specialized camps were established. For example, one camp in Ontario was begun in the late 50's by social workers with a Jewish leftist camp background, offering a wide range of recreational activities in a "progressive" atmosphere, the camp motto being, "A unique experience in small group living"<sup>11</sup>. There was also an increase in the number of co-ed recreation camps. Up until the 1950's, few camps outside the leftist movement had both girls and boys on the campsite during any one camp period.

The growth of the camping movement was made apparent during the 1950's and 60's by an increasing number of references to camp in the popular media. Stereotypes of camp personnel, practices, philosophies, and structures developed and were used in cinema, TV, newspapers and recordings. For example, a film called "Bless the Beasts and Children" portrayed a cabin of "misfits" at a boys' camp in the western United States who try to save a herd of buffalo from being destroyed.<sup>12</sup> One

of the most popular serials offered by the children's TV program "Mickey Mouse Club" during the late 50's was called "Spin and Marty", and concerned the adventures of two boys at a dude ranch summer camp.

<sup>13</sup> Charlie Brown and Superboy have attended summer camp. Two recordings appeared in the early 60's which referred to camp for the purposes of

humour or satire. Alan Sherman's "Hello Muddah, Hello Fadda", was a "letter from camp" set to the music of Tchaikovsky's "Dante of the Hours".<sup>14</sup>

It used the child's viewpoint to poke fun at a camper's fears of swimming and the woods; and the child's naivete to satirize his parent's fears of lecherous counselors and childhating camp directors. On a 1961 "in concert" recording by The Limelites<sup>15</sup> (a popular group during the folk

song revival), Lou Gottlieb introduced a potentially bawdy "audience participation song" by burlesquing the wholesome atmosphere which both he and his audience had come to expect of camp:

We have a motto here at camp: [LAUGHTER] "Clean mind... [PAUSE FOR LAUGHTER] clean body... [MORE LAUGHTER] -- take your pick! [UPROARIOUS LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE]

#### Camping: 1970 to the Present

Since about 1970, summer camps have suffered a drop in attendance which has caused many of them to expand and alter their programs to suit changing public demands and expectations. As a result of this process, camp administrators are re-evaluating their goals and the relationship between summer camp and the community which it serves. The issues seem to revolve around what camp has to offer the child, and increasing sense that the community at large no longer considers camp to be the ideal context for the achievement of camping goals.

Those who are most involved with camping regard camp as the ideal place to develop the individual child, both in terms of his character and of his relationships with other children. Besides assuring a child's physical and moral well-being, camps offer the child an atmosphere which is delightfully "unreal", when contrasted with the outside world, in which he may be innocent, open, aware, and "child-like". In their brochures and general literature, camps allude to all these benefits, and this may well explain why many parents who have never been to camp themselves send their children.

That children return to summer camps year after year is seen by camp people as an indication that most of them enjoy doing so.

They have had "fun" at camp and taken pleasure in the sense of adventure and what one camp brochure refers to as "the camp experience" -- the aggregate of individual experiences such as campfires, canoe trips, and communal living. It is felt that many children return from camp feeling "changed" from having lived in a different environment among new associates. Because camp is often a child's first experience living away from home, it is looked upon by many children and parents as virtually a rite of passage, involving "separation", "isolation" and "reintegration".<sup>18</sup> Having passed through such an "ordeal", learning recondite skills and being "on his own", the child is considered to have an improved sense of his own personal resources and to have attained a new level of maturity when he returns to the "outside world".

The public attitude towards camp is ambivalent. While there is endorsement in principle at least of what camp people have at stake in their institution, there is also ridicule. To a cynical society, the ideals which camp promotes seem naïve and ludicrous; its goals utopian and pollyannish; and its conventions silly, childish, and corny. At one camp I attended, for instance, a member of the staff told of having to defend himself against charges from his friends in the city that he had not "grown up yet" because he was returning to camp.

Most camps, especially private ones, are also vulnerable to charges of hypocrisy. It is not difficult to imagine esoteric motives lurking behind camp policies and principles, supposedly designed to maintain a public image and thereby ensure a camp's margin of profit.

This attitude is not confined to non-camp people. At many camps which I have attended, for example, both campers and staff were convinced that the quality and quantity of food improved just before the parents came up for "Visitors' Day", and declined soon thereafter. A good meal around that day was usually greeted with comments along the lines of "It must be Visitors' Day soon".

This cynicism is reinforced by other attitudes which are current among a certain number of parents who have children at camp, and among the children themselves. Many parents regard camp solely as a means of delegating their parental roles to someone else for the summer, freeing them for a vacation "away from the kids". Many children, no matter what their parents' motives in sending them to camp, do not want to be there. Some object to being separated from family, friends, and familiar surroundings; others to having to submit to time and authority structures from which the vacation from school is supposed to free them.

Social and economic factors have also contributed towards a decline in the attraction of camp. Children seem to be looking at an earlier age for free summers during which to work or travel. In Canada, federal grants have become available, through the "Opportunities for Youth" program, to adolescents and are mostly used to finance summer projects in the city.<sup>19</sup> Rising camp fees have put camp out of reach for many families, and high inflation has forced both campers and staff to forego camp in order to earn summer pocket money in city jobs. Conversely, many families have become affluent enough to own summer cottages, and feel that they can offer their children many of

the same activities offered by camps. During the past five or six years there has been a boom in the camping equipment industry.

Provincial and national parks, as well as private recreation areas, have expanded and proliferated. They are easily accessible by car

to more and more families who in recent years have tended to spend summer vacations together, at roughly the same cost as sending one child to camp.

Camps have done what they can to make themselves more attractive to parents and children. They usually go in one of two ways: diversification or specialization.. Many recreation camps have extended their regular activities to include such programs as outings to nearby arts festivals, long canoe trips, and specialized training in sports. Camps have also been established which devote their programs entirely to arts or to athletic endeavours such as swimming or tennis, thus catering to the current premium on expertise and the desire for early specialization..

In order to provide these "richer" programs yet keep their fees within reason, camps have had to increase their enrolments. One of the results is that many are losing the feeling of community they once had. The common pattern seems to be establishing one's camp, promoting it until it becomes popular and grows into a comfortably sized community, expanding to meet the increasing demands for entrance, raising the fees to pay for improvements, having to increase enrolment again, and being locked into expansion and fee increase. At a camp in this last stage it is possible to walk the camp paths at the end of the summer and meet people whose faces are unfamiliar even though they have

been at camp since the beginning of the summer. At such a camp many of the activities which have in past years involved the whole camp such as regattas, chapel services, and campfires, are held by sections which are themselves the same size as the whole camp once was. Many former camp people consider the loss of a community feeling at camp as ultimately defeating one of the primary benefits of the camping experience.

Organized camping faces difficulties coming from both outside and within the movement. Increasing pressure on wilderness resources will probably make "true" camping more difficult, even as the needs for it as originally envisioned by the movement's founders become greater. As wild areas become smaller and more remote, camps may have to establish themselves farther afield or transport their campers long distances to give them the "true" camping experience. This in turn will drive costs up, and camps may require subsidization from government or business if they are to remain accessible to any but the wealthy. This is already taking place at one or two larger camps in North America which offer "camperships" donated by outside concerns to prospective campers.

Within camping, the current trend towards large "urbanized" camps which emphasize art and sports over woodcraft and nature, seems to be leading to a camping movement consisting mostly of children's "summer resorts". For example, Mark Burnes, a Canadian camping authority, has noticed that American camps "pamper" their campers, transferring what is essentially city activity to summer camps rather than making use of the outdoors environment (Tape 12). It may be that

Canadian camping will follow suit. If this trend continues one may project some kind of "revitalization movement" taking place at some point within organized camping, in which the "old" values and activities are reinstated, large camps subdivide, and those camps which are still "roughing it" lead campers "back to the land". If there is still land to come back to, organized camping will have gone full circle.

## 2. Summer Camp Groups

The modern summer camp essentially offers its personnel a version of what may be described as a fairly standardized "camp experience". Besides the camp's physical environment, time and authority structures, and program of activities, the common experience includes a body of esoteric customs and traditions identified by personnel with camp, conventions of behaviour based on the movement's philosophy, and a system of terminology for camp practices, people, and institutions. To those who have not shared directly in it, all aspects of the camp experience are available in only a secondary way, through the media and second-hand reports.

An individual who attends a summer camp is therefore a member of a cultural group defined by the participation of its members in the summer camp experience. This group, which I have termed "camp people", consists of all those who are at summer camp, or who have attended summer camps in the past. Persons who attend or who have attended the same camp comprise a subgroup of this primary entity; conversely, the aggregate of these subgroups constitutes the whole group.

Camp people, much like sailors or lumbermen of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, acquire membership in their group through a common esoteric experience that takes place in many distinct and restricted geographic locations, for limited but repeated periods of time. At the end of these periods the camp experience is temporarily terminated. Camp people disperse to environments distinct from the context which gives them their identity as camp people, engaging in occupational and cultural activity often very different from that of the summer camp. Their identity as camp people becomes inactive unless they come in contact with other camp people, or until they return to camp. In the latter case, they might return to the same camp as before but with different associates from previous years, or they might change camps and become associated with a totally new (to them) group of people in a different location. Nonetheless, there is a continuity from camp to camp, or within the same camp from year to year, of a unique set of environment and cultural features. These allow camp people to réassume their identification with the overall and individual camp group, and to resume the activities which the context provides for and demands of them.

Perhaps the best way of defining the structure of the group "camp people" is to make an analogy to the structure which Don Yoder has posited for the religious group.

I am presupposing here that there are levels of culture; high culture, popular culture, and folk culture; and levels of religion: (1) official or organized religion, on the theological level; (2) popular religion -- the layman's version of what religion is about, clothed often in the vocabulary and values of the popular culture;

and finally (3) folk religion -- those traditional levels of folk belief, those folk attitudes to life, death, and the universe which, at least in certain regional societies, exist partially alongside, partially underneath the official levels of religion. 23

In the religious group, the highest level of power in the hierarchy is the theological or executive group which formulates doctrine in accordance with religious goals and principles, and prescribes the liturgy appropriate to carry them out. The role of those at the liturgical level is to enact or supervise the enactment of ritual behaviour and ensure that the principles contained in the liturgy are maintained. The folk or "lay" level of the religious group carries out or at least participates in the liturgy, with principles and goals in mind that are based on but not necessarily identical with those determined at the theological level. The lay group may also add elements to the liturgy according to its own conceptions of official religious dogma and functions.

The corresponding levels among camp people are, respectively, camp administrators and theorists, camp staff (counselors and activity specialists) and campers. Camp administrators have formulated the principles of camping philosophy and published the official goals of the movement in lists of aims and objectives available from national and regional camping associations. 24 The activities which have been derived from official camping goals are put into practice at individual camps supervised by the camp staff. While the activities at camp are provided for the "fun" of the campers, the staff is contracted by the camp's administration to ensure that the activities also achieve the official goals of the movement, that is, the development and well-being of the children entrusted to the camp's temporary care. The campers' contract with the camp is an implicit one, by which the camper accepts

the structures of time, activity, and authority set up by the camp and agrees to function within them. The camp, in return, is responsible for providing the camper with a stay at camp that is enjoyable and "fun". In order to render camp's part of the bargain more certain, campers may be found to supplement or replace officially organized activities with their own "unorganized" ones.

The relationship of individual camps to each other, and to the camping movement as a whole, is similar to the relationship between individual churches and denominations belonging to the same religion. Resemblances which occur between camps are usually due to common theoretical grounds shared by the camps. Variations occur at the liturgical level, in the interpretation of basic camping philosophy and the application of its principles. Individual camps emphasize goals and advocate practices which may not be found, or found to the same extent, at others. For example, at some camps the spirit of competition is considered to be a healthy and desirable characteristic to be instilled in its campers, as well as a means of achieving certain practical goals. As a result, great store is put in team games, inter-cabin rivalry, and contests to determine, for instance, which cabin can be cleanest from week to week. At other camps, competitiveness is not considered to be a positive attribute, and contentions are avoided if possible; team games are consistently judged so as to end in ties, and awards for achievements in sports or other activities are made on the basis of individual excellence divorced from comparison with the performances of others. Still other camps attempt to strike a balance between the two extremes.

### 3. Camp Folk Groups

There are two types of folk group which may be discerned among camp people. The first type is defined with reference to the liturgical practices and policies of the camp, and consists of the lay level of the camp people structure. As in Yoder's description<sup>25</sup> of a folk group associated with a particular religion, the members of the camp lay group share a body of official materials which the group adopts or adapts for its own "unorganized" purposes.<sup>26</sup> The group also takes appropriate materials from other (non-camp) contexts and adopts them to serve the same purposes as the adopted liturgical materials. In either case the members of the lay group often make use of liturgical structures, for example, choosing terms for their own games in the same way that teams were chosen when they were supervised by the staff (liturgical authorities).

The second type of folk group which may be discerned among camp people consist of all the members of an individual camp, with no reference at all to the liturgical level operating at the camp. It is defined rather in terms of the common cultural factors, or factors affecting culture, which its members share. These include geography (the camp), occupation (camping), age, sex, and at many camps, one predominant religion or formal philosophy (political, scouting, etc.).<sup>27</sup> When viewed in this manner, camp may be regarded as similar to the "classic" folk milieu -- a relatively small, relatively isolated,<sup>28</sup> relatively homogeneous community.

The folklore which the individual camp group shares is largely a function of the members' contiguity in the same context. It includes

memorates and anecdotes camp personalities and events, nicknames, in-jokes and figures of speech, and pranks and practical jokes. Some of these items, such as in-jokes and figures of speech, are the property of just one camp group, and often current for only a season or two. At one camp in my own experience, for example, a part played by a member of the staff in a skit involved his saying, several times, "Woo!" in a high falsetto. For the rest of the season, whenever this individual made an announcement to the camp, he was greeted, before he could speak, by all the campers with the same "Woo!"

Other items seem to appear at any number of camps, displaying the same patterns, and often identical content, over periods of years. Practical jokes by campers involving an individual's bed are part of the traditional lore of many camps. Examples of common "bed pranks" include "Frenching" or "short-sheeting" (removing the top sheet, folding the bottom sheet up and tightly tucking in the sides, then replacing the blankets -- the victim is expected to tear the sheet as he pushes his feet down into the bed); introducing some foreign material into the bed (e.g., frogs, branches, excrement); and taking the bed (empty or with a sleeping occupant) out of the cabin and into the woods. A variation of the bed prank is played by campers on counselors, and is known at some camps as a "switch": in the middle of the night the campers of two cabins change places.

Of the two ways of looking at camp folk groups, the first is the more useful. Nearly every aspect of camp life, including camp folklore, may be seen to operate on the liturgical or lay level.

By considering the folklore in this framework, the way it functions and its significance to the working of the camp as a whole may be clearly defined. For example, while practical jokes usually have no counterpart at the liturgical level, they can be recognized as functioning for the lay group with reference to liturgical policies or practices. In the case of practical jokes played by campers on staff, folk materials at the lay level clearly function in reaction to liturgical order and authority. It is this lay/liturgical view of camp folk groups and folklore that has been used throughout this thesis.

#### 4. Camp "Liturgical" Folklore

Camp makes use in its official capacity (that is, to achieve its philosophical goals) of a large corpus of esoteric conventions and materials which fit folk categories. These include songs, stories, local legends (especially eponymous legends), games, calendar customs, frightening figures, and a set of terminology for camp practices and personnel. These are incorporated within the official camp structure: whole programs of activity are built around organized games, stories are told by the staff to campers at bedtime or around campfires, and legends created by the staff to account for camp names (also staff-created) of local topographic features. Most camps have special terms which are used to denote specific activities. "General swim", for example, is often used to denote a free period in the daily schedule, usually just before lunch and again just before supper, during which anyone may go down to the waterfront to swim. Some camps also have ways of naming various personnel. At one camp, for example, staff

instructors and section heads are given surnames according to their positions: thus, for instance, Karen "A&C" (arts and crafts instructor), Jim "Intermediate" (head of Intermediate Boys' section), Howie "Hydro" (swim-instructor) and Cathy "Horse" (riding instructor).<sup>31</sup> Some camps institute special calendar "holidays" during which normal activities are discontinued and "special events" organized. These include "camp-wide programs" (activities involving the whole camp) such as water regattas, all day marathons, and programs around a theme for which the camp is divided into several teams. Often these events become a regular feature of the camp season from year to year.

At many camps the liturgical materials are organized around an Indian or Indian-like theme. The names of the camp, for camp personnel, and for places around camp, are taken from Indian lore or made to sound Indian-like. "Council Rings" are held with all the camp in Indian regalia (made by personnel during crafts activity), featuring ceremonies that incorporate Indian dances, folk tales, and songs.<sup>32</sup> These may sometimes be very sophisticated: Bryce Taylor, a Canadian specialist in Indian lore, is regularly invited to Ontario camps to teach authentic Indian dances (which he performs in costume) and folktales to staff for use in their own Indian programs.

There are various sources, both printed and oral, for the liturgical folk materials used at camps. Camp staff learn stories, songs and games from records, and from books published by the recreation and camping movements.<sup>33</sup> The staff is also encouraged to make use of materials from their own backgrounds for their programs. They may also do this in the event that they are forced to improvise a program.

Thus stories learned or read by the staff at college, and games they played as children, are communicated to campers. Since many staff at any one camp have been to the same camp or different ones as campers, they often make use of materials from their previous camp experience.

Camp is also quick to adopt into its official program materials which campers use among themselves, that is, materials from the "folk" level. For instance, much in the same way as children's sandlot baseball teams have been organized by adults into the Little League, <sup>34</sup> games played by campers in their free time may be added to a camp's official roster of organized activities. Thus at one camp, unofficial "kick the can" games (similar to cricket) played by the members of two cabins during general swim, "caught on" among the rest of the camp and appeared on <sup>35</sup> official daily schedules as planned afternoon or evening activities.

Whatever the provenance of a camp's "folklore" materials, care is taken by camp administrators and staff that the items meet the standards reflected by camp goals and values. While all items of official "folklore" are not necessarily selected and used for their didactic content, all either support or otherwise conform to the camp's philosophy and mores. For example, the subject matter of songs and stories must be at least "wholesome" and "proper for children", as well as "fun". No camp condones song or story materials which are bawdy or which it considers to be, by camp standards, "in poor taste".

A camp's official "folklore" serves many of the same functions as the folklore of any organized society, but in a more self-conscious, applied sense. It may be more appropriate to speak of "uses" of official camp folklore rather than "functions", since the functions are so

consciously striven for. Official "folklore" provides entertainment in an environment where diversions must be "home made"; it helps to give camp people a sense of group identity and solidarity; it offers a forum for the teaching of the group's official values and conventions of behaviour; and it serves as a means of entry and enculturation for new members to the camp group.

#### 5. Camp "Lay" Folklore

Folklore at the "lay" or "folk" level at camp includes any items from official "folklore", plus other materials taken from non-camp contexts. These non-camp materials often correspond to those at the sanctioned level and appear in similar structures -- for example, stories learned at school told in an unorganized story-telling session. As with a camp's official folklore, "lay" folklore is defined by the context in which it appears and by how it functions for the group in that context. In most cases the functions of the "lay" folklore are identical to those at the liturgical level, but are less consciously striven for and achieved, being based on the goals of the members of the lay group rather than on the camp's official dogma. For example, a baseball game organized by the staff and played during a scheduled activity period is functioning within the camp structure which is consciously trying to teach its campers good sportsmanship and teamwork, as well as giving them "something to do" which they enjoy. A baseball game organized and played by the campers themselves during a free period may serve the same functions, but the only conscious goal for them may be the enjoyment of the game, and perhaps the mutual desire of each team to beat the other.

Folklore at the lay level offers the members of the folk group more opportunity to assert or express their own personalities and concerns than does the more "standardized" folklore at the liturgical level. This is often manifest in parodies and distortions of official "folklore" and "folklore" structures by the folk group, and may reflect points of conflict between the official and lay groups. For example, at one camp in my own experience, the regularly scheduled team games known officially as "Cabin Competition" were loathed almost universally by the campers, who referred to them as "Forced Fun".<sup>36</sup>

Both liturgical and lay "folklore" are communicated at their respective levels from one generation of camp people to the next. Because the camp period is a temporary one, the strength of the traditions at any one camp in great measure depends on the age of the camp, the number of personnel during successive seasons, and the rate of return of those personnel. This is especially true of folklore at the lay level which generally does not have the printed sources nor the administrative support which often maintain the liturgical materials. Generally speaking, the "younger" the camp, the smaller the enrolment, and the greater the turnover of staff and campers, the smaller will be the core of folklore materials and the more precarious the traditions. Conversely, given a continuity of numerous personnel through several years at any one camp, and a supply of new personnel from other camps with fresh materials, the maintenance of "healthy" traditions is assured during that period.

Because of the interconnection between the liturgical and lay camp traditions, the strength of one is often a factor in the maintenance of the other. If, for example, there is a strong official tradition of

story telling or story making at a camp, there is the likelihood that a similar tradition (using the same or different materials) will be maintained at the folk level. Similarly, since the official level is so prone to adopt appropriate materials from the folk level for the camp program, a tradition of, for instance, nicknaming of staff people by campers, may lead to an official tradition of nicknaming, with names and naming techniques selected and adapted from the folk tradition according to their consistency with official mores.

In non-camp contexts, camp folklore functions almost entirely on a folk level for both campers and staff, though it is based on materials from both the liturgical and lay levels. The esoteric frame of reference which camp people share involving official camp customs and conventions, stories, songs, and terminology, enables them to recognize and identify with each other in the city, and at school (up to and including college), and to communicate on the same terms. Many of the terms are identified by personnel not only with camp in general, but also with specific situations to which they apply. Similar situations in non-camp contexts -- campfires at the cottage, storytelling and singing sessions on school buses -- call up for camp people the corresponding camp situation and the materials used in it. The similarities between the camp and non-camp context, in terms of both the structure of the situations and the relationship of the persons involved, have to be fairly exact if the camp materials and conventions are going to work. For example, one informant<sup>37</sup> related an incident that took place at a university athletic rally she attended. One of her fellow campers from the previous summer had stood up on a table and attempted to lead the other students in a

singing session using the songs and songleading techniques which had been successful at camp. The attempt failed because the song was unfamiliar to the students and the camp method of presentation, involving a leader teaching the song, delegating parts, and supervising the singing, were alien to the persons present and inappropriate to the very boisterous and freewheeling situation. The response from the other students ranged from puzzled indifference to mild derision, and the camp person stood down after the first song.

Songs and singing constitute one of the most complex and visible components of traditional camp folklore. It is to this area that we now turn our attention.

## II

### CAMP SONGS AND CAMP SINGING

Singing and songs occupy a particularly important position in the camp tradition at both the liturgical and lay levels. From an individual perspective, camp songs and singing are one of the aspects of the camp experience that many former camp people remember best and most fondly; for children currently at camps, camp singing still comprises a unique and valued part of camp life. Historically, the songs of the camp liturgy may be said to have comprised that greatest single body of folklore shared by the camp folk group. The songs and singing at camps in general have provided continuity and a means of identification for a folk group which exists actively for relatively brief though repeated periods of time. Finally, singing at both levels at individual camps has served a wide variety of cultural functions, both calculated and inadvertent, with significant effect upon the psychological and social workings of these camps.

#### 1. A History of Liturgical Songs & Singing at Summer Camps

There are two main streams of official camp songs and singing. The first developed at recreation camps, apparently very early in the history of the movement, and has represented the mainstream of camp singing since that time. The second stream consists of the singing at

leftist camps. Up until the 1950's, the two streams remained relatively distinct, especially in the songs which constituted their respective repertoires. The amalgamation of the several elements of the camp movement during the 1950's, and the effect of the folksong revival<sup>1</sup> on singing at almost all camps, resulted in a certain degree of standardization in camp repertoires and synthesis of singing practices.

### Recreation Camp Singing

I have been able to find no reference, in either oral or written sources, to indicate just when group singing became part of the recreation camp program, or precisely what form the singing took. There is a fair argument that can be made that group singing in some form was a feature of recreation camps early in the movement's development. During the period that coincided with the beginnings of recreation camping (as stated above, from roughly the 1880's through the 1920's), group singing seems to have been relatively common in North American urban centres in various secular contexts. For example, the gathering of family and friends to sing "pop" songs around a parlour piano was already a popular pastime by the turn of the century. On a larger scale, crowds at rallies, bond drives, and parades during World War I sang patriotic songs that were being turned out by Tin Pan Alley. And with the advent of sound in the cinema, film audiences sang pop songs in movie theatres, following "the bouncing ball" as it pointed to the songs' lyrics projected on the screen. All this points to a society that enjoyed and was accustomed to secular group singing. It is not illogical to surmise that the practice extended to the camp context during the same era.

This argument is further supported by the incidence of old popular songs in camp repertoires at least up to the 1960's. My own experience and a perusal of camp song books<sup>2</sup> show that among the standard fare at recreation camps until relatively recently were such songs as "Daisy, Daisy", "For Me and My Gal", "Shine On Harvest Moon", "Darktown Strutters' Ball", "Alexander's Ragtime Band", and "Down By the Old Mill Stream". Since popular songs by their very nature are and have been "current" for only a very short time, it stands to reason that these 40-80 year old songs (and the way they were popularly being sung, that is, in groups) were originally brought to recreation camps at the time that they were still in vogue, that is, between 1890 and 1930. The songs still appear in city contexts at gatherings of families or at parties or conventions held by members of the generations who originally sang them during the 1930's and 40's. Camp, however, is one of the few contexts in which these songs have been passed on to, and are still in active use by, younger generations of singers.<sup>3</sup>

By the beginnings of the 1930's, participation singing seems to have become an institution at recreation camps, and took the form of a leader who led the group in a program of songs. In common with the recreation movement as a whole, recreation camps regarded singing as another activity, similar to games or dancing, which could be structured for group participation and led by a qualified leader. The leader's skill consisted in "getting everyone involved" and thereby ensuring the group's purposeful, wholesome enjoyment. Many of the theories behind recreation singing and techniques used by songleaders have been developed by such persons as Larry Eisenberg, considered to be the dean of

recreation singing in North America. According to Eisenberg, recreation singing is "informal group singing", in contrast with, for example, a conductor leading a choir. The difference lies in the fact that, whereas the choir sings from written music with an eye towards performance for an audience, recreation singing is usually aurally taught and its goal is total group involvement for the purpose of having fun. No audience is posited for recreation singing.

The presence of a songleader resulted in a highly structured kind of singing at recreation camps. Songs which may previously have been sung "straight through" in unison by the group, with perhaps some harmony provided spontaneously, could now be "organized" by the leader for more spectacular effects to make them "more fun". Some of the ways of organizing the singing which are still being used at recreation camps include dividing the group into sections that sing taught harmonies, parts of rounds, musical or rhythmic continuos while another sings the melody, or different parts, or even whole songs, all at the same time. The leader may organize new endings to songs, having last lines repeated with new harmonies by different sections of the group. He may also function as a solo performer, the group responding with a burden or chorus. All of these techniques, of course, are in addition to the leader simply naming a song and keeping time for the group as it sings the song without embellishment.

The repertoire of songs sung at recreation camps increased during the 1930's and 40's. In addition to the old pop numbers, patriotic songs ("America"), army songs ("Gee Ma I Wanna Go Home"), college parodies, and songs in the "I'm Glad to be Back in Dear Old Camp Kanewa" vein, "fun" songs were devised by leaders or adopted from schools and city recreation

programs. Often this type of song was sung for no other purpose than the novel way it could be done. One such kind of song still being used at camps is the "action" song which has its singers performing specific physical motions corresponding to the words of the song.<sup>5</sup> The actions may be representative (e.g. stroking the chin to represent "a little old man" in "Little Cabin in the Wood"), punning (pointing to the chest to indicate the word "just" in "Chester"), or simply following the instructions of the song (standing up on the word "rise" in "Rise and Shine").

Recreation camps also included in their repertoires a large number of "folksongs" from many sources, both North American and non-North American. Recreation camp song people were attracted to folksongs because they were relatively easy to sing in a group, could be readily understood by children and, as they were selected at recreation camps, were inoffensive and wholesome in their subject matter. It is probable that folksongs were attractive as songs for camp in that they embodied, in their "simplicity" and origins among "the people" the same principles and values which the camping movement as a whole represented and wished to impart to their children.<sup>6</sup> Camp song literature suggested that "international folksongs," i.e., folksongs from non-North American cultures, besides being "different" and therefore "fun" to sing, widened campers' "world knowledge" and fostered a warm feeling of empathy and "brotherhood" with those in other lands.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the songs -- both "folk" and "recreation" -- were chosen because they related in some way to camp life. There were hiking songs ("Trampin'", "Swinging Along"), songs that mentioned campfires, lakes,

and trees ("Land of the Silver Birch"), songs which could be used as "good morning" or "good night" songs ("Morning Comes Early", "Now the Woods Are Sleeping"), and songs that were originally of Indian origin ("Seeyahnah"). Sacred songs, hymns and inspirational songs seem to have been an important part of the recreation camp repertoire, especially at "Y" camps, church camps, and church-affiliated Boy Scout and Girl Guide camps.

These songs were spread among recreation camps in several ways. One of the most important was the song books used at many camps, sometimes compiled and mimeographed at the camps, sometimes obtained from outside sources. For example, in the 1930's, Lynn Rohrbough of Delaware, Ohio, started the Eastern Cooperative Recreation Service, and provided booklets containing words and music to recreation songs to schools, church organizations, and summer camps. By the 1960's, the fund of songs from which Rohrbough's booklets were compiled numbered over 1500, and according to Richard Reuss, "thousands if not millions" of these booklets have been used "at camps all over the world."<sup>8</sup>

Songs were also disseminated among different camps through personal contacts made by singing people at meetings of regional and national camping associations. At these conferences there were usually workshops on how to lead group singing, and songleaders from different camps compared notes in informal workshops. The movement of singing personnel, both camper and staff, from camp to camp, aided in the diffusion of camp song material throughout the recreation camping movement.

Up until the 1950's there was a clear demarcation in the minds of camp personnel between camp and city repertoires. While many of the

songs sung at camp had their provenance elsewhere, those songs usually turned up in camp repertoires long after they had passed from use in their original contexts. For example, Herbert Halpert has pointed out that camp acted as a repository for college parodies which had died out in college circles.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, campers of high school age often sang songs at camp which they may have sung only while they were in elementary school.<sup>10</sup> There was a time lag between city and camp repertoires, and it was seldom that a song current in the former context appeared in the latter. Songs from the hit parade may have been sung privately by camp personnel, but were almost never brought into official camp functions unless they could somehow be adapted, or else were already appropriate, to the camp context.

On the whole, recreation camp singing and songs up until the 1960's had little relevance to events or issues outside the camp purview. At their broadest, the songs promoted a certain nationalism tempered by feelings of international harmony and good fellowship. Essentially, however, the songs reflected the inward focus of the recreation camp movement at the time.

#### Singing at Leftist Camps

The singing at leftist camps during the late 20's, and through the 30's and 40's, was an extension of the socially-oriented cultural activity of their sponsor labour organizations in the cities.<sup>11</sup> Songs sung at the summer camps were also heard in the city at "people's concerts", rallies, in union halls and on picket lines. They included union and labour songs, "national" folksongs, and "international"

songs which were products of or reflected world-wide social and political issues with which the left was involved, such as the Spanish Civil War. While enjoyment and good fellowship were offshoots of the singing at leftist camps, the primary goals of the singing were more in the interests of inspiring and maintaining a socio-political-ethnic awareness among the singers, and a sense of international workers' solidarity.

Singing people and song materials came from both within and outside the leftist camps. Along with the drama and dance instructors who travelled the circuit of camps between Canada and the United States were individual singers such as Pete Seeger, Earl Robinson, Leadbelly, Woodie Guthrie and Paul Robeson; and groups such as the Almanac Singers and the Jewish People's Chorus. Besides performing at camp, many of the singers encouraged participation by their audiences and taught songs which were taken up by singing people in camp. Song books designed for use by left wing youth movements also circulated among the camps, and songs learned from these sources were heard around campfires, on bus trips, and in camp-written pageants and operettas. Participation singing, even when supervised by a songleader, was seldom, if ever, elaborate, and was confined to improvised harmonies which would enhance the singing but not obscure the message of the song.

The singing activity at leftist summer camps had a clearly marked and significant effect on the incipient folksong revival of the 50's and 60's. Many of the personalities who figured prominently in the revival had their initial contact with folksongs at leftist camps. For example, Irwin Silber, the first editor of Sing Out!

attended Camp Wo-Chi-Ca<sup>12</sup> during the 40's and it was there that he was first attracted to the singing of Woodie Guthrie and the Almanac Singers. Fred Hellerman and Ronnie Gilbert, two of the original Weavers, "both started singing folksongs before the war, as counselors at the same summer camp."<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the visits of Pete Seeger and the Jewish People's Chorus to Camp Naivelt in Canada and the singing activities at the camp, led several campers to form The Travellers, one of the first revival singing groups in Canada.

Leftist camps also inspired an awareness of folksong in its less political forms. Camp Woodland which was begun in the late 30's in upstate New York had its campers collecting folksongs from local residents. The camp organized an annual folk music festival which continued into the 1950's, featuring traditional singers like George Edwards, whom they had "discovered".<sup>14</sup> John Cohen, a member of the New Lost City Ramblers, and Eric Weissberg, a prominent member of such folksong revival groups as The Tarriers and The Greenbriar Boys, attended Camp Woodland, as did folklorists Richard Bauman and Joseph Hickerson.<sup>15</sup>

#### Camp Singing: 1950's to the Present

From the fifties onward, there was an increasing interrelationship between singing at summer camps in general and the folksong revival<sup>16</sup> taking place in the cities. Each seemed to contribute to the other. Campers and staff who had come in contact with folksongs at camp returned to high schools and colleges and sang them with and for their fellow students. In turn, these students, hired to meet the

burgeoning demand for camp staff, took the songs to other camps. One group of college students -- the Folksmiths -- travelled around summer camps in New England during the late 50's performing and teaching folk songs.<sup>17</sup>

In the face of this new body of material, the personnel at many recreation camps rejected the traditional recreation camp repertoire as "wishy-washy" and "irrelevant", turning instead to folksongs, both leftist and otherwise. In some cases the new songs were sung in private, impromptu sessions not connected with the camp program, in the same way that popular, "non-camp" material had been sung at camps in earlier years.<sup>18</sup> However, there were few recreation camps which did not eventually respond to the popularity of the folksong revival, and incorporate its songs to some extent in their camp repertoires. The time lag between camp and city repertoires as well as the distinction between the camp repertoire and the private, "non-camp" repertoire of individuals began to break down, and with them much of the independence of the camp singing tradition.

At first the folksong revival reinforced camp singing as it had been done for more than thirty years. Both the revival and camp emphasized group participation singing,<sup>19</sup> and the songs most popular in the revival, as at camp, were particularly suited both structurally and melodically for singing by entire groups. The revival "hootenanny" performer getting his audience to "sing along" was scarcely different from the camp leader leading a singsong.

The revival took a turn away from group singing around 1965, coinciding approximately with the appearance of Bob Dylan at the Newport

Folk Festival with electric instruments in his backup band. Many of the leading singers in the revival were becoming interested in more esoteric styles of folk music such as bluegrass, old timey, and jug band music, which did not accommodate audience participation. These commercially successful singers placed increasing emphasis on performance for the audience, rather than leading that audience in song. Groups like The New Lost City Ramblers and The Jim Kweskin Jug Band played for audiences with tastes similar to their own who did not expect to be asked to

20 sing along. Many musicians, following Bob Dylan's lead, wrote and performed long, introspective songs which were structurally and 21 melodically unsuitable for group singing.

The change in interaction between performer and audience in the folksong revival was, of course, a facet of a long-standing general 22 trend in mass entertainment towards observation rather than participation. This has become especially evident in the expansion of the popular media, especially television, such that it seems as if North American society has become increasingly willing to let others sing, play football or baseball, and discuss politics or make small talk for them.

The results of these developments for many summer camps was 23 that group singing all but disappeared. Camp people who had become dependent on the revival for songs and singing style, and who were accustomed to following media trends in their camp singing practices, were more and more to be found performing for camp groups instead of 24 leading them in song.

At the increasing number of larger camps this was impossible or disastrous to keep up for very long. The traditional all-camp singing sessions were replaced by one or two singers entertaining

their own cabin or section group. Even at many smaller camps, the tradition of camp songs had been moribund for so long that it was difficult to find people who knew the "old" songs and who were skilled enough to utilize them as had been the practice at camp before.

Campers, too, came to expect solo performances of "folk" and popular songs which they had heard in the city through the popular media, and became increasingly willing to sit back around campfires or on buses and listen to one or two of their number perform songs by such artists as Gord Lightfoot, Joni Mitchell, and Neil Young. All that has remained at many camps of the "old" camp song repertoire available for group singing have been the ritual songs -- meal graces, Sunday worship songs, and the Camp Song.

The camps at which the old repertoire and group singing have survived have been those which have depended on the revival only as a supplement to a strong indigenous tradition, and whose size, if relatively large, has not been allowed to get in the way of all-camp singing. This has usually included agency and church affiliated camps, and especially Y camps whose people, it seems, have always been at the forefront of camp singing.

Precarious as the singing seems to be, camp remains one of the few contexts in which secular group singing has survived in North America. Unlike prisons, for example, where the context which fostered group singing traditions has been virtually eliminated, the camp context remains essentially capable of supporting its tradition. Whether it will continue to do so is a matter of conjecture, based in part on whether, as is foreseen, the camp context changes; in part on

public tastes and trends in music; and in part on the musical initiative and talent of individual camp people who are still active bearers of the tradition.

## 2. "Group Singing"

Historically, the terms "camp singing" and "camp songs" have implied the active participation of groups, that is, aggregates of two or more persons, in the actual singing and in knowledge of the songs. Central, then to a discussion of camp songs and singing are the concepts of "group singing" and "group repertoire", and an awareness of the major "contextual" elements which indicate to the group that singing will take place and how it will proceed.

The focus in this discussion is the individual singing event or session which I have referred to as a "singing situation". I have used "situation" rather than "context" for, as William Ivey has noted for legends, <sup>26</sup> verbal folklore is governed not only by the context (i.e., physical setting) in which it occurs, but also by certain other factors which produce the occurrence of specific items. In the case of singing, these factors include psychological and behavioural elements affecting the persons involved in the singing. The term "singing situation" is meant to cover these elements as well as the context and the singing. It is akin to, though somewhat broader in scope than, Ivey's "conversational context" ("those ideas or associations which, when they occur in everyday speech, will always produce a telling of a specific narrative or narrative fragment").

The term "group singing" implies that all persons present in a given singing situation take part in the singing, with no audience

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posited. I have called this kind of singing and the situation in which it occurs, "participation". This is in contrast to "performance", which indicates that a segment of the group acts as auditors while the other -- whether a single person or several -- does the singing. "Participation" and "performance" are the extremes of a spectrum indicating the degree of participation in the singing by those in a singing situation. Singing situations may be seen as occupying a point somewhere between the two extremes. A situation in which a cabin group sings together around a campfire, is closer to "participation" than the same group asking one of its members during a lull in the singing to perform a favorite song for the rest of them. Similarly, a cabin group on stage during camp skit night singing parodies of hit songs, is closer to the "performance" end of the spectrum than a situation in which the same group ask the audience to "sing along" on one or more of the songs.

The dynamics of any group singing situation at camp include not only the actual singing, but also the processes whereby first, singing behaviour is indicated; second, the degree of participation by the group is ascertained; third, songs are selected; and fourth, the end of the singing is signified. I have referred to the control of one or all of these processes as "leadership", and to the person or persons who control them as "leader(s)". When leadership comes from one or more persons whose authority places them above or outside the group in the singing situation, the situation exhibits a structure which I have termed "formal". The best example at camp of a formal singing situation is the regularly scheduled, organized singing session known at most camps

as a "singsong". The singsong involves an individual, usually a member of the staff, who leads the group, most often the whole camp or a large segment of it, in a program of songs which generally the leader has selected ahead of time. During the singsong, the leader introduces the songs to the group, teaching any that are new; assigns parts if necessary; determines the songs' pitch; and regulates the tempo and volume of the singing. The leader also indicates when the singsong is over and dismisses the group.

In the formal situation such as a singsong, the leader's role is a combination of teacher, supervisor, and entertainer.<sup>28</sup> His main function in relation to the dynamics of the situation is to organize the singing so as to "get everyone involved". In the strictly formal camp singing situation the leader is fulfilling a role which meets the expectations of the group in the situation, and chooses songs with regard to the needs and interests of the members of the group. However, there is relatively little active influence exerted by the group in such a situation either on who the leader is to be, or on what songs he will select. His authority as leader comes from outside the group he is leading.

At the opposite end of the spectrum to formal singing situations is the structure and type of leadership I have termed "informal". In the informal situation there is no predesignated leader for the group. Rather, a leader emerges for each song or series of songs by a kind of group consensus. In a situation such as a cabin singing around a campfire, leadership is assumed by an individual either by suggesting a song which is approved and sung next by the rest of the group; or simply by starting

to sing and being joined by the rest. Leadership may also be conferred upon an individual by the other members of the group who recognize him as being uniquely connected with a particular song. This is often because that individual alone knows all the words to a song; was the first one to teach it or sing it for the group; plays an instrument particularly suited to the song; or does the song especially well or especially badly. For such songs, the individual might be asked by the group to assign parts, take solos, and supervise the singing, as in a formal situation, or simply to start the singing off. In the case of the latter, the singers take what parts they choose, and the tempo and volume of the singing depend upon both the nature of the song and the mood of the group. Whether leadership in an informal singing situation is assumed or conferred, the leader's authority and the selection of the songs come from within the group in the situation.

"Formal" and "informal" are the extremes of a spectrum, and singing situations may be classified according to their position relative to one extreme or the other. A singsong in which there is a great deal of interaction between the leader and the group with regard to what songs will be sung is less formal than the singsong completely controlled by the leader with no chance given to the group to request songs. Similarly, if a singing session around a campfire is "taken over" by a single member of the group with or without the consent of the rest of the group, that situation may be seen as occupying a point closer to the formal end of the spectrum than if the leadership had been passed around among the members of the group.

Often the situation itself supplies or supplements the leadership given by a person or persons in the group, providing the impetus for

participation singing without a leader's needing to say "Let's all sing." This is especially true of the scheduled singsong where campers come to the dining hall expecting to sing together. Some informal situations become identified with participation singing because it is done so often in those contexts. At many camps, for example, busrides, campfires, and sitting around the table after meals are de facto singing situations.

In most potential singing situations, however, especially those which are not part of the official program, the presence of key "singing people" -- those who can and will lead singing -- is necessary before singing will occur. Generally, a potential singing situation at camp is any in which singing will not interfere with whatever else is going on at the same time, such as walking from place to place, waiting to enter the dining hall, or paddling a canoe. What is needed to make these potential situations singing situations, is someone to initiate the singing and a group who will respond to his leadership.

### 3. "Group Repertoire"

The body of songs to which the majority of the members of a camp singing group have access, and upon which they customarily draw during participation singing situations, constitutes the repertoire of that group. It is a "collective" or "group repertoire", where "group" refers to the units of camp personnel who participate in singing together: the whole camp, sections, cabins, parts of cabins, the staff, the boys, and the girls.

As it has been used in this thesis, the term "group repertoire" does not refer to the total repertoires of the group's members. Each

member of the group has his own "private" repertoire which consists of songs that only he knows, in addition to songs which all the rest knows. Nor does the group repertoire consist of "songs everyone knows", that is, the points at which the members' private repertoires cross. Even if a song were known separately by all members of a group, it has to be sung at some point by the group, or otherwise "recognized" by all of the members as common knowledge, before it can be regarded as part of that group's repertoire. For example, on a long bus trip taken by a cabin of girls, the girls reach the point where they have exhausted their cabin repertoire. One girl asks the rest if they know a certain old rock and roll song which they have never sung together and which she has never heard any one of the group sing alone. As it happens, all the girls know the song and the group sings it. It is only at this point that the song can be said to have entered their cabin repertoire having been, until that time, a part of all their private repertoires. From then on, that cabin group has access to that song during participation singing sessions.

Many of the studies done by folklorists dealing with "individual" or "private repertoires" pertain to "group repertoires" at camp. For example, much of Goldstein's discussion of songs actively or <sup>29</sup>inactively retained in the repertoire of a single person, applies equally to the repertoires of groups at camp. Songs which have been sung regularly for years in scheduled camp singsongs often drop out of sight for a period of time because the group is tired of singing them. The songs may be resurrected after several summers, either by older staff who remember them as "good songs" and "ones we haven't done in a long time", or by former campers who have become staff and who wish to pass the songs on to their own campers.

Goldstein's description of the "patterns [that] exist for the movement of particular songs in a singer's repertoire from active to inactive status and vice versa"<sup>30</sup> can also be applied to the repertoire of a group at camp. In the case described previously of the rock and roll song sung by the girls on their bus trip, that song may exhibit any of the patterns of "permanence", "transience", "intermittance", or "postponement" once it enters the cabin's repertoire. The usual pattern at camp for such a song is that the song is at first sung by the group intermittently, under conditions the same or similar to the ones which had brought the song into the group's repertoire in the first place. If sung often enough, the song then becomes a "permanent" part of the group's repertoire and is said at camp to have "caught on".

Another past study of individual repertoire which applies to group repertoires at camp is that of Rosenberg, Casey, and Wareham.<sup>31</sup> Similar to their findings in their examination of traditional Newfoundland performers, there are factors in various participation singing contexts at camp that affect the selection of songs from the group's repertoire that are sung in those contexts. In my own camp experience, for example, the boys in my cabin never sang from our repertoire of bawdy songs in the presence of any staff whom we considered to be "unsafe", that is, who we thought would censure us. When an unsafe member of the staff was present, we sang songs which were commonly sung during the noon singsong, or others which could be sung in his presence without giving offence.<sup>32</sup>

Contextual elements such as who is present in a given singing situation are indicators of whether the singing that is taking place

is liturgical or lay. The two sections which follow contain a description of other contextual elements characteristic of the singing at each level, as well as a general account of the songs and singing practices themselves. The criterion which ultimately distinguishes liturgical from lay singing, the function of the singing in any particular context, will be discussed in a separate section.

#### 4. Liturgical Songs and Singing: General Description

The liturgical singing at any camp is the official singing, sanctioned by the administration and staff levels and forming part of the official program of camp activities. The singing at this level is carried out for specific reasons based on camp philosophy, and the songs selected for liturgical singing are consistent in their subject matter and structure with camp values.

The goals for liturgical singing at camp and the reasoning behind them are set forth in camping literature.<sup>33</sup> They are based on three premises: that singing is an activity in which children wish naturally to take part; that singing is "fun"; and that singing is more "fun" when it is done in a group, that is, when all persons present in a given situation participate in the singing. The chief aim of liturgical singing at camp is the enjoyment which can be derived from it by groups of participants. The phrase "a singing camp is a happy camp" recurs in singing booklets and chapters of books on camp singing. According to camp singing authorities, this enjoyment in turn serves several purposes. Besides raising the spirits of the singers, singing promotes a sense of solidarity and fellowship among them, and variously arouses -- depending on

the particular song -- feelings of common achievement, appreciation,  
 34 friendship, or reverence. It is also hoped that the enjoyment of  
 singing at camp will lead campers "to lifelong satisfaction, whether  
 in participation in a choir, in more intelligent listening, or in  
 35 individual performance."

With these principles in mind, many camps include participation  
 singing in some form as part of their official program of activity,  
 and generally try to foster an atmosphere conducive to group singing.  
 The general practice at most camps is to hire a staff "music director"  
 to produce organized singing sessions, and to rely on the other  
 members of the staff to encourage participation singing among their  
 campers. At camping association conventions and precamp training  
 sessions, and through books and pamphlets, the staff are taught the  
 philosophy of camp singing as well as practical techniques and conventions  
 to be used in involving groups of children in singing activity. Staff  
 training also includes the learning of a standard body of songs to be  
 sung in singing situations. The test of a successful music program at  
 camp is whether campers sing enthusiastically at the liturgical level,  
 and sing camp songs on their own (i.e., at the lay level).

Liturgical singing at camp may be either programmed (scheduled)  
 or unprogrammed. Programmed sessions usually have singing as the focus  
 of the activity, as in the regularly scheduled singsong or campfire. Such  
 sessions are almost always formal participation singing situations, with  
 a member of the staff providing the leadership. There are also programmed  
 activities which incorporate formal performance singing. These include  
 worship services in which there is a choir, skits put on by campers or

staff for the rest of the camp, and concerts, talent shows, and musicals.

Unscheduled singing sessions which may be considered to be part of the liturgy almost always take place in the presence of members of the staff. They are usually informal participation situations, with the staff person, in the interest of achieving camp goals, initiating the singing in all or many cases, or otherwise by his presence controlling the selection of the songs by the campers. Non-programmed formal participation singing also occurs at this level, usually as a means of filling time, as for example, during a delay before a dramatic performance.

The songs which comprise a camp's liturgical repertoire are those which are sanctioned by the administrative and staff groups for singing in official situations. Historically, a particular body of songs has been associated with camp liturgical singing and has usually been known among camp people as "camp songs". Camp songs by and large have originated in the recreation camp movement, and include songs of various origins no longer in use in their original contexts (college parodies, army songs, old popular songs); songs whose subjects are associated with camp (hiking songs, songs about lakes, trees, hills, and campfires); songs which are executed in special ways (action songs, round, and "partner songs" -- songs which can be sung simultaneously, e.g., "Goodnight Ladies" and "When the Saints Go Marching In");<sup>36</sup> and "folksongs" from many cultures. For some camp people, especially adults looking back on their own singing experience at recreation camps, the term "camp songs" implies songs that are "old", "sentimental", and "corny".<sup>37</sup>

With the merging of the various streams of camping and their liturgical singing traditions, and with the increasing appearance at camps of songs from the folksong revival and the contemporary hit parade, a distinct body of "camp songs" can no longer be said to exist. While the "old" camp songs are still known and sung at camps, a "camp song" must currently be defined as any song which is identified or associated by camp people with the camp context. This identification usually stems from the fact that the song was learned at camp, or else is sung most often in the camp (as opposed to the non-camp) environment.

Songs which have entered a camp's liturgical repertoire from sources outside the historical body of "camp songs" have usually been selected by the camp's authorities on the basis of their suitability for singing by groups of children. Liturgical criteria for a suitable camp song include a melody and text easily learned by children; a textual and melodic structure which can accommodate participation singing; and subject matter and thematic approach which are "attractive to children" and compatible with camp values. So long as these criteria are met, the "new" camp songs may come from any number of outside sources: books, pamphlets, or the popular media. At one camp in my own experience, the director related how a new song was chosen from the contemporary popular media for introduction into the camp's repertoire. The song was Gene MacLellan's "Put Your Hand In the Hand", a strongly moral piece with a catchy tune and chorus:

Put your hand in the hand of the man  
 that stilled the waters,  
 Put your hand in the hand of the man  
 who claimed the sea,  
 Take a look at yourself and you will  
 look at others differently,  
 Put your hand in the hand of the man  
 from Gallilee.

"Put Your Hand in the Hand" --  
 now the very first time I heard that I said,  
 "Gee, there would be a song that would be  
 good to teach at camp. [my wife] came home  
 from being in the car and said, 'I just heard  
 a song that was just great.' Couple of days  
 later [my daughter] came home with the 45  
 record and she said, 'Here's a camp song'"  
 (Tape 13).

In addition to songs which are used in scheduled and unscheduled singing sessions, the camp liturgical repertoire includes what I have termed "ritual" and "spirit" songs. "Ritual" songs are those which have specific functions in particular situations. "Happy Birthday" and other birthday songs ("May You Live a Hundred Years", "Happy Birthday, UH!"), as well as national anthems, while certainly not strictly speaking "camp songs", fit into this category. Many camps have a standard song of welcome and song of farewell which are used to greet and send off official guests who visit camp. Quite common, too, are official songs of congratulations (e.g., "Skip Around the Dining Hall"), usually sung for a camper who has passed a test or otherwise distinguished himself; and goodnight songs (e.g., "Taps"), sung at camp, section, or cabin assemblies before bedtime.

"Spirit" songs include the Camp Song, and songs used by sections and cabins as their respective theme songs. These may be songs which have been adopted whole cloth from other sources such as the hit parade,

or songs which have been made up by campers and/or staff for the specific use of the group. Camp-composed "spirit songs" are often set to popular tunes or to the tunes of songs from the camp's singsong repertoire. They are most often sung by the groups after meals around the dining tables, on the way to activities, at camp ceremonies, and during athletic events in which different groups may be competing. Spirit songs are usually among the most esoteric of the songs in a camp's repertoire, and are seldom the same from one camp to another.

The liturgical singing tradition at a camp tends to be a conservative one, since songs and singing techniques that were enjoyed and "worked" one year will usually be remembered and employed again during successive summers. However, the stability of the song tradition is subject to such inside variables as the age and size of the camp, and the turnover of singing personnel. It is also dependent upon the relative influence of outside cultural forces upon the attitudes of camp personnel towards singing and their preferences for different types of songs. At a large camp of several years standing, with a high rate of return of singing personnel, it is likely that a large part of its repertoire will consist of songs which have appeared in singsongs and campfires at that camp for many years. This likelihood is increased if the camp has been able, through its song leadership, to maintain among its campers the attitudes that camp is "a place to sing" and that the core of songs traditionally sung at camp are still "fun" to do.

What these traditional songs are, largely depends on the type of camp in question and the backgrounds of the singing people who have

attended it. A recreation camp which has been staffed through the years by personnel with recreation camp backgrounds, will likely have a large body of recreation songs in its traditional repertoire. Thus, for example, one adult informant told of recently returning to the recreation camp of his childhood and finding that many of the old "action" and "popular" songs which he had sung in scheduled singsongs some thirty years before, were still being sung in the same kind of sessions and in the same way (Tape 12).

The "life" of a particular song in the liturgical repertoire seems to follow a standard pattern. A song new to the camp is sung in a camp singing situation (either liturgical or lay) by an individual or group who has learned it from an individual. If the song "catches on", it is sung more and more often in lay situations and requested or expected in liturgical sessions. The primary test of whether a song has entered a camp's liturgical repertoire is the frequency or consistency with which it is sung during formal singsongs. The song remains in the camp's repertoire as long as there is someone at camp who remembers and enjoys the song, and is in a position to lead it in singing situations. This may continue long after the person who introduced the song to the camp has passed from the scene. Some especially popular songs may get "sung to death" during a season or over several summers, and by common consent or by staff consignment be omitted from liturgical sessions. The song may remain in the camp's active lay repertoire and inactive liturgical repertoire for several seasons. It may be resurrected for official sessions either in its original form, or changed by leaders in some way to make it a "new" song. Such changes include devising

actions for it, or finding a song which can be sung simultaneously with it as a "partner" song.

The place of the individual in the camp song tradition is extremely important. Individuals are responsible for the introduction of most songs into a camp's repertoire, and in large part for the maintenance of those songs in the camp tradition. Individuals are also the primary vehicle for the diffusion of songs among summer camps. Songs introduced at a summer camp by an individual may have been learned at another camp or, as has been common in recent years, be part of the person's private repertoire acquired in non-camp contexts. Once the individual has learned the strictures placed on new liturgical songs by camp authorities, he is in a position to teach the song he brings with him to the rest of the camp under the appropriate formal or informal circumstances -- a singsong, a campfire, or in the dining hall. Often the songs he teaches become identified with the individual, such that they are left for him to lead during singing sessions, and will be sung so long as he is at camp. After he leaves the songs may be taken up by another individual and continue to be part of the camp's repertoire.

The tension between the essential conservatism of the liturgical camp singing tradition, and the need by any tradition for fresh materials and innovation if it is to remain vital, has in recent years tended to be stronger on the side of change, to the detriment of the tradition. While fifteen or twenty years ago the liturgical repertoires at the same type of camp (recreation, leftist) were basically the same, the influence of individuals whose singing interests were not consistent with "old line"

camp singing has had an increasingly marked effect in introducing new songs into the repertoires of many camps. The result is that camps have fewer songs in common than in former years and, at many camps, liturgical singing has fallen off altogether and been replaced by lay singing.

My own experience as a camper and staff member at two camps serves to illustrate different aspects of this trend. Every camp, of course, displays a different complex of factors which influence its singing traditions. The following accounts touch on the major influences of such factors as the camps' growth, size, and turnover of personnel; outside cultural trends; and the effects which individual singing people at camp can bring about. The different combinations of these elements produced, at one camp, a virtual atrophy in the singing tradition after only four years, and at the other an almost complete change in both form and content of a singing tradition of about ten years' standing.

During the first year of Camp Towhee (1968) I was the musical director responsible for formal singing. There were about ten staff at Towhee and thirty children between the ages of eight and twelve, only one or two of whom had been to camp before. The only singing people at camp were myself and the cooks, who had attended camps for many years. Singing took place only during formal singsongs in the dining hall or around campfires, led by myself or the cooks; and in the kitchen, where the cooks and whatever campers helping them prepare for meals sang informally. The camp repertoire functioned totally on the liturgical level and consisted of the songs which the cooks and I taught to the rest of the camp in our respective contexts. There was some overlapping.

In 1969, neither I nor the cooks returned to Towhee, and a new music director was appointed. Many of the campers returned, but they retained only one or two songs which they had learned the previous summer. The staff who had come back to camp were not singing people, and the new music director introduced a body of almost totally new songs to the group that summer. During the two subsequent summers this pattern continued, exacerbated by a radical turnover of personnel each year. When I visited Towhee in 1972, I recognized few staff and none of the campers, though the camp had grown little in size. There was relatively little singing, and what songs were being sung represented, with one or two exceptions, a completely different repertoire than the one four years previous.

Camp Towhee retained tentative ties with camp singing as a whole, in that singing in traditional situations was to an extent maintained through the four summers; but there was no development of a traditional Towhee repertoire of songs. One could speak of "traditional" singing at Towhee, but only of an "annual" camp repertoire. The non-development of a strong singing and song tradition is mostly attributable to the rapid turnover of personnel and consequently, the lack of continuity of singing people.

The changes in the tradition of songs and singing at Camp White Pine were a result not only of the camp's growth and turnover of personnel, but also of the camp's connections with and dependence upon songs and singing conventions from outside the camp context. During the years I was a camper at White Pine (1957 and 1958), there was a vital camp singing tradition. White Pine was a recreation camp into its

third and fourth years, had about 50 staff and 120 campers (eight to sixteen years of age), and had experienced little turnover of personnel since it had begun. The camp's administrators and staff were largely from leftist and "progressive" camp backgrounds. Thus there was a strong awareness among the staff of the urban folksong revival, and the liturgical repertoire consisted not only of recreation camp songs, but also songs from the labour movement and "folksongs" learned by the staff from records by such "folk performers" as Pete Seeger and The Weavers.

When I returned to White Pine as a member of the staff in 1963 and 1964, and again in 1967, the camp had grown to 250 campers and 100 staff, but still retained a solid core of returning camp people. The singing situations still remained the same (the after-breakfast singsong, for example) and many of the same songs were being sung as in previous years. However, I and other singing people at camp were more interested in singing and leading "folksongs" than the more traditional recreation camp songs, and the latter were largely supplanted in official singing sessions by the former.

When I visited White Pine in 1972 I found that the camp had grown to over 300 campers and more than 100 staff. While there was still a fair representation of returning personnel, few of them were former singing people. The camp-wide singsongs in the dining hall, which had been the cornerstone of liturgical singing in the past, had become unmanageable and had all but disappeared. Formal singing had been for the most part replaced by informal singing in the sections and cabins, and it was in general less participation than performance singing. The

core of songs which had formerly been known by the whole camp -- recreation camp songs and many of the "folksongs" from the middle 60's -- was now known by the few cabins and sections whose staff members could remember the songs and teach them to their groups. The group repertoires were in general much closer to the current hit parade and commercial "folksongs" than to what had been passed on from previous years at camp, and comprised more of a lay than a liturgical tradition.

##### 5. Lay Songs and Singing: General Description

Lay singing at camp is the "unorganized" singing which groups do in the absence of liturgical control of either the singing processes or the selection of songs. This generally means that staff members are absent or not exerting their official authority in those situations. The singing at the lay level reflects the concerns of the lay group, and while there are similarities in both singing materials and structures between lay and liturgical levels, lay singing may generally be distinguished in that it functions directly for the lay group rather than being supervised by authorities to achieve camp goals. As such, the esoteric functions served by singing at the lay level may either coincide or conflict with those served by liturgical singing.

Lay singing may be either participation or performance; and almost always occurs in non-scheduled, informal situations. As with liturgical singing, the longer the camp has been in existence and the same campers have attended it, the more likely it is that certain situations will be traditionally associated with singing by members of the lay group. In such situations, which may include campfires, bus rides, and

walking to activities, the context itself acts as a factor in initiating the singing. However, because in lay singing situations there is not the pressure exerted by camp authorities for singing to take place, it is much more dependent than liturgical singing, at least initially, upon motivated members of the group. This motivation is at once personal, depending on the predilections of the members of the group for singing, and the result of factors often supplied at the liturgical level by the camp: an atmosphere conducive to singing, and organizational structures and song materials at hand which may be made use of in potential singing situations.

Each of the lay groups at camp has its own repertoire of songs. Songs often come from sources other than camp such as the current hit parade, school or college backgrounds, and childhood or family traditions. There may also be parodies of liturgical songs. Many of the songs in the lay repertoire are not considered by camp personnel to be "camp songs", but rather, "other songs we sang at camp", since they are identified with the non-camp contexts in which they were learned or most often sung. Many of these songs are not sanctioned by the camp administration and may be said to constitute an "underground" repertoire. In some cases (e.g., bawdy songs) this part of the lay repertoire does not conform in its subject matter with camp policies, especially the camp's moral code. Other songs in the lay repertoire, though not necessarily "offensive", are considered by camp authorities to be unsuitable structurally or melodically for singing by a group that does not already know them. These songs will be ignored by leaders in official participation situations. For example, the eldest girls at one camp studied for this

thesis (Camp Nimaka, 1971 and 1972) delighted in singing rock and roll songs around campfires and on outings -- the songs constituted part of their lay repertoire. These songs were never sung during formal sing-songs, however, not because they were necessarily offensive to the administration, but rather because leaders felt that there were other songs which better reflected the values which the camp wished to have stressed in its singing. The rock and roll songs were also considered to be of limited appeal and too difficult to teach in a singsong to the junior and intermediate campers who were not familiar with them.

The lay repertoire at some camps also includes ritual songs that find their greatest use in the dining hall. These are for the most part what I have termed "meal penalty songs", used to single out persons who are late for the meal ("You're Late") or who put their elbows on the table. Extra verses are attached to such songs telling the person the punishment he is to carry out (e.g., doing a "ballet", telling a joke). There are also ritual songs connected with dining hall announcements ("Announcements", "Waiting").

Depending on the rules at individual camps governing the selection of songs for the liturgical repertoire, the lay repertoire may constitute an important source of songs for liturgical singing. Songs which have "caught on" at the lay level, whatever their source, are frequently learned and used by leaders in liturgical singing situations, if the songs display the "correct" camp criteria. At one camp in my own experience, a spirited, repetitive song popular on the contemporary hit parade called "I'm Henery the Eighth I Am" moved from the lay repertoire of one of the junior cabins to the liturgical repertoire of the rest of the section

thence to inclusion in lay and liturgical sessions of other sections at camp, and finally became a frequently-led song during the all-camp dining hall singsong. 38

The converse is also true: the liturgical repertoire is often a prime source for songs sung by groups in lay situations. The adoption of a song learned in formal singsongs by lay groups for singing on their own at campfires or on busrides is the true test of the song's having "caught on at camp", that is, having entered camp tradition. Because at most camps the liturgical songs are valued for their suitability for singing by children, the adoption by the campers of liturgical songs for singing in lay situations (rather than other perhaps less suitable songs) is one of the primary goals of a camp's music program.

The processes whereby songs enter and are maintained in the lay camp tradition are basically the same as the processes at work at the liturgical level. The lay tradition is similarly affected by the turnover of personnel, outside cultural tastes, and the influence of key singing individuals. However, the lay tradition tends to be less stable than the liturgical song tradition. There is not the conscious attempt by members of lay groups to foster and maintain a singing tradition as is usually found at the liturgical level. Furthermore, the members of the lay group, especially in recent years, are inclined increasingly towards songs and tastes in singing which are found in the popular media, and as a result the lay repertoire generally changes too quickly for the establishment of a tradition. Certain portions of the lay repertoire, however, do tend to remain relatively constant, the bawdy songs being a case in point.

## 6. Lay and Liturgical Singing: Function and Context

As with other terms employed in this thesis, "liturgical" and "lay" may be regarded as the two extremes of a spectrum describing the level at which singing in any particular context is taking place. The level is defined according to the group in whose interest the singing is functioning: if for the camp and the achievement of its official goals, the singing is liturgical; if for the group in the particular situation without reference to official camp goals, the singing is lay. An example of singing closest to the liturgical extreme is that which occurs in the scheduled formal singsong, where it functions most consciously and clearly for camp purposes. On the opposite end of the spectrum is the singing of bawdy songs by a group of boys after dark in the absence of the cabin counselor. In this context, the boys are singing for their own enjoyment, taking pleasure, perhaps, that they are singing forbidden materials after lights out and thus thumbing their noses at camp authority. The enjoyment provided by this singing, contributing as it does a sense of solidarity to the members of the group, functions in the same way as more officially sanctioned singing might. However, as the singing is bawdy and no staff is present, it is functioning well outside the authority and scope of the camp liturgy, and provides one of the most clearcut examples of lay singing at camp.

Most other examples of singing at camp may be considered as occupying a point on the spectrum between the two extremes. For instance, in my experience at many camps, the girls, especially the Senior Girls, were the chief singers among the campers. They generally sang the loudest and most enthusiastically in formal singsongs, and could be

heard singing in almost any potential singing situation they were in: walking along the paths, canoeing, or waiting to enter the dining hall. In many of these situations there was a member of the staff present, usually the girls' counselor, who took no active part in initiating the singing or in selecting the songs. The staff's presence did not seem to affect the selection of the songs: the girls usually chose songs from the camp's liturgical repertoire and their own cabin repertoire with equal frequency, and the latter seldom if ever contained any songs which might be considered improper for singing in the presence of a staff person.<sup>39</sup> The singing in these situations is more lay than liturgical since it is functioning for the girls in the situation, yet more liturgical than the boys' bawdy singing described above, if only because it is "singing as it should be" at camp, whether or not there is any staff control being exerted while it is taking place. By singing in this manner, the girls are fulfilling one of the goals of the camp's singing program, and this puts it closer to the liturgical end of the spectrum.

A similar example may be found in the lay "ritual" singing referred to briefly above. "Waiting" is generally sung by the campers when there is a delay, in for example, the announcements procedure, in the presentation of a play or skit, or in the ringing of the bell announcing entry into the dining hall. The song is sung by the campers "spontaneously" at the first signs of a delay:

Wai-ting, wai-ting, wai-ting.  
 [TO THE TUNE OF "THE FARMER IN THE DELL"]  
 A terrible death to die,  
 A terrible death to die,  
 A terrible death to be waited to death,  
 A terrible death to die.  
 Wai-ting, wai-ting, wai-ai-ting.

"Waiting" is considered to be a "camp song" since it is sung in no other place. However, campers learn this song by example in the situations in which it pertains, rather than being taught it in an official singing session. The song passes from one generation of campers to the next without the participation of the staff. In context, the song allows campers to make fun of the camp's official machinery, and to express their impatience. However, they are doing so in accepted camp terms, that is, in song. Camp authorities usually accept the song with humour as part of the official workings of the camp. In most cases they take pains to get the announcements under way, explain why the show has not begun (or offer some activity -- usually singing -- until it begins), or hurry up the dinner bell if it is late. In this sense, the camp groups make use of the song on both levels to keep camp activity running. The singing may be considered as being midway between the two extremes of the spectrum.

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A striking example of the simultaneous functioning of singing on both levels occurred at one camp in my experience on the canoe trip of one boys' cabin.<sup>40</sup> The counselor made it clear to his campers that as far as singing went on that trip, he was "one of the boys". During singing sessions he encouraged any kind of singing, but went out of his way to teach the boys bawdy songs that he had learned at school, songs that were strictly forbidden by authorities at camp. The boys enjoyed the singing and joined in enthusiastically. They considered this "tabooed" singing to be one of the high points of the trip, and one of the elements which contributed to its success. This was the counselor's conscious motive in allowing and encouraging the

singing. He stated that one of the official purposes of the trip was to make the cabin feel like a unit, and that he deliberately used bawdy singing to help accomplish this goal. The singing on that excursion functioned in the interests of both lay and liturgical groups, and could also be placed midway between the two extremes of the spectrum.

This in-camp/out-of-camp ethic, whereby certain kinds of songs are legitimate for singing by camp groups outside camp but not in it, functions in a totally different way when camp people find themselves in non-camp environments and unaffiliated with a camp, that is, after the season is over. At informal get-togethers and chance meetings, songs which were sung at camp at either level function as lay songs; providing the members of the group not only with enjoyment but also a means of identifying each other, and re-establishing and expressing their common identity as camp people. Because the liturgical songs of many camps are the same, and conventions of singing them similar, song can function in this manner for camp people in general, as well as for groups from the same camp.

The members of the staff constitute an as yet undiscussed singing group at camp. Camp clearly offers the staff the same context for group singing which it offers the campers. The staff have opportunities to sing together before the campers arrive during the pre-camp training session. During the regular season, camp staff often gather to sing after the campers are asleep, at campfires, in counselor quarters, or on the way to or from town. They usually sing songs from the camp's liturgical repertoire, as well as songs from their own backgrounds -- school songs, old rock and roll songs, country songs, and "folksongs".

For staff groups too, the singing may be seen as operating on two levels, according to how the singing functions in context. During precamp, the staff is often given a lecture on camp singing policies, and there are sample singsongs held to show the staff how formal singing will work. At some camps, there are also regular staff get-togethers during the season whose express purpose is the teaching of new songs which will at some time be introduced to the campers. Singing in these kinds of contexts is liturgical singing.

Returning staff often get together in pre-camp to sing the songs they enjoyed from previous years. This and the singing the staff do on their own during the regular camp season may be considered to be lay singing. Songs which are sung in this way by the staff are another source of songs for the camp. They often find their way, through teaching by the staff in formal or informal sessions, into the repertoire of the campers.

It can be asserted at this point that, generally speaking, camp songs and singing comprise a tradition which functions in much the same way as the singing traditions of other groups. However, before final judgement can be given as to the relationship between official and unofficial singing and the role of each within the camp singing tradition, it is necessary to examine them in specific camp contexts. We therefore turn our discussion in the following chapters to the singing at Camp Nimaka, Ontario, and Camp Green River, Newfoundland.

### III

#### CAMP NIMAKA

##### 1. Fieldwork

My basic requirements in looking for camps at which to do fieldwork were that they be camps where I could expect a good deal of liturgical singing, and that they be general recreation camps, preferably co-ed. There were reasons for each of these criteria. My original focus was to have been largely if not exclusively on the liturgical ~~camp~~ singing tradition. Obviously then, I needed to study a camp at which singing still played an important part in the official program. However, my previous experience had shown that singing was not necessarily indigenous to all camps, especially those which concentrated on arts or sports, and that I was likely to find singing at a general recreation camp. This latter type was also the kind of camp with which I was most familiar and which best represented the mainstream of the camping movement. That the camp should be co-ed also tallied with my own experience, and would enable to cover girls' as well as boys' camp singing in my thesis.

I had decided that I would get a truer picture of what took place if I were not involved myself as a leader of musical activity. Since I had been known as a music person at all the Ontario camps which I had attended, I needed a new camp at which to do the research. On the advice of a former camp employer and an official of the Ontario Camping Association, I applied for and was accepted in a staff

position at Camp Nimaka. Nimaka was a recreation camp for boys and girls which I had never attended, and whose director, Mark Burnes, enjoyed a reputation among Ontario camp people as an enthusiastic and knowledgeable leader of camp songs. Singing, I was assured by my advisors, would take place in abundance at Nimaka. During my job interview with Mark I explained the purpose of my research, but requested and was assured that my duties at camp would not include being a songleader. I was employed as a member of the staff teaching woodcraft skills and leading "out trips" -- three to six day camping excursions undertaken in canoes by individual cabin groups.

I spent four weeks in this capacity at Camp Nimaka in 1971, recording singing situations and interviewing camp personnel (both campers and staff). I led one three-day canoe trip. I returned to the camp for two weeks in the summer of 1972 as a special "guest staff member", finishing my interviews and documenting changes which I found in the singing from the previous summer.

Camp Nimaka was too large for me to be present in all singing situations. Therefore, during the staff training period the week before the camp session began in 1971, I briefly explained my project to the rest of the staff and asked that they report to me any singing which occurred among their campers, listing songs and contextual information if that were possible. Through these channels I received written and oral reports covering singing on canoe trips, buses, and hikes, and in such in-camp situations as campfires, walking to and from activity areas, rest periods, and after "lights-out".

As has been the experience of other collectors of songs,<sup>1</sup> my attempt to avoid personal involvement in singing activities was ultimately unsuccessful. My pre-camp address to the staff led to a request by the camp music director to lead a formal staff singing session. I complied, feeling that as a member of the staff, I should and was expected to contribute whatever I could towards the camp program. The staff session was considered enough of a success that throughout the summer thereafter, I was asked to lead singing both in the dining hall and at campfires. The process was gradual but by the end of my stay that first summer I had become known by campers and staff as a camp music person.

The disadvantages in this development in my role were compensated for by other factors or else turned to advantages. First, though I might have influenced almost any singing situation I was involved in (a handicap for any collector), I could rely on staff reports of singing in situations where I was not present to balance my own observations. Second, being recognized as a music person allowed me to question campers about their singing without having to explain my academic interest and perhaps putting them off. Third, many of the boys at Nimaka who were reluctant to talk about singing, especially the singing they did in their cabins, respected my musical ability and spoke freely about their opinions and repertoire. Finally, I was able to introduce songs of different kinds to the camp and determine how and why a song was accepted into the camp repertoire at one or both of the lay or liturgical levels.

## 2. Description

Camp Nimaka was begun in 1961 by Mark Burnes, a veteran of YMCA camps and a professor of recreation at an Ontario university. The camp occupies a 200 acre site on a lake in north central Ontario. It is surrounded by abundant woods and connected to the nearest large town by an unpaved road five miles long. Although along this road there are public cottages and homes which even the youngest camper could reach on foot, the effect given within the camp's gates is one of comfortable isolation from the immediate community and from the world at large.

The main camp area used by camp personnel every day covers about 10 acres, and contains the camp's extensive living and recreation facilities. The buildings in main camp include the administrative office; a large dining hall; huts which belong to the arts and crafts, nature and woodcraft areas; a sports equipment shack by the tennis and basketball courts; an outdoor chapel; a waterfront shed containing sailing, waterskiing, and canoeing equipment; and cabins which house kitchen and married staff. The cabins which comprise the girls' sections are at the other end, across a small brook and well back into the woods.

Nimaka is a privately owned camp for children eight to sixteen years old. It has no specific religious affiliation, but serves a white, predominantly Protestant clientele. Most of the personnel at camp are from middle income homes in Ontario urban centres. One tenth of the campers each summer attend Nimaka at the camp's expense, through Mark Burnes's work with Children's Aid, or his association with parents who otherwise could not afford to send their children to his camp.

Nimaka camper fees (\$75 per week) were below average in 1971 and 1972 for an Ontario camp of its facilities, and the camp seemed to be just paying for itself every summer. However, it is one of the most successful camps in Ontario. Unlike most of the other camps in the province, Nimaka's openings for campers have been 100% filled since the camp's inception, and there is a long waiting list of children ready to attend.

Nimaka is a resident camp. Its summer is divided into two consecutive three-week sessions, and a final two-week session. A child may stay for any number of these "periods", as they are called, but the majority attend only one a season. Even by Ontario standards, Nimaka is large, accommodating about 365 children per period, over 1100 per summer. There is a paid staff of about 125 who work the entire season. Every year about one third of the staff and campers are new to the camp. On the other hand, a significant number of campers have returned summer after summer, and many staff at Nimaka are former campers of several years standing.

#### Objectives and Organization

The objectives of Camp Nimaka are based on those of the Canadian Camping Association. As such they reflect the philosophical development of the recreation camping movement as a whole, and do not in themselves differ from the objectives of many other recreation camps. As stated in the camp brochure, the objectives at Nimaka are as follows:

1. To ensure the happiness of our campers by making camping experience fun.
2. To give our campers a sense of responsibility by encouraging them to do things for themselves and others.

3. To teach co-operation while playing, working and planning with others.
4. To provide inspiration with values from nature itself.
5. To give our campers the experience of adventure in the out-of-doors.
6. To create a healthful atmosphere with a balanced diet, wholesome outdoor activities, and restful sleep.
7. To build self-confidence through acquiring new skills, accomplishments, and insights.
8. To teach good citizenship in an environment of democratic group living.
9. To take a personal interest in our campers, to give ample opportunity for self-expression in a well-balanced, varied program.

Nimaka's program of activities, and the structures it sets up governing time and personnel, are designed to aid in the achievement of its goals. The activities and structures have their basis in the recreation camp movement generally, and in 'Y' camping in particular.

a) Organization of Personnel. The campers at Nimaka are divided into "sections" according to sex and age: Junior Boys or Girls, eight to ten; Intermediates, eleven to thirteen; and Seniors, fourteen to sixteen. Each section consists of eight or ten "cabins" each with seven campers and a staff "counselor". Counselors range in age from about seventeen to twenty-one years of age. The cabin is the basic living unit at camp: cabin members sleep in the same bunk house, eat at their own table in the dining hall, and participate as a group in most camp activities.

Between campers and staff in the camp hierarchy are the counselors-in-training ("CIT's"). These are about twenty-five boys

and girls, sixteen or seventeen years old, who pay the full camp fee to learn, in one of two thirty-day sessions, the job they hope to have the following year. Most of the CIT's are former Nimaka campers, and spend their time in workshops and lectures, learning formally the camp's ideology, skills, and methods. Towards the middle of their session they begin to participate as auxiliary staff members. They are evaluated by their counselors at session's end and told whether they might expect a job offer the following year.

Above the counselors in the staff structure are the specialty staff, both male and female, who are in charge of instructing specific activities and who are not connected with any one cabin. The members of the specialty staff are usually older (25 and up) than the counselors, and most have been counselors themselves in previous years. Their age, and the fact that they live in their own quarters, give to specialty staff a status and freedom in the camp which tend to set them apart from the counselling staff. The entire camp is presided over by the administration, with director Mark Burnes its principal member, and including an assistant director, financial and secretarial staff, and the heads of the various sections and specialty areas.

b) Organization of Time and Activities. Nimaka exercises control over the activities that take place at camp in order to ensure that its standards are maintained, and that its stated goals are being carried out. Through the years it has evolved systems and routines which pertain to every facet of camp activity and have become standard practice at camp. During the staff training period the week before camp, the staff is given formal lectures and workshops which explain

these routines. To supplement the lecture material, a copy of the Nimaka Staff Manual is issued to each member of the staff. It includes information on camp tests and procedures, as well as separate sections containing lists of goals, practical techniques and suggested materials to be used in games, story-telling, and singing sessions. The manual is something of a "theological" reference book and is consulted by the staff during the season for ideas and policy rulings.

The daily schedule at Nimaka provides a highly structured framework within which individual campers or groups of campers have the opportunity to choose among a wide variety of activities. On each day Monday to Saturday there were three major activity periods, morning, afternoon and evening. In the first of these, campers took instruction individually (i.e. not as cabins) in any one of the specialty "interest areas" at camp. These included the waterfront (swimming, boating, canoeing, sailing, waterskiing), campcraft (e.g. fire building, outdoor cooking, axemanship, knot tying, pitching a tent), nature (the study of camp flora and fauna, materials, the stars), and landsports (e.g. tennis, golf, basketball, archery, gymnastics). To encourage participation and achievement in these areas, there was a system of Nimaka awards, similar to Scouting's merit badges and "classes", whereby campers received a badge upon reaching certain levels of proficiency. There were several badges awarded, each signifying the passing of a more difficult series of tests in all the activity areas. Attaining any award might take several summers, especially at the higher levels. Almost all campers participated in the morning classes with enthusiasm, and in talking about a previous year often referred to it as "the year I got my ... award."

Afternoon and evening activity periods were set aside for cabin and section programs. These included hikes, campfires, "cookouts", team sports or games, and waterfront activities. Section activities were the same as those done by cabin groups, but on a larger scale. Almost all programming was decided upon in advance. The week was divided into "time slots" which were allotted for either cabin or section activities. Cabins decided by consensus how they wished to fill their own activity periods, usually the night before the activity was to take place. Section activities were planned by the counselors at weekly program meetings.

The daily routine was changed on Sunday. In the morning a brief non-denominational chapel service for the whole camp was prepared and presented by a cabin group or section. The service consisted of hymn singing and a lesson in the form of a skit or talk. Sunday afternoons and evenings were given over to all-camp activities, planned by the administrative and specialty staffs. Afternoon programs included marathons, regattas, mass games such as "counselor hunts" (hide and seek, the counselors hiding and the campers "it"), and instruction in skills other than those offered the rest of the week (e.g., guitar, band, cooking). Sunday evenings there was an all-camp campfire with a program of singing, games, skits, and a story, again, organized and executed by the staff.

During each period there were two or three special all-camp evening programs, aside from the Sunday campfires. For example, on "Indian night" the staff dressed in Indian costumes and around a huge bonfire they performed dances and told Indian folktales to the assembled campers. There was also a night scheduled on which groups of campers

performed for the rest of the camp. The performance during the first period consisted of cabin skits; during the second, a Broadway musical; and during the third, a talent show.

Heavy pre-planning and careful organization of activity at Nimaka left little to chance. The exigencies of the schedule and camp population necessitated one's knowing what one was doing next. Alternate activities were planned for outdoor programs that might have to be cancelled in case of rain. Spontaneity on the part of campers was carefully regulated. Cabins were seldom given the opportunity to decide at the last moment what they were going to do for the afternoon or evening. If improvisation was found in a program, such as making up skits at a campfire, it usually had been planned for in advance, and was controlled by the staff. At one time or another campers might react negatively to the pressure of this constant structuring of their activity, refusing to attend programs, or pressuring their counselor for a day or afternoon "off". Senior campers, especially the boys, were given more leeway in this area than the younger campers. Most of the time, however, Nimaka campers found that because they always had "something to do", camp was a busy and exciting place to be.

#### Philosophy and Atmosphere

Nimaka measured its own success in terms of whether the values inherent in its list of objectives had been communicated to and adopted by its personnel. As Mark Burnes put it,

...it doesn't really matter what program emphasis you have... I think we could play tiddly winks for the whole month of July with the kids, and the important thing to me

is that they're learned some of the basics of what it is to be happy, what it is to share and to become resourceful, and-- I know these are trite things to say but really they have great meaning -- of learning how to become independent away from Mom and Dad's protection... (Tape 12)

In order to achieve these objectives, Nimaka established a behavioural norm based on its system of values (in the parlance of this thesis, the camp's "theology", but as it was usually referred to, "the camp philosophy") and regulated by official policies (liturgy). Camp policies were geared to promote among camp personnel all that was physically healthy and spiritually wholesome. For example, smoking by campers was forbidden under any circumstances. Any activity which might result in a "bad experience" emotionally for a camper was not condoned. Therefore, practical jokes, programs involving frightening figures, and ghost stories told by the staff to the campers, were not allowed.

Of the various camps at which I have worked or been a camper, Nimaka was one of the most self conscious about living up to its "theological" or ideological goals. Perhaps because the camp had been in existence for so long and was so sure of its goals and how to achieve them, there seemed to be a camp policy to cover almost every aspect of camp life, and camp personnel could not but be aware of them. Both campers and staff seemed to be conscious of what was or was not proper (i.e., consistent with camp "theology") in any situation. This did not apply simply to liturgical rules such as when to go to bed, what to do for activities, or how to go about scheduling a program. It also extended to attitudes, approaches to problems, and the general spirit in which camp life was carried on. For example, the emphasis

at camp was on "the positive":

Well, one of the big philosophies here is 'positive approach'...We must do everything positively. If you're going to say anything about something, it's gonna be good, or if it's bad we don't say anything at all. (Staff member, Tape 10)

Though this principle was never explicitly stated by administrative authorities during my stay at camp, the feeling was current among all members of the staff that this "positive approach" was to be reflected, as part of their job, in their appearance and dealing with others on a day-to-day basis:

...be friendly, smile, even if you don't feel happy, smile -- that's another philosophy here...If you feel downright shitty you're not gonna feel like smiling, but around here you're supposed to, because you don't let down with your campers. (Staff member, Tape 10)

Policy statements were usually focussed upon and expressed in terms of the happiness and well-being of the campers. However, policies were most often directed initially towards the staff, who were then expected to transmit them, verbally or by setting an example, to their campers. The staff "example" was one of the chief means of communicating the behavioural norm to campers at Nimaka, and often reinforced explicit administration rules. For instance, to give support to the camp injunction against campers using tobacco, the staff were not allowed to smoke when campers were present.

Staff also learned by example. During the training week prior to camp, the staff attended formal lectures and workshops given by the director and section heads concerning elements of camp policy. However, a great deal of what they learned also came informally, from advice given by older, returning staff, and most importantly from the whole

ténor of life at precamp as presented by the examples set by the more experienced staff. One could not help but absorb principles of "positive approach", coopération, and friendliness, from simply watching other staff interact with each other and with oneself, and assume that these principles constituted the camp's liturgy.

The most telling and clearly observable example for behaviour at camp was set by director Mark Burnes. As has been the case at many other camps,<sup>2</sup> Mark, as founding director of the camp, was, and was considered by all personnel to be, the force behind every aspect of camp philosophy:

Nimaka is run on the philosophy basically of a man, Mark Burnes, and that's a Christian philosophy, basically ... doing things for other people, trying to be humble, and kindness in, you know. (Staff member, Tape 10).

Mark's powerful presence at camp stemmed not only from his position as director, but also from the fact that he was almost universally respected and admired by the staff as a man of high ideals and principles:

I think Mark's pretty sincere in whatever he feels, you know? The things that he wants us to carry out he really believes in. He doesn't just say them for public relations because he's been in this business for too long, you know? Like, he really believes those things. Amazing. (Staff member, Tape 10).

Much of the camp liturgy, whether it was explicitly issued by the administration or "sensed" from the camp philosophy by campers or staff, was often expressed or rationalized by personnel in terms of what Mark "liked" or "didn't like". For example, in a discussion between several campers and their counselor concerning the prohibition of singing section songs informally after meals, Mark's personal

censure was assumed by campers to be solely responsible for the decision:

Camper: I was mad when I heard that Mark didn't like [the singing].

Staff: Well, it wasn't a case of, you shouldn't say, 'Mark didn't like it,' it was just, uh...

Camper: That's what I heard -- Mark didn't like it.

Staff: Now, don't say it that way. It was just a little general consensus of some people that thought that maybe the competition was getting a little out of hand.

Camper: [CUTTING HER OFF] Well, it wasn't any of the kids, I bet. (Tape 16)

Mark's real or surmised disapproval came into play with regard to staff behaviour. For example, the staff were allowed to go into town at night to drink only on their day off. The official rationale behind this policy was that the staff could not do their job right the next day if they had spent the night before drinking. However, it was "known" among the staff that Mark "didn't like" drinking, and there was a legend among the staff which explained his antipathy to alcohol (and to tobacco as well). In essence it was that in his youth, Mark had been a regular hellion, a chain smoker and a heavy drinker, but that he had quit both after realizing how dangerous they were, and was now trying vigorously to save others from a similar experience. True or not, the presence of such a legend indicated the extent to which Mark's personality motivated and controlled the behaviour of his staff, and by extension, that of the campers.

The showcase in which camp values were laid out for the campers was the daily "lesson" known at camp as "Thought for the Day" ("TFTD").

Adopted from YMCA camping, TFTD took place immediately after breakfast in the chapel. It consisted of a one- or two-minute address, delivered by a camper or a member of the staff, on a subject of spiritual or moral concern. The majority of TFTD's applied directly to aspects of behaviour or attitude which were the ideals at camp. Titles of TFTD's during 1972 included "Show Appreciation", "Give a Lot of Yourself", and "Better to Forget and Smile".

For the majority of Nimaka personnel, camp policies were consistent with what they themselves felt or did. Certainly any personnel who returned to Nimaka did so because in the main they agreed with the camp's philosophy and did not feel strained or uncomfortable living with it. This was especially true of many of the male staff who, in accordance with camp policy governing their appearance, had to cut the long hair or shave off the beards which they customarily wore in the city. Most felt that it was worth it to be able to come to camp.

Mark endeavoured in his recruitment of staff to hire those whom he considered to be naturally "positive" in their outlook and goals. He told of one staff who refused to return to Nimaka because she "couldn't turn on a smile for two months",

I guess you'd better not come to camp because if you have to 'turn it on' then it isn't there automatically... If you're down some day, you don't have to turn on a smile just for the sake of turning it on. But if that's what Camp Nimaka means to you, then it's going to be awfully difficult for you. (Tape 12)

For many camp personnel, Nimaka was an ideal world from which they could escape the venalities of outside society:

We don't receive news from the outside so it's really nice because we can get away from all those ugly things that are happening out there. But...it's not real, because we're not having to face up. If we lived here all year round we would never have to face up to the problems. (Staff member, Tape 10)

The physical isolation which kept out "real" problems also allowed Nimaka personnel to interact with each other on a more idealized plain at camp than they could with as many people in the city, and many were grateful for the opportunity:

We're not a real situation -- we've got our own ethical code here. It's a great feeling to want to do something here and be able to carry it out because everybody wants to help you, but unfortunately it's not like that in the real world. (Staff member, Tape 10)

As a new staff member in 1971, I was struck by the buoyant atmosphere at Nimaka, the smiles and warm hello's from both campers and staff on the paths all during camp, the cooperation with which projects were carried out by staff and campers, the eagerness for new ideas, and the general enthusiasm with which most aspects of camp life were met.

However, as one might expect in any heavily structured environment where there are strict taboos concerning certain types of behaviour, there were conflicts at Nimaka at all levels with regard to official policies. The rigid system of values inherent in the camp philosophy was often difficult to live up to for both campers and staff. Constantly aware of what kind of behaviour was expected of them, and conversely, of what was not allowed, many Nimaka personnel resorted to various clandestine outlets. Staff members did, for example, go into town for a drink on nights other than the designated ones, but were

careful never to mention their intentions in camp. The older boys' cabins, who often felt the in-camp restrictions keenly, "let loose" on canoe trips, smoking if they got the chance, swearing, and singing bawdy songs. Some of their counselors condoned this behaviour, stepping out of their official roles as representatives of camp policy.

The tension which resulted from the stated and unstated conflicts at Camp Nimaka underlay the "best of all possible worlds" atmosphere which the administration and most of camp personnel believed in and tried to achieve. It may be said that the tension contributed in a positive way towards the attainment of the camp's goals, encouraging independence and a sharing of ideas and resources among camp personnel, and fostering friendship and solidarity. However, the tension surfaced in other areas in ways which were not wholly positive. Although these manifestations were not in direct opposition to camp policy, and certainly have been evident in other camps I have attended, they were nonetheless the more obvious at Nimaka because they did not coincide with the ideal atmosphere so consciously striven for at the camp. For example, one could feel a certain pressure to perform, to achieve, and to win, at Nimaka. There was a high premium placed on expertise in any field, and both campers and staff treated almost with deference those who were best in any area -- athletics, knowledge of nature, songleading, or organizing a program.

Closely linked with this pressure to perform was the sense of competition and tension one felt between the boys and the girls at camp, evident in almost every activity in which members of both sexes participated. Male and female roles were clearly defined in the minds of camp personnel.

It was obvious from watching the camper presentations on skit nights that at Nimaka, to be female implied being romantic, "boy crazy", silly, passive, alluring, sentimental, and "artsy". Male characteristics included physical prowess, toughness, disdain for sentiment and emotion, and dominance. Nimaka was not responsible for inculcating these stereotypes in the minds of its campers, but it allowed them to flourish, if in no other way than by doing little to offset them. On "Changeover Day", the day that campers from one period left and new ones arrived for the next, female staff and departing campers indulged in great displays of weeping at the buses. They were watched appreciatively by the males, and egged on by the male staff who sang camp songs as the girls boarded the buses. While girls' crying at camp's end is seen at most camps, the girls at Nimaka seemed especially to cultivate it.

The males at camp endeavoured to dissociate themselves in any way with what they considered to be female traits and cultivated a kind of collective "machismo", especially in athletics. For instance, the standard form of athletic challenge between cabins during after-meal announcements was "Cabin X challenges Cabin Y to a game of softball in the big diamond after supper". In both years, by the end of each period, this had changed to "The men of Cabin X challenge the boys of Cabin Y..." and the results of those games were announced in the same way to the rest of the camp the following day.

The boys also refused to participate in activities with the girls, especially if there were any competition involved. During the middle 60's at Nimaka, the award requirements in skills areas were identical for boys and girls, and it became obvious, during award

presentations, that the girls were winning more badges. The boys began to withdraw from attempting to pass tests until the late 60's, when test requirements were changed such that the boys' standards were "more difficult" and competition virtually eliminated. The boys' participation in awards work improved immediately thereafter.

### 3. Singing and Songs

At a time when the general trend in camping seems to be for singing to be ignored or let slide in favour of other aspects of the camp program, Camp Nimaka maintains its traditions of singing and songs. During any day it is unlikely that one will go more than four hours at a time without hearing participation singing. This tenacity has been due in great measure to the interest of director Mark Burnes in camp song, and to his ability to attract singing people to his camp. Through its singing policies and practices, Camp Nimaka has very consciously taken care that a new camper entering camp recognizes in it a cultural milieu in which singing occupies a very legitimate and, to the camp, important position, and that the camper is encouraged and welcome to take part in it. A child new to the camp also finds that old campers who are his cabin-mates or whom he sees everyday, might sing at table after meals, while they are walking along the paths, at rest hour, or on canoe trips, and that he may follow suit without being thought strange or made to feel out of place.

#### Liturgical Singing and Songs

##### a. Mark Burnes and the First Ten Years of Singing at Camp Nimaka.

Mark's influence may be seen and heard in every facet of Camp Nimaka's liturgical singing tradition. He has been responsible for formulating

the goals and standards for official singing at the camp, instituting its songleading techniques, and introducing many of the songs in its traditional repertoire.

Mark's background demonstrates the link which can exist between generations of camp singing people at different camps, and the role of the creative individual in influencing camp singing traditions.

During the late 1930's, Mark spent his summers at the Ottawa YMCA camp where his father was the camp songleader. When he became a staff member at the same camp during the late 1940's, Mark took over his father's position and continued to lead many of the same camp songs. By the early 1950's, Mark was giving talks on recreational songleading skills to camp and recreation groups in Ontario<sup>3</sup> and becoming known in Canada as an authority on camp songs and singing. At an international conference for YMCA workers and camp directors held in Wisconsin, Mark met and sang with Larry Eisenberg, as previously mentioned, one of the leading authorities in North America on group and recreational singing.<sup>4</sup>

During the 1950's Mark worked at other YMCA camps in Ontario, also in the capacity of songleader. In addition, for several years he hosted an Ottawa-based CBC TV program, "Mark Time", on which he led audiences of children in songs and games much as he had been doing at camp. The pressure of a weekly show provided Mark with additional incentive to increase his already-sizeable repertoire of children's participation songs and to experiment with and perfect songleading techniques.

During the first three or four years after he began Camp Nimaka (1961), Mark established a norm for liturgical singing based on the formal singing session. He shared songleading duties in the daily

scheduled singsong after the noon meal, and at camp-wide or cabin campfires, with the camp music director and four or five other interested staff. All of them taught songs from their own camp backgrounds, often introducing them to the staff first during get-togethers in the evenings, then teaching the songs to the whole camp during the noon singsong. The liturgical repertoire at camp at this time consisted of perhaps fifteen or twenty songs, which were repeated often during each camp period.

As the camp became larger and his administrative duties increased, Mark left the bulk of the songleading to his music director and other members of the staff. The CIT's began to feel that they should be included among the leaders chosen for noon singsongs. With an ever increasing number of staff and CIT's leading singing, workshops on songleading were added to staff and CIT training programs, and a chapter on the subjects was included in the Staff Manual. This led to even further expansion of the roster of potential songleaders, and the camp music director was able to schedule a different leader for every day of the camp period. In order to be original, songleaders never led a song during their singsong which another leader had already done in a previous session. Since some songs were identified by camp personnel as the "property" of certain leaders, songleaders were constantly on the lookout for new songs.

As a result of these developments, the liturgical repertoire at Nimaka grew at a rapid rate during the middle and late 1960's. While many of the staff and CIT leaders had "grown up" at the camp and kept leading songs from the original repertoire, staff and campers who had attended other camps introduced new songs from their own traditions. Visitors to camp were often invited to lead a singsong and invariably

left behind a new song or two, and Mark's staff workshops and periodic leadership in singsongs added more songs from his own repertoire to that of the camp. By the summer of 1971 when fieldwork for this thesis was begun, the songs listed in the singing section of the Staff Manual numbered over 160.

b) Goals and Standards. The goals and standards which have been set by Mark for singing at Camp Nimaka are consistent with those governing other aspects of the camp program. Liturgical singing at Nimaka is for the most part participation singing, and its chief aim is that it be fun for the singers. The songleader's basic task is to get everyone involved in singing and to make the singing experience an enjoyable one.

The songs which have comprised the traditional liturgical repertoire at Nimaka, and new ones which are selected for singing every year, are "positive" both in subject matter and approach. Songs which had to do with death, alcohol, eroticism of any kind, songs which contain swearing or which otherwise are considered to be "in bad taste", do not appear in official singing situations. Many songs which have been part of the traditional repertoire at other camps are not sung at Nimaka. These include "K-K-K-Katy", which Mark considers to be "a song that belittles someone who stutters", "Mama's Little Baby Loves Shortnin' Bread" which he sees as making use of a demeaning concept of dialect, and "The Titanic", which is usually sung at camps in a boisterous and happy manner, especially on the chorus:

Oh it was sad, it was sad,  
It was sad when the great ship went down  
To the bottom of the sea-ea-ea-ea  
(Husbands and wives, little children lost their lives)  
It was sad when the great ship went down.

Mark feels that "the songs which have come out in recent years have spelled doom" (Tape 12), referring to many of the commercial songs which came out of the folksong revival such as "The Eve of Destruction" and other so-called "protest songs". These kinds of songs, in his opinion, are not suitable for singing at camp, and none appears in the camp's liturgical repertoire.

Mark's thinking in this area often does not coincide with that of his campers and staff:

We did "Sounds of Silence" once in the chapel, because it was with the Senior Girls leading it and they really thought it's a good song and it's a very thoughtful song, and they were at the stage -- especially their counselors -- where they wanted a thought-provoking chapel service. So they did it, and Mark just thought it was the most awful thing, because he associates "The Sounds of Silence" with a "dirty" movie, The Graduate -- he called that a dirty movie -- and he thought it was a negative song because it's a sad one. And then they did in the same service "Both Sides Now", and he said that's a very negative song -- and it is, too, if you think about it... and so anything like that is just "thumbs down". (Staff member, Tape 10)

While Mark's standards have ruled out some songs from the folksong revival, as a singing person he has been keenly aware of the revival and quick to take songs from it which meet his standards. His tastes are eclectic. He has learned songs and songleading techniques from concerts by such performers as Alan Mills and Pete Seeger<sup>5</sup>, and his record library includes such works as The Limeliter's children's concern album<sup>6</sup> and records by Peter, Paul and Mary. One song which he introduced to the camp in 1970 called "Up Up With People", had been heard by Mark at a concert given by "The Young Americans". This group, popular during the late 1960's and early 1970's, was another in the mould of

large "folk groups" like "The Serendipity Singers" and "The New Christie Minstrëls," who presented an energetic, clean-cut image, and sang very "positive" songs.<sup>7</sup> Looking at the contemporary state of camp singing in general Mark considers that the folksong revival "may be saving camp singing" because of the renewed interest it has aroused in children in making music on their own.

As a new singing person at camp leading singsongs, I had to be careful in selecting among the songs in my repertoire, including those which I had learned and sung at former camps, those which were suitable for Nimaka. For example, during pre-camp I had sung "Anne Boleyn" for the staff when I was not fully aware of the strictures governing singing at camp. The song comes from the English music hall tradition, and is a humorous treatment of Anne Boleyn's ghost looking for King Henry "wot forever spilt her gore". I had sung it at several camps. Its chorus is:

With 'er 'ead tucked underneath 'er arm  
 She walks the bloody tower  
 With 'er 'ead tucked underneath 'er arm  
 At the midnight hour.

The staff enjoyed the song, and one or two learned it so they could teach it to their campers during the season. By the time it was my turn to lead a camp singsong several weeks later, I had become more aware of Mark's standards and felt that "Anne Boleyn" might not be acceptable for a camp singsong. However, during the singsong I was asked from the floor by several members of the staff to sing it, and I did. Speaking to Mark afterwards about the song, I was told that, as I had thought, he did not endorse the singing of the song, but that, since the campers obviously enjoyed it, it was "all right".

Another incident which showed the strength of the taboos pertaining to singing at camp, for the staff as well as for the campers, took place during a concert I gave in 1971 for the staff after the campers were asleep. The theme of the concert was British and North American traditional folksongs, and along with songs which I thought the staff might be interested in teaching their campers, I sang "The German Musicianer", a British song based on erotic metaphor. While singing I noticed that I and the rest of the group were watching to see Mark's reaction to the song. There was a split second's delay between the time Mark laughed at the song's final punchline and the time that the rest of the group joined in. The atmosphere, which had grown tensely quiet during the singing, immediately relaxed. One of the staff told me later that he had been amazed that I could sing that kind of song in front of Mark, and that "no one else could have gotten away with it" (Tape 17).

c) Liturgical Repertoire 1971-1972. Because of the camp backgrounds of Mark and most of his staff, the majority of songs in the liturgical repertoire at Nimaka consisted of songs from the recreation camp tradition. In the Staff Manual, and as presented to the staff and CIT's in song workshops, these songs were divided into several categories. "Silly and novelty songs" were "nonsense" songs, comic songs, and songs which were sung in a novel or unusual way. For example, "Allouettski" was "Allouette" sung in a minor key, with mock-Russian names for the parts of the body usually referred to in French. A sharp "hey!" was shouted every two lines of the chorus, and a long "Oh-oh-oh-oh" sung between the accumulating versus and the

chorus:

[CHORUS] Allouettski, gentil allouettski  
Allouettski, gentil plumerais -- Hèy! (x 2)

Leader: Gentil plumerais la tetski  
Group: Gentil plumerais-asi la tetski  
Leader: Et la tetski  
Group: Et la tetski  
Leader: Allouettski  
Group: Allouettski  
All: Oh-oh-oh-oh

[CHORUS]

Other parts of the body mentioned included "les yeuxovitch", "la bouchka", and "le naizokov".

Close to "novelty songs" were the "action songs", so named for the physical actions which accompanied words or ideas in the song while the singing was underway. A simple example was "If You're Happy and You Know It", which contained instructions for the actions of the song: "If you're happy and you know it clap your hands [CLAP! CLAP!]" or "stamp your feet" or "say amen!". Other action songs were more complex, and usually involved repeating the song through until, phrase by phrase, the singing had been completely replaced by actions, or singing the song faster and faster until everyone mixed up the actions. An example of the first of these was "Little Cabin in the Woods":

In a cabin in the woods,

[DESCRIBE A BOX IN THE AIR  
IN FRONT OF YOU WITH THE  
TWO INDEX FINGERS]

A little old man by the window stood,

[STROKE CHIN WITH FINGERS OF  
ONE HAND IN DOWNWARD MOTION]

Saw a rabbit hopping by,

[MAKE "V FOR VICTORY" SIGN,  
PALM OUT, MOVE HAND IN FRONT  
OF YOU FROM ONE SIDE TO THE  
OTHER, ZIGZAGGING UP AND DOWN]

Frightened as could be.

[CLASP ARMS AROUND BODY AND TREMBLE]

"Help me! Help me! Help!"  
he said,

[START WITH HANDS IN FRONT OF  
CHEST IN PRAYER POSITION;  
THROW THEM TO EITHER SIDE AT  
SHOULDER LEVEL ON EACH "HELP!"]

"Or the hunter will shoot  
me dead!"

POINT EACH INDEX FINGER FORWARD,  
THUMBS STRAIGHT UP AND OTHER  
FINGERS CLENCHED INTO PALM;  
MOVE HANDS UP AND DOWN

"Come little rabbit, come  
inside,"

MAKE BECKONING MOTION WITH  
ONE HAND

"Safely to abide".

MAKE "'V' FOR VICTORY" SIGN  
WITH ONE HAND, HOLD IT  
CLOSE TO CHEST, PALM IN,  
WHILE STROKING OUTSTRETCHED  
FINGERS WITH OTHER HAND

SNIFF! [SOUND]

DRAW ONE ARM, FOREARM TO  
FINGERTIPS, UNDER NOSE.

This song was sung once through, words and actions, then four times more, leaving out the singing two phrases at a time, until the only sound that could be heard was the "Sniff" at the end.

Other songs in the Nimaka liturgical repertoire included

"Spirituals" such as "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" and "Ezekial Saw a Wheel A-Rollin'" ; "singing songs" (i.e., songs which were sung straight through with no actions) such as "The Desperado" and "Clementine"; "Indian songs" such as "My Paddle's Keen and Bright"; "folksongs", mostly those popularized by the folksong revival, such as "Michael" and "Five Hundred Miles"; and "rounds and partner songs": Among the rounds were "Heigh Ho" and "Kookaburra". Songs sung together simultaneously as "partner songs" included "When the Saints Go Marching In" and "Goodnight Ladies"; "Swing Low" and "All Night, All Day"; and "Row Row Your Boat", "Frère Jacques", and "Three Blind Mice".

Every summer at Nimaka at least one song from the contemporary hit parade was sung in liturgical situations. In 1970 "Raindrops Keep Falling on my Head" was taught and sung in the noon singsong. It became especially popular in August of that year when the camp experienced an

unusually long period of rain. The hit parade song that "caught on" in 1971 was "Put Your Hand in the Hand", and in 1972 "Let the Sunshine In" from the musical "Hair".

Other songs sung in liturgical singing situations but which did not necessarily become part of the repertoire of the camp included songs sung during the skits presented by the campers, for example, a parody by the Junior Girls of one of the songs from the noon singsong, "If All of the Raindrops"; songs sung by the staff as part of the skits they used to introduce themselves to the campers, for example, a song by the office staff to the tune of "She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain"; songs from the musical presented every year; and team songs composed and used for all-camp programs.

There were several ritual songs which formed part of the liturgical repertoire at Nimaka. These included "Oh Canada", which was sung during morning exercises, "Happy Birthday", and three different graces, one for each meal, for example,

We thank Thee Father for Thy care  
And for Thy bounty everywhere  
For this and every other gift  
Our grateful hearts to Thee we lift. (Tape 11)

As a parting song, sung to guests in the dining hall before they departed, the camp sang the chorus to Woodie Guthrie's "So Long It's Been Good To Know You". There were also two songs of congratulations, composed by the swim staff, sung in the dining hall by the camp in recognition of campers who had passed one of the two swimming tests, the Guppy (minimum swim test) or Marlin (beginner's test). The "non's" in the Guppy song referred to "non-swimmers"; the "green" to the colour of the Guppy badge:

[TO THE TUNE OF "YOU ARE MY SUNSHINE"]

We have a Guppy, a brand new Guppy,  
And she worked hard to get her green,  
For from the 4 non's, we now have 3 non's,  
Hurray for....., She got her green. (Tape 5),

Spirit songs might be considered to have been part of the liturgical repertoire at camp. These were cabin or section "theme" songs usually sung in the dining hall after meals. Some had been composed by the sections themselves -- usually the Senior Girls -- often to the tune of a popular song or one of the songs from the official repertoire. The younger sections mostly adopted songs whole cloth from the hit parade or from songs they heard during the noon sing-song. In 1972 the Junior and Intermediate Boys sang "Dirty Old Bill", a traditional song a Nimaka, whenever a spirit song was appropriate. The Intermediate Girls the same year sang a contemporary pop song, "Jeremiah Was a Bull Frog". In the case of the younger sections, it was usually the staff that suggested having a spirit song and taught the one used to their campers.

d) Liturgical Singing Situations. Singing at the liturgical level took place in a wide variety of situations at Nimaka. These included sit-down participation sessions such as the scheduled noon sing-song and camp-wide, section, and cabin campfires; and other situations of which singing was a part, such as weekly chapel services, skits by both campers and staff, team games, and ritual situations. Liturgical situations were generally characterized by their formal structure, with leadership provided totally or in part by members of the staff.

The scheduled noon singsong was the central singing experience at Nimaka. It was the chief forum for the camp's liturgical repertoire, and contained the format which was followed in most other official sit-down singing sessions. The noon singsong also embodied the aims and goals of singing at camp and, by extension, a significant part of the camp philosophy. It was rigidly formal, with the leader standing at a microphone at the front of the dining hall. Because of the singsong's importance, it is described here in some detail.

1) Leaders: During the precamp staff training session, Judy the music director, known at camp as "Piano Lady", delivered a talk about the goals of singsong and how they worked at camp, asking for volunteers upon whom she could call as leaders when camp was in session. This was primarily for the new staff -- Judy knew who among the returning staff could and would be songleaders when asked.

When camp was underway, Judy approached people on her list several days ahead of the time she wished them to "take" a singsong. The individual involved then decided, usually in conjunction with Judy, which songs would be sung and whether piano accompaniment were needed (some leaders played guitar, though they seldom did so for the entire singsong). The night before the session, usually during "staff rec" the leader went over the songs with Judy, teaching her any songs she might not know, deciding on keys, tempos, and song order.

Although there was solo leadership during singsongs, most often people paired up, leading alternate songs. Multiple leadership

was the rule among CIT's or senior campers who might approach Judy during camp and ask to lead.

ii) Mechanics and Format: The last announcement after lunch was Judy's, introducing the leader of the singsong. The leader took his place at the microphone and announced the first song. Leaders always remained at the front of the hall, using gestures and the musical accompaniment to regulate pitch, tempo, dynamics, and parts if necessary. If there were two or more leaders, one stayed at the microphone during the singing while the other(s) walked back and forth in front of the group, leading with the same kind of gestures. Judy played the piano throughout.

The introductions to the songs and the actual teaching varied according to the individual leaders and their ease in talking to the group. Introductions could be quite perfunctory:

All right, let's go to the next song.  
Most people know it, it's called "A  
Ram Sam Sam." [SPEAKS TO PIANO ACCOMPANIMENT].  
A ram sam sam, a ram sam sam...  
(Tape 1)

or more informative:

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Now the third song we're gonna do was written by a Canadian artist, and possibly the reason why it has become so popular is because the government of Canada has decided that I believe 30% of all music played on the radio has got to be Canadian, and so it gives a song like this a chance to get known. It's called "Put Your Hand in the Hand of the Man." ["OH'S" OF RECOGNITION FROM THE GROUP]  
(Tape 5)

Sometimes a song might be placed by the leader into some kind of context, factual or fanciful, for the group:

The last song is a real favourite of mine. It's a quiet African lullaby called "A-Wimoweh"... and the words are very quiet, sung by an African woman trying to quiet her baby as he is going to bed at night. The song goes like this... (Tape 2)

Occasionally, when there were two leaders, they might try to work the title of the song into a brief monologue:

Marilyn: Gee, Stan, what are all those little white things all over your shirt and hair?

Stan: Must be dandruff. [LAUGHTER FROM THE GROUP] Maybe I'm using the wrong shampoo. I should start using that stuff they advertise on TV, "Head and Shoulders"... [EVERYONE CATCHES ON THAT "HEAD AND SHOULDERS" IS THE NEXT SONG. IT IS AN ACTION SONG SO THEY MOVE THEIR CHAIRS OUT FROM THE TABLES] (Tape 6)

In their introductions leaders might also attempt to emphasize the message of the song, as in this example. The song to be led is "We Shall Overcome".

Joan Baez is an American folksinger with a great deal of belief in men and their ability to get along together whether their skin is black or white, what their religion or what race, and she's made a song very famous about this belief in everybody being able to live together and it goes like this... (Tape 2)

Whether a song was new to the camp or had been in the liturgical repertoire for several years, it was always presented in the noon singsong as if it had never been sung at camp before. This was to ensure that no new camper felt "left out" during the singsong. Teaching was always oral/aural, since Mark felt that the

use of songbooks or printed sheets in a singsong inhibited the rapport between the leader and the group, and restricted the actual singing. After introducing the song the leader talked through the words, line by line, while the piano played the corresponding melody behind him. The group then sang the segment once or twice. Segments of the song were fitted together when the leader was satisfied that the whole song, or chorus, could be sung through by the majority of the group. If actions, harmony, or parts were involved, these were taught and organized after the words and melody. After this was accomplished, the leader laid out what was going to be done, and the song was taken "from the top" and sung right through"

Next one we're gonna sing is about a little Australian animal called the Kookaburra, and the first verse goes like this:

[TALKS TO PIANO ACCOMPANIMENT]

Kookaburra sits in the old gum tree,  
Merry merry king of the woods is he  
Laugh Kookaburra, laugh Kookaburra,  
Gay your life must be -- ha ha ha.

OK, let's try it. [THEY SING IT] OK,  
the second verse goes:

[TALKS TO PIANO ACCOMPANIMENT]

Kookaburra sits in the old gum tree  
Eating all the gumdrops he can see,  
Stop Kookaburra, stop Kookaburra,  
Leave some there for me -- ha ha ha.

OK, let's try it. [THEY SING IT]  
OK, we're gonna try this as a round, and  
we'll split the dining hall right down the middle,  
with Julie leading the girls and Ruth leading  
the boys. We'll have the girls starting first,  
and then Ruth will bring in the boys after "old gum  
tree", and we'll sing the first verse, then the  
second verse, then the first verse again. OK?  
Sing! [THEY DO, JUST AS SHE SAYS. THEN, APPLAUD]  
(Tape 8)

Applause invariably followed the ending of a song.

While teaching the songs was for the most part straightforward, some leaders used little tricks to inject a bit of fun into the organization:

Now, we're going to do [the song] in two groups, and we're going to separate right here, [WITH HIS HAND HE INDICATES A WAVY LINE CUTTING THROUGH THE GROUP -- THEY LAUGH] in that straight line right there. [MORE WAVY LINES, MORE LAUGHTER] (Tape 2)

The dining hall singsong seldom varied in format. It consisted of four or five songs, the first an up-tempo "familiar" number from the camp's "old" repertoire, the last a slow, quiet song, usually a spiritual, and the two or three songs in between a "novelty" song, a "new" song which might not have been done at camp before, and an "action" song -- often in that order.<sup>10</sup> The format was derived from the Staff Manual, and was considered to be the ideal one to follow. Songleaders also never strayed from the order or selection of songs which they had arranged prior to the singsong. Once the machinery was set in motion, the singsong ran as planned to its conclusion.

The last song usually ended twenty or twenty-five minutes after the singsong had begun. At that point Mark would take the microphone, thank the leader(s), and signal the group's dismissal with the phrase, "Rest hour will be over in one hour".

. iii) Evaluation. The relative success of a singsong was judged by leaders, staff, and campers alike, according to the quality and extent of group participation in the singing, that being the gauge of whether

everyone "had fun":

I would say, in general, the singsongs that we've had here have been good, like from Nimaka's criterion of what a good singsong is, and that is, 'get the people singing' -- get all the people singing, not just the Senior Girls, get the boys singing, get them doing actions if there's an action song, have them knowing their words if it's a new song, and have them doing a quiet song very beautifully...And if you can get them humming after the singsong's over, that's a bonus. (Tape 10)

Emphasis was on the immediate experience, on the campers' having fun singing together. Leaders who got the whole camp singing during the noon singsong were often congratulated or acknowledged for a job well done during the rest of the day by both campers and staff -- "Hey, that was a good singsong this afternoon".

The rigid formality of the noon singsong was not always in evidence in other liturgical singing situations. However, even in informal situations the staff controlled the choice of songs and the processes of initiating singing. Such situations included cabin campfires, walking to activities, and waiting to enter the dining hall. The staff was especially active in leading informal singing among the younger campers in camp.

The staff took particular advantage of canoe trips to foster singing among their campers if the latter did not do so on their own. Songs were often part of the lore with which each group returned to camp, along with nicknames, private jokes, and memorates about long days of paddling, constant rain, or insects. On one Senior Girls' canoe trip in 1972, a song was the central part of an incident which became one of the stories about the trip:

Another camp who had been competing with us for campsites slept late one morning; and we quietly finished breakfast, packed up, and paddled across the channel to within a few feet of the opposite shore where the other group was still quietly sleeping. We gave them a round of "Oh Canada" at the top of our lungs they'll never forget, and the girls thought this was one of the greatest parts of the trip as they recalled later. 11

Other aspects of liturgical and lay singing on canoe trips will be discussed below.

e) Liturgical Tradition: Processes, Change, and Stability.

According to Mark, the songs in Nimaka's liturgical repertoire constitute "the tradition here. I don't think there is anything else that is traditional here but our songs. As a matter of fact, most of us take great pride in showing old staff and campers all of the changes we have made, physical changes at least" (Tape 13). If the liturgical repertoire at Nimaka is not the only tradition, it certainly comprises the most visible and one of the strongest traditions which almost all the personnel who have attended the camp share.

The traditional singing conventions and repertoire of songs which occur at Nimaka at the liturgical level have been maintained by having been consciously institutionalized from the earliest stages in the camp's history. Largely due to Mark's efforts, the camp context has become identified in the minds of both campers and staff with participation singing and certain types of songs. The stability of the traditions has been aided by the fact that approximately two thirds of camp personnel return to camp every season, knowledgeable

of the songs from previous years and accustomed to the way they are sung. Most of the personnel at NimaKa enjoy the singing and the songs, and expect them when they return to camp.

The staff and their attitudes towards camp singing were extremely important to the maintenance of the singing traditions. One of the best examples of their positive attitude is the spontaneous informal singing sessions which normally takes place on the first night of the pre-camp staff training session. In 1971 this session took place around the piano in the dining hall after "staff snack". A few of the "old" staff and Judy, the music director at camp, began singing songs which had been part of the official repertoire from previous years. More of the old staff, and several new members, came around to the piano in two's and three's, and joined in the singing. There was no formal leader. Songs were suggested by members of the group and Judy played them while everyone sang. Parts songs were done without any formal division of the group: people simply sang whatever part they desired, or took their traditional parts, for example, in "Give Me Oil for My Lamp", girls did the first verse, the boys the second; girls took the high harmony, boys the melody. There were few moments of rest in between songs, and the session lasted about one and a half hours.

Some of the staff felt that there was a certain positive compulsive element at work during the first night session;

...that first night was, that happened because everybody had been sitting around for a year and hadn't sung those camp songs and they wanted to get back at them, and they wanted to get them out of their system, you know? And so that's why that happened. That happens periodically but it never happens like it does that first night at camp with the staff. (Tape 10)

Mark, who was at the session but deliberately took no formal part in leading it, thought that Judy had been especially "on" that night:

[Judy] had to do it because it was in her, and she had to bust it all out and play all those things. I don't think that she would have been that sharp any other time, but she had been thinking camp songs and they all came out. (Tape 12)

The staff session was one of the best singing sessions at camp that year. It was a perfect example of what camp songs and singing mean to persons who are involved in camping and extremely positive to it. The singing provided both the occasion and the means for expressing what and how the staff felt about camp, about each other, and about being together at camp once more. This primarily lay session had liturgical consequences. The warmth of the singing sessions and the staff enthusiasm for the singing were suffused throughout the rest of the season in most of the liturgical singing situations involving the participation of campers.

As previously mentioned, new songs were brought to camp by personnel who had been to camps other than Nimaka, by visitors with camp backgrounds, and by returning personnel who had learned new songs in the city which they thought would make good camp songs. New songs were usually introduced in the noon singsong. For example, "Allouettski" and "Give Me Oil For My Lamp" were taught by a visitor to Nimaka during the 1960's. Each song was taken up by a member of the staff and led in formal singsongs during subsequent years. The songs became recognized as the "property" of those staff, and were expected by the campers in the singsongs led by those individuals.

The movement of a song back and forth between lay and liturgical levels was usually an indicator that the song had been adopted into the camp repertoire at each of those levels. The common pattern involved in a new song's being sung at one level and being adopted for singing at the other. For example, "Here We Are" was first sung in a chapel service in 1969 and

...it was just such a catchy tune that we kept it up...just sung it spontaneously in the dining hall after meals, especially the girls...And then somebody picked it up and led it in the singsong and so we all really learned the words well so that we could do it and we've sung it again and again, in chapel service and in the dining hall and just -- at campfires is another time because it's a really good fellowship kind of song. (Tape 10)

"I Have Lost My Underwear" and "If All of the Raindrops" were first sung informally after meals by the oldest Senior Girls. They had learned the songs from one of their counselors who had in turn learned them at a camp in Colorado. The songs were "picked up" by other girls at camp who sang along with the Seniors after meals. Eventually that year the songs were led during a noon singsong and have been sung in that situation every season since.

There was a danger at Nimaka of a new or old song becoming too popular, being sung too often, especially by the girls after meals. Camp personnel, especially the staff who taught and sang and listened to the same song for all three camp periods, often tired of these songs, which were considered to have been "sung to death". In these cases, the staff might forbid the songs' being sung any more, either just in the dining hall or in any liturgical situation. The songs were consigned to singing by the campers

when the staff were not present, that is, went inactive at the liturgical level. Conversely, in any particular year, songs were resurrected from their inactive status and put once again on the active liturgical singing list, either by staff who remembered it as a "good song we haven't done in a long time", or by former campers, now staff, who had never been bored with the song in the first place.

There's one song the CIT's did... in 1961, "Everywhere We Go". I haven't heard that song for three or four years, and heard it in a ... canoe this past week. The girls were coming home from a canoe trip and they were singing it back and forth between the ... canoes. Juniors. Incidentally, the staff in the canoes were [NAMES' COUNSELORS], two kids that have grown up here themselves. (Tape 13)

In 1971, "The Ants Go Marching" was led twice during noon singsongs, after being inactive "for three or four years because we'd played it to death...after meals in the dining hall" (Tape 13).

"Junior Birdsmen", another song in the traditional repertoire at Nimaka, was still liturgically inactive that year, but Mark was sure that "in another couple of years we'll bring it back again" (Tape 13). Campers still sang the song in lay situations.

It was surprising for a camp where singing was so important that there were few locally composed songs which entered the official camp repertoire. Attempts had been made to write and teach a Camp Song and a Camp Hymn, but neither had been successful. About the only camp-composed songs which enjoyed any use at Nimaka were the spirit songs made up by the Senior Girls.

Most of the changes in songs sung at the liturgical level at Nimaka were consciously made. One of the techniques which Mark had developed during his years as a songleader was the changing of new songs to make them suitable for children's participation singing, or giving old songs "a new twist" to make them appealing once again. His changes usually involved adding actions or complex endings to a song, or taking two old songs and making them into "partner" songs:

The other night when we sang "The Saints" and "Goodnight Ladies", Judy and I decided that we wanted to do those two songs but we threw in the simple little actions to them that have never been done before. And so, for all those people who have sung those two songs and enjoyed to sing them, then by putting the action in we made it a little more fun. (Tape 3)

Some of the innovations have been introduced to help Mark in leading:

With "Oh Freedom" -- I put an ending on it, too, which neither Pete Seeger nor Peter Paul, and Mary does. [SINGS: "Yes Lord".] I put that in myself because I wanted something that the group could be singing so I could give them the succeeding verse. And I felt it needed some kind of ending to it. (Tape 13)

Most of the changes Mark has made in songs have been incorporated into the camp tradition. About half of the songs sung during 1971 and 1972 which Mark had introduced into the camp repertoire during previous years, had been changed by him in any of the above ways and were still being taught with those changes. The girls, following Mark's example, put actions to many of the songs they had learned during noon singsongs which had not originally been taught with actions.

There was relatively little change in either the singing or the songs at the liturgical level between 1971 and 1972. The basic repertoire of recreation camp songs remained the same, except for a few new songs taught in 1971, and several old songs from 1971 which in 1972 went inactive. Singing situations were also basically unchanged, with the exception of the "Singing Axes" routine (singing such songs as "Take This Hammer" while chopping) which I had introduced in 1971 as part of the woodcraft instruction program. It was not taken up again in 1972 by any of the woodcraft staff.

In the long run, however, Mark at least felt that the singing at camp has lost some of its vitality, with a subsequent loss in strength of the camp tradition. He attributed this to the generally poor quality of new songs available in recent years for group singing, and to over-all cultural trends, especially with the influence of the popular media:

...people are much more inhibited now. Everybody seems to be putting a protective shell around themselves and asking everyone else to be open... People are finding it harder and harder to sing, or to relate singing to happiness. At the singsongs, people seem to be sitting and allowing me to entertain them, rather than uninhibitedly getting into the thing... I think that people are losing their creativity, ...because somebody on the TV set is being creative for them. (Tape 12)

To most of the staff who were concerned with the singing at camp, the most telling evidence that something was wrong was the general lack of enthusiasm shown by the boys, especially the older boys, in most liturgical and many lay singing situations. The girls could be counted on to sing in almost any situation. Boys, however, seldom

sang the graces, in chapel, or in formal singing sessions, especially the noon singsong. As previously noted, a successful singsong was largely gauged in terms of the participation by the boys. While the boys sometimes responded in singsongs to leaders whom they respected because of the leader's seniority at camp, or his/her abilities on the playing field or in other camp activities, in most cases the only songs they sang with any spirit were boisterous, novel, or funny songs. In keeping with their over-all attitudes towards anything which they considered to be "girls' stuff", the boys seldom sang along on the "prettier", soft songs which the girls took delight in. In both 1971 and 1972, the boys tried to drown out the girls' after meals singing of "Love Is Something If You Give It Away" by reciting "Dirty Old Bill" as loudly as possible. Some songleaders tried to take advantage of the competitive aspects of the boys' and girls' singing by leading songs during the noon singsong such as "There's a Hole in the Bucket". The song is a question-and-answer dialogue between a man and a woman that allows the girls and boys to sing at each other:

Boys: There's a hole in the bucket, dear Liza, dear Liza,  
 There's a hole in the bucket, dear Liza, a hole.  
 Girls: Well, fix it dear Henry, dear Henry, dear Henry,  
 Well, fix it dear Henry, dear Henry, fix it.  
 Boys: With what shall I fix it...etc. (Tape 8)

As it was sung in the dining hall in 1971, the song ended with the boys and girls shouting to sing louder than the other part. It was considered a "fun" song, but pointed to the extremes which sometimes had to be resorted to in order to get the boys to sing.

In the main, the boys seemed to be reacting to the rigid liturgical structuring of the singing and selection of songs. Many stated that they like to sing, but did not wish to be "forced" into it. The older boys also seemed to be reluctant to sing if there were girls present because, as some of the staff put it, the boys did not wish to lose their "cool" by singing, especially at the stage in their lives when their voices were changing and they could not sound as good as the girls did. This reluctance was not restricted to formal sessions. On a bus trip with the Senior Girls in 1972, the senior boys were adamant in their refusal to sing with the girls:

Senior Girl A: Oh, they [THE BOYS] hated our singing.

B: They sat there and did nothing. One song I remember [they did] -- "I'm a Nut".

C: And we tried a challenge with that "Throw It Out the Window", and they never sang. Only one guy sang. They did one thing, "We Are Crazy", that's all they did. We'd been singing for about an hour and a half, so finally we decided to challenge them. And [one of the staff] was the only one who sang back...and then they lost. (Tape 16)

The attitude of the boys towards the girls and their singing could be summed up in the remark made by one returning Senior Boy to another as they stepped off the bus just arrived at camp. The Senior Girls were singing on their way to their cabins from the disembarking area, and one boy said somewhat resignedly, with reference to the girls' singing, "Well, here we are at camp again".

When they were on their own and in the mood, and could exert some kind of control in the singing situation, the boys were often

enthusiastic singers. In effect, by not singing in liturgical sessions they were refusing to submit to liturgical pressures on their singing or their repertoire, rather than rejecting singing itself. I was surprised in being approached by a delegation of Senior Boys towards the end of a camp period in 1972 and asked to lead a singsong at the final section campfire they were planning. When I asked whether they were sure that the other boys in the section would want a singsong, they replied to the effect that everyone felt it would be pleasant to sit around a campfire and sing. The singsong was indeed a successful one, the songs being mostly from the folksong revival and not in the camp's liturgical repertoire. It appeared that the more "lay" a situation, the more willing the older boys at least were to sing.

This reluctance to sing in situations controlled by authorities on the part of the older boys, and the corresponding eagerness of the girls, seems to be a pattern which also appears in urban culture, at least in Ontario, among adolescents of the same age group. For example, from February to June 1974, I co-ordinated the schools program of the Mariposa Folk Festival, <sup>14</sup> sending singers into primary and secondary schools to conduct workshops on folksong. The response from the boys and girls in the higher grades at most of the schools to the singers' invitations to "sing along", followed the same lines as participation by the respective sexes at Nimaka: the girls usually sang, the boys usually did not. Many of the music consultants from the Toronto area Boards of Education with whom I

worked, agreed that around grade six or seven, at the age of 12 or 13, boys stopped singing in class. It appears that even in such a positive context for singing as is provided by Camp Nimaka, this pattern holds true.

### Lay Singing and Songs

The liturgical singing at Camp Nimaka contributed to the great amount of singing which took place at the lay level. The official program generated an atmosphere at camp conducive to singing, and established singing as a legitimate medium for expression in a wide variety of circumstances; it provided model structures and singing conventions which could be followed at the lay level; and supplied song materials which could be used by the lay groups.

Generally speaking, the lay singing of the girls closely followed the lines set out by the liturgical program. Even when no control from staff was in evidence in a girls' singing situation, the singing and the songs were usually not such as would evoke a negative reaction from Mark. The girls' lay singing was considered to represent the partial fulfillment of one of the goals of liturgical singing at Nimaka, namely, the campers' free desire and ability to enjoy singing "good songs".

The boys' lay singing at camp usually represented a departure from the ideals set by the liturgical singing program, especially in terms of repertoire, and often pointed to areas of conflict felt by the boys with camp policies, both as regards singing and camp life in general. However, even by singing songs not sanctioned by camp authorities, the boys often ended in achieving goals set at least for singing by the same authorities.

a) Girls' Lay Singing. Girls in cabin and section groups could be heard singing for their own enjoyment in virtually any situation which allowed for it: bus rides, walking to and from activities, waiting to enter the dining hall, sitting around the table after meals, at campfires and on canoe trips. In most cases the presence of the girls' counselor did not affect the singing in the situation nor the songs selected. In many cabins, especially among the seniors, the counselor was regarded as "one of the girls", and provided informal leadership on the same basis as any of her campers.

The tradition of singing in any of the lay situations had been developed among the girls mostly at the liturgical level. Nimaka girls' counselors in the younger sections used singing as a means of "getting closer to" their cabin groups, assuming a great deal of informal leadership by initiating singing and teaching songs from the camp repertoire. For example, after meals when dishes had been cleared away and the camp was waiting for announcements, counselors in the Junior and Intermediate Girls sections could be seen suggesting songs to their groups or simply starting to sing with the girls joining in. This process could also be seen at entrances to the dining hall where Junior and Intermediate Girls waited to enter for the meal. By the time the girls had become Seniors, singing in those situations had become standard practice for them, and the girls needed no prompting from their counselors to sing.

The majority of songs sung by the girls at the lay level were songs they had learned during the noon singsong. These were supplemented by songs from the liturgical repertoire which had gone inactive at the liturgical level, plus songs from the hit parade and the folksong revival, and songs which were learned from cabinmates who had attended other camps. According to reports, the girls never sang bawdy songs.

It should not be assumed that every cabin of girls were singers, nor that every situation which presented itself to the girls as a potential singing context was taken advantage of. On canoe trips, for example, which offer many opportunities for singing, there were cabin groups for whom singing would have to be initiated by the counselor. If the counselor was not a singing person, there might be no singing at all. The latter was my own experience with a group of Senior Girls that I took out on a canoe trip. Another "tripper" (member of the woodcraft staff in charge of a canoe trip) reported that on his Senior Girls' trip there had been no singing on portages (carrying packs overland between bodies of water) or while the girls were paddling. Most of the singing on the trip had been initiated by the girls' counselor "at the campsite while meals were being prepared or afterwards. There were no big singsongs around the campfire".<sup>13</sup> In contrast to both of these trips, other cabins of Senior Girls reported that they had sung "all the time" while they were out.

Girls' singing at the lay level generally seemed to function in concert with liturgical singing. Camp goals and the goals of girls' groups which sang on their own appeared to be identical, except for the lack of consciousness about "goals" on the part of the girls. Singing could also be seen as serving specific covert functions for the group in certain situations. For example, on a bus trip taken by Senior Girls in 1972, the group flirted with Bruce, the bus driver, and their singing played an important part in the process:

A: We were singing on the way back from our [canoe] trip.

B: You know that "Close Up" [jingle] for commercials? Well, we changed it, we said [ALL SING]

Come a little closer, Bruce,  
Smile for me,  
I need a close up smile from you,  
I need a close up smile from you.

Then we looked up and started to smile. [LAUGHS]

C: Then instead of "Old Bus Driver" we'd sing "Oh dear Bruce, speed up a little bit". I don't know whether he liked that. Aw, he's funny. And then everybody yelled "Juicy Bruce!" [LAUGHTER]

D: Then there was "Bruce, Bruce, drinking all the juice" [FROM THE CAMP SONG, "QUARTERMASTER'S STORE", WHICH INVOLVES MAKING UP RHYMING VERSES] -- that was funny. (Tape 16)

b) Boys' Lay Singing and the Bawdy Song Tradition. The boys at Nimaka did relatively little singing on their own. Among the younger campers it was generally the counselor who initiated the singing and suggested the songs to be sung, thereby making singing in potential lay situations function at the liturgical level. It was more difficult for Senior Boys staff to propagate singing among their groups, so that most of the singing that the boys

did at campfires or on canoe trips was relatively free of staff control, and could be considered "lay".

The canoe trip and the cabin campfire were the two primary contexts in which boys sang at the lay level, though there are reports of singing in cabins at rest hour and after lights out. Songs at campfires in camp were generally from the popular hit parade and commercial folksong revival, and boys who played guitar favoured the works of such popular artists as Gordon Lightfoot, Neil Young, James Taylor, and Cat Stephens. The structure of the singing at campfires was generally informal performance. Songs sung on canoe trips were generally bawdy, the situations informal, and everyone took part in the singing.

Most of the bawdy songs sung by the boys on canoe trips were standards <sup>14</sup> such as "Roll Me Over in the Clover", "(Ricky Ticky Ticky) Follow the Band", and "The North Atlantic Squadron". There were also two parodies that had been created by the Senior Boys of songs from the liturgical repertoire, "Give Me Oil for My Lamp" and "The Ants Go Marching". The existence of the parodies was evidence of the strength of the bawdy song tradition among the boys, and of the impact upon them of the liturgical tradition as well. In its original form, "Give Me Oil for My Lamp" had a chorus sung in two parts, the boys singing the melody and all the words, the girls just coming in on the word "Sing!":

Sing! hosanna! sing! hosanna,  
Sing hosanna till the break of day,  
Sing! hosanna, sing! hosanna,  
Sing hosanna till the break of day.

The boys' verse in the song was as follows:

Give me strength in my arms, keep me working,  
 Give me strength in my arms, I pray,  
 Give me strength in my arms, keep me working,  
 Keep me working till the break of day.

The Senior Boys replaced the words in the verse with obscene ones, and changed the chorus accordingly:

Give me strength in my jollies keep me pumping,  
 Give me strength in my jollies I pray,  
 Give me strength in my jollies keep me pumping,  
 Keep me pumping till the break of day.

Pump! hosanna, pump! hosanna,  
 Pump! hosanna, pump! hosanna till the break of day ) x 2  
 (Tape 9)

Other lines in the boys' version include "Give me strength in my hands, keep me feeling" ("Feel! hosanna") and "Give me strength in my ass, keep me shitting" ("Shit! hosanna"). "The Ants Go Marching" is a cumulative song, sung to the tune of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home", that follows along the pattern:

The ants go marching one by one, hurrah! hurrah!  
 The ants go marching one by one, hurrah! hurrah!  
 The ants go marching one by one,  
 The little one stopped to suck his thumb,  
 And they all go marching down, to the ground,  
 to get out of the rain, boom boom boom.

The ants go marching two by two...the little one  
 stopped to tie his shoe...

The ants go marching three by three...the little  
 one stopped to look at me...

etc.

The Senior Boys substituted bawdy actions for the actions of the "little ant", for example, "The ants go marching four by four, the little one stopped to fuck a whore" (Tape 19).

There appeared to be a strong tradition of bawdy singing at camp. Campers learned new songs from their counselors and other

campers, who had in turn learned them from their counselors or cabinmates.

On other trips I've been on though, you know, counselors, you know, have been teaching us dirty songs. Like the one we started off with this year, "Follow the Band", that was taught to me a couple of years ago... [NAME OF STAFF] taught it to us. I'd never heard it before. (Tape 19)

Sources outside Nimaka to which campers and staff ascribed bawdy songs they sang at camp were other camps, school (usually in connection with sports) and other male or male-dominated activity. For example, "Roll Me Over" was taught in one Senior Boys' cabin by a camper who had learned it on a fishing trip with a "bunch of guys from the place where Dad works -- they were all drunk". (Tape 9)

Several of the Senior Boys' counselors had established reputations among campers and fellow staff as teachers and singers of bawdy songs. Campers learned of their bawdy song abilities by being in their cabin or by learning songs from those campers who had; staff knew of their talents because they had been campers together, lived together during the precamp staff training session, or heard about them from their own campers. Many of the known singers of bawdy songs were admired for their feats of creativity in the field:

A: Last year I think [NAMES OF STAFF] got twenty-three verses to "Ricky Ticky Ticky", and it's really amazing. They did it on a canoe trip, too. (Tape 9)

Individual creation and creation within the tradition were sometimes confused:

[AFTER SINGING SONG]

A: We all made that up.

B: [NAMES OF CAMPERS] made that up.

C: It was everybody.

D: Oh, heck, [ANOTHER CAMPER] was singing that last year in cabin 56.

A,B,C: What?!

D: Yeah, [NAME OF STAFF]'s cabin. (Tape 9)

In some cases the counselor's use of bawdy singing on a canoe trip served his own and what he considered to be the camp's purposes. By being "a good guy" in allowing bawdy singing to take place or in teaching bawdy songs, some counselors tried to establish rapport with their campers, "getting closer with their guys". Counselors would also teach or sing bawdy songs to their boys to "keep their spirits up" when the weather was bad or the paddling difficult. This was true of at least one Intermediate Boys' trip during which the group had to rise at 4:00 a.m. to break camp and paddle to meet their ride back to camp. Their counselor sang them "The North Atlantic Squadron" and "The Twelve Days of Camping".

While leading or teaching this kind of singing was strictly against the camp policy, many of the counselors rationalized bawdy singing by means of an "in-camp/out-of-camp" ethic, incorporating the principle that on a canoe trip, "anything goes". According to these counselors, one of the goals set by the camp for the canoe trip was the unification of the cabin group through a sharing of good and bad times in a "completely free" atmosphere. As it was placed within this liturgical framework by the counselors, bawdy singing contributed to the good times and to the sense of freedom which the canoe trip offered.

For most of the campers and even some of the staff, however, the bawdy singing functioned on a deeper level. By singing bawdy songs on a canoe trip, the senior boys were reacting to being away from "home" -- their ethical base -- in a fashion typical of other

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male groups in North American society. . . Much of the enjoyment of bawdy singing in such situations comes not only from breaking of taboos, but also from the freedom felt by the participants, in being away from home, to break those taboos. For the Senior Boys, "away from home" was away from camp, or as one of the campers put it more specifically, "away from Mark" (Tape 19). It was apparent that in some ways, there were a few counselors at camp who shared these same views.

Many of the staff did maintain their official roles on trips. For example, on one trip reported, the trippers discouraged foul language in general and bawdy songs in particular. They especially disliked the socially aggressive turn which the bawdy singing was taking:

Of course, sometimes, though, like, we'd go by cottages, you know, we'd sing bawdy songs extra loud and that's what got the staff mad, you know. [LAUGHTER] We went by a fishing lodge, and they sang out really loud "Ricky Ticky Ticky", and there was a person out on the door. . . [GENERAL LAUGHTER.] (Tape 19).

Offenders were told to "watch the garbage mouth" and the staff tried to supplant bawdy songs by teaching the boys less "offensive" songs. They were partially successful: the boys returned from the trip having learned "That Good Old Mountain Dew". On the whole, however, the staff's suppression of bawdy singing merely drove it underground. The boys sang bawdy songs when the staff were far ahead in their canoes on the lake, or "off on the trail somewhere" (Tape 19) during a portage.

Bawdy singing as an expression of conflict between the boys and camp policy also took place in a particular kind of situation in camp.

After lights out in the boys camp, counselors patrolled the sections, making sure that cabins were quiet and dealing with any emergencies, such as homesickness or an asthma attack, that might arise in the night. Their main concern was rowdy cabins. If a cabin was noisy, the night patrol would fling open the door of the cabin and shine their flashlights in the campers' eyes, giving the boys a warning to be quiet. Pushups was the usual punishment meted out to the boys after the second warning. In defiance of the Night Patrol, either just after they had left a cabin or as they were passing by, the whole cabin might sing:

[TO THE TUNE OF "OH TANNENBAUM"]

Oh Night Patrol, oh Night Patrol,  
Go shove your flashlight up your hole. (Tape 9)

The song was used by boys of all sections, though the Seniors said that the Juniors and Intermediates used it most often. The song was traditional at Nimaka. Though one cabin of Senior Boys attributed its composition to three boys in another cabin, the latter averred that they had learned it from someone else at camp. No ultimate source for the song could be found.

The members of the Night Patrol, to whom "The Night Patrol Song" was sung, found it amusing, and usually took up the challenge inherent in the song, giving the cabin who sang it extra attention in the form of pushups. Singing the song was part of a game played between campers and staff, with the conflict felt by the campers

with authoritarian policy lying quite near the surface. It was appropriate that such conflict be expressed at Nimaka through a song.

#### Summary

Nimaka's special theology and liturgical structures distinguished the camp from non-camp or city culture, as well as making for points of contrast between liturgical and lay groups at camp. These differences were reflected in the singing that took place at camp. Official singing involved highly formal structures and an esoteric body of camp songs. It did not admit of outside values which were seen largely as a negative or corroding influence. Singing at the lay level occurred with more informal structures, exhibiting a broader, city-oriented repertoire, and could be said to stand somewhere between camp and outside culture.

The singing traditions at Nimaka achieved a measure of strength and stability on account of the camp's official philosophy concerning singing, and also because of the camp's large size and relatively small turnover of personnel. However, the traditional repertoire and singing practices seemed increasingly subject to the influence of songs and performance patterns from non-camp contexts. This was especially visible at the lay level.

In the following chapter we examine a camp in another part of Canada. Camp Green River, Newfoundland, will be seen to differ physically and culturally from Camp Nimaka, and to show corresponding variation in its songs and singing practices. Once these have been described we will turn once again to the larger question of the nature of the general camp singing tradition.

#### IV

#### CAMP GREEN RIVER

##### 1. Fieldwork

Since my research in Ontario was to be at a co-ed camp, I decided that in the interests of a possible comparison in my thesis, I should look for a similar camp in Newfoundland. Through contacts at Memorial University I learned of Camp Green River, affiliated with and operated by the Anglican Church and the only camp on the island to offer a co-ed session. I applied for a staff position to the Reverend Bob Parsons, the director of co-ed camp, relating my experience at Ontario co-ed camps and explaining the object of my research. I asked Bob that I not be involved in musical activity at camp other than as an observer, and was assured that there would be enough singing people at camp to make this possible. I was accepted for the camp session as a canoe instructor and general staff member.

I attended the co-ed camp at Green River for two consecutive summers, 1971 and 1972. During both years the camp was small enough that the staff and all the campers took activities together, and I was able to observe singing at first hand in almost every situation. I relied on interviews with campers for information on musical activity that took place at bed-time and during rest hours, when the staff was not present.

Similar to my experience at Camp Nimaka, I was not able merely to observe singing activity at Green River. With the limited number of staff and the relatively sparse physical facilities, the staff had to make use of all their resources to keep the campers occupied and the program interesting. Therefore, at a campfire early in the 1971 session I was asked by the director to teach the campers some of the songs I had sung for the staff at an evening staff conference. The campfire singing session established me as a singing person at Green River for the rest of the camp period. In 1972 my role as a singer increased, partly because of my reputation from the previous year and partly because of the fact that I was becoming known in St. John's, the province's capital city, as a performer. From my experience at Camp Nimaka I had come to recognize the benefits which could be derived in my collecting from my status as a camp singing person. I was therefore not reluctant to accept the role, and kept track of whatever special influence I may have had on the singing at Green River.

My expectations regarding the role religion was to play at Green River were formed by memories of Camp Massad, a Jewish religious camp I had attended at the age of eight. At Massad prayer and religious instruction formed an important part of daily activities, and where other camps might use Indian themes in programs such as plays, pageants, and team games, Massad incorporated religious themes. All the camps I had attended subsequently paid relatively little attention to religion aside from graces before meals, a change from daily activity and dress on the Sabbath, brief Sabbath services, and perhaps group discussion on moral or religious issues.

The prospect of Camp Green River, therefore, sponsored by the Anglican Church and boasting at least two clergymen on the staff, led me to expect a program heavily oriented towards religious themes and activities, and a somewhat confining if not restrictive atmosphere. I was therefore surprised to find that religion occupied a continual but decidedly not overbearing presence at Green River. While the presence of ministers made it possible for Communion to be held, in other respects religious activity such as graces before and after meals, the Lord's Prayer in the morning, and religious discussion sessions would not have been considered especially conspicuous at any of the "non-denominational" camps I have attended. Perhaps the only difference was that, whereas at a non-denominational camp one must be careful not to get too specific about religious matters for fear of offending someone, at Green River talk was directly and pointedly concerned with issues and views within the Anglican Church. Church personalities and affairs provided frequent topics for discussion at camp, usually taking the form of informal and often humorous gossip among staff and campers. Rituals were conducted seriously but not solemnly. Ministers on the staff never wore collars and preferred to lead by example than by exemplum. They were always open to suggestions from the campers for what the latter considered to be more "relevant" materials or approaches.

I found during camp that my own expectations had been shared by many of the campers. However, they were surprised by the "openness" and lack of dogma which they said they found at Green River. The camp contrasted with the campers' parents' attitudes which the young people found narrow and intolerant, especially of the campers' own dissenting views on such issues as evolution and church attendance.

## 2. Description

Camp Green River takes its name from the body of water that forms one of its borders. The site, one mile in from the Trans-Canada Highway and four miles from the nearest town, was donated to the Anglican Church by the A.N.D. Development Logging Company in 1967. The site covers about three acres of both wooded and cleared land. The main buildings include a recreation hall and a dining hall, of which the latter houses not only a large eating area and kitchen facilities, but also boys' and girls' shower and toilet facilities, storerooms, a small laundry, the canteen, the camp offices, the crafts room, and living quarters for the resident maintenance man. The campers live in eight to ten tents which stand in a semicircle around the main field in front of the dining hall. There is also a staff hut with a lounge and partitioned sleeping areas, and a one-room "GIT Hut" with bunk beds that usually houses the oldest campers at camp. There is a swimming area down at the river, and places to canoe at the river's mouth and in the adjoining lake.

The Anglican Church operates eight separate camps at the Green River site. Each lasts a week and accommodates 100 girls or boys of one age group -- juniors, intermediates, or seniors -- and their respective staffs. Campers pay a fee of about \$20 for a session, and the staff offer their services without fee.

Beginning in 1970, the last week of the camp season has been the Co-ed Camp for boys and girls fifteen to eighteen years old. Co-ed Camp was the idea of Bob Parsons, a minister originally from Ontario who had done church co-ed camping in his home province for several years before

coming to Newfoundland. Co-ed camping is new to the island. All camps are operated by churches, service societies, and youth serving organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and are either boys' or girls' camps. There are no private camps in Newfoundland. While Bob's idea for a co-ed camp met with little opposition from church authorities, enrolment was small the first year (thirteen campers) because, Bob felt, people were

so programmed in this diocese to think in terms of male camping and female camping, and it's hard to get people loosened up to "Males and females live together at other times of the year, why not camping?" (Tape 34).

For various reasons, camper enrolment has fluctuated ever since the camp's first year. In 1971 an almost 100% return among campers, coupled with a successful word-of-mouth advertising drive and a relative lack of summer jobs available elsewhere, expanded the camper population at co-ed camp to thirty-three (twelve boys, twenty-one girls). The summer of 1972 was a good year for city jobs and only twelve campers attended the camp (three boys, nine girls). However, the season's success seems to have contributed to 1973's record enrolment of over forty campers. As of this writing, applications for 1974 number over sixty. The number of staff has remained fairly constant at co-ed camp, usually between six and eight. Bob Parsons was posted back to Ontario in 1972 and Ron Ames took his place as co-ed camp director.

During the two seasons that research was conducted for this thesis, less than a quarter of the campers came from the island's outports (small coastal or inland settlements). Most resided in the province's larger urban centres like St. John's, Grand Falls, Gander

and Goose Bay. Almost all the campers were from lower to middle income families, and some who could not afford the camp fee were sponsored by St. Johns' parishioners. Most of those who attended camp had just finished a summer job or taken a week away from work. Besides overcoming financial pressures to attend camp, many campers had faced negative reactions from parents, who did not like the idea of co-ed camp, or from peers, who could not see going to a "church" camp. If the camper was the only one attending from his own particular community, the fear of not knowing anyone else was another negative factor.

The majority of campers at co-ed camp had been to a camp before, almost always in Newfoundland. Most campers belonged to Anglican youth groups which functioned in their communities during the year. The motivation of new campers in coming to Green River was usually expressed in terms of activities which they could not take part in at home such as canoeing and overnight hikes, and meeting new people of the same and opposite sex. Many were there at the suggestion of their minister at home, or because of positive reports from friends who had attended the camp in previous years.

#### Goals and Structure

The brochure sent out for all the camps to be held at Green River in 1971 contained the following "aims of camping in the diocese of Newfoundland":

1. to provide an experience in Christian group living.
2. to help campers grow in awareness of God's continuous creation.
3. to develop skills and interests particularly related to a camp setting.
4. to provide opportunities for a development of leadership -- within the context of a worshipping Christian community.

Bob Parsons considered the first point of primary importance at co-ed camp:

The Christian gospel is created through relationships, and I can say to X, "Jesus loves you," and that really doesn't mean anything. But if Bob Parsons loves X and X realizes that because of the actions that take place, then I think that when I say, "Jesus loves you" it has more -- the gospel is communicated through relationships -- the only way I can communicate that is through my person (Tape 34).

One of the important functions which activities at camp fulfil, according to Bob, is that they set up conditions in which campers sooner or later become conscious that they are experiencing a special kind of relationship:

At great moments in camp life, they're really 'awareness moments,' as Jesus and His disciples discover something about themselves and one another and God on the mountain top, so... there are moments for each [of our campers]... that...are 'awareness moments' where the truths which we -- don't necessarily tell people -- but we help them discover, suddenly flash on and the neon light blows (Tape 34).

The goals or philosophy of co-ed camp were never communicated explicitly to members of the staff. There was no pre-camp training period (campers and staff arrived at camp at the same time) nor a staff manual. It was taken for granted that the staff was aware in a general way of what the camp was trying to accomplish, either from the camp brochure, or from former camping experience.

One of the few policies which had been formulated before camp began was that, because the campers were older at Green River than at other camps, they should be given most of the responsibility for what happened at camp. The staff's job was to offer guidance and act as "resource persons" for the campers. During the first evening at camp,

the campers were informed of this policy, and asked what activities they wished to be offered while they were at Green River and what rules they wished instituted. With suggestions offered occasionally by the staff, a daily work and activity schedule was established, bounds set for boys and girls behaviour (e.g., no boys in girls' cabins after lights out), and a list of activities and long-term projects drawn up. Throughout the remainder of the session, programming and policy making were done as required in consultations between campers and staff.

As a result of this very informal method of programming, and the largely passive role played by the staff, questions like "What are we doing tomorrow?" or "next period?" or "after lunch?" were frequently heard among both campers and staff. Faced with programming decisions, campers relied for ideas on what they had done at other camps, or on what had taken place at Green River in previous years. There was a great deal of repetition of activities during the camp session. Standard programs included afternoon or evening baseball games, night campfires, and parlour games. By the middle of the session, singing had become an all-purpose time filler. Meals and going to the canteen (the camp store) assumed importance as activities in themselves, enlivening what some often regarded as lethargic days and restless evenings.

On the other hand, the open structure left room for spontaneity, so that when ideas for activities were suggested, such as walk to the falls down the camp road, or a night of skits, they could be done without interfering with routine, and benefitted from the spirit of the moment. There was also a very relaxed atmosphere about the camp which the campers, many of whom had worked in the city before they came to camp, and all of

whom faced another year at school beginning the week after camp ended, appreciated and enjoyed.

The daily routine at Green River was arrived at during the first night program-and-policy discussion, at the insistence of the staff. The morning and afternoon were each divided into two activity periods, the first morning period devoted to a "work project" aimed at improving the camp site. The other periods were filled according to the weather and the campers' plans. In sunshine there was swimming, canoeing and landsports; in rain or cold weather, movies, discussion groups, and crafts. Evenings there were usually two or three activities. In good weather, there were landsports or a short hike, followed by a campfire. If it rained, there might be movies, a discussion, skits, or a singsong or parlour games held in the recreation building or staff lounge. Almost all evening programs ended with a singsong in the staff lounge and an exchange of ideas for the next day's program.

During each year, special activities were planned and realized. In 1971 the camp went on an outing to the folk museum at Salvage, and had a cook-out supper afterwards. There was also a hike to the nearby saw-mill down the lake, and a communion service held on a beach nearby, followed by dinner and a sleep-out. In 1972, the camp hiked seven miles to a national park and spent the day there. That season was also spent by campers in composing a "folk mass" to be held the last night of camp.

The general atmosphere at camp, as well as the policies which evolved during the course of the camp session concerning the campers' own behaviour

were greatly affected by the campers' awareness of the experimental nature of co-ed camp. All felt the pressure from the outside, especially from their parents, with regard to the new (for Newfoundland) and potentially volatile situation of having adolescent boys and girls at the same camp. The sense of responsibility was expressed by one boy in 1972:

Mixed camp gives you a feeling of...adulthood, because you're expected to act in the company of girls...You're trusted a lot. (Tape 31)

The general feeling among the campers that governed policy decisions was that whatever might cause one camper being prevented by his parents from returning to camp the next year, was not allowed. This extended to matters other than the campers' social life. In 1972 one of the boys celebrating his eighteenth birthday was invited by the maintenance man for a drink outside camp. Although the legal drinking age in Newfoundland is nineteen, the boy knew he would encounter no trouble at the bar. However, he decided to talk to Ron (the director) to see if he could go. Ron threw the decision open to the rest of the campers. The group and the boy in question decided against his going, in the interest of the future of co-ed camp.

Aside from outside pressures, the "closeness" and family feeling enjoyed by the campers during both years was in great measure a result of the relatively small size of the group. At co-ed camp, in contrast to the other camps held at Green River, "you could get to know everybody there." (Tape 32). The campers looked out for each other's welfare. For example, each year during the first few days of the session, there was at least one camper from an outpost who did not know anyone else and

was shy of taking part in activities with the rest of the group.

Campers who felt "more at home" at camp did their best to make that person feel welcome to join the group, choosing him first for team games and encouraging him in swimming and canoeing. The sense of fellowship among the campers extended to the staff as well. One of the differences remarked on by campers between co-ed camp and other camps was that "at the other camps, the staff was 'respected',... they were one group and the campers another"; at Green River, the staff were "one of you" (Tape 32).

Campers' in-group games and practical jokes were one of the chief means of expressing their solidarity, and at the same time gathering new people into the group. Most of the pranks were played by the girls on other girls in the group, on the boys, or on the staff. Pranks included placing a girl's hand in warm water while she slept to make her urinate, sewing up pantlegs, arms, and pockets in the boys' and staff's clothing, placing a sheet of Saran Wrap across the toilet bowl in the staff washroom and inserting boughs or frogs into the beds of other camp personnel. A common prank in the dining hall was forming a trough out of the edge of the plastic table cloth so that it ended in the lap of the victim (camper or staff), then pouring milk or water down the trough, wetting the victim's lap. The campers considered pranks a source of fun -- "one of the best parts of camp when you look back on it" -- and they were aware of how they functioned. According to the girls, practical jokes made people at camp "feel good", especially the victims, their thinking being, "if they left you alone, wouldn't you feel left out, and they're making jokes on everyone else?" (Tape 32).

In-group games were mostly of the parlour variety, in which the members of the group who had been at camp the year before knew the trick to playing the game "right". For example, in "Crossed and Uncrossed", the members of the in-group knew that what mattered was not the position of the spoons as they were passed from one person to the other (while saying, for instance, "I received them crossed and I pass them uncrossed"), but whether one's arms or legs were crossed. Campers who did not know the trick were told by those who knew when they were wrong, and kept trying and watching until they caught on. With some games campers kept trying all session to find out the trick, asking fellow campers to "do it again." These games were enjoyed by members of both the in-group and the outside group and except for singing, formed the most often-resorted-to activity during the evening when there was "nothing else to do."

The group feeling at camp was threatened by the possibilities of couples "pairing off" and "going together", isolating themselves from the rest of the group. The girls especially felt threatened in that they outnumbered the boys during both years by more than three to one, and none wanted to feel "left out". One of the camp institutions which functioned to offset the effects of "pairing off" was the camp "newspaper" known as "Little Gertie". The idea for "Gertie" was derived from the other Green River camps. It contained an account of the events of each day, little bits of "news" and items of gossip. At co-ed camp, "Gertie" was compiled every day by different groups of campers and read at some point during evening activity. The format was roughly, "Little Gertie" was flying around the girls' hut today and overheard X say to Y,..." During 1971, "Gertie" kept track mainly of romantic involvements among

campers, asking questions after the manner of newspaper gossip columns,

"What were X and Y doing behind the tents during the baseball game today?" In 1972, double entendre replaced innuendo, and snippets of conversation were taken out of context for their sexual implications:

"Why did X say that she would be in 'trouble' when she got home from camp?"

During both years at camp, the reading of "Gertie" was accompanied by laughter from the group and blushing by the persons whose names were mentioned. During the day one might hear "Wait til 'Gertie' hears about this!" if, for example, one happened to be walking with a member of the opposite sex towards the dining hall for a meal.

The social control exercised by "Gertie" worked in several ways.

It provided a legitimate means of sexual release for members of the group, both readers and auditors. By invading the privacy of couples and laughing at them a little in public, "Gertie" allowed the group to express its disapproval of being "left out" and its concern that the couples not isolate themselves from the rest. The couples, in turn, realized the group's concern and were careful to keep their relationship unobtrusive enough to be non-threatening to the rest of the group.

"Gertie" appears to have been a significant factor in the girls' being able to say at the end of the 1972 season, talking about that year and the year before,

The boys didn't just pair off. They knew the shortage [of girls] and fooled around with everybody....They made everybody feel that they were there too....Last year when people paired off and that, we still did group activities. (Tape 32).

### 3. Singing and Songs

There was virtually no liturgical singing program at Green River. Bob Parsons was aware of how singing could function for a group ("Singing is a catalyst: it brings people together, it helps bring out all the things that are human in them so that they can appreciate one another more.") (Tape 34), and encouraged singing while he was at Green River, but he never explicitly communicated any specific goals for singing at Green River to the staff. As with other spheres of camp activity, singing was generally expected to fulfil its functions with a minimum of conscious control at the liturgical level. Unless they suggested singing purposely to raise the spirits of the group, most of the staff who provided leadership in any singing situation usually did so from their position as "one of you", that is, as members of the lay group, with the same goals -- enjoyment, filling time -- in mind.

Almost all of the singing sessions that took place at Green River exhibited an informal structure, with the group deciding by consensus whether there was to be singing at all, and what songs were to be sung. Even in situations which at other camps are strictly formal, such as singing grace before meals, or the national anthem around the flagpole in the morning, the group chose among several options in each case, for example, "God Save the Queen", "O Canada", or "Ode to Newfoundland" for the anthem. This informality in singing situations was analogous to behaviour in every other activity at camp, where the group decided what to do at any particular time.

As in these other activities, there were several persons within the group -- both staff and campers -- who were looked to for leadership

by the other members of the group, whether because of their seniority (having been to camp before), their ability (that is, they were recognized singing people) or sheer force of character. These key individuals often initiated the singing in a potential singing situation, suggested songs for the group to sing, taught new songs, sometimes supervised the singing, and often "kept things going" by transmitting their own enthusiasm to the rest of the group. For example, on the bus trip to Salvage in 1971, Jan, one of the boys, was the focus of the singing. He stood in the aisle, and, as he did in most other singing situations, suggested or started singing many of the songs done by the group, including those which were "his": "Sir Jasper", "Newfoundlanders, Jolly Newfoundlanders", and "The Bear Went Over the Mountain". In "Newfoundlanders", Jan pointed to the people who were expected to respond in the verses:

[TO THE TUNE OF "ALLOUETTE"]  
 Group: Do you come from Harbour Grace? [OR WHEREVER]  
 Person: Yes I come from Harbour Grace.  
 Group: Do you like it?  
 Person: Yes I do!  
 Group: Are you sure?  
 Person: Yes, I'm sure! ["Positive!" "Indubitably!" etc.,]

[WHOLE CAMP SINGS CHORUS]

Newfoundlanders, jolly Newfoundlanders,  
 Newfoundlanders, jolly Newfoundland.

Jan's wit and energy kept the group in good spirits and singing for the duration of the bus trip.

The other singing people at camp were as follows: Sue, a camper in 1971 and a member of the staff in 1972, had been music director at Senior Girls Camp for several years and played both guitar and button accordion, the latter one of the traditional musical instruments in

Newfoundland. Sue kept a book of song texts which she had learned at other camps and from the radio and recordings. She was an energetic singer, often initiating singing sessions ("Let's have a singsong!") and taking over leadership. She was automatically called upon to accompany Newfoundland songs on the button accordion. Sue's role as a singing person changed little when she became a staff member in 1972.

Karen was the camp swim instructor in 1971 and 1972. Along with Sue she was always ready with a song during singing sessions, especially if the regular repertoire had been exhausted. Karen had learned her songs at church and Girl Guide camps in Quebec. Both she and Sue taught several songs to the group during the first few days in 1971 which became standards in the camp repertoire that year and the following one.

Warren was one of the staff in 1971. A choir master in the city, Warren was the only person at camp in either year who could be considered to have played the role of official camp singing person. He played piano for the worship services, taught religious songs to be used in the services, and was frequently relied on by Bob to select meal graces and supervise their singing. Warren's was also the closest to formal leadership that was seen at camp. In practices for the worship services -- usually in time set aside during an informal singsong -- he selected the songs to be sung, taught them line by line, organized the parts, gave the key, and kept time during the singing with hand movements. He seldom assumed leadership during informal singing; rather, leadership was conferred on him by Bob or the rest of the group, especially when religious songs were suggested.

Bob was an enthusiastic singer with a forceful personality, who encouraged singing and singing sessions whenever the opportunity arose. During the sessions he often had songs ready should the group run out, and because he knew the singing people in the group, he often called upon them to lead their particular songs. He was also conscious of a session's pace and frequently tried to vary it, requesting a different kind of song from the ones in the preceding series, for example, a Newfoundland song after several religious songs. Sensing the end of the session as it slowed, Bob often provided a "summation" which led to another activity.

The Reverend Ron Ames took over the directorship of the camp in 1972. Like Bob, Ron enjoyed singing but was not as forceful a person nor as knowledgeable a singer as the former director. Ron's suggestions during singing sessions were offered more as one of the singing group than as the camp director. He entertained the group during the whole session in 1972 with his inability to master a tongue twister that had been taught early that season.

The Reverend Harris Holburn was the unofficial assistant director during 1971 and 1972, and supplemented the roles of both directors in suggesting songs during singing sessions. Harris' offhand, wry manner was indicative of and a factor in his maintaining a close relationship with the campers. He seemed to have no motivation in suggesting songs other than his own enjoyment of them.

As already mentioned, my own role as a singing person at camp increased in importance towards the end of 1971, and all through 1972. I shall discuss below at more length this change in my status, and

the effect it had on the direction which singing took during the two sessions:

### Singing Situations

Most Green River personnel recognized camp as a place where singing was a normal and accepted activity. Former campers, either from co-ed camp, or from the other Green River camps (where there is a strong singing tradition<sup>1</sup>), brought the idea with them. Campers new to co-ed camp, or who had never been to any camp at all, learned from the example set by the others. A new camper actively participating during singing sessions, was one of the most obvious signs that he was beginning to feel at home at co-ed camp.

Some specific situations were regarded as singing contexts from campers' previous experience. Campers expected singing to take place at campfires, for example, and indicated their expectations during the day by asking instrumentalists in the group whether they were "bringing [their] guitar to the campfire tonight." The singing of penalty songs at meal times were also a legacy from other Green River camps, as was the singsong regularly held after the noon meal.

During both 1971 and 1972 there was an informal sit-down singing session on the first night of camp. These sessions were important in setting precedents which were followed during the rest of the respective camp seasons. They established the informal singing structure as the one which all sit-down sessions would follow, showing new campers how the singing worked at camp. They also indicated to the group just who the singing people in the group were likely to be. During 1971, for

example, I, as a new staff member, learned that Jan, Bob, Karen, and Sue were going to be important for singing during the rest of camp because of the active roles they played in suggesting songs or accompanying singing on guitar or button accordion. During the 1972 first night session it was plain that I was going to be performing a great deal in the week ahead. The camp's traditional repertoire was largely exhibited during the first night, and provided a memory of song for the campers to be used in other sessions.

Other regular singing situations included the singing of a patriotic anthem in the morning, grace before meals and "thanks" afterwards, and singing during worship services. At least one regular singing session was institutionalized at co-ed camp as a result of interior factors. During the first few days of the 1971 season, the evening program ended before the campers were ready to retire. "Gertie" had been read, the canteen was closed, and Bob suggested a singsong to fill the time. There was a singsong held at the same time every night for the rest of the camp period. In 1972 the campers who returned expected the practice to continue and the night singsong became a feature of that year's camp as well.

Impromptu singing sessions occurred frequently. There was a great deal of informal singing, for example, on bus trips and hikes, more on the way to the destination than on the way back since most of the members of the group were often too tired to sing on the return. The girls were likely to sing in any potential situation if any of the singers like Sue or Karen were present. In 1971, for instance, several of the girls could be heard singing two songs from the noon singsong, "Granny's in the Cellar"

and "G-L-O-R-Y", on the back of the pick up truck as they hauled away debris being cleared from in front of the recreation hut. A particular situation might also call up an appropriate song. In 1972, as I entered the water to demonstrate some canoe strokes, Karen started to sing a verse of a song she had learned at Guides camp, "She Waded in the Water," changing the "she" to "he"

[TO THE TUNE OF "THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC"]  
 He waded in the water and he got his ankles wet,  
 He waded in the water and he got his ankles wet,  
 He waded in the water and he got his ankles wet,  
 But he didn't get his [CLAP CLAP] wet yet.

At least one or two girls every year played guitar and performed songs for the rest of the group (just the girls, or girls and boys) in the girls' hut during rest hour or at free time after supper. It was only towards the end of each session that word of these performances reached the staff, who asked the girls to perform the songs "in public", that is, during a regular singing session. It always took a great deal of persuasion to get the girls to sing in front of the staff, although they sang during regular sessions along with the rest of the group.

Singing was often resorted to, to fill gaps in activity. If the group was unoccupied for more than a few minutes, a camper or a member of the staff could frequently be heard to say, "Let's have a singsong" or "How about a song?" This happened so often that one camper, a veteran of two summers at co-ed camp, was heard to remark one night during a lull in evening activity when someone had suggested a singsong, "That's all I do here -- sing and eat!" Her complaint was felt to be justified and after the campers went to bed the staff re-evaluated the camp program and their responsibilities to take an active role in helping the campers plan activities.

## Repertoire

It is difficult to speak of "liturgical" and "lay" repertoires at Green River, as there was too little difference at camp between the two levels. Except for the songs taught during 1971 by Warren and used in the worship services that year, all songs that were taught and sung functioned primarily for the lay group. Even the sacred songs were used in informal singing sessions just as other songs in the camp repertoire were: as good songs to enjoy singing. One could, however, discern a "core" repertoire and an "extended" repertoire at Green River. Besides the ritual songs, the core repertoire consisted of those songs which came most easily to the minds of the singers during informal singing sessions, and which therefore received the most frequent usage at camp.

In 1971 the core repertoire at camp consisted of perhaps a dozen songs; in 1972, about eight. The extended repertoire included the songs in the core, plus those songs which emerged during long singing sessions when the core repertoire was exhausted and campers searched their private repertoire for songs that everyone knew how to sing. The first of these long singing sessions that occurred both years was the first night singsong. It lasted about two hours and in 1971 involved the singing of some forty songs. At least half of those songs were not sung again that season at camp except under similar circumstances, for example, the long trip to Salvage. In Goldstein's terms, most of the songs in the extended repertoire, excluding those that comprised the core, were retained inactively by the camp group, appearing intermittently as the conditions recurred that first caused

their being called up. Some songs were never sung more than once at camp, and could not be considered as part of the camp repertoire at all.

The songs which comprised the core and extended repertoires at Green River during 1971 and 1972 could generally be traced to one or more of several sources. The first was the aggregate of camp song traditions of the girls' and boys' Green River camps which many of the co-ed camp personnel had attended, or of other camps (Girl Guides, Church Lads Brigade) in Newfoundland or mainland Canada. Songs from this source included meal penalty songs ("You're Late", the "Elbows Off the Table" sequence), most of the graces ("Thank You Lord", "Johnny Appleseed", "Hallelu", "God Has Created a New Day", "Morning Has Come"), and traditional camp songs sung during informal singing sessions, (e.g., "Do Lord", "Old MacDonald" sung with actions, "Granny's in the Cellar", and "The Quartermaster's Store"). Many of the songs listed under the categories below were also learned by campers at their former camps. However, the songs have been placed as nearly as possible to their original provenance. Naturally, there is some overlapping. Songs from the folksong revival have been largely disseminated by camps and the popular media, but have been listed under their own headings.

The second source of songs upon which both campers and staff drew during informal singing sessions was what has elsewhere been referred to as "Newfoundland popular music".<sup>2</sup> This repertoire consists of those songs available to the Newfoundland public through the popular media and performances such as take place at night clubs and bars.

across the island. The songs which comprise this repertoire and which were sung at camp include popular Newfoundland folksongs (e.g., "Kelligrew's Soiree", "I's the B'y", "Squid Jiggin' Ground", and "The Star of Logy Bay"), country and western songs (e.g., "Where Oh Where, Are You Tonight", "Sing Me Back Home", "Mama's Waitin'", and "Bringing Mary Home"), and the current hit parade (e.g., "Where's Your Mama Gone", "Put Your Hand in the Hand", and "Turn Around"). In 1972 the campers sang "Aunt Martha's Sheep", a newly popular song in Newfoundland, locally written, which was eventually to sell 100,000 records on the island. There were no songs sung at camp which came from what might be called the "classical", strictly oral tradition of any of the campers' home communities, as might have been collected by Peacock and Leach.

The camp repertoire also included many songs from all stages of the folksong revival, having come to the island mostly through the media, and sung by such groups as Ian and Sylvia, Peter, Paul, and Mary, and Judy Collins. Songs sung at camp from this category included "Michael Row the Boat Ashore", "Four Strong Winds", "The Cruel War", and "We Shall Overcome".

A fourth source for songs at camp was what I have termed the "church song revival". Since about 1965 there has been a conscious attempt by church music people of all denominations to compose songs in the folksong revival or rock and roll styles, or to adopt songs from the current hit parade which deal with matters of spiritual or broad human concern, for use in its programs by its younger members.

In Newfoundland this trend is very much in evidence, as witness the "folk" or "rock" masses held with increasing frequency in churches,

the popularity of the musical "Jesus Christ Superstar", and the teaching and singing of religious "folk" or "rock" style songs at meetings of "A.Y." (Anglican Youth) Groups. Songs from the church song revival which were sung at co-ed camp included "Joy Is Like the Rain", "I Cannot Come to the Banquet", "We're Gonna March Down", "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands", and "The Lord Is My Shepherd" (the last was sung to the tune of "The Happy Wanderer"). These were generally known by the campers from their involvement with church youth groups in the city, or from other Green River camps.

Finally, songs at camp also came from the school organization, and neighbourhood backgrounds of individual campers. Songs in this category included bawdy songs, "Marijuana", "Deck the Halls with Marijuana", "Twas on the Labrador, Me Boys", and parodies on such songs as "The Bear Went Over the Mountain".

There were no explicit guidelines set by liturgical authorities at co-ed camp governing "good taste" or "suitability" of songs sung during informal singing sessions, nor was there any case of a song's being restricted. Leaders in any singing context seemed to feel the pressures of the camp situation -- the presence of adults, the responsibility of being at co-ed camp -- and within this framework they chose songs which the rest of the group might recognize, or conceivably like to learn, and sing. In many cases leaders selected songs according to the example for what constitutes a "proper" song for singing at camp, which they had learned by former experience. New campers learned this "propriety" from them. However, "propriety" was defined in its broadest terms, and some songs were sung which would

have been prohibited at other camps, or at least considered questionable.

In some cases these songs simply reflected the Newfoundland popular tastes for tragic or sentimental country music, as in "Sing Me Back Home", a song about prison and execution, or "Bringing Mary Home",

a song modelled on the "Vanishing Hitchhiker" motif, featuring the ghost of a "little girl" who was killed "thirteen years ago tonight in a wreck just down the road." However, other songs which received no negative reaction from either staff or campers included "Granny", the type of "disgusting" song which young children often take delight in:

Granny's in the cellar, Lordy can't  
you smell 'er  
Baking biscuits on that durn old  
dirty stove,  
In her eye there is some matter  
that keeps dripping in the batter  
And she whistles while the [SNIFF] runs down  
her nose (Tape 27);

and the mildly titillating "Sir Jasper". The chorus of Sir Jasper, sung to the tune of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", went:

Oh, Sir Jasper do not touch me,  
Oh, Sir Jasper do not touch me,  
Oh, Sir Jasper do not touch me,  
As she lay between two lily-white sheets  
with nothing on at all. (Tape 27).

Each time the chorus was sung, a word at the end of the repeated line was dropped, such that "do not" became "do", and the song finally culminated in a series of "oh's". The song was sung with great gusto by both campers and staff, especially when it was led by Jan in 1971.

The selection of songs to be sung in any particular singing situation depended upon such factors as which singing persons were present, the particular context -- for example, a worship service or

a campfire -- and the length of the session. Individual leaders had their own favorite songs which they always led or requested, and which were sometimes identified as their "property". Sue, for example, was partial to sentimental country songs, and it was largely because of her urging that "Jeanie's Afraid of the Dark" was sung so often in 1972. As already mentioned, several songs sung during 1971 were "Jan's songs" either because he always suggested them during informal sessions, or was acknowledged as the best leader for them and always given the chance to supervise their singing. Almost any song could be sung during informal sessions. In 1971 church songs formed an important part of the camp's repertoire in those situations, being sung along with Newfoundland songs, country songs, and "folksongs". The only contexts which did not admit of certain songs were those in which ritual songs were called for, for example, during morning exercises or mealtimes, and worship services, in which only church songs were appropriate. Another example of ritual songs appropriate only in certain circumstances were "Old Bus Driver Speed Up A Little Bit" and "We're Here Because We're Here". Both songs were only sung on bus trips, the first usually when the campers were impatient to reach their destination; or wished the driver to pass a car on the road; and the second when the destination had finally been reached. Such songs would never be sung, for example, at a campfire.

Informal sessions varied widely in length, from fifteen minutes to several hours. It was during the latter that the camp's extended repertoire was brought into play, as well as new songs which had never before been sung at camp, and never would be again. In this kind

of situation, the songs which appeared would depend in great measure on the tastes, memories, and backgrounds of the individual singing people in the session.

Bawdy singing at camp also depended upon who was present in the situation for it to take place at all. There was no bawdy singing at camp during 1971 except for that which took place at my instigation during a taped interview with the boys and, again because of my presence, on the bus trip home from camp. In 1972 bawdy singing took place privately among the campers on several occasions.

One rest hour the girls asked the boys in their hut to teach them the words to "Last Night I Slept in a Hollow Log", a bawdy song sung to the tune of "The Girl I Left Behind Me." On the two hikes taken that year, one to the waterfall down the camp road, the other to a national park, clusters of boys and girls walking together sang bawdy songs. It was plain that it was the staff's presence, rather than the girls', which was a factor in preventing the boys' bawdy singing at camp. The girls' presence was added incentive for the boys. On the bus ride home in 1971, and on the hikes in 1972, the girls gleefully sang along on the bawdy songs, sometimes supplying words or lines when the boys forgot them or were too slow in getting them out. The girls also suggested bawdy songs to be sung.

For both sexes in those situations, bawdy songs seemed to provide an enjoyable opportunity to be "naughty" together, and to release sexual tensions. There appeared to be an in-camp/out-of-camp ethic at work, in that the campers were less reluctant to sing bawdy songs on the hikes and the bus ride home. It was significant that on the

bus ride home in 1971, Bob was not present, and that the campers felt at ease singing bawdy material if any staff but he heard them. His presence in person or in spirit at camp that year was probably one of the reasons so little bawdy singing took place publicly or privately.

In 1972, with Ron exerting less authority than Bob did, bawdy singing in situations when staff including Ron might and did overhear them, was more in evidence.

### Singing Aesthetic and Attitudes

Both girls and boys at co-ed camp enjoyed singing and considered it to be one of the most important components of the camp experience. To the girls, singing "was a real good way to show your feelings ... you can let out your happiness..." (Tape 32). The boys considered that "one of the best parts of camp was when we're all sittin' around singin' away" (Tape 31). Generally, however, the girls did more of the singing in any one singing session than the boys. This was not only because the girls outnumbered the boys three to one; most of the boys seemed to enjoy listening to the singing as much as taking part in it. In some situations, such as campfires, a boy would usually be inclined to sing if he were romantically interested in a girl who enjoyed taking part in the singing. Otherwise, he was likely to talk to the other boys or to the girls, while singing was taking place.

Singing patterns at camp seemed to follow those at home. The girls sang a great deal when they were not at camp -- at Anglican Youth groups, on buses to and from school or on the way to football games, or on class tours. The boys, however, generally felt that singing was not their province, and seldom sang outside of co-ed

camp except for the occasional session of bawdy songs "with the fellas:"

I enjoyed singing though I can't sing...Guys don't sound all that good, [but you] get a few female voices in [and it] really straightens things up...The girls know a lot more songs than we do...Fellas together, they're a lot more reserved about singing. Girls just sing away... The music seems to go better mixed... (Tape 31)

As previously mentioned, group tastes in songs largely reflected the tastes in music with which its members had grown up: the acceptance of country sentimental songs at co-ed camp as a regular part of the repertoire would be unlikely to occur at an Ontario camp. However, there seemed to be no strict set of values according to which one could judge whether a new song would be adopted by the group, nor any consistency in the songs that did "catch on" or were rejected. While the girls did mention that they liked the songs that they learned at camp because they had "some kind of meaning to 'em...you think about the words, " the eclecticism of the overall repertoire showed a more catholic taste at work. About all one could say about why songs "caught on" at co-ed camp was that they were attractive to the group because they could be learned easily, were good "group singing" songs, had an appealing tune, and the "songs' topic or method of singing amused, titillated, or interested members of the group.

Another factor which made difficult any estimation of a group aesthetic at co-ed camp was that the group seemed to be more committed to the singing than to the songs themselves. Once a singing session was initiated, the group tended to sing with more or less "passive enthusiasm." Usually one of the key singing people had but to name a song and it was sung. In some cases, the singing of any song

might even stop, and another verse be suggested or a request be made for the repetition of the whole song, and it was done with no abatement in spirit. This was especially true of 1972, when the very limited number of songs which constituted the "core" repertoire were requested and sung over and over, usually several times a day, with no sign of boredom or desire for a change from the campers singing.

This attitude was greatly responsible for the significant influence exerted by individuals at camp in determining the camp repertoire during any one camp period. The singing was automatic enough during informal singing sessions that a song might be sung any number of times at the suggestion of one of the singing people, and enter the camp's repertoire without necessarily appealing in any more than a passive way to the majority of the group. In this way "Bringing Mary Home" and "Jeanie's Afraid of the Dark", which were sung only once during 1971, became part of 1972's repertoire because Sue and a few of the girls requested their performance again and again that season. Sue was the only one who ever really learned all of the words.

#### 7 Singing and Song Traditions: Change and Stability

As a "young" camp of limited enrolment and a high rate of turnover of personnel, Green River Co-ed Camp was an almost perfect example of how, at such a camp, these factors limit the number of songs which pass from year to year, and increase in importance the roles played by individuals in maintaining the song and singing traditions.

In 1971, with an almost one hundred percent return of campers and staff from co-ed camp 1970, the repertoire consisted almost entirely of songs sung the previous year. The question heard most often during the first night's singsong was, "What else did we sing last year?" There were enough answers from the rest of the group that the majority of songs from the 1970 season was assured another season's singing at camp. In 1972, however, camper enrolment dropped by two thirds, and only one quarter of the campers, though more than half the staff, had been to the camp the year before. The "core" repertoire in 1972 changed almost totally. Those songs that did remain from the previous year were all but superseded by new songs that were taught to the group by new or returning singing personnel whose previous roles as leaders in singing situations was forced to expand, due to the decrease in the number of old singing people that year.

My own increased role as a leader was a case in point. During 1971, I had tried to remain an observer in singing situations, participating in the singing while Bob, Warren, Jan, Harris, Karen and Sue provided most of the singing leadership. Bob, Warren, and Jan did not return in 1972. The absence of the first two resulted in a vacuum of whatever liturgical control had been exerted over singing at camp the previous year. Harris, Karen and Sue were reluctant to take the responsibility during singing sessions, and Ron, the new director, was not experienced enough to do so. As the only returning staff who had songleading experience and was not unwilling to help out with singing leadership, I began to teach some songs during informal singing sessions, make

suggestions for songs, and generally supplement the efforts of the other singing persons. Karen and Sue continued to be focal personalities during singing situations.

The group who attended co-ed camp in 1972 were inclined as much to listen to someone perform as to sing themselves, if not to prefer performance. When I arrived at camp a day late, I was informed by Karen and Sue that the group was waiting for me to sing them songs from the previous year's camp. I tried to use this performance situation and any that occurred during the rest of camp to teach participation songs. Several of the songs introduced in this manner "caught on" and were sung by the group with no prompting during informal singing sessions: they included "Love Is Something If You Give It Away", "May There Always Be Sunshine", and "Piccolomini". However, performances became a frequent feature of singing sessions. Other songs that I performed were adopted into the camp repertoire only insofar as they were frequently requested as performance songs. These included "Bringing Mary Home", "Jeanie's Afraid of the Dark", "Lord of the Dance", and "As I Went Down in the Valley to Pray".

Most of the songs which remained in camp tradition were those which Sue and Karen had led during 1971. These included such "core" songs as "Mandy", "Granny's in the Cellar", "G-L-O-R-Y", and "Old MacDonald", sung with actions. Most of the songs in the extended repertoire in 1972 were the same as those in 1971, again because Sue and Karen had been responsible for their being sung the earlier year. With Warren gone, the two girls were also responsible for the singing of most of the church songs during informal sessions.

One of the factors which worked in favour of stability of repertoire was the camp songbook, commonly referred to at camp as "the book". Used more in 1971 than in 1972, the book had been compiled in 1970 by Bob Parsons and contained the texts of 77 numbered songs, including songs of the folksong revival, the church song revival and Newfoundland popular folksongs. The common practice in 1971 was for the book to be distributed before or during informal singing sessions in the dining hall or the staff lounge. It was used not only to recall texts but also as a song list when suggestions for songs from the group began to wane. The group leafed through the book, calling out the numbers of songs they wanted to sing. If the group approved of the suggested song, it was sung. If no one took it up, another suggestion was made. In 1972 the book was called for less often than in 1971, but did have the effect of extending the core repertoire on some occasions with songs sung in previous years.

All the ritual songs -- anthems, graces and thanks, and the meal penalty songs -- remained in the camp repertoire through 1972. All were an important segment of the repertoires at the other Green River camps which many of the campers who were at co-ed camp each year had attended. The songs and situations were evidently important enough, and the connection between them well enough defined (in contrast to informal singing situations and most of the songs sung in them) that returning personnel repeated them every year, and new campers learned them.

If the difference in repertoire between 1971 and 1972 is indicative of what will happen in future years at co-ed camps if the turnover in personnel continues to be as great, the development of a

large traditional co-ed camp repertoire seems unlikely. It may be that, rather than speaking in terms of traditional repertoire, it may be more appropriate to speak of an annual camp repertoire, with occasional repetition of songs from year to year due more to shared camper backgrounds than to interior co-ed camp processes. On the other hand, if the group remains small and only one or two key singing people return in successive years, it is likely that these individuals can exert enough influence in teaching the "old" songs that a song tradition could be maintained. That the singing situations and conventions themselves are passed on is evidence that this process is possible.

### Functions of Singing

The singing at Green River Co-ed Camp served a variety of functions. Perhaps the best way of indicating these is to describe in detail a singing situation in which many of the functions are discernible, then to analyse the situation and explain how the singing functions. One of the singing situations at co-ed camp that was most functionally complex was the meal penalty situation. There were two kinds of offence "punished" in these situations: lateness, and placing one's elbows on the table. Each had its songs attached to it, though the actual "penalty" and recognition songs were the same.

It happened sometimes that one or more persons were late for a meal, that is, entered the dining hall after the grace had been sung. The first person at the table to see the latecomers enter and take seats began to sing "You're Late", to the tune of "Auld Land Syne":

You're late, you're late, you're very late,  
 You're very very late,  
 Now won't you please stand up and tell  
 The reason why you're late? (Tape 29).

Everyone at the table joined in the singing as soon as they heard the first lines, and turned to see who the offenders were. After the excuse called for in the song was given, good or not, the group sang "Stand Up", to the same tune as the "Stand Up" song normally associated with birthdays; in the camp version, however, the only words in the song are "stand up". The latecomers would stand up. Meanwhile, there was a hurried conference among the rest of the group, usually consisting of one word suggestions, and a penalty decided upon. Penalties included "Tell us a joke", "Sing us a song", and "Do a ballet" (the latecomer had to perform a few "ballet" flourishes and pirouettes in the large area beside the tables). The penalty decided upon was communicated to the latecomer in song, using the same tune as in "Stand Up". Particular people were asked to perform appropriate stunts. For example, in 1972, Clark had a great deal of trouble singing a tongue-twister that had been taught that year. He was always called upon to try and sing it for the group as his penalty. Another member of the staff, known for his joke telling, was always called on to tell a joke on the spot.

Penalty performances were always accompanied or followed by laughter from the group. Once the penalty had been paid, the rest of the group banged their fists on the table in time to a monotonous chant consisting of a series of about half a dozen sharp "ay!s" given in rapid succession. This was followed by the singing of "Bravo Bravissimo",

again to approximately the same tune as the preceding two songs,  
with an added coda:

Bravo, bravo, bravo bravissimo!  
Bravo, bravo, very well done!  
Bravo bravissimo! bravo bravissimo!  
Bravo, bravo, very well done!  
Indeed! Well done! [TWO SHARP RAPS ON THE TABLE] (Tape 29)

Order was then somewhat restored and the meal resumed.

Whenever someone noticed another in the group place one or  
both elbows on the table during the meal, that person (or persons)  
began to chant, very quickly,

'X', 'X', if you're able,  
Get your elbows off the table,  
This is not a horse's stall,  
But a first class dining hall. (Tape 29)

The person mentioned in the verse would try to remove his elbows  
as fast as he could from the table, but it was always too late. The  
rest of the group had already joined in singing the "Stand Up" song,  
and the whole penalty procedure as described above was set in motion.

Often several people watched one individual in particular  
during a meal to catch him on the elbow infraction. Sue was often  
subjected to this scrutiny because she took such obvious glee in  
catching others and putting them through the penalty. Visitors to  
camp were also watched by the group and quickly learned the camp's  
table manner conventions.

Individuals' reactions to being caught varied from sheer  
embarrassment to sheepish but obvious delight at being singled out and  
given a chance to perform. No one caught ever refused to pay his  
penalty, and certainly no ill feelings were ever communicated.

Besides the obvious enjoyment which the singing rituals provided for both campers and staff, they also served several social functions. The singing added an extra interpersonal dimension or density to a banal activity, giving the participants an opportunity for interaction seldom afforded under the same circumstances in non-camp situations. It also allowed the campers, under the pretence of upholding the principles of "good manners", to "control" the actions of either their peers or the staff. This was especially important in the case of the latter who, because of their flexibility and reasonableness in matters of camp policy, seldom gave the campers a pretext to "rebel" against "authority". On the other hand, the penalties imposed on either campers or staff were indications of personal approval rather than censure. The persons most often caught with their elbows on the table were leading personalities in the group like Jan or Harris. At the same time, the meal penalties also gave recognition to personalities who were perhaps less prominent at camp, giving them a place in the limelight which they might not otherwise have had, and showing them that their behaviour was also important to the workings of the camp and to their peers. This was especially true of new campers, for whom the meal penalty rituals also acted as a means of enculturation in their new surroundings. By learning the table "rules", and then being able to impose them on others, new campers had another means of entering into the life of the camp. The singing therefore added to the sense of fellowship and solidarity shared by old and newer members of the camp group. Finally, while no one objected to meal penalty rituals, it was clear that people avoided incurring them.

After the first few days of each camp period, lateness did in fact decrease, and members of the group found ways of resting their elbows on their knees, or placing only their forearms on the table, thereby maintaining co-ed camp mealtime decorum.

Many of the same functions served by singing for mealtime penalties were evident in other singing situations. All the singing, for instance, acted as a means of enculturation for new members to the group, and the enjoyment and sense of fellowship which most campers felt while they were singing added to the solidarity of the camp group. This was evident in comparing the singing the first few days of camp with the singing that took place towards the end. During the first few days, most of the singing was done by members of the in-group, that is, those who had been to camp before and were familiar with the songs and singing conventions in every situation. New campers kept in the background, learning the songs, offering few suggestions in informal sessions, and singing generally very quietly. By the end of camp, new campers were singing along with the rest of the group, requesting songs, and looking a great deal more at ease than at the beginning of the period. In 1972, for example, with most of the campers new to co-ed camp, the singing the last night was warm and friendly, with little if any of the awkwardness of the singing during the first few days, remaining. Requests for songs came easily from everyone, and all took part in the participation songs. For many of camp personnel, the singing session the last night was one of the high points of the camp period.

## Summary

At Green River, theological ideals (in the original religious sense) functioned along with the camp's own goals to form the camp philosophy. However, in terms of explicit liturgical policy, the camp philosophy remained very much of an understated framework within which camp personnel carried on their daily activities. There was relatively little distance between liturgical and lay levels in Green River society, and a looseness, bordering on a lack, of official structures. This was reflected in the singing at camp. There were no stated goals for singing at Green River: most of the sessions were informal, and staff and campers seemed to share equal control in initiating singing and selecting songs. In most cases, bawdy songs were not so much forbidden as ignored. While there was an awareness of "camp songs" versus "non-camp songs," materials from city sources were accepted into the camp repertoire as readily as those from other camps, as long as they met the personal standards of the singers.

This acceptance of non-camp songs was an important element in whatever stability there seemed to be in Green River's song tradition. Relatively few of the songs in the annual repertoire at camp were traditional co-ed camp songs. The small size of the camp and the high turnover of personnel resulted in a dependence upon songs from the group's common Newfoundland and church backgrounds. However, singing appeared to be well established at the camp. In addition, from the constant reliance of returning personnel upon previous years' experience for ideas and songs, and the relative importance of those songs which

had remained in tradition, it seemed probable that, given a continuity of Green River campers and staff, a larger and more stable traditional repertoire could be established.

## CONCLUSIONS

The hypothesis of this study was that the singing and songs heard at children's summer camps constitute a folk tradition. To prove this hypothesis and to describe the nature of the camp song and singing traditions, I found it useful to view my materials from the standpoint of two sets of folkloristic concepts which I modified to fit the contextual conditions of the summer camp. The concepts to which I refer are "repertoire" and "singing" as they apply to groups rather than to individuals; and Don Yoder's "theological", "liturgical", and "lay" levels of a religious group,<sup>1</sup> applied outside that group. These methodological aids have also been of use in addressing directly the problems posed by the hypothesis.

### 1. Camp Singing and Songs as Folk Traditions

In a letter sent to me at the outset of my work on this thesis, Richard Reuss suggested that

You will probably have to deal with the formal vs. informal gap or dichotomy. There is some overlap, of course, but the real oral tradition lies in what is sung informally (not necessarily bawdy, but often).<sup>2</sup>

The terms "formal" and "informal" were used in this thesis to denote the kind of leadership which is found in group singing situations and the structure which results from that leadership. To communicate the ideas behind Reuss's terms, I made use of Don Yoder's terms "theological", "liturgical", and "lay". However, the question of

whether the singing at one level or another constituted "the real oral tradition" at camp, remained.

In answering this question, I examined in a general way the history of summer camps and camp singing, the nature of the groups that share the songs, the processes of transmission of songs and singing conventions, and the function of singing in various camp contexts. The examination showed that at both the lay and liturgical levels, (1) the camp group is a folk group; (2) the transmission of camp songs and singing conventions through time and space is largely oral, and much of the repertoire traditional; and (3) the functions of the singing for the camp group are the same as or equivalent to the functions served by the folklore of other groups in other contexts. The study further showed the interdependence and interaction of the singing at both levels. My conclusion for the data up to that point is, therefore, that subject to the qualifications imposed by the existence of a division between theological, liturgical, and lay levels of camp culture, the singing and songs which appear at children's summer camps constitute a "real oral" or folk tradition.

The subsequent examination of the singing and songs at Camp Nimaka and Camp Green River confirm this conclusion, but show the importance of the qualifications in it. The two camps stand at the opposite ends of a spectrum. Nimaka consisted of a large, relatively heterogeneous camp group, and was heavily structured in its allotment of time, distribution of authority, and system of values. Its program of liturgical singing was based on scheduled, formal singing sessions which involved the use of a microphone and a set format of pre-planned

songs. There were attempts by authorities to control the singing which took place at the lay level. Bawdy songs were consciously condemned by camp policy, and self-consciously sung by members of the lay group. Most non-camp materials could not be accommodated in the official repertoire.

In contrast, Green River consisted of a small, relatively homogeneous camp group, the members sharing religion and cultural background, and was loosely structured in terms of time, authority, and philosophy. Green River's singing activity was relatively free, rather vaguely defined in terms of level, and was based on informal singing sessions, with much of the responsibility for the maintenance and content of the tradition in the hands of the lay group. The absence of a well-defined policy governing songs meant that materials which came from outside the camp environment (if popular songs) were integrated with songs traditional to camp. Bawdy songs were of relatively little concern to either campers or staff within the total context of the singing at camp.

The singing at Green River at both levels seems nearer to what is recognized as folk tradition than does the singing at Nimaka. In addition, with liturgical singing so formalized at Nimaka, and the singing at each level so distinct from the other, it may be difficult to accept them both (a) as part of the same folk tradition, and (b) in the same category as the singing at Green River. It is the formal organization which is the crucial issue at this point, not the fact that the singing at one level or the other, or at one camp or the other, is based more solidly in a "truly oral" means of learning or

transmission. For one thing, oral transmission is as important as print, or more important, at the liturgical level at Nimaka; for another, study of the broadside in the Anglo-American folksong tradition has shown that print can be an important means of communication of songs and does not make for any less of a "folk" tradition.<sup>3</sup> Rather, in order to place the formality at Nimaka in its proper perspective within the camp singing tradition, it is necessary to refer to the qualifications inherent in the terms "liturgical" and "lay." We must examine the relationship of the singing which each term implies, to the singing tradition as a whole, and the singing at the other level.

In determining the songs which comprise the camp song tradition, it is necessary to be aware of the level at which the songs appear at summer camps. The term "camp songs" has in the past usually referred to those songs which have been sung at the liturgical level at recreation camps and subsequently identified with the recreation camp movement. As we have seen, however, the classification "camp song" is in the mind of the singer. The girls at Nimaka, for example, identified many of the songs from the commercial folksong revival, which they sang in lay situations, as "camp songs," because the girls sang them nowhere but at camp. Moreover, one generation's "pop" song, sung at camp at the lay level, may become another generation's traditional camp song, sung at the liturgical level. Every camp, then, has its own list of camp songs which is revised every camp generation. The interaction of the singing at both levels is such that it cannot be said that only

the songs at one level or another comprise the "true" camp song tradition.

In looking at a particular song sung at camp to determine its relative status as a camp folksong, it is necessary to look not only at its history at the camp, but also at its function in context at whichever level it appears. Every song sung at camp is not a camp folksong. For example, though the singing of the national anthem may be considered part of the overall liturgical singing at camp, it does not normally function in the same way nor at the same level as most other camp ritual songs. The graces, for instance, are for the most part identified with camp -- that is, they are camp songs -- and therefore serve liturgical functions in a way that the national anthem, usually associated with city contexts, does not. At most camps, therefore, the national anthem is not a camp folksong. However, as we have seen in the case of the Nimaka canoe trip, where "Oh Canada" was used to wake a competing group from another camp, the song was used at the lay level in ironic reference to its function in Nimaka's liturgical repertoire (i.e., a "wake-up" song). Therefore, in that canoe trip situation, "Oh Canada" might be considered as a folksong of that Nimaka lay group.

What appears, then, to make the seemingly disparate singing traditions as Nimaka and Green River more or less equal components of the same folk tradition, are the qualifications "liturgical" and "lay". Applying either term in reference to any specific instance of the camp singing brings that reference within a framework of "function in context". Singing at both levels constitutes the "real"

"folk tradition" at camp if one takes into account the level at which the singing is functioning. A formal singing session at Nimaka serves broadly similar functions to an informal session at Green River, so long as it is realized that the singing is functioning at somewhat different levels for each camp group. Similarly, an action song sung in the Nimaka noon singsong functions in much the same way as a bawdy song sung on a canoe trip, but at a different level for their respective groups.

The formal organization of the Nimaka singsong, then, does not render the singing in that situation inadmissible to camp singing tradition. Rather, similar to the singing in a church service of a religious group, it is a valid part of the tradition but functions at a level which must be distinguished from similar singing by the same group in situations that are not as formally structured. Liturgical and lay singing at a camp are analogous in this way to the singing of country music on stage and in the home: they are part of the same tradition, but functioning in a different format at different levels of the culture.

## 2. Songs, Singing, and Camp

Every camp at which singing takes place has its own traditional repertoire and singing conventions which are the result of a combination of historical, cultural, and personal factors unique to the camp. The factors which determine, for example, whether singing will take place at one camp and what the songs will be, may be totally different at another. Even from the limited sample upon which this thesis is based,

however, some general patterns pertaining to the camp singing tradition emerge. For instance, in spite of the fact that camp song and singing traditions at both the liturgical and lay levels depend on the knowledge and active participation of groups of persons, as in other folklore contexts and traditions it is the individual bearer who is important in the transmission of the tradition and its realization in context. The state of a camp's singing and song traditions at any one time, and the direction in which they seem to be going, can usually be attributed to the role played by a relatively small number of singing people.

Another fact that seems to be evident from this study is that, as in other cultures, camp folklore, and especially camp singing, is a cultural mirror, reflecting the history, philosophy, and social structures of the society in which it appears. Camp singing at both levels functions for the society as a means of enculturating new members, teaching them the group's values and giving them a chance to participate on an equal basis with older members in an activity which is important and meaningful within that society. Singing may also be seen in terms of social and psychological forces which are at work in a camp. In light of this study, "a singing camp is a happy camp," the statement taken as axiomatic by many camp singing people, would appear to need qualification. As we have seen, singing at either level at camp may be as much an expression of conflict, frustration, or dissatisfaction, as concord, happiness, and approval.

## FOOTNOTES

### 1.. Footnotes to Introduction

<sup>1</sup> I am aware of the ambiguities of the term "folksong revival". My use of the term is discussed in detail in Chapter II, note 16.

<sup>2</sup> Later study corrected my thinking in this area. For a discussion of folklore in urban contexts, see Americo Paredes and Ellen Stekert, eds., The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition, Special Issue of Journal of American Folklore 83:328 (1970).

<sup>3</sup> George J. Casey, Neil Rosenberg, and Wilfred W. Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples", Ethnomusicology 16 (1972), 398. For views on Christmas mumming, see Herbert Halpert and George M. Story, eds., Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Alan Dundes, "The American Concept of Folklore", Journal of the Folklore Institute 3 (1966), 232.

<sup>5</sup> This was brought home to me at the meeting of the American Folklore Society at Austin in 1972. Archie Green objected to the validity of a student paper on the grounds that the group (a marijuana-smoking circle of friends) and the item of folklore (an esoteric signal among the members of the circle for "one more toke") under discussion were not, respectively, a "true" folk group or "real" folklore.

<sup>6</sup> Alan Dundes, "The American Concept of Folklore", op. cit., 227-232; "Texture, Text, and Context", Southern Folklore Quarterly 28 (1964), 251-265.

<sup>7</sup> Dan Ben Amos, "Towards a Definition of Folklore in Context", Journal of American Folklore 84:331 (1971), 3-15.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the section on singing at camp in A. Viola Mitchell, Ida B. Crawford, and Julia D. Robberson, Camp Counseling (fourth edition), Philadelphia and London: W.B. Saunders Co., 1970 [1950]; and Janet E. Tobitt, A Counselor's Guide to Camp Singing, Martinsville, Indiana: American Camping Association, Inc., 1971.

Footnotes to Introduction continued

<sup>9</sup>Personal conversation with Joseph Hickerson, July 1974. Also, see Ricky Sherover, "The Folksmiths: Eight Students Who Had Some Singing to Do", Sing Out! 8:1 (Spring 1958), 17-21; and The Folksmiths, We've Got Some Singing to Do, Folkways FA 2407.

<sup>10</sup>Personal conversation with Richard Reuss, February 1974.

<sup>11</sup>A project to record an oral history of the American Folklore Society was established in 1968-69 by Richard M. Dorson. The task is now in the hands of the History Committee of the AFS under the directorship of Richard Reuss. Data is stored at the Archive of Folksong, Library of Congress. See "Report of the History Committee", Journal of American Folklore Supplement, May 1973, 29-31.

<sup>12</sup>The conflict which has surrounded the issue of just what constitutes a "folk group" (see note 5) may have been the cause of camp's being neglected by folklorists for study. However, this neglect may also be another example of the past tendency among North American folklorists, as M. Carole Henderson puts it, "to look beyond their own groups for valid traditions to study". ("Folklore Scholarship and the Sociopolitical Milieu in Canada", Journal of the Folklore Institute 10:1/2 (June/August 1973), 98).

<sup>13</sup>Herbert Halpert, "Vitality of Tradition and Local Songs", The Journal of the International Folk Music Council 3 (1951), 35-40.

<sup>14</sup>David S. McIntosh, "The Hunting Expedition", Hoosier Folklore 6 (1947), 74-75; Jane Bagby, "Two Camp Songs", Hoosier Folklore 7 (1948), 126-127.

<sup>15</sup>Ricky Sherover, "The Folksmiths", op. cit.; Ed Badeaux, "Singing for the Summer and Getting Paid for It", Sing Out! 8:4 (Spring 1959), 23-25; Richard Reuss, "Summer Is Icumen In", Sing Out! 11:3 (Summer 1961), 25-27; Simeon Loring, "(From Reveille to Taps) A Folksinging Camp", Sing Out! 12:3 (Summer 1962), 12-13.

<sup>16</sup>Don Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals, Lancaster: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1961.

<sup>17</sup>George P. Jackson, Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America, Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1964; White and Negro Spirituals, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1944; White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands, Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1964.

Footnotes to Introduction continued

- <sup>18</sup> Guy Carawan, Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.
- <sup>19</sup> Stan Hugill, Shanties from the Seven Seas, London: Routledge and K. Paul; New York: Dutton, 1961.
- <sup>20</sup> Bruce Jackson, Wake Up Dead Man, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- <sup>21</sup> Ed Badeaux, "Singing for the Summer", op. cit.; "Songs of Camp", Songs of Camp, Folkways FC 7510.
- <sup>22</sup> Barry Kornfeld, "Group Singing", Caravan Folk Music Magazine, August-September 1958, 7-9.
- <sup>23</sup> Kenneth S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Folklore", Journal of American Folklore 84 (1971), 62-67.
- <sup>24</sup> George J. Casey, et al., "Repertoire Categorization", op. cit.
- <sup>25</sup> William H. Jansen, "The Folksinger's Defense", Hoosier Folklore 9 (1950), 65-67.
- <sup>26</sup> Don Yoder, "Official Religion vs. Folk Religion", Pennsylvania Folk Life 15:2 (1965-66), 36-42.

2. Footnotes to Chapter I

- <sup>1</sup> According to Ralph Linton, a nativistic movement is "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture". See his article in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, eds., Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach (third edition), New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1972 [1958], 497.
- <sup>2</sup> For further discussion of American utopian societies, see Maren Lockwood, "The Experimental Utopia in America", in Frank E. Manuel, ed., Utopias and Utopian Thought: A Timely Appraisal, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966; and Peyton E. Richter, ed., Utopias: Social Ideals and Communal Experiments, Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1971.
- <sup>3</sup> Philip van Doren Stern, The Annotated "Walden", New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1970, 51.

## Footnotes to Chapter I continued

<sup>4</sup> Many of these and other details concerning early recreation camping have been gleaned from such works as H. Jean Berger, Program Activities for Camps (second edition), Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1969 [1961]; Reynold E. Carlson, Theodore R. Deppe, and Janet R. MacLean, Recreation in American Life (second edition), Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1972. [1963]; A. Viola Mitchell, et al., Camp Counseling, op. cit.; and Mary L. Northway and Barry G. Lowes, The Camp Counselor's Book, Toronto: Longman, Canada, Ltd., 1963.

<sup>5</sup> James Polk, Wilderness Writers, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1972, 58.

<sup>6</sup> For further reading on the recreation movement in North America, see George D. Butler, Pioneers in Public Recreation, Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1965; Reynold E. Carlson et al., Recreation in American Life, op. cit.; Elsie M. McFarland, The Development of Public Recreation in Canada, Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970; and Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer, Leisure and Recreation (third edition), New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1958 [1936].

<sup>7</sup> James A. Naismith, a YMCA leader, developed basketball in 1891 in response to "a real need for an indoor activity to replace the fair-weather enthusiasm for football and baseball" (Reynold E. Carlson et al., Recreation in American Life, op. cit., 38.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Lanie Melamed, January 1974. See also A. Viola Mitchell, et al., "The Stage of Social Orientation and Responsibility" in Camp Counseling, op. cit., 33.

<sup>9</sup> My information on leftist camps was acquired in interviews in Toronto with Aaron and Bernice Posen, Josh and Beth Silburt, Jerry Gray, Sharon Hampson, and Faygel Gartner; and in Ann Arbor with Richard Reuss. The stress in my account on Jewish leftist camps is the result of the fact that most of my informants are Jewish and were speaking of their experiences at Ontario Jewish Camps such as Naivelt and Jungvelt.

<sup>10</sup> Faygel Gartner, personal conversation, March 1974.

<sup>11</sup> Motto of Camp White Pine.

<sup>12</sup> See Filmfacts 14:22 (1971), 598-600.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Charles M. Schulz, You Need Help, Charlie Brown, New York, Chicago and San Francisco: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1965 [1964]; and Leo Dorfman, Bob Brown, and Murphy Anderson, "The Mad Piper of Camp Bravo", Superboy 24:190 (September 1972), 1-13.

Footnotes to Chapter I continued

<sup>14</sup>Allan Sherman, Hello Muddah, Hello Faddah: A Letter from Camp, Warner Brothers 7112 (S13160). See Billboard Music Week 75 (August 24-September 7, 1963).

<sup>15</sup>The Limelitters, Tonight: In Person, RCA Victor LPM 2272. See Billboard Music Week 73 (July 17, 1961).

<sup>16</sup>Much of this section is a synthesis of ideas from conversations with camp administrators, staff, and campers, as well as my own experience at camps.

<sup>17</sup>See, for example, "Camp Tamarak", Toronto: Camp Tamarak, 1971; and the "Introduction" to The Ontario Camping Association 1971 Directory of Camp Members and Associates, Toronto: Ontario Camping Association, 1971.

<sup>18</sup>For further discussion of "rites of passage", see Arnold van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, translated by Monica B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

<sup>19</sup>"Opportunities for Youth", (Catalogue No. S2-3272), Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972.

<sup>20</sup>A perusal of mail order catalogues from such large department stores as Eaton's and Simpson Sears show a large expansion of their sections on camping equipment during the past five years or so. Advertisements on television in St. John's, Newfoundland for trailers and "campers" have also increased in recent years.

<sup>21</sup>See Elsie M. MacFarland, The Development of Public Recreation in Canada, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup>All tapes referred to are deposited in Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, accession number 73-193. The tape numbers cited in this thesis are my own; however, a concordance is being prepared so that specific tapes may be found on application to the Archive.

<sup>23</sup>Don Yoder, "Official Religion vs. Folk Religion", op. cit., 38.

<sup>24</sup>See, for example, the "Introduction" to The Ontario Camping Association 1971 Directory of Camp Members and Associates, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup>Don Yoder, ibid.

Footnotes to Chapter I continued

<sup>26</sup> Sutton-Smith makes the same kind of distinction in his work on games. In The Folkgames of Children (Austin and London: The University of Texas Press, 1972), Sutton-Smith states that he is concerned with "unorganized" games, that is, "the games that children play of their own free will, without the assistance or leadership of adults. Originally, of course, these games may have been learned from relatives, school teachers, or recreation-club leaders [i.e., 'organized' games]" (p. 9).

<sup>27</sup> These cultural factors are included in a mnemonic acronym, "GLARESORTE", used in introductory folklore classes at the University of Pennsylvania to introduce the concept of "group" to students. Other factors include language, education, region, topography, and economics.

<sup>28</sup> George J. Casey, et al., "Repertoire Categorization", op. cit., 398.

<sup>29</sup> Camp Nimaka, 1972.

<sup>30</sup> Most of these pranks are from my own camp experience. Some of them, especially the "switch", usually occur more in the telling than in the actual realization of the pranks by the campers.

<sup>31</sup> This was, and as far as I know still is, standard practice at Camp White Pine.

<sup>32</sup> One of the best examples of the use of Indian lore at a summer camp is Camp Ahmek as described in C.A.M. Edwards, Taylor Statten, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960.

<sup>33</sup> Examples of books in the Camp Nimaka staff library include Claire Cox, Rainy Day Fun For Kids, New York: Association Press, 1962; Larry and Helen Eisenberg, The Handbook of Stunts and Skits, New York: Association Press, 1954; and Allan A. MacFarlan, Treasury of Memory-Making Campfires, New York: Association Press, 1963. The Nimaka record library has such albums as Bing Crosby, Join With Bing Crosby and Sing, Warner Brothers 1363; Mitch Miller, Fireside Sing Along, Columbia 1389; Alan Lomax, American Folk Songs for Children, Atlantic LP 1350; and John Raitt, Songs the Kids Brought Home From Camp, Warner Brothers WS 1392.

<sup>34</sup> Hy Turkin, Little League Baseball, New York, 1954.

<sup>35</sup> This took place at Camp White Pine while I was a camper there in 1958.

Footnotes to Chapter I continued

<sup>36</sup> National Music Camp, 1961 and 1962.

<sup>37</sup> Member of the staff, Camp Nimaka, 1971.

3. Footnotes to Chapter II

<sup>1</sup> My use of the term "folksong revival" is explained in more detail in Note 16.

<sup>2</sup> There is a massive job available for someone to collate the songbooks and songsheets which camps have mimeographed for the use of their personnel. Three such books in my possession are Ahmek Songs from Camp Ahmek, Ontario, Camp Kasawamak Song Book, Camp Kasawamak, Ontario, and The Songs of Wapameo, Camp Wapameo, Ontario. Only after books like these have been assembled and the songs tabulated can a truly documented picture of the change and stability of the liturgical repertoire at summer camps, as well as the effects of the folksong revival on camp singing, be obtained. This project has unfortunately been outside the scope of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup> The singing of old popular songs at family gatherings and some kinds of public affairs such as conventions, has been little studied by folklorists. The custom surfaced in the media with the "Sing along with Mitch" fad during the 1960's, and can still be seen in the recent proliferation of "beer and banjo" parlours in some major North American cities. It seems to be a solid and viable singing tradition that has survived in urban contexts, and deserves its own study.

<sup>4</sup> See Larry and Helen Eisenberg, How to Lead Group Singing, New York: Association Press, 1955.

<sup>5</sup> I have been able to find no reference to the origin of action songs as they are done at summer camps and in recreation programs. One informant remembered them used at his camp during the 1930's. Songs with actions appropriate to the words have been in tradition for quite some time, usually sung by children or by parents in dandling songs. They have been collected by educators and recreation people (who often refer to them as "fingerplays" or "finger rhymes"), and used in organized programs. For example, Tom Glazer writes in Eye Winker, Tom Tinker, Chin Chopper: Fifty Musical Finger Plays (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1973), that Friedrich Froebel, the "Father of Kindergarten" (1782-1852), "had collected fingerplays . . . in the field . . . working in the countryside with peasant mothers and their young children" (p. 5).

Footnotes to Chapter II continued

There may be some connection between action songs and American play-parties, though I have seen no mention of play-parties in camp literature. For further discussion and examples of action songs, see Paul G. Brewster, "Ropeskipping, Counting Out and Other Rhymes of Children", Southern Folklore Quarterly 3 (September 1939), 182-183; Maud Burnham, Let's Play with Fingers, Chicago: Whitman and Sons, 1948; Larry and Helen Eisenberg, How to Lead Group Singing, op. cit.; Edith Fowke, Sally Go Round the Sun, Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart, 1969; Marion F. Grayson, Let's Do Finger Plays, Washington: Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1969; Marion Hansen, "Children's Rhymes Accompanied by Gestures", Western Folklore 7 (January 1948), 50-63; and Sam M. Shiver, "Finger Rhymes", Southern Folklore Quarterly 5 (1941), 221-234. For a more detailed description of action songs as they are done at camp, see Chapter III.

<sup>6</sup>The motivations behind the use of folksongs by camp people are similar in their nationalism to those of Cecil Sharp and other British scholars who followed him in collecting traditional songs for use in English schools. They also resemble the motivations of the American left in fostering the singing of "simple people's songs" among the members of their organizations. For further discussion on these areas, see Bertrand H. Bronson, "Cecil Sharp and Folk-Song", in The Ballad as Song, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969; Serge Denisoff, Great Day Coming: Folk Music and the American Left, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971; and Sing a Song of Social Significance, Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972.

<sup>7</sup>Janet E. Tobitt, A Counselor's Guide to Camp Singing, op. cit., 12.

<sup>8</sup>Richard Reuss, personal correspondence, 16 October 1970.

<sup>9</sup>Herbert Halpert, "Vitality of Tradition and Local Songs", op. cit., 39.

<sup>10</sup>M. Carole Henderson, personal correspondence, June 1974.

<sup>11</sup>Most of the information in this section on singing at leftist camps was obtained in interviews with Sharon Hampson, Faygel Gartner, Josh and Beth Silburt, Jerry Gray (all of Toronto, Ontario) and Richard Reuss (in Ann Arbor, Michigan) between February and April 1974. It is very incomplete and needs further corroboration.

<sup>12</sup>The name "Wo-Chi-Ca" is a delightful example of how the Indian mystique invoked by many camps could be combined with a camp's more personal needs. "Wo-Chi-Ca" is an acronym for "Workers' Children's Camp".

Footnotes to Chapter II continued

<sup>13</sup>Pete Seeger, The Incomplete Folksinger, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972, 22.

<sup>14</sup>Many of the folksongs collected by Woodland campers are to be found in the Abelard Folk Song Book, (New York and London: Abelard Schuman, 1958) compiled and edited by Norman Cazden, a former Woodland staff member. Mr. Cazden is currently working on a more detailed account of his experiences at Camp Woodland. For more on Camp Woodland, see the reprint of Pete Seeger's Sing Out! article in The Incomplete Folksinger, op. cit., 344-45.

<sup>15</sup>Joseph Hickerson, personal conversation, July 1974.

<sup>16</sup>Throughout this thesis, the term "folksong revival" refers to a complex but specific phenomenon which was most evident in North America from roughly 1935 to 1965. The revival (it is almost always referred to as "the" folksong revival) was characterized by an awareness among the members of sophisticated, literate, urban groups, of folksongs which were usually outside their own traditions. This awareness was connected with the groups' political and social concerns, and reflected to an extent the ideals of the English folksong revival (see Maud Karpeles, Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). The folksong revival is seen by many as a movement centred in New York City, and involving a large network of persons in major cities in the eastern U.S., and Toronto and Montreal in Canada. Sing Out! magazine is recognized as a major source of folksong revival theory and as one of the chief means of communication of the movement. Revival singers and songs were prominent in the media during the 1960's, and their commercial popularization has been a major influence in North American popular music since that time. For more discussion on the folksong revival, see Serge Denisoff, Great Day Coming: Folk Music and The American Left, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971; David A. DeTurk and A. Poulin, Jr., eds., The American Folk Scene: Dimensions of the Folksong Revival, New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1967; "The Folksong Revival: A Symposium", New York Folklore Quarterly 19 (1963), 83-142; Alan Lomax, "The 'Folkniks' -- And the Songs They Sing", Sing Out! 9 (Summer 1959), 30-31; John S. Patterson, "The Folksong Revival and Some Sources of the Popular Image of the Folksinger: 1920-1963", unpublished M.A. thesis, Indiana University, 1963; Richard A. Reuss, "American Folklore and Left-Wing Politics: 1927-1957", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1971; and Ellen Stekert, "Cents and Nonsense in the Urban Folksong Movement: 1930-1966", in Bruce Jackson, ed., Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benj. A. Botkin, Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1966, 153-168.

Footnotes to Chapter II continued

<sup>17</sup>See Ricky Sherover, "The Folksmiths", op. cit., as well as the recording by The Folksmiths, We've Got Some Singing to Do, Folkways FA-2407. I remember as a staff member at Camp White Pine in 1963 and 1964 we were visited by a singer named Bill White who evidently toured summer camps in Ontario teaching and leading group songs.

<sup>18</sup>This was the experience not only of myself at Camp White Pine during 1963 and 1964, but also of Richard Reuss at his camp in the late 1950's and early 1960's. See his article "Summer is Icumen In", op. cit.

<sup>19</sup>"The revival of audience singing is an integral part of the whole revival of interest in folksongs in America . . . If we love this revival of folk music, we will do all in our power to get audiences singing with us wherever we go". Pete Seeger, "Johnny Appleseed Jr. (Why Audience Participation)", Sing Out! 6:2 (Spring 1956), 32. The emphasis on audience participation singing at this point in the folksong revival also prompted such articles as Barry Kornfeld, "Group Singing", op. cit.

<sup>20</sup>The folksong revival "split" is an ongoing saga which can be followed in the pages of Sing Out! from about 1965 on. See, for example, Irwin Silber, "A Letter to Bob Dylan", Sing Out! 14:5 (November 1964), 22-23; and Mike Seeger, "A Contemporary Folk Esthetic", Sing Out! 16:1 (February/March 1966), 59-61.

<sup>21</sup>This does not mean that audience participation singing has been completely abandoned by all folksong revival singers and their followers. At least one faction of performers has continued to encourage its audiences to sing along. These singers usually refer to themselves as performers of "traditional music", and include such American artists as Michael Cooney, Sara Gray, and Joseph Hickerson; and British singers who perform in North America such as John Roberts, Tony Barrand, and Lou Killen. Most of these musicians are less known (because less recorded) than their "performance oriented" counterparts, and many consider themselves something of an elite among revival singers. They have not exerted enough influence on the North American audience for "folk music" to return participation singing to the popularity it had during the early 1960's. Michael Cooney is one of the more articulate spokesmen for this segment of the folksong revival, and his values and goals may be read in his regular column, "General Delivery" in Sing Out! See, for example, 19:4 (Winter 1969-70), 23, 30-31.

Footnotes to Chapter II continued

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Bruce Bliven, "The Recreation Explosion", in Pauline Madow, ed., Recreation in America, New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1965.

<sup>23</sup> The following remarks on modern camp singing are based on my own observations in the field as well as on conversations with camp singing people.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Taft has remarked the dependency by a relatively self-contained and stable singing tradition upon an outside, relatively unstable tradition, and the consequences for the tradition's new singers who do not change with the fashion:

Newfoundland's confederation with Canada in 1949 heightened the islander's awareness of outside cultural influences, such as country music. . . . Linegar represented this new awareness in his music, his aesthetic, and his youthful independence . . . he was the first to truly reflect mainland culture through his music . . . But when mainland culture changed and Linegar remained the same, his future as a celebrity was doomed. (That's Two More Dollars: Jimmy Linegar's Success with Country Music in Newfoundland", Folklore Forum 7:2 (April 1974), 117).

<sup>25</sup> For an account of the disappearance of group singing in prisons in the southern United States, see Bruce Jackson, Wake Up Dead Man, op. cit., 21-29.

<sup>26</sup> William Ivey, "'The 1913 Disaster': Michigan Local Legend", Folklore Forum 3:4 (July 1970), 102.

<sup>27</sup> In the sense that singing is a group activity and songs known to all members of a group, group singing is much like children's games. Like games, the songs must be set up according to rules which indicate that singing will take place, what songs will be sung, and what part each member of the group will play in the singing.

<sup>28</sup> In this way, the leader in a formal situation is similar to Jansen's "poser" in that he "steps outside himself as an individual and assumes a pose towards his audience . . . that differs from his every day, every-hour-in-the-day relationship to that same audience. Integral in this posing is a purpose". William Hugh Jansen, "Classifying Performance in the Study of Verbal Folklore" in W. Edson Richmond, ed., Studies in Folklore, Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1957, 111.

Footnotes to Chapter II continued

<sup>29</sup>Kenneth S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Folklore", op. cit., 62-67.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 63-64.

<sup>31</sup>George J. Casey, et al., "Repertoire Categorization", op. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Camp White Pine, 1957, and 1958.

<sup>33</sup>One of the best expressions of these goals is to be found in Janet E. Tobitt, A Counselor's Guide, op. cit., 7-9, 20-22.

<sup>34</sup>Other organizations have also seen the usefulness of group singing in giving their members a sense of solidarity. Shape note singing was introduced in New England and southern congregations because "syllables . . . make music easier to read and to learn, and this was wholly in accord with the philosophy of the leading New Lighters: they wanted lots of new songs and they wanted all their people to be able to sing them" (Sam Hinton, "Folk Songs of Faith", Sing Out! 16:1 (February/March 1966), 33. See also Serge Denisoff, Sing a Song of Social Significance, op. cit., 19ff. for the reasons behind the left's interest in group singing during the 1930's and 1940's.

<sup>35</sup>Janet E. Tobitt, A Counselor's Guide, op. cit., 9.

<sup>36</sup>For a written arrangement of "All Night, All Day" and "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands" as partner songs, see Afro-America Sings, Detroit: The Board of Education for the City of Detroit, 1971, 32.

<sup>37</sup>This attitude is reflected in a Peanuts cartoon in Charles Schulz, You Need Help Charlie Brown, op. cit., 84. "Charlie Brown" and his friend "Roy" are at camp, and the dialogue is as follows:

[FRAME 1] CB: C'mon Roy, we'll be late for the "sing out".

[FRAME 2] CB: We're all going to sit around the campfire and sing songs.

[FRAME 3] R: Maybe I shouldn't go . . . .

[FRAME 4] R: [HAND ON HEART, SAD EXPRESSION ON FACE] These World War I songs always get me right here.

<sup>38</sup>Camp White Pine, 1967.

Footnotes to Chapter II continued

<sup>39</sup>This is not to say that the girls are unacquainted with bawdy songs. They carry bawdy songs in their inactive repertoires until they are in a situation, usually in the presence of boys, which dictates their singing them. Often, this means that the boys have insisted on the girls' participation. For further discussion, see Ed Cray, The Erotic Muse, New York: Pyramid Communications, Inc., 1972, xxiii, 264 (n. 21).

<sup>40</sup>Camp Nimaka, 1972.

4. Footnotes to Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Elizabeth Greenleaf's account of her fieldtrip to Newfoundland in Elizabeth B. Greenleaf and Grace Y. Mansfield, Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933; reprinted Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1968, xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>2</sup>This has been true of directors at other camps I have attended or heard about. See Norma Lee Browning, Joe Maddy of Interlocken, Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1963; and C.A.M. Edwards, Taylor Statten, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Mark gave one such workshop during a three-day course offered by the Department of Public Recreation in Ottawa in 1954. The main points of his workshop are contained in a mimeographed print-out distributed to those who took the course, entitled "Social Recreation 'Workshop'" (12pp.).

<sup>4</sup>See Chapter II, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup>Mark's song leading techniques and approach to people and singing show a striking similarity to those of Pete Seeger. For instance, in his "Johnny Appleseed, Jr." column in Sing Out! 6:2 (Spring 1956), Seeger writes, "The songleader should be having so much fun that the audience joins in without being able to help itself" (p. 32). In the 1954 print-out (see note 3) Mark writes, "The easiest way to assure that the group will enjoy a sing song is to appear that you are enjoying to lead the sing song. Spontaneous enthusiasm spells success" (p. 1).

<sup>6</sup>The Limelitters, Children's Eyes, RCA Victor LPM/LSP 2510.

Footnotes to Chapter III continued

<sup>7</sup>The Company of Young Americans differed from the other groups mentioned in that it was sponsored by the Moral Re-Armament Movement, a highly moralistic group (also known as The Oxford Group) begun by Frank Buchman during the 1920's in England and the United States. The movement's principles, usually referred to by members as the "Four Absolutes" (perfect honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love), and its attitudes towards changing individuals rather than societies or institutions, are similar to Mark's own philosophy, and to the values inherent in Nimaka policies. It is perhaps no coincidence that Mark was so taken with the appearance and presentation of The Company of Young Americans, and that their theme song should be accepted into his camp's repertoire.

<sup>8</sup>The reasons for the presence of cumulative songs in the repertoires of summer camps are discussed in Michael Taft, "A Functional Classification and Morphology of the Formula Tale", unpublished paper, 1972, 431.

<sup>9</sup>These are, of course, the kind of spirituals alluded to by George Pullen Jackson in White and Negro Spirituals, op. cit., 1.

<sup>10</sup>There is a startling similarity between the format of the noon singsongs at Nimaka and the fifteen-minute radio programs of hill-billy music which were common during the 1930's and 1940's throughout the southern United States and still survive in some areas. The programs usually had a standard format of songs: an up-tempo instrumental, a vocal (often the artist's latest release), a spiritual, another secular vocal, and a final up-tempo instrumental to end the program. The numbers were introduced briefly before they were sung or played, with intervals left for commercials. For further discussion and examples of these radio programs, see David Freeman's notes to Charlie Monroe on the Noon-Day Jamboree, County 538, and Bill Vernon's notes to The Songs of Charlie Monroe and The Kentucky Partners, County 539. For a description of Lester Flatt's current daily radio program (5:45 a.m. on WSM, Nashville, Tennessee), see Mac Martin, "Martha White Biscuit Time", Bluegrass Unlimited, 6:5 (November 1971, 16-17).

<sup>11</sup>Personal correspondence from Stu Koch, August 1971.

<sup>12</sup>"Mariposa in the Schools", Toronto: Mariposa Folk Festival, 1973-74.

<sup>13</sup>Personal correspondence from Stu Koch, August 1971.

Footnotes to Chapter III continued

<sup>14</sup>Most of the songs may be found in such collections as Harry Babad, ed., Roll Me Over, New York: Oak Publications, 1972; Ed Cray, The Erotic Muse, op. cit.; [no author] Why Was He Born So Beautiful and Other Rugby Songs, London: Sphere Books, 1967.

<sup>15</sup>For more discussion on men in groups and the bawdy song and joke traditions, see Ed Cray, The Erotic Muse, op. cit., 23-27; and Gershon Legman, Rationale of the Dirty Joke: An Analysis of Sexual Humor, New York: Grove Press, 1971.

5. Footnotes to Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>Many of the songs and singing practices found at co-ed camp have also appeared in past years at Green River girls' camps. See Andrea C. Spurrell, "Singing Traditions at [Green River] Girls Camp", unpublished paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973.

<sup>2</sup>I. Sheldon Posen and Michael Taft, "The Newfoundland Popular Music Project", Canadian Folk Music Journal 1 (1973), 17-23.

<sup>3</sup>MacEdward Leach, Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast, Ottawa: National Museum, Bulletin 201, 1965; Kenneth Peacock, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, 3 vols., Ottawa: National Museum, Bulletin 197, 1965.

<sup>4</sup>The use of "folksong" and rock and roll structures and styles by religious groups at both liturgical and lay levels, has not yet received much attention from either folklorists or popular culturists. For insight into the esoteric goals of the church's liturgical authorities in employing rock or "folk" music in their liturgy, see Richard Devinney, There's More to Church Music than Meets the Ear, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972; Ed Gutfreund, With Lyre, Harp . . . and a Flatpick: The Folk Musician at Worship, Cincinnati: North American Liturgy Resources, 1973; and Bob Larson, Rock and the Church. For examples of religious music in rock or "folk" styles used at camps, see Celebrate: Resources for Camping Families, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Council of Churches, 1970; and Charles Feldman, Songs of the Wilshire Boulevard Temple Camps, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1970.

<sup>5</sup>Motif E 332.3.3.1 in Ernest W. Baughman, Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America, The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton and Co., 1966. (Indiana University Folklore Series No. 20). "Bringing Mary Home" may be found on The Country Gentlemen, The Country Gentlemen, Rebel RLP 1478.

6. Footnotes to Chapter V

38. <sup>1</sup>Don Yoder, "Official Religion vs. Folk Religion", op. cit.,

<sup>2</sup>Richard Reuss, personal correspondence, 16 October 1970.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, G. Malcolm Laws, American Balladry from British Broad-sides, Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1957, 1-3.

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Seeger, Pete, Eric Darling, and the Songswappers. Camp Songs. Folkways FC 7028.

Sherman, Allan. Hello Muddah, Hello Faddah. Warner Brothers 7112 (S13160).

The Wagoners. Camp Songs. Folkways FC 7030.

## APPENDIX

### Annotated Index of Songs Cited

It was decided during the final stages of work on this thesis that an annotated index of the songs cited within its pages would be a useful addition. The limitations of time and resources prevented an exhaustive or even extensive annotation from being done. Only one reference to a published text, or text and tune, was sought for each song. If a printed source could not be found, a recording was listed if available. In some cases, neither published text nor recording came to the attention of the writer. These cases have been marked in the index as "not available", with the first line of the song, if accessible and if necessary for identification. All other citations exhibit the following format, if referring to an item in print:

- a) title of song;
- b) in parentheses, page or pages on which the song appears in the thesis;
- c) author or shortened title of the work in which the song is found;
- d) page number in the work, or an indication of the nature of the printed source (e.g. "sheet music") in which the song appears;
- e) title of song as it appears in the work, if different from title in thesis.

If referring to an item on recording (c) lists the artist, and (d) the word "recording".

For easier reference, books and recordings cited in this index are listed at the end of the index, in a bibliography and discography separate from those of the main thesis.

Alexander's Ragtime Band (39). Berlin, sheet music.

All Night, All Day (102). Sing!, 85.

Alouettski (100, 113). Not available. (Tune: minor key of "Alouette": "Alouettski, gentil alouettski").

America (49). Sing!, 49.

Anne Boleyn (99). Scott, recording ("With Her Head Tucked Underneath Her Arm").

Announcements (69). Not available. ("Announcements, announcements, announcements").

The Ants Go Marching (115, 125, 126). Larrick, 10.

The Ants Go Marching (parody) (126). Not available.

A Ram Sam Sam (106). One Hundred One, 21.

As I Went Down in the Valley to Pray (163). Work, 69 ("I Went Down in the Valley").

Aunt Martha's Sheep (114). Nolan, recording.

A-Wimoweh (107). Weavers, 29 ("Wimoweh").

The Bear Went Over the Mountain (parody) (146, 155). Not available.

Blowing in the Wind (2). Reprints VI, 38 ("Blowin' in the Wind").

Both Sides Now (198). Mitchell, 6.

Bravo Bravissimo (166, 167). Not available. ("Bravo, bravo, bravo bravissimo").

- Bringing Mary Home (154, 156, 161, 163). The Country Gentlemen, recording.
- Chester (41). Not available. (Tune: "Yankee Doodle". "Say Chester have you heard about Harry?").
- Clementine (102). Best, 41.
- Come a Little Closer (parody) (124). Not available.
- The Cruel War (154). Reprints VIII, 5.
- Daisy Daisy (2, 39). Best, 84.
- Darktown Strutters' Ball (2, 39). Thirty Years, 8.
- Deck the Halls with Marijuana (155). Not available. (Tune: "Deck the Halls with Boughs of Holly").
- The Desperado (102). Best, 123.
- Dirty Old Bill (104, 118). Not available. ("Dirty Bill, dirty Bill").
- Do Lord (153). Grissom, 68.
- Down By the Old Mill Stream (39). Canada's Favorite Songs, 46.
- Everywhere We Go (115). Not available. ("Everywhere we go, people want to know").
- Ezekiel Saw A Wheel A-Rollin' (102). Best, 149.
- Five Hundred Miles (102). Peter, Paul and Mary, 1.
- Follow the Band (125, 127). Babad, 85 ("The Professions Song").
- For Me and My Gal (39). Meyer, sheet music.
- Four Strong Winds (154). Ian and Sylvia, 4.
- Frère Jacques (102). Best, 141.
- Gee Ma I Wanna Go Home (40). Lomax and Lomax, 124-125.
- The German Musicianer (100). Cox, recording.

Give Me Oil For My Lamp (112, 113, 125). Not available. ("Sing! hosanna, Sing! hosanna") (See also "Sing Hosanna").

Give Me Oil For My Lamp (parody) (125, 126). Not available.

G-L-O-R-Y (131, 163). Edwards, 139 ("S-A-V-E-D").

God Has Created a New Day (153). Sing!, 23.

God Save the Queen (145). Not available. ("God save our gracious Queen").

Goodnight Ladies (58, 102, 116). Best, 84.

Granny (156). See "Granny's in the Cellar".

Granny's In the Cellar (150, 153, 163). Not available. ("Granny's in the cellar, Lordy can't you smell 'er").

Guantanamo (2). Reprints VI, 56.

The Guppy Song (104). Not available. (Tune: You Are My Sunshine: "We have a guppy a brand new guppy").

Hallelu (153). Rejoice, 23.

Happy Birthday (60, 103). Fletcher, 151.

Happy Birthday, Uh! (60). Not available. (Tune: "The Volga Boat Song". "Happy Birthday, Uh!").

Head and Shoulders (107). Not available. ("Head and Shoulders, Knees and Toes").

Heigh Ho (102). Best, 144.

Here We Are (114). Not available. ("Here we are, all together as we sing our song, naturally").

He's Got the Whole World in His Hands (155). Sing!, 85.

I Cannot Come to the Banquet (155). Winter, 22 ("The Wedding Banquet").

If All of the Raindrops (103, 114). Not available. ("If all of the raindrops were lemon drops and gum drops").

If You're Happy and You Know It (101). Larrick, 20.

I Have Lost My Underwear (114). Fowke, 145.

I'm a Nut (119). Fowke, 137.

I'm Henry the Eighth I Am (69). Sixty, 85.

It's the B'y (154). Doyle, 28.

Jeanie's Afraid of the Dark (154, 161, 163). Wagoner, recording.

Jeremiah Was a Bullfrog (103). Three Dog Night, recording ("Joy to the World").

Johnny Appleseed (153). Not available. ("Oh the Lord is good to me").

Joy is Like the Rain (155). Winter, 3.

Junior Birdsmen (115). Sing Out! XX, 26.

Kelligrew's Soiree (154). Doyle, 32.

K-K-K-Katy (97). Doph, 165.

Kookaburra (102, 108). Best, 142.

Land of the Silver Birch (42). Fowke and Johnston, 190.

Last Night I slept in a Hollow Log (158). Cray, 101 (Parody of "The Girl I Left Behind Me").

Let the Sunshine In (103). MacDermot, 59.

Little Cabin in the Woods (41, 101). Sing!, 21.

Lonesome Traveller (2). Weavers, 26.

The Lord Is My Shepherd (155). Sing a Tune, 11.

Lord of the Dance (163). Petti, 114.

Love Is Something If You Give It Away (118, 163). Reynolds, 9 ("Magic Penny").

Mama's Little Baby Loves Shortnin' Bread (97). Best, 40 ("Shortnin' Bread").

Mama's Waitin' (154). Rogers, recording.

Mandy (163). Not available. ("Mandy was a Bahama girl").

Marijuana (155). Not available. (Tune: "Three Blind Mice".  
"Marijuana, marijuana, L.S.D., L.S.D.").

May There Always Be Sunshine (163). Sing a Tune, 64.

May You Live a Hundred Years (60). Not available. (Tune: "Happy Birthday". "May you live a hundred years, may you drink a thousand beers").

Michael (102). See "Michael Row the Boat Ashore".

Michael Row the Boat Ashore (2, 154). Reprints I, 12.

Morning Comes Early (42). Songs to Keep, 56.

Morning Has Come (155). Sing!, 71.

My Paddle's Keen and Bright (102). Not available.

Newfoundlanders, Jolly Newfoundlanders (146). Not available. (Tune: "Alouette". "Newfoundlanders, jolly Newfoundlanders").

The Night Patrol Song (130). Not available. (Tune: "Oh Tannenbaum". "Oh Night Patrol, Oh Night Patrol").

The North Atlantic Squadron (125, 128). Why Was He Born, 109.

Now the Woods are Sleeping (42). Chansons, 76.

Ode to Newfoundland (145). Doyle, 9.

Oh Canada (103, 176). Fowke and Mills, 114-116.

Oh Freedom (116). Glazer, 259.

Old Bus Driver Speed Up a Little Bit (124, 157). Not available. (Tune: "The Old Grey Mare." "Old bus driver speed up a little bit").

Old MacDonald (153, 163). Frey, 140.

Piccolomini (163). Not available.

Put Your Hand in the Hand (60, 103, 106, 154). The White Family, recording.

The Quartermaster's Store (124, 153). Best, 104 ("Quartermaster Corps").

Raindrops Keep Fallin' On My Head (102). Bacharach, 2.

Ricky Ticky Ticky (125, 127, 129). See "Follow the Band".

Rise and Shine (41). Not available. ("Rise and shine, and give God your glory, glory").

Roll Me Over (127). See "Roll Me Over In The Clover".

Roll Me Over In The Clover (125). Cray, 117.

Row Row Row Your Boat (102). Best, 142.

The Saints (117). See "When the Saints Go Marchin' In".

Seeyahnah (42). Sing!, 54.

She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain (103). Boni, 156.

She Waded in the Water (151). Not available. (Tune: "The Battle Hymn of the Republic". "She waded in the water and she got her ankles wet").

Shine On Harvest Moon (39). Anderson, 147.

Sing Me Back Home (154, 156). Haggard, recording.

Sir Jasper (146, 156). More Rugby Songs, 119.

Skip Around the Dining Hall (60). Not available. ("Skip around the dining hall").

So Long It's Been Good to Know You (103). Weavers, 85.

The Sounds of Silence (99). Simon and Garfunkel, 1.

Squid Jiggin' Ground (154). Doyle, 53.

Stand Up (166, 167). Not available.

The Star of Logy Bay (154). Doyle, 55.

Swing Low (102). Best, 146.

Swinging Along (41). Sing a Tune, 58.

Swing Low Sweet Chariot (102). See "Swing Low".

Take This Hammer (117). Lomax, Guthrie, Seeger, 84.

Taps (60). Tent and Trail Songs, 63 ("Day Is Done").

Thank You Lord (153). Not available. (Tune: "Edelweiss". "Thank you Lord, on this day").

That Good Old Mountain Dew (129). Cyporyn, 81.

There's a Hole in the Bucket (118). Sing!, 12.

Three Blind Mice (102). Best, 143.

Throw It Out the Window (119). Best, 62.

The Titanic (97). Reprints II, 22.

Trampin' (41). Sing!, 10.

Turn Around (154). Reynolds, 54.

'Twas On the Labrador Me Boys (144). Not available.

The Twelve Days of Camping (128). Not available.

Up Up With People (98). Colwell, sheet music.

Waiting (69, 72). Not available. ("Waiting, waiting, waiting").

~~We Are Crazy~~ (119). Not available. (Tune: "Frère Jacques". "We are crazy, we are crazy").

We're Gonna March Down (155). Not available. ("We're gonna march, down, down, down").

We're Here Because We're Here (157). Not available. (Tune: "Old Lang Syne". "We're here because we're here because . . .").

We Shall Overcome (107, 154). Reprints VI, 63.

We Thank Thee Father for Thy Care (103). Grace at Table, 11.

When the Saints Go Marching In (58, 102). Best, 152 ("The Saints Go Marching In")

Where Oh Where Are You Tonight? (154). Not available. (From the television program "Hee Haw").

Where's Your Mama Gone? (154). Not available.

You're Late (69, 153, 165, 166). Not available. (Tune: "Old Lang Syne". "You're late, you're late, you're very late").

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