SOME ASPECTS OF THE FOLK MUSIC COMPLEX OF A NEWFOUNDLAND OUTPORT

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on tape recorded interviews made during fieldwork carried out in Green's Harbour and in the Trinity Bay South area, principally in June and December, 1975, and January, 1976, as well as numerous weekends, and on research done at the "Newfoundland Room," Memorial University Library, St. John's, between 1974 and 1976.

The aim of the study is to present as holistic a description as possible of the variety of musics in a Newfoundland outport, and to demonstrate the relationship between music and society by treating music as a form of human behaviour.

The theoretical framework of the thesis is presented in the Introduction, together with a description of my own background and fieldwork. This is followed by an ethnography of Green's Harbour, paying particular attention to social change. The next chapter can be regarded as complementary to the ethnography in that it discusses the contexts in which music was, and is performed. This includes important data for later conclusions about the reasons for musical change. A unique Christmas Carolling tradition is discussed in the succeeding two chapters. This can be regarded as

representative of the older way of life, although it is presented also as a conscious attempt to control the acculturative process--a revitalization movement. Because it is such a unique tradition a brief description of other carolling traditions is presented, and the carol texts are discussed. The influence of country music on local performers is the subject of the next chapter, and it provides a suitable contrast to the emphasis laid on the traditional past in the previous two chapters. The concluding chapter explores the relationship between the musical and social change that has been described in the preceding chapters.

The thesis attempts to demonstrate the relationships that exist between a community's values, social institutions and its music. Although the description is specific and concentrates on one community, it is hoped that it has a wider application.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I wish to acknowledge my debt to my informants in Green's Harbour and the neighbouring communities in the Trinity Bay South area who gave freely of their time, knowledge and hospitality during my fieldwork. Special thanks are also due to my wife, Sheila, who gave constant encouragement, and shared enthusiastically in the fieldwork.

I would also like to express my thanks to my fellow students in the Department of Folklore with whom I discussed matters. My thanks to Peter Aceves for guiding my first fieldwork attempts; George Casey, Dr. H. Halpert, Wilfred Wareham and Dr. J.D.A. Widdowson for suggesting material and offering encouragement; Donald Cook of Memorial's new Music School for advice on musical transcriptions; Dallas Strange for typing the thesis; Memorial University for a graduate fellowship which enabled me to complete my coursework and fieldwork.

Finally, my thanks go to Dr. Neil Rosenberg, my thesis adviser, for several illuminating conversations about the relationship of music and society, and for his patience and guidance during the writing of this thesis.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

I have disguised most of the names of my informants, and have randomly assigned new ones from the pool of those occurring in the Trinity Bay South area. Some names, which establish historical connections and relationships with other communities, I have not changed (e.g., the family name, Crocker, from Crocker's Cove). I decided against disguising the names of the communities in which I had worked, because I hope that the local residents will read this study with interest, as an appreciative view of an outsider.

In the song text transcriptions, inaudible words or phrases will be indicated by a question mark in parentheses (?), and a doubtful word or phrase will be placed in parentheses ( ). Reference is made in the text to the tape from which the transcription comes, and the side of the tape is indicated in parentheses ( ). All the tapes are deposited in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, and have the accession number 76-18. The individual tape numbers cited here are my own.

All tunes are transposed so as to place their finals at g^1. This places most of the tunes within the scope of

the treble clef, it avoids the use of extreme key signatures, and facilitates comparison. The actual pitch of the performance is provided at the end of each tune transcription. The final tone of the tune is represented as a whole note, and the upper and lower extremes of range are given in black notes.

Key signatures indicate only those sharps and flats which actually occur in the melody. Metre signatures are used when the tune adheres throughout to a metrical pattern. In a tune which is fairly consistent throughout, but has slight variations in metre, the basic metre is given in parentheses (3/4). Tunes which are very free metrically, or are erratic, are given no metre signature.

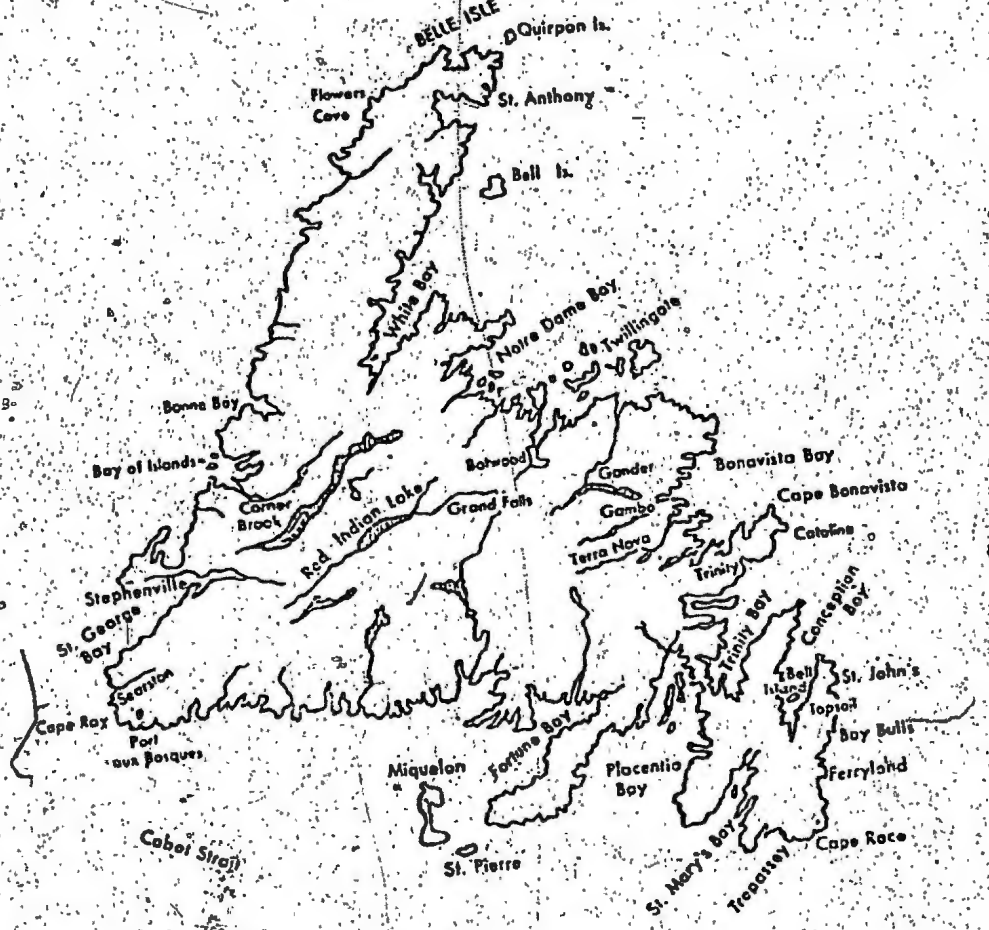
Significant variants are noted below each transcription. Usually, the first verse is completely transcribed, but there are exceptions, when another verse is felt to be more typical.

I have used the following signs to indicate specific features of performance:

\+ higher than the pitch given (up to ½ tone)

\- lower than pitch given (up to ½ tone)

~ glissando



Map 1. Newfoundland.

Map 2. Conception Bay and Trinity Bay.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study describes the music of a Newfoundland outport in its contextual framework. It also attempts to establish relationships between music and society, and more specifically between musical and social change. In this introduction I propose to give an outline of the theoretical framework of the study, an account of my collecting experience, and a brief description of the further contents of the thesis.

It is based on the premise that music sound is the result of human behavioural processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people comprising a culture.[1] As it is the product of man, music must have structure, and this cannot have an existence divorced from the behaviour that produces it. A valuable approach is to regard music as a means of understanding other things about a culture, such as attitudes, sanctions and values. It can also symbolise and reflect the organisation of society. This integration of culture has long been stressed by anthropologists, and it should be expected that any aspect of a

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[1] A.P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 6.

given culture will reflect other parts of it.[2]

If music is humanly organised sound, it seems possible that there would be a relationship between music and behaviour. This view of music as a behavioural process is developed by Blacking, who stresses that we should no longer study music in isolation, because "musical things are not always strictly musical."[3] Indeed, the expression of tonal relationships in sound may be secondary to the extra-musical relationships the tones represent.

Music can be said to be a "symbolic" part of life, in the sense that it represents other things, and Merriam lists four ways in which this symbolic relationship is present: music can be a direct representation of something else; it can be reflective of emotion and meaning; it can reflect other cultural behaviour, organisation and values; it can symbolise human behaviour.[4]

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[2]For an interesting attempt to trace connections between the art and organisation of a society, see C. Levi-Strauss, Tristes Tropiques (Paris, 1955. A complete translation by J. and D. Weightmann, Triste's Tropiques [New York: Atheneum, 1974]), pp. 178-197. Similarly, relationships between a custom and social values and organisations are shown in H. Halpert and G.M. Story, eds. Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969). See particularly the essays of Ben-Dor, Faris, Firestone and Szwed.

[3]John Blacking, How Musical is Man? (Seattle: University of Washington, 1973), p. 25.

[4]Merriam, pp. 234-258.

Music not only reflects particular emotions and meanings, but is also assigned even broader symbolic roles in society. In such cases, it symbolises values and passions of the most specific yet general nature. Merriam cites the case of jazz, which was assigned a role of evil, and became a scapegoat for the ills of society in the nineteen twenties and thirties.[5]

It seems possible that if music is humanly organised sound there ought to be a relationship between the patterns of human organisation and the patterns of sound which are produced by human interaction. Indeed, Blacking categorically states:

> Functional analyses of musical structure cannot be detached from structural analysis of its social function: the function of tones in relation to each other cannot be explained adequately as part of a closed system without reference to the structure of the sociocultural system of which the musical system is a part, and to the biological system to which all music makers belong.[6]

Alan Lomax is specific about the relation of music to culture, and makes the observation that song style does not reflect any particular institution or behaviour pattern, but it rather represents an image of a culture pattern.[7] Every

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[5] Ibid., p. 241.

[6] Blacking, pp. 30-31.

[7] Alan Lomax, Folk Song Style and Culture (Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1968), p. 6.

culture symbolises its social norms in a song style, so that economy, stratification and sexual mores will be symbolised in the limits set for such variables as tempo, loudness, emphasis and interval width. This message about the social structure is carried beneath the surface.

Two examples may help to illustrate this "message" in "style." Among the AmerIndians of North America, public singing is done by groups of males in a harsh voiced, forceful, roughly organised unison style, in which no singer is more prominent than another. This matches the social style of the equal association of males in such activities as hunting, fishing and making war, in which the joining together is temporary, by mutual consent, and without the presence of a dominant leader.[8] When Lomax observed the performance style in Spain, he found that it varied in terms of the severity of prohibition against feminine premarital intercourse, so that where there was a severe sexual code, the singing was high pitched, squeezed and narrow, making ensemble singing all but impossible, but where there was a more permissive attitude there was a preference for well blended choirs singing in open and low pitched voices.[9]

Lomax incorporates such observations into his "Cantometrics" which is a method of evoking performance style

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[8] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[9] Ibid., p. viii.

from sound recordings.[10] It is based on the idea that a musical style is a summary of models like masculinity, femininity, tension and "feel."[11] Asking people how they sing will show how they communicate and relate to one another.

The study of musical change and its relation to social change provides valuable insights into the nature of the connection between music and society. The connections between music and society are reflected as well in the kinds of change.

Change which occurs in the present and usually originates from outside a culture is called acculturation. Two useful definitions are "the effect on cultures of contact with other cultures"[12] and "cultural transmission in process."[13] This culture contact can occur from interaction

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[10]For a critique of "Cantometrics," see Edward O. Henry, "The Variety of Music in a North Indian Village: Re-Assessing Cantometrics," Ethnomusicology, 20 (1976), 49-66. Henry evaluates "Cantometrics" with data from a North Indian village, and finds Lomax's statement about the music of village India to be incorrect, caused by using too small and unrepresentative a sample (62). Song style is found not to be the inevitable result of production arrangements (64).

[11]Lomax, pp. 11-12.

[12]Alfred Louis Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1948), p. 426.

[13]Melville J. Herskovits, Man and His Works (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 525.

through print, economics, religion and war, and from the impact of an alien culture.[14] The urbanisation of the countryside has an obvious bearing on the theory of acculturation, and indeed rural-urban acculturation, and cross-cultural acculturation differ only in degree, they are not substantially different processes of change.[15]

Some useful observations on the process of culture change are provided by Nketia, Katz and List, all writing about musical acculturation. Besides direct culture contact, Nketia notes that change can result from the cumulative effect of individuals within a homogenous group.[16] Katz develops this idea, and demonstrates that individuals who are highly motivated in resisting change become agents of change in their over-adherence to tradition.[17]

As for the factors which determine the degree of culture contact, List cites three: the vitality of each of the competing cultures; the degree of acceptance which the dominant culture affords the lesser culture; the disparity

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[14] J.H. Nketia, "Changing Traditions of Folk Music in Ghana," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 11 (1959), 3.

[15] Ralph L. Beals, "Urbanism, Urbanization and Acculturation," American Anthropologist, 53 (1951), 7.

[16] Nketia, 31.

[17] Ruth Katz, "Mannerism and Cultural Change: An Ethnomusicological Example," Current Anthropology, 11 (1970), 465-475.

between the values of the juxtaposed cultures.[18] Musical acculturation can have several different effects. These include the disappearance and disintegration of the indigenous music, the transfer of functions, hybridisation, and the presence of imported musical material and unacculturated music side by side.

Hybridisation is not always easily apparent, and indeed on the surface recent musical developments might seem to be a radical departure from tradition, but there are often distinctive ties with that tradition to be found in the performing style:

> Religion, language, even many aspects of social structure may change; an entirely new set of tunes or rhythms or harmonic patterns may be introduced; but in its overall character, a musical style will remain intact.[19]

It should be realised that change has taken place in human society throughout history, and it almost always involves some degree of conflict. Social change and its accompanying conflict are not necessarily degenerative. As Beattie notes, "It is now widely recognised that change and conflict are normal characteristics of social systems

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[18] George List, "Acculturation and Musical Tradition," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 16 (1964), 18.

[19] Alan Lomax, "Folk Song Style," American Anthropologist, 61 (1959), 930.

no less than equilibrium and harmony."[20]

Although change is inevitable, its direction is not pre-ordained. Faced by new social institutions, each society makes its own acceptance, rejection or modification of them. Beattie states the matter succinctly when he says that "Social institutions cannot be regarded as having been pitchforked like bundles of hay, from one culture into another . . . in being adopted the new usages and institutions are adapted."[21]

Three complementary accounts of the actual process of social change are provided by Firth, Murdock and Klymasz. Firth talks of the cyclical character of social change in small scale Oceanic and analogous communities, and suggests four stages. First is the exploration and acceptance of western ideas and materials, which is followed by an attempt to integrate these into the local system, without realising the full consequences. The third stage sees a growing perception of the difficulties, strains and disappointment result from this, and are made manifest in disillusionment or violent rejection. Finally, there is some broader attempt at reintegration at a more realistic level.[22]

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[20] John Beattie, Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthopology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 244.

[21] Ibid., p. 243.

[22] Raymond Firth, Social Change in Tikopia (London: George, Allen and Unwin, 1959), pp. 349-350.

Like Firth, Murdock groups the process of social change in four stages. He uses the terms innovation, social acceptance, selective elimination and integration. Innovation includes variation, invention and cultural borrowing. This remains an individual habit until there is social acceptance. It must then undergo the process of selective elimination and compete against alternatives. Finally, the socially accepted innovation is integrated into the culture, and becomes a part of the whole.[23]

Klymasz constructed a model based on the Ukrainian-Canadian folklore complex, and according to this the acculturative process is--resistance, breakdown and reconstitution. The old multi-functional diversity is replaced by a single function which usually expresses ethnic distinctiveness.[24]

I found these three accounts of the process of social change provided me with a useful framework on which to base my own observations about the acculturation that is taking place in the communities in which I worked. However, I did not regard these processes as being inevitable, and indeed the happy ending each postulates will clearly not occur in

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[23]George Peter Murdock, "How Culture Changes," in Harry L. Shapiro, ed. Man, Culture and Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 247-260.

[24]Robert B. Klymasz, "From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 10 (1973), 131-139.

every case of acculturation.

It is to questions such as those I have outlined that this study is directed. I feel some account is necessary here of my own background in order to understand my involvement with the subject of music and culture generally, and with the music of a Newfoundland outport in particular.

I first arrived in Newfoundland in August, 1973, from London, England. I had been appointed to teach music in the Trinity Bay South area, and an apartment had been found for my wife and me in Green's Harbour. Previously, I had taught music in England, and had received my professional education at the Royal Academy of Music, and the London University Institute of Education. This training was exclusively in classical music, but I became convinced that in Education, the use of the students' indigenous music, whether rock or reggae, was of more relevance to their immediate and future needs than the imposition of my own middle class oriented taste.

In Newfoundland I found a rejection of traditional culture by the official school system. Music is in a worse situation than most subjects in that it is mainly taught by non-Newfoundlanders, ignorant of local traditions, who impose their own cultural preferences.

In January, 1974, the Mummers Troupe from St. John's visited one of the schools in which I was teaching, and gave a performance of a mummers play. Afterwards, in talking to

the students, I found there was a live tradition of mummering in the community. The leader of the Mummers Troupe spent the evening with us in Green's Harbour, and he asked the school principal to direct him to anyone who knew the "old songs." He was sent to Crocker's Cove, and found out about the carolling tradition in the community.[25] I was asked to obtain a cassette recording of the carols for him. This I did, and this was the first contact I had with the traditional music of the area.

I became increasingly aware of the cultural traditions of the community, and in September 1974, entered Memorial University as a folklore student.

My first paper for the Introductory course was on the Christmas Carolling tradition of Green's Harbour.[26] At first I felt there was a good deal of suspicion in the community about my probing into the past, and into peoples'

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[25] I later discovered that Kinsley Welsh, a local teacher, had contributed a paper which included the Green's Harbour carols, "Christmas Traditions in the Trinity Bay South Area" (unpublished paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive [hereinafter MUNFLA], 71-131). Kinsley was to be a source of invaluable help during my fieldwork.

[26] Gordon Cox, "Christmas Carolling in Green's Harbour, Trinity Bay" (unpublished paper, MUNFLA, 75-73). This was the basis of my article, "The Christmas Carolling Tradition of Green's Harbour, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland," Canadian Folk Music Journal, 3 (1975), 3-10.

private lives, but I slowly gained more confidence, and my informants dropped some of their defences. I stayed numerous weekends in the community, as well as for two weeks in June, 1975, and four weeks at Christmas and New Year, 1975-6. By May, 1976, I had recorded interviews on 33 tapes, and had over 220 typed pages of transcribed recorded material, and 36 typed pages of a field diary.

My enquiry shifted from the carols to the "old songs" and instrumental tunes, and then to the current repertoire, influenced as it is by country music. Gradually, the idea of basing my thesis on the relationship between music and society, and between musical and social change, began to develop. My courses, particularly in Folk Song, Ethnomusicology and Social Anthropology served to clarify my understanding of the concepts of the integration of culture, and music as behaviour.

Whether an outsider can be expected to gain as many insights into a community as an insider is a difficult question to answer. Certainly, I felt like an insider when talking to those of my informants who belonged to the Salvation Army, because I had been brought up in that organisation, and was aware of its rituals and language. I was also accepted in the musical events in which my skills were of some use. These included singing in the Christmas Carolling, playing the trumpet in the Orangemens' Band, playing the piano at parties and informal dances, and playing the organ

for weddings. I found that the local school teachers with whom I worked were particularly helpful in arranging interviews for me. The material I collected will therefore reflect most strongly the areas in which my skills were found to be useful, and like any collection will be conditioned inevitably by the collector's background and personality.

I present an ethnographic account of Green's Harbour in Chapter II, and this is followed by a description of the overall musical scene in the community. At the same time, the local folk view of the different musical activities is given. Chapters IV and V present a unique Christmas Carolling tradition, which as well as being fascinating in itself, provides important evidence for the close connection between music and society. The influence of country music is discussed in Chapter VI, in terms of continuity of the folk tradition. In the last chapter, some conclusions are presented about the relationship between music and society. Notes on the fully transcribed songs and carols are presented in Appendix A. The song repertoire of Harry and Wayne Mercer, which is discussed in Chapter VI, is listed in Appendix B. Appendix C contains additional music examples referred to in the text. Finally, there is a Bibliography and a Discography.

CHAPTER II

GREEN'S HARBOUR--AN ETHNOGRAPHY[1]

Green's Harbour and its neighbouring communities are situated on a peninsula which is part of the Avalon Peninsula, which is bounded on the east by Conception Bay and on the west by Trinity Bay. All the communities in which I carried out my field work are in the Trinity Bay South area, extending from Norman's Cove in the south to Heart's Delight in the north, a distance of 40 miles by car. These communities were settled later than those at the mouth of the bay, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They all depended on fishing and logging in the past, but today are adjusting to a new pattern of work, mainly in construction and service industries. The inhabitants are English speaking and predominantly Protestant.

Green's Harbour may be taken to be representative of these communities. There is a good paved road running through it, and 15 miles away this connects to the Trans-Canada Highway. Several people commute to St. John's, the

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[1]Much of this chapter is based on the Census of Newfoundland from 1836 to 1945; the Census of Canada, 1971; Martin G. Rowe, "The History of Green's Harbour, Trinity Bay" (unpublished Dissertation, Maritime History Group, Memorial University, 1969); and W.F. Summers, "The Physical Geography of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland" (M.Sc. thesis, McGill University, 1949).

provincial capital, which is 65 miles away.

Today, Green's Harbour has a population of over 700 inhabitants, 90 per cent of the houses have water and sewerage, there is a resident doctor, and the nearest hospital is 18 miles away, at Markland.

Participation in the fishery is minimal, and there are only six fishing premises today. There are ten retail stores in the community, and most employment is found in construction and service industries. The bulk of the population belongs to the United Church, but there are also members of the Salvation Army and the Anglican Church. There is a high degree of literacy.

1. Geography

The community used to be called Green Harbour, and Seary notes that "despite the early possessive form still in common use, tradition has it that the specific refers to the forests around the hills and ponds when the first settlers arrived there."[2] The first evidence of Green Harbour is on a direction map by Michael Lane, published in 1775, but no-one lived there at the time.[3]

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[2] E.R. Seary, Place Names of the Avalon Peninsula of the Island of Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971), p. 97.

[3] Mentioned in Seary, p. 220.

The settlement is in a low lying area, and the land rises to a rolling hill topography. The harbour forms a horseshoe area, with very few cliffs. The shoreline is smooth and level and extends four miles from Pottle's Point to Green's Harbour Point, which is a water distance of three quarters of a mile. The Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot of 1887 states that:

> Green's Harbour extends 1½ miles south, is 6 cables wide and free from danger, the water shoaling from 9 fathoms in the entrance to 5 fathoms at the head, but is exposed to northerly winds.[4]

At the head of the harbour there is a long sand bar, on one side of which is the harbour, and on the other is a pond with a mixture of salt and fresh water. A brook runs into this pond.

The climate is similar to that of the rest of the Avalon, but its exposed coastal position make strong winds more frequent than in the inland areas. The yearly mean temperatures are in the low forties (5 to 7°C), the summers are warm to cool, and the winters are cold. July temperatures are in the high fifties (12 to 15°C), and in January are in the low twenties (-3 to -5°C). Precipitation is between 45 and 60 inches.

2. Settlement

Green's Harbour was first settled in the early 1830's, and the census of 1836 shows that there was one dwelling

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[4] Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot, 1887, p. 279.

house with six people living in it, including three adult males, two adult females and one male child.

There are two theories in oral tradition concerning the first settlers. The first states that Obadiah Brace came over to Newfoundland from England, arriving at the White Hills, near St. John's. He then travelled across the country, finally pitching his tent in the woods at Green's Harbour.[5] It is thought he was a doctor and a magistrate. The first baby to be born in the community was his son, James, who was later to be a fisherman.

The other theory is that in the summer of 1835, four men came from Old Perlican to repair a boat, and they moved permanently into Green's Harbour the following year. Their surnames were March, Day, Green and Brace.[6]

The early days of the community are referred to today by local residents as "stud and tilt days." This is in connection with the method of house construction. The first settlers lived in tilts, which were crude temporary dwellings, in the form of log cabins, constructed of vertical logs set into a trench in the ground, or into a wooden sill.[7] Stud refers to a wood post, which might form part of the upright

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[5]From field diary.

[6]Rowe, p. 12.

[7]Shane O'Dea, The Domestic Architecture of Old St. John's (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1974), pp. 2-3.

timbers supporting a wall, floor, or other part of a building.[8]

By 1845, the number of dwelling houses had increased to 2, but the population remained stable at 6. The first sizeable expansion took place in 1857, when the population was 63, and there were 9 dwelling houses with 9 families. By 1869, the population had further increased to 213.

This population increase was part of a general trend in the Trinity Bay South area. Men were attracted to inner bay locations because there was good land, ample stands of timber, and little settlement. With the introduction of several water drawn saw mills after 1850, lumbering became a viable alternative to an uncertain fishery.

Green's Harbour was heavily wooded with witch hazel, birch, juniper and spruce, and in the neighbouring community of Hopeall, there was a similar forest of timber:

> Right along the water here, where they cut schooner loads of timber in winter, and where the schooners would come in the spring of the year, pick it up, and take it away you know. That's boat framing and fence and room stuff for carrying down on the Labrador, and down the Straits, building up their fishing rooms you know. And oar pieces, you cut those long sticks in the winter, haul them out, and chop 'em in the spring o' the year, have them ready, and they'd sell 'em in the spring of the year.[9]

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[8]David Mills, "The Evolution of Folk Architecture in Trinity Bay," Newfoundland Quarterly, 69 (1972), 23.

[9]Tape 20(i), December 22, 1975.

By 1870, the older settlements at the mouth of the bay, like Old Perlican and Hant's Harbour, were over-populated, and all the better land, particularly that with water footage, had been claimed. In addition, local forest resources were diminished. The introduction of the cod trap after 1880 meant that the berths where the traps were located, were at a premium, and consequently many fishermen had to travel further afield, and settled in such communities as Green's Harbour.[10]

By 1871, Green's Harbour was clearly thriving, with Lovell describing it as:

> A large fishing settlement on south side of Trinity Bay, district of Trinity. The people are employed in shipbuilding and farming to some extent. The scenery around here is remarkably beautiful.[11]

McAlpine's Directory of 1870-1, shows that the surnames of the inhabitants are almost the same as those found today in the community, the only exception being the disappearance of Coish: Brace, Cooper, Coish, Crocker, March, Green, Harnum, Parsons, Penny, Reid, Rowe.[12]

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[10] David Mills, "The Evolution of Folk House Forms in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland" (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975), p. 25.

[11] Lovell's Gazetteer of British North America (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871).

[12] McAlpine's Maritime Provinces Directory, 1870-1 (Halifax: David McAlpine, 1871). Keith Matthews notes that the majority of these names are connected with the West of England, although there might also be links with Ireland, Scotland and

By 1921, the population had reached 665, but the Depression hit the community badly, and about forty people moved to Montreal where they worked as rough carpenters.

With the arrival of the American Base at Argentia in the Second World War, and with Confederation with Canada in 1949, more jobs were created, and today the community has regained some of its former prosperity.

Although there has been an increase in population, Rowe notes that there is a decrease in the number of young people staying in the community, and of eleven students in the graduating class of 1961, only one has made his home in Green's Harbour.[13]

Many people use Green's Harbour as a weekend or summer home while living the rest of the time in St. John's. There has been an increase in housebuilding in the community recently, much of it caused by the increased demand for rented property for people coming into the community for a short time.

There are several place names for local neighbourhoods which are called after the first settlers, including Pottle's Point, Crocker's Cove, Brace's Hill, Green's Hill, Cooper's Cove and Crocker's Cove. Crocker's Cove, which is

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the Channel Islands. He does not mention Coish. See Keith Matthews, "A 'Who was Who' of Families engaged in the Fishery and Settlement of Newfoundland, 1660-1840" (unpublished manuscript, St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971).

[13] Rowe, p. v.

mentioned frequently in this thesis, is separated from the rest of the community by a distance of about half a mile, and consists of fifteen houses.

3. Occupational Structure

Occupational pluralism was essential in the early days of the community, in order to maintain self-sufficiency. In the summer the men would fish and tend their gardens, and in the winter would work in the woods. The 1836 census returns for Green's Harbour illustrate this occupational pluralism, the six residents owning three fishing boats, cultivating half an acre of land which produced 75 bushels of potatoes annually.

The fishery would commence in May and would last until August or September. Generally, the men would work two to a boat, and in the old days would sail or row out to the nets or traps. On their return the men would split and salt the catch, and their families would usually "make" it, which involved spreading the fish individually to dry in the open air, taking them up each evening and spreading them again the next morning.[14] Very little fish was sold fresh; instead, it was lightly salted and sold to the local merchant.

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[14] For an excellent description of fishing technology, see James C. Faris, Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Community (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), pp. 215-235.

Generally, the inshore fishermen went out no further than three miles, but in the early days of this century, some would go across the bay on Monday and not return until the following Saturday. They went in "bullies," which were small fishing boats with a 20 foot keel, rigged with a driver, a foresail and a jib.

When men in Green's Harbour talk specifically of fish they mean cod, but other species were also caught including herring, capelin and salmon. In connection with salmon, one of the local place names for the cove separating Crocker's Cove from the rest of Green's Harbour, is Ice House Cove:

> In wintertime when the ponds were frozen, the people would . . . cut big chunks of ice out of the pond, and they would put it in this ice house. They'd put in a layer of sawdust, then they put in a layer of ice, and they'd cover that . . . . The house would be filled with ice and sawdust. The sawdust would I suppose, help keep in the cold, and the ice wouldn't melt. It would be there all summer, and the people who would buy the salmon would go to the icehouse, get out three or four chunks of ice . . . chip it with an axe, put the salmon into what we call a salmon box . . . and coat it with ice and ship it off.[15]

The census of 1891 indicates two important trends for the fishery for the first time, the cod trap and the Labrador fishery. The cod trap was an important technological change in fishing technique. Previously, fishing had been mostly by handlines, nets and seines. In 1891 there are 6 traps listed in Green's Harbour, and this increased to 14 in 1901.

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[15] Tape 26(ii), January 5, 1976.

In the heyday of the fishery the berths, where the traps were located, were drawn at the beginning of the season on a specific date, but later on, ownership of a berth depended on who claimed it first. Competition was intense, and after the introduction of engines to power the boats, some men would row out for a certain distance so as not to arouse suspicion, and would then turn on their engines and race to claim the desired berth.

The Newfoundland Labrador fishery arose in the nineteenth century, and most settlements on the Avalon participated in it. It commenced in July and lasted until October. It reached its peak between 1894 and 1908, and had all but disappeared by 1954.[16]

In 1891, one vessel of 55 tons is listed from Green's Harbour as going to the Labrador fishery, and five men were employed. Some went as sharemen:

> Probably this guy'd have this big boat, he'd go up there and catch her full of fish, you see, and er, salt it down, and bring it home and make it, you know, dry it, more or less. And some people go as sharemen eh, you'd get this guy'd probably own a schooner, he'd get probably half a share, and the guy was with 'im get a third you know, and another guy, all according to his expense you know.[17]

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[16] For historical background to the Labrador fishery, see E.R. Seary, G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin, The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland: An Ethno-Linguistic Study (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1968), pp. 29-33.

[17] Tape 1(i), October 15, 1974.

These schooners would generally have from four to six men on board, and occasionally a woman to serve as cook. Some of the Green's Harbour schooners were called "The Lucky Strike," "Buster Brown," and "The Banquet."

Several men of the community who were not well enough off to own their equipment, used to walk over to Harbour Grace each year to look for berths as crew men on the vessels belonging to Conception Bay merchants.

Both inshore and Labrador fisheries entered a period of crisis around Confederation. The old problems of the inshore fishery such as a dependence on outmoded technology, inadequate shore installations and under capitalisation, re-emerged and were made worse by the appearance of modern European deep water fishing fleets off the shore of Newfoundland and Labrador.[18] Seary, Story and Kirwin state:

> One of the first fruits of Confederation with Canada in 1949 was the destruction of the Labrador fishery. Newfoundland became part of the high cost dollar area, with its fishing industry requiring higher prices for a low grade product.[19]

The position in Labrador was made worse by the presence of foreign fleets on the Hamilton Banks between December and February, the spawning period for the fish.

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[18] William Rompkey, "Canada Has Spent over $300,000 on Newfoundland Fisheries," The Book of Newfoundland Vol. 6, ed. J.R. Smallwood (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1975), p. 328.

[19] Seary, Story and Kirwin, p. 33.

Long liners, which are medium sized boats often with electronic gear, were built in the community in the early sixties, but this has been discontinued. Today the fishery is carried out by six fishermen who own six rooms. The fish is sold unsalted or "fresh" to the local fish plant at Dildo, which employs a significant number of Green's Harbour residents, particularly in the summer.

The influence of the sea can be noticed in everyday conversation. You get "aboard" a car, and the head of the family is frequently referred to as "skipper." Jokes show the same influence:

> Feller said he wanted time off work to attend the birth of his child. His boss replied that as he hadn't been at the keel head, he wouldn't be at the launching.[20]

As well as fishing in the summer, a man would tend his garden and look after his animals. Potatoes were a staple part of the diet, and for a minimum of labour they provided an ample harvest. Furthermore, they required little ground, and produced more calories per acre than any other crop. Cabbages were another vegetable extensively grown in the community. Fruit was an important part of the diet, and plums, cherries, strawberries, currants and gooseberries were all grown. The keeping of livestock was important as a supply of meat and milk, and there were numerous cattle, pigs, horses and sheep.

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[20] From field diary, December 20, 1975.

There was considerable sharing of resources in the community:

> The only way to get any milk, you had to keep a cow in order to get milk. Any small child that was born and needed extra milk, they had to keep a cow. And whoever had a cow, would provide milk to the other woman . . . . As a rule, one person that killed a pig this week, and everyone of his neighbours would have a piece, and the next person'd kill one in a fortnight's time, and he'd pass it round, the same with a cow.[21]

People had to buy very little:

> You had your own sheep, your own goats that you could kill for Christmas time, and your own vegetables you had.[22]

Today, there are very few households that bother to cultivate land and the amount of animals is negligible.

Many of the fishermen in Green's Harbour would spend the winter months logging, and several would leave the community in November and go to the lumbercamps of Central Newfoundland, and not return until the spring. In addition, there were local saw mills in operation. By 1911 there were two saw mills in the community employing twenty people. These mills were an important part of the local economy and it is said that everyone from Heart's Delight to Sunnyside brought their logs to Drover's mill in Green's Harbour, to be cut. Schooners would regularly take lumber from the community to St. John's, and return with a load of freight.

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[21] Tape 15(i), June 12, 1975.

[22] Tape 2(i), October 30, 1974.

Today there are three small saw mills in the community.

Some of these mills were owned by the local merchants. The first merchant started in the community in 1874, and ten years later there were two. Throughout the community's history Cramm's and Drover's have been the principal merchants. Both are still in business, although Drover's crashed during the Depression along with several other stores.

The merchants outfitted a fisherman with supplies in the spring of the year, and at the end of the season purchased the fish. As in most Newfoundland communities, high prices were charged for supplies, and lower prices were paid for the fish. Some fishermen never broke even.[23]

Today the community has ten retail stores, and several are being converted into supermarkets. The store owners also operate the school buses, hire out heavy equipment for construction work and build houses. A considerable number of people are employed by the store owners in one or other of their activities.

4. Religion

In its early years, Green's Harbour was a predominantly Church of England settlement. The communities in the area

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[23]For a discussion of the merchants' role in a Newfoundland community, see Wilfred W. Wareham's Introduction to Victor Butler, The Little Nord Easter: Reminiscences of a Placentia Bayman (St. John's: MUNFLA, 1975), pp. 15-19.

had been very isolated from church influence, and when Archdeacon Wix visited New Harbour in 1835, he was told by Samuel Pretty, who had come over from Chard in Somerset:

> It is bad enough now sir: but then twelve months and twelve months would pass without our hearing a word of a book, or any talk about a church.[24]

The first Wesleyans had arrived in Green's Harbour by 1857, and in 1869 outnumbered the members of the Church of England, 132 to 81. Ever since that date the community has been Wesleyan/Methodist/United.

Winsor notes that Old Perlican was the first place in Trinity Bay to be influenced by Methodism.[25] At first the circuit included the whole of the south shore, but in 1851 a minister was appointed to Hant's Harbour, and in 1873 a new circuit headquarters was established in Green's Harbour, to cope with the increased movement of people from Hant's Harbour and Old Perlican.[26] The people who came from these places made Green's Harbour into a Methodist community.

A Wesleyan church is listed in the 1874 census, but is not referred to again until 1891. There was a Wesleyan school in operation from 1867, and at first it had an enrollment of fifty-two pupils, but this declined in the next few

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[24]Edward Wix, Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journey from February to August 1835 (London: Smith, Elder, 1836), p. 21.

[25]Naboth Winsor, "Methodism in Newfoundland, 1855-1884" (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970), p. 45.

[26]Ibid., p. 13.

years to thirty.[27]

The first Church of England church was dedicated on September 2, 1880, but a split seems to have developed, because in the 1884 census there is mentioned for the first (and last) time, the Reformed Church of England which had thirty-four members in Green's Harbour.[28] One of my

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[27] Journal of the House of Assembly, 1867-1870.

[28] According to Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (New York: Abingdon Press, 4th edition, 1965) the Reformed Episcopal Church was founded in New York City in 1873 by eight clergy and twelve laymen who had been priests and members of the Protestant Episcopal Church (the Church of England). The split was over the ritualism and ecclesiasticism of the church. By 1884 there were 637 members of the denomination in Newfoundland, with 399 in the Port de Grave area, and 222 in Trinity Bay. New Harbour and Green's Harbour had the largest membership in Trinity Bay. F.J. Adams in his "Address on the Occasion of the 84th anniversary of St. John's United Church of the New Harbour-Dildo Congregation," December 1, 1969, states that the Reformed Episcopal Church of New Harbour commenced in April of 1885, the minister holding the services in the Orange Hall. By 1887, the Rev. C.F. Hubbard, a Reformed Episcopal minister of English ancestry arrived and stayed in the area until 1895, travelling by land and boat to minister to the communities in the area, including Green's Harbour. The Reformed Church of New Harbour became part of the Green's Harbour Wesleyan Mission between 1896-7. Clearly, some of these dates conflict with the census, particularly in connection with the commencement of the church. According to A Year Book and Almanac of Newfoundland, 1892 (St. John's: J.M. Withers, 1892) there were ministers of the denomination in Clarke's Beach and New Harbour with a vacancy in Brigus. The only other reference I have seen concerning this denomination in Newfoundland is in C. Lench, Brigus Methodist Jubilee of the Opening of the Church 1875-1925 (Brigus, 1925), where it is stated that "for some time the Reformed Episcopal Church had a following, but after a few years dwindled away." (p. 30).

informants remembered being told that there had been a schism in the Church of England because of the presence of Christmas decorations in the church, but I have been unable to confirm this. Presumably the problem must have been solved by 1891, probably with the reformers joining the Methodists, who received a large increase in membership that year.

In 1891 there was both a Church of England and a Methodist school in the community, and ten years later, 79 children under fifteen were attending school, while 85 were not. The enrollment at the Methodist school in 1911 was 100 pupils, and at the Church of England school, 35 pupils.

By 1921, there were 480 Methodists and 183 members of the Church of England in Green's Harbour. Two events in the first two decades of the century caused a considerable change in the religious life of the community. The Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches of Canada combined to form the United Church of Canada in 1925. This apparently caused some problems in Green's Harbour between the diehard Methodists and those in favour of amalgamation. The situation had already been complicated by the introduction of the Daylight Saving Act in 1917, by John Anderson:

> There was a sort of split in the United Church over the time, what they call John Anderson's time, which was called the fast time, and the slow time . . . . "The time's not going to make the sun rise any earlier or come any faster, so we'll go by God's

time, and have nothing to do with John Anderson's," and they had a split in the church.[29]

Several members of the breakaway group started to attend meetings of the Salvation Army in Dildo, and eventually the Salvation Army opened a corps in Green's Harbour on August 7, 1930. The census figures for 1935 show that the Army obtained members from both United and Anglican congregations. In that year it had 105 members, the United Church had 369, and the Anglicans 120. By 1945 the Salvation Army was the only denomination still growing. Its first school had been opened in 1931, with between 25 and 30 pupils.

The old Methodist tradition is probably best maintained in the Salvation Army, with its encouragement of personal testimony, extempore prayer, chorus singing, and overt emotionalism. One of my informants who is a Salvationist, still describes himself as "an old Methodist," and in fact his father's christian names were John Wesley.

Religious attitudes in the community tended to be puritanical. Sunday was observed as a day apart, and one of my informants remembered that all work had to stop on Saturday night, even if a house was in the middle of being moved. He recalled walking in the front door and out the back of such a house on his way to church. Another informant caught a rabbit recently, but as it was a Sunday he was unable to bring it out of the woods, so he placed it in the

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[29] Tape 26(i), January 5, 1976.

hollow of a tree, and collected it the next day.

Gradually the influence of the church is weakening. The schools of the separate denominations are now integrated and centralised under the Avalon North Integrated School Board, although the Roman Catholics have a separate school system. Students from kindergarten to grade six attend the local elementary school which was built in 1969, while those in grade seven to nine go to the local junior high school, completed in 1963-64. Students in grades nine and ten are bussed into the regional high school in New Harbour.

Of the present church buildings in Green's Harbour today, the Anglican church, built in 1880 is still being used. The United Church has recently moved into a new building, just below the old church which had been completed in 1908. This old church is still standing, and the decision to move into another building aroused some local controversy. There are some tentative plans to convert it into a museum. The present Salvation Army Citadel was built in 1956.

In 1968, according to Rowe, the membership of the denominations was as follows: United Church, 530; Salvation Army, 250; Anglican Church, 100.[30] It should be pointed out that attendance at the churches rarely exceeds two figures today.

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[30] Rowe, p. 70.

5. Social Activities

The social activities which take place in Green's Harbour can be divided into the formal and the informal. Local organisations sponsor the formal activities, and the informal are usually traditional in nature. Music plays an important part in many of these activities, and I discuss the musical activities in later chapters.

An important centre for the social life of the community is the Orange Lodge.[31] The Orange Order first came to Green's Harbour in 1873 and had five members. With its ultra Protestant background and its stated loyalty to the British Crown, it appealed to those wanting to maintain ties with England. It was also an agency which united the Protestants who were often at loggerheads with one another. In the past it acted as a welfare organisation, and distributed sickness and death benefits.

In 1969, the Green's Harbour Orange Lodge had 383 members, making it the largest in the Trinity Bay South area, and confirming the community's reputation of being a predominantly Orange settlement. The present building was opened in 1901. An important activity the Lodge sponsors is

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[31] For a history of Orangeism in Newfoundland, see Elinor Senior, "The Origin and Political Activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland" (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959).

its brass band, which was first formed in the early years of this century, probably in 1909. As well as providing activity for the men, the Lodge also has a thriving womens' organization. The Orangemens' "time" and parade on St. Stephen's Day, are described in later chapters.

Another important organisation, particularly in the past, was the Society of United Fishermen.[32] This commenced in Green's Harbour in 1901, and like the Orange Lodge had its own brass band, which was formed in 1927. This later amalgamated with the Orange band during the Second World War, when members of both organisations were away fighting. The Fishermens' Lodge has declined in recent years, and in 1969 had only twenty-five members.

The most recent organisation to arrive in Green's Harbour is the Lions Club, whose charter was presented on June 7, 1974. There were twenty-five charter members on that occasion. Clearly some tensions are inevitable between it and the Orange Lodge, but they have been partially resolved by the election of a prominent Orangeman as the president of the Lions. The fruits of this cooperation were seen in the combined Santa Claus Parade in 1975. The Lions hold regular

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[32] The Society of United Fishermen was founded in 1873 in Heart's Content, although there had been a Heart's Content Fishermens' Society since 1862. See Melvin Rowe, I Have Touched the Greatest Ship: A Saga of Heart's Content (St. John's: Town Crier Publications, 1976), pp. 101-103.

dances, sponsor bingo sessions, and have built a childrens' playground in the community.

Three social activities of an informal type were janneying, bonfire night, and "scoffs." Janneying[33] took place from Boxing Day to Old Christmas Day (January 6), and took the form of house visits in disguise. If there was recognition the janney had to "uncover" and remove his disguise, and was then given some refreshment.

In Green's Harbour the janneys would often go round in groups of seven or eight. They would knock on a door and say, "Any janneys in tonight?" in a disguised voice. Their faces would be painted or masked, and the costumes would generally consist of a sheet or a blanket, and a few pillows to make the men look pregnant. Sometimes the disguise was more elaborate:

> One time . . . . he come to the house . . . and had a basket, and he had potato scraps in the basket, now he was dressed up like a pig . . . . Once, I forgets who it was, got married--he read the Matrimony and everything . . . he dressed up like the woman was getting married, and the husband was there too, and they had a minister picked out . . . dressed up.[34]

The tradition is dying out, although on New Year's Eve, 1975, I was in a house visited by two janneys in New Harbour. They

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[33] For a descriptive framework of mumming (and janneying), see H. Halpert, "A Typology of Mumming," in H. Halpert and G.M. Story eds. Christmas Mumming, pp. 34-61. An account of janneying in Conception Bay is provided by Clyde E. Williams, "Janneying in Coughlin Cove," in Christmas Mumming, pp. 208-215.

[34] Tape 2(ii), October 30, 1974.

were two girls dressed up as boys, one was dressed in a pink and white nylon sheet, and the other had on a white cotton sheet. Both had a belt, a flowerpot shaped hat, and a rough wooden staff. With this disguise, and their heads and faces covered, they frightened the eight year old girl of the household, and her mother had to let them in. Their names were soon guessed, they uncovered, and were given some candies.

The term "janney"[35] is used frequently to refer to someone who is dressed up to keep warm on a cold day:

> You'd go out in the snow in the wintertime, you had a scarf on your neck, and big pair of mits on, and a coat on, you'd say, "Boy, where are you going all janneyed up?."[36]

Bonfires are still lit in the community on bonfire night, on November 5. In England, November 5 is known as Guy Fawkes' night, but in Green's Harbour no mention is made of this. In the past it was a time when there was license to do mischief:

> Pretty strange things then, things that you'd be up before the court for now. I remember one time, some of the boys got together, and they took a man's hen house, hens and all, and burnt the whole issue. Another time they took a boat belonged to a man, and burnt it . . . . You'd have a big bonfire, stealing puncheons and barrels . . . and then usually it ended up with a big scoff we call it, cabbage, potatoes and everything.[37]

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[35]For a discussion of the term "janney," see J.D.A. Widdowson, "Mummering and Janneying: Some Explanatory Notes," in H. Halpert and G.M. Story, eds. Christmas Mumming, pp. 216-221.

[36]Tape 1(i), October 10, 1974.

[37]Tape 33 (i), May 5, 1976.

A scoff is a late night communal meal, consisting usually of pork or mutton, cabbages and potatoes. Although the biggest scoff would take place on November 5, there were several other scoffs throughout the year. Each individual at the scoff contributed some of the food, and this was often "stolen":[38]

> And you'd go round and steal a carrot here, and a carrot there, and a carrot somewhere else, and somebody else a head of cabbage, a turnip, and a few potatoes. If they didn't have it, they'd just go around stealing it.[39]

6. Communications and Recent Developments

In the days of the first settlers, travel had to be by boat, or walking along the landwash when the water was low. The Journal of the House of Assembly for 1843, notes that a road had been opened in 1836 or 1837 from Heart's Delight to New Harbour, but since that date no grants had been awarded to carry the work out, and furthermore, several bridges were required. By 1871 there was a serviceable road linking Heart's Content to New Harbour. Apparently, when the first road was built, compass bearings were taken from one high hill to another because the area was so heavily wooded.

The first weekly mail service in Green's Harbour was started in 1871, and in 1890 the first post office was opened.

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[38] For a discussion of scoffs, and the distinction between "bucking" and "stealing," see Faris, Cat Harbour, pp. 207-208.

[39] Tape 1(i), October 15, 1974.

A railway line connecting Heart's Content to Whitbourne was completed in 1914, but was mostly concerned with freight. The motor car made its first appearance in the community in 1916.

Electricity and the telephone came to Green's Harbour in 1930. A radio was quite a status symbol at the time, and people used to congregate to hear it, particularly to hear the war news.

The railway was taken up in the 1930's, and today a modern paved road runs along its old course, linking the community to the Trans-Canada Highway at Whitbourne.

Today the majority of homes have radio and television and a few have colour television. Both radio and television programmes are relayed from St. John's, and include two television networks--C.B.C. and C.T.V., and three radio stations--C.B.C., V.O.C.M. and C.J.O.N. The private commercial stations are preferred to the C.B.C.

One of the more hopeful signs in recent years has been the establishing of the Upper Trinity South Development Association. Its office is located in New Harbour, and its field worker lives in Green's Harbour. Already it has established a fish farm between Hopeall and Green's Harbour, where rainbow trout are being raised, and it is planned to develop the tourist potential of the area, with chalets, speed boats and a swimming pool. Tourists are already being attracted to the district by the Backside Pond Provincial Park, which is

just a short distance from Green's Harbour, and contains camping and picnic facilities.

7. Conclusion

After Confederation, family allowances, unemployment, and an enlarged pension, all became available to those living in the outports, and as a result the traditional economy was profoundly affected. No longer was it necessary to make ends meet by fishing and farming, as these benefits in Mannion's phrase, "provided a cushion in difficult times."[40] The volume of packaged goods coming on to the market also lessened the reliance on traditional subsistence methods. While the older generation frequently laments the passing of occupational pluralism and self-reliance, the young no longer seem interested in the tradition.

Increasingly, the people of Green's Harbour will have to initiate such schemes as tourist development and service industries, because the fishery on which the old way of life was built, is almost dead. This is a time of transition, and the process means making adjustments which are sometimes painful:

> When you think of those vessels, boats, you lose faith in nearly everything. For instance, I'm a truck driver, any bloody fool can drive a truck as far as I'm concerned, but it took men to sail boats . . . . A man who could build a boat, rig her and sail her, he was something

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[40] John Mannion, Point Lance in Transition: The Transformation of a Newfoundland Outport (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 49.

we don't have anymore . . . . There is no skill any more, you just get out on the road, and wherever the road leads, you go. But then, you had to trust to your instincts, wherever you made the boat go, she had to go. Now those sort of people had to make their living by their knowledge, and it's changed so much, it's frightening.[41]

[41] Tape 27(ii), January 5, 1976.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter describes the variety of music making found in Green's Harbour and the surrounding communities, in the present and in the past. I use the term "folk music" in its broadest sense, to mean the whole range of music making activities carried on among a group of people, or in a community, agreeing with Blacking's observation that "all music is structurally as well as functionally, folk music."[1] Such a survey should provide a basis for forming some conclusions as to the nature of musical change.

I have organised the chapter by describing the contexts in which the music is performed, and on the whole have proceeded from the old to the new. The contexts include Work and Leisure, "Times" and Dances, Parades, Concerts and Shows. I present some conclusions at the end of the chapter. Notes on the transcribed songs are found in Appendix A.

1. Work and Leisure

Ballads and Shanties were associated in the old days with work in the lumbercamps, and with the sea. Most people

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[1] Blacking, How Musical is Man?, p. xi.

in Green's Harbour refer to these today as the "old songs." During my field work I collected nine complete ballads, and fragments of five more. This does not include shanties, carols, the "Orangemens' Song" or more recent country music ballads. In order to give some idea of the most popular themes I have arranged the fourteen ballads according to Peacock's classification:[2]

Comic Ditties: "The Gill Pot"

Love Eulogies and Songs of Praise: "Erin's Green Shore"

Love Tragedy: "As Susie Strayed the Briny Beach"

Miscellaneous: "The Pot'ead Whale Drive," "Those Cruel Slavery Days"

Murder Ballads: "Young Monroe"

Sailors' Songs: "John Timmons," "The Martha Jane"

Tragic Sea Ballads: "The Ella M. Rudolph," "The Southern Cross"

War Songs: "The Dying Soldier," "The Dying Soldier's Mother" "The Kaiser's Dream," "The Texas Rangers."

Most of my informants learned these songs in the woods. During the winter months many men from the Trinity Bay communities would go to work in the lumbercamps of central Newfoundland, particularly in the Millertown area. Men from all parts of the island would work there, from Trinity Bay, Conception Bay, Bonavista Bay, Hermitage Bay and Notre Dame Bay.

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[2]Kenneth Peacock, Songs from the Newfoundland Outports (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1965), I, pp. vii-xv.

In the bunkhouse after a day's work, there would be some entertainment, and this would include story telling, gossip, card playing, step dancing and singing. Ballads would be sung in succession by different singers. It was a place where new songs were learned, and taken back to the home communities.

Walter, a man in his eighties now, only spent one year in the woods, but learned several songs while he was there. He is particularly fond of "old, sentimental songs," and he vividly recalls singing one of his favourites, "The Dying Soldier," in the lumbercamp:

> We had a wonderful crowd, they were nearly all, like I said from Musgrave Harbour, and Ladle Cove . . . and, er Ralph was a wonderful singer, he was singing all day long, he was the king . . . . His voice hollered all over the place, you know he was a wonderful singer. So we sung this one night, and I thought I heard nothing like it. And I used to go out, and I'd get in his bunk, and there the two of us'd lie down, and he'd sing it, well he had to sing it a few times.[3]

1. As the sun was setting in the west,
   and filled with lovely rays,
   Beneath the branches of the forest,
   a dying soldier lay,
   Beneath the branches of the forest,
   in a sovereign sunny sky,
   Far away from his old England home,
   they laid him down to die.

2. His friends they gathered round him,
   his comrades from the fight,
   The tears rolled down their manly cheeks,
   as they bid him all goodnight,

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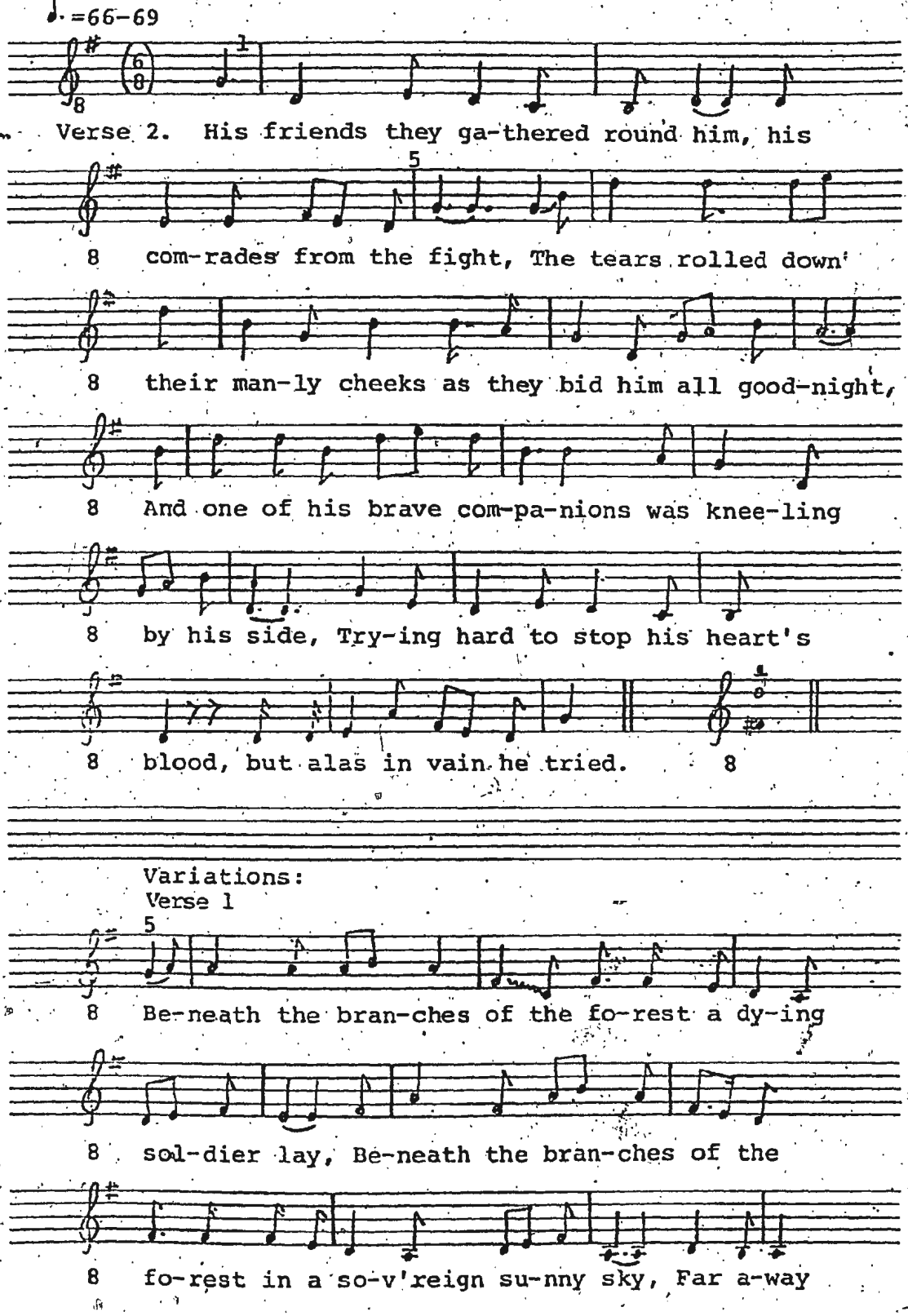
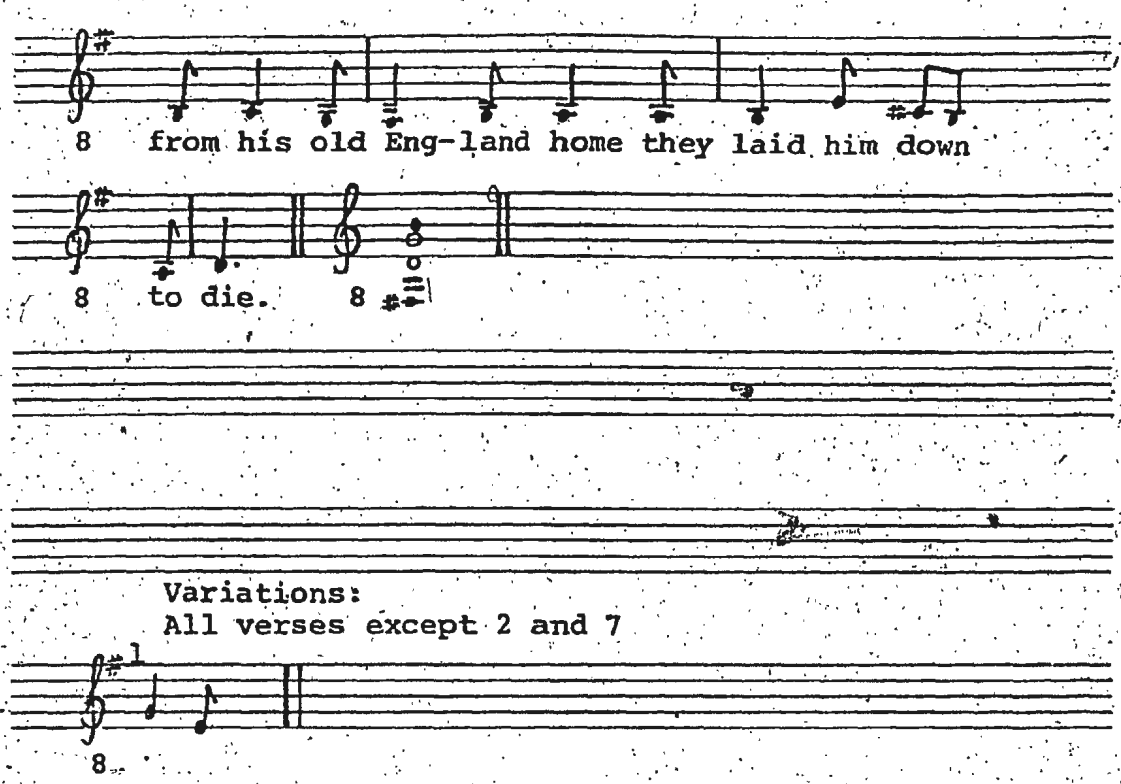
[3]Tape 7(i), June 9, 1975.

"The Dying Soldier"




8 from his old Eng-land home they laid him down
8 to die. 8
Variations:
All verses except 2 and 7
1
8

And one of his brave companions
was kneeling by his side,
Trying hard to stop his heart's blood,
but alas in vain he tried.

3. "Now comrades I am dying,
there's one thing I would say,
It's a story I would tell to you
as my spirit pass away,
It's down in our old England home,
beneath the pine tree shade,
There's one who waits my coming,
a broken hearted maid.

4. "She's a fair young girl my sister,
my joy and only pride,
She has been my joy through childhood,
for I have none beside,
I loved her as a brother,
and with a brotherly care,
I tried hard through grief and anguish,
her broken heart to cheer.

5. "When our country was in danger,
and called for volunteers,
She threw her arms around my neck
and bursting into tears
Said 'Go my dearest brother,
drive these strangers from our shore,
Though my heart it needs your presence,
but your country needs you more.'

6. "I'd no father, for he's lying
beneath the pale blue sea,
I'd no brothers, I'd no sisters,
there's only Nell and me,
I'd no mother, for she's sleeping
beneath the churchyard sod,
And its many and many a year ago,
since her spirit when to God."

7. The soldiers spoke together,
their voices seemed to fall,
"We will be to her as brothers . . . ."
[Words missing as tape ran out].

8. With his knapsack for a pillow,
his rifle lying by,
Far away from his old England home,
they laid him down to die,

With his knapsack for a pillow,
and his medal on his breast,
Far away from his old England home,
they laid him down to rest.

It was common in the old days, to sing songs along the road, particularly when returning home after a day's work, or a night out. Freeman, a man in his mid seventies, who now lives in Dildo, remembers that several people would open their windows just to hear him sing "The Kaiser's Dream," as he returned home at night. This is a song from the First World War, which he learned in the lumbercamps in Millertown.[4]

1. O when young Kaiser had a dream,
while resting in Berlin,
He saw the nations great and small,
all bowing down to him,
And he upon his kingly throne,
supported by his scales,
Gave orders to the nations all,
to rule them as he will.

2. He woke and start all making plans
to carry out his dream,
To rule the world with his (?)
with his great war machine,
"We have the men, we have the guns,"
says he, "we'll beat her down,
We'll beat them to the Indians,
and crush them to the ground."

3. "The first we'll start to Belgium,
all in a friendly way,
We'll drive them if it is possible,
if not we'll force our way.
And if they do oppose us,
we'll put them in a trance,
And with our mighty army,
we'll travel on to France.

4. "We'll crush the big French navy,
and Paris we will take,
We'll humble the French people,
their fate will be a stake,

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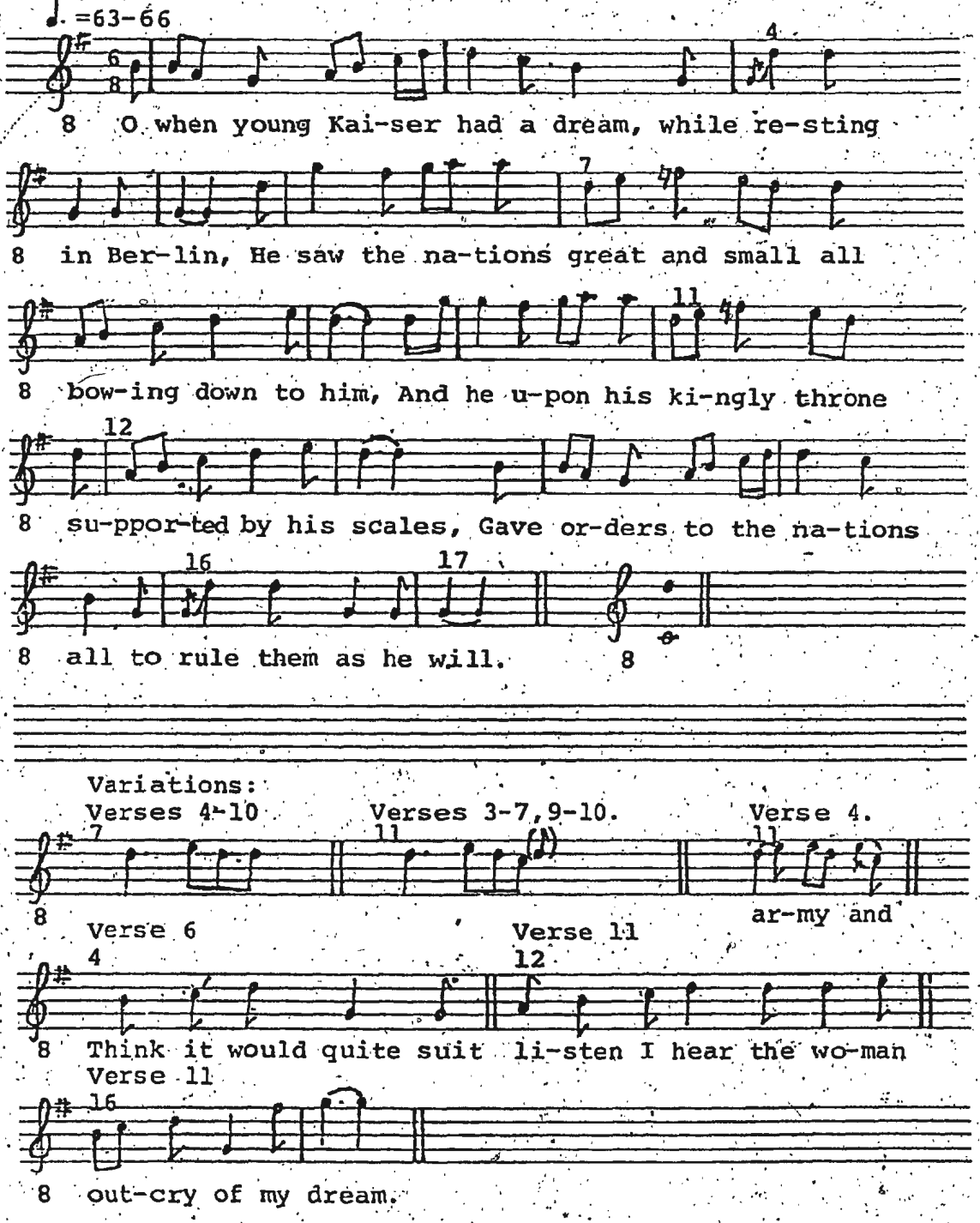
[4]Tape 25(i), December 30, 1975.

"The Kaiser's Dream"



We'll make her join our army,
and then we'll just turn round,
We'll march straight back on Russia,
and smite her to the ground.

5. "After we had smited Russia,
and humble all her pride,
I'll go to see my cousin,
across the oceans wide,
Long time I've been expecting,
to take a visit home,
I feel I should have Engerland,
and sit upon the throne.

6. "There is another little place,
I think it would quite suit me,
America, that country fair,
my son would like to see,
And I will just take care of it,
all in a friendly way,
And give it to my eldest son,
on his next birthday.

7. "So now my plans are finished,
I'll see if they'll come right,
Hello, (?) why Belgium
is already showing fight.
And Russia too and India,
'as lend them a helpin' hand,
And from the (Pacifirangement)
there comes that great Japan.

8. "They've driven us from Paris,
my dinner is getting cold,
My plans are knocked to pieces
by those Ally forces bold,
I'm afraid my dream has led me astray,
for I made a great mistake,
I'm afraid before 'tis finished,
my dear Berlin they'll take.

9. "And now my plans are finished,
I'll see if they'll come right,
Hello, (?) why Belgium
is already showing fight,
And Russia too, and India,
'as lend them a helpin' hand,
And from the (Pacifirangement),
there comes that great Japan.

10. "I (?) now my troops are killing
children by the score,
In towns and burning churches,
like the Huns in days of yore,
It's all I hear, this cry of our friends,
listen I hear the woman scream,
Blood, death and resurrection,
is the outcry of my dream."

Occasionally, songs are still made up in the style of the old ballads. Aubrey John Woodman from New Harbour, who is in his eighties, has written several such songs in the last twenty years. Some are humourous, others are love songs, but the most interesting, perhaps, is the "Pot'ead Song," which was made up about ten years ago. The pothead whales came into the bay every summer, and were driven into land by the noise made by men in boats rattling tin cans and buckets, and the whales were then lanced. There was a whaling station at South Dildo, on the site of the present fish plant, which organised the drive. The drive no longer takes place, as a result of the ten year moratorium on whaling that Canada has undertaken with other countries.

Aubrey John was the foreman of the drive, and he stresses that it could be quite a dangerous operation:

> The water in the harbour would be right red with blood you know, and if you was on shore and looking at the people lancing the pot'eads you'd say they'd all be drowned. Yes my son, water going everywhere, boats wapping up against each other and everything else, and pot'eads come striking the boat, and by God, you had to be pretty alert.[5]

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[5] Tape 14(i), June 11, 1975.

He used to sing the song[6] to the local men of the area:

1. It was August the tenth, nineteen fifty five,
The men gathered together like bees in a hive,
Some singing, some shouting, all feeling gay,
O there's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the dee.

2. O the pot'eads are coming, the whales are in sight,
The water is foaming out there in the bight,
Get ready your motor boats, make no delay,
O there's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the dee.

3. Now they're all in their boats, to their post every man,
There's some with old buckets, and more with tin cans,
The more noise you make, it's better they say,
O there's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the dee.

4. We got them all in the harbour, the boats riding high,
The water is raging, there's some high and dry,
The spectators on shore, it's dangerous they say,
There's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the dee.

5. Now there's Christopher Woodman, and this is a fact,
The wounded one passing, Chris jumped on its back,
The swish of its tail tipped him out on the spray,
O there's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the dee.

6. As for poor Samuel Higdon, and Herbert and Clyde
Their boat leaking badly with a hole in her side,
Bob and I gone repair, she'll be fixed right away,
There's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the dee.

7. Bill Woodman, mechanic on the old "Nellie Bell,"
He picked up nine pot'eads, he did very well,
He cleaned them and made eighty dollars that day,
O there's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the day.

8. Aubrey John Woodman is foreman, he's not very slack,
He's a short little man with a hump on his back,
In his boat "Nellie Bell," out there in the fray,
O there's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay,
To me right foll the daro, sing right foll the day.

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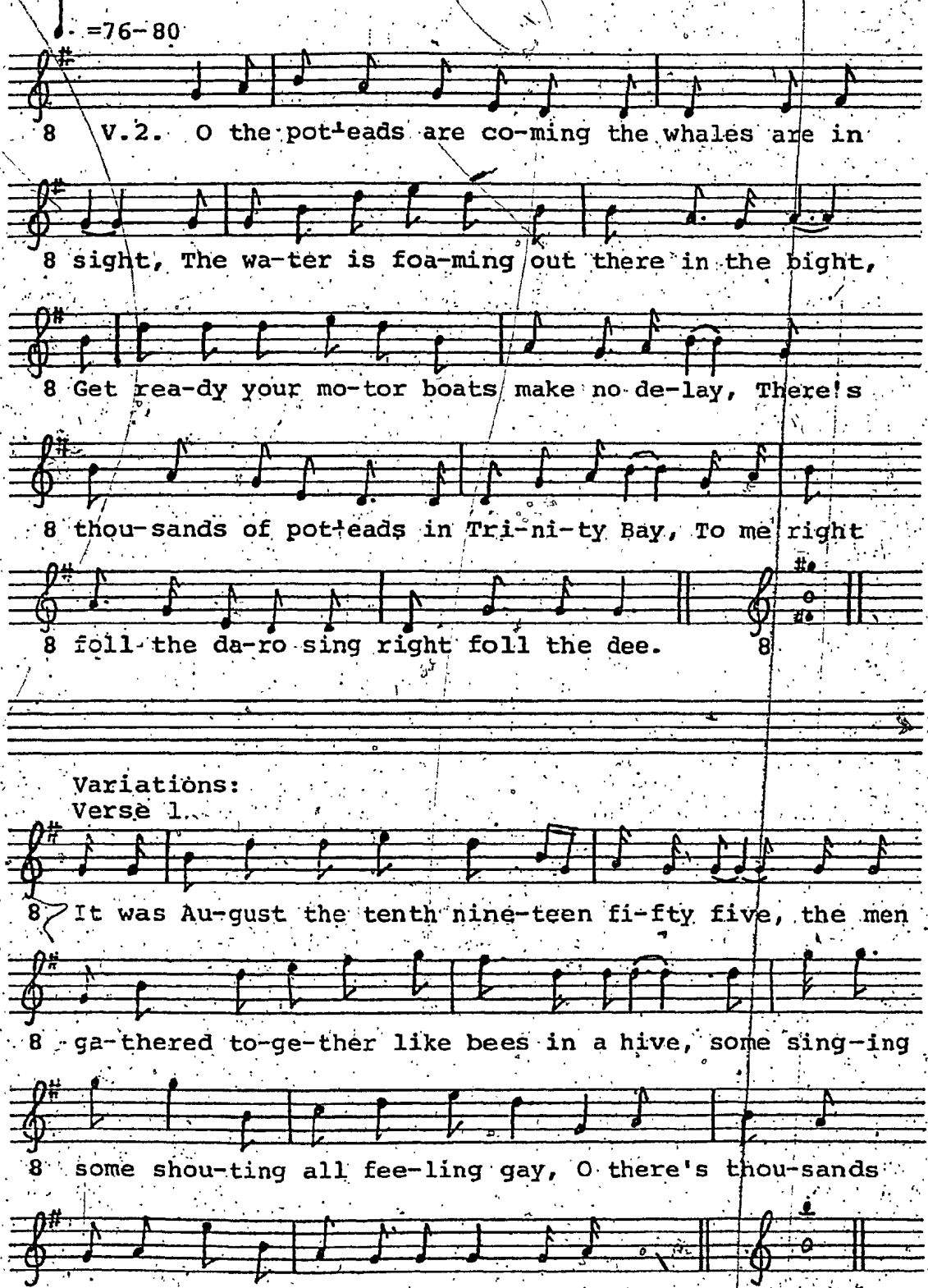
[6] Ibid.

"The Pot'ead Song"



9. Now the money is here, from Bill Barrett was sent,
We all got our money, to the very last cent,
Our foreman sees to it, all the (like) on her pay,
There's thousands of pot'eads in Trinity Bay. (spoken).

One of the popular occasions for singing would be on the squid jigging grounds in Green's Harbour. Squid is used for bait, and in the old days American banking schooners would come into the harbour and buy the catch from the local fishermen.

There might be up to twenty-five boats on the squid jigging ground. The men in the first boat to arrive would throw over the anchor, and then several others would tie up alongside. It was a social occasion, and the men would wander from boat to boat, chatting with friends. Generally, there would be a good singer amongst the crowd, and he would strike up a song and the rest would join in. The songs would include hymns and shanties, particularly popular were the 'down South' songs, like "Old Black Joe," "Seeing Nellie Home," and "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny." When the squid finally struck, someone would shout out "Squid-O," the singing stopped, and the men worked the jiggers.

Shanties were frequently sung for hauling up the boats. Occasionally the "Jolly Poker" is still heard sung by the Dildo men. On the last haul, everyone gives an added shove. It was sung to me, joined on with "Haul on the Bowline."[7]

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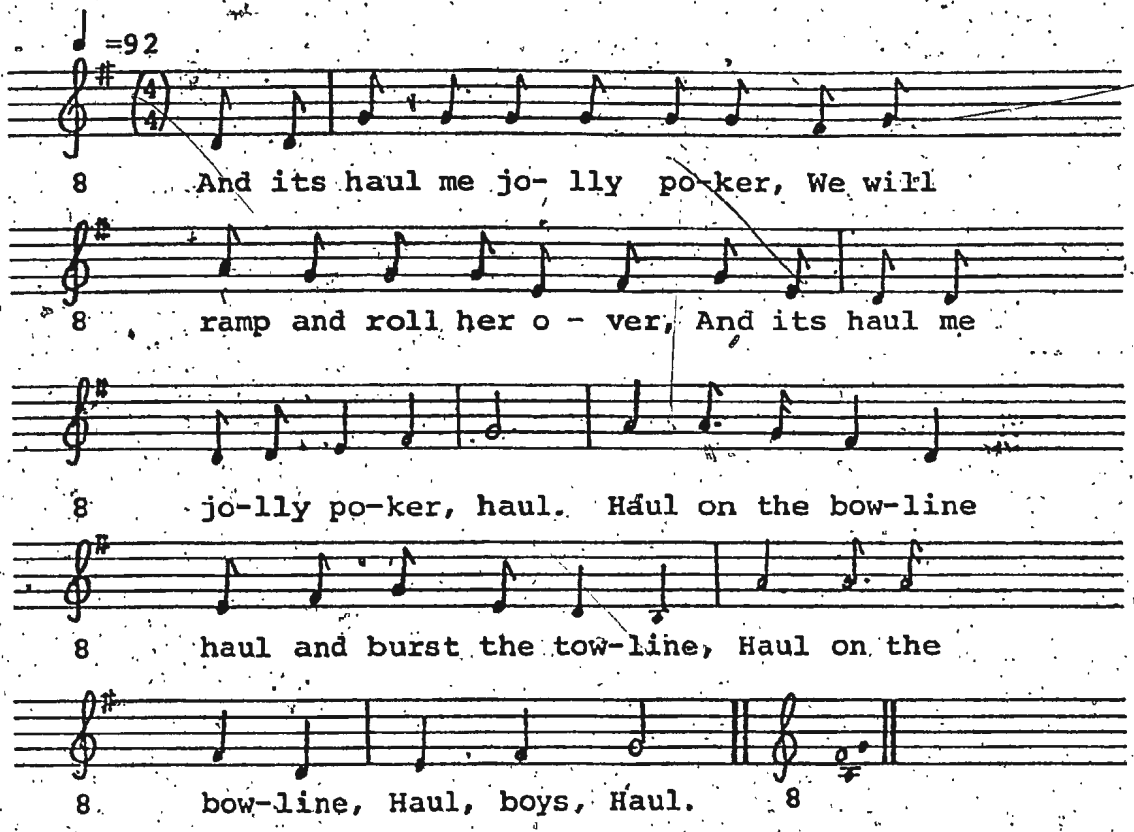
[7]Tape 6(i), June 9, 1975.

"Jolly Poker" and "Haul on the Bowline"



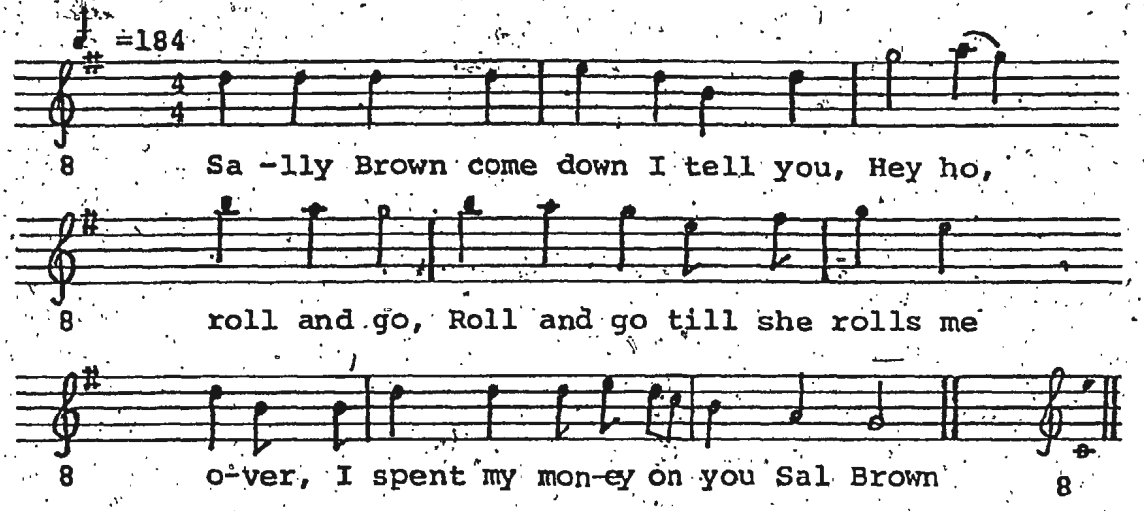
And it's Haul me jolly poker,
We will ramp and roll her over,
And it's Haul me jolly poker, haul.

Haul on the bowline
Haul and burst the tow line,
Haul on the bowline,
Haul, boys, Haul.

When the last vessel was launched a few years ago in New Harbour, she landed in the wrong place, and the anchor had to be hauled again. In working the windlass, the men sang a shanty. Such shanties are called by my informants, "walking songs." They would be regularly sung in Green's Harbour when vessels left for the Labrador fishery in the

summer. One of the most popular of these was "Sally Brown."[8]

"Sally Brown"



Sally Brown come down I tell you,
Hey ho, roll and go,
Roll and go till she rolls me over,
I spent my money on you Sal Brown.

Sally Brown is Bill Brown's daughter,
Hey ho, roll and go,
Roll and go till she rolls me over,
I spent my money on you Sal Brown.

Sally Brown got a ring boat navel,
Hey ho, roll and go,
Roll and go till she rolls me over,
I spent my money on you Sal Brown.

The "old songs" are now only sung infrequently, if at all, and most people in the area have forgotten them. This erosion of memory is sometimes quite deliberate, because the

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[8]Tape 14 (i), June 11, 1975.

"old songs" conflict with the priorities and values of evangelical Protestantism. They are associated with a secular outlook, and with the bunkhouse, card playing, dancing and swearing.[9] Not many of my informants were as explicit as Harold, a respected member of the community, who as a young man had known hundreds of songs, and had played for the local dances. In talking of the "old songs" he says:

> I haven't indulged in this kind of thing for a long time, must be forty or fifty years, since I sang songs. Yeah, I've changed from that type of life to another, and that's all forgotten . . . . I've changed my mind, my thought, and my being to other things you know, that's true, and this, you take, I don't indulge in this kind of thing at all, no way, shape or form, and in fact I've got no interest in it, it don't appeal, I don't think to me.[10]

With the advent of mechanisation there is little need for work songs, and television and radio have replaced the singing of long ballads. Today most music making in Green's Harbour takes place in the context of the "time" and the dance.

2. "Times" and Dances[11]

In the days of the first settlers, dancing was popular. One of the favourite dances in Green's Harbour was called

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[9] See MacEdward Leach's comments on the influence of Pentecostalism on his informants, in his Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1965), p. 8.

[10] Tape 33 (i), May 5, 1976.

[11] According to Wareham, The Little Nord Easter, a "time" refers to entertainment in a local hall, which usually

"Cover the Buckle," in which a broomstick was placed on the floor, and everyone had to dance around the stick. However, because of the strong influence of the Wesleyan Methodists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, dancing came to be frowned upon, and Green's Harbour was one of the last Trinity Bay communities to allow dances to be held in such buildings as school and church halls. The Salvation Army still discourages dancing.

This is not to say that there was no dancing in those years. There used to be house dances, which would take place in the long back porch, or in the kitchen. The mats would be taken up, the tables and chairs put outside, and if someone had a mouth organ or button accordion, they would play it, if not there would be some "chin music."

In the church run schools and halls in wintertime, there would be games called "Johnny Miller," "Catch the Third," and "Sir Roger." Apparently, the latter came to be forbidden because it was too much like a dance.[12]

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consists of a dance, preceded sometimes by another activity. It can also refer to a gathering in a house or in the forecastle of a vessel, and dancing usually takes place (p. 9). Faris in Cat Harbour is more specific and states that a "time" usually occurs seasonally, and is a situation of social licence (pp. 200-210). My informants used the term in Faris's sense, calling janneying, scoffs and the St. Stephen's Day dance and concert in the Orange Lodge, "times." They did not use the word when talking of the Lions Club dance.

[12]This is the equivalent of the American play-party, which consisted of singing games in which the dancers swung each other by the hand, or if permitted by the waist, with no music except their own singing. For church attitudes

The first public dance to be held in Green's Harbour was around fifty years ago in the Anglican school, which was to be the chief venue for the square dances. The Anglicans had no objection to dancing. On that occasion, the button accordion was played by Billy Simmons, the leader of the Orangemens' band. The dances included reels and quadrilles, and there were sixteen handed sets.

Sometimes a fiddle would provide the music for a dance, and on occasions a cornet would play, but usually it was the button accordion. A few men would "back up" the accordion player with paper and comb, and jews harps. In between breaks in the square dance, some men would dance a step dance. Some waltzes would also be played during the evening.

Some of the tunes played at a square dance included, "Road to the Isles," "The Banks of Newfoundland," "Cock o'th' North," "Soldier's Joy," "The Irish Washerwoman," and "Turkey in the Straw." Waltzes included "Let Me Call You Sweetheart," and "Over the Waves."

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towards this, see B. Botkin, The American Play-Party Song (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963, first published 1937), pp. 20-24. For an eye witness account in Newfoundland, see Josiah Stanford, Fifty Years of My Life (Ilfracombe: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1950), which is a description of life in Grates Cove, Trinity Bay. In connection with the fishermens' parade on New Year's Day, 1913, Stanford states: "The concert ended at 10:30 p.m. Afterwards, the hall was reopened as usual for the young people to enjoy themselves in rings and games until the morning" (p. 33).

The seasoned accordion player would often sing the slang words to himself that were associated with the tune, although he would never sing them in public. For example, with "Cock o'th'North" it would be,

> Chase me Charlie, I got barley
> Up the leg o' my drawers.[13]

For "Road to the Isles,"

> She's a great big son of a bitch,
> Twice as big as mine,
> O Nellie hold your belly close to mine.
>
> She had hair upon her belly,
> Like the branches on a pine,
> O Nellie hold your belly close to mine.[14]

There were a few songs that the whole dancing crowd would sing, and a particular favourite was "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," which would be played very fast.

Most halls in the different communities possessed their own accordions, which had to stand up to some rough treatment. Because of this, they would only last a few years. For the accordion player's benefit a hat would be passed round during the dance, so that people could contribute towards paying him for his night's work. Aubrey John Woodman was the main accordion player in New Harbour, and his average pay for a night would be $5.00, although the last dance he played for provided him with twice that amount. It was a

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[13] Tape 5(i), June 9, 1975.

[14] Ibid.

hard night's work, as the dance usually lasted from 9:00 p.m. to 2:00 a.m. He would be relieved for short periods by other players.

The button accordion was by far the most popular instrument played at dances, although the "melodion," a simpler form of the button accordion was also used. Playing the accordion gave added status to a young man, and consequently an accordion player had no trouble in picking up young girls. As one of my informants said, "You had it made for the rest of the voyage."[15]

Informal dances were sometimes held out on the road which passes through Green's Harbour, with anything between twenty and fifty young people taking part. It would be a general dance, with some individual step dancing as well. The mouth organ was usually played for such an occasion, particularly in winter when the accordionist's fingers were liable to freeze.

Square dances gradually declined in popularity and the last one to be held in Green's Harbour was about fifteen years ago. However, its influence still persists. I was present at a local school barbecue held for teachers. Country music was relayed over a speaker from a record player, and there was some dancing. When we went outside to barbecue the steaks, two men got out their accordions and serenaded the

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[15]Tape 14(ii), June 9, 1975.

crowd. After we had eaten, an informal dance started with a smaller crowd, and the music was provided by the two accordion players, and myself on piano. We played the traditional jigs and reels and a square dance developed. Towards the end of the evening there was a mock, old fashioned revival style meeting, with one man giving a testimony, another kneeling down at the penitent form, with the rest of the people interjecting "amens" and "hallelujahs." The dance continued, and the music included some up tempo hymns, such as "In the Sweet By and By" and "O Boundless Salvation."

The most widely attended dances these days are those sponsored by the Lions Club. I attended one in the recently built Lions Hall in New Harbour, which was attended by Lions and their guests from Norman's Cove, Whitbourne, New Harbour and Green's Harbour. I arrived at 9:15 p.m. and long tables had been set out, and couples sat together in groups. At first the atmosphere was rather formal, and some people kept their coats on. By 9:30 the band, which consisted of three players--two guitarists and a drummer--was on stage. The leader of the band played guitar, doubled on accordion, and was the singer. For the first few numbers no one danced, but gradually the atmosphere thawed, especially when the accordion started to play. The tunes were a mixture of country, rock'n' roll and traditional material. A sample I noted included "Leroy Brown," "Let's Twist Again," "That Someone is You,"

and "Road to the Isles."

After the second interval, sandwiches which had been made by the wives of the Lions members were served. Then the King Lion announced that the different communities represented should identify themselves by coming on to the stage, and singing a song. The Green's Harbour, New Harbour and Whitbourne contingents respectively sang "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," "She'll be Coming Round the Mountain" and "On Top of Old Smokey." Norman's Cove was represented by an elderly and respected merchant who sang the ballad, "The Ella M. Rudolph."[16]

1. Attention all ye fishermen,
   and toilers of the sea,
   While I relate those lines to you,
   of an awful tragedy,
   Which leaves so many families
   in sorrows to bewail,
   The loss of sons and husbands,
   caused by the dreadful gale.

2. The "Rudolph" was a vessel,
   and a clever sea boat too,
   The skipper's name was Blackwood,
   and eight composed her crew,
   A female also was on board,
   so gaily and bright,
   She with the rest did meet her doom,
   on that sad fatal night.

3. On the eighth day of December,
   the "Rudolph" left the town,
   Full load of general cargo
   for Port Nelson she was bound,
   With a gentle breeze, a south west wind,
   as she did sail along,
   The sky looked thick and heavy,
   and night was coming on.

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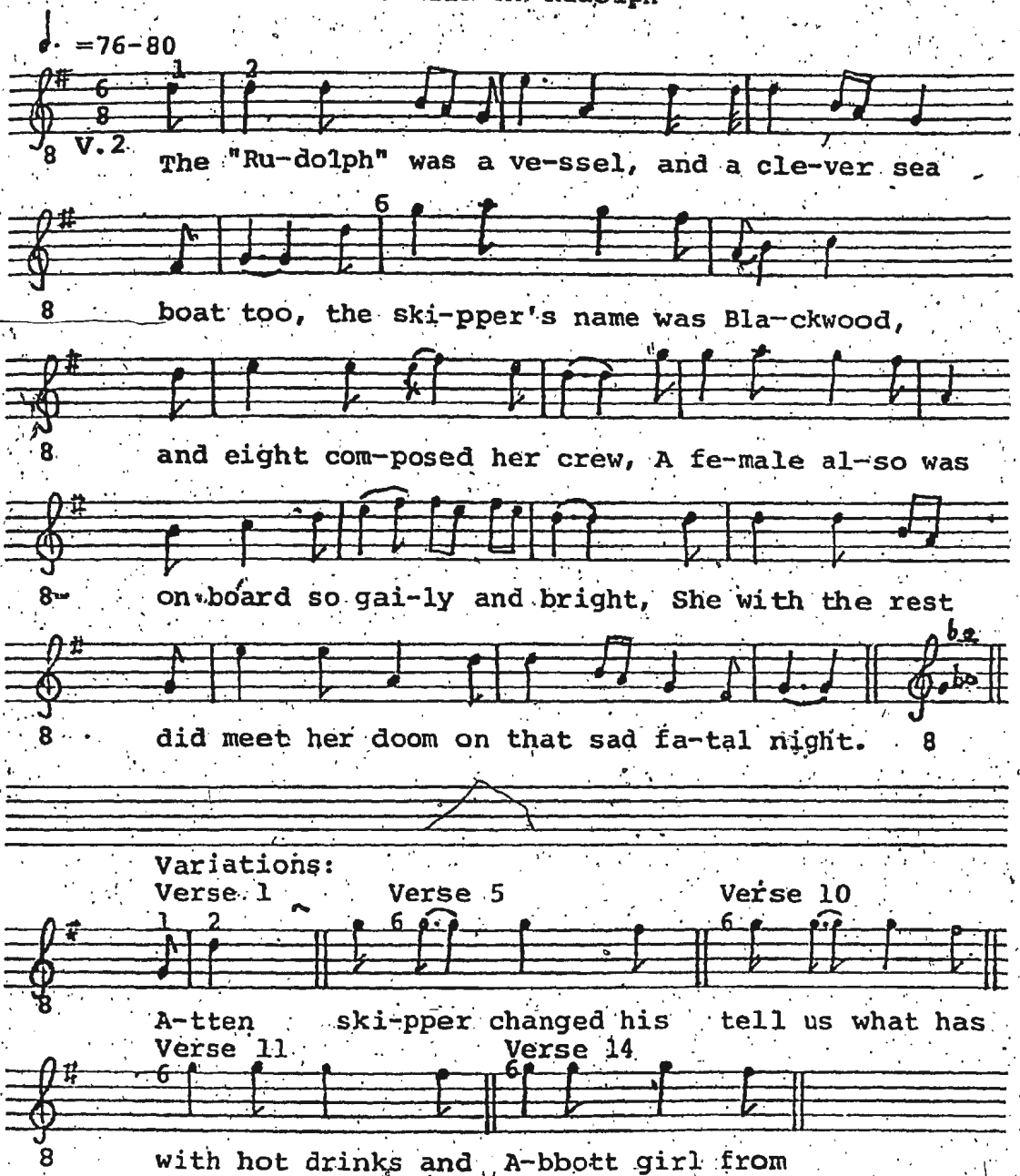
[16]Tape 19(i), October 21, 1975.

"The Ella M. Rudolph"



4. At five o'clock that evening,
through the tickle she did pass,
While threatenings of a violent storm
was showing by the glass,
When from south east the wind did veer,
with storms all through the night,
When the skipper's intention was to try
and reach Catalina light.

5. Not very far out in the bay,
the schooner she did reach,
When the skipper changed his course again
from north unto northeast,
Thinking that she would round the cape,
reach Bonavista Bay,
All under her foresail and jumbo,
unfortunately made leeway.

6. Eight fine strong men, this very night,
upon her deck did stand,
With eager minds and piercing eyes,
all on the lookout for land,
When the wind blew strong and the seas ran high,
o what a terrible plight,
When the "Ella M. Rudolph" end her day,
on Catalina shore that night.

7. The vessel scarcely struck the rocks,
before covered with the waves,
All of her crew except one man,
did meet a watery grave,
This poor young chap jumped overboard,
mid blinding snow and drift,
By the guiding hand of Providence,
got hurled up in the cliff.

8. He went his way up in the cliff,
mid blinding sleet and snow,
O'er mountains, fields and valleys
not knowing where to go,
To look for hospitality
and comforts for the night,
When to his surprise before his eyes,
saw Little Catalina lie.

9. It was early in the morning,
'twas at the hour of four,
After eight long hours of travelling,
reached Levi Dalton's door,
Who kindly answered to his knock,
and sad the sight did see,
A lad standing there with his oilskins on,
a miracle from the sea.

10. "Come in, come in, my lad, come in,"
this man did kindly say,
"And tell us what has happened,
and how you come this way."
The boy was so exhausted,
and all that he did say,
"A schooner lost, and all her crew,
not very far away."

11. Now at this kindly woman's,
this poor lad did reside,
And with hot drinks and clothing warm,
for him she soon provide,
And after rest and medical aid,
a story told anew,
The sad, sad news of the "Rudolph,"
and the loss of all her crew.

12. This man soon told his neighbours,
and soon the news was spread,
And then before so very long,
was rising from their beds,
With ropes and gaffes and lanterns too,
on a night so dark and drear,
And all the path was trimmed with men,
for Brook Cove they did steer.

13. And as they arrived upon the scene,
and sadly heard no sound,
They searched with all endeavours,
but no creature could be found,
And as the dawning broke again,
a sadly sight did see,
To see a body washed ashore
upon the heavy wave.

14. This chanced to be a female,
who once so gay (?)
An Abbott girl from Hare Bay,
whose name was Mary Jane,
And all the kind and willing hands
her body did prepare,
And sent her along with her burial rights,
to her mother's home so dear.

15. Not many days had passed away,
when those men were on the spot,
And after days of toiling,
five bodies more they got,

And now they're resting in their graves
beneath the churchyard sod,
And their souls has fled to their place of rest,
neath the Paradise of God.

16. And now my friends and comrades,
I will tell you what to do,
Let us not forget our widows,
nor the little orphans too,
Who through this great disaster
left fatherless in their homes,
For the Lord knows what is best,
and His will must be done.

About half way through this lengthy ballad the audience started to become restless, the lights of the hall were turned on and off, there were catcalls and jeers, and as a result the singer was unable to complete his song. When I spoke to him afterwards, he said that he thought it very important that people should hear songs that are true. He had been in the same storm as the "Ella M. Rudolph," but had put into Trinity.

The reaction of one of the organisers was that such a long song took away from the band's time on stage, for which the Lions were paying. The band leader afterwards told me,

> To you it's probably something new, but we've heard it before eh? Every time we go to a Lions Club dance or function, he probably gets up and sings all the time. That's his thing you know, and the song's so long, you'd probably be all night trying to hear it, you know. It's a hell of a length of a song, but he knows what he's doing though.[17]

Clearly, the reaction of the audience at the dance demonstrated that the singing of such a ballad was no longer appropriate for such an occasion. It is significant that the Lions Club

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[17] Tape 18(i), October 21, 1975.

dance was not called a "time," where the singing of the ballad would probably have been better received.

The Orangemens' "time" on December 26, 1975, had a very different atmosphere from the Lions Dance, with a complete cross section of the community present. It took place in the Green's Harbour Orange Lodge, and started with a "feed." Most of the women had brought along a "Jiggs Dinner," which consists of salt beef, salt pork, turnip, carrots, cabbage and potatoes, all boiled in one pot. Others had made cookies and cakes for the occasion. We sat at long tables, and the meal was served between 6:00 and 9:00 p.m. People wandered in and out of the dining area apparently at random.

The dining area was connected to the main hall. In front of this there was a stage, and around the sides were benches. Over the porch was a balcony, and a drum was suspended from the ceiling. On the walls were pictures of former English monarchs, including a prominent one of King William at the Battle of the Boyne.

At 7:30 p.m. the brass band selections commenced. I volunteered to join in, and was given a trumpet to play. As well as five trumpets, there were an alto horn, a baritone, a euphonium and two basses, as well as a bass drum and snare drum. The two drummers were on the floor of the hall, facing the band which was on the platform. Before each tune, the bass drummer would rise from his chair, give the preliminary beats on the drum, and the band would play.

The drumming style was distinctive.[18] The drum sticks, called "mallets" by my informants, were twirled in a circular motion on each side, then the middle of the drumhead was struck. The "mallets" then crossed over to the opposite side and struck the drumhead again. The drummer twirled them above his head before they arrived at their original position.

The tunes were played from the Salvation Army Tune Book, and each was played twice.[19] A few of the members of the band were unable to read music, and the valve fingering for each note had to be written underneath the tunes. The more popular tunes already had this fingering written in, but others had to be supplied just before playing them. Some of the playing was improvised, particularly by the bass players

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[18] For a description of the importance laid on drumming by Orangemen, see the booklet by Samuel B. Charters accompanying The Orangemen of Ulster Folkways FW 3003, 1961.

[19] Through various contacts the Orange Lodge had been able to obtain The Salvation Army Tune Book (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1928), although it is usually restricted for use inside the Salvation Army. Other books had also been purchased, and favourite tunes from these included "The British Grenadiers," "The Wearing of the Green," "The Boys of the Old Brigade." The Salvation Army Tune Book is reckoned to be the best because of its flexibility, having tunes for parades, funerals and church services. I noted the following tunes played at the Orangemens' "time," together with the number from the tune book: "Oh Turn Ye" ("Adeste Fideles" (362)); "Ere the Sun Goes Down" (446); "Deep Harmony" (545); "Winchester Old" (63); "Onward Christian Soldiers" (379); "Ernan" (38); "Anything for Jesus" (378); "They'll Sing a Welcome Home" (89); "My Jesus I Love Thee" (340).

who favoured tunes with elaborate bass runs which they could embellish.

The band played for three hours and the audience stood or sat, and chatted casually. There was sporadic applause for the band selections. A few men had had too much to drink, although no alcohol is served in the lodge. After the band had played, the traditional carols were sung; I discuss these in a later chapter.

At 11:00 p.m. the dance started, and the band included an accordion, several guitars and drums. It was called the Avalon Showband, and its members were from Green's Harbour. Children stayed for the first part of the dance, but remained mostly in the balcony. The older people sat on benches around the hall. The whole event was far more informal than the Lions Club dance.

In addition to such formal music making occasions, there is frequently some music making at more informal "times," particularly at Christmas. The songs are usually varied in style, and at one such party at Christmas, I noted that beside the traditional carols, the songs included "Twenty-one Years," "Why Me Lord?," "Cock o'th'North," "Jingle Bells," "We Shall not be Moved," and "How Great Thou Art."[20] Two accordions were used on this occasion, and the eclectic nature of the repertoire will be noted, ranging from traditional instrumental

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[20] Tape 16(i), December, 1974.

tunes, to hymns and country music.

3. Parades

Parades have always been popular in Green's Harbour. Most take place at Christmas time. An exception is the early morning march on Easter Day by the Salvation Army, when the band sets off at 6:00 a.m. playing the well-known Easter hymns.[21]

The most recent of these is the Santa Claus Parade, which was held in Green's Harbour for the first time in December, 1975. It was sponsored jointly by the Lions and the Orange Order, and consisted of fifteen floats, some of which had been prepared with considerable skill. Prizes were awarded, and the winner was a representation of a stage head, complete with ropes and twine, splitting table and boat. Other winning entries included the Old Woman in the Shoe, and a Fire Truck. There was no live music on the parade, instead it was relayed over loudspeakers. There was a dance after the parade.

The main annual parade in the community, however, is that of the Orangemen on St. Stephen's Day, which is the day after Christmas Day.[22] About forty people assembled at the

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[21]This is a Salvation Army tradition in England, and in other Newfoundland communities.

[22]This transference of the July 12 parade celebrating the Battle of the Boyne is probably unique to Newfoundland, and was caused because the July parade conflicted with the

lodge on December 26, 1975, on a bitterly cold morning, and at 10:45, the procession started on its way. Flags led the march, and included the Maple Leaf, the Union Jack, one which had emblazoned across it the words associated with the Battle of the Boyne--"No Surrender"-- and, lastly, the flag of the Black Preceptory, one of the orders of the Orange Society. Then came a man carrying the Bible, which was resting on a stand that was hung around his neck. The band was next, followed by women, children and men, in that order.

The procession stopped when it arrived at the Anglican church. Men held two swords over the church door, while the Orangemen filed in. Women and children entered first, then the men, and finally the band. Inside the church, everyone stood in their pews facing the door, until all had entered. They turned round, and sat down. On one side of the church was all men, and on the other were women, children, teenagers and strangers. All members of the Order were wearing its insignia. The service was conducted by the minister, and followed the order of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer. The singing was accompanied by the harmonium,

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height of the inshore fishery and the Labrador voyage. See G.M. Story, "Mummers in Newfoundland History," in Halpert and Story, eds. Christmas Mumming, pp. 181-182. Story makes the interesting observation that these parades can be considered to be a transference from the public procession associated with adult mumming, which had fallen into disrepute in the 1860's (p. 181). For several descriptions of the parades of the S.U.F. and the Orange Order in the early years of this century in Grates Cove, Trinity Bay, see Stansford, Fifty Years of My Life, pp. 33, 45, 69-73, 111.

and included well known carols like "While Shepherds Watched" and "O Come All Ye Faithful." After the service, the parade reassembled outside the church, but because it was so cold did not march right round the harbour, but made a short detour and returned to the lodge. Tunes played on the march included "Fight the Good Fight" and "Onward Christian Soldiers."

In the old days, the Orange Parade would march from point to point. One year it would start from the lodge, go to Pottle's Point, return, stop at the church, then go to Crocker's Cove, and return from there to the lodge. Another year, it would go to Crocker's Cove first. A feature was that the church was never passed, and a special service was always held. Frequently, a member of the Young Britons, a youth organisation of the Orange Order, would be placed on a white horse at the head of the parade to represent King William. People would fire off their rifles, and children would let off caps, as the parade passed.

There used to be songs and recitations which were sung or recited on the day of the parade. I managed to record a fragment of the "Orangemens' Alphabet," which was recited to me.[23]

A is for the Ark with the six priests gathered round,
And the strong walls of Jericho came crashing to the ground,
B is for the Boyne, in Ireland . . .
C is for the covering of which the ark was made,

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[23]Tape 27 (ii), January 5, 1976.

In badger skin and goats hair, by handy workmen laid,
D stands for Derry, in Ireland it is found,
It never has been conquered and it's still an
Orange town.

The following song, which I call the "Orangemens' Song" was sung to parades in the past. My informant sang me the first verse, and recited the rest.[24]

1. Some of my weary moments,
I prone to solitude,
I meditate on bygone days
when no one dare intrude,
One evening as I rambled forth,
I think 'twas in July,
I looked, and lo a rainbow,
it stood proudly arched on high.

2. I stopped awhile and gazed
at which God himself had raised,
A stranger smote me on the breast,
and asked me why I gazed.
He said, "Because it called to mind
the glorious arch I'd seen,
When travelling forth from Egypt's plains,
pray know you what I mean?"

3. "Ah yes" said he, "and I perceive
you've been a traveller too,
And gladly would I have you tell
the danger you came through,
Come sit you down and tell me how
you were induced to tread,
That dark and stormy road
that fills the heart with dread."

4. I first began and told him,
I was loaded well within,
I was loaded with my staff in hand,
my journey to begin,
Meanwhile, my guides informed me,
I would lay my cash aside,
For on my journey all my wants
for me they would provide.

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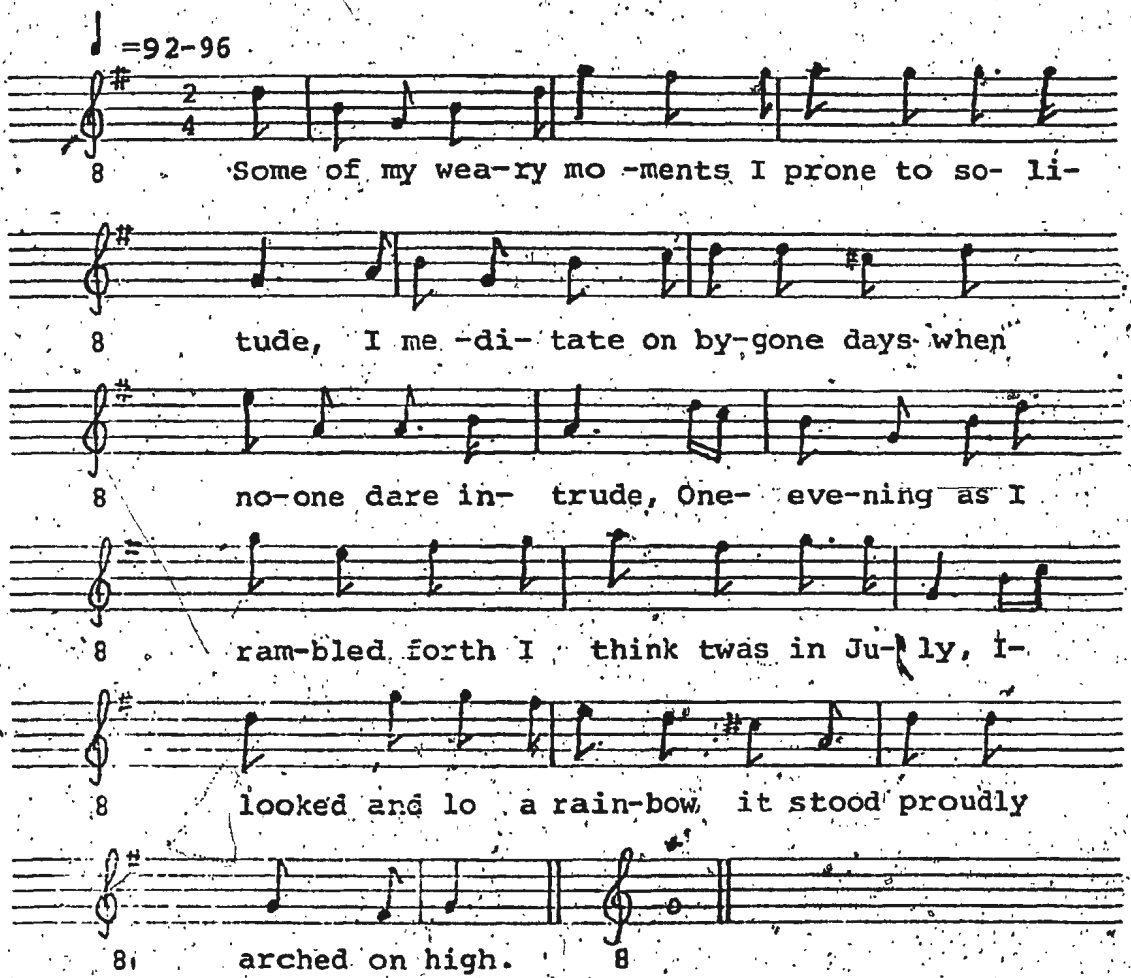
[24] Tape 33 (i), May 5, 1976.

"Orangemens' Song"



5. I hadn't travelled very far,
when across my way was cast,
A barrier, which without my guides,
I never could have passed,
I asked and when I asked, received,
I sought and found it too,
I knocked and got admission,
and they boldly led me through.

6. A sharp salute I then received,
which made me backward start,
And the sight (preparing) was enough
to shake the stoutest heart,
Then they led me through the wilderness,
their secrets to complete,
When at each step great rocks they had
assault my naked feet.

7. Three mighty falls I then received,
the heaven with thunder rang,
The vivid lightning round me flashed,
I was by serpents stung,
I mounted Jacob's ladder next,
and Jordan's streams crossed o'er,
Right where the priest, twelve mystery stones
from off the bottom bore.

8. Three mighty lights I then perceived,
which gave me much surprise,
Grim death in all its horrors
appeared before my eyes.
My heart is sank within me
(?) quickly sees,
Suspended high (beneath) the rest,
that glorious eight thirteen.

9. For to conclude and finish,
I have no more to say,
The Arch is growing brighter,
and surer day by day,
And may your love be like that Arch,
when pressed it come more strong,
May no Egyptian be allowed
to do a brother wrong.

Each community in the surrounding area would have a day set apart for the Orangemens' Parade during the Christmas season. The Orangemen would parade in Green's Harbour

on St. Stephen's Day, in Cavendish on Old Year's Day, and in New Harbour on Old Christmas Day. The Society of United Fishermen would also hold parades in these communities. This was an important means whereby inhabitants from different communities up and down the shore, could meet one another.

4. Concerts and Shows

Increasingly, the music making in the Trinity Bay South area is becoming more formal and strictly organised. An adult Glee Club has been recently established in New Harbour, and is open to members of local communities. It has a membership of between twenty-five and thirty, and gave its first concert in 1975, and competed in the Kiwanis' Music Festival in Carbonear.

Several musical shows have been staged in Green's Harbour, including a local school production of "Oliver," and an ambitious adult production of the American musical, "Calamity Jane," which ran for five nights, and attracted capacity crowds. Both "Calamity Jane" and the adult Glee Club are partially sponsored by the Lions Club.

5. Summary

As the contextual situations change, so does the music. I found it difficult to collect the "old songs" partly because they are no longer needed to be sung in the work situation, either in the woods or at the fishery, and

partly because they are consciously rejected by both singers and audiences. When an old ballad is sung out of context, as it was at the Lions Club dance, it appears anomalous and disturbing to the crowd.

Although parades are not as numerous as they were, they are still popular. The traditional parades of the Orangemen, Fishermen, and the Salvation Army had a partly religious function, but in the recently introduced Santa Claus Parade this was absent. Another notable difference was that the Santa Claus Parade had no live music.

Entertainment in the community is becoming increasingly more highly organised, and in a sense, more restricted and specialised. The Lions Club dance is predominantly for dancing, whereas the Orangemens' "time" included a cooked meal, a band concert, carol singing, and a dance. The ambitious musical shows that are becoming increasingly popular are another indicator of the trend towards more highly organised entertainment.

On the other hand, certain traditional, informal music making flourishes in the community and the surrounding areas, in particular the Christmas Carolling, which I discuss in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER IV

"WE INVITE YOU ALL TO COME ALONG": THE CHRISTMAS CAROLLING TRADITION OF TRINITY BAY

On Christmas Eve, in almost every community of the Trinity Bay South area between Heart's Delight and Norman's Cove, there was a tradition of carolling on Christmas Eve. In most communities it still persists. It has been in existence for as long as anyone can remember, and it is taken for granted that the carols came over from England with the first settlers, probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

This chapter discusses the history of the carol and the carolling tradition in England and Wales, which leads into an account of the Trinity Bay tradition. I then focus on the limited repertoire of traditional carols sung in the area, and discuss the tunes and texts. This is followed by an account of the distinctive ways in which some of the communities have adapted the tradition to suit their own needs, and this involves the nature of the repertoire, the manner of performance, and the composition of the carolling group. Tune variants of two of the carols which are common to all the communities are then presented and discussed. The chapter ends with a brief summary. Notes on the fully transcribed

carols are presented in Appendix A.

1. The Carol and Carolling Traditions in England and Wales

Arriving at a satisfactory definiton of the term "the carol" is difficult, as it has meant different things at different times. It originally appears to have signified a song joined with a dance, which was a union frequently found in early religious ceremonies.[1] As the carol became less and less associated with the dance, the term became applied to songs meant to be sung in a convivial or joyous atmosphere, then to festive songs which were particularly frequent at Christmas time. Percy Dearmer in his definition of the carol recognises its distinctive joyful and festive spirit: "Carols are songs with a religious impulse that are simple, hilarious, popular and modern."[2] Sandys agrees that the term should only be applied to those songs of a cheerful character, and not to the Christmas hymn, which is solemn. In practice, however, he notes that the term is applied to both.[3]

The ultimate origins of the carol, according to Greene, long antedate the Christian Church, or for that matter the

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[1] William Sandys, Christmastide: Its History, Festivities and Carols (London: John Russell Smith, 1852), p. 173.

[2] Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Martin Shaw, eds. The Oxford Book of Carols (London: Oxford University Press, 1964, first published 1928), p.v.

[3] Sandys, Christmastide, pp. 173-4.

Greek round dances on threshing floors, or even recorded history.[4] However, the church reluctantly adopted the carol and made good use of it. In the days of St. Francis, carols were sung around the crib which had been created in reaction to the Manichean doctrine which denied the Virgin Birth, and was antagonistic to the Incarnation.[5]

One of the chief characteristics of the mediaeval carol was its association with physical movement, as Stevens notes, "when it was not danced to it was 'processed to'."[6] Greene stresses the mediaeval carol as a lyric genre, distinguished by form rather than content, or any vaguely defined "spirit": "A song on any subject composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden."[7]

Rickert states that the early carol writing was part of the great fourteenth century movement of the middle classes in England, "of the strive towards democracy, of the conquest of the peoples' English over the Latin of the clergy, over

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[4] R.L. Greene, A Selection of English Carols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 51.

[5] W.J. Phillips, Carols: Their Origin, Music and Connection with the Mystery Plays (London: George Routledge, n.d.), pp. 1-2.

[6] John Stevens, Mediaeval Carols (Musica Britannica IV) (London: Stainer and Bell, for the Royal Musical Association, 1952), p. xiv.

[7] R.L. Greene, The Early English Carols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. xxiii.

the French of the court."[8] Most of the great carol manuscripts belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, between the reigns of Henry VI and Henry VIII.[9] While carol making had arisen among the clerics, it soon spread to all classes, so that there were court carols, ecclesiastical ones, and those made by the people. Carol singing flourished during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, and Sandys states:

> The carols at this time seem to have been of two descriptions, one of a serious sort, sung commonly in churches and through the streets, and from house to house as it was in Shakespeare's time ushering in the Christmas morning, and the other of a more convivial nature and adapted to feasting.[10]

The Puritans tried to suppress all observances of Christmas, but the carols were preserved in private and remote places like Devon:[11] There was a revival with the restoration. It was after the Puritan period that the Christmas hymn arose, largely as a result of the growing popularity of hymnody, which coincided with the Wesleyan movement. The immediate context of Wesleyan hymnody was open air evangelism, and as Routley points out, "It is still only Christmas hymns that are at all commonly sung out of doors

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[8] Edith Rickert, Ancient English Christmas Carols (New York: Cooper Square, 1966, first published 1914), p. xvi.

[9] Ibid., p. xvi.

[10] Sandys, Christmastide, pp. 184-5.

[11] Ibid., p. 187.

. . . we have the Wesleys to thank for that."[12] Husk observed this development rather grudgingly:

> The country printers . . . find the tastes of their customers rather incline towards hymns, mostly those in use amongst the dissenting congregation, rather than to the genuine Christmas carol.[13]

By the nineteenth century the carol and carol singing were on the verge of extinction again. Sandys is pessimistic and states:

> Many of us will recollect when at Christmas time every street of note had its carol singers with their bundle of various carols, whereas now scarcely one vagrant minstrel can be found throughout the town, brass bands having blown them out.[14]

The reference to brass bands could refer to the town waits, which from the eighteenth century had played Christmas carols from door to door. The term later came to mean any local group of musicians going around the town playing and singing at Christmas time often for money.[15] A description of the waits is supplied by Washington Irving, an American visiting Yorkshire at Christmas in 1820:

> I had scarcely got into bed when a strain of music seemed to break forth in the air just below the window. I listened and found it proceeded from a band, which I

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[12] Erik Routley, The English Carol (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1958), p. 146.

[13] W.H. Husk, Songs of the Nativity (London: John Camden Hotten, 1865), introduction.

[14] Sandys, Christmastide, p. 188.

[15] Christina Hole, Christmas and its Customs (New York: M. Barrows, 1958), p. 61.

> concluded to be the waits from some neighbouring village. They went round the house playing under the windows.[16]

There are a few descriptions of carol singing in the nineteenth century. Sandys writes:

> In the west of England, and especially in the western parts of Cornwall, carol singing is still kept up, the singers going about from house to house wherever they can gain encouragement, and in some of the parish churches, meeting on the night of Christmas Eve, and singing in the sacred morning.[17]

Writing in the Gentlemens' Magazine of 1811, one writer from Rochdale reported that he had been awakened on Christmas morning "by a sweet singing under my window, and on looking out saw six young men and four young women singing."[18]

An early description of Christmas in the West Country is provided by Davies Gilbert. At about 7:00 or 8:00 p.m. on Christmas Eve, cakes, cider and beer would be supplied, and carols would be sung into the middle of the night. At church the next day, the carols would replace the psalms, and the Parish Clerk would wish everyone a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, in a loud voice.[19] In the nineteenth century

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[16]Washington Irving, Old Christmas (London: W. Collins, n.d.), p. 73.

[17]William Sandys, Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood, 1973, first published 1833), introduction.

[18]Quoted in The Oxford Book of Carols, p. x.

[19]Davies Gilbert, Some Ancient Christmas Carols with the tunes to which they were formerly sung in the West of England (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood, 1972, first published 1822), pp. ii-iv.

in Exeter in Devon, church choirs would sing a carol or an anthem at the principal houses in the district, and some would be provided with tea, coffee and soup. The singing was accompanied by a fiddle, a bass viol, clarinet and flute, and there were often "camp followers" who helped by carrying chairs, lanterns, and holding the music in front of the performers. The carolling would finish about 6:00 a.m. and the carollers then entered the Cathedral for a service. Cossins notes that many were "in a state that indicated they were not members of a temperance society, being noisy and smoking."[20]

Gypsies have been an important group in the maintenance of carols and carolling, and Alice Gillington noted that in the middle years of the nineteenth century, carols were sung at Christmas at every door in the village by the gypsy children of the Surrey commons. She finds this appropriate as:

> The carol was from its very origin a song or hymn in the open air, heard by open air dwellers. So that it is not a matter of wonder that firstly the outdoor workers and lastly the travellers and tent dwellers shall have taken up the refrain of the angels' message and the angels' song.[21]

Two accounts of carolling in the twentieth century come from Wales and South Yorkshire. Carols used to be sung from door to door in the Tanad Valley in Wales. The night

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[20]James Cossins, Reminiscences of Exeter Fifty Years Since (Exeter: James Cossins, 1877), p. 68.

[21]Alice Gillington, Old Christmas Carols of the Southern Counties (London: J. Curwen, 1910), preface.

before Christmas groups of men in two's or three's would set out about suppertime, and sing two or three carols at each house, either in the doorway or under the householder's window. Money would be thrown out by the householder, and sometimes mince pies and drink would be provided, and occasionally the men would go inside the kitchen after the singing was over. This tradition died out in the 1920's.[22]

In the Sheffield area today there is a vigorous tradition of carol singing in the pubs.[23] The carolling season varies from village to village, but most of the activity takes place in the fortnight before Christmas. One aspect of the tradition that has changed is the custom of house visiting, when the carolling group would set off about six o'clock on Christmas morning, visiting some of the larger houses and pubs in the vicinity, and not return home until midnight. Such house visiting is no longer practised although members of local brass bands still tour their villages on Christmas morning playing the carols.

In some of the villages the singing is unaccompanied, and the "striker" selects the carols, pitches them and calls

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[22] D. Roy Saer, "The Christmas Carol Singing Tradition in the Tanad Valley," Folklife, 7 (1969), 15-42.

[23] See Ian Russell, "A Survey of a Christmas Singing Tradition in South Yorkshire 1970," Lore and Language, 8 (1973), 13 - 25; and A People's Carol: A Christmas Singing Tradition recorded in South Yorkshire Pubs (Leader LEE4065, 1974).

for order when necessary. The "striker's" role is crucial in the maintenance of the tradition, as he supplies the skill and enthusiasm required. While the earliest accompaniment was provided by small bands of string instruments, today the instrumental accompaniment includes the electric organ, piano and brass band.

The oldest carols were associated with the official centre of worship, especially the chapel. During the nineteenth century the sanction of the church was withdrawn, and the carols were taken over by the people, and sung in pubs and homes, alongside other traditional and seasonal material. The same churches which rejected the local carols are now incorporating them into their Christmas programmes.

There is a strong sense of identification shown for the local songs of the area, and accompanying this identification is a strong belief that the local carols are the exclusive property of that community, even though they might be sung in other places.

Russell points out that this tradition is by no means unique, and that similar phenomena exist in many parts of Great Britain, and that the tradition is arguably "a much larger one that exists throughout the country to a greater or lesser extent."[24] The Trinity Bay carolling which I describe next, while being unique in many ways, is clearly

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[24] From the liner notes to A People's Carol.

related to the English and Welsh traditions that I have outlined.

2. The Trinity Bay Carolling Tradition

The carollers start to sing the carols between 11:00 p.m. and midnight on Christmas Eve. Each carolling group has a leader, whose function is to organise the event, to pitch the carols correctly, and to introduce each verse in the correct order. There are clear similarities here to the role of the "striker" in the Yorkshire tradition. The aim of the carolling is to visit as many of the households in the community as possible until daybreak. Special emphasis is laid on visiting the sick and the elderly.

In each house the procedure is the same. The leader opens the door leading into the porch, and as he does so, he starts to sing the first carol. The group follows him into the kitchen, where the rest of the carols are sung. In the past, it was usual in the majority of communities to sing the carols in the dark. Today, several of the groups sing the carols with the lights turned on. After the singing has been completed, refreshments are provided, and if the singers have been singing in the dark the lights are turned on. By the end of the night, perhaps twenty to twenty-five houses will have been visited.

This, in brief, is the tradition, and later in the chapter it will be seen that different communities have made modifications, to meet their own needs and requirements.

3. The Trinity Bay Carols

Altogether I have collected seven carols which are associated with the tradition. I present these seven in alphabetical order: "The Cherry Tree";[25] "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen";[26] "Last Night Our Virgin";[27] "Mary Lies Weeping";[28] "The Moon Shines Bright";[29] "The Virgin Whose Purity";[30] "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks."[31]

The number of carols sung in each community varies between two and five, and no one that I met knew all seven. All of the carolling groups in the thirteen communities in which I carried out my fieldwork included some version of "The Virgin Whose Purity" and "The Moon Shines Bright." "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks" and "God Rest You Merry Gentlemen" were sung in ten communities. "The Cherry Tree" occurred in four, and "Mary Lies Weeping" in two. I only came across "Last Night Our Virgin" in one community.

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[25] Tape 24 (i), December 29, 1975.

[26] Tape 1(ii), October 10, 1974.

[27] Tape 31(i), January 31, 1976.

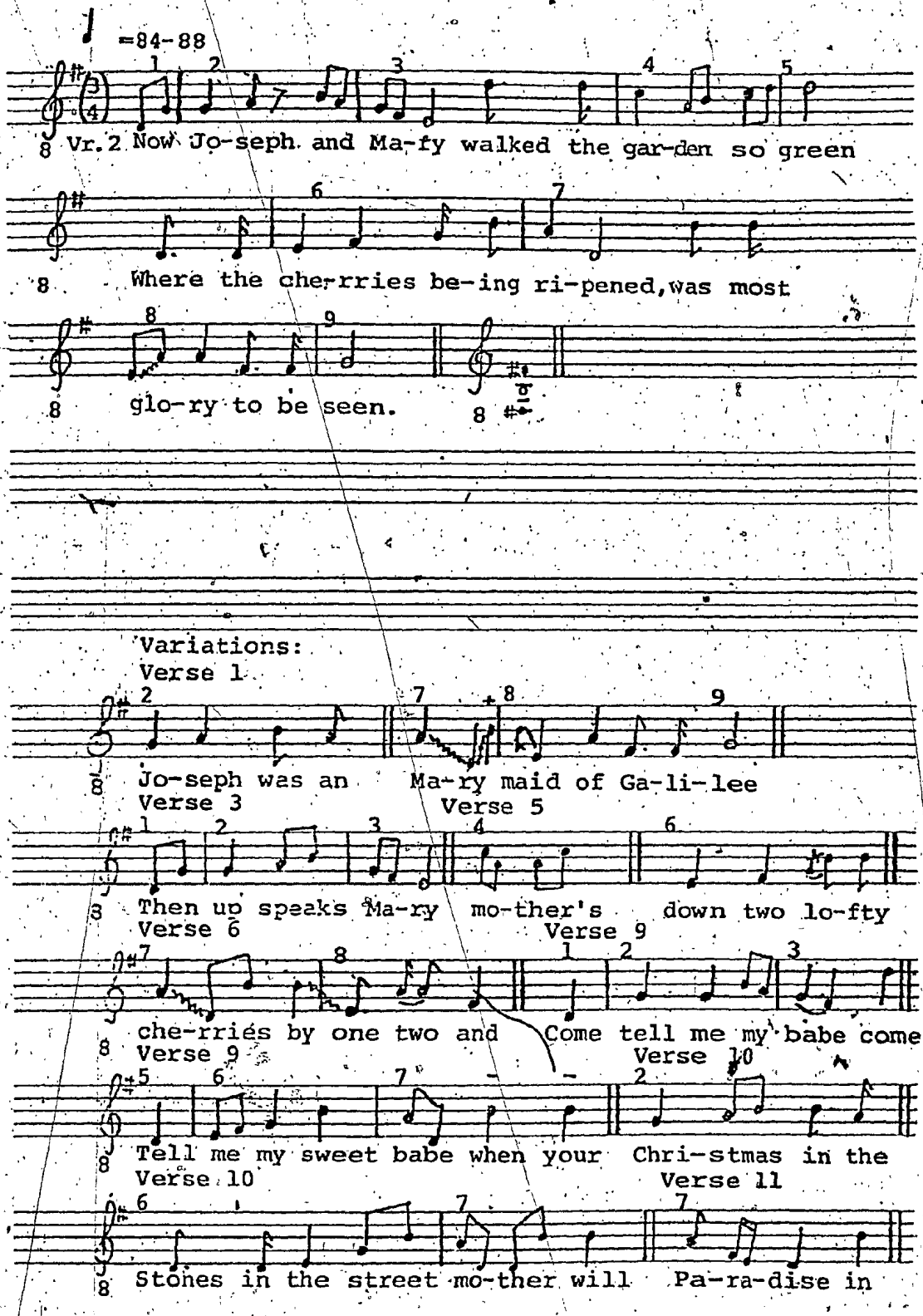
[28] Tape 6(i), June 9, 1975.

[29] Tape 1(ii), October 10, 1974.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

"The Cherry Tree"



1. Joseph was an old man
And righteous was he,
He married with Mary,
Maid of Galilee.

2. Now Joseph and Mary
Walked the garden so green,
Where the cherries being ripened
Was most glory to be seen.

3. Then up speaks Mary
With her voice meek and mild,
"Go gather me cherries Joseph,
For I am with child."

4. And then replied Joseph
With a heart so unkind,
"Let them gather you cherries Mary
That have got you with child."

5. Then up spake the babe
From his mother's womb,
"Bow you down two lofty cherry trees,
Bow you down to me."

6. And this lofty cherry tree
He bend to her knee,
Where Mary picked cherries
By one two and three.

7. And this lofty cherry tree
He bend down so low,
Where Mary picked cherries
By the uppermost bough.

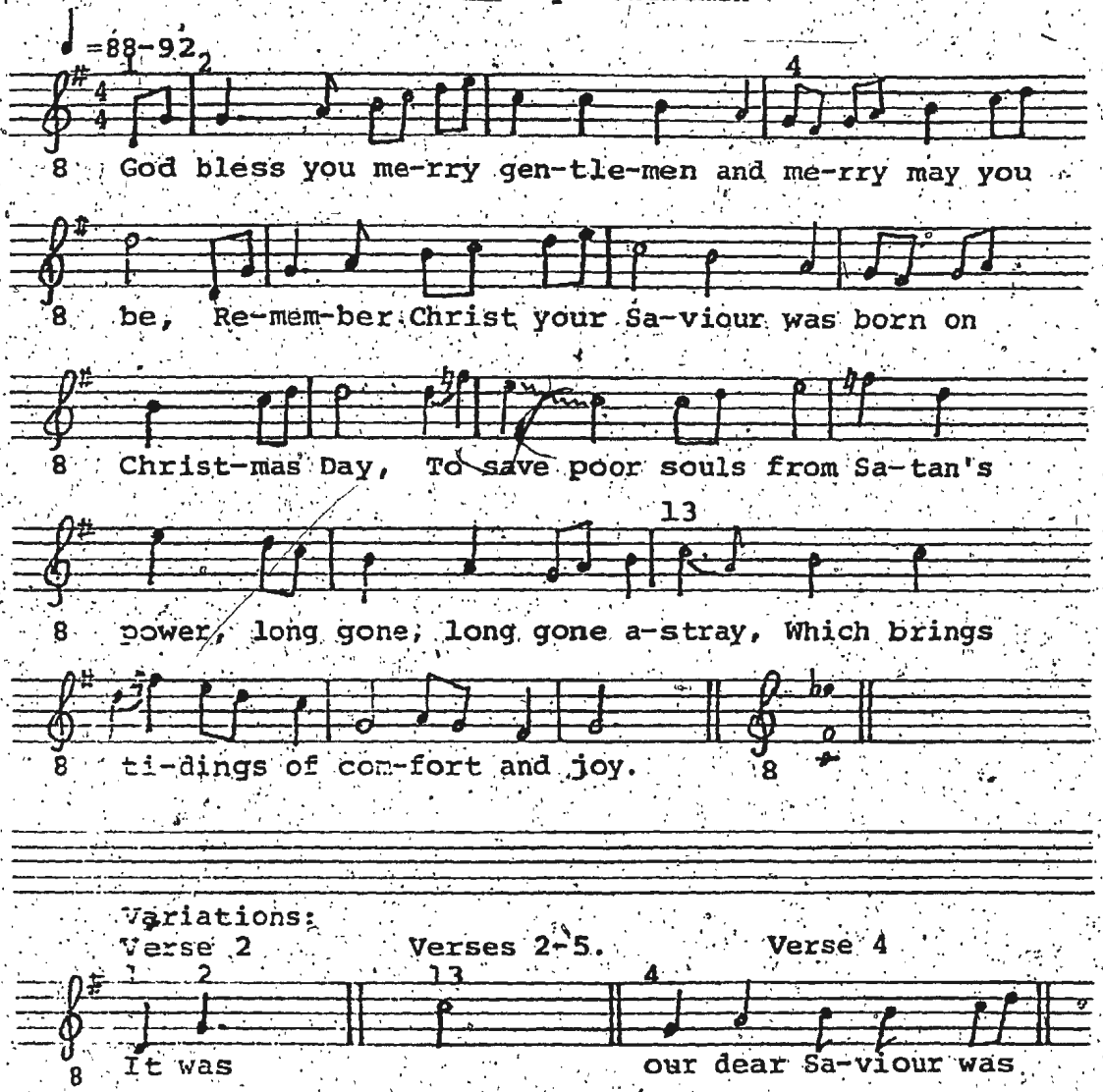
8. And this lofty cherry tree
He bend to the ground
Where Mary picked cherries,
The first in the town.

9. "Come tell me my babe
Come tell unto me,
Tell me my sweet babe
When your birthday shall be."

10. "Christmas in the morning
My birthday shall be,
Stones in the street, mother,
Will shed blood for me."

11: "I will not be born
In no kitchen nor hall,
But in some part of Paradise
In some oxen stall."

"God Bless You Merry Gentlemen"



1. God bless you merry gentlemen,
   and merry may you be.
   Remember Christ your Saviour
   was born on Christmas Day.
   To save poor souls from Satan's power,
   long gone, long gone astray,
   Which brings tidings of comfort and joy.

2. It was from God our Father,
   some blessed angels came
   Unto some lowly shepherds
   brought tidings of the same,
   Last night was born in Bethlehem
   the Son of God by name,
   Which brings tidings of comfort and joy.

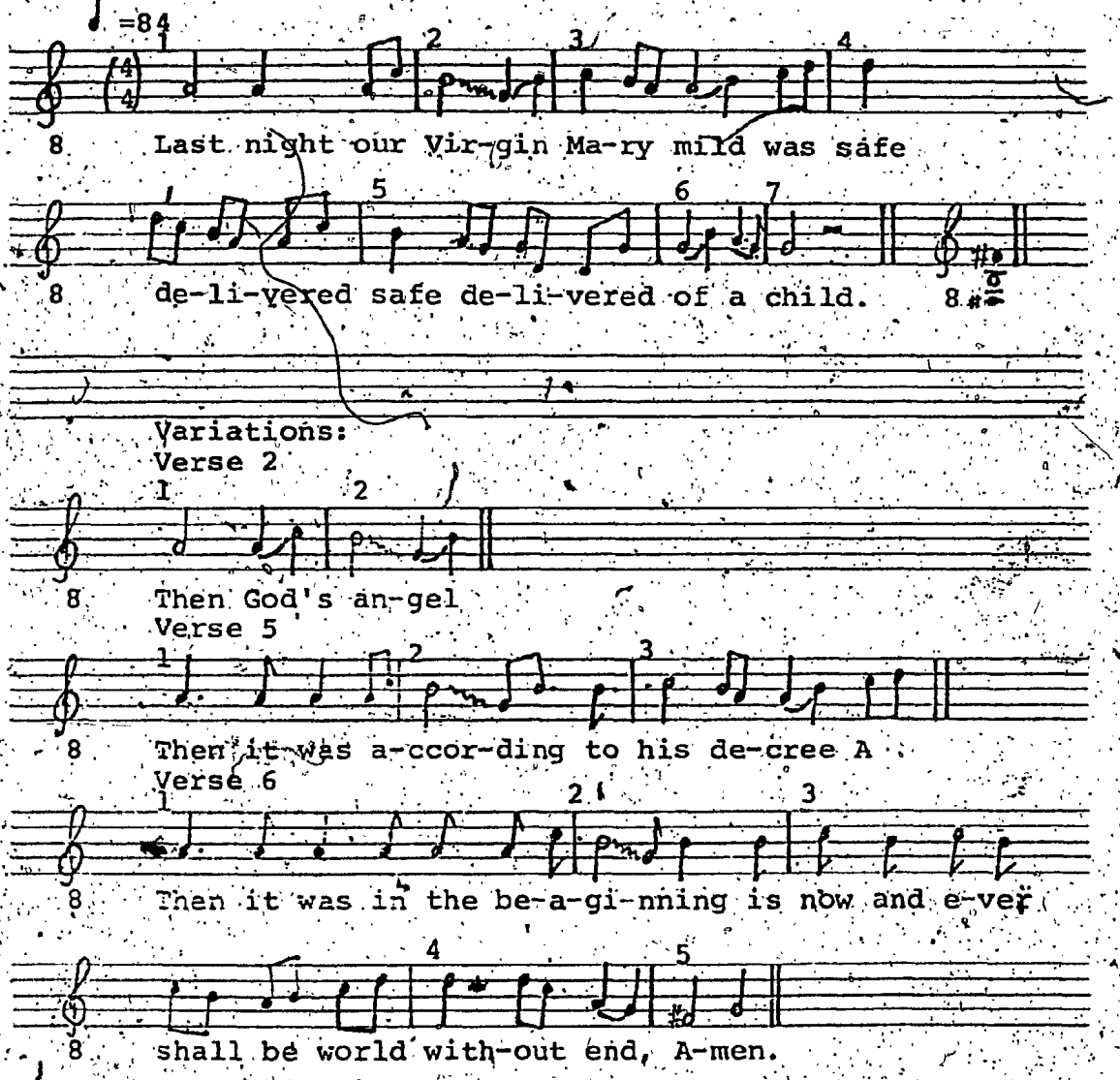
3. The shepherds at the tidings,
   were much rejoiced in mind,
   They left their flocks a-feeding
   in tempest, storm and wind,
   Away they ran to Bethlehem,
   the blessed Babe to find,
   Which brings tidings of comfort and joy.

4. And when they came to Bethlehem
   where our dear Saviour was born,
   They found Him in a manger,
   where oxen fed on corn,
   The Virgin Mary kneeling down,
   therefore we have no scorn,
   Which brings tidings of comfort and joy.

5. And when they came to the stable
   where our dear Saviour lay,
   They found Him in a manger
   where ox were fed on hay,
   The blessed Virgin kneeling down,
   unto our Lord to pray,
   Which brings tidings of comfort and joy.

6. God bless the ruler of this house,
   and all that dwell within,
   God bless his wife and family,
   that heaven they may win,
   God bless your love and kindered
   that live both far and near
   And God send you a happy New Year.

"Last Night Our Virgin"



1. Last night our virgin, Mary mild,
Was safe delivered, safe delivered,
Of a child.

2. Then God's angel did appear
With but a shepherd,
In great fear.

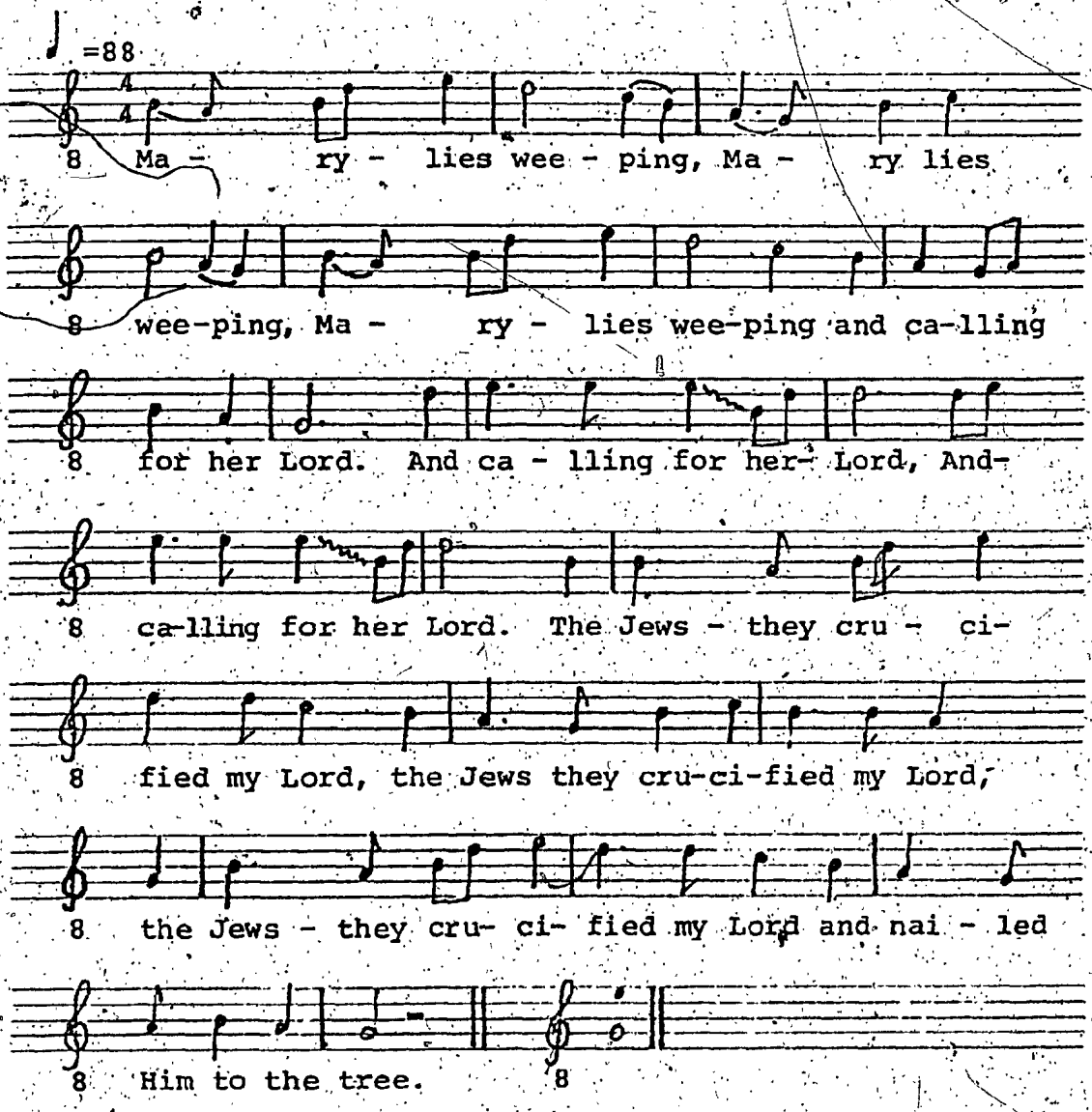
3. "Prepare and go to Bethlehem,
To Bethlehem, to Bethlehem,
Be not afraid."

4. "There you will find this blessed morn,
A prince like babe, a prince like babe,
Sweet Jesus born."

5. Then it was according to his (decree)
A sweet salvation, sweet salvation,
For to be.

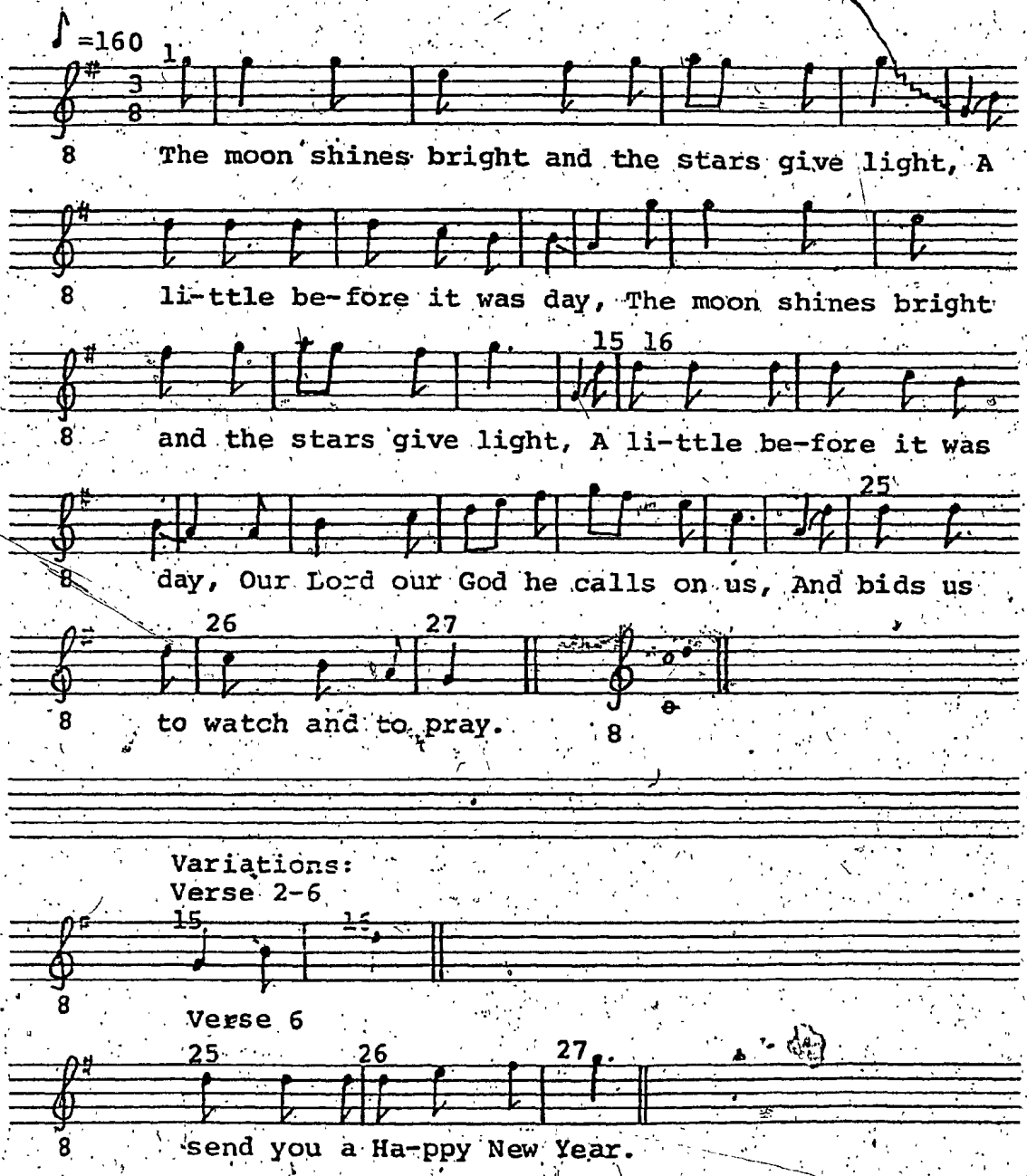
6. Then it was in the beginning,
Is now and ever shall be,
World without end, Amen.

"Mary Lies Weeping"



Mary lies weeping, Mary lies weeping,
Mary lies weeping and calling for her Lord.
And calling for her Lord, and calling for her Lord,
The Jews they crucified my Lord,
The Jews they crucified my Lord,
The Jews they crucified my Lord, and nailed Him to the tree.

"The Moon Shines Bright"



Variations:
Verse 2-6

Verse 6

1. The moon shines bright and the stars give light,)
A little before it was day,.)2
Our Lord our God he calls on us,
And bids us to watch and to pray.

2. Awake, awake, good people all,)
Awake and you shall hear)2
Our Lord our God died on the cross
For us that he loveth so dear.

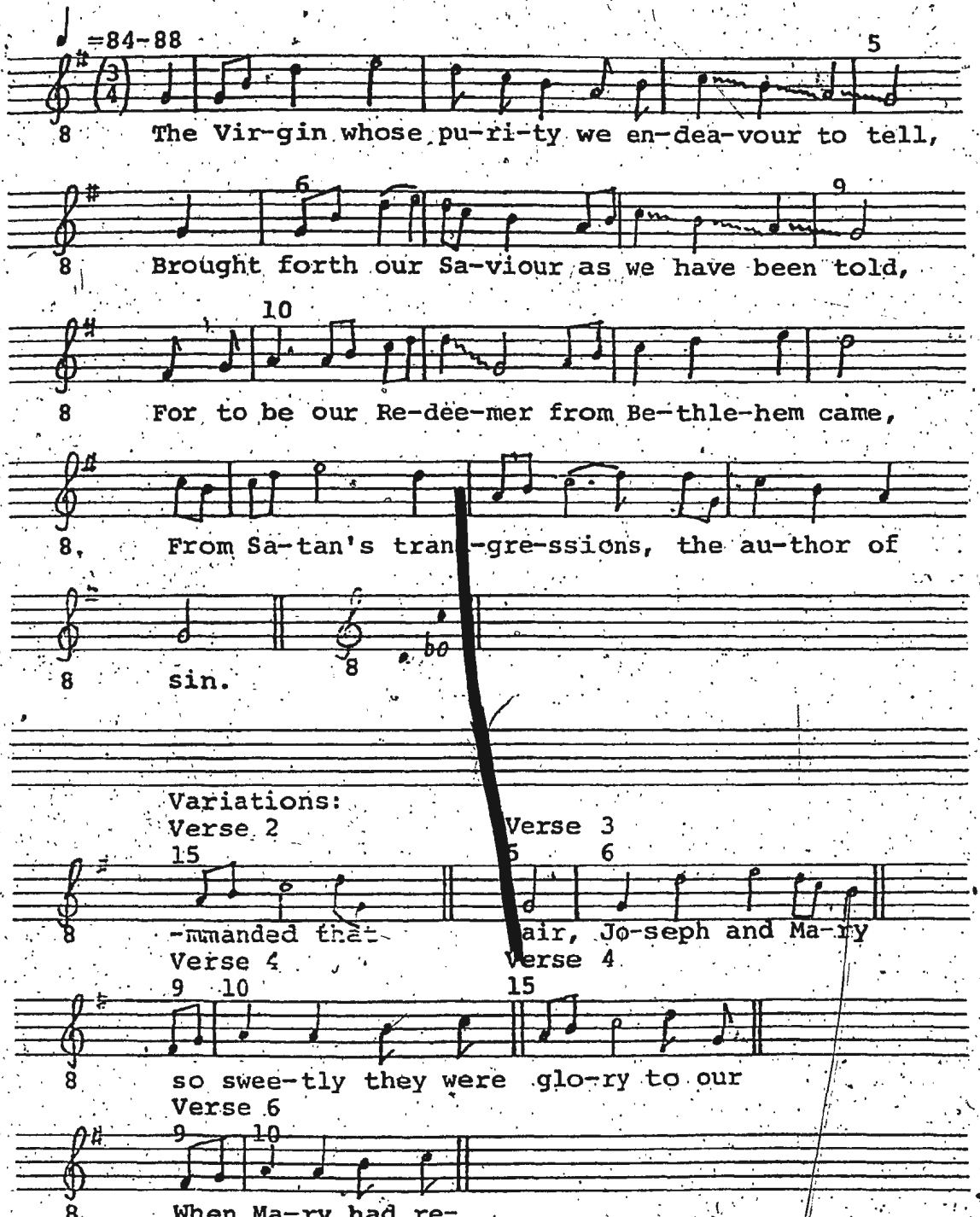
3. O teach you all your children man)
The while that you are here,)2
And that will be better for your poor soul
When your corpse lies on the bier.

4. Farewell, farewell Jerusalem,)
When shall I come to thee?)2
When all our troubles are at an end
Thy joys I soon shall see.

5. There's a talent at your head young man,)
And another at your feet,)2
When your good deeds and your bad ones
Together they both shall meet.

6. My carol is sung and I must be gone,)
I can stay no longer here,)2
God bless you all both great and small
And send you a Happy New Year.

"The Virgin Whose Purity"



1. The Virgin whose purity we endeavour to tell,
Brought forth our Saviour as we have been told,
For to be our Redeemer from Bethlehem came,
From Satan's transgressions, the author of sin.

2. Near Bethlehem City, near Judah so fair,
Great multitudes of people together were there,
And they to be taxed, as the custom ran so,
Both Caesars commanded the deed should be so.

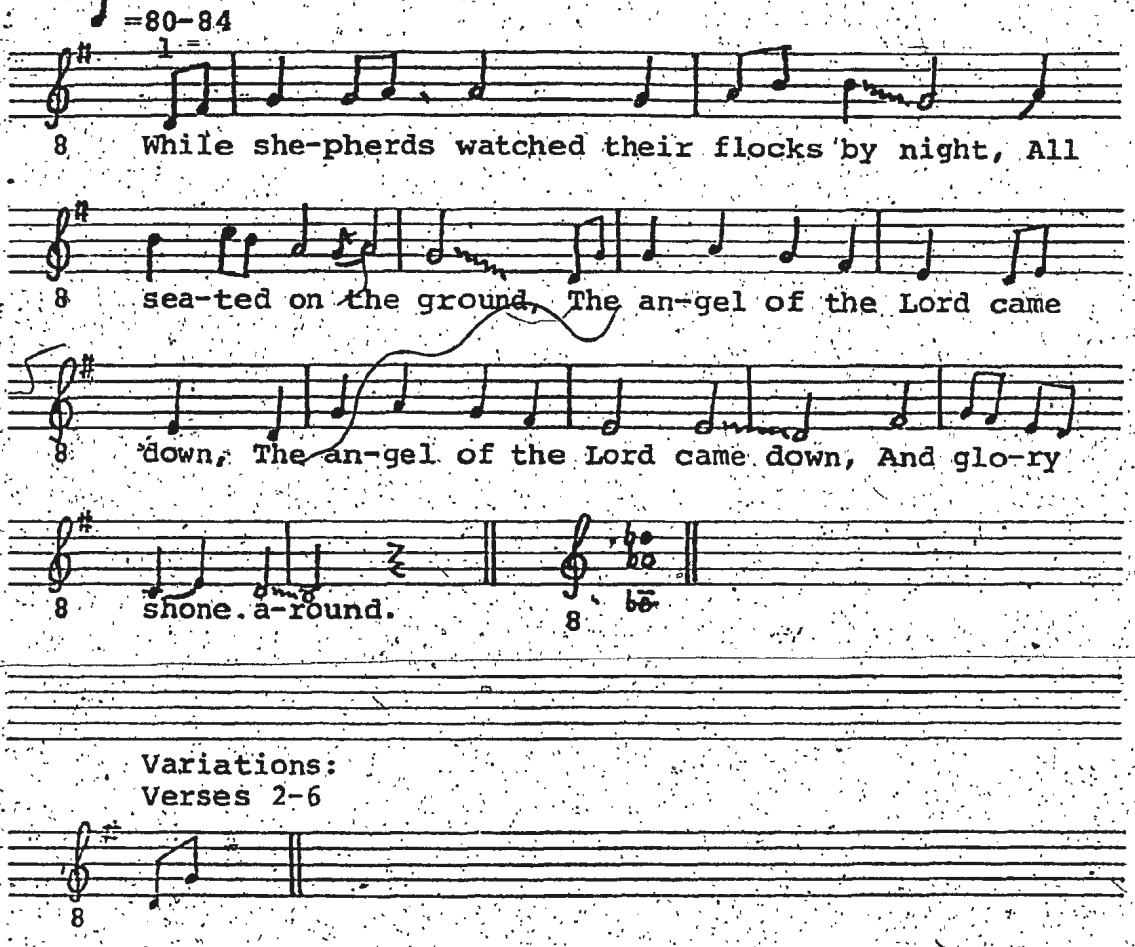
3. And just as we entered the city so fair,
Joseph and Mary together were there.
Their lodgings were simple, I beheld him no scorn,
But the very next morning, our Saviour was born.

4. And presently after the people did spy
Great multitudes of angels appeared in the sky.
So sweetly they were singing, so sweetly did sing,
All praise and great glory to our heavenly King.

5. And God sent an angel from heaven so high,
To give shepherds warning in the fields where they lie;
Bade them to be merry, drive sorrow away;
Our Saviour, Christ Jesus, was born on that day.

6. And now the great King of this world is come,
Small stores of fine linen to wrap him so warm,
When Mary had received her young son so sweet,
Down in the ox manger, where she laid him to sleep.

"While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks"



1. While shepherds watched their flocks by night
All seated on the ground,
The angel of the Lord came down,
The angel of the Lord came down,
And glory shone around.

2. "Fear not" said they, for mighty dread
Had seized their troubled mind.
"Glad tidings of great joy I bring,
Glad tidings of great joy I bring
To you and all mankind."

3. "To you in David's town this day
Is born of David's line
A saviour who is Christ the Lord,
A saviour who is Christ the Lord,
And this shall be the sign."

4. "The heavenly babe you there shall find
To human view displayed,
All meanly wrapped in swaddling bands,
All meanly wrapped in swaddling bands,
And in the manger laid."

5. Up spake the Seraph and forthwith
Appeared a shining throng
Of angels praising God who thus,
Of angels praising God who thus,
Addressed their joyful song.

6. "All glory be to God on high
And to the earth be peace,
Goodwill henceforth from heaven to men,
Goodwill henceforth from heaven to men,
Begin and never cease."

In examining these carols it becomes apparent that none of them (with the possible exception of "Last Night Our Virgin") belong to the category of nineteenth century Christmas hymns, but rather the majority are traditional folk carols of an earlier period. Ella Leather, in her introduction to her Herefordshire collection of carols, states that carols can be divided into three classes: those of undoubtedly popular, ancient origin; those which are probably less old, but which occur in a sometimes fragmented form in the literature of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; those which resemble or are identical with hymns. In her second category she specifically mentions three of the carols in this collection: "God Rest You Merry Gentlemen," "The Moon Shines Bright," and "The Virgin Unspotted."[32] All three carols also occur in Hone's list of carols which were annually printed.[33]

The only one of the carols I collected which belongs to Leather's first category (carols of popular, ancient origin), is "The Cherry Tree." Sandys points out that several of the circumstances referred to in the carol are also to be found in the early Mysteries, and some may have been derived from the Apocryphal New Testament.[34] Sylvestre

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[32]Ella M. Leather, "Carols from Herefordshire," Journal of the Folk Song Society (hereinafter JFSS), 4 (1910-13), 3.

[33]William Hone, Ancient Mysteries Described (London: printed for W. Hone, 1823), pp. 97-99.

[34]Sandys, Christmastide, p. 199.

draws attention to a parallel text in the fifteenth century pageant of the "Coventry Mysteries."[35] The version I collected, belongs to Coffin's Type A, with Christ in the womb, asking the cherry tree to bow down when Joseph refuses to pick the cherries.[36]

"God Bless/Rest You Merry Gentlemen" is identified as an eighteenth century carol, and an early printed version is found in volume three of the British Museum's collection of Roxburghe Ballads, c. 1770.[37] Husk states:

> Many speak of it as the Christmas carol. The only carols which at the present time in any degree approach it in point of popularity are "The Seven Joys of Mary" and "The Sunny Bank," which many broadside printers associate with it on the same sheet.[38]

The text I collected has verses connected with the traditional form of the carol, although verses four and five seem near duplicates from two different versions. The last verse belongs to the full version,[39] and 'F.H.' sees this verse as expressing the sentiments of a wassail song.[40] The tune is

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[35] Joshua Sylvestre, Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern (New York: A. Wessels, 1910), p. 109.

[36] Tristram Coffin, The British Traditional Ballad in North America (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1963), pp. 60-61.

[37] Oxford Book of Carols, p. 27.

[38] Husk, p. 27.

[39] Routley, p. 50.

[40] 'F.H.' in JFSS, 8 (1927-31), 120.

a distant relative of the "Somerset Carol,"[41] the first two lines having a similar melodic contour, and the third sharing the flattened seventh.

I have been unable to trace any other versions of "Last Night Our Virgin," but with the tune's restricted compass and chant-like nature, it bears an uncanny resemblance to plainsong. Apart from the final cadence it is in the dorian mode, and the tune corresponds to Psalm Tone IV, the 9th ending, beginning on a^1 and ending on g^1.[42]

The fragment of "Mary Lies Weeping" appears to come from the traditional carol, "Christ was born in Bethlehem." The tune is similar to the one collected for that carol by Sharp.[43] A.L. Lloyd calls this the last English folk carol to be composed, probably between 1816 and 1818, at the height of the English religious revival, when hymn books were few.[44]

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[41] Oxford Book of Carols, p. 21.

[42] There are eight psalm tones, which are recitation formulas corresponding to, but not identical with the modes. See, H.B. Briggs, W.H. Frere, J. Stainer, A Manual of Plainsong (London: Novello, 1902), pp. xii-xvi; and Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973, first published 1960), pp. 45-46.

[43] Cecil Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians (London: Oxford University Press, 1962, first published 1917), p. 293.

[44] A.L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England (London: Panther Arts, 1969, first published 1967), p. 293.

"The Moon Shines Bright" appears in most collections of English traditional songs. It was sung at both Christmas and May, and Leather suggests it may originally have been a secular poem in praise of May, as it was sung at dawn, on that pagan festival.[45] As a religious carol it clearly belongs to the Passion or Atonement season, and was commonly found on old broadsides.[46] Husk points out that other versions occur under the title "The Bellman," who was:

> A kind of night watchman; who in addition to his staff and lantern carried a bell, and at a certain period of the year was wont to arouse the slumbering inhabitants of the town to listen to some effusion as that printed here.[47]

Ashton notes that the bellman would leave a copy of some seasonal verse at each house before Christmas, "ostensibly breathing goodwill and a happy Christmas, but in reality as a reminder to them of his existence and that he would call in due time for his Christmas box."[48]

The fourth verse of the version I present in this chapter, "Farewell, farewell Jerusalem," only occasionally appears in other versions, and is related to various long

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[45] Leather, p. 3.

[46] Oxford Book of Carols, p. 91.

[47] Husk, p. 62.

[48] John Ashton, A Right Merrie Christmasse - The Story of Christ Tide (London: Leadenhall Press [1894]), p. 63.

poems setting forth the glories of the heavenly city, which appeared on broadsides at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[49]

The use of the word "talent" in the fifth verse is clearly a substitution. Most versions have, "With the green turf at your head young man,"[50] and another has "With one stone at your head."[51] Simon Crocker, the leader of the Green's Harbour carollers, whose performance I transcribed, justifies his use of the word "talent" by saying, "You got a talent, you got two talents--use them."[52] On one occasion, however, he told me that the copy he obtained of the carols from a friend in Toronto, was in bad condition, and he had to substitute several words for those he was unable to decipher. So far, I have been unable to trace the derivation of the tune.

"The Virgin Unspotted/Most Pure/Whose Purity" has had universal popularity as a carol, and has been sung in almost every county in England.[53] There is an early printed version of 1734. The version I have presented in this

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[49]Leather, 11.

[50]Cecil Sharp, Folk Song Carols (London: Novello, 1913), pp. 6-7.

[51]JFSS, 1 (1899-1901), 178-179.

[52]Tape 2(i), October 30, 1974.

[53]Frank Kidson, "A Note on the Christmas Carol, 'A Virgin Unspotted'," JFSS, 5 (1914-17), 324.

chapter is similar to most of the printed ones, apart from the degeneration of "Bold Caesar" into "Both Caesars" in the second verse, and in the overall order of verses. Verses four and five are usually reversed. The tune is related to the general community of tunes associated with the carol, although the irregular bar lengths are an unusual feature.

"While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks" is better known as a hymn than a carol.[54] Routley states that it first appeared in 1696, in "The New Version of the Psalms," by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate, and that it was written by Nahum Tate, the poet laureate.[55] It was chosen as one of the six hymns then permitted to be used in the Divine Service, besides the Canticles and Psalms. It has had many tunes associated with it, and Routley notes that "repeating tunes," that is, songs which repeat one or more lines of the text, became very popular round the end of the eighteenth century, with the growth of Methodism.[56] The tune I present is a repeating one, but I have been unable to trace its derivation. The words are almost identical to those in other versions.

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[54] Oxford Book of Carols, p. 67.

[55] Routley, p. 157.

[56] Ibid., pp. 158-159.

A. Variants of the Tradition

I have found that there are thirteen Trinity Bay communities where carolling on Christmas Eve used to take place or still occurs. I have separated these communities into four groups which represent the main variants found in the tradition, involving the nature of the repertoire, the manner of performance, and the composition of the carolling group. The four groups of communities are: I. Heart's Delight, Islington, Cavendish; II. Whiteway, Green's Harbour, Hopeall; III. New Harbour, Dildo; IV. Old Shop, Spreadeagle, Little Ridge, Chapel Arm, Norman's Cove. Every member of a group is a neighbouring community, and the geographical direction is from north to south. Two of the communities, Spreadeagle and Little Ridge, have been resettled elsewhere, and are now abandoned. It should be pointed out that the data is meagre for some communities, due to the difficulty of covering a sizeable geographical area adequately.

In Group I there are five groups which still go carolling on Christmas Eve, and three of these belong to Heart's Delight. These three represent the north-east and south-east parts of the community, the third from Crocker's snack-bar. The leader of the "nor'-east" group is Arthur Crocker,[57] and

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[57] The Crockers are closely associated with the tradition in three communities--Heart's Delight, Green's Harbour, Dildo. It is commonly supposed that the Crockers came from Heart's Delight, and it is possible that the tradition spread

the general number singing the carols is reckoned to be between fifteen and twenty, although in 1975, it was difficult to muster enough people, so that only one house was visited. The group is generally all male, and there is never any musical accompaniment.

The leader of the south-east group is Leander Peach, a man in his forties, who moved into the community after being resettled from Flat Island, Placentia Bay. He is widely known in the area as an excellent musician who writes his own songs. The carolling group is large and is mixed. There is considerable drinking, and consequently individual visits frequently extend beyond one hour. Sometimes an accordion accompanies the singing. Years ago, in this group, the carollers would sing in the porch, and only enter the kitchen to have some refreshment after the singing was over. It is thought this changed when the numbers increased, and the porch was too small to hold everyone.

In Islington in the old days, the carollers would end up occasionally singing the carols in church. When this happened, the last verse of "The Moon Shines Bright" would not be sung, as one informant told me the group would have to leave, because the words specifically state, "I can stay

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from there. The fact that there are three carolling groups in Heart's Delight today indicates that it has the strongest tradition in the area. The tradition is probably west country in origin, Seary noting that Crocker is a name closely associated with Devonshire and Dorsetshire (Seary, Public Names, p. 14).

no longer here." To surmount this difficulty, the verse which starts "God bless the ruler of this house" was substituted. The carolling took place this year in Islington, the local weekly paper stating that "Carollers made their rounds of houses during the early hours of Christmas morning, when the traditional carols were sung."[58]

In Cavendish, the carolling group consists of fifteen to twenty men, and there is usually an accordion accompaniment. Like the carollers of Heart's Delight and Islington, the carollers of Cavendish prefer to sing the carols in the dark. The lights are only turned on after the last carol has been sung.

Each of the communities in Group I sing only two carols. Several of my informants found it difficult to separate them, regarding them as one. In Heart's Delight and Islington the carols are "The Virgin Whose Purity" and "The Moon Shines Bright." The last two lines of each verse of "The Virgin Whose Purity" are repeated, and in "The Moon Shines Bright," the verse commencing "Farewell, farewell Jerusalem" is omitted. There is considerable confusion over the line, "There's a . . . at your head." In one version "towler" is used, and in another "trowel" or "towel." As has been mentioned, an extra verse calling for God's blessing

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[58] The Compass (January 8, 1976), p. 10.

on the household has been added.

Two carols are also sung in Cavendish, one of them being "The Moon Shines Bright." About forty-five years ago a local man called Harrison Bryant wrote new words to be sung to the tune, "The Virgin Whose Purity," with the title, "Glad Tidings."[59]

1. Glad tidings good people, we are here for to tell,
   This morning in Bethlehem lies a baby just born,
   We are told it is Jesus from on high has come down,
   To be born of a Virgin, was Mary's own son.

2. As you lie in your chamber, as you slumber and sleep,
   Just think for a moment of your Saviour so sweet,
   With the oxen feeding him, (?) sleeping so sweet,
   With Mary his mother, sitting close by his feet.

3. You mothers that know a true love of your child,
   Come sympathise with Mary, his mother so mild,
   For her not being so lonely, many mothers don't know,
   What Mary endures this morning (has told).

4. The shepherds were out on the hills far away,
   Came a company of angels, from heaven that day,
   Telling them to be ready, telling them to prepare,
   Glad tidings, good news, we have brought to all here.

5. Dear comrades we wish you good health and much joy,
   May you seek and find Jesus on this Christmas Day,
   He has brought down Salvation, he has offered it free,
   That we might gain heaven on this Christmas Day.

6. Dear people we will not make a very long stay,
   This news must go round to a large company,
   Great multitudes of people are longing to hear
   This message which tells them to be of good cheer.

7. So our carol is ended, we must bid you adieu,
   To those joys and glad tidings we have brought here to you,
   When our labour is ended may we all have to say)
   That we found our Saviour on this Christmas Day.)[2]

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[59] Tape 28(ii), December 25, 1974.

The second group of communities all shared "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks," "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen," "The Virgin Whose Purity," and "The Moon Shines Bright." In addition, the Whiteway and Green's Harbour carollers sang "Mary Lies Weeping," but in Green's Harbour, this was dropped from the repertoire because someone pointed out that it was an Easter carol.

There used to be two groups of carollers in Whiteway, but today there is only one. This goes from house to house, and some of the old carols are sung, together with carols from the hymn book, like "Silent Night" and "Hark the Herald Angels Sing." There is only one group of carollers in Green's Harbour, and I discuss their tradition in the next chapter.

The carols are not sung today in Hopeall, but in the past there was a strong tradition which differed from that of the communities discussed so far, in that the lights were left on while the carols were sung. The group was exclusively male, and one Christmas sang their carols at the Green's Harbour Salvation Army "barracks." The carolling died out in the community over thirty years ago, due to the men being employed in woods operations in Deer Lake, Grand Falls and Millertown. This meant the men were away at Christmas. They did take the carols with them, however, One informant described singing them in the lumbercamp at

Millertown. On Christmas Eve night, all the men from the Trinity Bay South area, who were working in the camp, would get together, construct a couple of drums from old oil drums, putting straps around them. Then, with tin pans and horses bells, would go and visit a nearby camp, and have a "skerriboo." They would have a lunch, and then would sing the carols.

In the third group of communities, New Harbour and Dildo, the tradition of singing the carols from house to house has practically died out. In its place every Christmas night, the carols are sung at the local Salvation Army citadel, which serves both communities. I attended the carol service on December 25, 1975. It started at 8:00 p.m. and there was a capacity crowd of over two hundred people. The hall was lit by candles, and on the platform were the band and songsters. For the first hour there was a conventional carol service, with the congregation singing well known carols like "O Little Town of Bethlehem" and "Silent Night." This was interspersed with seasonal devotional readings and contributions from the band and songsters.

Towards what seemed to be the end of the meeting, the corps officer stood up and announced that the "old fashioned carols" were to be sung. He noted that this was a tradition which had been carried on in Dildo and New Harbour for over thirty years. Because of it, those officers appointed to these communities were not able to go home for Christmas,

but when such capacity crowds attended the event, this was felt to be a small sacrifice. He then invited the men of the communities who wanted to sing the carols, up to the platform, which was being cleared of the band and songsters. At first it seemed as if no one was going to move. Then a chorus was sung which was led by the bandmaster who had remained on the platform. This chorus is apparently as much a tradition as the carols themselves, and it was called "We Invite you all to Come Along."[60] It was accompanied by the snare drum, and hand clapping, and was sung several times.

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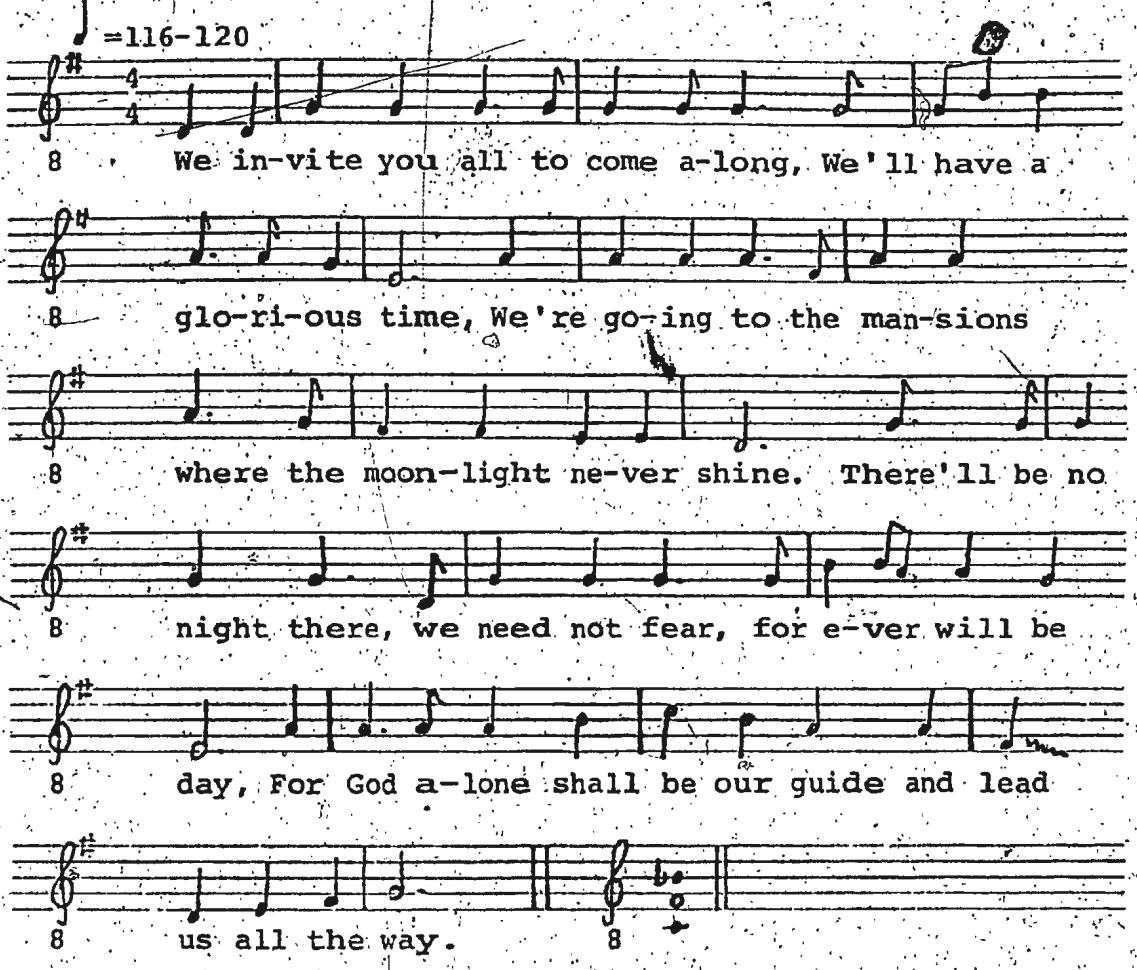
[60]Tape 25(i), December 30, 1975.

"We Invite you all to Come Along"



We invite you all to come along, we'll have a glorious time,
We're going to the mansions where the moonlight never shine,
There'll be no night there, we need not fear, forever will be day,
For God alone will be our guide, and lead us all the way.

Then, the officer asked Freeman Higdon to come forward and lead the carols. Freeman is a tall, spare man in his seventies, who was born in Green's Harbour, and whose mother was a Crocker. He stood at the front of the platform, with the bandmaster, who comes from New Harbour. Gradually, twenty or twenty-five men came and grouped themselves in two lines, according to whether they came from New Harbour or Dildo. There was a lot of attention paid to the composition of each group, and if a Dildo man landed in the New Harbour line, he would be asked to move. Most of the carollers were not uniformed members of the Salvation Army, and there was a wide age range, from the late twenties to the seventies.

All the men in both groups sang the first carol, "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks," very slowly. For the rest of the carols, "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen," "The Virgin Whose Purity," and "The Moon Shines Bright," each group sang every alternate line.

Each of the two groups had a leader, with Freeman who led the Dildo men, in overall charge. He started the carols off. The bandmaster led those from New Harbour, his home community. The tempo remained excessively slow throughout, and there was considerable overlap in the singing of phrases. The singing was unaccompanied, and took place in semi-darkness. After the meeting the carollers visited one

house where there was an old person who was ill. Women joined in singing the carols there.

This method of singing the carols is a reflection of the antiphonal tradition as it used to be carried on in house visits at New Harbour and Dildo. The carollers would sing the first carol, "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks," outside the house, then would go indoors, line up in the two groups and sing in antiphonal fashion. According to a previous leader, Aubrey John Woodman, both groups joined in the last verse of the last carol.[61]

Of the five communities in Group IV, two, Little Ridge and Spreadeagle, are no longer in existence, and in Norman's Cove the tradition has died out altogether. It still persists in Chapel Arm, and to a modified extent in Old Shop.

Little Ridge was a tiny community of ten to twelve families. Every year, the carollers would alternate between visiting Spreadeagle, another small community two miles along the road, and going to Chapel Arm by boat, a journey which took half an hour. In both places they would join the local carollers. All the communities in this

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[61] Antiphonal singing has been a common practice in the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. In the preface to The English Hymnal (London: Oxford University Press, 1933, first published 1906), it is noted that, "According to ancient custom the hymn was sung from side to side of the choir . . . . It is usual for the chanter to precent the first line of each verse, and for the first and last verse and Amen to be sung in full" (p. xviii).

group sang "The Cherry Tree" as one of the carols.

In Old Shop there is still a group which sings carols through the night, beginning on Christmas Eve, but generally hymn books are taken along, and the popular church carols are sung.

The tradition persists in Chapel Arm, although it is declining in popularity. The order of carols sung in this community is: "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks"; "The Cherry Tree"; "In Bethlehem City"; "Last Night Our Virgin"; "The Moon Shines Bright." "Last Night Our Virgin" has only been found in this community.

"In Bethlehem City" is a version of "The Virgin Whose Purity" without the first verse, and with the order of verses rearranged. "The Moon Shines Bright" is similar to other versions, but in the fifth verse, something like "terriful" is substituted for "talents."

I recorded the Chapel Arm carols from Max Smith and his friends, and the leadership of the carollers has been passed down through his father and grandfather. Before he died, Max's father wrote them down for the first time. The copy is still in the family's possession, and is almost indecipherable, as the old man only had a grade two education. The carols are jealously guarded in this family, and are regarded as its personal property.

The main variants of the carolling tradition which I found in the different communities differed with respect

to the composition of the group, the repertoire and the manner of performance.

It appears that originally the carolling groups were exclusively male, and this is still the case in some communities, although it is now the exception rather than the rule. The repertoire ranges from two to five carols. The creation of a new carol in Cavendish stresses the distinctiveness of that community. In the majority of communities the carols are sung straight through by the whole group. The antiphony of the New Harbour/Dildo carollers provides an interesting variant of performance style. An instrument accompanies the carols in about half of the groups. To some carollers singing the carols in the dark is important, to others it has never been a part of the tradition.

This brief survey has shown a considerable amount of variation on the part of different communities in the maintenance of the tradition. Such variation serves to encourage and demonstrate the individuality of each community.

5. Tune Variants

Just as variation occurs in the carolling traditions of different communities, so there is variation in the tunes. In this section the tunes to the two carols all communities had in common are compared. The two carols

are "The Virgin Whose Purity," and "The Moon Shines Bright." I chose a representative verse from each for transcription purposes: the second verse of "The Virgin Whose Purity" and the last verse of "The Moon Shines Bright." I selected one community from each of the four groups of communities, and transcribed the performances of the two verses of the two carols.[62] The four carolling groups chosen are from the following communities: I. Heart's Delight;[63] II. Green's Harbour;[64] III. Dildo;[65] IV. Chapel Arm.[66]

The distinctive feature of the Heart's Delight version of "The Virgin Whose Purity" is the use of ornaments by the leader of the carollers, Leander Peach. This is a common feature of his general singing style. Such ornamented singing does not occur frequently in the Trinity Bay South area, at least not among my informants, and of course Leander originates from Placentia Bay. As Poladian notes, the technique and style of a singer can cause melodic variants,[67] and this seems to be the case in Leander's

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[62] See Appendix C, Exs. 1 and 1[a].

[63] Tape 30(i), January 6, 1976.

[64] Tape 1(ii), October 10, 1974.

[65] Tape 25(i), December 30, 1975.

[66] Tape 31(i), January 31, 1976.

[67] Sirvart Poladian, "The Problem of Melodic Variation in Folksong," Journal of American Folklore, 55 (1942), 206.

version of the carol.

In comparison, the Green's Harbour version of the same carol is plain, with the least amount of ornaments of the four, and the least amount of eighth notes. The Dildo version is similar, although extra stress is supplied by the occasional use of dotted rhythms.

The most different version is that of Chapel Arm. It has more eighth notes, and the most flowing style. Many of its notes have a different pitch from the other three versions, yet its general contour is the same. As well as the contour remaining stable, the metrical framework of the tunes of all four versions is the same, with the irregular bar lengths occurring in the same places.

The different versions of "The Moon Shines Bright" are even more alike. Unlike the others, the Heart's Delight tune starts with a full bar upbeat on the dominant, and like the Dildo version repeats the last two lines. The Green's Harbour tune is little different except for the ascending final cadence. The Dildo version is characterised again by rhythmic variety. The most different of the four is the Chapel Arm carol, and it is the only version in which the last words are spoken, a common device in Newfoundland singing.[68]

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[68] See Bruno Nettl's comments in Leach, Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast, p. 17.

An analysis of the four versions of each of the two carols shows a remarkable stability in the musical framework of the tunes. This is in spite of the fact that each community's tradition is almost entirely self-contained. Even with the increase in communications, many of my informants in the different communities were unaware that the same carols existed in neighbouring communities.

6. Summary

The Christmas carolling tradition in England and Wales has had a long history, and the Newfoundland tradition I have described is clearly derived from it, with a repertoire of English traditional carols which were in popular currency in England in the nineteenth century, and earlier. Different communities in the Trinity Bay area have evolved distinctive versions of the tradition and its carols, to suit their own needs.

In spite of certain similarities to the English and Welsh accounts of carolling, I have found no descriptions of a tradition so ritualised as that found in Newfoundland. Although the evidence is sparse, until we hear more from other researchers, it must be regarded as unique in this respect.

CHAPTER V

"IT'S MORE LIKE HEAVEN IT IS": CHRISTMAS CAROLLING IN GREEN'S HARBOUR

The singing of the carols on Christmas Eve in Green's Harbour is the most prized traditional activity still carried on in the community. The tradition has always been associated with the Crockers of Crocker's Cove, who regard it as a sacred event.

> The crowd who was singing was mostly Crockers, which was noted for the carols, see? And they'd sing, didn't want any copies, didn't want anything at all, they just knew it by heart, and that's the way they used to sing 'em. They sang 'em with a heart and a half, because actually it was a sacred thing to the Crockers, the carols. They went at it, they went to sing the carols, like as sacred as if you went to church . . . possibly more so, on account of what carols it was.[1]

This chapter includes my own observations through direct participation in the event in Green's Harbour, comparisons with carolling in the past, a description of the varying role and attitudes of the leader, an analysis of the music of the carols and the performing style of the carollers, and some conclusions about the functions of the tradition.

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[1] Tape 27(i), January 5, 1976.

1. The Carolling Context

Knowing of my interest in the carols, Simon Crocker, the leader of the Green's Harbour carollers, invited me to take part in the event on Christmas Eve, 1974. I drove out from St. John's with my wife, arriving at Simon Crocker's house at 9:30 p.m. He was not sure how many would turn up that night, but was confident the carolling would take place. Phone calls were made to various friends in the community, asking if they planned to take part in the group singing the carols. I walked with Simon, his wife and my wife, over the half mile distance to the north western end of Crocker's Cove, where Simon's cousin, Andrew lives. At 11:10 p.m., we started to sing the carols in Andrew's house. At first there were only seven in the group including my wife and me; this later increased to ten, not counting the occasional hanger-on. Of the 8 Green's Harbour people in the group, 3 were women and 5 were men. Of these, 7 were Crockers, 4 by birth and 3 by marriage, and their age ranged from 35 to 45 years.

The four carols had been typed on to two sheets of 8½"x11½" paper by the secretary of the local school. These sheets were folded and made into a booklet, and each page was laminated for protection against rain and snow. These sheets were distributed to each person in the group.

At each of the twenty-two houses visited during the night, the procedure was the same. Simon would lead the way into the porch, start singing the first carol, and was followed by the rest of us into the kitchen. We sang in semi-darkness with just enough light to be able to decipher the words of the carols. If the people of the house were up, they would listen in another room, often in the dark. As the night wore on, more and more people listened to the carols upstairs, obviously in bed. For the first part of the night we stood to sing, but by early morning, several of the group were sitting down.

The singing was in unison, with no instrumental accompaniment. Simon, as leader, would pitch each tune to suit all voices, and sing the first few words of each verse by himself, in order to remind the group of the words and the correct order of verses. The four carols were always sung in the same sequence: "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks," "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen," "The Virgin Whose Purity," and "The Moon Shines Bright."

On the last few verses of the last carol, the inhabitants of the household came downstairs into the room and turned on the lights. At the end of the final carol Simon shouted out: "Merry Christmas." Everyone present repeated this, and shook hands with each other. In most houses refreshments were provided and handed round to the carollers by

the inhabitants of the house. The refreshment was usually syrup and cake, or an apple or orange, and occasionally would include sandwiches or pork buns. The length of the average visit was fifteen minutes, and in all twenty-two houses were visited in Crocker's Cove and the rest of Green's Harbour.

After we had finished visiting the houses in Crocker's Cove, we went by car and truck to houses in other sections of Green's Harbour, particularly selecting the homes of the elderly and infirm. The old people were clearly moved by the carols, and some sat in their chairs in an adjoining room motionless, with tears in their eyes.

The ideal size of the carolling group is reckoned to be between twenty and twenty-five, and because we were few in number, as the night wore on, only two or three of the carols would be sung in each house. These would generally be "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks" and "The Moon Shines Bright," with the central one varying between "The Virgin Whose Purity" and "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen." The sequence was not changed. I received the impression that if more people had been present we would have sung the four carols in every house visited.

The group was good humoured, but if I tended to linger too long over refreshments, I was told, half jokingly, that the intention of the carolling was not primarily to have a good time. There was some resentment that the young people

of the community did not bother to go carolling.

The carolling is supposed to continue until daybreak, but because of the group's small size, and because more locked doors had been encountered than before, it was decided to end at 4:30 a.m. It was the general opinion that it had been a "pretty good" night's work.

In summing up my thoughts from direct participation in the Christmas Eve carolling, the main impression is of an event which is seriously regarded, and requires considerable stamina, although neither of these characteristics precludes humour.

The following year the carolling did not take place. I had rented an apartment over the Christmas period in Green's Harbour, and on Christmas Eve found out that Simon had a bad dose of 'flu. Andrew Crocker contacted me, and said he would try to get some people together, but it would be difficult because of the snow, the slippery conditions, and the fact that the carollers would dirty the floors of the houses with the slush from outside. Because of these reasons it was finally decided not to go.

I spent Christmas Eve at Andrew's house. His wife, Kay, his two teenage daughters and his mother and father were present. Several groups of visitors came in for a chat and a drink. At 11:00 p.m. one of the carollers from the previous year entered, ready to go singing this year.

On being told of the cancellation she was clearly disappointed, and so just before Andrew's mother and father left for home, it was decided to sing the carols for her. We sang them in the kitchen, and we were all seated except for the old couple. Three of the carols were sung, leaving out "The Virgin Whose Purity." Significantly, Andrew's daughters did not join in but simply listened. On the last carol, Kay became animated and started clapping her hands in time to the music.

Another member of the carolling group arrived half an hour later, and also was disappointed at not going, so again we sang three carols, substituting "The Virgin Whose Purity" for "God Rest You Merry Gentlemen."

On Christmas Day we sang the carols again, this time at Simon Crocker's house. He had invited my wife and me to have Christmas dinner with him and his family. After the meal we went into the parlour, and with me at the electric organ, Simon on banjo, his son on mouth organ and guitar, and his daughter's boyfriend on button accordion, we sang the four carols all the way through.

It is a tradition in Green's Harbour that the carols are sung in the Orange Lodge every St. Stephen's Day at the Orangemens' "time." At about 10:30 p.m. after the band had given its selections, Simon stood up and announced that as the old people would soon be going home, the carols

would be sung. There was an invitation for singers to come up to the platform and a few elderly men came forward. In general, the singers were members of the band, or of the carolling group. All the lights were turned off, except for the one immediately over the platform, and Simon started the singing off, accompanying it on the piano accordion. Three brothers from another family who had been connected with the carolling in the past, took a leading part. One accompanied spasmodically on the trumpet, another faced the wall with his back to the crowd while singing, and the third, with his intensity of expression, his eyes tightly closed, and with his fine voice, dominated the performance. The actual singing was rough, with a poorly coordinated accompaniment, yet the overall effect was electrifying. At the end everyone shouted "Merry Christmas" and clapped.

It is difficult for the folklorist to know whether his presence in the community increases the amount of traditional material performed, and it might be suspected that some of the carolling activities might not have taken place if I had not been there. There is evidence I had little effect, however, as I have received reports of the carols being sung at other family gatherings. I have also been given a tape of a Christmas party at which I was not present where the carols were sung.[2]

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[2]Tape 16(i), December, 1974.

2. The Leader of the Carollers

The role of the leader of the carollers is a crucial one in the maintenance of the tradition. It is therefore worthwhile looking more closely at the present leader of the Green's Harbour group. Simon Crocker is in his mid-forties. He was born in Green's Harbour, and he was only a young boy when his father was drowned while going on a short trip across the bay. By the time he was nine, Simon was doing work in the woods, and at fourteen he left school. He was in the fishery for eleven years with his brother. Life was hard, and it was all work, getting up at 3:30 in the morning, returning with the catch at 7:30, "making" the fish until 10:00, going into the woods until 3:00, then out again in the boat. At night he would knit twine for the nets.

After he left the fishery, he went up to Labrador to work on the Carol Lake Project, the site of Labrador City today. He worked as a labourer with a pick and shovel, and the work was back breaking. Refusing to give up, he became ill, and was sent off to hospital in Seven Islands. Today he lives in Green's Harbour, working on construction jobs, and driving trucks.

Physically small, the dominating impression he gives is of enthusiasm. When he talks he is extremely articulate, and when I appeared on a local television show with him, he

confided to the interviewer that he would have loved to have been a broadcaster.

There are three main concerns in his life: religion, family and music. He is a member of the local Salvation Army corps, where he organises the band, in which he plays the trumpet. He plays the piano accordion for some of the congregational singing. Being a Salvation Army soldier, he does not drink, gamble or go dancing. Sunday is observed as a day apart on which he refuses to work unless there is an emergency. He makes a conscious connection between the old way of life in the community and religion:

> I don't know why, but I suppose, it seemed too, years ago, that people, that people were a little more religious than they are today. People seemed a little closer to God than they are today. Well, I think when people are together, when people stay together, then there is a closeness. So if you've got a group of people who are very close together, though I seem to think that where there's a closeness of people, there's a closeness to God, because the Word tells us to keep together, don't separate, don't go every man his own way. This seemed to be the thing years ago, and everybody seemed to be quite happy, even though there was hard times.[3]

This closeness he achieves with his family. One of the manifestations of this is that Simon, his wife, Margaret, and his four teenage children make up a family singing group. They take part in local school concerts, church services, Salvation Army rallies, and the annual Kiwanis' competitive

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[3] Tape 26(ii), January 5, 1976.

music festival in Carbonear. Two of his children and his wife join Simon in playing in the Salvation Army band.

Music has always been an important part of his life, and besides writing his own songs, singing them with his family and playing in the Salvation Army, he plays guitar, the banjo, piano accordion, the trumpet, and is learning the electronic organ.

He has been the leader of the carollers for thirteen years. There had been a break in the tradition of ten years in the 'fifties, probably due to a lack of leadership. The traditions of the past will be discussed below. In the Christmas of 1963, he decided to take off some extra copies of the carols. His own copy he had acquired from a Green's Harbour man, living in Toronto. He suggested to some friends that they might go carolling that year, and the suggestion was taken up eagerly.

Simon was the natural choice as leader because he knew the words and tunes. He attempts to sing the carols at the same pitch and at the same tempo as they have always been sung. His reasons for not having the instruments to accompany the carols is that they never used them in the old days, so neither should he. This is in spite of him being a member of the Salvation Army, which unlike many evangelical sects encourages the use of musical instruments in its worship.

He still likes to go carolling, because he enjoys singing the carols, because it brings cheer to people, and he appreciates the feeling of unity that results from all the voices blending together. There is gratification when an emotional reaction is observed. Simon states:

> It was very easy, very easy, to see an adult man--why did this happen?--but he'd be standing there, you'd see the tears rolling down his face--now this used to lift me.[4]

The leadership of the carolling in Green's Harbour has been in the Crocker family for as long as anyone can remember. When Simon first went carolling his Uncle James was leader, and James said to him:

> "Boy I'm not going to be able to do this all the time you know; someone else will have to take over," and someone in the group, I don't know who it was, said, "Well, we've got no one better to take over than yourself." So I said, "Well, maybe not, but if we go I'll do my best." Then of course they said, "O.K." automatically, "You're our leader." And I soon found out that they meant what they said, because they wouldn't go if I didn't go . . . . . Anyway they picked a leader and they picked me. Of course I was happy too, because I wanted to go with the carols, you know.[5]

Before James, Simon's father had been the leader, before him was the legendary Uncle Peter Crocker.

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[4]Tape 2(i), October 30, 1974.

[5]Tape 2(i), October 30, 1974.

3. Reminiscences of Carolling in the Past

Most of the memories of carolling in the old days involve reminiscences about Uncle Peter Crocker. He was generally known in the community as a wise man; fishermen would go to him for advice about the next day's weather. He would first study the weather glass, then look at the sky at night before giving his verdict. His judgement would be invariably correct.

His voice was high pitched, almost like a woman's, yet he would pitch the carols to suit all voices. In describing the qualities of his voice, the main characteristics that are always mentioned are that it was "loud, but not harsh, high yet not hard." These are the qualities that Simon attempts to emulate.

In the old days all the Crockers looked on the carolling as a sacred duty. For example, one man in the community was married on December 23, but spent the whole of the next night away singing the carols. Because it was so seriously regarded, behaviour was strictly controlled. Uncle Peter always insisted on silence in approaching a house, so that the impact would be all the greater when the group started to sing. Silence was also insisted upon between the carols, and on leaving the house. One informant recalled the general discipline of the carolling, "If you happen to cough a bit too hard he'd be looking at you as if to say, 'You be

quiet'."[6] If an individual caused trouble, he would not be invited the next year.

In spite of this air of discipline practical joking was possible, and four or five younger members of the group would find opportunities for "skylarking." Sometimes they would fill a man's rubbers with "nugs" of wood, or take some food off the kitchen stove and hide it away.

In the old days the refreshment would be similar to that of today, but a special treat would be a drink of cocoa. At the end of the night there would be a "scoff," which would take place in a different house each year in Green's Harbour. It would generally consist of pork, or bacon and eggs.

One of the significant differences in the old tradition was that the group was made up entirely of men. In fact, women did not participate until 1973. The general reason given for this exclusion was that the women were too busy preparing for Christmas Day. The average number in the old carolling group would be twenty-five, and several would join after the carols had been sung in Crocker's Cove, so there was a general replenishment of fresh voices through the night.

People whom I have asked to talk about the carolling in the old days, frequently recall their childhood, and

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[6] Tape 27(i), January 5, 1976.

waking up in the dark, to the sound of the mens' voices singing the carols:

> I know when I was growin' up, like you know a child, you'll be in bed and you'd hear them sing--it was beautiful;[7]

> O my son it was out of this world, to be in bed, and if you happened to be asleep, to be wakened by twelve or fifteen singing the carols, 'twas out of this world you know;[8]

> I think when we hear the old tunes, it reminds me of when I was little, and could hear them come into the house . . . it's more like heaven it is.[9]

4. A Musical and Stylistic Analysis of the Carols and the Carolling

In the following description and analysis the purpose is to identify the traditional elements in the musical structure of the carols which are sung in Green's Harbour today,[10] and to discover the principal characteristics of the performing style of Simon Crocker and the Green's Harbour carollers. The results should show something of the essence of the traditional musical and performing style of the community.

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[7] Tape 1(i), October 10, 1974.

[8] Tape 6(ii), June 9, 1975.

[9] Tape 2(i), October 30, 1974.

[10] The four traditional carols sung in Green's Harbour are: "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen" (pp. 92-3); "The Moon Shines Bright" (pp. 97-8); "The Virgin Whose Purity" (pp. 99-100); "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks" (pp. 101-2).

The musical analysis is based on the Cohens' method of tracing traditional musical norms.[11] This method was specifically concerned with the evolution of tunes of Tin Pan Alley origin once they had entered the southeastern folk tradition. They used as the basic data the original and folk recomposition of the same song. The Cohens wanted to know what changes should be looked for, whether there was a distinct folk music style, and whether the process whereby popular sheet music is transformed into folk music is predictable. In order to answer these questions they examined the conclusions and theories of such scholars as Sharp, Schinhan and Jackson, who were concerned with the general characteristics of Anglo-American folk music, and abstracted from these what seemed to be traditional folk elements. Similarly, I have tried to identify the traditional elements in the carols using some of the conclusions of Jackson, Abrahams and Foss, and Sharp.

The five traditional elements I chose were: the presence of an initial upbeat; the tonic as the first accented beat; a descending final cadence;[12] the lack of

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[11] Ann and Norm Cohen, "Tune Evolution as an Indicator of Traditional Musical Norms," Journal of American Folklore, 86 (1973), 37-47.

[12] G.P. Jackson draws attention to these first three elements in his Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1937), pp. 13-14.

chromaticism;[13] irregular bar lengths.[14]

I found that all four carols had an initial upbeat, and each had the tonic as the first accented beat. A descending final cadence occurred in three of the carols, while two had irregular bar lengths. Although one carol had chromatic notes, this was the result of modal construction, rather than being notes outside the diatonic scale.

Several of these characteristics can be attributed to the lack of instrumental accompaniment. Rhythmic irregularities are more likely to occur, and the presence of the tonic as the first accented note is necessary if there is no harmonic support, in order to emphasise the tonality. Chromatic notes are difficult to sing and keep in tune if there are no supporting instruments. Such an analysis demonstrates that the carols have retained their traditional style up to the present time.

I precede my stylistic analysis with a description of the performing style of Simon Crocker and the carollers. The performance is dominated by the leader. His voice carries more prominently than the others. He starts off each verse and occasionally will stop singing on the last line of

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[13] Roger Abrahams and George Foss, Anglo-American Folksong Style (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968), p. 153.

[14] Cecil Sharp, English Folk Song--Some Conclusions, 4th edition (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth, 1965, first published 1907), p. 108.

a verse in order to start the next one off clearly. This reliance on following the leader means that the performance is only loosely co-ordinated, with the singers lagging behind so that there is frequent overlapping. The singers often take rests in the middle of a carol, or will sing the beginning but not the end, or vice versa.

The volume of singing is invariably loud. There is no attempt to vary this either between verses or between carols. Similarly, the tempos are fairly constant throughout.

The carols are never practiced; new members are expected to learn them as the night progresses. On Christmas Eve in Green's Harbour the carols are sung in unison and are unaccompanied. I have already described singing the carols at the Orangemens' "time" and at Simon Crocker's house, when instrumental accompaniment was used.

The transcription of Simon Crocker's performance of "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks"[15] shows a uniformity of style between the verses. Apart from the initial upbeat to verse 1, the pitches of notes do not vary. Two embellishment techniques are used, the grace note and the glissando. The grace note stresses a note by approaching it from one degree below. The glissando is particularly prominent in

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[15] See Appendix C, Ex. 2.

the carols, and like the grace note is a means of added emphasis. It will be seen that the first and fourth verses of the carol are more highly embellished than the others.

My stylistic analysis is based on Lomax's "Cantometrics"[16] which is essentially a means of describing a song so as to include features of its performance as well as purely musical features. Such a rating provides information about traditional stylistic traits. Lomax provides for eight main levels of analysis on the coding sheet: the social organisation of the vocal group; the social organisation of the orchestra; the level of cohesiveness of both vocal group and orchestra; the level of explicitness in text and consonant load; the rhythmic organisation of vocal group and orchestra; the order of melodic complexity; the degree and kind of embellishments used; the vocal stance.[17] There are thirty-seven elements to be rated and each is on a graduated scale, proceeding from "individualised" and "little integrated" societies, to "groupy and integrated" ones.[18]

I took one of the carols as being representative of the rest and subjected it to a stylistic rating,[19] by

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[16]Alan Lomax, Folk Song Style and Culture, pp. 34-74.

[17]Ibid., p. 20.

[18]Ibid., p. 22.

[19]"The Virgin Whose Purity" (pp. 99-100. Tape 1(ii), October 10, 1974).

listening to it on tape and checking the performance characteristics against Lomax's rating scheme.

I found that the leadership in the carol singing was designated "social unison with dominant leader," which is a simply organised group performance in which all the participants sing the same melody and text throughout the performance. The effect is of co-ordinated unity, with the leader's voice being dominant.

Features of the vocal style included a considerable amount of glissando, a medium paced tempo, a steady loud dynamic, some unarticulated pitch changes, a "normal" voice register, and a vowel width described as a "narrow tense voice."

The main conclusion was that the carol performance tended to be "individualised and little integrated." In Chapter VI, I analyse Simon Crocker's religious songs and their performance, and in Chapter VII draw some conclusions about the relationship of the carols to the religious songs.

5. Some Functions of the Tradition

In discussing the function of the tradition, I use Merriam's distinction between "use" and "function":

> 'Use' refers to the situation in which music is employed in human action: 'function' concerns the reason for its employment and particularly the broader purpose which it serves.[20]

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[20] Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, p. 210.

This is another way of expressing the difference between manifest and latent function. The distinction leads to a discovery of connections between things which at first seem quite separate. Beattie stresses:

> By far the larger number of functional correlations identified by anthropological and sociological fieldworkers are implicit rather than explicit in the minds of the people they are studying, if indeed they are aware of them at all.[21]

In conversation, Simon Crocker compared the carolling to a vigil, and it is surely no accident that the first carol refers to the shepherds' vigil, and the last exhorts us to "watch and to pray." This feeling is underlined by the stress the carollers place on the desirability of singing the carols in the dark. The insistence on the set sequence, and on the traditional style of unaccompanied singing gives an added feeling of ritual.

The element of religious motivation is important to the carollers, and leads in turn to the social responsibility they have in visiting the elderly and the sick. There have been attempts in the past by some of the clergy to restrict the house visits to members of specific denominations. Such suggestions have been resisted.

It is difficult to disentangle different functions of the event because many are inter-related. For example, religious motivation is regarded as one of the determining

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[21] Beattie, Other Cultures, p. 55.

characteristics of the old days; therefore, the keeping of a religious custom keeps the community in touch with its past. This relationship to the past is a meaningful way for the carollers to help maintain their own identity.

The visits of the carollers today are an emotional experience, particularly for the elderly, a reversion to childhood when communal ties were closer, and people visited one another with greater freedom. Behaviour becomes child-like and spontaneous, the older men being in tears, probably being reminded of waking up as children to the sound of the carollers on Christmas morning. This nostalgia for the past and for a more communal way of life is generally expressed in the community by middle aged and older people.

The tradition has the function of strengthening community ties. In times past, when the community was male dominated, the carolling group was exclusively male. The gradual weakening of this dominance is reflected by the presence of women in today's group. As the carollers come from a particular location in Green's Harbour, and mostly from one family, there is an integrative function with the tradition providing a rallying point, drawing the members of the group together, and so reminding them of their common past.

The social function is emphasised by the giving of food in those houses where the carols are sung, it is

understood that a little food or drink be accepted in each house by the carollers so as not to offend. The tradition also gives entertainment, supplying opportunities to sing, to visit, to eat and to drink.

An interesting parallel to the carolling is found in the Orangemens' Parade on St. Stephen's Day. Both groups try to get from one end of the harbour to the other in order to stress the solidarity of the community. There are also similarities with the janneying tradition, including house to house visitation, and the provision of hospitality.

There has been little detailed discussion by folklorists of Christmas carolling traditions, probably because of a suspicion that church oriented activities are imposed on a culture, and are therefore not truly representative of it. There are no carols, for example, in the published Newfoundland collections of folk songs.

There is a sense in which the carolling can be regarded as a manifestation of folk religion, existing partially alongside and underneath the official level of religion.[22] This is in spite of the rejection by

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[22]For a discussion of the different levels of culture and religion, see Don Yoder, "Official Religion versus Folk Religion," Pennsylvania Folk Life, 15 (1965-6), 36-42.

evangelicism in particular, of folk religion. Simon Crocker, for example, participates in the "substitute culture" of evangelicism,[23] but is also a crucial figure in the maintenance of a folk tradition.

The validity of approaching a religious occasion from a folkloric point of view should be apparent. The carolling tradition has been fashioned into a distinctive form by the group in order to express certain values, and to fulfill important functions. The carols have become the folk songs of this particular group.

The functions that have been outlined show that the tradition is associated with the old values, including religion, close family and communal ties, and an identification with the community. The new values associated with the young include the loosening of religious and family ties, along with greater mobility and affluence. There is a certain adaptation to the new values in the carol singing, including the addition of women into the group, and the encouragement of instrumental accompaniments when the carols are sung indoors. Any other change is unthinkable, the order has to remain the same, on Christmas Eve no instruments are used,

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[23] According to Yoder (p. 39), the "substitute culture" replaces the community based church by the fellowship sect, dancing and alcohol by spiritual ecstasy, the ballad by the spiritual, the New Year party by the watch night, and the old folk calendar by a subjective calendar.

and the carols have to be sung in the same style and at the same pitch at which they have always been sung.

At first sight it might appear doubtful that a tradition relying so heavily on the memories of the past, and on the enthusiasm of one man, will last, but there is a more positive way of looking at it. If it is regarded in Wallace's sense as a "revitalization movement,"[24] it becomes a conscious effort on the part of a few to control the acculturative process. The fact that the break in the tradition came soon after Confederation, and was then revived, seems to support this view.

However the tradition is regarded, this chapter has shown how central to the life of a community a tradition can be. A valuable approach is to regard it as a "musical occasion" which is "a named event, with a beginning and an end, varying degrees of organization, audience/performance, and location."[25] This will reflect the community's concepts and concerns, as such an event is

> . . . an encapsulated expression of the shared cognitive form and values of a society, which includes not only the music itself, but also the totality of associated behaviour, and underlying concepts.[26]

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[24] A.F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, 58 (1950), 264-281.

[25] Marcia Herndon, "The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnomusicologist's View," Ethnomusicology, 15 (1971), 340.

[26] Ibid., 340.

The carolling viewed as a "musical occasion" shows that the religious event is valued both in terms of itself and as a symbol of the past. It brings with it an emotional release through its reminder of childhood, and creates a time when adults can react with the immediacy of children. By reinforcing communal ties, it strengthens solidarity, or at least reminds the community of what was once thought to be important.

CHAPTER VI

"EVERYDAY MUSIC": THREE ASPECTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF COUNTRY MUSIC ON THE LOCAL PERFORMER

Although as previous chapters have shown, older traditional music still plays a role in local traditions, I found that early on in my fieldwork I had to come to terms with the dominating influence of country music on my informants. The songs of Charley Pride, Johnny Cash and Dick Nolan are frequently sung while unaccompanied, traditional ballads are only occasionally sung in a natural context. Indeed, I felt fortunate if half a dozen such ballads were able to be dredged up from the failing memories of my more elderly informants. It is country music that is now regarded as "everyday music" as one of my informants put it.

This chapter examines the nature of country music in a regional and local context, and focusses upon its influence on four musicians in the Trinity Bay South area: Simon Crocker, Harry Mercer, Roy Didham and Mike Green.

1. The Regional Context of Country Music

D.K. Wilgus emphasises that folklorists must redefine the distinctions between commercial and folk categories so

as to avoid a survivalistic approach.[1] They have to come to terms with the fact that change is a constant in society. Even in the nineteenth century, such rural areas as the Southern States were accepting, rejecting and modifying the cultural influences of urban civilisation.

If change is accepted as a constant in the region's folk tradition, the continuities between folk and country music styles should become apparent. The influence becomes a two way affair. To ignore change and the divergencies from the old established line is to ignore our present culture. It is unfortunate that attempts to study accommodation and innovation have not matched the folklorists' predilections for retentions and survivals.

The roots of country music do not lie solely in the Southern States or the Southern Appalachians. Early performers came from such diverse areas as New England, Nova Scotia, and Alberta. Rather than see it as a purely regional phenomenon, Rosenberg views country music as the result of an acculturative process between urban, rural folk and popular musics.[2] For example, a distinctly regional variant

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[1] D.K. Wilgus, "An Introduction to the Study of Hillbilly Music," Journal of American Folklore, 78 (1965), 195.

[2] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Folk and Country Music in the Canadian Maritimes: A Regional Model," Journal of Country Music, 5 (1974), 76-83.

has evolved in the Maritimes; it reflects the folk culture of the area in specific features such as singing style, and instrumental preferences.

Rosenberg points out that television ratings and record sales show definite regional preferences, and that the Canadian Radio and Television Council's ruling that there should be a 30 per cent Canadian content, has led to the popularity of identifiably regional songs.[3]

As Peterson and DiMaggio demonstrate, such a statement detracts from the "massification hypothesis" which holds that industrialisation, urbanisation and the mass media destroy regional, ethnic, religious and occupational diversity, replacing them with the homogenised products of mass culture.[4] In fact, the survival of country music was due to its separateness from Tin Pan Alley, particularly as a result of regional preferences, although today it is no longer solely identified with regional and ethnic groups, but rather with the white post adolescent working class.[5]

One region which has been particularly influenced by country music from mainland Canada and the United States

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[3] Ibid., 80.

[4] See Richard Peterson and Paul DiMaggio, "From Region to Class, The Changing Locus of Country Music: A Test of the Massification Hypothesis," Social Forces (1975), 497-505.

[5] Ibid., 503.

is Newfoundland. This might appear surprising, as it has been considered an ideal "folk" community because of its isolation,[6] but as in the case of the American South, this isolation factor has been overstated. Although separated from mainland Canada, St. John's, the capital was on the regular main passenger route for boats going to New York.[7] By the 1930's, the west coast of the island could receive radio stations from the mainland,[8] and in the late 1930's it was not uncommon to find the records of Hank Snow and Jimmie Rodgers in the possession of an outport family.[9] Records were brought back to the island by Newfoundlanders after visiting Brooklyn, New York, the "Boston States" and Halifax, as well as being ordered from the mail order houses.

Naturally, with Confederation in 1949, closer links were forged with the mainland. Hank Snow toured the province in 1949, and was followed by Doc Williams, the American

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[6]See MacEdward Leach's comments in his Foreword to E.B. Greenleaf and G.Y. Mansfield, Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1968), p. i.

[7]I. Sheldon Posen and Michael Taft, "The Newfoundland Popular Music Project," Canadian Folk Music Journal, 1 (1973), 20.

[8]Ibid., 20.

[9]Michael Taft, A Regional Discography of Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's: MUNFLA, 1975), p. vi.

country singer in 1952. Country music became associated with the mainland with its advanced technology, and promise of wealth and success.[10] Traditional music came to reflect the bad old days, poverty and failure.

Today, the situation has changed so that country music is associated with the middle aged, and has been supplanted by rock in appealing to the young. Country music is also regarded in Newfoundland as being representative of the outport rather than the city. This preference for country music on the part of the middle aged outporters who are generally in the lower income bracket, supports Peterson and DiMaggio's statement referred to earlier, that country music is associated with the white post-adolescent working class.

2. Simon Crocker's "Religious Songs"

Simon Crocker's background and attitudes have already been discussed in a previous chapter about the Green's Harbour Christmas Carolling, of which he is the leader.

He is influenced by a wide variety of music, as this portion of an interview shows:

> But I can live and die with music. I can sit down and listen to a band, I mean a brass band for hours. I don't care what it is, it just does something to me,

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[10] Michael Taft, "'That's Two More Dollars': Jimmy Linegar's Success with Country Music in Newfoundland," Folklore Forum, 7 (1974), 99.

> I really love it . . . . And then again I like guitar music, you know, I'm sure you've heard of bluegrass music, now I enjoy this very much.[11]

More specifically, his favourite singer is Wilf Carter, and other influences include Hank Snow and the Carter Family.

Most of Simon's repertoire consists of "religious songs," and I recorded nine of these, of which he wrote the words of five, and the tunes of four. The titles of the songs are as follows: "Crucified," "I'll Fly Away," "I Know My Lord Isn't Visible," "It's Suppertime," "I've Got a Mansion," "Long Ago in Days of Childhood," "Lord, I'm Sad, I'm Lost and Lonely," "Standing in the Need of Prayer," and "While Attending Church on Sunday Morning."

Simon wrote many of his songs when he was a truck driver. Having periods of spare time with nothing to do, and possessing an active mind, a tune would come to him, and then he would make up some words, and write them on the back of a time card. As soon as he arrived home he would sing the song into a cassette recorder in order not to forget the tune. He performs them with his family at church services, Salvation Army rallies and at the Kiwanis' competitive music festival in Carbonear. Several of them are sung in parts, and they are all performed with accompaniment, usually a guitar and banjo, or a solo guitar.

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[11] Tape 1(ii), October 10, 1974.

These songs are intensely personal and subjective. The words of "Lord I'm Sad, I'm Lost and Lonely" give a good idea of the general themes found in his songs:

> Lord I'm sad, I'm lost and lonely,
> And I'm trying to find my ease,
> So I'm asking thee dear Saviour,
> Dear Saviour, help me please.
>
> Lord I've tried all the pleasures that surround me,
> And all I find is an aching void,
> But I know that if I follow
> I'll find rest and sweet peace at thy side.
>
> In your word you said, "Come, whosoever,"
> And I'm told that it means me,
> I now repent dear Saviour,
> And I'm falling upon my knee.
>
> Dear Lord I want you to save me
> From the terrible bondage of sin,
> I fling the door of my heart widely open,
> Come dear Saviour and enter in.
>
> When I come to cross the river,
> I want to hear from thy lips, "Well Done,"
> I'll see those who've gone before me
> And see Jesus, God's dear son.[12]

There is a general preoccupation with the after life, and emphasis is placed on personal salvation. A clear theme is the interpretation of this life as the equivalent of the biblical "vale of tears," a trait which according to Lund, is typical of Protestant fundamentalism.[13] Other clear

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[12]Tape 3(i), October 30, 1974.

[13]Jens Lund, "Fundamentalism, Racism and Political Reaction in Country Music," in R. Serge Denisoff, Richard A. Peterson, eds. The Sounds of Social Change (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 81.

themes in Simon's "religious songs" are a nostalgia for mother and childhood, and a stress on personal witness.

As Simon's "religious songs" belong to a later period than the carols, some of them having only been written in the last few years, I decided to subject them to a musical and stylistic analysis as I had done with the carols. The purpose was to discover any traditional links, and to find the nature of more recent innovations. As the carols were group performances, I decided only to include those "religious songs" which were also sung by a group. This meant excluding two of the nine songs which were solo performances by Simon. The remaining seven were all sung by Simon, his wife and four children.[14] As I have previously mentioned, several are sung in parts, and they all have an instrumental accompaniment.

In the analysis based on the Cohens' method of tracing traditional norms, I found that none of the "religious songs" had the tonic as the first accented note, although they all used one of the other notes of the tonic chord instead. Two of them had considerable amounts of chromaticism, and none had irregular bar lengths.

Clearly these elements are more recent innovations, and several of them can be attributed to the instrumental

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[14]The transcriptions of the tunes of the "religious songs," Appendix C, Ex. 3.

accompaniment. The accompaniment irons out rhythmic irregularities and makes the performance more cohesive. The harmonic backing reduces the need for stressing the tonic as the first accented note, and makes it easier to sing chromatic notes and keep them in tune. Like the carols the majority of the "religious songs" had an initial upbeat and a descending final cadence.

For a stylistic analysis I took one of the "religious songs" as being representative,[15] and rated the performance on tape according to Lomax's "Cantometrics."

Leadership in the song was described as interlocking, implying a homogeneity without a dominant leader. Not all of Lomax's categories fit exactly, and an interlocking performance should have both complementary rhythm and melody. The complementary melody is present, but the complementary rhythm is not. However, with the high degree of tonal and rhythmic blend which is apparent in the performance, it is true to say that the overall effect was cohesive and interlocking. The vocal style was similar to that of the carol, analysed in the previous chapter, including a similar medium paced tempo, a steady loud dynamic, some unarticulated pitch changes, a normal voice register, and a similar vocal width.

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[15]"Crucified," (Appendix C, Ex. 4, Tape 3(i), October 30, 1974).

The main conclusions after the analysis were that the "religious song" was relatively groupy and integrated, and that the traditional musical features of the area were retained in the vocal style.

3. The Repertoire of Harry Mercer

Whereas Simon Crocker's repertoire is almost exclusively religious, Harry Mercer has a completely secular repertoire. Harry is an informal, easy-going man in his mid-forties. He was born and still lives in Green's Harbour. As a small boy he was keen on singing and most of the songs he heard at home consisted of hymns sung by his mother. It was not until he was seventeen that he bought his own guitar. Today he usually sings and plays the guitar on weekends, in any of the clubs he visits.

Harry finds singing a relaxation, and a way of relating to younger people, who seem to flock round him. He associates it with weekends, with the accompanying periods of drinking. He says:

> But a weekend see, you feels free, you know. Know you haven't got to go to work the next morning you know. See, you feels free, you don't care about anything.[16]

He worked for several years as a night watchman up and down the shore, and would work a fourteen hour shift.

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[16] Tape 12(i), June 10, 1975.

To pass the time away he would frequently take along his guitar and make up his own songs.

The first time I visited him he readily agreed to sing and play for me. Within four hours he performed fifty-two songs[17] as well as numerous instrumental tunes and jokes. We were in his kitchen-cum-parlour, and he and his eldest son, Wayne, were seated on a wooden bench with a microphone in front of them. Wayne played along with his father on electric guitar, and sang several songs himself. By the end of the evening at least a dozen people had drifted in, including his children, and teenagers from neighbouring houses.

When Harry starts to sing, he pulsates with life, his feet start to tap, and every so often his shoulders give an added twist, to emphasise a word or phrase. He plays other instruments as well as the guitar; the mouth organ, the saw and the spoons. He plays the spoons expertly and uses his shoulders, his back and his knees in playing them, much to the amusement of the children.

For part of 1975, Harry was a member of a band, but he had to abandon this because of his shift work. His repertoire can be taken to be representative of the material local bands use when playing for dances. He learns most

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[17]For Harry Mercer's repertoire, see Appendix B.

of his songs from records, radio and television. I have divided his repertoire into five sections, according to Harry's immediate sources: mainland country music performed by mainlanders, and/or Newfoundlanders; Newfoundland country music performed by Newfoundlanders; traditional Newfoundland music; "home-made songs"; party songs.

Among Harry's favourite mainland performers are Hank Williams, Johnny Cash and Charley Pride. An example of this mainland influence is his singing of "Image of Me," a hit record of Bob Wills in 1961, and of Conway Twitty in 1968.

Although the majority of the songs in his repertoire are country songs from the mainland, a significant proportion have been learned from records by local performers. For example, the song "Broken Engagement" was a Webb Pierce hit in 1969, but Harry learned it from a record put out by the Newfoundland Showband. Local performers also sing songs about Newfoundland, and these form an important part of Harry's repertoire, and confirm the distinctly regional nature of much country music.

The songs Harry makes up, which he calls "home-made songs" are usually humourous, and occasionally nonsensical. They are often sung just before the band's intermission at a dance. Most of these songs are made up or improvised on the spur of the moment; some are traditional in origin. For example, the "Fishes Song" is clearly related to "Blow

the Wind Westerly" in Peacock's collection.[18]

Now the old king whale took a maid and said,
"Come down here, I'll love 'em dead,"
Flicked his tail and said with glee;
"Come on baby, we'll have a spree."

Fal dal le diddle I, fal dal le diddle I,
Fal lal le diddle I, diddle I dee.[19]

Harry ends up an evening with what can best be described as party songs, consisting of well known tunes to which he adds his own words. The song is often localised, and frequently includes some slightly risque comments, as in the following text, sung to the tune of "Nobody's Business":

She came from Kelligrews, she likes her fish and brewis,
Nobody's business but her own.
She came from Harbour Grace, touch of powder on her face,
Nobody's business but her own.

No sir, Nobody's business, nobody's business,
Nobody's business but her own,

She came from Cavendish, she got holes in her underwear,
Nobody's business but her own.

refrain,

She came from Heart's Delight, she liked it in the night,
Nobody's business but her own,
She came from Cavendish, she loved it daily,
Nobody's business but her own.

refrain.

She came from Hopeall, she would take the food and all,
Nobody's business but her own . . .
She came from New Harbour, she likes every harbour,
Nobody's business but her own.

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[18]Peacock, Songs of the Newfoundland Outports, p. 859.

[19]Tape 10(i), June 10, 1975.

refrain.[20]

The general themes of the songs in Harry's repertoire are the usual ones found in country music--the anguish of lost and unrequited love, and the passing of the good old ways. This fatalistic view, however, is countered by the humourous and party songs.

An examination of his repertoire shows that he has adapted the influences of the media selectively. For example, Irish music forms a substantial part of broadcast and recorded entertainment in Newfoundland, with such popular Irish Newfoundland bands as Ryans Fancy and the Carlton Showband. However, there is virtually no Irish influence in Harry's repertoire, although he did mention on one occasion that he used to enjoy the McNulty Family in the old days.

Harry communicates with the young through his music. This rapport was most evident on the evening I recorded him, when there was active participation by the children who were in the room. They laughed at the humourous songs, and joined in singing such favourites as "Daisy a Day" and "Bobby Magee."

Harry manages to keep in touch with his own tradition with songs like the "Fishes Song," and "No Price Tags on the Doors of Newfoundland." Finally, he perhaps expresses his

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[20]Tape 12(ii), June 10, 1975.

own personal needs through the fatalistically viewed lyrics of such songs as "Broken Engagement" and "Cold Hard Facts of Life."

4. A Comparison of Two Local Musicians

Unlike Harry Mercer and Simon Crocker, both Roy Didham and Mike Green depend on music for making a substantial part of their living. They are both singers and guitarists, and used to play in the same band.

Today, Roy who is in his early thirties, is gaining the reputation of having one of the best bands in the area. He first learned to play the mouth organ as a child, teaching himself. He was taught to play the button accordion by his great uncle at an early age. Next he graduated on to the guitar, and was shown a few chords by one of his friends. In general, he believes that learning is best achieved by watching experts. At present he is teaching himself the fiddle, playing some of the old jigs on it.

As he was growing up, the main musical influences on him were the early Beatles and Elvis Presley. In his opinion, the quality of the Beatles' music declined after they went on drugs. However, it is country music that is his main interest, and he learns his songs from the radio, television and records.

He has played in bands ever since leaving school, and at present he is the leader of one. It has three

members including himself. Roy plays lead guitar, accordion and sings, and there is a rhythm-guitar and drums. The present band has been in existence for about a year. Roy taught the rhythm guitarist how to play, and the three practice together as much as possible. They rehearsed for six months before playing at their first dance, which was at a wedding. They play over a sixty mile radius, from Colinet to Old Perlican and Bay Roberts.

The band's success is probably due to Roy's eclectic repertoire, which includes rock n'roll, country songs, Newfoundland songs, and traditional accordion tunes.[21] Musical taste seems to be generational as Roy avoids clubs with a younger clientele, because all such places want is hard rock. He is tolerant towards rock musicians, especially if he thinks they are talented, but prefers quieter music himself. The audiences he plays for consist mainly of middle-aged married couples.

Roy believes sincerity to be an important attribute when performing a song. If this is not present, "it's like a drink of beer that's gone flat."[22] However, he also feels that showmanship is an important ingredient for success, believing that "you have to sell yourself like a

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[21] Taft states that one of the reasons for the success of Wilf Doyle, a Newfoundlander who has made a professional career on the island since the forties, is his eclectic repertoire which ranges from jigs to rock n'roll ("That's Two more Dollars," 117).

[22] Tape 18(i), October 21, 1975.

product."[23]

Ideally, Roy would like to make his complete living at music, but doubts whether he will. He feels handicapped by being unable to read music, and for this reason is particularly keen that local schools should offer musical training, so that children can benefit.

Mike Green is in his early twenties, was born in Green's Harbour, but lives now in St. John's. He is primarily a rock musician and has toured Eastern Canada with a band called "Stained Glass." Recently, he has made a couple of television appearances on a local show called "The Beth Harrington Show," and with a group called "Battery." Occasionally, he plays guitar for Dick Nolan, the Newfoundland country singer.

Mike was born into a musical family, where traditional music was frequently performed, but seems to have been little influenced by this. As a member of the local Orange band, he found the musical fare of hymns and marches too restricting. He was given a guitar when he was about twelve years old. He never did much with it until he heard the Beatles and saw them for the first time on the Ed Sullivan Television Show. He then started to work seriously at the guitar, but felt a basic lack of confidence. However, when he was seventeen or eighteen he

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[23] Ibid.

went into a St. John's club, and on hearing the band, thought he was as good as its rhythm guitarist. He told the leader so, and soon after was invited to join the band.

Other influences on records included Procol Harum, and Gerry and the Pacemakers. Today he is becoming interested in jazz, but feels the inability to read music is a hindrance. He would like to go to the States to study jazz and arranging.

Although there is a good number of rock musicians in St. John's, most of them are not able to find sufficient work. One of the main reasons is the competition from mainland groups touring the island. In order to make a decent living, Mike finds he has to play country music, often for well known singers. He finds little satisfaction in this, calling it "the common man's music . . . basically three chords and the same wailing tune."[24] The lyrics are similarly basic, "usually about someone's situation, about Betty and Joan . . . it's not hard to understand, it just tells a little story, and in most cases there's no big, deep meaning behind it."[25]

Both Roy and Mike grew up surrounded by the traditional culture of an outport community. Roy accepted this culture and incorporated its features into his general

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[24]Tape 8(i), June 10, 1975.

[25]Ibid.

musical style, which was based on country music. Mike rejected such influences, and embraced rock and urbanism. Both regret their inability to read music.

Many of these differences are due to age disparity. Roy was brought up in pre-Confederation days, while Mike knew nothing of these. Mike received a substantial education and as an ambitious individual, rock represents those values he wishes to attain. Roy is content to stay where he is, symbolised by the parameters of his music.

4. Conclusion

In this discussion of the influence of country music on the local performer, it has been observed that there is a considerable degree of selectivity on the part of the individual. Far from being imposed by a dominant culture, the material has been carefully chosen to reflect and symbolise (unconsciously) certain concepts and needs, and has been refashioned to suit the changing needs of the community.

Certain innovations of musical style are introduced but within the framework of the traditional musical style of the area. This confirms Lomax's contention that musical style is the most conservative of culture traits.[26]

Finally, the conclusions of this chapter are confirmed by Halpert, when in discussing the influence of

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[26]Lomax, "Folk Song Style," 930.

mainland musical forms on the traditional Newfoundland performer, he says:

> A vigorous folk culture is not overwhelmed by modern commercial music. It does not feel impelled to absorb all the new musical idioms to which it is exposed. Apparently, a strong culture is able to adopt selectively from many styles only those elements that it wants, those it can adjust to its own way of feeling.[27]

[27] In Taft, Discography, p. v.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I would like to call attention to some of the main points of the study. I have tried to describe and explain the music of a Newfoundland outport from the point of view of treating music as a form of human behaviour. Two particularly fruitful ways of establishing the relationship between man and his music, are to regard music as being symbolic, and to approach musical change as an indicator of social change.

The "old songs" are assigned broad symbolic roles. To those who have embraced evangelical Protestantism, they represent their past, which was based on ignorance of God, and a reliance on trivial and sometimes degrading pursuits like card playing, dancing and drinking. All this, together with the songs is now rejected, and as one of my informants testified at a religious meeting, "My feet had been set in the miry clay, but are now on the King's Highway."[1]

To others, however, the past is looked on with pride and the "old songs" symbolise what is real and true. They

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[1] From field diary, December 21, 1975.

remind us that the present was built on the achievements of the past, and we ignore this at our peril. If there was one moment that crystallised the symbolic nature of music it was in the confrontation that took place when the ballad, "The Ella M. Rudolph" was sung at the Lions Club dance. It represented in its structure and style, a leisureliness and an objectivity, and its text, based as it was on a tragedy at sea, was a symbol of a vanishing way of life. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that the song's unaccompanied nature symbolised individualism and self-reliance. The song's rejection by the crowd who had come to dance to country music, left no doubt that it was more than the song that was being rejected, but rather the whole way of life it encapsulated.

To those who reject the "old songs" on religious grounds, the carols represent all the virtues of the past, laden with memories of childhood, of times when people were closer together. Like the ballads they are long, unaccompanied, and are concerned with values that the majority of the young are rejecting.

Musical taste is clearly generational, and represents values that a particular generation wishes to attain. To the middle aged, and those who were born before Confederation, country music represents mainland prosperity, technology and status, while to the young, rock represents the values of the city. Sometimes there is a compromise, with some young

people looking to the past, and to the rural way of life on which it was built, as providing important insights as to the way we live. They incorporate the old ballads into their general rock style, in the hope of retaining some of these old values.

Some music serves as the "badge" of a social group,[2] and in such a case the music is incidental to the impact of the social situation. The playing of the Orangemens' Band at the "time" is such an example. No effort is made to play the hymns expressively, because it is what they represent that is important, which is the grounding of the Order and the community in Protestantism.

As well as reflecting emotion and meaning, music can also reflect other cultural behaviour, organisation and values, and the Christmas Carolling provides a good example of this. As an all-male activity in the past, it mirrored the structure of society which was male dominated, consequently the admission of women into the group is a symptom of growing female equality. In both Green's Harbour, and Chapel Arm the carolling is associated with one particular kinship group, and the leadership is passed down through the family.

Comparison between the performance styles of the carol and the "religious song," serves as an indicator of communal

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[2]Blacking, How Musical is Man?, p. 50.

organisation and values in the present and the past, with the carol performance being "individualised and little integrated" and the "religious song" being "groupy and integrated." This indicates the trend towards centralisation that is taking place in the community.

It has been seen that Green's Harbour in the past was all but self-sufficient, and came close to being an ideal extended family system, with the sharing of produce, and a general feeling of co-operation. Today this self-sufficiency has been replaced by consumerism, and social events mirror this change. The Orangemens' "time," which can be regarded as a survival of the pre-Confederation era, included a cross-section of all ages and types in the community. This was in contrast to the Lions dance, from which children and teenagers were excluded, and at which generally the more affluent members of the community were present. Consumerism brings efficiency, and the old general stores are being converted into supermarkets, the former intimacy and leisureliness being lost. Centralisation is a fact of life in the community, with government providing much employment, as well as making welfare and unemployment insurance payments available.

The Christmas carolling clearly reflects the values and organisation of the community in the past. The performance is loosely organised on an informal basis, and its rough social unison is both a musical and a social fact.

By comparison, the performance of the "religious songs" confirms the centralising trend, and the narrowing of the range of relationships within the community, being limited to the immediate nuclear family, and being tightly organised. The presence of two part singing in the "religious songs" can be taken to indicate the existence of two independent roles in the community, and Lomax takes the presence of two parts to be "a simultaneous communication of male and female roles,"[3] the upper voice part representing the feminine. Such an interpretation fits in well with the growing equality of women in the area.

The replacement of the fiddler or accordion player by the "group" at a dance is part of the same trend towards tighter organisation. The narrowing of relationships is reflected in the dancing style. In the past, couples danced together in groups, and while there are still general dances that concentrate on the group, the majority of dances centre on the couple as a separate entity today.

Change is often caused by the disappearance of a function. The "old songs" were frequently sung in the work situation, but with the decline of the fishery and the advent of mechanisation, shanties are no longer needed to be sung. The long ballads used to while away the long winter evenings, now the media provide us with entertainment.

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[3] Lomax, Folk Song Style and Culture, p. 166.

There is some continuation with the past, however, in that two of my informants, Harry Mercer and Simon Crocker, wrote their songs while they have been at work.

An important influence on several of my informants has been the Country Music Album. Klymasz has pointed out that this is a unique research instrument, in that it filters, screens and sifts the extant folk music material.[4] The distinctive style of Newfoundland country music is presented in terms of an acoustic phenomenon, a certain special kind of sound. The local bands invariably include an accordion along with their electric instruments, and this establishes a direct link with tradition. The traditional tunes are still widely played, and as Greenleaf and Mansfield note, keep their identities more perfectly than the ballad tunes.[5]

It has already been noted that the repertoire of Harry Mercer includes traditional material side by side with the more recent, and that Simon Crocker's performances of both carols and "religious songs" had a consistent vocal style. Far from being imposed by the mass media, therefore, country music should be seen as a popular art

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[4] Robert B. Klymasz, "Sounds You Never Heard Before: Ukrainian Country Music in Western Canada," Ethnomusicology, 16 (1972), 373.

[5] Greenleaf and Mansfield, p. xxxix.

form, for a group which is responding to modernisation.[6] In this response it affirms the old rural values associated with fundamentalism and strong family life, and contrasts these with alcoholism and marital infidelity.[7]

Another response to change and modernisation is the Christmas carolling, and in its over-adherence to tradition, it contributes to the rate of change. It may be that religious music has a slower rate of change than secular music, and Merriam points out[8] that where music is an essential part of ritual, it cannot be changed without altering the ritual, which is itself tied to the local belief system. As recreational music is less rigidly confined, it is more amenable to change.

Although acculturation was most apparent after Confederation, it is clear that Newfoundland outports were susceptible to change long before that. Songs and stories were exchanged in lumbercamps, the "foreign going sailors" were in regular contact with Europe, the Caribbean and America, the Labrador fishery was an annual event for many people, and American banking ships regularly came into

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[6]Patricia Averill, "Folk and Popular Elements in Modern Country Music," Journal of Country Music, 5 (1974), 47.

[7]Neil V. Rosenberg, "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass," Journal of American Folklore, 80 (1967), 148.

[8]Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, p. 307.

Green's Harbour to obtain bait. Doctors and professional people were frequently English, and a number of Green's Harbour men went to fight in the two World Wars. Confederation, therefore, merely speeded up the acculturative process.

List's three factors which determine the degree of acculturation, referred to in the Introduction, are difficult to apply to the Green's Harbour situation. The mainland culture is regarded as having more vitality by the young, but the traditional culture is positively appreciated by some highly motivated middle aged people, and by some of the younger generation who have been exposed to urban life. There is little acceptance by the dominant culture of traditional ways, but in spite of this they still persist, even though the values they represent are foreign to those of the dominant culture.

List's results of acculturation are more useful. The disappearance of a function, as in the case of the shanty, has led to the virtual disappearance of such songs.[9]

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[9] List also mentions transfer of function, but in the case of the shanties, I have not witnessed this. However, Abrahams in Deep the Water, Shallow the Shore: Three Essays on Shantying in the West Indies (Austin: University of Texas for the American Folklore Society, 1974), states that shanties in the West Indies are now sung while moving house, or hauling a heavy cauldron from one yard to another (p. 3). Greenleaf and Mansfield also note that shanties were sung while building the Catholic Cathedral in St. John's, and in house moving (pp. 338-9, and photograph opposite p. 340).

The singing of "The Ella M. Rudolph" at a dance which featured mostly country music is an example of acculturated and unacculturated material existing side by side, as is the singing of the traditional carols along with country hits at parties. Hybridisation occurs in several ways, including the playing of the traditional jigs and reels on electric instruments, and the incorporation of traditional Newfoundland materials like "The Fishes Song" into country music.

Green's Harbour is probably at the second and third stage of Firth's process of cultural change. The artifacts such as mainland technology and musical styles have been accepted, and this has brought strain, with group values giving way to individualism. The reversal to such a traditional practice as carolling may be seen as a symptom of this hostility. The third stage of Murdock's scheme fits the Green's Harbour situation well, with the process of selective elimination and the competition of alternatives. In Katz's view the over-adherence to tradition results in disintegration, which leads to synthesis.[10]

The presence of two distinct styles of music in a culture would certainly seem to indicate a degree of tension, but whether this, as Firth, Murdock, Katz and Klymasz all state, will be resolved in a synthesis, must

[10] Katz, "Mannerism and Cultural Change," 469.

be open to question. Such an evolutionary view should not be regarded as inevitable.

Through regarding music as being symbolic, and approaching musical change as an indicator of social change, it has been possible to be specific about some of the ways in which music can be regarded as a form of human behaviour. In examining the folk music complex of Green's Harbour and its surrounding communities, a polarisation was found to exist between the old, represented by the "old songs," traditional carols and "times," and the new, including country music songs, "religious songs," and the dances sponsored by the Lions. Too simplistic a view should be avoided, however, as the older forms still persist, and possibly influence the newer ones.

The folk music complex has therefore to be regarded as a dynamic process, reflecting the behaviour that produces it. The process is susceptible to acceptance, rejection and modification, and innovations have to be in accord with the prevailing belief and value system, and with traditional performing styles. Because every culture has an internal congruence, the consistent structures found in the folk music complex will be reflected in other cultural structures.

APPENDIX A

Notes on the transcribed songs and carols

For each song the following information, if available, is given:

1. Page number and title of the song as given in the thesis.
2. Song collections in which the song has appeared. Full details of the collections, which include unpublished dissertations as well as published works, are supplied in the Bibliography.
3. Field recordings in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (hereinafter MUNFLA), on which the song occurs. Accession and tape numbers are provided, together with the name and location of the performers.
4. Additional comments.

Chapter III

pp. 43-7. "The Dying Soldier."
J.H. Cox, p. 144. Doerflinger, pp. 274-6. Laws, A14. Leach, p. 146.
MUNFLA: 71-26(C1024), H. Campbell and M. Power, Branch; 71-50(C976), H. Hutchings, Cowhead.
Leach notes that this is one of many dying soldier (sailor) songs, following in the wake of "Bingen on the Rhine."

pp. 47-50. "The Kaiser's Dream."
MUNFLA: 71-48(C891), Mrs. G. Cormier, Upper Ferry.
According to Margaret Knight, the collector of the above version, Mrs. Cormier learned the song from her two brothers who had first heard it in the lumbercamps at Millertown, as my informant had done. The tune I collected from Freeman Higdon is mixolydian influenced.

pp. 51-3. "The Pot'ead Song."
MUNFLA: 72-94(C1277), A.J. Woodman, New Harbour.
The tune of the first verse is related to "Villikins and his Dinah."

p. 54. "Jolly Poker."
Abrahams, pp. 5-6. Doerflinger, pp. 9-10. Folk Song Society Journal (hereinafter JFSS) 5, 313. Greenleaf and Mansfield, p. 338. Hugill, pp. 289-90. Sharp, English Folk Chanteys, p. 33. Whall, p. 146.
MUNFLA: 25 versions in the Song Index.

p. 54. "Haul on the Bowline."
Doerflinger, pp. 9-10. JFSS 5, 314. Greenleaf and Mansfield, p. 338. Hugill, pp. 354-56.
MUNFLA: 11 versions in the Song Index.

p. 55. "Sally Brown."
Abrahams, pp. 60-1. Blondahl, p. 31. Doyle, p. 337. JFSS 8, 97. Hugill, pp. 161-67. Mackenzie, pp. 275-6. Sharp, English Folk Chanteys, p. 33. Whall, p. 65.

pp. 62-6. "The Ella M. Rudolph."
Casey, pp. 176-8.
MUNFLA: 68-16(C493), Joe Harvey, Cape Broyle.
According to Casey the song was written by Hugh Sexton and Dukey Blackwood, and appeared in the Trinitarian (Trinity, Newfoundland), on December 21, 1926, under the title "The Loss of the Ella M. Rudolph." The song is well known in the Trinity Bay South area, and several of my informants knew Dukey Blackwood, the survivor and co-author of the song, well. According to one of them, the vessel was lost in a treacherous place known to local fishermen as the "Whale's Back." The tune of the version I collected is similar to that of "The Florizel" in Greenleaf and Mansfield, p. 283.

pp. 73-5. "The Orangemens' Song."
I have been unable to trace other versions of this song. My informant told me after singing it, "And that is the degrees my son. If you knew the degrees like I do, you'd neither be afraid to say it, it's so plain." (Tape 33(i), May 5, 1976).

Chapter IV

pp. 89-91. "The Cherry Tree."
Bramley and Stainer, pp. 60-1. Bronson, Vol. 2, pp. 3-14. Child 54. Gillington, p. 14, p. 20. Hone, pp. 90-3. Husk, pp. 58-62. JFSS 3, 260. 5, 11-14. 8, 111. Lloyd, pp. 124-5. Oxford Book of Carols, pp. 143-6. Palmer, p. 14. Rickert, pp. 88-91. Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp. 123-5. Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, pp. 90-4. Sylvestre, pp. 109-14.
MUNFLA: 66-24(C254), Alice Payne, Cowhead; 66-24(C260), Charlotte Decker, Parson's Pond.

pp. 92-3. "God Bless You Merry Gentlemen."
Bramley and Stainer, pp. 2-3. Chappell, pp. 752-55. Gillington, pp. 6-7. A Good Christmas Box, pp. 13-4. Husk, pp. 27-9. JFSS 4, 338-40. 5, 318-9. 8, 119-20. Oxford Book of Carols, pp. 24-7. Rickert, pp. 105-7. Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp. 102-4. Sylvestre, pp. 122-4.

pp. 94-5. "Last Night Our Virgin."
(No information available).

p. 96. "Mary Lies Weeping" ("Christ was Born in Bethlehem").
Gillington, p. 9. Lloyd, pp. 136-7. Palmer, p. 7. Sharp, English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, p. 293.

pp. 97-8. "The Moon Shines Bright."
Bramley and Stainer, p. 52. Broadwood, English County Songs, pp. 108-9. Broadwood, English Traditional Songs and Carols, pp. 76-7. Chappell, p. 753. Gillington, p. 21. A Good Christmas Box, p. 14. Husk, pp. 62-5. JFSS 1, 176-7. 4, 10-12. 8, 30. Lloyd, pp. 122-3.

Oxford Book of Carols, pp. 89-93. Rickert, pp. 201-2. Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp. 159-60. Sharp, Folk Song Carols, pp. 6-7. Sylvestre, pp. 125-7.

MUNFLA: 68-20(C476), J. Crocker, J. Reid, F. Frost, Islington.

Hugh Rawlins collected a version with a different tune in 1976 in Englee, on the Northern Peninsula, where apparently it is used as a New Year carol.

pp. 99-100. "The Virgin Whose Purity."

Bramley and Stainer, pp. 6-7. Broadwood, English County Songs, pp. 78-9. Chappell, pp. 755-6. Gilbert, pp. 10-2. A Good Christmas Box, p. 3. Husk, pp. 30-2. JFSS 5, 24-6. Oxford Book of Carols, pp. 16-7. Pickard-Cambridge, No. 42. Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp. 61-2. Sharp, Folk Song Carols, pp. 16-7. Sylvestre, pp. 125-7.

MUNFLA: 68-20(C476), J. Crocker, J. Reid, F. Frost, Islington.

pp. 101-2. "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks."

Gilbert, pp. 18-9. Gillington, p. 20. A Good Christmas Box, p. 7 ("The Nativity"). Oxford Book of Carols, p. 67. Pickard-Cambridge, No. 12. Sandys, Christmas Carols, pp. 147-8. Sylvestre, pp. 57-8.

p. 116. "We Invite You All to Come Along."

(No information available).

APPENDIX B

Harry Mercer's Song Repertoire

I have divided Harry Mercer's song repertoire into five sections: I. Mainland Country Music performed by mainlanders and/or Newfoundlanders; II. Newfoundland Country Music performed by Newfoundlanders; III. Traditional Newfoundland Songs; IV. "Home-made Songs"; V. Party Songs.

For each citation the following information is given:

1. Title.
2. First line.
3. Name of performer and type of accompaniment. H=Harry Mercer, W=Wayne Mercer. vcl=vocal, gtr=guitar, sp.=spoons.
4. Record labels and issue numbers on which the song has appeared, together with the name of the performer. All the records are "L.P's." unless otherwise indicated. If no commercially recorded version is available and the song is in the MUNFLA collection, the accession and tape numbers are provided, together with the name and location of the performer.
5. Folk song collections in which the song has appeared.
6. Additional comments.

The main reference works I used in compiling the details of Harry Mercer's song repertoire were: Dorothy

Horstmann, Sing Your Heart Out, Country Boy (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1975); Michael Taft, A Regional Discography of Newfoundland and Labrador; Joel Whitburn, Top Country and Western Records, 1949-1971 (Menomonee Falls: Record Research, 1972).

If annotations are not provided for a song, it is because I found no reference to it in the literature.

I. Mainland Country Music performed by mainlanders and/or Newfoundlanders.

Alone with You
"O how I love to be around you"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Rose Maddox, Capitol 5110(45 rpm); Faron Young, Capitol 3982(45 rpm).

A hit in 1958 and 1964.

Bed of Roses
"She was called the Scarlet Woman"
H, vcl/gtr.
Newfoundland Showband, Marathon ALS-315; Statler Brothers, Mercury SRM-1-1037.

A 1970 hit.

Bobby Magee
"Busted flat in Baton Rouge"
H, vcl/gtr.
Albert Dean, Audat 477-9044; Roger Miller, Smash 2230(45 rpm); Roy Payne, Marathon ALS-247; Ben Weatherby, Marathon ALS-367.

A 1969 hit written by K. Kristofferson. Also sung by Gordon Lightfoot.

Broken Engagement
"They were standing in the moonlight"
H, vcl/gtr.
Newfoundland Showband, Marathon ALS-350; Webb Pierce, Decca 31704(45 rpm).

A 1965 hit.

The Coal Boat
"I left Cape Breton on the coal boat"
H, vcl/gtr.
Dick Nolan, RCA KCLI-0013; Edison Williams, Audat 477-9014.
Krytiuk, p. 71.

Written by Tom Connors.

Coat of Many Colours
"Back through the years I'm a-wandering once again"
H, vcl/gtr.
Pierce Cull, Audat 477-9039; Dolly Parton, RCA APLI-1117.

Written by Dolly Parton in 1969. A hit in 1971.

Cold Hard Facts of Life
"I got back in town a day before I planned to"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Porter Waggoner, RCA LPM-3797.

A 1967 hit.

Cotton Fields Back Home
"O when I was a little bitty baby"
H, vcl/gtr.
Johnny Cash, Columbia 32951.

Written by Leadbelly, made popular by the Highwaymen.

Daisy a Day
"He remembers the first time he met her"
H, vcl/gtr.
Shirley Butt, Buckshot BT-9007.

The Dying Mother's Prayer
"There's a trailing lonesome valley"
H, vcl/gtr.

Image of Me
"Yes I know she's the life of the party"
H, vcl/gtr.
Conway Twitty, MCA-52; Bob Wills, Liberty 55264 (45 rpm).

A hit in 1961 and 1968.

Kiss an Angel Good Morning
"Whenever I chance to meet some old friend on the street"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Pierce Cull, Audat 477-9039; Charley Pride, Tee Vee TA-1034; The Stringbusters, Marathon ALS-374.

A 1971 hit.

The Last Goodbye
"My eyes are blurred my heart is breaking"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Dick Miles, Capitol 2113(45 rpm).

A 1968 hit.

Last Thing on my Mind
"A-listen to me for the learning"
H, vcl/gtr.
Jean Pardy, Marathon MMS-76045; Porter Waggoner and Dolly Parton, RCA 9369(45 rpm).

A 1967 hit. Also sung by Gordon Lightfoot.

The Love Bug Itch
"When the love bug bites and you don't know where to scratch"
Eddie Arnold, RCA VPS-6032.

A 1950 hit.

My Tennessee Girl
"I left home at the crack of dawn"
H, vcl/gtr.

Muddy Water
"I was born in the state of Georgia"
H, vcl/gtr.
Pierce Cull, Audat 477-9070; Stonewall Jackson, CBS KG-31411; Roy Payne, Marathon ALS-307.

Written by Joe Babcock in 1964.

Rocky Mountain Love
"From the prairies to the rockies"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

Six Days on the Road
"Well I pulled out of Pittsburgh"
H, vcl/gtr.
Dave Dudley, Golden Wing 3020(45 rpm); Dick Nolan, RCA CAS-633.

Written by Earle Greene and Carl Montgomery, a hit in 1963.

Smoke along the Track
"One day the train was passing"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Stonewall Jackson, CBS KG-31411.

A 1959 hit.

Smoky Bear
"Green, green smoky bear, we've got to keep our country clean"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

Snow White Dove
"They were very, very happy, their marriage was a gem"
W, vcl/gtr; H, gtr.
Ben Weatherby, Marathon ALS-391.

Written by Pat Maher of Grand Falls, Newfoundland.

So Afraid of Losing You
"Sometimes I like to throw my arms around you"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Pierce Cull, Audat 477-9070; Jean Pardy, Marathon MMS-76015;
Charley Pride, RCA LSP-4682.

A 1969 hit.

Starspangled Waltz
"The band was playing the star spangled waltz"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Hank Snow, RCA CAS-782.

There Goes My Everything
"I hear footsteps slowly walking"
H, vcl/gtr.
Dick Nolan, Arc AS-822; Elvis Presley, RCA 9960(45 rpm).

Written by Dallas Frazier in 1965, a hit in 1971.

Walk Through This World
"Walk through this world with me"
H, vcl/gtr.
George Jones, Musicor 1225(45 rpm).

A 1967 hit.

Was My Imagination Going Wild
"Like so many times before"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

Will You Love Me When I'm Old and Feeble?
"Will you love me when I'm old and feeble?"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
The Stringbusters, Marathon ALS-374.

Written by 'Smiley' Bates.

The Woodpecker's Song
"O he's up each morning bright and early"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

You Sit Alone and Cry
"They tell me little darling that tomorrow you'll be wed"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

II. Newfoundland Country Music performed by Newfoundlanders.

CN Bus
"It was a cold winter's night"
W, vcl/gtr.
Pierce Cull, Audat 477-9039; Joan Morissey, Marathon ALS-253;
Dick Nolan, RCA CAS-2576.

Written by Tom Cahill, based on "Wreck of the Old Number Nine,"
Laws, NAB, G26.

The Fisherman's Boy
"My dreams as a young man a fisherman to be"
H, vcl/gtr.
The Dorymen, Marathon ALS-365; Dick Nolan, RCA CAS-2567;
Edison Williams, Audat 477-9006.

The Gander River
"Where the Gander river's flowing"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

Newfie Girl
"O in Toronto city, on a train eastward bound"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Dick Nolan, RCA CAS-2576; Edison Williams, Audat 477-9006.

No Price Tags on the Doors in Newfoundland
"Round (?) the mighty sea, there's an island dear to me"
H, vcl/gtr.
George Grandy, Audat 477-9017; Dick Nolan, RCA CAS-2576;
Roy Payne, Marathon ALS-247.

Thank God We're Surrounded by Water
"I'll sing you a song about Newfoundland"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
Dick Nolan, RCA CAS-2603.

Tiny Red Light
"Put a light in the window my darling, he said"
W, vcl/gtr.
The Dorymen, Marathon ALS-365; Edison Williams, Audat 477-9040.

III. Traditional Newfoundland Songs

Blow away the foggy dew
"I bought myself a coal grey (hen)"
H, vcl/gtr.
MUNFLA: 68-16(C495), Ned Rice, Cape Broyle.
Hugill, p. 219 ("Blow ye winds").

The Fishes Song
"Now the old king whale took a maid and said"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.
MUNFLA: 66-24(C263), Charlotte Decker, Parson's Pond.
Peacock, p. 859 ("Blow the wind westerly").

Harbour LeCou
"As I rode ashore from my schooner close by"
H, vcl/gtr.
Omar Blondahl, Rodeo RLP-5; Harry Hibbs, Arc CCLP-7004;
Dick Nolan, Arc AS-694.
Blondahl, p. 108; Doyle, p. 26; Peacock, p. 198.

IV. "Home-made Songs"

Bring Back the Days
"Bring back the days when you loved me"
W, vcl/gtr.

Written by Wayne Mercer, and sung to the tune of "Daisy a Day."

Don't Go out Tonight
"I seen some bad new horizons"
H, vcl/gtr.

Hang Poor old Harry
"O Hang poor old Harry in the hall"
H, vcl/gtr.

Island in the Sea
"Well my plans was made, I was all alone"
W, vcl/gtr.

Johnny Sams
"Well a little man named Johnny Sams"
H, vcl/gtr.

Lonesome on'a Saturday Night
"Well I'm so lonesome when the sun goes down"
H, vcl/gtr.

Love is an epidemic
"Love is an epidemic"
W, vcl/gtr; H, gtr.

Two Ton o' Woman
"Well I woke up this morning in a terrible mood"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

When you Lived in a Dreamworld of your own
"When you lived in a dreamworld of your own"
H, vcl/gtr.

You ain't Got no Lovin'
"O you ain't got no lovin' babe"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

V. Party Songs

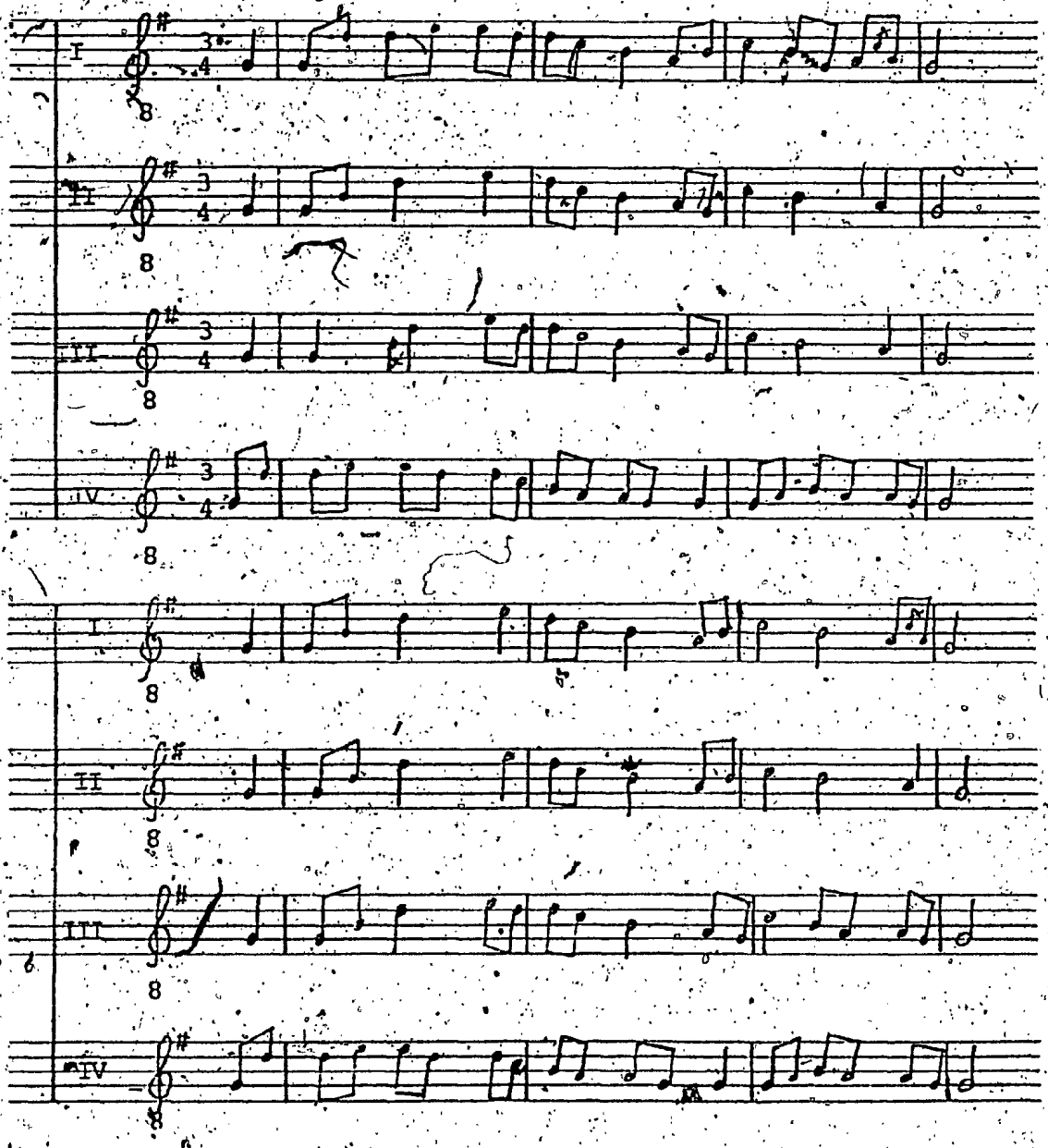
Nobody's Business
"She came from Kelligrews"
H, vcl/sp; W, gtr.

She'll be Coming round the Mountain
"She'll be coming round the mountain"
H, vcl/gtr; W, gtr.

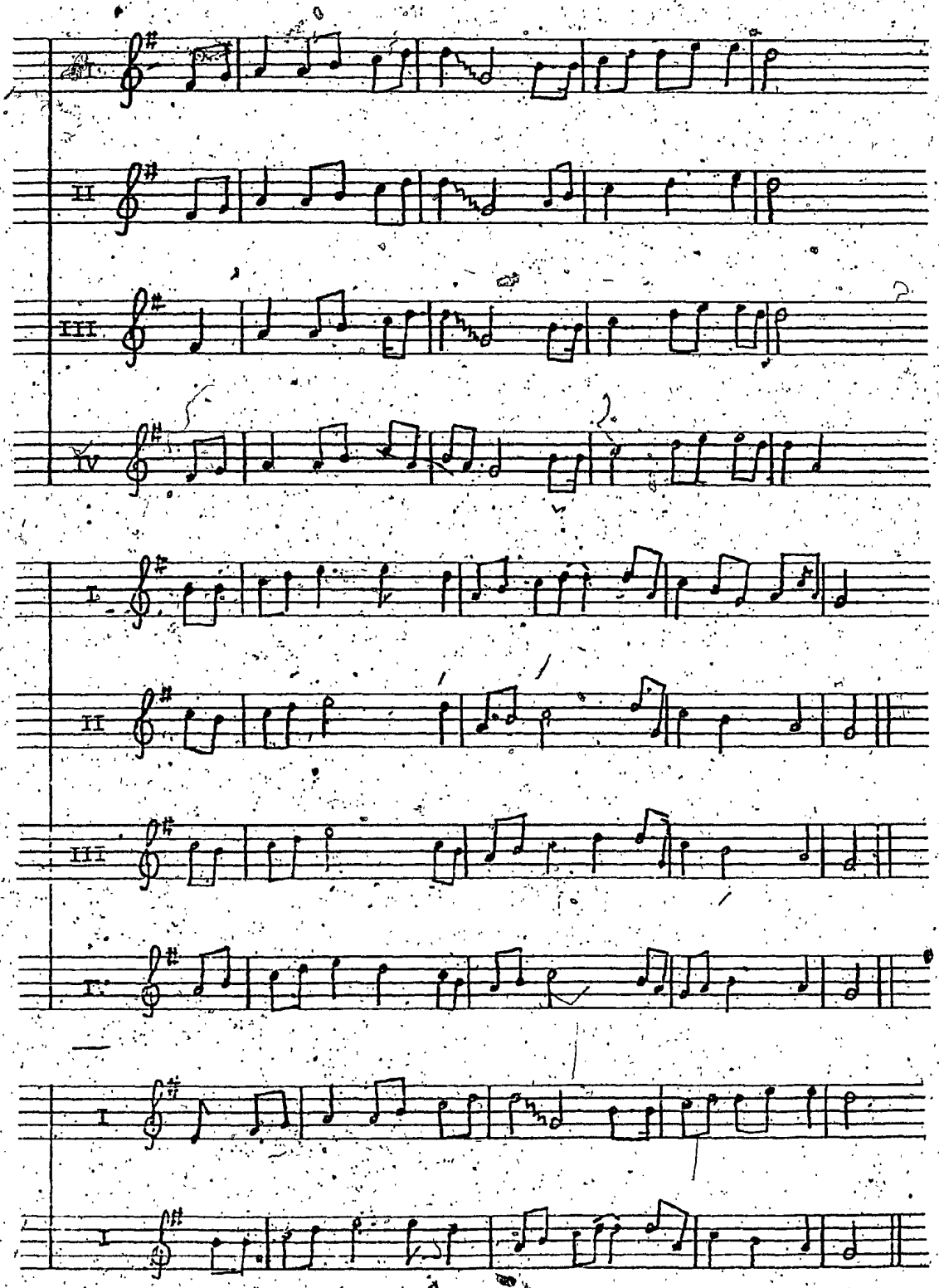
APPENDIX C

Additional Music Examples

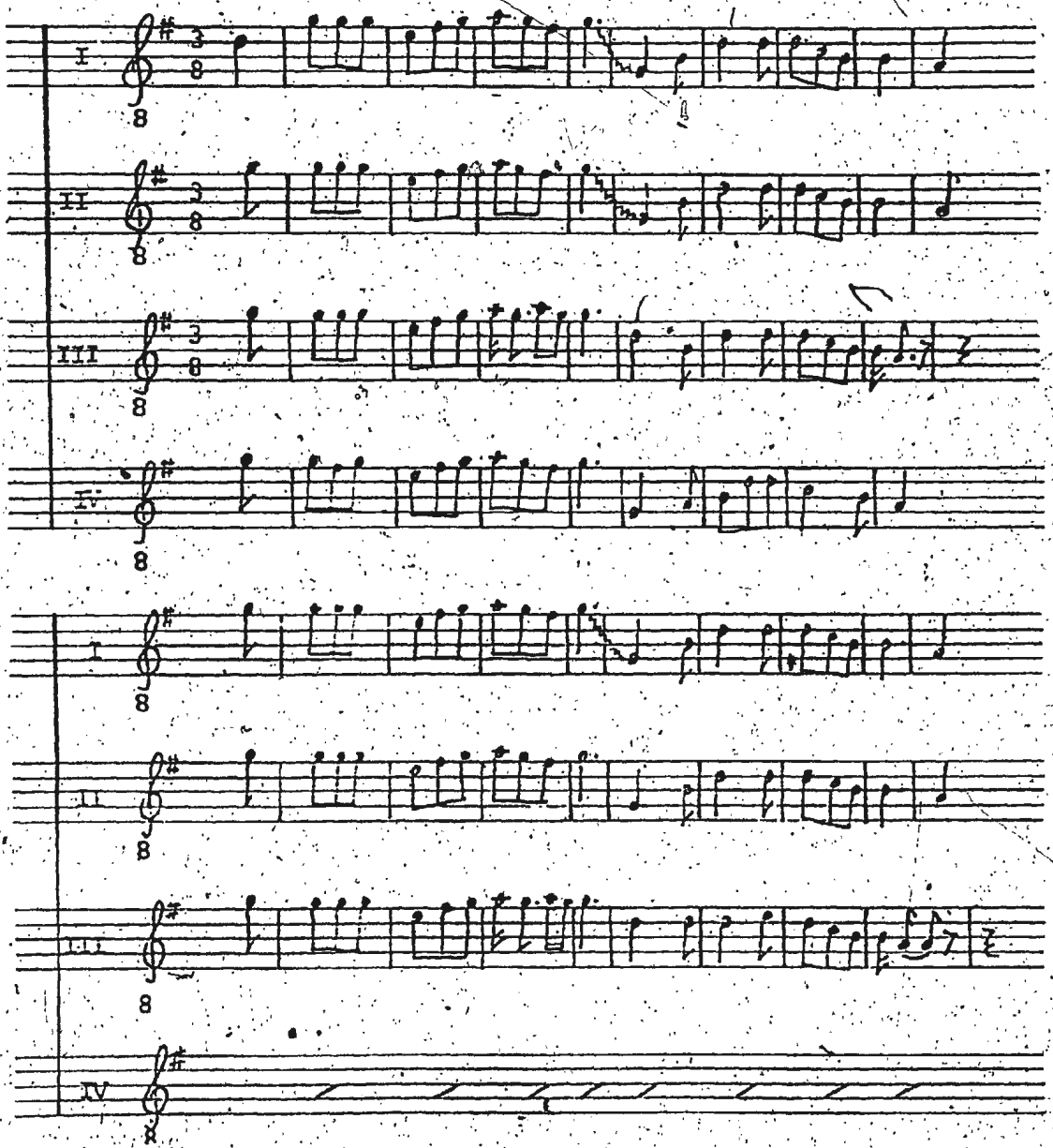
Example 1a. Four versions of "The Virgin Most Pure/The Virgin Whose Purity/Last Night Our Virgin" from: I. Heart's Delight; II. Green's Harbour; III. Dildo; IV. Chapel Arm.



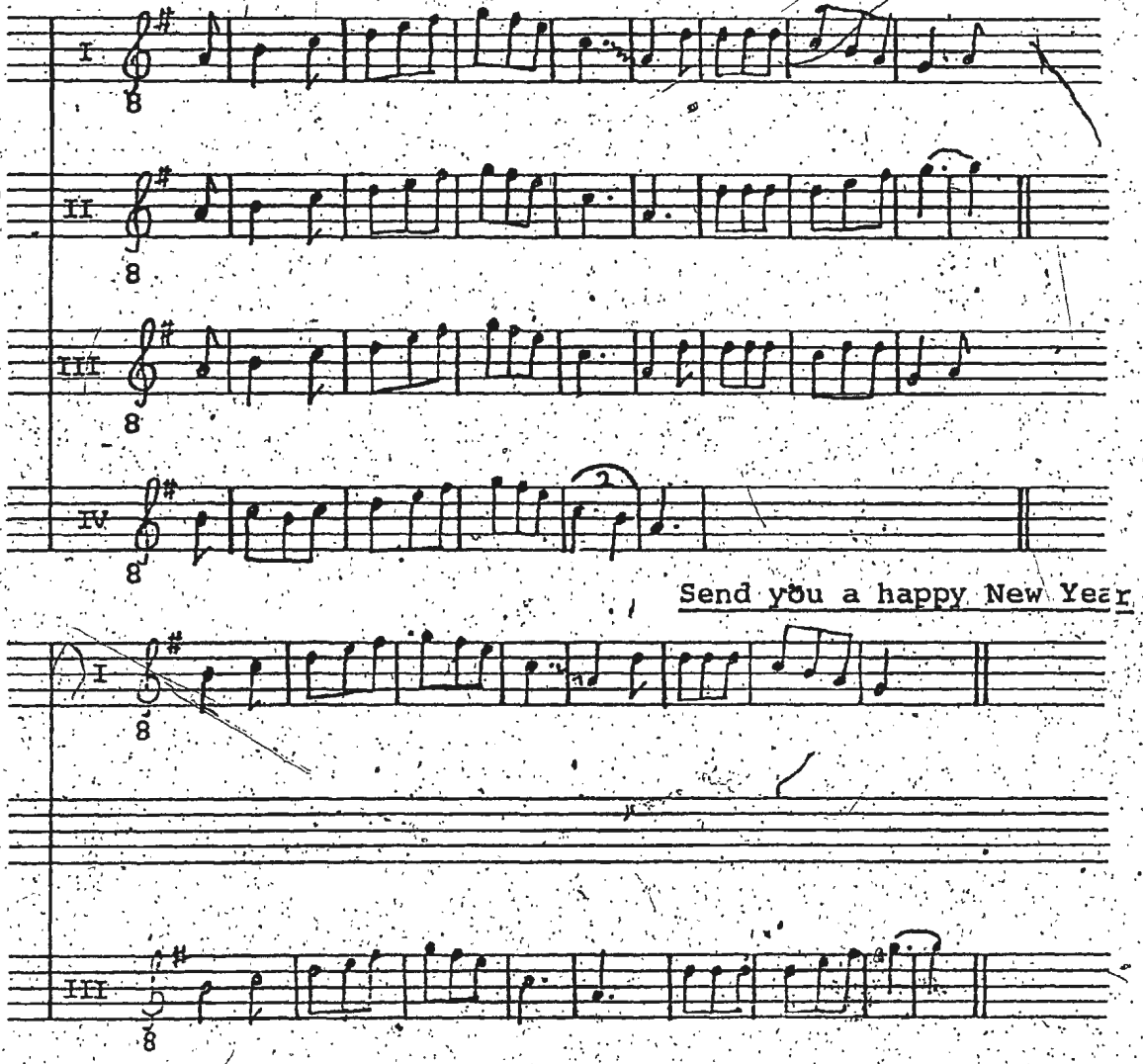
Example 1a (cont.)



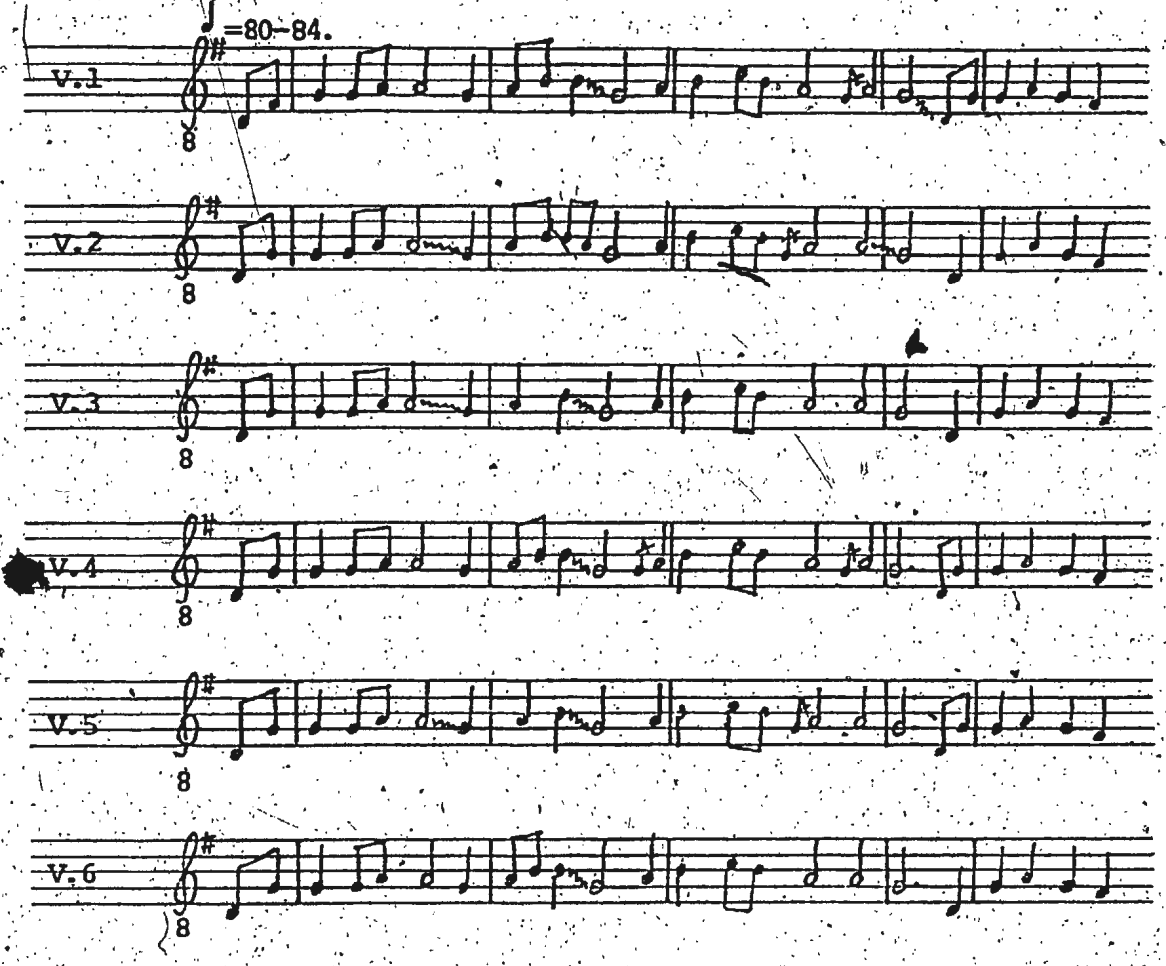
Example 1b. Four versions of "The Moon Shines Bright," last verse, from: I. Heart's Delight; II. Green's Harbour; III. Dildo; IV. Chapel Arm.



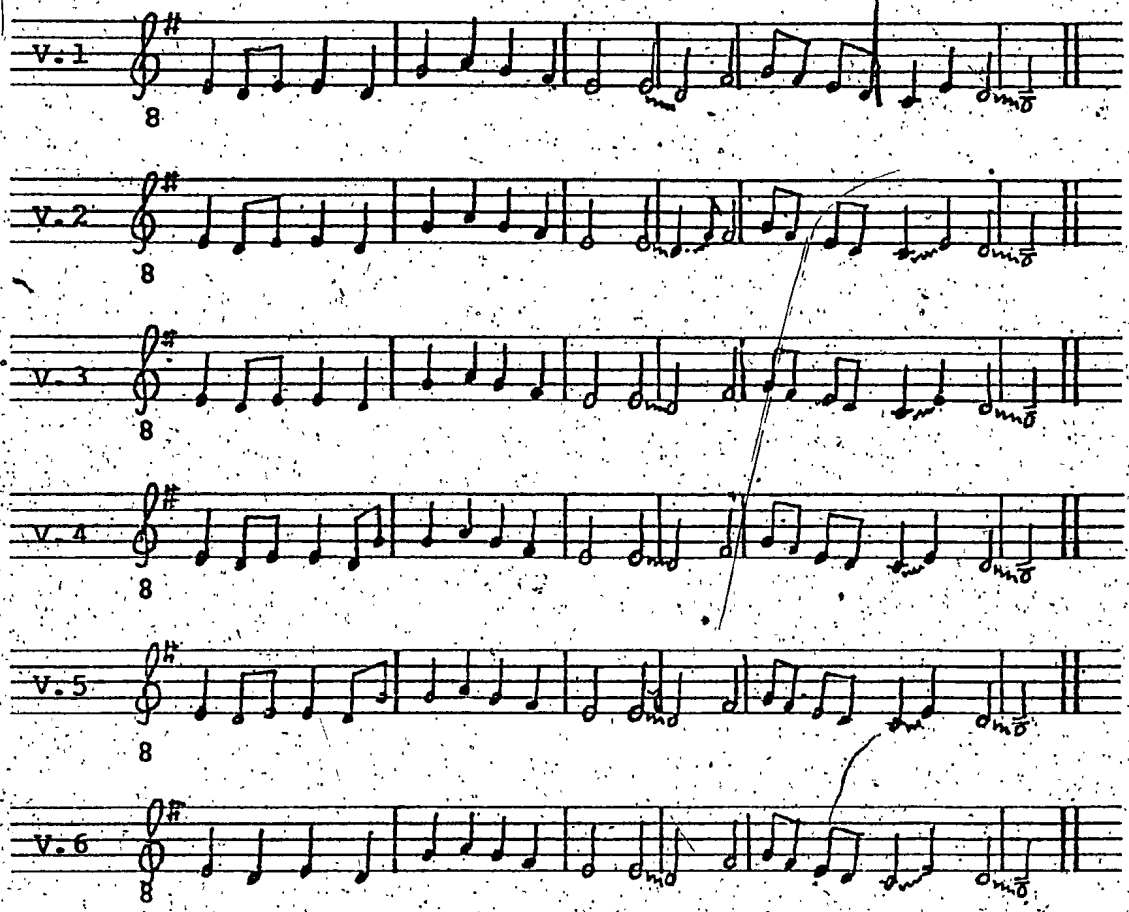
Example 1b (cont.)



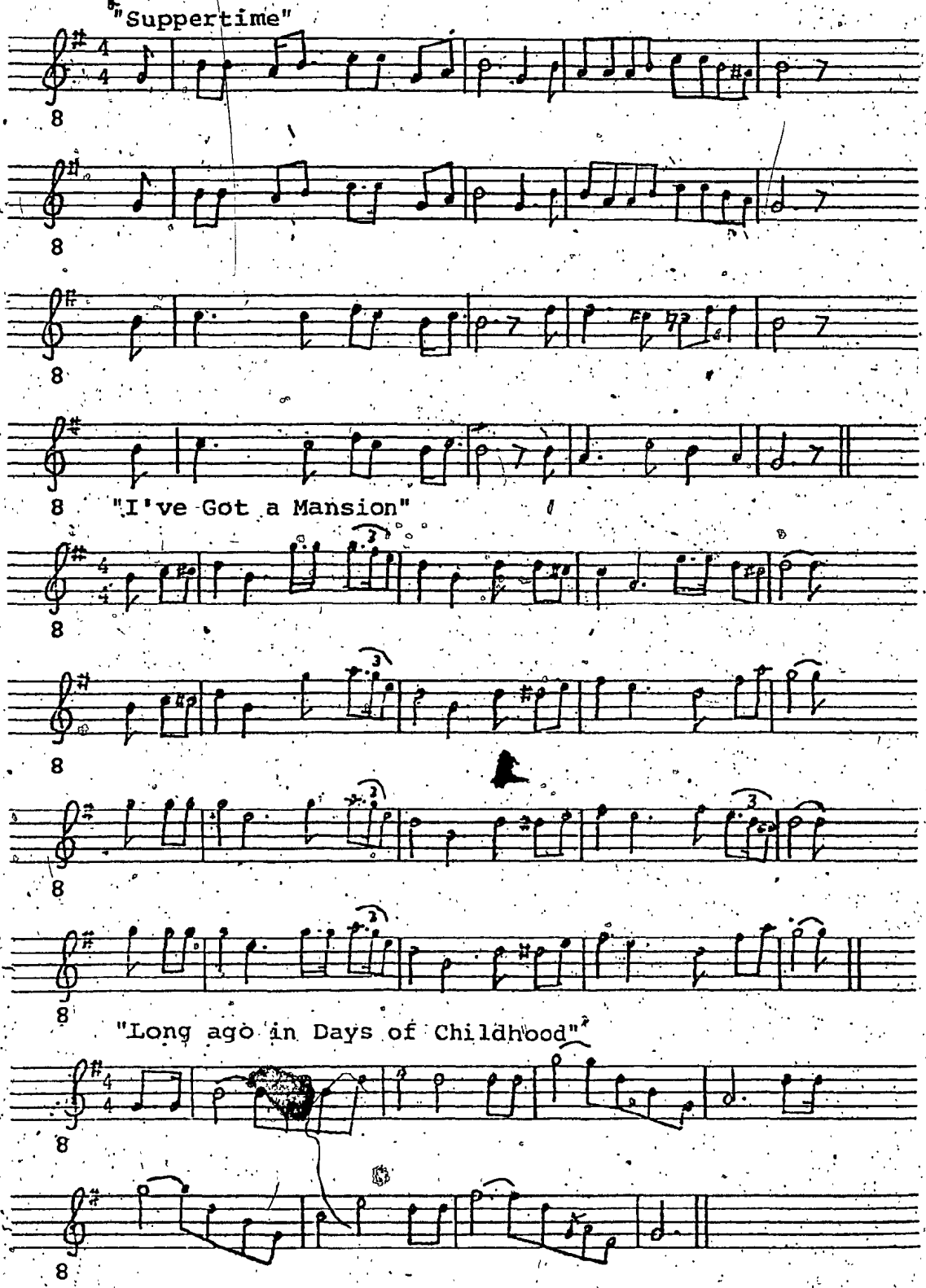
Example 2. Simon Crocker's performance of "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks."



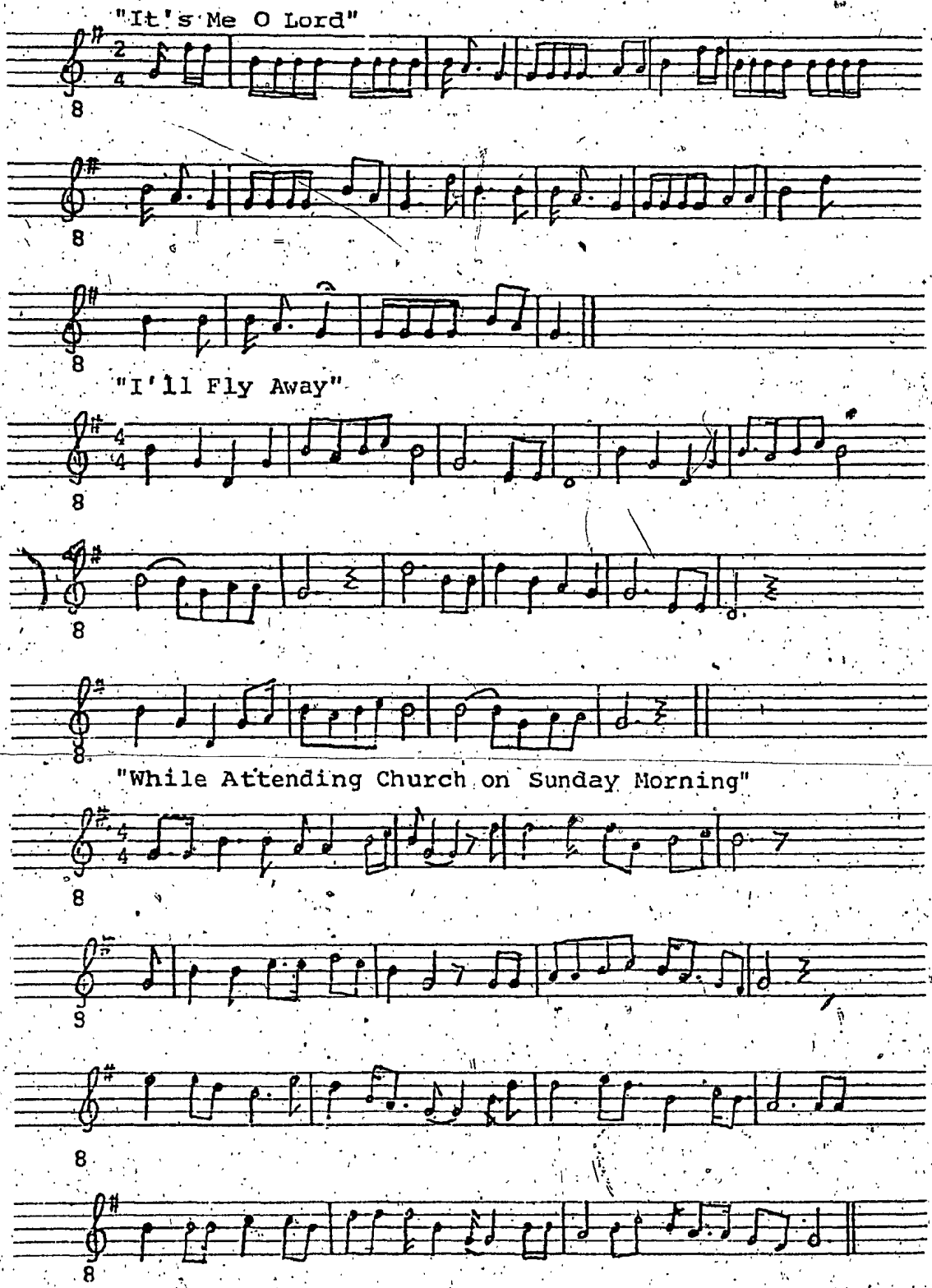
Example 2 (cont.)



Example 3. The tunes to Simon Crocker's "Religious Songs."

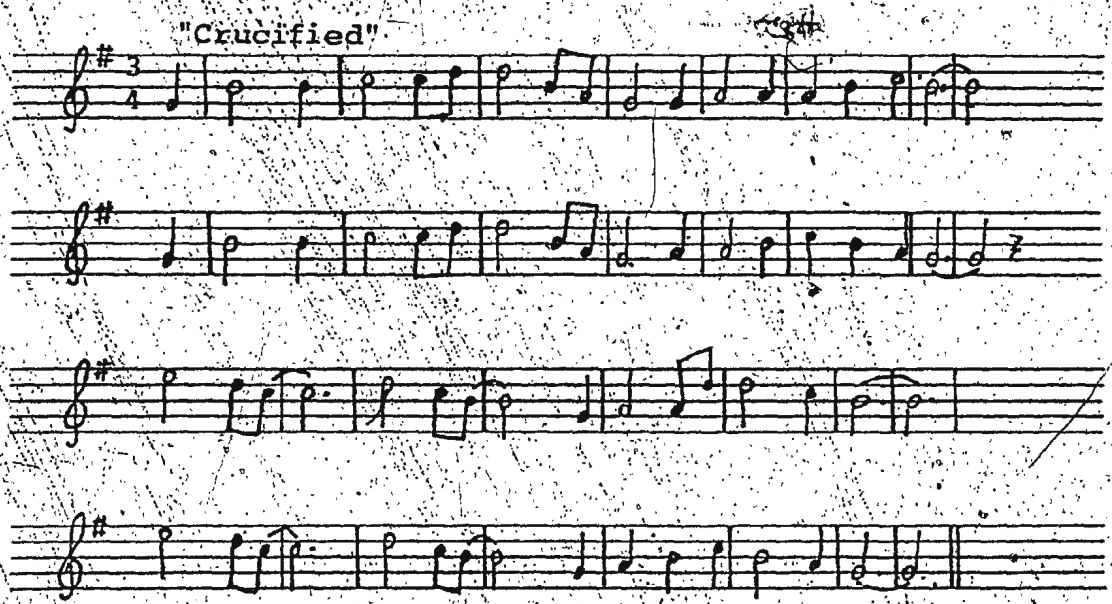


Example 3 (cont.)

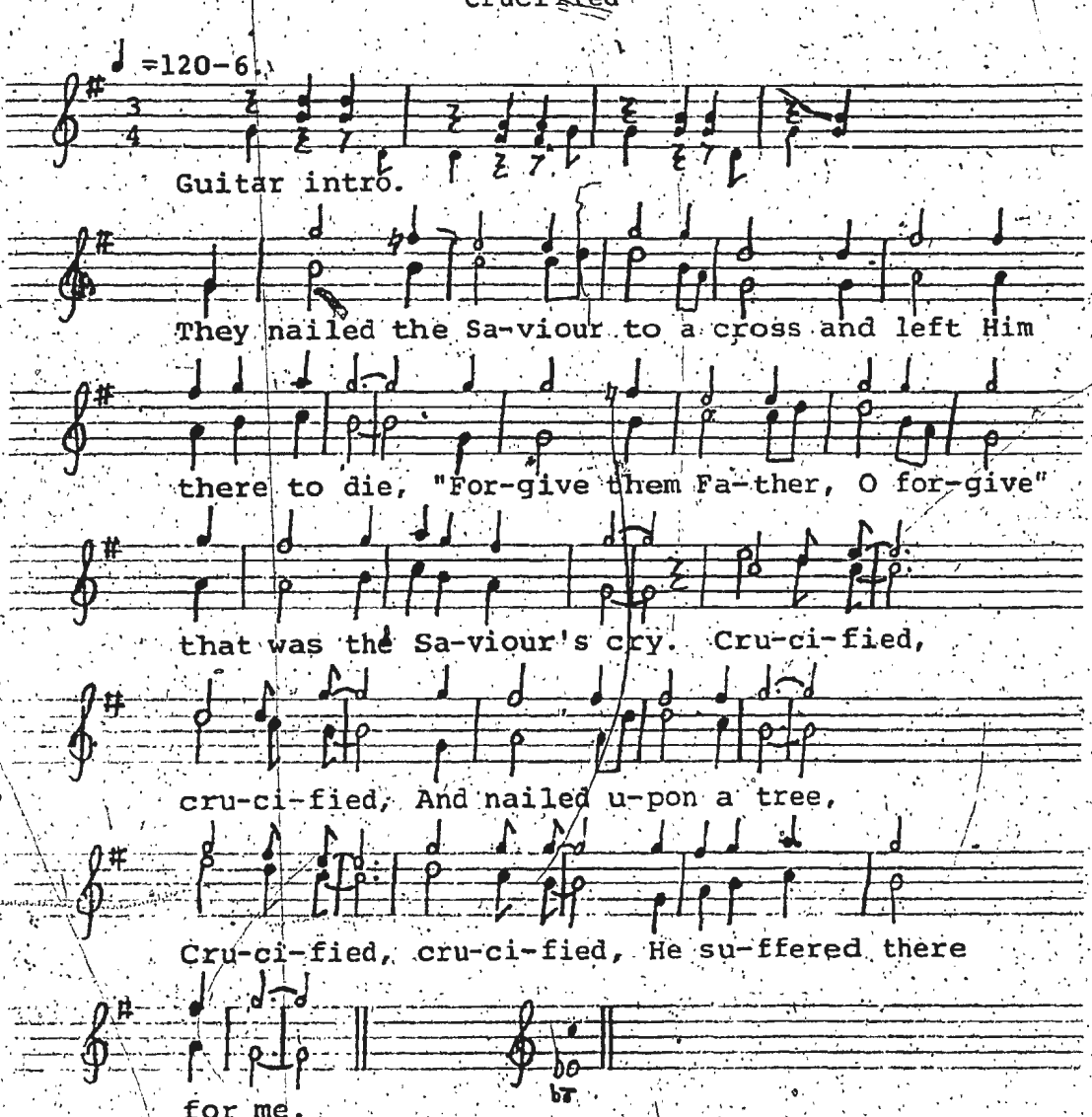


Example 3 (cont.)

"Crucified"



Example 4


"Crucified"
♩ =120-6
Guitar intro.
They nailed the Sa-viour to a cross and left Him
there to die, "For-give them Fa-ther, O for-give"
that was the Sa-viour's cry. Cru-ci-fied,
cru-ci-fied, And nailed u-pon a tree,
Cru-ci-fied, cru-ci-fied, He su-ffered there
for me.

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