TRADITIONS AND NEIGHBOURHOODS: THE FOLKLORE OF A NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING OUTPORT

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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A B S T R A C T

This study attempts a description and analysis of the traditional folk life of Conche, a small, Irish, Catholic, fishing community (population 500), on the eastern side of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, as seen through its older residents' eyes. Field interviews, from July to September 1968, with the descendants of the original settlers of the area, were supplemented by some later interviews and research in the Provincial Archives.

After a discussion of some of the problems of doing field work in one's home community, and of the methodology and scope of the study, the geographical study area is defined. The role of the French fishermen in the early history of the community is reconstructed from the reminiscences of the older people and the available historical documents.

The field worker discovered that older Conche residents associated specific categories of folk traditions, for example, songs, ghost stories, treasure legends, with specific neighbourhoods. The three interrelated factors affecting the growth of such neighbourhoods: social structure, changes in fishing technology, and land inheritance and use, are then examined, comprising in effect a brief social and economic history of the community, with emphasis on oral tradition.

The historical and functional aspects of religion, health and education are then discussed: religion as it affects calendrical celebrations; health both as formal medical service and as folk medicine; education both as formal and informal or traditional processes.

How songs function in the social context is next examined; the songs collected are annotated. A model of the "talk session patterns" is then developed and utilized in examining the role and function in the society of six narrative genres. Like songs most of these narrative forms are neighbourhood oriented.

Finally, there is an ethnographic presentation of the customs and practices connected with death and burial, and the annual garden party. Since these customs are not neighbourhood oriented but instead dominated by the Church, participation in these activities helps to integrate the community.

TRADITIONS AND NEIGHBOURHOODS:
THE FOLKLIFE OF A NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING OUTPORT.

by

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So many individuals were helpful, I could almost give a roster of Conche names who gave me a sympathetic hearing and information. But I must single out for a special thanks some of my major contributors: "Uncle" Ambrose Reardon, John and Pat O'Neill, Madeline and Phonse Foley, Elsie, Bert and Bride Lewis, Leo and Mame Flynn, Nell, Rose and Adelle Casey, Mary Bromley, John and Mary Symmonds, Jim and Bride Joy, Angela and Con Power, Jim Kenney, Ron Dower, Mike and Lar Casey, Ambrose Byrne, and three good friends who have since died: Mike Woodford, Lucy Norris and Norah Casey.

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I

METHOD AND SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

In this study of the traditional life and folklore in Conche, I have confined my research to that geographical square which includes the communities of Conche, Crouse, and North-East Crouse situated on the Conche and Crouse Peninsulas. These peninsulas are located on the north-east coast of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland.

Within the Conche study area, there are nine geographical settlements (running from south to north), each a separate nucleus of homes: Stage Cove, Silver Cove, Hunt's Cove, Taylor's Point, Kenney's Cove, Crouse Hill, South-West Crouse or "Rooms", North-East Crouse and Pillier. Since all of Conche is oriented towards the sea these geographical boundaries along the shoreline are not difficult to discern. Each of these areas is defined in reference to house clusters or neighbourhood groups, each of which in most cases is centered around a geographical feature such as a cove which gives rise to the names. To the outsider there would be some ambiguity about the homes which are not in these central cores, but which extend along the roadway to the next cove or neighbourhood nucleus. They may be considered as part of one

or the other of the geographical areas they lie between. This ambiguity also exists within the community as well, depending upon the person who is doing the defining and what factors he considers.

In my field work I concentrated on the larger, central part of the Conche area where the post office, schools, churches and businesses are located. At the urging of several informants I went outside this defined geographical square to visit Croque (fifteen miles north) to interview one man (No. 8) "who can tell you anything", ... "all that old stuff", and "who knows hundreds of songs". Although this contributor had never lived within the Conche area, he was not regarded as an outsider, but "a Conche authority" by members of the older Conche tradition. He had always lived within the boundaries of the Conche parish. I shall discuss the relationship of the larger parish to the community in a later chapter.

Since I was interested in historical problems of the tradition, I decided in my study of Conche to focus only on the descendants of the original permanent settlers, all of whom were Irish and Roman Catholic. I would have been forced to shift my problem if I had included the four families who came from the Notre Dame Bay area to fish at Pillier each summer. These four families or fishing crews, who were of English ethnic origin, spent only the months of June to August in that cove and came to Conche only on business such

as shopping, for medical attention, or to the Post Office, and therefore were not a part of the permanent community population. Nor did I include the thirteen families who were originally from other communities but who have resettled to Conche since 1951.

I had grown up in Conche and I accepted many aspects of the culture unconsciously and without any basis for comparison until I came outside the community to attend University.[1] In the seven years before the field work I had only returned to Conche once each summer for brief visits lasting from five days to two weeks. During this period, as I became more and more urbanized, I began to realize that urban ways were very different from the rural ways I had known. Many questions concerning various aspects about my home community arose that I found I could not answer or did not understand. Particularly, over the four year period prior to my field work as I studied sociology, geography, folklore and history, I became aware how complicated folk cultures can be. This awareness was sharpened when I read the descriptions of other Newfoundland communities published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research of Memorial University of Newfoundland. Gradually, as I learned more, especially about Newfoundland, I decided that I wanted to know more about

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[1] The researcher was born and grew up in the area but moved outside at the age of seventeen to attend University in St. John's, the provincial capital.

Conche and its traditions and folklife.

Before I returned to Conche for the formal field work I spent a month in the Provincial Archives trying to find as much documentation on the community as I could. I was also fortunate enough during this time to interview two former Conche residents who had moved to St. John's. This preliminary field work enabled me to try various techniques and patterns of interviewing, as it also gave me a new awareness of the community.

Armed with Seán O'Súilleabháin's Handbook of Irish Folklore, William J. Samarin's Field Linguistics, Kenneth S. Goldstein's A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore, and a number of questions and ideas which arose during five undergraduate and two graduate courses in Linguistics and Folklore, I spent July and August, 1968, doing field work in the Conche area. Many of these questions were formulated over a four-year period prior to the field work, and arose after I became interested in the community and had begun to write down as much as I could remember about living and growing up there. I was particularly interested in learning about the early history of Conche, the various families who first settled there, and especially about their way of life. I wanted to learn how this way of life changed in the community since the time of the first settlers. Additionally, I had great interest and I found special pleasure in discovering aspects of my own culture which were new to me.

It was to my advantage as a collector that I was born and raised in Conche. Most people recognized me and knew who I was; if not, they knew my family. Thus, my role in the community was defined, making the field work easier than if I were an outsider or a "stranger" to the community. As a member of the community, I either knew or quickly learned the specialty of some of the people.

In most cases, when I requested some specific folklore genre, the person would suggest "you should go and see the [Culls], for they have a lot of songs" (or they sang, or they knew about the history of the community). One informant would generally suggest another person to visit as "he knows (remembers) more about the old people than I do". I felt that informants gave me information that they would not have given an outsider. In many cases, I would suggest the topic making the informer realize that I was aware of this information or genre. Usually the informants response was, "Since you knows about it, I might as well tell you the rest of it".

The disadvantages of working in one's native area must not be overlooked. Since you are "one of them", numerous requests are often made by local people for various forms of assistance and help, for example, letter writing or transportation which they would not request of an outsider. Such requests for favors, which must be obliged, are often very time consuming. Moreover, extensive past familiarity with the people and the area may cause the field worker to

overlook someone who is particularly knowledgeable, because that person was or is not recognized for this information by the collector or by the other members of the community.[2]

I had at least a single talk with ninety-five per cent of the older people who were the descendants of the original settler families. Notes were usually made after each of these conversations. Of these, twenty-eight informants (seventeen men and eleven women) were formally interviewed; twenty-four of them were recorded on tape. Twelve of these (seven men and five women) provided most of the information collected. Eleven of the twelve major informants were fifty years of age or older (five were over seventy-five years old). The twelfth (No. 20), a man of thirty, was a specialist in songs. Again, because of my historical orientation, I concentrated on the oldest people in the community. One man whom I had wanted to interview, merely ignored me when I called to visit him and began to read a paperback book; on the other hand, he did not interfere or object when his brother, who was in the same room, talked to me. In making the selection of contributors, I chose these people who responded to my questions, and who indicated during my first visit that working together would

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[2]One contributor (No. 5) whom I had worked with in St. John's would have been omitted if I had talked to her in Conche. This individual was not recognized as a singer by the people of Conche, nor did I previously realize that she sang. My collecting from this contributor in St. John's was aided by her relatives who prompted and encouraged her, and who established a congenial collecting situation for me.

be congenial for both of us. I recognize that it is possible that I may have missed out on some valuable contributors. An outsider or "stranger" may get responses where I was unsuccessful because of personality conflicts or the immediate situation, or a combination of both these factors.

Dealing with the oldest people of the community occasionally caused collecting difficulties. Deafness caused problems, especially when the collector was questioning the informant and trying to maintain proper tape recording levels at the same time. Occasionally, older people would suffer memory lapses, so it was important to be patient. The older people were always willing to talk, especially when I presented myself as a younger member of the community who had a sincere and honest interest in what they had to say. It was easy to arrange daytime visits with any informant over seventy-five years old, since most of them were not working. In fact, it was so convenient for the collector that two visits a day were made to a few informants of this age category. Most of the younger people were busy fishing or working during the day, so formal collecting became a "night job", or a Sunday pastime when dealing with this middle-aged group.

I found the collecting situation a great strain even after previous experience. I had been away from Conche for seven years attending University and teaching; I was a member of the younger generation, and most informants were not from my neighbourhood group. After establishing initial rapport,

I noted that as my informant relaxed, I found myself growing more tense towards the conclusion of each interview, especially if it were an extended interview. Particularly, as I tired, the greatest cause of anxiety was the fear that I would miss some important points of information or not ask vital questions. Additionally, I had to concentrate on a number of factors during each recording session: the tape recording levels, general recording quality, and background noises.

Men and women were found to be equally good as informants, although there was some division of knowledge along sexual lines. After meeting a prospective informant, during the first visit, I was able to determine on the basis of personality, interests and attitudes, if that person would be a useful contributor. A few people thought it "old fashioned" to show an interest in folklore and in the traditional life of the community. These people I quickly eliminated from my list of prospective contributors. Others feared such information would be used to "make fun of us". These I frequently convinced of the value and honesty of my purpose, thereby winning their confidence. Several later became valuable contributors. After the first visit, the informant talked easily about "the olden times" or "the olden days". Many informants became so interested and enthusiastic about the material that they would call upon me to say that they "thought about some more things" which they felt that I should know or that might be helpful to me. Two informants

continued to write me letters after I had left the community, always giving information which "I forgot to tell you when you were here last summer".

Like all collectors, I had to learn by experience, not to push a contributor if he were physically tired, but instead make arrangements for a later visit. I soon learned that being too anxious to get large amounts of information from an informant during one interview was unwise. When a contributor becomes bored or distracted, he will automatically, it appears, assure the collector that he does not know any of the information sought. This was sharply brought home to me when one of my best contributors assured me, when her favourite television program came on, that she did not have any more information. I returned to her home two evenings later and was supplied with some very valuable information. It was soon realized that the informants grew restless talking about the one subject and answering my specific questions. A variety of subjects would be discussed during such a collecting session. This usually provided me with specific questions during that, or the next, session.

In the first few interviews I set out to collect information on specific topics or genres, for example, tricks played on the Frenchmen, songs and stories. Often the informant would refer me to a printed collection of stories or songs, as these collections "had it right". I discovered that one must have patience and understanding and listen to a

few stories from "the story book". Encouragement in the form of, "that's really a good song (or story)", or "you'll have me afraid to go home tonight", generally brought a positive response from the informant and usually led to further information.

I also learned that my attempt to concentrate on one subject was not always the best approach. When I realized that informants wished to shift from topic to topic, as it pertained to them, I worked out a technique using at least three visits. This sequence of at least three visits to the same informant (for most contributors it was many more) proved very successful. During the first interview, assurance was given to the informant that what he had to say was of interest and value and not "just old foolishness". Moreover, during this first visit, I learned about the background of the informant without asking direct questions. Many of the older informants considered it an honour that someone was interested in them and in "life in the olden times". During the first visit, I made the informant aware of what I was doing and the type of information I was seeking. I did not bring a tape recorder, but I told him that I would be using one "as it's much easier than my trying to write down all that you tell me". Neither did I take notes in the presence of the contributor during this first visit. In the succeeding visits (at least two but with most of the twelve major contributors there were many more visits) I was concerned with

questions on specific topics, but the contributors were allowed to wander. During these visits, I could cross-check previous data and obtain more detailed information when necessary. Since the first visit was not a recording session, the advantages of the presence or absence of other people during the recording could be determined by the collector. Only the field worker can decide whether it is best to interview an individual alone or in the presence of family and neighbours. Often I found that younger sons or daughters or other close kin proved exceedingly helpful in setting up a collecting session. In addition, these kin would often remind the informant of a certain story or song which he knew but had not performed for the collector, either because of forgetfulness, because he believed "that's no good", or thought it merely "that old foolishness", or because he thought that was not the type of material the collector wanted. An active participation by an audience, expecially an audience for whom the informant has previously performed, would have great advantages for the collector.

Depending upon the informant's personality, it was sometimes found more advantageous to record a person while alone. For two or three informants, however, I decided it was wiser to arrange a recording without other people present. If it were felt that the recording should be done alone, the collector had to try and make the best arrangements to ensure this.

Two or three informants usually provided a day's work. Once it was observed that an informant was growing restless, I would terminate the formal interview, especially when recording. It was found that two or three hours in succession can prove quite exhausting to informant as well as collector. Things said after the "machine was put away" were written up, or spoken directly on tape by me after a visit; this proved fairly successful. Before the next visit to the informant, I would review what had been done, and any major question could be raised and recorded. Contributor No. 17 was exceptionally helpful and knowledgeable, as he had thought seriously between interviews about the history and traditions of the community, and had a great personal interest in these matters. This informant often gave me valuable ideas leading to new paths of investigation.

After two months of intensive work, I had approximately thirty hours of selected tape recordings which represented only a small fraction of my information. On my return from the field, I transcribed and annotated the material.[3]

My main purpose was to record a rapidly changing folk tradition and to reconstruct what life was like. I had gone into the field with the expectations that there would be relationships between the various traditions. I also

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[3]Both tape recordings, transcriptions and a copy of my field notes are deposited in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive.

realized that life in Conche had changed greatly in the previous quarter century, with many of the modern urban North American ways being adopted. In concentrating upon the traditions, I felt that folklore is not only an integral aspect of the culture but is partly an expression of it.

At first, in working with the material, I began by analyzing the examples I had collected in the various genres, as recognized by folklorists, and tried to show how they operated in the society. But this approach did not fully satisfy me, so I began to look for some overall theme. The dissatisfaction led me into re-examining my material. In re-reading the transcriptions of the recorded conversations and the field notes, I suddenly realized that the local people still recognized some neighbourhoods for their specialization in specific folklore genre. I also realized that there was a dichotomy in the attitudes towards the material. Some traditions were neighbourhood oriented and were locally recognized as such, while other traditions were community wide. Once I recognized that the local people structured the material in this way, I thought I had a theme which would put my material in proper focus.

In discussing the folklife of Conche, I treat the relationship of many traditions to particular neighbourhoods. In several chapters I used available historical references where I felt they were appropriate. Throughout this paper I have often used long quotes of the actual words of the

contributors to illustrate or prove some point. Wherever I have to use names, for example, in transcribing texts, I have substituted fictious names, indicating this fact by enclosing them in square brackets. Because of the personal nature of some of the material, I decided to omit the names of all my contributors and instead refer to them by numbers. Wherever possible, I have first treated a topic historically and then made some observations on its function.

In the next chapter, I define the study area and discuss its geography and history. Particular emphasis is given to the role of the French in the early history of the community and the relationships which existed between the Irish settlers and the French. I attempt to reconstruct the past, chiefly by drawing upon the reminiscences of the older people.

The third chapter traces the historical development and growth of neighbourhood groups which is inevitably partly a social and economic history of Conche. The three inter-related factors of social structure, stages of development in fishing technology, and land use patterns have determined the growth and change of such neighbourhood groups, with their separate and recognized specialties in specific genres of oral tradition. Again, these social and economic aspects of Conche history are based mainly on oral accounts, since there are so few documents.

Chapter Four deals with the various aspects of religion, health and education; their effect upon the traditions in relationship to neighbourhood groups and the community as a unit. It was the Church which organized and controlled the major community social events throughout the year, and thereby gave a common core to the traditions and customs. This I will demonstrate by discussing the calendar customs. Under the heading of health, I discuss both the historical aspects of medical service in Conche and comment upon the importance of folk medicine, with examples. I first treat formal education historically and then deal with the equally, if not more important, informal acquisition of traditional knowledge and skills. All aspects of religion, health and education are common activities which bind the community together.

The Fifth Chapter deals with singing, which is a recognized neighbourhood speciality in Conche. Performance patterns and singing contexts are discussed in detail, as well as songs of regional identity and local composition; these show the function of songs in their social setting. To illustrate the content and scope of the folksong tradition in Conche, I give the full texts of all the local songs with necessary explanatory discussion. Lack of space prevents me from giving the texts of the many other songs I recorded. They are represented by the titles and brief annotations for all songs I have been able to identify. For the twenty-eight

songs for which I have been unable to find parallels, I used the device of giving a plot summary and the first stanza of each.

Chapter Six deals with story telling. I have developed a model of what I call the "talk session patterns", which ranges through casual conversation, local happenings, reminiscences, historical legends and stories of the supernatural. I discuss various categories of stories: personal reminiscences of adventure and hardship, stories about the French, stories of buried treasure, stories of ghosts, stories of devils and witches, and stories of fairies, showing how each of these categories is related to neighbourhood groups. I have given a few of the shorter stories in full, but most of the categories are represented by abstracts using liberal quotations from my texts as well as the main motifs. After each sub-section, I attempt to analyze some of the functions of the story category in the community.

The final chapter returns to two community-wide patterns. The first describes the customs and practices connected with death, wake and burial; the second is an annual community calendaric event--the garden party. Both of these activities are dominated by the Church which makes them uniform throughout the community and which works toward community integration.

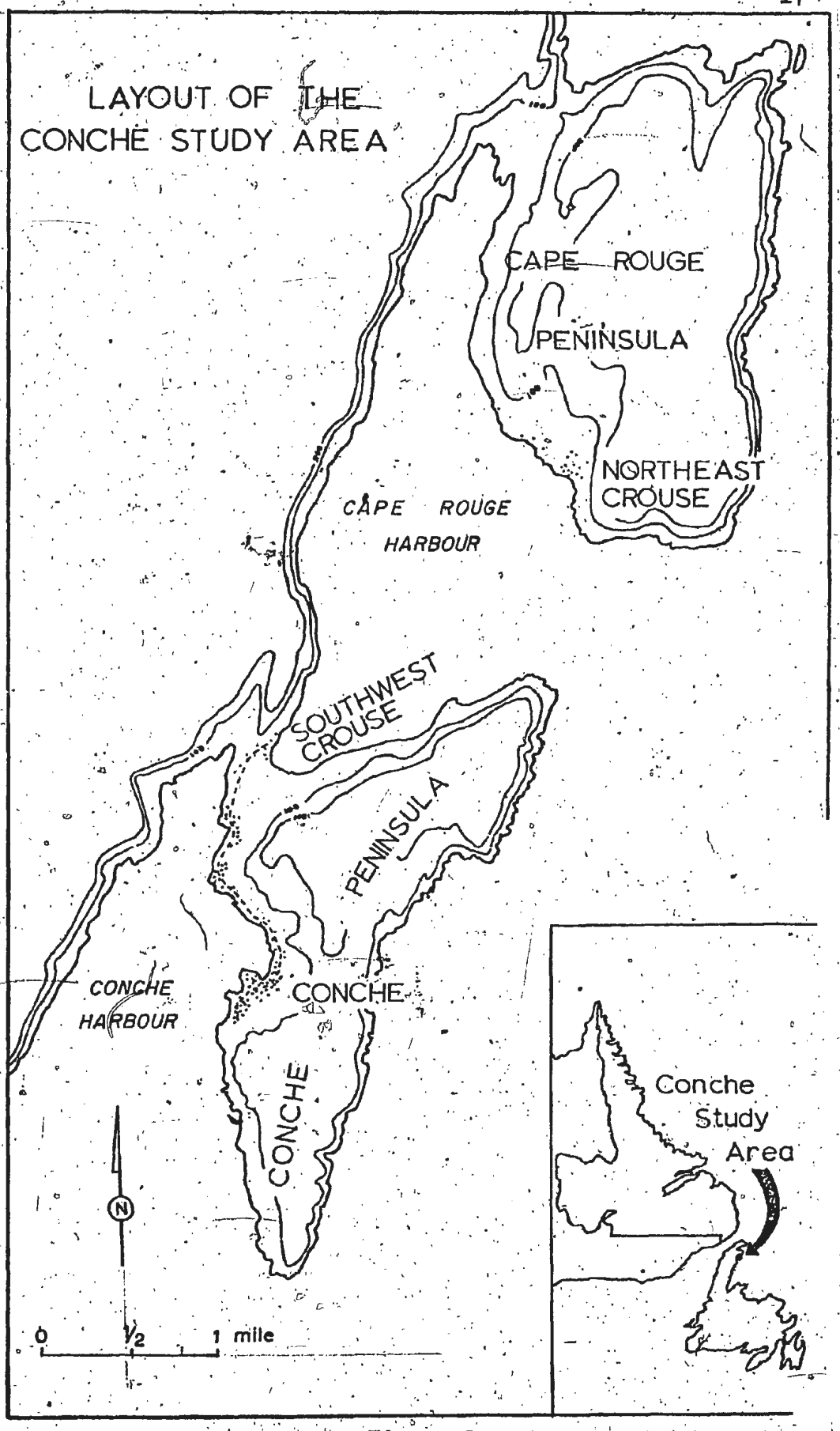
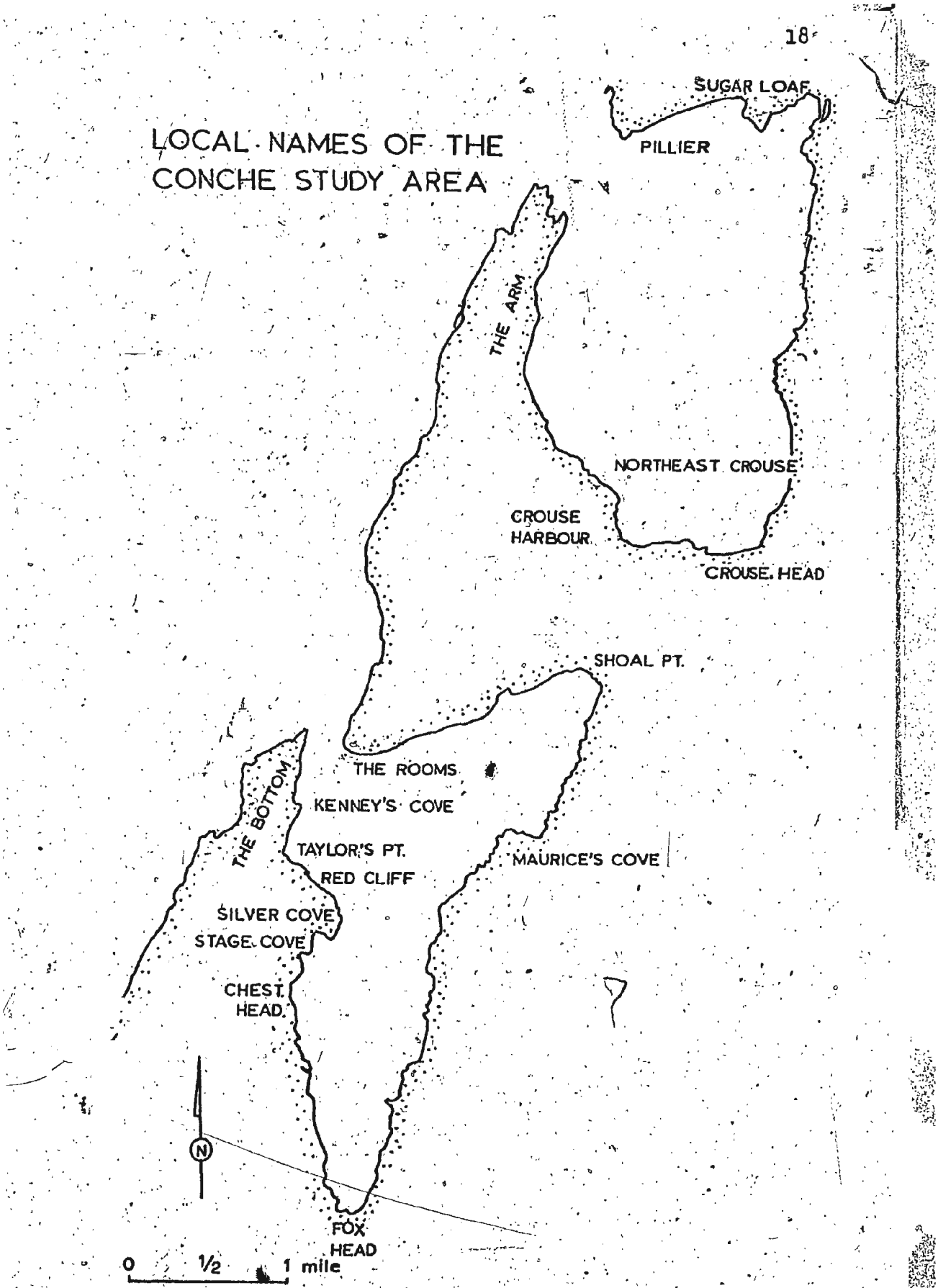

LAYOUT OF THE
CONCHE STUDY AREA
CAPE ROUGE
PENINSULA
NORTHEAST
CROUSE
CAPE ROUGE
HARBOUR
SOUTHWEST
CROUSE
PENINSULA
CONCHE
HARBOUR
CONCHE
CONCHE
N
0
½
1 mile
Conche
Study
Area

Figure 1


LOCAL NAMES OF THE CONCHE STUDY AREA
SUGAR LOAF
PILLIER
THE ARM
NORTHEAST CROUSE
CROUSE HARBOUR
CROUSE HEAD
SHOAL PT.
THE ROOMS
KENNEY'S COVE
THE BOTTOM
TAYLOR'S PT.
RED CLIFF
MAURICE'S COVE
SILVER COVE
STAGE COVE
CHEST HEAD
FOX HEAD
N
0 1/2 1 mile

II

CONCHE: THE SETTING

Location

The study area I have called Conche is an arbitrary geographical square on the "straight shore" between Hare Bay and Canada Bay, that is, on the eastern side of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, and comprises that land lying between 55°49' and 55°56' West and 50°51' and 50°58' North. Within this arbitrary square are the peninsulas of Conche and Crouse[1], as well as the uninhabited inshore area which is used by the people of these settlements for hunting, trapping, and obtaining fire wood. On the Conche peninsula are the settlements of Conche and South-West Crouse, while the settlements of North-East Crouse and Pillier are on the Crouse Peninsula.

For the purposes of this study, these four settlements are considered as one social community, with the settlement of Conche as its center. My reason for using the term Conche for the entire area is not merely for convenience. People from outside do not recognize the local name differences, that

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[1]Crouse is also known as Cape Rouge on the topographical maps of the area. Rouge is the older name, and is still to be found in Cape Rouge. Locally, it is known only as Crouse.

is, Crouse etc., and once the local residents move outside, the entire area is referred to as "Conche". The three permanent settlements and the summer fishing station of Pillier (which is not included in this study), are serviced by the Conche Post Office, church and businesses. The two harbours of Conche and Cape Rouge, the latter called locally Crouse Harbour, serve these communities.

Since neighbourhoods get particular emphasis in this study, it is necessary that I give complete details on locations. The crossbar of the T-shaped Conche peninsula, the base of which joins the mainland, extends four miles from northeast to southwest. The vertical line extends about two miles from east to west, where it is joined at the isthmus to the mainland by about one-fifth of a mile of land, thereby forming the harbour of Conche to the south, and part of the harbour of Crouse to the north. There are no settlements on the very steep eastern sides of these two peninsulas or along the cliffed mainland because of the lack of major sheltered coves. The Conche peninsula rises almost perpendicularly for two hundred and fifty feet on the eastern side, falling gradually to form valleys or level plains on the west. All the settlements have been established on the inner, western section of both peninsulas. The majority of the community's population live on the south-western side of the Conche peninsula and along both sides of this isthmus, which stretch out from the steep wooded hills that rise five hundred

to eight hundred feet on the mainland. The people have settled in the well-protected coves which range from fifty to seventy-five feet above sea level. Ninety per cent of the buildings are below the fifty-foot contour.

Although the settlement is continuous along the eastern shores of Conche Bay, the local settlers subdivide the community into divisions which are based chiefly on a combination of the centripetal elements of environmental or physical features of the landscape, for example, coves, beaches and hills, and the centrifugal elements of neighbourhoods (mostly kin, social and work groups). These local divisions, starting from the south and working north, are Stage Cove, Silver Cove, Taylor's Point,[2] Kenney's Cove, and Bottom, and, across the isthmus into Crouse Harbour, Crouse or "The Rooms".[3] What outsiders call Conche is chiefly the central part of the community which includes the settlements of Stage Cove and

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[2]The oral tradition of the community states that for some years during the Napoleonic Wars (1783-1815) the French did little fishing on the coast. This absence of the French gave the British settlers of Conche and the summer fishermen, who came chiefly from Conception Bay, the unauthorized use of the French fishing stages. The tradition states that Silver Cove and Taylor's Point (Latin Point on the topographical map) were named for two of these Conception Bay fishermen who used the French rooms at these locations.

[3]"The Rooms" is a survival from the French fishing room (fishing stages) era. The people call the area "The Rooms" when making a reference to a point while they reside in Crouse. When they move to another part of Conche, the area is known as "Crouse". "The Rooms" corresponds to South-West Crouse on the topographical sheet.

Silver Cove where the Post Office, the Church, the three chief businesses and the schools are located. Inside the community, this area of Stage Cove and Silver Cove is known as "down the harbour". North of "The Red Clift" is known as "up to Crouse",[4] and includes the three Conche Harbour settlements of Taylor's Point, Kenney's Cove and the Bottom, as well as South-West Crouse and North-East Crouse in Crouse Harbour.

Crouse Peninsula, which is in outline roughly Q-shaped with the tail forming its isthmus, is the larger of the two and is approximately half a mile north of the northernmost point of the Conche Peninsula. Between these two peninsulas lies the almost landlocked harbour of Cape Rouge, which today in the community is always referred to as Crouse Harbour. Crouse Harbour is half a mile wide at the mouth and opens to the southeast, whereas Conche Harbour is one and one-fifth miles wide at the mouth and opens to the southwest.

Conche is approximately two hundred and fifty miles northwest of St. John's, the provincial capital. The nearest large concentration of population is at St. Anthony (approximately 3,000 people and thirty miles north of Conche by sea). St. Anthony, the centre of the International Grenfell Mission for Newfoundland, provides Conche and the whole of the

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[4]Within the community when giving local directions "up" is used to designate north and "down" designates south. When references are made to points outside the community, this is reversed. For example, one goes "down to St. Anthony" which is north, and "up to St. John's" which is south.

Northern Peninsula with medical services.

At the time of my research, Conche was not connected by road with any outside community.[5] The only means of reaching Conche from May to December was by the Canadian National coastal steamers. One boat left Lewisporte weekly--every Thursday at noon during the summer of 1968--arriving at Conche at noon on Sunday. This weekly service replaced the St. John's to Corner Brook service which ceased in 1966. Another boat left Lewisporte approximately twice a month and went north and west along the coast to Corner Brook, taking from a day to a day and a half to reach Conche. From 1965 to 1969, one could drive north on Route 73 along the St. Barbe Highway on the western side of the Northern Peninsula, and then east on Routes 74 and 75 to Englee and take a fishing boat to Conche. The boat trip took up to three hours, depending on the boat size. Before the road came through in 1969, the rough terrain which surrounds Conche isolated the community completely at certain times of the year. It was especially difficult to get there in spring and autumn. In the spring, the "break-up period" during April and May, there was not sufficient snow to use dog teams or skidoos. The latter were introduced into the community about 1962. Roddickton, the closest overland settlement, about twelve miles

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[5]The field work for this paper was carried out during the summer of 1968. Conche was connected to Roddickton by road on November 27, 1969.

to the west, could not be reached because the ponds and lakes had thawed and the terrain is continuously interspersed with bogs, rivers and swamps. The local airstrip thawed in the spring and was unsuitable for use by the small bush planes.

Since the harbour is often filled with loose drift Arctic ice, it could not be used either by boats or by sea planes. Depending on the winds and other weather conditions, the transportation problem caused by thawing and drift ice conditions might end early in May, or might last until early June. Ice conditions varied from year to year. In summer, of course, transportation overland was impossible because of the nature of the terrain and the lack of a continuous waterway. In short, transportation was easier, but yet difficult, in winter when the ground, ponds and bays were frozen and snow-covered. Primarily, Conche depended on sea transportation for its basic supplies, and its chief contact with other communities from June to December. Even then, the sea could not always be relied upon, especially when unfavourably strong winds were blowing.

History--Settlement and Growth

According to E.R. Seary, Conche was first mentioned in Carte géographique de la Nouvelle Franse and Les Voyages dv sievr de Champlain Xaintongeois published in Paris in 1613 and based on Champlain's voyage of 1612. Conche was also mentioned by Pierre de Vaulx in 1613 on a manuscript map which is in the Dépôt Hydrographique de la Marine, in Paris. Seary

also notes:

> Fr. Conche--place name. Ekwell 314, entry Monkland, notes 'the Abbey of Conches in Normandy'. . . . The peninsula, which is joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, was believed to be an island.[6]

Cape Rouge was noted by Cartier in 1534 and Seary feels that the present name of Crouse was derived by elision and depalatalisation from Cap Rouge.[7] Local tradition says nothing of a French origin of the name. Instead, it provides folk etymologies. One legend claims that Conche received its name from the conch, a shell fish found in the area. Another legend suggests that the name comes more specifically from the fact that the shoreline of the community is shaped like the conch shell.[8] Since there is only scattered documentation for the history of the settlement and the later growth of

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[6]E.R. Seary, Toponymy of the Island of Newfoundland, Check-list No. 2, Names, 1, The Northern Peninsula (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1960), p. 30. There is at present, to the writer's knowledge, no local story which tells of the Conche peninsula being an island, but the view of the peninsula from a passing ship would suggest it is an island.

[7]Ibid., p. 35.

[8]My informants did not specify the specific details of this similarity. It may be of incidental interest to note that Conch was used in naming the first white Anglo-Saxon Bahaman settlers in Riviera, Florida. They were known as conchs because "when these people first landed in the Bahamas, their diet was principally the meat of the conch, a large, univalvular shellfish". V. Huss and E. Werner, "The Conchs of Riviera, Florida", Southern Folklore Quarterly, IV (1940), 141.

Conche,[9] the few documentary sources have been supplemented here with local legends and oral traditions which I collected in the area. The sample legends included here have been selected from a series of narratives which were consistent in content. For example, there is a consensus among the "old timers" concerning the legends which were told by Informant 13 who was an extensive contributor to this chapter. Most of these legends use some factual details, but the reader should note that the stories have been molded by the personality of the individual story teller. The narrator may exaggerate and place his own personal interpretations on these facts to suit the story telling situation in relationship to himself and his audience.[10] These local traditions, however, show the attitudes and concepts of the people of the community with regard to what they consider the history of Conche.[11]

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[9]Since there is no written history of Conche, I am attempting in a small way to bring together the few known historical documents. I hope that what may be considered as minor factual details do not slow the reader.

[10]In addition to the historically based narratives which are discussed in this chapter, I also recorded a few supernatural stories and one long nonsupernatural story involving aspects of local history. Some of these stories are cited in later chapters.

[11]Oral traditions have provided the basis for the history of primitive cultures. Several scholars have suggested that there are other values in the use of oral tradition by the historian. These values have been discussed in, for example, the following works:

Homer C. Hockett, The Critical Method in Historical Research

The first English reference to Conche that I have located is a very brief one quoted by Prowse from the Colonial Records. In 1702, the British Government was trying to destroy the French fishery along the North Coast of Newfoundland. The British navy encountered two French ships from St. Naloes at Conche, one thirty-two and one of twenty-eight guns. Prowse notes that:

> On the afternoon, 5th of August arrived and after exchanging several broadsides, the French set their ship on fire and went over to the next harbor called Carouge. Apparently four French ships in that place but French escaped.[12]

This encounter may explain at least in part the many reportedly seen cannons on the bottom of Conche Harbour.[13]

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and Writing (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1955).

David M. Pendergast and Clement W. Meighan, "Folk Traditions as Historical Fact: A Private Example", Journal of American Folklore, LXXII (1959), 128-133.

Richard M. Dorson, "Oral Tradition and Written History: The Case for the United States", Journal of the Folklore Institute, I (1964), 220-234.

Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

[12]D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland (London: Macmillan and Company, 1895), p. 247.

[13]P.K. Devine, "Frenchmen's Footprints", The Christmas Review (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1892), p. 27, writes: "Conche, that sits by the sea beyond the northern verge of White Bay, with her load of old cannon, and dismantled frigates at the bottom of the waters of her harbor, . . . Conche, that turns out yearly from her potatoe-gardens and newly-tilled

Contributor 23 described what he has seen:

> Yes, there's a . . . Brought out a salmon net there one time, and I was lookin' out, and it was a calm day. The water was clear. Lookin' along be the foot of the net, and just after I drove outside of it, in about five fathoms of water there, and there was three or four cannons then on the bottom. And I went out a little further. 'Twas all muddy bottom. And you know those old sailin' vessels, you saw the picture of Captain Cook and they have a lot of ballast in those, in them days--big rocks, oh, about thirty pounds each, oval like. Well now, they'd have them down in the bottom of the ship. Well, there was a pile of rocks on the bottom was about twenty feet long and about ten feet wide, I suppose. And they were just the same as if they were piled up there. And it's all muddy bottom, all around it. And there was twelve or fourteen guns--cannons. They were about ten feet long and they were laid along on each side of that and some of 'em were across it, and more of 'em the muzzle was stickin' out through. Just like if the ship sunk down--it was sunk there--and she just decayed away, rotted and the ballast was in her hole down below. Well, the guns were on deck certainly. Well, they just fell down on top of the ballast. There's seventeen or eighteen there all together, but they're not all in the one place.
>
> That's about three hundred yards off from Martin's Point. Not hardly towards the squiddin' ground but a little bit towards Sleepy Cove [see Map]. And inside of Martin's Point, there's five more. There's three in one place and two in another. And there's another one over on this side of the Bottom, in about three feet water--two feet at low water.
>
> (Did anyone ever try to get it up?)

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land old coins dating back more than three hundred years; yet nobody would think of accrediting to Conche a history older than the Louis forts or the Basque inscriptions. . . . The hulls of the old ships-of-war (suppose to be such) may be easily seen on days when the water is clear, but they are gradually being sucked down and embedded in the mud, and in a few decades more will have entirely disappeared."

No, not to my memory. But I never heard none of the old.. There was none of the old people ever knew anything about it, clear of what they saw on the bottom.

No, they didn't know anything about it. It wasn't . . . 'twas before any of the old people come to live here. If it didn't, well, they'd know. Some of the old people 'd know. Well, Aunt Dell C------, she was 105 when she died and her husband was an Irishman. She was Irish. They didn't know anything about it. Before their time. Me great-grandfather, he was an Irishman and it was before his time. There was a battle fought here sometime or another, because there's cannon balls after bein' dug up in gardens and me father dug up one over there on the Hill of the Road makin' a bridge when they were to work on the road.

(That's right in from that isn't it? The Hill of the Road is right in from that?)

Yes, and when they were buildin' the nursin' station they bulled out one with the bulldozer. Dr. Thomas had it. They give it to Dr. Thomas. He was here on the day they got it. And I got another one I picked up down there under the Red Clift. So he must a been fired there. And I saw two or three more was dug up in the garden. The one I got is about three inches in diameter. And the one that, that they got down to the nursin' station was about three inches in diameter, about the size of an ordinary rubber ball." [Contributor 23]

Contributor 14, a man in his late eighties, had a different suggestion: "There are old cannons up there on the bottom belonging to the pirates. They said there was a ship set fire to there."[14]

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Conche was part of what was called the French Shore. Although the

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[14]Pirates are also mentioned in Chapter V which deals in part with buried treasure.

boundaries of the French Shore were redefined--expanded and contracted as it was defined--by three treaties during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Conche always remained part of it. On April 11, 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht gave England the right to Newfoundland, and gave the French the right to fish and dry their fish on the shores of northern Newfoundland between Cape Bonavista on the east and Point Riche on the west.[15] The French were again given the same fishing rights along this part of the coast by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, while the Treaty of Versailles, September 3, 1783, gave the French fishing rights along the coast from Cape St. John to Cape Ray. This area continued to be the "French Shore"[16] until the 1904 Anglo-French Convention, when France gave up her fishing rights in Newfoundland for land in Africa.

Innis suggests that both the English and French fishing fleets had used Conche as a station for at least a century before the French employed some British settlers to remain permanently in the harbour, to act as "Gardiens" [guardians] for the French Rooms during the winter months. There is, however, only one report of British fishing ships

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[15]Gordon O. Rothney, Newfoundland, A History, Historical Booklet, No. 10 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1964), p. 18.

[16]The term continues to be used in speech and occasionally in writing. During the field work, I received a letter addressed to "Conche, The French Shore".

at Conche, and that was in 1764 when there were three British ships with 164 men and twenty-three boats.[17] The same year the number of French vessels in the neighbouring harbour of Cape Rouge [Crouse] was four vessels carrying 8,600 quintals of fish. In 1768, it was reported that Conche had more than five French vessels, while Crouse had eight vessels with 20,150 quintals.[18] The French fishery continued to grow in the Conche area. Innis notes that at Conche and Crouse there was an abundance of fish which were taken in nets. By 1786, these two harbours had a total of twenty-two French ships with 2,040 men from Granville.

Innis mentions the complaints of Indian disturbances at Cap Rouge and Conche Harbours in 1786, but he says no more about them.[19] I tried unsuccessfully in my study of the community to find any references to the Indians. Although a number of the community residents mentioned that they had unearthed arrow heads when digging vegetable gardens, cellars or house foundations, there is no other reference to the

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[17]Harold A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954); p. 196. Innis quotes from C.O. 194:16. The business notations of Thomas Slade & Sons (Battle Harbour) showed that there were ten British fishermen at Conche in 1787-88. "Counch, Tho. Riggs, John Jilsed, Wm. Griffin, Ben Brooks, Wm. Cake, Jas. Warne, Wm. Wherry, Jas. Vincent, Wm. Enos, Mattw. Legg." Thomas Slade and Sons (Battle Harbour) Newfoundland Ledger, 1787-88. (MS)

[18]Ibid., p. 184. Innis quotes from C.O. 194:16.

[19]Innis, p. 216.

Indians in the present day oral traditions of the community. The most probable explanation for this lack of tradition is that the first permanent British settlers did not arrive until about 1800, when Indians were no longer present in the area. If the French transmitted the traditions about the Indians to their Irish guardians, they have not been passed on to the present generations.

In both Conche and Croque, the French fishery declined steadily after 1786. There was a decrease of ten French vessels in the Conche area, from twenty-two in 1786 to twelve in 1792, just a six-year period.[20]

The French encouraged one or two Irish settlers to live in many of the harbours to work as guardians and to protect their fishing gear and property while they were absent during the eight winter months of the year.[21] There are no written records of the early history of the settling of Conche by these guardians, although oral accounts indicate

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[20] Ibid., p. 217. Innis quotes from C.O. 194:16.

[21] Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 69. [Croque is 10 miles north of Conche by sea.] "Croc Harbour, Wed. July 20, 1859. James Hope, 64 years old, came from KilKenney, Ireland and has been in Newfoundland about 50 years and has been at Croc 40 years. . . . I am informed that there would not be near so many British residents were they not encouraged to come by the French. . . . because as the French captains change every five years their places on the coast, if they do not like the Gardien whom they find on the spot, they bring another man and his family to act as Gardien, and as this change happens every five years, new families may be brought every five years to a fishery station, and by that means the British families on the coast have greatly increased in number."

that the first permanent settlers came to Conche at the end of the eighteenth century. Apparently, one of the first settlers was a James Herbert Dower who was a keeper or guardian of the French rooms.[22]

A number of other settlers took up permanent residence in Conche at this period: Joyce, Power, Pine, Kenney, Carroll,[23] and Kearsey. Pine and Power were the guardians of the French rooms in the North-east and South-west of Crouse, respectively. After the French had abandoned Conche Harbour in 1865, Crouse became the major center for the French fishery. Except for these two guardians, the British fishermen did not settle in Crouse until the late nineteenth century, because the French continued to claim the sole right to fish on the French Shore to the exclusion of the English.

These British settlers, who were mostly of Irish origin, began to catch fish illegally, despite the French, and

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[22] Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 70.
"Conche, July 25, 1859. Interviewed John Dower, 38 years old, who was borned and fished in Conche all his life. . . .
5.Q. Do you know when this settlement was first made by the British?"
A. My father was the first man who came, I believe, about 60 years ago or more. . . . for some years he was about the only person. The next settler was a man of the name of Joyce."

[23] This entry was taken from the Conche Parish Records: "Patrick Carroll born at Garvan, Ireland, County Kilkenney, Division Thomastown in 1823, married Adelaide Dower (daughter of John Dower and Ellen Casey) of Conche, French Shore, Newfoundland. The marriage took place at St. John's, Nfld., Sept. 21, 1851, the officiating priest was Rev. Fr. Forrestal and the witnesses were Mr. Collins and Mrs. Collins. Adelaide Dower, her first husband being James Howlett, the first marriage also being performed by Rev. Fr. Forrestal."

they intermarried among other Irish settlers. There is no written record or oral tradition of any intermarriage between the Irish and the French.[24] By 1857, there were sixteen permanently settled Irish families with a population of 101 in Conche.

The harbours of Conche and Crouse were still important centres for the French in 1858 with 708 men in Crouse and 244 men in Conche. During that same year Conche had nine places assigned for French stages and four places occupied. There were four French vessels from 150 to 300 tons, thirty-two batteaux, eight seines and 244 Frenchmen. In 1858, Cape Rouge or Crouse had thirteen places assigned for stages and all of them occupied, thirteen vessels from 150 to 300 tons, eighty-two batteaux, twenty-two seines and 708 men.[25] This gave Conche a population of 952 French summer fishermen, which is more than the British population has been in any one year since the community was first settled in the late eighteenth century.

Some of the conflicts about fishing rights between the British settlers and the French fishermen are given later in this chapter. These are interestingly parallel to the

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[24] Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 74.
"Patrick Casey, 24 years old . . . a Gardien for the French [at Conche]. . . . claims that there is scarcely a fall but one or two Frenchmen remain during the winter and they hire themselves as servants to the settlers here. They are deserters, and go off to St. John's as soon as they can."

[25] Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, 1858, p. 204.

occurrences recorded over a hundred years ago in interviews with two settlers at Conche, on July 25, 1859.[26] John Dower, 38 years old, who was born and fished in Conche all his life, and was a guardian for two "rooms" since he was old enough, stated:

> . . . he [his father] owned this "room" where we now are, and it was taken away and he then built the house where we now live. He [father] was turned out of his house because it was on the strand, and the French wanted the place, and so he was forced to leave it. He made no claim for compensation.[27]

It was also reported that the French interfered with the British settlers using cod-seines, salmon nets and hand-lines.

Patrick Casey, who was also interviewed on the same date, had similar complaints about the French. Casey, who was 24 years of age, had lived in Conche for six years as a "Gardien" for the French. Casey stated that his salmon nets were taken out of the water[28] by M. Dupré[29] on June 19th, and

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[26] Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm 30), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 71.

[27] Ibid., p. 70.

[28] Ibid., p. 73. A letter was written to the Colonial Secretary by Thomas Casey, father of Patrick Casey, concerning this incident. See Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm 30), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 75.

[29] Ibid., p. 76. "M. Aimé-Louis Dupré, thirty-two years old, was Prud'homme of Conche Harbour and Captain of the French ship "Nanine" belonging to the Armateurs MM. Fichet Brothers of Binic, who occupy the fishing station called Anchor. M. Dupré was engaged in Newfoundland fishery for twenty years, three of which were spent in Conche."

that the French still had them. Dupré claimed that he had this authority from his Government. Casey further alleged that Dupré also attempted to take "my cod seine out of my boat; he brought a force with him for that purpose".

In 1865, Captain R.V. Hamilton of the H.M.C. "Vesuvius" reported that the French had pulled down an English settler's house and had prevented a settler from expanding his stage or fishing room. Hamilton also wrote about Conche:

> This is the only place I have visited where a really ill-feeling exists between the English and French, owing in a great measure to the English being prevented from putting down salmon nets, it being an excellent salmon post.[30]

It must be remembered, that not only did the French fishermen greatly outnumber the Irish settlers in the community, but they also felt the Irish had no right to fish there. It is understandable, then, that ill-feeling developed between the French fishermen and the Irish settlers. Oral traditions are later given to illustrate this ill-feeling.

Many of the first Irish settlers were bilingual; the son of one of these, who was the last fluent speaker of French, died in 1961. Since the last French fishing ships came to Crouse at the turn of the twentieth century, most of the eighty-year old residents have childhood memories of seeing these French fishing crews, although they did not

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[30] Journal of the Legislative Council of the Island of Newfoundland, 1865, p. 102.

learn the French language. It is these older residents who are the transmitters of that part of the oral tradition of Conche which deals with the conflicts between the Irish settlers and the French fishermen. Stories about the French, which they heard told during their childhood, are also retold. Since in their childhood these older residents were particularly involved with the French, they have a more vivid reason to transmit such traditions. The middle generation had no contact with the French. They are aware of the older French fishery mainly through such printed sources as text-books. They know of the French cannons and also of the "French Crosses" which mark the graves of the French fishermen at three separate locations in the community. They even see the occasional party from a French warship which comes to the area every four years to clean the French graves. These factors help to reinforce their interest in the traditional stories which are told by the older people.

Extant legends concerning the French are chiefly based on historical happenings and function as "oral history". Wherever possible, I have compared and illustrated the folk narratives with written historical documents, and find an amazing similarity between this "oral history" and the historical reports of that period.

The Frenchmen legends were contributed mainly by Informant 13 (87 years old) who vividly remembers the French. There is general agreement among all the informants and the

community residents, that this person is the best informed, and knows the most concerning the French and the early settlement of Conche because "he's interested in these things". Most of the audience enjoy, accept and believe the narratives concerning the French. Legends telling how a particular local man had outwitted the French in some manner appear to have the greatest audience interest and appeal, especially for the younger generation. This type of legend usually names a specific ancestor of one of the audience, providing a means of identification with the hero. However, the interest of the younger generation has not been sufficiently motivated, so far as I can tell, so that they learn and retell these stories.

Even if some of these stories were not valid as history, as legends they are all still useful in showing the point of view of the people concerning the role of the French in the early history of Conche. Six selected legends are presented here to illustrate three points. First, that the Irish settlers who fished illegally along the coast encountered problems with the French but developed techniques to cope with them. Second, there was continual ill feelings and conflicts between the settlers and the French fishermen. A third point of significance for this study is the very fact that these legends have survived since the early part of the nineteenth century when the community was permanently settled. By their very nature, the first five of these six legends

cannot be dated specifically. The sixth legend, however, which tells how an Irish settler accidentally killed a French fisherman, can be dated.

The first story, by Contributor 13, an eighty-seven year old third generation Irish settler, gives a vivid picture of the actual details of illegal fishing in what the French officers considered their territorial waters.

> We'd [Irish settlers] leave here after twelve o'clock [midnight] to go fishing. Now we'd go out aback of the Head and cast caplin [catch caplin for bait by using a casting net]. Then we'd go on to the Gull Island. We'd be off there say where the Frenchmen wouldn't see us goin'. The captains [French] be out to see what ye be at and we had to get there before daylight or before, and then we'd be shut in with 'em, [out of view] then they wouldn't be able to see us. We'd fish away all day then. The batteaux [French fishermen, non-officers] be off there but the Frenchmen we usen't to mind them. Oftener we didn't get fish then we got it. We wouldn't get ashore you know, we'd be in the boats. We stop out there then perhaps a couple of nights and then come in before the fish would get too soft. We'd split it in the boats and then the next evening we'd come in mostly. We had no business ashore. It was a rough place say. There's no cove there or nothin'. [Contributor 13]

In another story Informant 13 recalls a specific incident showing how the local Irish settlers outwitted the French officers. This story also illustrates the sympathy the ordinary French fishermen had for the Irish fishermen settlers.

> We'd [British settlers] go to Gull Island and then go into Pillier to Sugar Loaf. And the men-of-war used to come there, come down in their long boats and drive us out of it. They

> [the French] often come there in the ships you know and take the boats in tow. And they [the French] took them [boats] there one time, and I wasn't there that time. We were there, but had gone off shore. We saw the ship comin' out and made sail and went away off shore. They [the French] didn't come after us. They went in and took, I s'pose ten or fifteen punts, boats and all as they were, and towed them up. And when they got up to Crouse the sailors [the French], the fellows on each side, the quarter masters, they were makin' signs to the fellows [Irish settlers] in the boat to cut the lines. And they said it was old Skipper Mick S------ cut the line but he told me "No, it wasn't". He didn't know who cut it. Anyway, one of them cut the line and the ship went on and they never went back after them. [British]. They towed 'em up to Crouse. And they [the French] had all the names, and everything and they [the British] use to given the French all kinds of names bye. Fellows they never heard tell off. Anyway they [the French] lined them [the British] all up and had them aboard ship here the next evening, when they come. They [the French] threatened them [the English] if they [the English] were caught down there any more they'd [the French] tow them [the English] up in the White Bay, the next time. But that was only just threatening, you know. And the sailors, [the French] when they'd get a chance, they'd tell about it. "Go on the grounds"; "let the buggars go down"; "Never mind them". It was fun for the French sailors say. [Contributor 13].

This next story, telling how an Irish settler frightened away the French from his home, portrays the concept of a local hero and is considered humourous by the narrator and his audience.

> And old Skipper Paddy H------ up here, they [the French] were there one night around his place. There was a lot of them. They [the French] were comin' from Crouse and they [old Skipper Paddy] were in bed. He told me he had the gun loaded-- Had a load of peas in the gun. He [Paddy] jumped out of bed and grabbed the gun and they [the

> French] were runnin' down the hill, you know, down there towards the water. He [Paddy] drifted it into them. (laughs). "That'll tickle their ends" (laughs) he said. [Contributor 13].

The following narrative relates another encounter between the French fishermen and the Irish settlers. The settlers relied mainly upon the French fishermen's fear of guns to outwit them.

> Skipper Mick, you know, old grandfather, we'll call him, he had four barrels out over there drying. He had 'em to put caplin in for to sell. And he went down one day and here was the Frenchmen just goin' off with them. I think it was four they had. And he ran in the old stable there and got the broom, there was neither old gun around. He ran down and waved to them and held up the broom, and they hove the barrels overboard. He made signs to them to bring them back and put 'em ashore, because he had no punt there to go after them. And he stuck down the broom against the rock just the same as you'd be stickin' the gun. They [the French] thought it was a gun. They [the French] were wonderful afraid of a gun you know; and they shoved in and put the barrels upon the rock. [Contributor 13].

Another story of the accidental killing of Skipper Jim Byrne by the French is widely known in the whole community, but apparently never got into the British records. There is no church record or gravestone, so I cannot date the event precisely.

> They [the Frenchmen] were on the hand of goin' way say. They [the ships] were all out in the stream. All out in the middle of Crouse when they'd be goin'-because they had to go the 25th, they had to sail. If they could go out under reef-topsail's they had to go. That was the law. And they were ashore that night a crowd of 'em down the harbour and I suppose they were drunk.

Anyway, Skipper Byrne left to come home by himself and they caught him on the Red Cliff. Killed him. They got the machine they killed him with. A scraper they have--them three cornered scrapers they have for scrapin' the boats. That was there, . . . killed him, drove it in the back of his pole. He was a great big man, Skipper John was. Skipper Jim it was, wasn't it? And grandmother and they had a man here with 'em--Tom Power they said it. . . they got into a row down there with the Frenchman and he was a big man about the size of the other man say and they think they [the French] made a mistake because they [the French] were all good friends with Skipper Byrne. He was all around with the French, and they think it was a mistake. Now the wife never troubled about goin' lookin' for him for a day or two say, because he often used to stop down the harbour and go fishin' with Skipper John, his brother down there. He didn't turn up and Mick Kenney, he was a young fella, he was with grandfather and they were at the schooner down in Silver Cove and they sent him home to go after the cows. And Mick, like all young fellas, he went out on the hill pickin' berries and looked down and saw him. And come on home and told grandfather, the old Skipper Tom. Mick told him about it, and they all went down. Sure enough it was him. But he was down under the cliff say, that pool of water was there. But they said, they never hove [threw] him over the hill, because if they did he'd be broke up. They must have brought him down around. There must be more than one or two 'em because he was a big man. The Frenchman that night when they were goin' over to go aboard, sung, shouted out and told this, "Sleep well, Jim was sleepin' well" or something like that to his wife.

Q. They put up a cross there?
A. The cross was there till the other year bye, it come down. [Contributor 13].

The reverse of the previous story is depicted here with the accidental shooting of a Frenchman, whom he was trying to frighten, by Jimmy Dempsey, an Irish settler. For this deed

Dempsey was tried in St. John's but found not guilty.[31] Dempsey did live within the study area, and versions of this story are extensively known in the older present day Conche tradition.

> The time that Dempsey shot at the Frenchman, I wasn't born I s'pose but I heard them tellin' it a hundred times. I forget about it, boy, that's to tell it right. But I know the Frenchmen use to be tormenting him, takin' his caplin and stuff like that you know--stealin' it. And he threatened them, told 'em and the French captain threatened him then, that if anything happened either one of his men [the French] what he'd do with him [Dempsey] and all this--what they were goin' to do with him. Begar, Jimmy shot at him, one night. He [the Frenchman] died goin' home--they said he did. I suppose he did. No, he didn't kill him [outright], he died they said goin' home. He [Jimmy] sung out to him [the Frenchman] two or three times, but he never answered and Jimmy could talk French good you know. Begar he told him he was goin' to shoot but the Frenchman didn't think he would. But Jimmy did. The man-of-war come and took him. They brought him to St. John's. They didn't do nothing with him, but they said that when he was goin', the wife took the letter that she got from the French, the captain wrote threatening Jimmy, and shoved it into his pocket. She said it might do some good, and that's all cleared him, they said. When the judge read the letter, he told him he said . . . . Jim said there was no shot in the gun say, but the gun was loaded all the summer and he drew her, but there was a quarter shot or two stopped in the oakum. That's what they think say. And Jimmy had peas in the gun, burned peas he put in her, he said. Put them

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[31]Before I collected this story, I remember seeing a reference to the Dempsey trial in one of the unsorted boxes of the Provincial Archive. In the present drastic reorganization of the Archive's filing system which is now underway, the document has been temporarily misplaced. So unfortunately, I cannot date the incident.

> down and then put the other wad down on top of it. But there was a shot or two in the under wad. That's what he got into him. The judge told him to put shot in her the next time. Yes, he got clear. [Contributor 13].
>
> When they brought Jimmy back after he was cleared in court, back to Butty Too again, now there was no one there say only his own family, no one there only the woman and children while he was gone. They brought back a full winter's diet for him, a full winter's food of everything and the commander of the man-of-war gave him a flag. It was some kind of a signal flag and he told him if he [Jimmy] had any trouble, was in distress of any kind, all he had to do was to put that flag where it would be seen from the outside, and any of His Majesty's ships passin' saw that signal that'd have to answer, have to go in to see what was doin'. He never had any more trouble after that. [Contributor 17].

Despite many of these misunderstandings, the settlers gradually began to get approval and recognition from the French:

> One evening, against the urgent advice of the residents, a batteau with a number of men [French] aboard pushed out, despite the frowning skies and angry waters. John Doure [Dower] was fishing at Fox Head, and saw their imminent peril. Running into the harbour, he entreated the French fishermen to render assistance, a boat was lowered, but was turned over, and renewed entreaties to launch another boat met with refusal. The brave fellow, single-handed, ran back to Fox Head, a mile distant, and alone in his boat pushed off to what appeared to be certain destruction. His heroism was rewarded by the salvation of several from apparently unavoidable death. Medals of honor were presented him, and an offer was made of a pension or a privilege. The privilege was that of fishing unmolested and untrammelled by so-called French rights.[32]

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[32] "Medaille d'Honneur of Yesteryear", Among the Deep Sea Fishers, LXV (1967), 60-61. The Dower's fishing privilege was the use of salmon berths at Cape Fox.

This John Dower, who was the son of the original settler, refused the pension and accepted the fishing rights. He also received two gold medals from Emperor Napoleon III of France. One bears the following inscription:

Ministere De La Marine.

À Doure (Jean)

Marin Anglais

Courage et Devouement

1853.

The other medal which has the tricolour attached reads:

Ministere De La Marin Et Des Colonies,

A John Doure,

Guardient an Havre De La Conche

Services a La Marine Merchande

De Francaise,

1860.

The present Dowers of Conche are the fifth and sixth generation descendants of the original settler.

The Conche community began with the two or three Irish families who stayed as winter guardians on the French rooms (ca. 1800). These Irish guardians of the French rooms and the sons employed servant men[33] and

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[33]Servant men received their food and a small salary. A servant man may be kept all year or he may be hired just for the winter.

sharemen.[34] The servant men and sharemen, some of whom came from other Newfoundland communities while others were from Ireland, began to marry, not only the daughters of their employers but girls from their own home communities, and brought them to settle in Conche. Occasionally, a family moved to Conche because his kin or relatives had settled there. One such a settler was Jim Hunt of Spaniard's Bay, who fished on the Labrador, but came to live at Conche because his brother John had settled there. John Casey came because his daughter, Ellen, had married a John Dower of that settlement. John Casey's other daughter married a ship-wrecked Irishman, Harry O'Neill, who also made his home there. When Tom Casey, a sealing captain from St. John's, heard of his brother John and his niece's husband, Harry O'Neill, being lost on the ice floes (March 10, 1853), he moved his family to Conche to help care for the widows.[35] The community population continued to grow as individuals with other surnames married into or came to settle in there: Carey [Carew] and Emberley from Witless Bay, FitzPatrick and Byrne from Bay Roberts, Joy from Harbour

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[34] Sharemen received their lodgings and food, plus one-half of one share of the summer's total income or catch of fish. Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 72. "The hired men belonged to St. John's and Conception Bay. . . . We give them part of the catch [fish] or else we pay them wages."

[35] Colonial Office Papers (Microfilm), C.O. 194, Vol. 160, 1859, p. 72. "Patrick Casey [son of Thomas Casey], 24 years old has been [illegible] years on the East French Shore; six years at Conche and [illegible] is a Gardien for the French."

Main, FitzGerald from Harbour Grace and the Whelans from Summerville, in Bonavista Bay. Ninety per cent of the people who came to Conche to settle were Irish in origin and of Roman Catholic religion, and those who were not joined that church.

There is no documentary records of the size of the Conche population before the Newfoundland Census of 1857. I have had to combine the census figures of the settlements to arrive at a population for the study area. This has not always been easy, since the settlements were given different names by different census takers.[36]

There was a gradual but constant increase in the original population of Conche from 1857 to 1935. Since 1935, however, the population figure of the original Conche settlers and their descendants has remained almost static. The population declined after 1945 and continued to do so until 1961. The increase in 1961 occurred because of a hidden statistic. In 1951 four families of twenty-nine people have resettled to Conche from the neighbouring communities. These four families came either to operate businesses or to provide better educational opportunities for their children. In 1963, nine additional families composed of eighty-four people

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[36]The 1945 census, pp. 24-25, have the following entries: Crouse 31, Conche 14, Crouse Arm 18, Crouse Neck 21, Silver Cove 112, Silver Point 18, Stage Cove 121, Taylor's Point 48 and Kenney's Cove 54. Several of these geographical names are not known locally. I must assume that what the census takers called Crouse is my South-West Crouse or "Rooms"; Crouse Arm is my Pillier; and Crouse Neck is my North-East Crouse.

resettled to Conche from Grey Island, which is twelve miles off the coast. The latter group received financial assistance to relocate, as part of the Provincial Government's Resettlement Plan. None of these thirteen families, who had settled in the study area since 1951, were included in this study, which was chiefly concerned with the older traditions of Conche.

YEAR	POPULATION	MARRIED	HOUSES INHABITED
1857	129	12	16
1869	118	16	13
1874	208	29	28
1884	269	40	41
1891	252	27	44
1901	298	33	57
1911	325	41	66
1921	376	52	78
1935	431	59	88
1945	482	-	-
1951	447	-	-
1956	435	-	-
1961	552	-	-
1966	624	-	-

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[37] Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1935, 1945, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966. The 1951, 1956, 1961 and 1966 figures were supplied by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa. These statistics apply to the Conche area as defined earlier in this paper.

III

NEIGHBOURHOOD GROUPS: THEIR ACTIVITIES AND FOLKLORE GENRES

Folklore Genres and Neighbourhood Groups

Distinctive neighbourhood groups exist in Conche. The salient feature of every group is kinship, while clusters of homes (compact cellular clusters) and nearness of these groups (physical proximity) are also present. These neighbourhood groups are not static, but have changed both in distribution and composition with every succeeding generation during the last century. In the past, the three interrelated factors of social structure, crew structure, and land use patterns, affected growth and change in neighbourhood groups and this chapter will discuss each of the three.

It is necessary to point out, however, that today these three factors have far less significance for determining the local concept of a neighbourhood group. It is my intention to show that today, while kinship is still basic to the distinctive neighbourhood groups, local people now recognize the uniqueness of neighbourhood groups by their past and/or present specialization in one genre of folklore. Today, most of these groups are recognized by the rest of the community

as specializing in one traditional genre of folklore. It is my contention, that to understand this folklore specialization by neighbourhood groups, one must examine the past history of the growth of these neighbourhoods. Such an examination will facilitate an analysis of both the past and present oral traditions themselves and their function and transmission, as well as the factors which lead to the recognition of distinctive groups with folkloristic specialties. Such an analysis is inevitably a social and economic history of Conche.

Such specialization as found in the oral traditions is not found in most other activities since all the neighbourhood groups share common problems because all are engaged in the same commercial occupation, fishing. Two or more neighbourhood groups combine their efforts in certain tasks, such as the hauling of a trap skiff on shore for the winter. Neighbourhood groups continue to join forces or extend, depending on the manpower requirements necessary for a specific task. For example, all the men of the community would be involved in moving a house.

In certain social and political circumstances, the neighbourhood groups may or may not function as a unit. Perhaps one of the best examples of opinion differences between separate neighbourhood groups, occurred during the pre-confederation election of 1949, when different neighbourhood groups represented pro and anti-confederates.

Neighbourhood unity could also be observed, perhaps because of the kin relationship core, when gifts (especially of food) were offered. "On Lady Day [August 15] if someone killed a lamb the relatives would be the first to get some if they didn't have any . . . People would also give a meal of the first salmon, fish [cod], seal, turs, caplin or herring to their neighbours." When an extra supply of a commodity was at hand, the gift-giving extended beyond the neighbourhood to "friends".[1]

"At Christmas up until Confederation, and later, it was still the custom here to kill [cow] just before Christmas--on the full of the moon.[2] [This was believed to prevent the shrinkage of the meat when it was being cooked.] If someone killed a cow, they would give everyone around who didn't have any, enough for their Christmas dinner."

On the other hand, conflict may exist within a neighbourhood group but chiefly among the women, which arises from conflict between children. Although the immediate animosity may be great, these differences are short lived. In disputes or conflicts between men of different neighbourhoods, people

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[1]The historical meaning of "friends" in Ireland was "kin" but in Conche "friends" has the contemporary meaning of acquaintance.

[2]Wayland D. Hand (ed.), The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), Vol. VII, p. 465. "No. 7705 - Pork must be killed at the full of the moon, otherwise the meat will shrivel up in cooking." This is a very common belief, only reported from South Carolina, Tennessee, New York, Illinois, and Ontario, but it has universal variants.

belonging to the neighbourhoods involved in the conflict would give support; outside of that, people may not necessarily give support on a neighbourhood basis.

Today one of the most clearly defined and recognized manifestations of neighbourhood groups is in the realm of folk traditions. Each neighbourhood group has one or more recognized traditional performers, accepted in that role by the people of the community. To some extent, this is true about aspects of material culture. There are recognized specialists in the traditional crafts, for example, boat building, but these tend to be mainly individuals. In the area of oral tradition, the people in Conche tend to refer to a whole neighbourhood group as specializing in one genre of tradition. To say that "the Byrnes are the people to sing" does not mean that all individuals in that group are singers but a high proportion of them are. For example, the community recognizes that Contributor 13 and other individuals of that neighbourhood group, "knows a lot about the history of the place" and "can tell you a lot of stories about the olden times". Such "stories of the olden times" include historical legends, personal and family experiences, and memorats.

Similarly, the residents of the community recognize that certain neighbourhood groups (which are referred to by the predominant surname in that group)[3] are specialists in

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[3]There is chiefly a patrilineal pattern of land inheritance in the community.

certain narrative genres. For instance, "The [Jones] they're the people for the ghosts" refers to a specific neighbourhood group which specializes in telling ghost stories or stories involving the supernatural. One neighbourhood group, "the Byrnes", have always been recognized as the best singers.[4] Although there are a number of good singers in other neighbourhoods, when the field worker indicated that he had obtained songs from these singers, twenty-four of the informants (eighty per cent) suggested "you should go and see the Byrnes, they're the people to sing", implying that they were the proper source for such information. Thus, the folklorist observing that close relationship exists between the local concept of a neighbourhood and specialty in oral tradition, he is led to inquire how this developed. Therefore, as I have stated earlier, he must examine the three interrelated factors that have determined the growth and change of these neighbourhood groups with their separate and recognized specialties in specific genres of oral tradition. These factors are social structure, stages of development in fishing technology and land use patterns. This interrelationship is best seen in the composition of work groups both on land and at sea. Such work groups have been determined chiefly by,

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[4] A possible confusion may arise since one or two individuals or a family of the neighbourhood are all referred to by the same surname in the plural. If someone says "[the Boydes] are thieves", a person may be only referring to two or three individuals of that surname.

technological change, especially in the chief occupation, the cod fishery.

Social Structures and Neighbourhood Groups

In the early decades after the Irish settled in Conche, most of the people were on the same social and economic level because of the "brother" crew structure and intermarriage. The neighbourhoods, however, which developed in the seventy year period between 1860 and 1930 were conscious of two groups within the community, each with distinct levels of social differentiation. The two distinctive groups were perceived in varying forms by twenty-seven (ninety per cent) of my informants.

1. The priest, medical people, teachers from outside the area, and any outside trained specialists were thought by the fishermen to belong to a separate class. The priest and nurse were, until the late 1950s, the most influential people within the community. These people from outside the community naturally had the most contacts in the outside world. The local merchants and locally born teachers also formed a part of this group, as they had contacts on the outside. The merchant was recognized as having more power than the fishermen. For example, the success of a local merchant was described by several informants in the following way: he had moved from "the bottom to the top" within ten years of starting his business. This first group was very small (twelve or fifteen people),

so it had very little effect upon the neighbourhood groups.

2. The fishermen form the major group which comprises approximately ninety-three per cent of the total community population.

Within the fishermen class, four sub-divisions did exist. Economic factors, individual opinions, and community attitudes define each of these four sub-groups.[5] The first sub-group within the fishing class consists of the economically prominent families. These "top" families or "brothers" owned and cultivated land and raised sheep and cows in addition to fishing. Men from these families worked in teams both on the sea and on the land, even after each man had married and had a house and family of his own. In these "brother co-operations", there was common ownership of fishing property, fishing boats and equipment, and even, perhaps, a small schooner. Members of this economically prosperous group could afford to travel to St. John's each autumn for business and pleasure. Their sons and daughters could continue their education outside the community. These "top" fishing families were close in social standing to the local merchants, as exemplified by income, housing, visiting, crew structure and church donations. So the whole "brother

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[5] All these people did not start as equals. Some were guardians for the French and came into the possession of the fishing property when the French left the community.

crew" neighbourhoods were economically more prosperous.

The "middle" group, although not as economically prosperous as the "top" families, were respected and looked up to by the remainder of the fishermen, especially for their initiative and hard work. Even with an occasional unsuccessful voyage, most of them managed to "make both ends meet". Any fisherman who maintained his self-sufficiency was thought to belong to the middle group. However, this group had the most transitional composition in that any given fishermen might, in succeeding years, move up or down from the group: "If a fellow struck a few good voyages he could be on the top of the heap; if he lost traps or fishing gear he could drop down."

Fishermen in Conche recognize differences in economic attainments, education and physical strength. But it is the recognition of independence or "morals" that differentiate the two lowest groupings of fishermen. "A person may have a high degree of integrity and honesty and might be the poorest of people. They wouldn't accept charity and they held on to their independence".[6] These fishermen find themselves in the bottom grouping because of unsuccessful voyages, loss of fishing equipment or poor health, but somehow they survive for a year or two and would accept only the essentials of

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[6]This expression of the ideal values of honesty, integrity and independence (which the people would express at any time) explains perhaps the contemporary scene which is not in conflict with the social situation of fifty years ago.

government assistance until they can overcome their financial problem. On the other hand, the community has always had a few men who were never very successful at fishing, chiefly because of their lack of initiative, proper equipment and know-how. These people did not cultivate gardens or raise cows or sheep. They depended solely upon charity and government assistance. Because of their lack of initiative, few people in this group moved into another economic level during their life, although most of their children would move at least one step above this economic condition. Generally, members of this lowest economic group were considered the undesirables by the remainder of the community fishermen; they were often the ready targets for criticism or blame when, for example, some small item was stolen.

The four sub-divisions of the fishing group are no longer easily discernable, so social structure as related to neighbourhood groups is not significant today in Conche. Since the community population is small (about 600), inter-kin relationships extend beyond neighbourhoods. Also, because the "brother" crew structure (see next section) has been replaced by the smaller individual crew structure, very few fishermen are now conscious of any major social differences within the fishing group. This does not imply that competition is absent among the individual fishermen. On the contrary, a man may be "looked up to" by his fellow fishermen for catching the most cod or seals, or his ability to build his

own house, skiff or longliner. Today, social distinctions are made chiefly on the basis of personality. These personality distinctions are made in terms of the mutual interests and skill patterns, and can be seen in drinking and hunting groups. Subtle distinctions determine the amount of personal interaction in these cases, for example, the behaviour when drinking. These social distinctions bear little or no relationship to the present neighbourhood group except as a basis of oral traditions. I would venture to predict that within the next decade, these forces of social interaction between individuals of the community will help eliminate the local concept of neighbourhood. That this local concept of the neighbourhood for the middle aged and older people only exists today with respect to specialty in oral traditions appears to be a cultural lag. The younger generation of Conche do not recognize distinctive neighbourhood groups but see the community as a whole.

Social differences among the fishermen became less noticeable after the Depression of 1933. One informant aptly observed of the present conditions at Conche: "There may be social classes here but no one minds it". This observation appears to be valid since the introduction of a mercantile economy and the disappearance of the closely knit "brother" fishing crew for the present individualistic family unit (a man and his young unmarried sons). Until about fifteen years ago, fishing was carried out by both "brother"

crews and by individual fishermen. "Brother" crews became less important at this time and "there seems to be more equality now than in the olden times. Even the poorest are being educated and getting jobs today," remarked one fisherman. "A job" to the community fishermen means any work or employment away from the actual fishing boat. Many still associate the poverty and hardship of the Depression with the fishery. Because of such an association, parents encourage their sons to seek employment outside the fishery, with the greater percentage having done so during the last fifteen years. Employment outside the fishery means moving away from community and kin to Grand Falls, Corner Brook and St. John's within the Province, or to Boston, New York, Montreal and Toronto, where they find employment in factories and as semi-skilled workers. Not more than half a dozen young people, who have married during the last ten years, have remained in Conche and followed the occupation of fishing.

Today, the two non-fishing groups (totalling no more than twenty members) consist of the priest, medical people, blue collar workers, teachers and merchants. The social power of these people is not as great now as it was a decade ago. This is because local people representative of all the neighbourhood fishing groups are receiving more education and entering the professions. When young people from the neighbourhood fishing groups become priests, nurses or teachers, their neighbourhood acquires a new perspective about these roles.

Merchants have lost most of their social authority and power because of the competition not only among the local merchants, but also from the merchants of the neighbouring communities. All of these factors are significant in breaking down the neighbourhood group and any level of social differentiation which may exist.

The Development of the Fishery and Neighbourhood Groups

The neighbourhood groups and the social structure of Conche have been influenced by the varying importance of three phases of the fishery. These distinct but interconnected phases are as follows:

(a) The commercial French fishing crews at Conche and Crouse which existed during the summer from approximately 1800 to 1890.

(b) The Irish settlers' "family crew" or "brothers" (plus sharemen) who fished at Conche from 1860 to 1950. Prior to 1860 when the Irish settlers were not permitted to fish in Conche waters, these brother crews and sharemen went to Labrador in schooners to fish and returned to dry their catch at Conche.

(c) The contemporary pattern became evident in the late 1950's. This was the "individualistic" unit which came with the introduction of cod nets and gill nets. This system has now almost completely replaced the earlier patterns except for the four or five longliners which go to Labrador in recent years to fish. In the

"individualistic" unit the nets are used by individual fishermen and, usually, their adolescent unmarried sons. They fish along the shoreline in twenty foot boats using gill nets.

The first permanent Irish settlers came to Conche at the close of the eighteenth century. They did not fish but were employed by the French as "guardians" or caretakers of the fishing property during the winter absence of the French fishing crews. During this period, land and fishing rights were under French jurisdiction. The guardians were provided with homes, allowances, food and other necessities by the French captains who employed them. The settlers directly inherited the French land and fishing property as it was gradually abandoned between 1815 and 1890.

The sons of these first Irish settlers were not permitted to fish in Conche since it was part of the French Shore and was still occupied by the French in summer. The first generation of fishermen from Conche went to Labrador to fish. During this period five or six locally owned schooners went to Labrador each summer. No specific Labrador harbour was utilized regularly. The schooners would, rather, continue along the Labrador coast until they came to a productive fishing harbour. In addition, a few of the Irish settlers went in their schooners to Grey Islands, twelve miles off the coast. They considered Grey Islands to be outside the boundaries of the French territory, mainly because

the French did not have any fishing rooms there.[7] These first generation of fishermen from Conche adopted fishing techniques almost identical to those used by the French.[8]

Every vessel which went to Labrador had a ten to twelve man crew. It usually carried only one "cod seine skiff" which was manned by the nine men who operated the cod seine. The cod seine was shot from the skiff around

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[7]Conflict developed between the Irish and French over the fishing rights to this Island. Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, 1873, p. 413. "Our people here [Conche] also wished to be informed if they had the right to fish at the Grey Islands. . . . our settlers are prevented by the French to fish along the shore except when and where they please, and when they go off to the Grey Islands, the French follow and annoy them as much as possible; and in some cases have gone so far as to demand a part of their fish threatening, in the event of noncompliance, not only to take the whole of it but likewise their seines."

[8]Harold A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, revised edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p. 379, gives a description of the techniques used by the French shore fishermen. He quotes from Nova Scotia, Quebec and Newfoundland documents. To summarize the chief points made by Innis:

> Each vessel had from six to ten boats (according to the number of their crew), 25 to 30 ft. long, with a great beam and all rigged alike, with two lug sails. Their crew consisted of two men and a boy, who used hook and line. Besides the hook and line, cod-seines, large nets 150 fathoms long and 30 fathoms wide, were also used. Nearly forty men were required to handle them successfully.
> The men had a fixed rate of wages averaging from 200-600 francs, and the boys, who chiefly composed the shore crews, received from 50-60 francs each.
> Three types of vessels were used in the shore fishery:
> (1) largest class employed 50 men and two seines
> (2) second class employed 35 men and one seine
> (3) third class employed 25 men and one seine.

a school of fish which had been located with a "fish glass". One end of the seine would be moored by graplins while the skiff would make a circular sweep around the fish letting out the seine. The cod was then driven into the "bunt" of the seine by the aid of "doucers". A "doucer" was a twelve or fourteen inch bolt of iron with four iron rings fastened through the bolt at three or four inch intervals. When four or five "doucers" were lowered overboard and pulled up and down by a line or were allowed to strike the ocean floor, they produced a loud noise which drove the cod into the "bunt" or the loose bag of netting of the seine. The "bunt" could be closed and the seine with the catch taken on board by the aid of ropes known as "tuckin' lines".

Two or more brothers owned the schooner and "sharemen" were employed to complete the required crew. Some of these sharemen were cousins of the owners but generally, in the early years, the sharemen came from "up south, up around everywhere, up around Conception Bay and the West Coast, up on the Southern Shore and Bonavista Bay, wherever they could get 'em I suppose. Men use to come down here looking for berths with these people". (Contributor 17).

Depending on the ice conditions, these Labrador bound schooners would leave Conche the first of June. They sailed north along the South-East Labrador coast until they reached a suitable harbour. The catch was salted on board. When the ship was filled, it returned to Conche where the salted

cod was washed and dried. The French never interfered with this drying process. If the first voyage was completed by early August a second trip was undertaken. The few men who were left at home, plus the women and children, would spread the catch to dry. In autumn the dried cod was loaded onto the schooner and taken to St. John's and traded for supplies. Since most of the sharemen came from the Avalon Peninsula, they would disembark at St. John's before the ship returned to Conche with the winter supplies.[9]

Two methods of payment were used by skippers who employed sharemen. One was that each "shareman" provided his own food and living expenses and the total net income was divided equally among all the crew, with one additional share deducted for the skipper and the use of his fishing equipment. The other method was that a shareman received one-half of a full share after the total sales had been divided by the number of men in the crew. For example, if two brothers each employing a shareman (total of four in the crew) made $4,000. gross income, the sharemen would receive $500. each and the brothers $1,500. each. Each brother, however, would have to contribute equally to pay off the cost of the summer's supplies and the cost of repairs and maintenance

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[9] Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, 1874, p. 551. "The French bring out their supplies with them from France. The settlers obtain provisions from the Traders, who supply them with goods in exchange for their fish."

of the fishing equipment. Since each brother also provided food and accommodations for his shareman, the net profit for the employer would be $800. to $1,000. Anyone who clears $1,000. a year is considered rich by the rest of the fishermen. So the family crews increased their profits by employing sharemen.

During this Labrador fishery stage (ca. 1825-1860) in the development of the Irish fishery at Conche, the French had given the salmon fishing berths at Cape Fox to two or three of the settlers. (See page 44 for details of how Dower obtained his salmon berth.) The family crew would leave a brother and one or two sharemen at home to operate the salmon nets, while they went fishing along the Labrador coast. When the salmon season ended in mid-July, this small crew would fish for cod with hook and line.[10]

The summer voyages to Labrador continued until approximately 1875. By then there were three generations participating in the fishery as a group from Conche. During the latter years of the Labrador fishery, two crews were

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[10] Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, 1873, p. 446. ". . . the French do object to, and prohibit to the English the use of cod seines, salmon and herring nets and bultows (all of which engines they themselves use); they are therefore restricted to the use of hook and line and 'jigger' alone except in the case of the guardians to the French rooms, who in some cases are allowed extended privileges as part compensation for their guardianship for which they are paid in goods and fishing gear from 15 to 25 pounds a room."

operating from each neighbourhood group--one in Conche and one in Labrador. As sons and grandsons came of age, they joined with their fathers, uncles and cousins in forming new (neighbourhood) crews. All shared in the cost of maintenance and operation of the schooners and boats, equipment and the home fishing rooms. The profits were shared equally among the "crew" who "were all brothers or first cousins".

By the 1860's the population of Conche had grown because many of the sharemen who came to fish with the Conche settlers married and settled there. By this time most of the Irish settlers fished at Conche Harbour (as the French had abandoned the Conche Rooms in 1865, continuing to fish at Crouse Harbour until ca. 1900), with "hook and lines" (trawl and cod jigger). There were also a few cod-traps in use by the end of the century. The "hook and line" fishery was carried out by two men in a boat. The crew might consist of two brothers; a man and his unmarried son; or a man and a shareman. In a case where a man had two unmarried sons, they perhaps hired a shareman and the older son and the shareman operated from one boat, while the father and the younger son operated another boat.

When boys became old enough to go fishing (six to eight years), they were proud of their skill and anxious to display their catch. As an incentive, such boys were usually granted permission to clean, salt, dry and sell the fish they caught rather than adding them to the family's catch.

While in the boat, the boys cut the tails off the fish they caught for ease of identification or they placed their catch in a separate part of the boat, for example, the "afterroom" or "standin' room". When the fish was sold, the parents used the income to buy clothing for the child and other household necessities. In most cases, the profits continued to be contributed to the family budget and the son was given enough money for his needs, generally only clothing and pocket money.

The time at which a young man would begin claiming a share of the profits would depend upon the family harmony and the specific situation, and not strictly upon age. If there was some dissension in the family, by the age of fourteen or fifteen some youths would go as sharemen with their fathers and take their share of the income and spend it as they wished. When a son married, he moved to his own home and would then receive an equal share of the profits. All members of the family crew, whether living at home or separately, continued to contribute equally to the maintenance of the fishing equipment, for example, boats, nets and traps which was owned jointly.

The introduction of the cod-trap in 1900 changed the crew structure. Four to six men were required to operate a cod-trap. When there were not sufficient men in the extended family (father, sons, uncles and first cousins), one or two sharemen were employed. Most of the sharemen were "hook and line" men from Conche who did not own cod-traps,

This pattern of obtaining sharemen locally (and from neighbouring communities) differed from the earlier practice of obtaining sharemen from the "Southern" part of Newfoundland. In the past, sharemen from "Southern" came to Conche each spring seeking a berth with the head of the crew or "skipper". Now, if a skipper was unable to obtain a shareman locally or in the neighbouring communities, he would contact someone he knew in Bonavista or Conception Bay, so a shareman would have a definite berth before arriving at Conche.

Sharemen competed to get positions with skippers who were usually successful. The recognized skippers and crews were more successful than the other crews because "they knew more about twine and makin' traps and therefore had better cod-traps than the others, and they usually had more initiative in regards to getting the better fishing berths". Every skipper sought sharemen who had ability and were good workers. Sometimes skippers were forced to take any applicant because of the shortage of available men. The arrangements between the shareman and his employer (the skipper) were worked out verbally. The form of the agreement was a very flexible one which changed to suit the specific circumstances. For example, sharemen who got sick during the fishing season might be given a full share if the skipper and the rest of the crew so decided. As one informant observed: ". . . one man could get a sore hand as well as another". If for some reason other than illness, a shareman did not remain

with the crew until the fishing season was completed, he received only his share of the income to the date of his departure.

During the period in which the cod-trap came into general use (1910-1930), there were still a number of men in the community who continued to fish with "hook and line" chiefly because they did not have the finance, know-how, initiative, or combination of these factors to obtain and operate a cod-trap. When a trap owner caught more cod than he and his crew were able to "handle", that is, clean and salt, and a hook and a line man was obtaining a small catch, the trap operator generally gave this unsuccessful man some of the surplus catch. In return this "hook and line" fisherman would be obligated to help the crew haul their cod-trap, and clean and salt their catch. This meant that if a skipper gave fish to five or six "hook and line" fishermen, he would have five or six additional men to help, above and beyond his own crew. These "hook and line" men not only assisted the skipper and his crew in hauling the cod-trap, cleaning the catch, but also in removing the trap from the water for the season, and in shipping the dry cod in the autumn. Through this process, certain "hook and line" men became indirectly associated with, and in some ways, dependent upon certain trap crews.

During this period of the fishery, it was general for members of family trap crews to intermarry with members

of other family trap crews. These family trap crews had better living conditions and better homes. This tended to place certain neighbourhoods in a separate social class. These neighbourhoods became inter-kin related.

With the introduction of the gill net in about 1960, the fishing crews began using smaller boats, with two men per boat. The gill net was introduced with the hope of increasing an already declining catch. At this time some fishermen decided to return to Labrador with the hope of obtaining a larger catch. The new Labrador fishery was made possible by Federal financial assistance for the construction of longliners.[11] By 1968 there were four longliners from Conche at the Labrador fishery. Unlike the nineteenth century Labrador fishing schooner with its cod seine crew of eight or ten men, the longliner has a crew of four or five men who operate cod-traps and gill nets. The 1968 longliner crews were composed of a man and his three unmarried sons in one case; a man, his unmarried son and two sharemen in two instances; while the fourth longliner owner was more independent and employed three sharemen. These longliner crews do not represent a completely new pattern. They reflect

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[11] The Fisheries Research Board of Canada introduced the longliner to Newfoundland from Nova Scotia in 1950. These boats are 38 to 80 feet long, 12 to 100 gross tonnage and have inboard diesel motors of 50 to 150 horsepower. The Government supplies the architectural plans, so all these longliners are similar in appearance; a decked design with a wheelhouse.

a mixture of the features of the nineteenth century Labrador fishery and the later Conche trap fishery in both crew structure and the technology of using cod-traps and gill nets.

With the introduction of various technologies in the fishery, the crew composition has moved from the family grouping (around a skipper) of three or four brothers, their sons and sharemen, to the smaller and more individualistic units of two men, usually a father and his young unmarried son.

As one moves along the continuum from the solidarity of the family crew ("brothers") to the individuality of the single fisherman, economic well-being gradually decreases. Individualistic fishing efforts leave a man solely to his own initiative and talent. The crew organization has men working as a group, and if one brother or the skipper displayed the necessary directions and drive, the crew could make a successful season.

Stage of Development	Technologies	Crew Structure	
C19 Labrador and later first Conche fishery[12]	Cod-seines, hook and line, cod-traps	2 or 3 brothers + their sons + sharemen	"Brothers" or family crew
	Hook and line, jigger, trawl and gill nets	2 men (non-kin) or father + son	Individualistic Unit
C20 Labrador (Longliners)	Cod-traps and gill nets	father + sons father + sons + sharemen man + sharemen owner + non-kin	

[12]The second generation were the first Conche people to try and obtain a living from the fishery. The first settlers were guardians of the French Rooms, so the first fishery came after the development of the extended family.

The composition of the twenty-one inshore fishing crews who worked at Conche in 1968 can be seen from the following table.

Number of Crews	Per-centage of total	Composition
12	57 1/7	Father + unmarried son(s)
2	9	Father + married son(s)
2	9	Married brothers
3	14 2/7	Uncles + nephews
2	9	Married brother(s) + single brother(s)

About eighteen (or eighty-six per cent) of the total crews in the community were composed of crewmen having the same surname, with the exception being three (or fourteen per cent) crews composed of a man and his sister's son.

Instead of a neighbourhood being represented by one or two "brother" crews all working together, now the neighbourhood is more likely to have four to six "individualistic" crews. These "individualistic" crews are more immediate family (father and unmarried son(s)) or household centred, than neighbourhood centred. So the original "brother" neighbourhood crews have been replaced with the "individualistic" crew as new technology was introduced into the fishery.

Land Inheritance Patterns and the Growth of Neighbourhood Groups

Land in Conche was legally owned by the French until 1904. The French, however, permitted the Irish guardians of

their "Rooms" to use the land and it was through these squatters rights that ownership was obtained. As the French gradually moved out, their fishing stages, stores and gardens went to the resident guardians.[13] The first official British land grants were given to the Irish settlers in 1907. These grants upheld the traditional patterns described in the following discussion.

This section traces in detail the ownership and inheritance of two such land holdings--those of the Caseys and the Dowers (see Figure 3 and Appendix). I have chosen these two land holdings for several reasons: (1) they represent a substantial part of the presently settled Conche land, (2) these were two of the original major families in the community, (3) these were the land holdings about which I had the most comprehensive information. Perhaps a family legend best explains how the first Casey acquired a land holding in Conche.

> One Spring when Captain Tom Casey and his brother John were going up to Cape Norman [where they fished each summer], they were coming in to the land through the Grey Island Tickle. It was very rough [seas] and they ran on the ice. So Captain Tom knew what to do, since he was a sealing captain out of St. John's and was use to the ice. He put out to sea again and hove the ship to. He saw a French ship under full canvas coming for the edge of ice, so the Caseys stopped them, and as best they could, made them understand about the ice. Certainly, if

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[13] The guardians who were given land and property by the French were automatically put in a superior position.

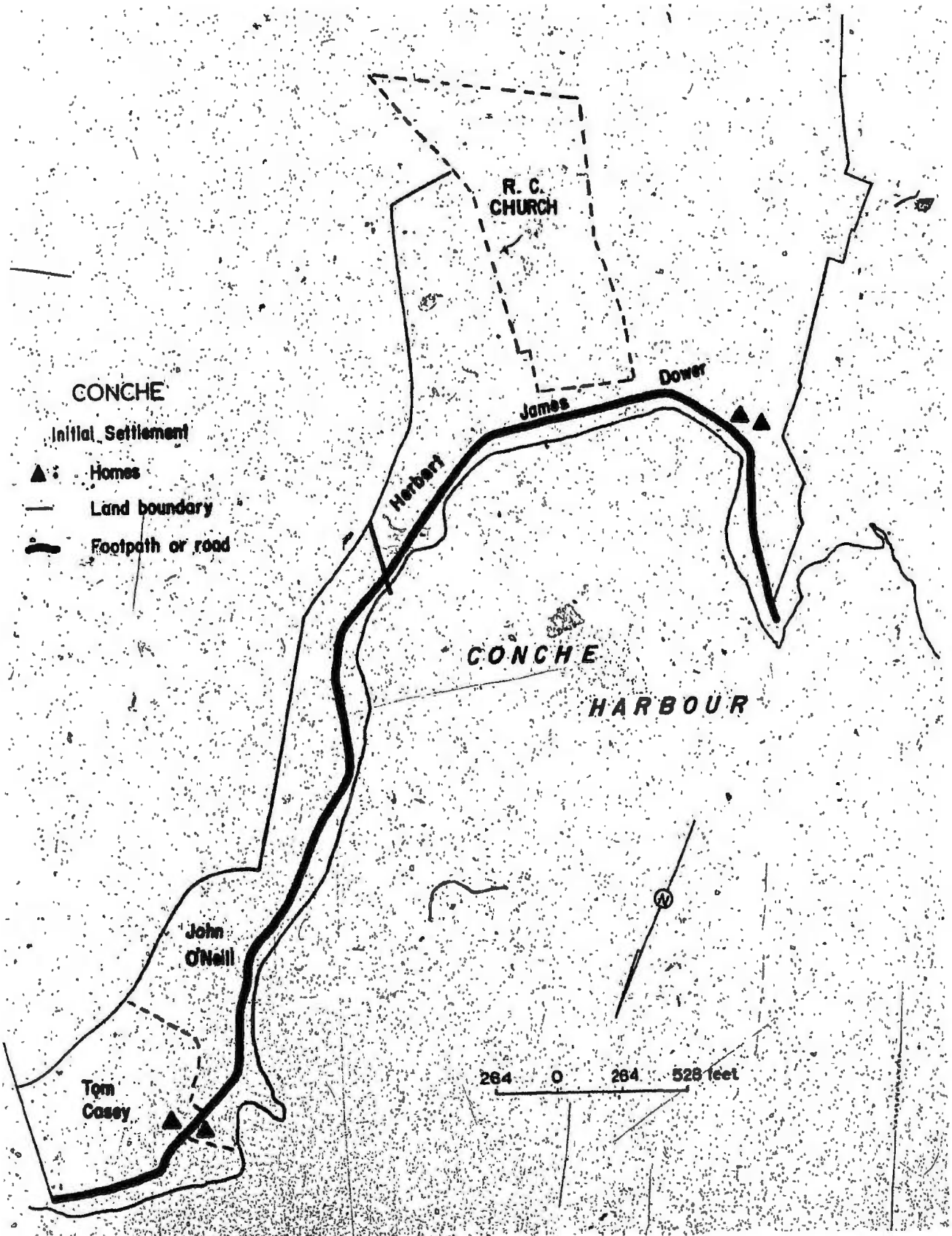

R. C.
CHURCH
CONCHE
Initial Settlement
Homes
Land boundary
Footpath or road
James
Dower
Herbert
CONCHE
HARBOUR
John
O'Neill
Tom
Casey
264 0 264 528 feet

Figure 3

> they didn't have to stop the French ship they [the French] would have been all lost.
>
> Later when John and Mary Casey came to live with their daughter, Ellen, who had married John Dower of Conche, John [Casey] met Captain Alano, who was the captain on the French Room on Alano's Point [near Dowers]. Captain Alano recognized John Casey as the man who saved his ship and crew a few years before; so the French decided to give him a reward. The French Room on Taylor's Point had been abandoned either twenty or twenty-five years previously [the necessary time limit when that Room was not drawn for] because the Cove has very rough seas during a Southerly or South-easterly wind, which made it very difficult to maintain fishing property there. Additionally, nearly a complete French fishing crew had been drowned there. So Captain Alano gave the fishing room and land on Taylor's Point to John Casey as a reward. [Contributor 17].

Though there is no documentation, this legend appears accurate (there is no apparent reason to question it) and John Casey did become the owner of about twenty acres of land which was bordered by the property of the Joyces on the west and the Dowers on the east. In 1851, John Casey's other daughter, Mary, married an Irishman, Harry O'Neill, who had been shipwrecked in the Strait of Belle Isle and travelled south to Conche. O'Neill lived with his father-in-law (John Casey) until both men were lost on the ice floes while hunting seals on March 10, 1853. O'Neill left one infant son, John.

When Captain Tom Casey, who had settled at Cape Norman, heard later that year about the loss of his brother, John, he came to Conche to make some arrangements for the care of his brother's wife and his niece and her child. Tom was

favourably impressed with the amount of land and the quantity of fishing property, so the widows agreed to give him part of the land. Tom and his family then moved from Cape Norman and settled on Taylor's Point. They were given the upper half (northern part) of the land which extended from O'Neill's Cove north to the Joyces (see Fig. 3). The section of John Casey's land given to Tom was the farthest away from the sea and it was uncleared. Tom built a house close to that of the O'Neills, and cleared the outer strip of land for gardens and meadows.

When Tom Casey re-settled to Conche, the oldest of his five sons was in his early twenties. The first son to marry was Pad, so the O'Neill and Casey widows subdivided their land again, giving Pad a section of land bordering on the Dower holdings. Pad's land was in the opposite extreme (the southern part) to his father's holdings. This generous portion of the family land was given to Pad because both widows felt that there was still sufficient land for John O'Neill, their only heir. Thus, by 1860, the original land holding had been divided with the northern half given to Tom and the extreme southern section given to Pad, the first of Tom's sons to marry.

The land, belonging to Tom, which was the upper (northern) section of the original holding, was continually subdivided as Tom's sons--Mike, Bill, Charley and John were married (see Figure 4). No specific system of subdivision was used, "just they shared it up, you take this piece and I'll

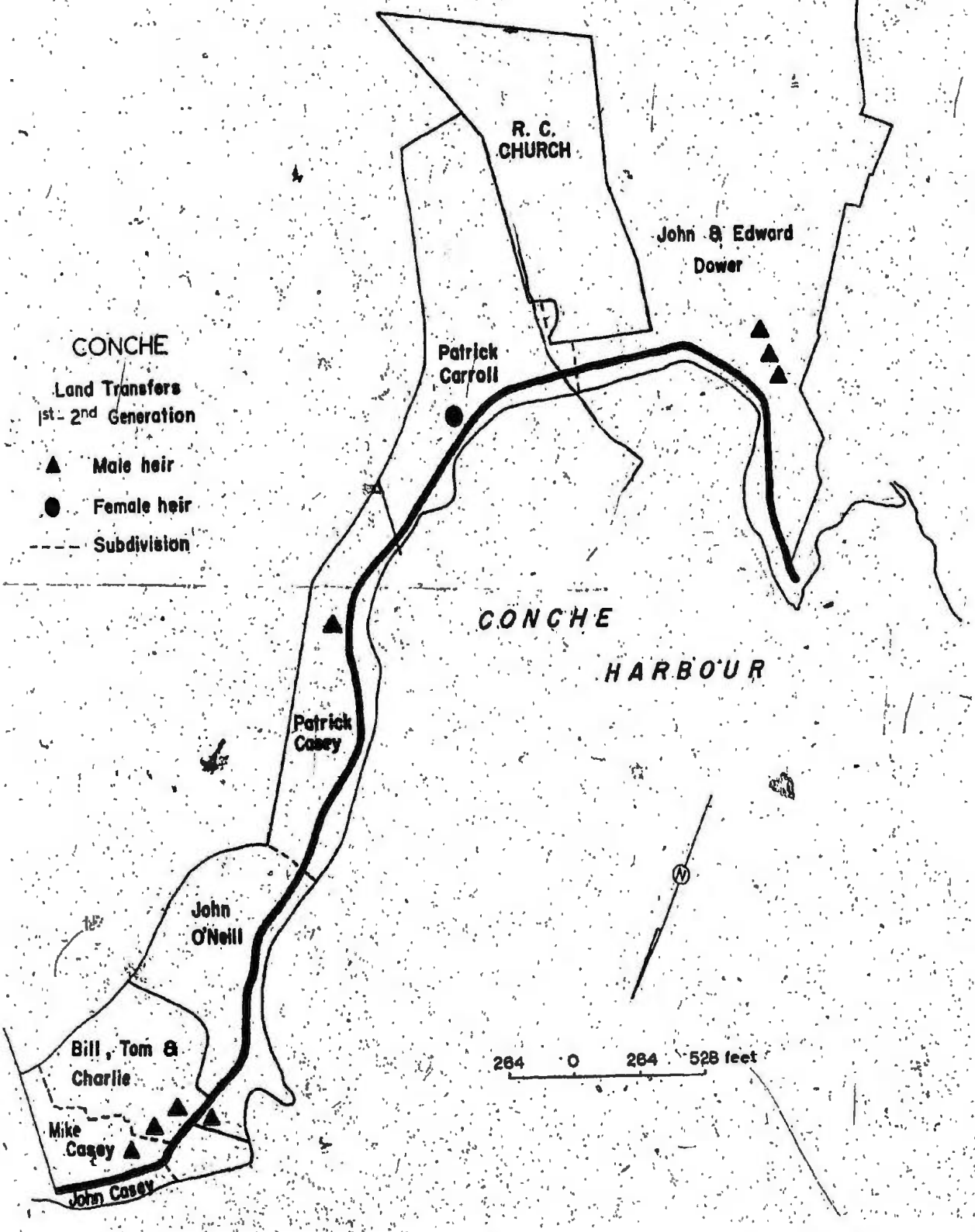

CONCHE
Land Transfers
1st - 2nd Generation
Male heir
Female heir
Subdivision
R. C. CHURCH
John & Edward Dower
Patrick Carroll
CONCHE HARBOUR
Patrick Casey
John O'Neill
Bill, Tom & Charlie
Mike Casey
John Casey
N
264 0 264 528 feet

Figure 4

take that piece".

Mike, the second son of Tom to marry, received the outer extreme of his father's land--"the Upper Meadow--up towards Joyces". Mike built a house on his father's land and cleared and used his own land only for cultivation and meadow land. When the next son, John, married, he followed the example of his brother, Mike, building a house near his father and cultivating a patch of land bordering on that belonging to Mike.

However, while the land the brothers and their father cultivated was separately owned, the land on the waterfront where the fishing property was located had common ownership. This was because the three brothers continued to fish together as a company or crew, which represented the neighbourhood group.

When the land was subdivided in the following or third generation, the houses continued to be clustered around the father's house. But now the cultivated land was shared in a co-operative manner. This was because the land could not be further subdivided and continue to remain a productive unit. The co-operative or joint land cultivation system which developed was almost identical in structure to the pattern of the neighbourhood crew which already existed in the fishery.

This is best illustrated by the example of Bill and his four sons, who cultivated the land and worked as a crew or "brothers" at fishing. Tom II, the oldest son, became the

skipper when his father died. He led his three brothers (John II, Peter, Steve) in the operation of two cod-traps. At first, the four sons lived with their widowed mother and each contributed equally to the upkeep of the house and the provision of food. The profits from the fishery were likewise shared equally. Each son contributed a specific sum of money to his mother for her needs. Tom, the first to marry, moved to his own home which he had built in the garden adjacent to the family house. Steve, the next son to marry, lived in the family house for eighteen months. The four brothers continued to work together as a crew on the sea while the wives of Tom and Steve cared for the jointly-owned animals (three cows, three sheep and ten hens). The milk, eggs and meat were shared equally between the two houses.

Steve moved to his own home eighteen months after he married. At this time, each household took the care of a cow, but the animals continued to be housed in the common stable. This was the only deviation from the communal keeping of animals. A bull and sheep provided the families with meat and wool which were shared equally.

Another communally shared task was hay-making; the men mowed the grass while the women spread and attended it while drying. Potato gardens for the four households (later

Jack set up his own home)[14] were also cultivated in a communal manner. Both the men and women would sow, trench, and dig the potatoes, but the weeding was solely the chore of the women. Each year about twenty barrels of potatoes were stored in the common cellar. However, the other garden vegetables--turnips, carrots and cabbages--were cultivated by the women in individually-owned kitchen gardens. The men of each household were each responsible for providing firewood for their own household.

The four brothers also shared equally in the profits from the seals and salmon caught during the spring, even though, unlike cod fishing crews, two boats, each manned by two brothers, were used. Thus we see a neighbourhood was based upon the kin crew structure and joint ownership and cultivation of the land. The Casey family land use and brother crew pattern was an ideal, and typical of the other families in Conche at this particular period of historical development. As I have suggested previously, the family or "brother" crew were economically prosperous and were considered the "top" fishing class.

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[14] Three patterns for the inheritance of the father's house and land were present in Conche. In each case it appears that the son who inherited the parent's house and land was the son who continued to live at home and care for his parents in their old age. The family home and land went to either:- (1) the youngest son because he was generally the last to marry, or (2) the son who did not marry, so he continued to live at home, or (3) the last son to marry.

The "brother" or family crew arrangement for fishing broke down after the death of Tom, who was the skipper. By this time the sons of Peter and Steve were old enough to fish with their respective fathers. Thus, Peter and Steve became skippers of new family crews.

From the time of the beginning of the Casey family's settlement in Conche, one kind of hunting, that done on land, was not done by kin-based groups. This included deer-hunting, beaver-catching and duck-hunting. These animals were not hunted for commercial purposes. A land hunting party generally included people from outside the kin or neighbourhood group. Brothers, cousins, relatives by marriage and non-relatives might form such a hunting party. A non-kin member of such a group, who was a specialist, was usually some close friend of one of the group. He was usually a recognized hunter, familiar with the physical features of the land (an important factor in deer hunting and trapping) or was skilled in tracking animals, or making valuable decisions for the hunting party. Thus, early in the history of Conche, one element worked against recognition of separate neighbourhoods and tended to unify the community.

The section of the original O'Neill land not inherited by the Caseys, was inherited by John O'Neill (1870). This was subdivided among his three sons--John, Will and Mike. John inherited his father's house and the "Upper Meadow". Will built a house across the road from the family home, cleared

his own garden which was previously a French garden and took the lower half of the "Lower Meadow". Mike inherited the upper half of the "Lower Meadow" (see Figure 5) and built a house there. Like the Caseys, the three O'Neill brothers worked on land and sea communally as a crew or "brothers" until each had sons old enough to fish.

During this third generation in Conche, a son was not permitted to build on cultivated or grass land which provided hay for the cattle. This meant that new houses were built close to older houses. Each family soon had a cluster of houses. These clusters led to the identification of family surnames with specific neighbourhoods, for example, Casey's Point and O'Neill's Cove.

A similar land use pattern applies to the Dower family. The first Dower inherited land from the French, since he was a guardian of the French Rooms. The first major subdivision of this holding was given to the Roman Catholic Church about 1865.[15] On this fourteen acres was built the community church, rectory, school, parish hall and graveyard.

Adela, the granddaughter of the first Dower settler was married to Patrick Carroll,[16] in St. John's on

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[15] This church land was officially granted on March 18, 1913 to Father Taubleau, the then parish priest in the community. It is interesting to note that this church land has no water-front rights which are so important to fishermen.

[16] Patrick Carroll was a native of Garvran, County Kilkenney, Division of Thomastown of Ireland, according to the Conche Marriage Records.

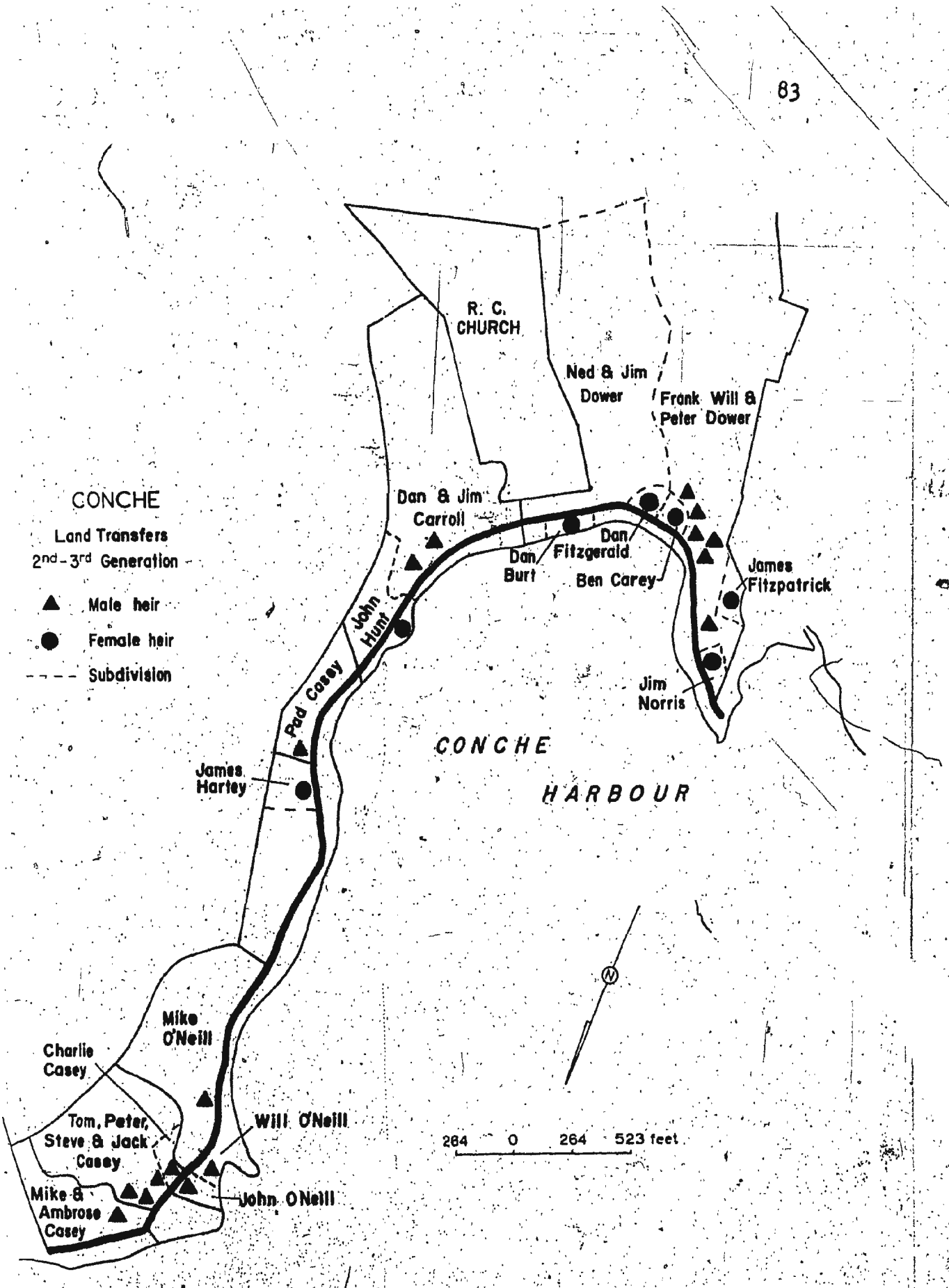

CONCHE
Land Transfers
2nd - 3rd Generation
Male heir
Female heir
Subdivision
R. C. CHURCH
Ned & Jim Dower
Frank Will & Peter Dower
Dan & Jim Carroll
Dan Burt
Dan Fitzgerald
Ben Carey
James Fitzpatrick
Jim Norris
John Hunt
Pad Casey
James Hartey
CONCHE HARBOUR
Mike O'Neill
Charlie Casey
Tom, Peter, Steve & Jack Casey
Will O'Neill
Mike & Ambrose Casey
John O'Neill
264 0 264 523 feet

Figure 5

September 21, 1851. They returned to Conche and, since Carroll did not own any land in the community, the Dowers gave him a section of land bordering on the Casey land which was the furthest away from their cluster of homes. This is the site of the present Carroll neighbourhood.

Pat Carroll's wife, Adela, had a daughter by a previous marriage. In the 1860's this daughter married John Hunt who had resettled from Spaniard's Bay and held no land in Conche. Pat Carroll then subdivided his land and gave the outer limits (again the northernmost part) to Hunt. The present day Hunt neighbourhood grew from this land holding. (See Figure 5).

When John Burt married John Dower's daughter, Adella (John Dower was the brother of Adella Dower Howlett Carroll) in about 1878, he was given a small land plot, from which the Burt neighbourhood grew. Since the outer limits of the Dower land had already been given to Carroll, Burt was given land adjacent to Carroll and closer to the Dower homes. Later, Ben Carey married Ann Dower (Adella Dower Burt's sister and daughter of John Dower and Ellen John Casey). Since Ann's unmarried brothers had died and Carey did not own any land or property in Conche, he went to live with the Dowers. Thus, the Carey neighbourhood grew up adjacent to the Dowers. (See Figure 5).

It was in this manner that the land became subdivided and new neighbourhoods started. Basically, the neighbourhood

groups remained kin-centered as the land was inherited by the male offspring, who continued to build homes in clusters around their father's house. Originally when a kin needed grass and garden land, the family holdings were subdivided. At the time that the pressure for cleared land began to increase, the younger generations were starting to move away from Conche because of the Second World War and the outside opportunities existing for unskilled labourers. Certainly, the lack of cleared or cultivatable land had at least an indirect effect on this movement away from the community. Much of the land was geographically identified by referring to the surname of the family living there. Examples of this are Kenney's Cove, O'Neill's Cove and Dower's Cove. Such was the situation until the mid 1950's when whole families began to sell their property and move from Conche to urban centres. At the same time, families from neighbouring communities resettled at Conche, so this selling of land caused the growth of new neighbourhood groups. With the influx of nine families resettled from Grey Islands in 1963, the Conche people began to sell their land, especially that which was not cultivated. As has been previously noted, the kin centred neighbourhood structure was also breaking down as the technology of the fishery changed.

Since men now fish as individuals rather than in "brother" crews, one man may be considerably lower on the economic scale than his brother who lives in an adjacent

house. With changes in the technology of the fishery, and as previously subdivided and inherited land was now sold, few neighbourhood groups have remained totally kin-centered.

Five factors can be observed from the historical patterns of land inheritance in Conche.

(1) On the first subdivision, the land on the extreme limits and usually to the north and west was given away.

(2) House clusters grew and so did neighbourhoods, as the descendants and the kin of the original land holder established their own households.

(3) The necessity of conserving the available grass and cultivated land also led to house clusters around the family home. Since the men worked together on the sea, there was the added incentive to live closely together.

(4) Each generation moved and built further away from the sea shore because the importance of cultivated land became a lesser factor as time progressed.[17] Today, for example, the houses which are being constructed are located in the centre of what was for the previous generation prime meadow land.

(5) During the last decade, a commercial element has entered into the transmission or subdivision of land. This has caused rapid changes in the composition of neighbourhood

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[17] The importance of cultivated land became less because of the greater availability of vegetables and goods in the local stores. Additionally, there was greater emphasis on cash and less credit.

groups. Two of the original neighbourhoods have been replaced by a number of different surnames.

IV

RELIGION, HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Religion

The first settlers, Irish guardians of the French fishing rooms, were Catholic. Their religious needs were partly met by French clergymen who arrived each spring with the fishing fleet. During the first half of the nineteenth century, these French priests performed baptisms, burials and weekly Sunday Mass for the settlers and the fishermen during the summer months. The French clergy returned to France with the fishing fleet each fall. Since marriages traditionally took place in Conche after the fall "settling up time", if a fisherman expected to do well with his catch, he took his prospective wife with him to St. John's when the schooners came each autumn to sell the dried cod and to take on winter supplies. As the Conche Marriage Record indicates, many of the early settlers usually married in St. John's.

By 1857, there were thirteen homes (110 people) and a Roman Catholic French church at Conche but no permanent resident clergyman.[1] The reports of 1858 note: "Two Catholic

[1] Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, 1857, p. 256.

Chapels erected, one at La Couche, by the French Captains and a French Catholic clergyman resides at Cape Rouge [Crouse] visiting the several harbours on the coast."[2] The French clergy continued this summer service but beginning in 1870, an English Catholic priest from the Harbour Grace Diocese also visited Conche and the surrounding Roman Catholic communities each summer. Just as the community received medical services from both the French and the British, so both provided for its religious needs. In 1873 it was reported that

> Rev. Fr. Brown visits his flock as far as Hare Bay, he resides at Tilton Harbour, Fogo.[3] M. Rebour, a French priest also visits during the summer. He came out in one of the French vessels.[4]

Many of the baptismal certificates were re-copied from the Tilting Harbour Record to the Conche Church Registry.[5] The dates 1859, 1865 and 1874 on these certificates indicate that the Tilting Harbour clergy visited Conche during these

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[2] Ibid., 1858, p. 206.

[3] Tilting was not a parish until 1856, when the Harbour Grace Diocese was formed. Before that date, service for both Conche and Tilting came from King's Cove which was a parish formed by Dr. Scallan.

[4] Journal of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland, 1873, p. 541.

[5] Father Gore copied many of the original baptismal certificates which were in French and dating back to September 21, 1851, into the Conche Registry. These certificates were issued to the parents, by the clergy of the French ships, at the time of baptisms.

years.

The first entry in the Church Registry of Conche was made in 1873 by Father John Gore. Father Gore, a French chaplain at the North-East Crouse fishing rooms for many summers, was the first priest to remain in Conche throughout the winter, receiving permission from the Bishop of Harbour Grace to remain there throughout 1873-1874. The records indicate that Gore performed baptisms and marriages from 1873 to 1883. He only spent four winters at Conche during this ten year period, but his summers were spent at the French fishing rooms.

During his stay at Conche, Father Gore finally established the parish by having both a new church and a parish house built. From 1884 to 1886, Father Walter M. Tarahan was stationed in the parish. After having been successively part of the King's Cove and later the Tilting parishes, Conche became in 1885 an official parish of the Harbour Grace Diocese. Father John Lynch was parish priest from 1885-1898.[6]

With a population of 269 in 1885, Conche became the centre of the Roman Catholic parish which extended along the seventy-five miles of coast from Canada Harbour in the south to Cape Bauld in the north. The parish included all communities where there were Catholics.

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[6]J.T.E. Lynch, "How I spent Christmas on the French Shore, Parish Visitation: 1884", Evening Telegram, (December 22, 1964), p. 46.

The role of religion in the lives of the people and in the history of the community is perhaps best summarized by the following observations of a resident:

> Right up till quite recently, it [religion] was a part of the people's lives; I'd say a vital part. . . everything centered around the church. Even those people who were luke warm had religion ingrained in them and it was part of their everyday lives. Religion meant something in times of poverty and prosperity. No odds how much they cursed or how lax they were in their religious duties, there wasn't a boat which went out that did not have holy water, medal or blessed candle aboard. . . . Anyone who was not practising, not church goers, still pay their dues and say their prayers and rosary and always received the sacraments before they died. [Contributor 17].

Religion plays a major role in determining marriage partners in a small community such as Conche. The Roman Catholic church recognizes two types of relation as barriers to marriage:

(1) Consanguinity or blood ties of second cousins (direct or indirect line) or any closer relationship than second cousins.

(2) Affinity or spiritual ties which exist between godparents and between sponsor and godchild in baptism and confirmation.

These considerations have a good deal of effect upon the choice of marriage partners, because there was a large amount of intermarriage in the early days between the relatively few extended families in Conche. People were considerably limited in their choice of marriage partners and they were conscious of affinity

ties and thereby avoided any situation which might cause complications for a later marriage or further limit their choice. For example, individuals who were dating would not act as godparents to the same child.

There are few marriages between Protestants and Catholics in Conche. If such a couple took up permanent residence in the community, the Protestant partner generally joined the Roman Catholic Church. The only non-Catholics in the Conche area were the fishing crews who spent each summer at Pillier and North-East Crouse, until the early 1950's, when this practise was abandoned.

The name of God was invoked by most residents of Conche to bless, assist and protect all the daily activities. The older people said "God save all here" upon entering another house, "God bless the calf," "God bless your new house," "Oh, God bless the nurse," and "God bless the mark" (in reference to a cross-eyed person). When activities were not progressing successfully, people would claim "that's the devil" while "God between us and all harm" prefaced a conversation about prospective danger or misfortune.

According to most informants in Conche, the purpose of religion is to achieve "life in Heaven," "life after death", or "eternal salvation" as preached by the church. Most people followed the Commandments of God and the Precepts of the Church because not to do so was a grave sin which was believed to bring the eternal damnation of Hell. Even the few

fishermen who were not strict observers of all of these two sets of rules, for example, attending Mass on Sunday, had great respect for the priest and the church. They still maintained a firm belief in the necessity of some religious practices. This is shown by the fact that without exception, they received the Last Rites of the church at death.

Since the church's dominant role in all aspects of religion, the rites of passage and the customs associated with birth, marriage, death and burial (the latter is discussed in Chapter VII) tend to be fairly uniform throughout the entire community. Birth brings Baptism, the first year at school (age six) brings First Communion and when the Bishop visits the community every four years, there is Confirmation. Since Conche is a Roman Catholic community such uniformity is also found in relationship to all church services, especially the Sunday activities and the calendar feasts and holydays. Sunday, the central day of the week, is a day of worship, rest, sleep and visiting, and is worth describing in full detail. Mass is always celebrated at 8:30 and 10:30 a.m. on Sundays as on other church calendar feasts or "Holy Days". Since Sunday Mass is the chief religious service for the week, ninety-nine per cent of the community residents attend, attired in their best clothing. Generally, the husband and the older children attended the early Mass while the wife and the younger children attended the 10:30 a.m. Mass.

On their way to church the women stop their conversation when passing the graveyard through the "Church Lane". After making the Sign of the Cross, they privately pray for the deceased family members. Upon entering the church, they again Cross themselves, this time with Holy Water. They then take a pew to the right facing the altar. The men sit in the opposite row of pews on the left of the altar. An identical pattern is followed by the school children except that they sit in the front pews closest to the altar rails. Even if a husband and wife attend the same service, they would rarely sit together. On their return walk from the church people usually group themselves according to sex and, to a lesser extent, age. One hour classes in religion, "Catechism", were conducted by the teachers for all the school children at 2:00 p.m. on Sunday.

Work is prohibited on Sunday except such necessities as the visiting of salmon nets during the early summer, or the spreading of cod to dry during the autumn. The day is spent in reading, resting, berry picking, visiting or some other form of relaxation. Berry picking is not regarded as work since it is not a commercial activity. The local concept of work is based upon the value of "hard work" which involves physical strength and endurance. The church also indicates what it considers as proper and improper Sunday activities.

Sunday evening at 7:30 there is another church service. This half hour Rosary and Benediction service is attended

mostly by the single people and the married women of the community. This service also served an accepted social role. Since a boy did not call at his girlfriend's house until they contemplated marriage, this Sunday evening service provided an opportunity for young people to meet. After the evening service, women go visiting friends in another part of the community, or since 1955, they might attend a movie. Some men walk through the community, stopping and conversing with other fishermen, especially around the Government Wharf and Community Stage. The younger people, those under twenty, usually attend the movie.

At each of the two Sunday Masses, collections or donations are taken up and are used in maintenance and repair of the church property. This is only a small part of the actual contributions made by community members to the church. The men in the community also contribute voluntary labour for any repair to the church. Until 1955, it was traditional for the fishermen to donate the profits from the day's salmon catch on St. Peter and Paul's Day (June 29). Profits from other fish caught on that day were not donated. On the other hand, this was the height of the salmon season, so there was usually a generous contribution. Later in the fishing season on Lady Day, August 15, there was a similar donation of the profits from the day's catch of cod fish. The profits from these two days were given to the priest, together with "his dues", after the fisherman had "straightened

up" in the fall.

The women have an even more active role. They clean the church each week, sing in the choir, and raise money for church maintenance and improvements by sponsoring dances, suppers, concerts and the annual garden party. The Altar Society, the only church sponsored organization in the community, has open membership but a female executive. The membership fees of $.50 per month are used to purchase altar supplies of candles, linens and other needed items.

The priest lives in the parish house which is rent free. In the early days the community people supplied him with firewood. Each due-payer in Conche was expected to bring and to cut up, twenty-five trees, specifically dead trees which were dry. The priest's income was his "dues" from every man in the parish. These "dues" ranged from $2.50 a year at the turn of the century to $12.00 a year in 1968. From this income the priest pays a housekeeper and maintains the household. The oil heating today is considered part of the church expense, but the clergyman himself usually pays for gas used in his personal car.

The personalized religious customs and practices which were introduced by priests from different cultural backgrounds rarely continued after the tenure of the priest who introduced them. Father Tibualt (1906-1923), a French Canadian, used the Quebec practice of offering Mass for an abundant crop and for blessings on the farmers to the fishery.

Each spring, Mass was offered for a successful fishing voyage. Everyone who was not immediately engaged in operating fishing nets, attended this service. However, this custom only survived for two or three years when the succeeding clergyman, Father Williams (1923-1941), took office. The individual clergy greatly influenced the degrees of belief in the various forms of the supernatural, such as ghosts and devils, which the people of the community held at any given time. Generally the church condemned as a sin the belief in the appearance of ghosts or devils, and fortune telling. In the past, according to local stories, a few of the clergy indicated an acceptance of such belief by praying in houses which were supposedly haunted by ghosts. This occasionally rejuvenated the moribund traditions of belief in ghosts.

The influence of religion in everyday life was expressed by the philosophy that life was a matter of "resignation and trust in God, especially in times of disaster and hardships". Each home had its extensive display of religious symbols: crosses, medals, pictures of saints, holy water, palm and ashes. Great emphasis was placed upon family prayer. Every family said a daily rosary after the five o'clock meal each evening, "supper", during the winter season, especially during Lent. Their concept of the world and the afterlife was in terms of God and the devil, good and evil, and white and black. The various church religious symbols were used by the people in their homes. For instance, on Ash

Wednesday a bit of Blessed Ashes was placed in the kitchen stove to serve as a protection from fire. Similarly, on Palm Sunday palm was placed over the door of the home and stable to ward off any harm or misfortune. Older informants stated that until the turn of the century a bit of "blessed palm" was placed in the centre of the cabbage garden by the women to ensure a successful crop.

Religion, with its church calendar, has structured not only the religious activities of the community but also the social activities. Prior to the Christmas and Easter celebrations there were periods of penance, fast and abstinence, religious observance and social restraint. This occurred during the four weeks of Advent before the Christmas celebrations and the forty days of Lent before the Easter celebrations.

Around this church calendar with its regulations grew many folk customs and practices with symbolic non-religious values and even some irreligious beliefs. These customary practices or traditional beliefs became directly or indirectly associated with religion and the church. Such traditions influenced the eating habits and customary dishes developed. For example, the old people would never eat meat on Christmas Eve (December 24); instead the main penitential dish was "the biggest fish [dried cod] they had, a special one put away". Similarly, since pork, butter or cooking lard were not used on Good Friday, the customary dish for the day was

pickled salmon or herring. Cutting wood or driving nails was never performed on Good Friday because of the symbolic association of these acts with the death of Christ.[7] The folk explanation was "you'd be driving the nails deeper". Many of the symbolic associations, quasi-religious or even irreligious beliefs took on various forms and different levels of meaning. This form and meaning difference existed between the various generations and sometimes within the same generation. The form of a belief about what is known locally as "the dogwood tree" (Mountain Ash or Sorbus Aucupara) varies from individual to individual. A ninety year old man claimed that he would not use a dogwood "to slap a child or anything", but he would use it for firewood. A sixty year old lady claimed that she did use the dogwood as firewood, but that she had often heard that this was the stick that Christ had been whipped with before His death. A forty year old lady forbade her husband to cut dogwood trees as she refused to use them for firewood. She stated that she did not know the reason for not burning dogwood, although she felt she must have known at one time.

The two chief feasts within the church calendar year are Christmas and Easter. Christmas (December 24 to January 6) not only ends the year but starts the New Year. "Christmas

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[7] These beliefs are what Utley calls the "Bible of the Folk".
Francis Lee Utley, "The Bible of the Folk", California Folklore Quarterly, IV (1945), 1-17.

provided, besides religious worship, it provided time for festivity with drinkin', dancin' and mummerin'". [Contributor 17]. Christmas was a local community affair, although if weather conditions were suitable for transportation, people from the neighbouring communities of Croque, Grand Oies and Fishot came to Conche for the Christmas celebrations. Unlike many other communities in Newfoundland where people who worked outside the community returned home for Christmas, it was not until the late 1950s that Conche people began coming home for Christmas, chiefly because of transportation problems at that time of year. Social visiting, either on a friend-to-friend basis or in the disguise of a mummer or "janney"[8] was carried on throughout the twelve days of Christmas.

There was midnight Mass on December 24th and celebrations on Christmas Day. On St. Stephen's night (December 26) a concert (recitations, songs, dances, speeches and playlets) usually was performed by the school children. The following night a community social gathering with supper and dancing known as "the Christmas tree" was held in the parish hall. On New Year's Eve there were house dances, usually one in every two or three neighbourhood groups. At midnight, powder-filled muzzle-loading guns were fired by the men, and the church bell was rung. "You'd fire out the old

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[8]For a full discussion of the "mummering" or "jannying" custom see: Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story (eds.), Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

TIGHT BINDING
RELIURE TROP RIGIDE

one [year] and fire in the new one". Competition would exist between neighbourhood groups for the production of the loudest noise. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, New Year's Day was considered the most important day of the year. The festivities of the day included house visiting, mummering, drinking and for the younger people, house dances.

The next social and religious celebrations after Christmas was Candlemas Day (February 2nd). Although it was not an official church holyday, almost everyone in the community attended Mass, as they would on Sunday, and the "Blessing of the Candles". Candles were blessed and distributed to parishioners. These were used in the home during times of sickness serious enough to warrant calling the priest. They were also placed in the hands of a dying person. On receiving the new candle, most of the people lit it and dropped a little wax on hats, caps, guns and axes, as a blessing and as a charm to prevent accidents while using these implements. The social gathering held on this day was known as "the Candlemas Cake", and continued to be strictly observed until about 1945. Three or four such house parties were held simultaneously in the community. There was dancing, singing, drinking and a meal at these parties. However, there was no actual "Candlemas Cake", the term referred only to the party. Candlemas was also a day for weather predictions. "Candlemas Day is fair and fine, half the winter is left behind;

if Candlemas Day is rough and grum, the worst of the winter is yet to come." On Candlemas Day the people took consolation in the fact that the number of daylight hours was increasing: "Throw your candles and candle sticks away, and eat your supper by the light of the day".

Although I have heard that Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday, was considered as "pancake-night", I do not have a full description. Apparently there were two or three neighbourhood house parties for the younger people where pancakes were served and dancing and drinking took place. This was the last official party until St. Patrick's Day (March 17).

Religion got a major daily concentration in the every-day lives and activities of Conche, especially during Lent. The people of the community took on a somber tone of mourning and penance during the forty days of Lent. The lack of employment for the fishermen provided time for religious observances, especially for the older men. The only chore of the former was cutting firewood, or materials for building flakes and stages. Every evening during Lent there were "Stations of the Cross"[9] conducted by the priest. People remained after this public service to make "the Way of the

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[9]Stations of the Cross are fourteen pictures depicting scenes of the death of Christ, and they are hung around the church walls. These pictures, which are subjects for meditation and prayer, were donated by various individuals and families of the community.

Cross" personally and offer extra prayers. Many people also endeavoured to attend Mass daily. If the priest were engaged in other parish community visits, people of Conche visited the Church during the afternoon or evening and individually recited the Station prayers. Women and children attended the church each evening during Lent, as would men not engaged in cutting firewood.

The church fast and abstinence laws were strictly observed during Lent. On Wednesdays and Fridays, three regular meals were permitted but meat of any kind was prohibited. People also offered personal sacrifices such as abstinence from smoking, drinking or eating a particularly favourite food. Dancing and entertainment of any kind, even card-playing were prohibited. There was minor relaxation from these rules on Sunday but the real period of relaxation was St. Patrick's Day (March 17), which was the only official day for having parties during Lent. Like Candlemas, it was not a declared church holyday, but was observed by the people in a similar manner. Until the early 1950's, shamrocks, a sprig of green, or a green ribbon was worn in the coat lapel on this day when people went visiting and "drinking and enjoying themselves". Three or four house dances were held at various neighbourhoods if there were not a dance at the parish hall.

During Holy Week, Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday inclusive, with its emphasis upon church services, people from

the neighbouring communities travelled overland by dog team to attend services in Conche. (This practice still continues, except that skidoos and cars are now used.) The Holy Week religious ceremonies were only part of the reason for these visits. The social activities began on Easter Saturday, Lent being considered officially ended at noon on that day. On Easter Saturday night, a social, including a dance, was held in the parish hall. This would be the first formal dance since the St. Patrick's Day's break, so there was an enthusiastic attendance. A school concert or an adult play, followed by dancing, was usually held on Easter Monday and Tuesday nights. Perhaps this visiting of outsiders to Conche was not so much a demonstration of religious zeal as of religious duty. There was the added incentive of house visiting and other festivities.

Today, most of these Lenten regulations, some of which were church rules and some folk religious traditions, are not observed. Many of the older people often claim: "It's not like Lent at all, I don't even know it's Lent". The religious attitudes seem to be changing rapidly and without any apparent sense of guilt among the people. It appears that most people are simply performing a formal ecclesiastical ritual which has lost the intensity of spiritual significance that had been manifested in previous individual religious zeal and devotion.

A similar pattern of community visiting and celebrations as that of Easter was followed on Lady Day (August 15). (This

is discussed in relationship to the garden party in Chapter VII). August 15 was an official holyday. Until the 1940's, the men of the community went cod fishing on this day, and the entire profits from their catch were donated to the church. The celebration included a family dinner of fresh lamb from their own flock that had been killed the previous day and home grown vegetables. August 15 was the traditional day to test the growth of the summer's vegetables--"try the new potatoes".

The next major church calendar day was All Souls Day (November 2). Although not observed as a holyday, church services were the same as on Sunday with usually two Masses. This was a special day to offer prayers for the deceased members of the family and friends. Since All Souls Day was especially concerned with the world of the supernatural, a few folk traditions and beliefs were also observed. Women would not throw water outdoors, especially after dark, as it was believed that the souls returned from the dead and might be visiting homes and you "might throw water over a soul". Two contributors indicated that if water was thrown over a soul, the water would be thrown back. No one, however, had heard of any such incident occurring. The older women usually lit a candle in a pan and placed it on the kitchen table. They spent the evening in the kitchen, until bed-time, praying for the souls of dead relatives and close friends.

The major community social events throughout the year

were organized by the church and usually corresponded to, or followed some specific church calendar feast or celebration. The only non-religious festivities were the "scoffs" during October and November. A "scoff" is a party held by younger people (ages sixteen to twenty-five). The meal of locally grown vegetables was prepared and served by the older women. The food was supplied by the girls on one week and the boys on the next, in an alternating pattern. There was also dancing and singing. When available, liquor was served.

The community traditions were affected by the introduction of new customs by the various clergy of different cultural background. While religion helped destroy traditions connected with the supernatural world of ghosts, fairies, witches and devils, it created new traditions like customary foods and festive activities. Perhaps the most important influence of religion was that it gave commonality in the traditions and practices with respect to the rites of passage and other community social events.

Religion brings the community together as a unit and in 1968 it was still dominating the community social life. The church was not only the social centre for Conche, but also for the other ten communities which the parish served. Churches have been constructed in six of these communities, while the school building is used for religious services in the remaining four communities.

Health

For an extremely isolated community, over a long period of time, Conche had superior medical service to that enjoyed by other Newfoundland outport communities. This was due chiefly to the fact that Conche was a fishing station for the French, so the whole community experienced the services of the French doctors and continued to have these summer services until the beginning of the twentieth century. An eighty-nine year old informant can recall seeing four French medical doctors in the community one summer:

> The French doctors use to work the same as any other man and they were mostly splitters in the stage. The French doctors didn't charge the English settlers for medicine, only if the English wanted to give them something. [Contributor 13].

In addition to the French doctors stationed in the fishing rooms, the doctors of both the English and French men-of-war, which constantly patrolled the area, provided supplementary service to the Irish settlers during the summer. So in summer there was constant medical attention and there are plenty of documents relating the services rendered by the British doctors. Only accounts of French doctors still remain in the oral tradition of the older people. Perhaps such a survival may be explained by the

> . . . fact they [the English] seem grateful to the French for many little acts of kindness--more particularly their attention to the sick,

who they have sometimes taken on board their ships for medical treatment for ten days.[10]

Many of the older women assisted these French doctors and in turn learned to dress cuts and wounds and to care for minor ailments. A First Aid Kit and some medicines were usually left behind with one of these women when the doctors returned home to France with the fishing fleet in the autumn.

In 1892 Dr. Wilfred Grenfell made his first medical visit to Conche. Thereafter, until 1904, when the French gave up their fishing rights on the coast, the summer medical services of both the English and French men-of-war were supplemented by the Grenfell Mission at St. Anthony which served throughout the year. So Conche had been settled for nearly a century before any medical facilities were available during the winter.

According to local tradition, Dr. Grenfell, before he established at St. Anthony was especially interested in establishing his headquarters at Conche because of the availability of flat land and the two well-protected harbours in the community.[11] Two factors deterred him from carrying out any such plan. There were religious differences; the community was wholly Roman Catholic and Dr. Grenfell was a

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[10] Journal of Legislative Council of the Island of Newfoundland, 1869, p. 4.

[11] There is no mention of this interest in Grenfell's autobiography or in any other of his writings.

Methodist. A more influential factor, perhaps, was the opposition of the sole merchant in the community who disliked Grenfell's ideas of encouraging co-operative stores and this merchant was married to the daughter of the most influential family in Conche. So, Dr. Grenfell selected St. Anthony for his headquarters.[12]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, after the Grenfell Medical Mission became established at St. Anthony (forty miles north of Conche) and provided both winter and summer services to the Conche area, the settlers felt more secure since "the hospital was there to go to". This more than balanced the fact that their summer services were not limited to two or three regular visits to the community by the Mission boat carrying a doctor, nurse and later a dentist--when the hospital could provide one. A doctor and nurse would make at least one visit during the winter on the Mission owned and operated dogteam.

From 1927 to 1932, Conche was fortunate enough to have a resident nurse. Grenfell does not name the sponsor who provided the salary of the first nurse at Conche.[13] The people

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[12]These interrelated influences of the clergy, the merchant and the leading family are seen here. These influences may bring social pressures to bear in many other situations in a folk society.

[13]Wilfred Grenfell, Forty Years For Labrador (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1934), p. 276.
". . . and a nurse was placed at Conche, between Twillingate and St. Anthony. Her services were made possible to the

refer to this beneficiary as a Miss Beaucock or Bocock, who was a handicraft worker with the Grenfell Mission at St. Anthony. Apparently, when Miss Bocock came to Conche in March of 1927, she realized the serious need for a nurse in the community. The sick had to travel by dogteam for two to four days to reach St. Anthony when the doctor was unable to come. If the doctor did come and the case required hospital attention, then the patient had to make the long winter trip back with him. Miss Bocock was extremely aware of a death from childbirth that previous January because of the lack of proper medical attention. This handicraft worker guaranteed the financial grant for a five year period to pay a nurse's salary. The community residents paid the nurse's board which amounted to $3.60 per household a year. Between September,1927 and September,1932 the community was provided successively with four nurses, each of whom stayed approximately one year. In 1933, with the Depression, many people could not afford to make their contribution to the nurse's board, and in addition the Miss Bocock grant expired after five years.

During the next three years the settlers had to depend solely on the St. Anthony Hospital for year round medical services. In 1936, when Saunders and Howell started a lumbering centre at Roddickton, a nurse was stationed there.

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to the fishermen by the generosity of one of our volunteer workers who had herself seen conditions in winter, and by the poor people themselves, who guaranteed her board, lodging and transportation."

Conche could then obtain medical attention in winter from Roddickton, which is about four hours away by dogteam. Depending upon the specific situation of the season, weather and the condition and seriousness of the patient, in cases of emergency, the people could go to St. Anthony Hospital in their fishing boats in summer (about five hours by small boat). In winter there now were several choices: one, they could telegraph or send a dogteam to St. Anthony for a doctor, or take the patient by sled to either Roddickton or the St. Anthony Hospital (sixty miles overland).[14]

Although there is still no regular doctor at Conche, since 1960 there is a nursing home. The Provincial and Federal Governments provided the building and facilities, while the International Grenfell Association (usually referred to as I.G.A.) has provided a nurse for the community. An

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[14] Ibid., p. 326.
"At Conche, a lonely little settlement on the north-east coast of Newfoundland, the nurse sent out there by the Grenfell Association lives in a room in the village. One day at the beginning of winter, the nurse's attention was called to the plight of a man who was very ill--so ill that the nurse knew at once that the only thing that could possibly save him would be an operation. There was no doctor and no hospital nearer than St. Anthony, the headquarters of the Mission, over forty miles away. It was, at that time, impossible to reach St. Anthony by sea; and the journey by land, over high hills and across dreary stretches of snow and ice, seemed almost impracticable. However, a "woman box" was speedily ready, a willing band of men volunteered to draw the sledge, as it was too much of an undertaking for a dog-team, and the party set off.
The journey took five and a half days, the nurse tending the sick man whenever they stopped to take rest. Through cold, hardship, and danger the patient was brought safe and alive to St. Anthony Hospital. An operation was performed immediately and the life of that man was saved."

I.G.A. doctor makes regular visits of approximately once a month to the community throughout the year. A hospital-operated aircraft provides transportation for emergency cases.

The medical services of Conche which I have described were comparatively good in relationship to other isolated Newfoundland communities, but were utilized primarily for major ailments. In spite of the present facilities, the residents of Conche are still reluctant to seek the assistance of the community nurse unless they consider their cases serious enough to warrant such important attention.

Conche has a long tradition of self-medication. Before the turn of the century, traditional home remedies were in active use. Some of these "cures" are still mentioned by the older people. Although today patent medicines have replaced many of these cures, some are still remembered and a few are practiced by the older generation. I collected as many of these folk remedies as my informants could recall. As I have mentioned previously, folk medicine was not an area of tradition where there was neighbourhood specialization, but it was community wide knowledge. When common ailments developed into more serious conditions, there were only one or two recognized community specialists who were called upon. The greatest number of these folk medicines are traditional and widespread in North America. I have footnoted the "cures" to the most comprehensive study of American folk medicine to show the traditional nature of the Conche material.

The people of the community see folk ailments and their "cures" in two separate categories. There are the minor ailments which do not require the treatment of a specialist, so the cures are widely known and are administered by the individual or a member of his family. Most ailments were considered minor unless the generally known folk cures or patent medicines did not produce favourable results. Then it was considered a serious ailment which required special attention. Certain other ailments were recognized immediately as serious, for example, gun shot wounds, major external infections and childbirth required a more skilled treatment, which was obtained from one of the two or three recognized community specialists. To illustrate the first of these two categories, I shall give a few examples of the traditional treatments and "cures" for minor ailments. To stop hiccoughs or "haycups" an individual may be advised to place a bit of sugar on the tip of his tongue;[15] hold his breath for a few minutes;[16] or think about the last person that had been buried locally.

Warts are a minor irritating ailment but no one takes

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[15]For examples and references see Hand for parallels. Wayland D. Hand (ed.), Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina (Durham: Duke University Press, 1961). The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, Vol. VI, p. 213, No. 1638.

[16]Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 215, No. 1660.

them seriously. There are a number of folk remedies for removing warts. One may grease the wart with a bit of raw fat pork and then hide this pork under a rock.[17] A handful of green grass rubbed over the warts and hidden under a rock and forgotten about is believed to remove warts. A raw potato cut in half and rubbed on the warts and then buried in a garden is also helpful.[18] A straw of grass having the same number of knots tied in it as there are warts to be removed is also believed to be a cure. Each knot is rubbed to a wart and the straw is buried. "If a person goes away and doesn't think about it, when the straw rots the warts will be gone."

Leg cramps which are also minor ailments are believed to be prevented by wearing a little bag of brimstone on a string around the neck or by turning one's shoes or boots upside down ("the mouths down") when they were not being worn.[19]

Almost any infection required a "poultice", and they were especially used to open infections. Hot poultices were made from bread, dry mustard, linseed-meal and tansy. "A poultice made of hemlock roots is good to take away the fever from your head." A bruise could be treated by placing brown

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[17] Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 319, Similar to No. 2472.

[18] Compare Hand, Vol. VI, p. 329, Nos. 2544 and 2545.

[19] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 89-90. No. 24 notes "This remedy, which is also used for rheumatism, may be explained under the head of the transference of disease, common not only in Germany, but in Mexico, Ireland, Persia, and elsewhere."

paper and molasses on it, to prevent the skin from turning dark. This treatment "draws out the black or bruised blood".

A common complaint like toothache may require the use of two or more of the folk remedies before relief is obtained. A cloth bag containing hot salt may be placed on the exterior of the face.[20] A tooth which contains a cavity may be treated by placing an aspirin, iodine, or salt in the cavity.[21] If no relief can be obtained from these treatments, it may be necessary to bathe the person's feet in hot sea water. This sea water must be obtained at low tide and when heated the feet and legs from the knees down are bathed. A pair of woolen stockings are then worn and the person goes to bed. Plasters of mustard and "dragon-blood" (a patent item) are sometimes applied to the exterior of the face for tooth-ache relief. A mustard plaster is made by mixing dry mustard with water and then attaching it to a bandage. Great care must be taken when using both these plasters because contact with the skin for more than fifteen minutes may cause the face to blister with the added danger of infection. About thirty years ago, when the various family remedies did not prove successful, the sufferer of a major toochache went outside the family and sought specialized treatment from a male member of the settlement who "charmed" teeth. The afflicted

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[20] Ibid., VI, p. 305, Nos. 2370 and 2371.

[21] Ibid., VI, p. 305, No. 2368.

person went to the specialist and expressed his desire to have his tooth "charmed". Something was then written on paper and given to the suffering person by the "charmer". After placing a chair in the centre of the room, the sufferer, holding the paper in his hand, followed the "charmer" around the chair three times. This paper was then to be worn on the person and if it were opened the charm would not be effective. One informant claimed to have read the contents of the paper when his toothache did not improve. The paper contained a rhyme or verse:

> As Peter sat on a marble stone
> The Lord came to him all alone
> Oh, Peter, Peter why does thou shake?
> Oh Lord, it is my tooth does ache.
> The Lord said, "Take this for my sake
> And never more your tooth will ache.[22]

Contagious diseases like mumps, measles and sore throat had certain standard treatments. On contracting mumps a piece of dry, tarry oakum was wrapped around the throat and was then covered with an outer flannel wrapping. Homemade drinks,

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[22] This is listed in Hand, Vol. VI, p. 307, No. 2382. In addition to his references there are:
Helen Creighton, Folklore of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, Anthropological Series, No. 29, Bulletin No. 117 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1950), p. 97, gives further references under No. 83.
Kevin Danaher, Irish Country People (Cork: Mercier Press, 1966), p. 39, gives an identical verse and states: "The following verse must be said three times without a mistake and with deep concentration." Danaher does not note the specific areas of Ireland where this was found.

of which the contents have been forgotten or were never known,[23] were given to a person suffering from measles. "These drinks were terribly nasty, but they'd bring out the measles just like a figgy pudding."

Fevers or extremely high body temperatures were treated by taking a salt herring from pickle, wrapping it in cloth and placing it to the bottoms of the feet. This was believed to "draw down the fever" with proof of the intensity of the fever shown when the application was removed. An extremely high fever caused the herring to fall apart on its removal.[24]

A diarrhea or stomach cramp may be treated by drinking a mixture of pure spice and sugar in boiling water, boiled milk, strong tea or by eating boiled rice, boiled beans, raw squashberries (high bush cranberries) or raw bakeapples. "Bakeapples are the clear thing."

Burnt turpentine was used to heal minor cuts, and part of its curative power was the fact that it acted as a seal to prevent sea water from entering a cut, which was extremely important during the fishing season when a man's hands were

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[23]Contributor 18 says about her grandmother who did treat the sick: "She wouldn't let you see her make remedies, she'd turn you away. It was made out of a lot of the stuff in the woods, the turpentine and stuff, the herbs that grew in the ground and everything like that. She'd make it out of leaves, some kind of leaves."

[24]Creighton, Ibid., p. 91, No. 34.

always in the sea. Major cuts and wounds, such as those received in shooting accidents, were healed by homemade ointments but these were known only to a limited group of specialists (two or three). The exact ingredients of their recipes are unknown, except that they were made from various plant roots, leaves and burnt turpentine gathered from fir trees. These major cuts and wounds got more elaborate medication from the few recognized community specialists. Great faith and trust were placed in these homemade ointments and "the old women who certainly had a lot of skill". The agreement that these women or recognized specialists were competent is expressed in the following conversation:

> . . . in boat, eight men in a skiff rowin' with the oars. And he had his thumb shot off. And he landed down to our stage. And they went down and brought up the man to grandmother. And she brought him in and laid him down on the couch in her house, in the kitchen. And she put on a pan of hot water and she boiled her scissors and her lance and all she had. She had all that, and she cut the finger off the man. She done it up with her own salve. She had it made from the herbs in the woods. She done up the finger. He shot it off, say. She done up the finger and tied it up, and that man's finger got well and got all right. He never had to go to no hospital with it. She cured it with her own homemade things.
>
> Q. Did ye ever see her making this salve or hear how she made it?
>
> A. No, because she wouldn't let ye see it. She'd turn ye away.
>
> Q. You don't know what it was made of?
>
> A. Don't know what it was made out. It was made out of . . . stuff in the woods you know, the turpentine and stuff and the herbs grows in the

ground you know, everything like that. Leaves, some kind of leaves. [Contributor 18].

Again when bleeding from a wound could not be controlled by these women who had used dry flour and their other medications, the help of a magical specialist, in this case the seventh son of the seventh son or a posthumous person was sought. These people were believed to have special curative powers and were called upon as the last resort.

Since ninety-five per cent of the community's births took place at home prior to 1945, the community always had one midwife, who was usually middle aged or older, married with children of her own, but who had received no formal training except advice and the experience from some older midwife, and occasionally the advice of a medical person. After giving birth, a woman was compelled to remain in bed for nine days, during which time her diet consisted chiefly of dry toast, tea and homemade soups with no grease content, as grease was believed to cause fever. The community midwife has been replaced now by a nurse, and women go to either the St. Anthony Hospital or the community nursing home to give birth. The mother is detained less than the traditional nine days, and on her return home there is little traditional home treatments because of the visits from the nurse.

Today many of the old "cures" for the treatment of minor ailments have been replaced by a very large number of well advertised patent medicines, all of which can be

obtained in a general store without a doctor's prescription. There is little information on when such patent medicines became available locally. Since the community still has no druggist, the visiting doctor must himself supply any medicines he prescribes.

So many common ailments were and still are treated by the mother of the family, additional advice coming from the grandmother or some of the older and more "skilled" women as to how the serious ailments must be treated. The men care and treat the sick animals, but the medical knowledge for the treatment of humans has been entrusted to the women of Conche.

The average health of Conche people has been good. There was never any major health hazards, except a smallpox outbreak sometime in the last half of the nineteenth century, and a diptheria epidemic about 1880. A good supply of drinking water, an active outdoor life with a diet of fish, home-grown vegetables, meats and milk were no doubt important in maintaining the health of the people.

Education

The history of education in Conche can be divided into two categories--formal and informal or traditional. The first is a community responsibility, while the second belongs to the family and the neighbourhood.

Since in the early days, Newfoundland had no public education system, formal education in Conche was largely the

the results of the activities of the Roman Catholic Church. It should be noted, however, that several years before the church was officially established in the community (about 1873) a Mrs. Dower, a local mother who had been educated at St. John's, recognized the need for formal education when her children came of school age. She set up a classroom in an abandoned French house.[25] Her first pupils were her own children; however, she also accepted any of the community children who wished to attend her classes. Mrs. Dower continued to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion as a free service to the community for several years. Then since the Roman Catholic Church took charge of education, it secured and utilized the small Government funds which were available, and it maintained and continued to use the private classroom which Mrs. Dower had set up.

In 1883, the first Government educational grant of $80.00 was given to help build a one-room school at Conche. The community people then, as today, undoubtedly supplied much of the materials as well as most of the labour for the construction. As I have mentioned earlier, the land on which the school and church were built was donated by the Dower family. The following year, 1884, the Bishop of Harbour Grace,

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[25]There was never a French school at Conche because only a few of the captains brought their wives and children to the Newfoundland fishery and these returned to France with the fishing schooners each September.

a Dr. MacDonald, made arrangements to build schools in the other neighbouring Roman Catholic communities. Schools were built at Grois Islands (Grey Islands is roughly twelve miles south-east of Conche), Fishot (twenty miles north of Conche and had a population of 100), and Grand Oies (twelve miles north of Conche and a population of 160 people).

In 1905, Father Mackey, who served as Parish Priest in Conche from 1904-1906, built a new school in the community. Although still a one-room school, it was much larger and more modern than its predecessor. It was this school that the Conche generation that are now middle age or older attended. Only three of the oldest people in the community attended the original school which was a renovated French house. In 1943, under the direction of Father Hennebury, a new two-classroom school was constructed. This still serves as part of the present-day school but successive extensions have increased its size until in 1968 there were seven classrooms.

Until 1927, the Crouse children attended the Conche school. Because of the distance and extreme weather conditions, most of the Crouse children only attended school for six months each year--three months in autumn and three in spring. At that time a one-room school was built at Crouse (about one and one-half miles from the Conche school) under the direction of Father W.J. Williams. The opening of this school provided ten months of schooling each year for the Crouse children.

The following table, showing the school returns from Conche for 1880 to 1884, gives an indication of the comparatively low percentage of children who received some education in the early years of formal schooling. The percentage of children in Conche attending school was a maximum of sixty-six per cent and a minimum of thirty-one per cent in the years 1880 - 1885.

Ages	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884
7 yrs.	14	15	12	6	14
7-12 yrs.	16	10	10	11	16
Boys	25	18	15	11	19
Girls	15	22	16	11	18
Total	40	40	31	22	37
Average Attend.	30				
No. from 5-15	60	63	75	70	
Suitable accom. in school	50	40	40		
Yr. Salary of Teacher			$110.00	$106.00	$100.60

Journal of the Legislative Council of The Island of Newfoundland 1881, p. 246; 1885, pp. 282-83; 1882, pp. 270-71; 1883, pp. 274-75; 1884, pp. 282-83.

Most people now over forty-five years of age did not receive more than four or five years of formal schooling. Not only was there no compulsory school attendance until 1943,

but most of the teenagers were generally required to assist with the work at home and so terminated school at the age of twelve or thirteen.

The study area of Conche had three schools in 1968: a one classroom school at North-East Crouse with grades I to VIII, a two classroom school at Crouse with grades I to VIII, and a six classroom school at Conche with grades I to XI. All the high school students (grades IX to XI) in the study area attend the central school at Conche.

The Province wide stress on the improvement of teacher qualifications after 1955 seriously handicapped education in Conche. As a comparatively small, isolated community, Conche could not hope to attract the better qualified teachers. These preferred to go to the larger and less isolated communities. Thus, in 1968, when many of the more modern schools in Newfoundland had one grade to each classroom, Conche continued to have two or more grades per classroom, where one teacher was responsible for all subjects in these grades.

In 1968, the Provincial Government was providing the funds for the maintenance and operation of the community schools, including teachers' salaries. There was no School Board, instead the parish priest handled all administrative operations including hiring and firing of teachers, issuing pay cheques, and attempting to solve some of the many educational problems in the parish schools.

Religion and education were closely akin. There was compulsory daily prayer at the beginning and end of each class session during the day (six prayer offerings a day). Apart from daily classroom religious instructions prescribed by the diocese, the teachers followed the school curriculum prescribed by the Provincial Department of Education which also designates textbooks for the subjects taught: English Language, English Literature, French, Mathematics, History, Geography and Earth Science. In many subjects, most of the texts originate in the United States and are oriented towards urban American problems. Often, both material and examples have little or no meaning or relevance to children, especially the younger ones, whose experiences are limited to a rural fishing community.

Despite the fact that the Provincial Travelling Library provides a limited number of books through the school, most of these are geared to high school students. There is very little outside reading material available for younger children and adults. Few households have books apart from children's texts, and there is no easily available source for books. A few people get newspapers and magazines.

In August of 1968, there were fifteen households of the seventy households in the community receiving regular copies of nine different magazines.

The following table shows the number of subscribers to each of the nine magazines and newspapers.

Number of Subscribers	Magazine
6	Time (Canadian edition)
6	Reader's Digest
5	Chatelaine
5	Family Herald
2	Grand Falls Advertiser
2	Free Press Weekly
2	Life
1	Evening Telegram (St. John's)
1	National Geographic

Undoubtedly, magazines and the improved qualifications of teachers who are familiar with books and demand their presence, will gradually change the attitude of people towards print.

Social and economic differences are of little importance to the pre-school children, of course, who play chiefly according to neighbourhood groups. Children soon become aware, however, that their playmates may not be as financially prosperous as they are. Additionally, children soon perceive the degree to which the playmate's parents are respected by the other members of the community. These parent differences are ignored except when the neighbourhood children have disagreements within the group or with members of another neighbourhood group.

The school begins to affect their play group during the early school years until about grade IV (ten years of age). Until this time, both sexes play together according to school class and grade, because they share the same classrooms and have recess at the same time.

Most children in Conche contribute to the economics of the family by the ages of twelve or fourteen years. They work at the fishery during the summer and help obtain firewood during the winter. Before leaving for school each morning, children are expected to perform certain household chores, for example, cut firewood and procure drinking water from the neighbourhood well. As a result of such work, there is close association with the adults, so children soon learn the adult perception of and their values and attitudes towards people of different social and economic situations which exist in the community. Approximately, at the ages of twelve to fourteen the boys form one peer group and the girls form another. At this age no other specific peer group patterns can be observed as both neighbourhoods and school class divisions are unimportant. Now, however, the social and economic position of the parents usually influenced the smaller more intimate groupings.

After the school leaving age of sixteen a high school drop-out who has gone fishing or who has secured other work would no longer be part of the seventeen year old group. Instead, he would join the older adults in his occupation.

For example, boys seventeen years of age would group with the older single and married men in their drinking parties.

The benefits of a high school education were first extensively felt in the community during and immediately after World War II. This was not only true in the Armed Forces, but better jobs were also available on the various American bases throughout the Province. In the meantime, older sons, many of whom had less formal education, stayed at home to take care of the families. This pattern continued after the War when the better educated younger members of the family were the first to get outside employment and to move outside the community.

The importance of formal education in Conche is obviously far greater today than it was in the past. As I have mentioned previously, high school graduates are not expected to become fishermen. The few people, about five, who have successfully completed high school but then continued to fish for a living at Conche are thought by the people of the community not to have made full use of their education. It is commonly believed in the community that formal schooling is not necessary for a fisherman. Parents note this factor when emphasizing the need of education for their children. With compulsory school attendance required until the age of fifteen, parents now place greater emphasis upon education for their children, especially the sons, than was previously the case. Since this is recognized that most people feel that

fishing is a lost cause and certainly is dying as a means of obtaining a living, opportunities must be sought outside of Conche. So there is pressure to complete a high school education in order to get "a white collar job" in an urban centre. Children are encouraged and pressured by the parents, teachers and priest to complete high school, or to learn some skill or trade at one of the Provincial Trade Schools. Today, high school graduates either attend the Provincial University or the Trade Schools or find jobs in industry and factories on the Canadian Mainland.

In the early history of the community when fishing was the mainstay, obviously greater emphasis was placed on informal home education. A man could provide for a family without much formal education by fishing, hunting, growing vegetables and keeping cattle. In addition, formal education was not available, and if it were, it would not lead anywhere. A young man, therefore, had to concentrate particularly on becoming a good fisherman. One learned to make a living by imitation and direction, and this education consisted of traditional knowledge and skills. The family served as a basis for this informal training, although other members of the neighbourhood (especially during the "brother" crews era) were dispensers of certain skills and techniques. Practical education for the girls was concerned with all the tasks necessary in the operation and maintenance of the household. The ideal was to train an economical, industrious housewife.

All the boys of the community had to acquire the various fishing and hunting skills. Many of the traditional crafts, such as boat building, were only acquired by boys who showed a special interest and skill in them. The neighbourhood group was again a very significant factor in the transmission of this traditional knowledge. Observation and imitation of the various skills was the principal learning method for all informal education. Trial and error was often used, especially by boys who were allowed to perform a task and then told that they had done it wrong without any added explanation.

The older, more experienced fishermen provided advice on the handling and operation of boats and nets, as well as information on the location of productive fishing grounds or "bank" or "rock". In addition to the best fishing grounds, the position or "berths" to set a trawl, net or trap are indicated by specific "land marks", whose location formula is transmitted orally from father or grandfather to son. For example, a fishing "rock", "bank" or "berth" may be exactly marked by alining certain specific land features: "go off until you can see Maurice's Point and the houses in the North-East (south to north direction) and then line up Shoal Point with Green Gulch (east)".

Children also learn by observation how to identify types of fish. When fish are schooling, the species is recognized by the movement of the fish and the patterns they make on the surface of the water. For example, the skilled

fisherman can easily tell the difference between a school of herring and mackerel. Once the fish has been caught, the species is determined solely by familiarity with its physical appearance.

Since the local fisherman never use charts or oceanographic maps, it is exceedingly important to know the location of underwater rocks and shoals. A fisherman must also be capable of successfully navigating by compass during fog, so practice runs are carried out by teenagers between the various fishing grounds in clear weather.

"The weather" is of utmost concern in a community where catching and sun curing of fish is the chief occupation. Certainly, part of the informal education, especially in relationship to the fishery, is to know certain sayings, proverbs, signs, superstitions and beliefs which enable one to observe and predict the local weather. The regional forecasts issued by the Meteorological Office are of little immediate short-term value to the inshore fishermen, who have to rely indirectly on their own predictions and observations. Some of the older, more observant men can predict the local weather conditions with astounding accuracy.

Wind and rain are two weather conditions which determine the type of work the fisherman does on a given day and the degree of success he has in that particular day's work. Boats are small, eighteen to thirty feet long, open, and with inboard gasoline or diesel engines, so wind of more than

25 m.p.h. would prevent a man from fishing. Rain, on the other hand, prevents him from sun-drying the catch he has already procured. A combination of these two elements further limits the fisherman's activities to the repair of nets, traps and other fishing equipment which can be done indoors. The following samplings of specific beliefs, signs, sayings and superstitions concerning wind and/or rain were collected in Conche. They represent only a small part of the extensive weather lore familiar to many of the active fishermen. It is a token of the large body of lore that people learned which was related to means of making a living. As I have mentioned previously, people cultivated gardens, kept cattle and sheep and hunted small game and birds. However, for many men hunting was as much an avocation as an amusement, but it also supplemented the available family meat supply. There were folk beliefs and traditions connected with agriculture, animal care and hunting but I have not mentioned these. I am, however, including a sampling of weather beliefs because these were important to every man, since all men had to be fishermen. To show that they are part of the widespread North American traditional lore, I have annotated them to the most comprehensive work, that of Wayland D. Hand. The people have a large store of weather beliefs on which to draw. While people make a commentary on weather prediction on the basis of a single sign, only one sign is ever cited at any one time. In incidents where two signs yield the same prediction, even if a person

knew both, he would only cite one. In a situation where a number of conflicting signs appear, only one is cited. This does not mean that each time this specific sign appears an individual will make the same weather predictions. Apparently, there is some conscious elimination process which takes place when a number of these sayings, signs or indications appear simultaneously. Obviously, one could attempt a serious study of how such choices are made, but this has not been a part of my study. The signs for wind and/or rain may be grouped into four classes according to the presence of the indicator or omen: (a) physical landscape, (b) animal and plant behaviour, (c) heavens, and (d) calendar days.

Wind and/or Rain or Snow.

A. Physical Landscape

1. While walking along the road by the seashore, or while on a boat it is remarked: "Look at the water, it's doin' some burnin' tonight so ye can watch out for a bad day tomarrow". This would mean rain and/or wind.

2. A day when the distant land comes sharpely into focus, this remark may be heard: "Bye there's some loom on the land today, so ye can watch out for the weather". (Rain and/or wind).

3. "Look at the sand floatin' on the water, I bet ye we'll have rain tomarrow".

4. "The tide is some high this evening, for sure we're goin' to have the wind".

5. "Do you hear the brook roarin', we're goin' to have rain for sure".

6. "You see the bubbles from the wake of the boat stayin' afloat on the water in the morning. If they [bubbles] stay on the water it's going to be calm; if they break it's goin' to have wind".

B. Plant and Animal Behaviour

1. "We're goin' to have rain, listen to that dickie-bird [rooster] crowin'". (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6185, p. 234).

2. "When the gulls are flying over land there is a breeze of wind at hand". (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6928, p. 347 and No. 6932, p. 348).

3. "I saw some snowbirds today, so we're goin' to have an early winter this year".

4. "I saw a robin today, so spring will soon be here, or we're going to have an early spring". (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6047, p. 211 and No. 6501, p. 212).

5. "The flies [mosquitoes] are some thick or the flies are mad, so you can watch out for the northeast wind". Northeast wind brings rain in summer.

6. "The buttercups are closin' up, so we're goin' to have the rain". (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6809, p. 330).

7. "What a beautiful smell from that balsam tree, you can watch out for the rain".

8. Belief that animals always go to the windward. This is an indication of the direction of the approaching wind.

9. "Do you see the goats comin' down [from the hills], you can watch out for the rain now".

10. "The cows (cats) are galin' for wind". When these animals act frisky. (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6919, p. 346; No. 6977, p. 353).

11. "That dog is dreamin' [when producing a sound] and whatever way his nose is pointin', that's the way the wind will be tomorrow".

12. "When you hear the robins singin' you're goin' to have rain".

13. "With the coming of a northeast wind, the fish [cod] will eat better than usual".
The opposite to this is noted about the time to go fishing: "When the wind is in the east, the fish bites the least".

C. Heavens

1. When the moon becomes clouded and a circle appears around it, this observation is made: "There's some ring around the moon tonight, so we can watch out for the weather". This means snow or rain (depending upon the season) during the moon's cycle. (Hand, VII, No. 6906, p. 345).

2. "Look at the moon with its dory in tow". Although not stated it was understood to indicate wind on the following day. This occurs when directly between the moon on a cloudy sky a star can be seen.

3. On observing a new moon: "You can hang your powder horn on that moon, so we're going to have lots of poor weather" (wind, rain, or snow).

4. "The sky was red in the East this morning, so I knew the wind was brewin'".

5. "What a nice sunset, we'll have a fine day tomorrow". (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6131, p. 227 and No. 6148, p. 229).

6. "The way the thunder works that's the way you're goin' to have the wind". (This meant that thunder moving away in a northeasterly direction would bring wind from that direction).

7. The direction in which a star shoots is the direction of the approaching storm--"you'd have the wind the way the star shot". (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6957 and 6958, p. 351).

8. "Whatever direction the red sky is in the morning that's the direction the wind is going to blow that day".

9. "The red (sky) which rises just before the sun in the morning--if it spreads all over the sky, it's going to be a fine day; if it drops back, you needn't spread any fish that day". [Rain]. (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6145, p. 229).

D. Calendar Days

1. "If the first four days of the New Year are any indication, we're going to have a pretty good year" or ". . . we're going to have a pretty bad year". The weather on these days as an indicator of the weather for that year. (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6113, pp. 223-224).

2. A belief that the weather conditions on the first three days of any month is an indication for that month's weather conditions, is widely known.

3. "If March comes in like a lamb, it will go out like a lion". This observation was made if the first few days of March were fine with an indication that spring was near. (Hand, VII, No. 6117, p. 224).

4. "If March comes in like a lion, it will go out like a lamb". This comment would be expressed about the weather conditions during the first few days of March. These observations were expressed on the first few days of March and again throughout the month when the weather conditions were discussed. (Hand, VII, No. 6117, p. 224).

5. If it rained on Lady Day [August 15] there would be a rain shower sometime during the day for the next forty days. (Compare Hand, VII, No. 6116, p. 224).

6. Observations made when the sun is crossing the equator [March and September]. "We might have good weather [that is clear] when the sun crosses over the line". "Well the wind was northeast (or easterly) this year when the sun crossed over the line, so you can watch out for the northeast wind this winter".

Weather beliefs are a good example of the kind of traditional knowledge that is widely diffused to all members of the fishing community. There are one or two of the older men who are considered experts in predicting the weather. These men were observed and if they began to perform certain tasks, the other community people would do likewise. There was no recognized neighbourhood specialty in weather predictions any more than in health and religion. Although there may be some families where the children all do well at school, or some individuals or families who were recognized as exceedingly religious, neighbourhood specialization is only recognized in singing and story telling which are discussed in the next chapters.

V

SINGING: A RECOGNIZED NEIGHBOURHOOD SPECIALITY

"EVERYONE COULD SING IN THE OLDEN TIMES"

The folksong tradition is one of the most important traditions in Conche. Even before the study was initiated, I was aware, from my memories of growing up in the community, of songs and the occasions on which singing took place, as well as some of the recognized singers. Even though I did not concentrate solely on the collection of songs, it was relatively easy to collect a large number of them.

The first major problem in collecting the songs was that many of the older singers had died, and most of the younger recognized singers had moved away. I was, however, able to contact some of these former residents, and they made a large contribution to the collection. In fact, seventy songs (sixty-four per cent) were collected in the St. John's area from two singers prior to my formal field trip to Conche. One of the two major performers, Contributor 5, although not a recognized singer while living at Conche, contributed forty-eight songs or forty-four percent of the number of songs in this collection. The other major contributor (No. 8) sang twenty-six songs or twenty-four per cent of the total collection.

Seven of the contributors gave less than five songs each.

During my field work in Conche, no normal social singing situations arose. I, therefore, had to find singers and convince them to sing. No specific songs were requested. The description of natural singing situations is reconstructed from the informants' comments and from what I remembered of my growing up in the community.

Over a period of two years (1967-68), I recorded one hundred and ten songs from thirteen informants (ages sixteen to eighty-nine)--seven men and six women. All except three of my contributors were fifty years of age or older. Twelve of the singers were born and grew up in the community and learned their songs while living there; the thirteenth, Contributor 8, was not an actual resident of the Conche community but belongs to the Conche parish. He is a well-known singer in Conche, and although he has lived in several communities, has always stayed within the Conche parish boundary, so he is not really an outsider. The people of the community suggested that I go to him, as they considered him an excellent singer and story teller.

All the songs were recorded on tape. When a singer grew accustomed to the recording machine, he was asked the title or "name" of the song before he began to sing. After singing a song, a relaxed discussion usually followed, during which these questions were posed: What is the name of that song again? Where did you learn it? Do you like that song?

Do other people like that song? Why? Further discussion would arise from these questions. Contributors were not pressured for information, especially at the beginning of an interview, or when it was obvious that the informant was not completely at ease. No specific song categories, such as "Child Ballads", or specific titles were solicited--just "old songs", "old Irish songs" and, in the majority of cases, just "any songs" were requested. This technique allowed the singer to present his choice of repertoire. At the end of a recording session, a singer generally thought his repertoire was drained, but by the time of another visit he had remembered more songs. Undoubtedly, a systematic list would have produced many more songs from the passive repertoire of the singers, but my intention was to allow the singer free choice.

A significant proportion of the songs (seventeen of one hundred and ten or fifteen per cent) were concerned with local events at Conche, the neighbouring communities, or somewhere within the province. The remaining ninety-three songs (or eighty-four per cent) of the collection are from the English, Irish and American traditions. The original settlers being Irish or of Irish origin, it is not surprising to find a large number of Irish or Anglo-Irish American songs in the community. However, the greater number of the songs are British and American ballads of nineteenth and twentieth century composition.

It is worth noting, however, that there are fewer versions from the eighteenth century and only one "The Unquiet Grave" (Child 78) which belongs presumably to the oldest stratum of British songs. Despite the fact that some of the original settlers were from Gaelic speaking sections of Ireland, and as I have stated previously, knew that language, apparently no songs in Gaelic have survived, nor is there any mention of there having been any such songs. Equally surprising, despite more than a century of direct contact with the French summer fishermen which lasted until the turn of this century, there is no trace of French songs. The last Conche resident who knew French well enough to be considered bilingual, died only seven years (1961) prior to the collecting.

Of these ninety-three songs, the most popular groups are those listed in the standard indexes by G. Malcolm Laws, Jr.—

An examination of the narrative song texts which were collected, shows that the majority are concerned with sailors and the sea (fifteen or fourteen per cent); war (fourteen or thirteen per cent); family opposition to lovers (ten or nine per cent), and unfaithful lovers (nine or eight per cent).[1]

About twenty-eight songs have still not been identified and the remainder are found in the listings of American popular

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[1]These categories were outlined by G. Malcolm Laws, Jr. in Native American Balladry and American Balladry from British Broadsides.

songs, songsters, country and western songs and miscellaneous.

It is especially worth noting that humorous or comic songs are few. I will discuss later why singers did not contribute more humorous songs, but one important reason is that the songs singers and audience consider worthy of singing and listening to in Conche are those of death and tragedy. In this respect, the songs of this collection represent the singing traditions which the singers felt were worth contributing.

Apart from the local songs, it is evident from these listings that versions of most of these songs have been collected elsewhere in North America. Only a few songs appear to be unique to this collection. The folksongs found in Conche resemble those encountered within the folksong traditions of the other Atlantic Provinces, Ontario and the New England States. This can be attributed chiefly to the fact that the original settlers of all these areas were of the same or similar ethnic origin, and have maintained constant contact through trade, fishing and lumbering within this geographical region.

Although a large number of these songs have been found elsewhere,[2] they have not previously been presented in the

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[2]No previous collecting had been done in Conche, but many of the songs had versions which were collected elsewhere in the province such as these presented in the works of Greenleaf and Mansfield, Peacock, Leach, Karpeles and the local Gerald S. Doyle song books.

context of the singing traditions of one Newfoundland community. So far as the collector knows, this is the first attempt to present such a tradition in a systematic manner. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further studies of the singing traditions in other Newfoundland communities. Population, age structure, ethnic origin and religion are important considerations when making such a study of the singing traditions of a community.

If we now examine the subject matter of these songs, it can be seen that the ninety-seven per cent of this collection, including both the local songs and the standard ones, deal with some aspect of tragedy and disaster such as death, suffering, sea disasters, crime and murder. Such tragic songs excite both the interest and pity of Conche audiences. Songs describing these larger, more serious tragic occurrences, for example, "The Greenland Disaster", "S.S. Ethie", and "The L. and M. Rudolph", give the audience a sense of security because local disasters were comparatively minor and involved only occasional loss of life and property, so "things could be a lot worse".

Although singers sang songs of their own choice, the songs which they chose to sing first were not always the songs which they liked best, or the songs which the community residents more frequently requested. I assumed by not structuring interviews that I would get both a singer's favourite song, or songs, and the ones he was most frequently

requested to sing, but this was not the case. Contributor 5 claimed that "The Dying Girl's Message" (the forty-fifth song she sang) was the song she enjoyed most and the one which the audience usually requested. "Dennis Munroe", the song best liked by Contributor 8, was the eighteenth song performed for the collector. When I tried to find out whether text or tune had priority in the taste of contributors, I found that both were equally important. The singers and the audience claim they like a song for both the text and the tune "because of the story it told and the air". In only a few cases was I able, by checking with other contributors, to establish that specific songs were or had been popular in the community.

I should, of course, have liked to present in full the 110 song texts that I collected, but this would overbalance my report. I have, therefore, reluctantly decided to limit the actual texts to eighteen; seventeen of these are most significant for the Conche area since they have local bearing. The eighteenth, which is my only text of one of the traditional Child Ballads (Child 78), is included as a sop to the oldest tradition in folksong scholarship. The latter has the additional significance of being the only song that I collected which deals with the supernatural. The fact that there were no other supernatural songs is particularly interesting, in light of the large number of supernatural stories discussed and presented in the following chapter.

The remainder of this lengthy chapter discusses the entire collection of songs and it has been divided as follows: performance patterns, singing context, and songs of regional identity and local compositions. The first is drawn largely from my observation, with some verification obtained from the community singers. The second, that of singing context, is drawn largely from the various contributions of both singers and non-singers. A discussion of the singing situation and the means of song transmission shows the function of songs in their social setting. The third is a discussion of what I regard as the most important group of songs, those of regional identity and local composition. And fourth, in order to demonstrate the content and scope of the folksong tradition in Conche, I am listing the titles of all the songs collected, together with annotations and contributors' comments and views on specific songs. For the twenty-eight songs for which I have not been able to find definite parallels, I am following the technique of Laws' indexes by giving a brief plot summary and the first stanza of each song text. It is hoped by this means that other folksong collectors may be able to identify these songs.

Performance Patterns

Adult singing in Conche occurs in a number of differing performance situations.[3] Songs were typically sung

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[3]Although children in Conche have singing games, no attempt was made to collect these. The collection was limited to adult songs.

without musical accompaniment before a small group of people. No one singer is recognized as the official best singer in the community, but certain "families" representative of certain neighbourhoods, are called or are generally described as "good singers". A singer may be recognized for one particular song which he sings best, or even the song he sings most often.

I have subdivided the performance situations into two categories; the first is functional and the other is the performance patterns for entertainment. There are very few functional songs in this collection because they are not thought of as performance singing situations.

Women sang songs to keep children quiet or to put them asleep. They sometimes sang when they were working alone, but never when they were working with another group of women. The men sang to assist in moving a house or when trying to get a boat on shore. One man would lead the performance and the remainder of the men would join in the singing. As Contributor 8 states:

> One song they had for haulin' up the boats:
>
> Haul on the bow line, jolly Skipper Rolling,
> Haul on the bow line, haul boys, haul,
> We'll haul and heave together like a sister
> and a brother,
> And it's haul the jolly poker, haul-aul.

When they'd sing "Haul", everyone would haul. Then they'd all shout out and haul away, you know, as hard as ever they could.

The other category, the formal entertainment performance situations or patterns, is described in detail.

(a) Female singers when singing for an adult mixed audience usually sit erect and rock in a rocking chair, or if not, make rocking motions with the body which correspond to the rhythm of the song. Many female singers fold their arms and look blankly at one position or at infinity. Three of the female singers took a book or newspaper in their hands before they commenced to sing. They kept turning the pages as though they were singing from a printed text. Women usually sing less than men, and it is easier to get men to sing because perhaps their inhibitions are lessened by liquor at parties where most of the singing occurs.

(b) The solo male who sings for a mixed adult audience, usually sits in a position that is separated from his listeners. He may, for example, sit in one corner of the room. After much persuasion and many invitations by the audience, the singer coughs, bends forward resting his elbows on his knees, and begins to sing. Throughout the singing he keeps his head bent downwards, and his eyes are either closed or focused on a set position. Many male singers tap their feet to the rhythm of the song. Some male singers, who sing alone for a mixed adult audience, dramatize the song by standing and making motions with their hands and arms. Often this kind of performer also uses varying voice tone and volume for dramatic effect. This was especially evident

in the case of songs about the Irish and their patriotism.[4]

(c) At drinking parties men often held hands and formed a circle. One singer would lead the singing and anyone who knew the words would sing along. As Contributor 5 described it: "In the olden times everyone would have a turn singing. If the singer stood up, this was an indication to have everyone join in and help with the song. Otherwise everyone would sit around. It was the men who started this". Although this kind of performance was not exactly approved of by the women, they were often persuaded or forced to join hands in the circle and help with the singing.

(d) Singing in the community may occur in other less official or formal situations or circumstances. For example, only men sing bawdy songs and, as Contributor 17 indicates: "Certainly a man would sing no bawdy songs in mixed company, but perhaps some men would sing a few while out in boat or while away with other men." Bawdy or semi-bawdy songs are referred to as "old funny ones" by the singers. Undoubtedly, individuals also sang when alone either to entertain themselves, or to memorize songs, etc., but I have few comments on this.

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[4]Contributor 17 observed: "In singing a song, the singer would get very enthusiastic about noble deeds, especially the bravery of the Irish. The volume of singing would increase and anyone who said anything, they [the singers] would be ready to fight, especially if it was about the Irish."

I know there must be more humorous and bawdy songs, but I have very few in this collection. This may be a result of the comparatively non-structured method of collecting I used, which did not attempt to collect any specific songs, only the contributor's repertoire. In addition, most of my collecting was done in mixed company where bawdy songs are not performed. So this song collection represents what the singers offered under the limitations set by me.

The singing of traditional songs still plays an important part in the lives of the middle-age group, those forty years of age or older. Since these traditional songs, however, are known and sung mainly by these older groups, their importance is waning in the community. The growing number of young people, who are fond of singing, have a negative attitude towards these "old" songs and simply dismiss them.

From all reports, the repertoire of some of the older singers was extensive. As I noted at the beginning, I collected forty-five songs from one contributor and I made no special effort, but I suspect I could have matched this number with other contributors if I had tried. One resident claimed of a singer: "I never heard him sing the same song over twice, and he often said he had one [a song] for every day in the week and two for Sundays. He did know an awful lot [of songs]". Roughly he is saying that this particular singer knew hundreds of songs.

There is no instrumental accompaniment in any of the performance situations described previously. Today there is some shift to accompaniment, but this is found chiefly in two areas. There is organ accompaniment for the all-female church choir. Interestingly enough, the clergymen cannot get the general congregation to participate in church singing despite his encouragements, persuasion and even pressure. It seems obvious that group singing to accompaniment is not part of the tradition of the middle-aged and older generations. No hymns were collected, as the local singers do not regard hymns as songs.

Today very few of the younger generation know the traditional songs, and fewer still, sing them. It would be wrong to say that singing and music making are dying out in Conche, but the old tradition is dying fast. The younger generation listen to the "Top Ten" records, and they sing songs and have an instrumental guitar style that is promoted by the modern media of radio and television.

The change is also seen in dancing and dance music. In the old days at garden parties and other "times", chin music and/or the "fiddle" were the only music for the square dances, reels and jigs, which were held on all occasions. The button accordion replaced the violin about 1925 as the popular music for the "square dance". Today, 1968, square dancing "is out" with rare exceptions, when some of the older people do it. Modern dance steps to rock and pop bands with

electrified instruments have replaced square dancing.

Singing Contexts

One informant describes an informal singing situation, where the songs were a casual pastime, and notes that the situation no longer occurs. "At one time there could be a crowd standing around waiting to get into the Post Office to get the mail, and someone would strike up a song. Now no one waits to get the mail as everyone has a mail box."

Most of the singing was consciously used for entertainment as "it was good to pass away the time". The chief occasions for singing were at parties, weddings, during the calendric celebrations and during the long winter nights.

> They use to sing mostly at weddings and parties which were held in someone's house, and during Christmas and Easter and Patrick's night, Candlemas, Lady Day [August 15] and at the garden party time. Sometimes during the winter you'd go to someone's house and sing songs, and sometimes during the weekday nights when we'd all get together. [Contributor 6].

On such occasions people never volunteered to sing and when a song was requested a singer would claim, "I can't sing", "I have a cold", "I don't know any songs", or "I've forgotten the few songs I knew". Only after much persuasion would the person sing. "The men would usually start to sing first. Then the women would sing. In most cases people had to be persuaded for some time before they would sing the first song, but after that it usually only required asking." [Contributor 5]. If a singer forgot part of a song text, or lost the tune, the

audience would give him encouragement to try and complete the song--"Come on, don't lose it." If the text were forgotten while singing, the singer would recite aloud the preceding stanza "to get back the words of the song," and he would then continue singing. In most cases, the singer spoke the last three words or the last line of the last stanza to indicate that the song was concluded.

The only approval from the audience after a song was sung was in such verbal comments as "Good man!", "That's a good song", etc. If the events described in the song were known to the audience, they were discussed, especially in the case of locally composed songs. An individual experience concerning the events of the song might be related by one of the audience. The conversation centered about the discussion of the happenings of the song. Sometimes there would be a discussion of why the song was composed, with comments upon its composers. Songs about local events and persons are considered "great fun", since the audience would know of the people and sometimes the events portrayed.

When a singer was performing, the audience paid very close attention. "When someone would be singing there'd be no noise and no youngsters, and if they were there, they [the children] wouldn't be stirring or speaking". [Contributor 5] All the singing informants claimed to have begun to learn songs by the age of ten or twelve years, by listening to other singers or by asking one of the older singers to write out the

words of his song. Most singers stated that they had to hear the song three or four times before they would know it. "First now, you'd get the air [tune] that was on it. You'd learn that. Well, you'd have to do that when you'd get a verse of it [the song] learned. Then you'd pick it up from that them". [Contributor 5].

Songs sung in the community, which were originally learned from printed sources such as newspapers, are performed to a variety of tunes by the various community singers. Since the majority of the older traditional singers were unable to read musical notations, they usually selected a tune from their repertoire which "fitted" the song. One singer may claim of another, "Joe sings that song, but he doesn't have the same air or the same words as mine". By collecting the song in question from this other singer, it is proven that the tune is completely different, but that the text is identical except perhaps for some localization of people or place names, the omission of a stanza, or the reversing of stanza positions in lyrics. The latter changes may be caused by forgetting, rather than an intentional change on the part of the singer. Although very few women sing publicly in the community and only a few are recognized as important singers, it is interesting to observe that they seem to have the greater repertoire. One good example is Contributor 8, whom I recorded in St. John's. As I have previously stated, if she had not moved, I would have never recorded her. Very

significantly, women, despite their failure to take part in public performances, are important in transmitting songs. Many of the male singers learned their songs from women.

Songs have come into the repertoire of Conche singers, not only from within the community, but also from the neighbouring communities, the summer fishing settlers, and from the fishing schooners that came into the community on their way to or from the Labrador fishery.[5] Traditional singers have learned their songs from many sources on many occasions: within the family, from some close kin, while working as sharemen or servant girls during the summer in a neighbouring community, while working in the lumberwoods, from the "Southern people", that is, the summer fishing crews who came to Pillier and North-East Crouse from Conception and Notre Dame Bays, from some older singer in the community who was considered a good singer, from the crews of visiting schooners and boats, from local publications such as the various editions of the Gerald S. Doyle song books and the Newfoundland Quarterly, and during the 1920s to the 1950s from The Family Herald which was a farm paper published in Montreal, and from phonographs and radio. The few hillbilly songs in this collection were learned from the radio or

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[5] Contributor 5 when talking about where she learned some of her songs stated: "In the spring all the vessels that would be going fishing on the Labrador would come in. They [the crew] would go to the houses and they would sing and have a meal."

printed sources. The presence of different versions of a song in Conche indicates that the singers learned the song from different sources. On the other hand, when two or more singers sing the same song in an identical manner, presumably they learned the song from a common source or from one another.

The singers' classification of songs which appear in this collection were volunteered by the singers or are derived from informants' statements; they were not specifically sought. From the discussions of the singers, a number of categories evolved, especially the contrast between the "old" and the "new" songs. The "old" songs usually made reference to Ireland or the Irish, and included any of the war ballads, such as the ballads concerning the First World War. The "new" songs included all the Newfoundland-composed or locally-composed songs, regardless of the date of composition, and all the songs which were learned from radio and phonograph records, especially the country (hill-billy) and western songs. Other categories or names used by informants include "ditties", for example, "The Ditty About the Ram", a term used for humorous songs; and "laments", for example, "Johnny Burke", a nineteenth century Irish tragic song. Laments apparently may include a disaster or separation from either a loved one or one's homeland. This lament for the homeland may be for a separation that occurred four generations previously; nonetheless, it is still ardently

expressed by the older singers today.

An outsider dealing with the song tradition of a community, unconsciously tends to put it in a framework with which he is most familiar. Even I, although Conche-born, have been affected by my outside schooling and influences from folklore courses and, more specifically, a folksong course. To ensure that I am not setting up artificial categories and responses, it seems best to use the words of a Conche resident [Contributor 17] who has a genuine interest in, and knowledge of, songs and Conche singers. Although he has no skill in performance, "don't have any voice", this man is in a unique position to describe objectively many aspects of the Conche song tradition. He sings privately, as he realizes that he cannot sing very well. He knows a number of songs and enjoys hearing them sung. In this interview, which has been transcribed literally and includes my questions, a resident gives a general survey of what the qualities of a good singer are; how people learn songs; when and to whom people sing; the patterns of singing; and what he considers the effects of radio and phonographs on the singing traditions of the community.

Q. There were people here who were considered good singers. Who were these people, and why were they considered good singers?

A. Well, all the Byrnes. Practically all the Byrnes were good singers, and they were musical. They could play almost any instrument, like accordion, violin, mouth-organ and . . . . Some of them were real good, in all the generations, far back as I can remember, right up

until the present day. Old Billy Byrne now, that died two or three years ago, he was a real good singer. Now they weren't trained, but they were. . . they had a natural gift of music like. That's what it's like. And they had good voices, all of them. And the present generation of Byrnes are musical.[6]

Q. How would you know a good singer?

A. The airs [tunes] mostly. You'll judge the singer by his air [tune] mostly. But the most of those old Irish songs did have good airs [tunes]. That's one thing about those old songs, they had very good airs. But now some. . . any kind of a good singer with a good clear voice and ability, that was very pleasing to the audience anyway.[7]

Q. What about . . . How did they learn their songs, these old people especially?

A. Well, I think most of the songs they learned were handed down, and perhaps most of them were brought in by the immigrants and by the people, the early settlers. All, practically all the old songs were Irish songs, and a good many of them were considered treason songs. They dealt with the hard times, and with the troubles with the English, and all this. A few examples such as "The Manchester Martyrs", ay . . .

Q. People use . . . Someone use to sing that?

A. There was several songs about Finks Parks Murderers and James Carey, there were three or four. You'll hear them here today among some of the older fellas can sing them for you today, those songs.

Q. How did a person learn a song?

A. They used to . . . They'd often get songs wrote off say. Someone had learned a new song, perhaps they learned it in another community, especially if it was a Newfoundland

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[6]The Byrnes form a neighbourhood group as discussed in the previous chapters. As I have stated previously, every group has a folkloristic specialty of some specific genre.

[7]Since the ability of the singer is judged in terms of the tune he sings and most of the Irish songs were thought to have good tunes, this shows that as far as the people in the community were concerned that repertoire and performing ability were closely related.

song or a sea ballad or a tragedy or something like that. And they come home and they'd sing it, and somebody would like the song, liked to learn it. Perhaps they'd get 'em to write it off for them. Get that person to write off the song for them, and they, they'd read it over and over until they'd know it.

Or perhaps if they couldn't read themselves, they'd get someone else to read it over to them until, a brother or sister or someone, till they would know it. And perhaps a lot of people learn it then in that way.

Q. How would they get the air [tune] of it like that then?

A. Oh, they'd get the air from the person singin' it say, perhaps. Anyone who was musical, well they'd only want to hear a song. They'd learn the air [tune] a lot quicker than they would the words.

There used to be a lot of those sung around here, as well as those. . . But it was a lot of those old Irish songs. I suppose they were brought in you know, and handed down from father to son, from one generation to the other. That's how a lot of those were learned. But the other ones could be learned from local song books[8] and one thing and the other, like that, or from someone from another community or something like that, the Newfoundland songs. And then there were Irish songs of a different type such as laments, like "Immigrants' Lament" and those songs. You heard, ever hear that? Some people call it "Sittin' on the Stile, Mary?" In the song-books it's really called "Immigrants' Lament". That's the way it starts.[9]

Q. What about those people say who couldn't, who were illiterate, how would they manage to learn songs?

A. They'd learn it from one to other.

Q. And the air [tune]?

A. The air, mostly the people. The good singers, well, they heard a song sung they had the air before they'd get the

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[8]The Gerald S. Doyle song books and the American songsters.

[9]Most people in the community emphasize the correctness of the printed form. Great trust is always placed in the "song books".

words. They'd know the air of the song before they'd know the words.

Q. About how many times would you have to hear a song before you'd know it?

A. Well, some of them wouldn't want to hear it very often. Perhaps only two or three times. Perhaps some of them were intelligent even if they were illiterate, say, they were quick to pick up [learn], pick up things. They were quick to learn things, but more might be a little harder to learn, might take them longer.

Q. Did you, . . . I mean how old would a person be when he'd sing his first song in public?

A. Well, I heard children nine and ten years old singin' in public, singin' to weddings, if they knew they were good singers. Now they wouldn't be singin' the real hard, long songs, but they'd be singin' something you know. But there were lots of other kinds of songs. Local songs, we'll say Newfoundland songs, and, moreover, sea ballads, ballads of tragedy at sea, wrecks and all this.

Q. Would people have specific songs? Would a man have a song which he is known by?

A. Well, yes, in some cases.

Q. Which he called his song?

A. Yes, you'd always. Some people use to be referred to that way. Because perhaps they'd have one song that had been a favourite with themselves, and they'd be sure to sing that. Perhaps they could sing that song better than they'd sing other songs. Take old Mr. H----- now, he used to always sing the "Manchester Martyrs" everywhere I heard him--to a wedding or anywhere he was asked to sing a song, that'd be the first one he'd sing. And it seemed like, I don't know why, it was a favourite, but I think besides being a good air and all to this, it was patriotic, you know, and it appealed to the Irish in him. I think that's the way it was. And a lot of the old fellas now, of the old stock, when I was a boy, when someone would be singin' some of those songs like that, a song like that, if you watched him you'd notice him; they seemed to be gettin' worked up like, you know.

Q. When would people sing? I mean, when or at what specific times?

A. Well, every wedding, as sure as there'd be a wedding. There'd be people there of all ages, old and young. And there'd be sure to be a lot of good singers, and there'd sure to be a lot of singin'. In some part of the house there'd be a song sung; practically all through the night, there'd be singin' going ahead. Say there was someone singin' in a room downstairs, now, well perhaps at the same time there'd be someone singin' a song in a room upstairs. But there'd be singin' all through the night in some part of the house.

Q. Would everyone be called upon to sing or. . . ?

A. Well no. If they knew anyone wasn't able to sing or was no good to sing they wouldn't ask them to sing. But anyone they knew that could sing at all, even if they were only, only had a moderate singin' ability, they'd be called on. But the good singers, they'd be right after them to sing. And there were some really good singers among them, far as a natural musical voice.

Q. Would they have much persuasion to get a guy, fella, to sing?

A. Some would. Some singers and moreover, some of the good singers take a lot of persuasion--the younger crowd. But the old people wouldn't. But the young. . . people of my generation [fifty years old] that were good singers, a lot of them used to take a lot of persuasion to sing. I don't know why. And some of them were really good singers. They needn't be ashame to sing if they could do it. But the older people didn't seem to take nearly the persuasion. Moreover, if they had two or three drinks, well, if they were asked a time or two, that was all, they'd sing.

Q. What about the women? What sort. . .

A. Yes, some of them were good singers, and some of them are here yet.

Q. Would a man sing a song if there was company in; a group in a house; would a man sing then, a woman sing, or would all men sing or . . . ?

A. No, I don' think that makes much difference. Whoever was asked, ye know. Say, if a man come in, entered the room now, and he was a good singer and perhaps the rest of them were all after singin', what was there, soon as he'd come in then, perhaps after he had a drink or two, if there was a wedding or any kind of a time like a dance, only a common dance in the houses, they'd be singin' between the

dances, but he'd be asked to sing. Well, perhaps he'd be treated to a drink first if there was a drop [of liquor] on the go, goin' round, they were passin' around the bottle or something like that. And then, they'd say now "sing a song b'y for us".

Q. This sort of idea, where, or custom, where people get up and join hands and sing, have you seen . . . ?

A. Yes. Moreover to weddings you'd see that. A group of men. Moreover among the older fellas. Men who were middle aged then, men who were middle aged we'll say--about thirty years ago. They had a tendency for doing that more so than the older generation or the younger generation. I don't know why, but it seemed like when they'd have a few drinks they'd be gettin' on that way.

Q. What would happen? They all get . . .

A. They'd all get up and join in.

Q. Join in? Would they join hands or go around?

A. Yes, join hands and join in [sing] the song.

Q. They'd join in too?

A. Yea.

Q. Even people who couldn't sing?

A. In lots of cases, yes. They had no choice. If they got ahold of 'em, that was all of it. They'd haul 'em into the ring.

Q. Would the women join in this?

A. Not too often. Not get up like that. Not for me to know, anyway.

Q. But if a woman were there perhaps?

A. Oh yes, if a woman happened to be there or anything like that, or passing along or something, she may join in with them, or a couple of women. But I never did see a group of women get up--all women going at that.

Q. It was always . . . ?

A. Always men. I think the drop of stuff [liquor] used to have something to do with that, because it was always this

middle age, the men who were middle aged, about thirty years ago. They're old and died out now, a lot of them died out now.

Q. What effect did the radios have on the songs the people sang around here?

A. . . . Well, first when the radios come around, it didn't cause the old practice of singin' folk songs, it didn't seem to effect it very much because the type of songs that the people were listenin' to then, the programs, first when radio got around, were folk programs like Hank Snow now, and Hank Williams and those Irish singers. They were much the same type of songs.

. . . . the people didn't sing like Hank Snow around here, but they use to sing his songs. At that time it was all folk singin' Hank Snow use to do mostly; mostly, more or less ballads, say.[10] People weren't listenin' to other programs like pop music now, or stuff like that, not when the radio got around here first. It was mostly the same type of singin' that they were use to themselves, any more than the songs might be different. But now it gradually changed say after a bit, now the older people died out or begin to die out, and then the songs died out with them. I suppose a lot of 'em. Now there's some of the middle age people around still who knows the songs. It is only when any of those gathers at a wedding or anything that you'll hear these old songs. The most of the younger generation, the teenagers, and those that were teenagers ten years ago, the younger generation of the last fifteen years, they let it die out say, they didn't trouble much about it. They went in more for the new type of radio singin', like, lately this last two or three years it's all this, those fast songs, this fast music and everything. That's what they mostly go in for, they don't, so it's a beat, they don't trouble about the air. The airs of those old songs, well it seems to be they [the tunes] don't seem to be popular with the younger generation now. Not to me anyway. [Contributor 17].

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[10]This was the only informant who talked about the ballad as a category of songs. Since this informant reads extensively he may be aware of the scholarly meaning of the term.

Songs of Regional Identity and Local Composition

Fifteen per cent (17 to 110) of the songs collected were local songs or songs indigenous to the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The popularity of these songs about actual people and events, involving Newfoundlanders, reflects a sense of regional identity. Most of the local compositions were based on the structure of a known broadside or ballad, and all of the tunes were traditional ones which were adapted to the new song. The greater percentage of the community compositions are based on Irish models both in text and in tune. More than half of the songs (nine of these seventeen) were of the "Come-all-ye" variety, which are addressed directly to the audience. The "Come-all-ye" pattern brings close rapport between the individual members of the audience and the singer, because the opening "Come-all-ye" of the song functions to demonstrate the singers' identification with the audience. One song, "George Alfred Beckett" has the criminal tell his own story, and it follows the pattern "My name is . . . " This song functions as a legend in that the audience believes that the events related in it are true. This pattern also functions to unite the singer with individual audience members.

Certain past residents are recognized for the composition of songs about community events, although none of the composers were living at Conche during the summer of 1968. There were, however, only one or two song composers

within each generation. The composer of the only recognized song in this generation has moved outside the community. The composing of songs was done by occasional individuals, none of whom apparently had any great recognition as singers. None of the members of the chief recognized neighbourhood families of singers are known to have composed songs.

Any one local event or happening only produced one song, although other singers may add a stanza or two, change some of the wording, or omit a stanza of the original composition. Only a single attitude towards the happenings described is shown by any local song. Because there were no clearly expressed counter views, these locally-composed songs had an integrating function in relationship to the event described. The composer generally sang his composition in public, and was perhaps attempting to gain recognition as a singer by creating songs concerning local events. The local songs were then learned by other community singers either by listening to them sung, or from written copies.

In relationship to specific historical details, eight of these local-regional songs gave one or more details of day, month or year of the event, while fifteen gave place names, and ten gave the main character's name.

There were changes and variants in the songs which occurred by the localization of text, misunderstanding in learning the song, forgetfulness, and the loss of or the reversal of one or more stanzas of the text. These did not

affect, however, the perceived historicity of the songs, which remained their most important function.

The songs of greatest interest to the people are those dealing with sea disaster, social conflict, and war. There is a lack of humorous or funny songs in the local-regional tradition, although some of the incidents in the songs were described in a sarcastic manner which may evoke laughter. A social or psychological crisis, or a combination of the two occurs in each of the local compositions. None of the local songs blatantly condemned any person or events, but there were satirical elements in songs about conflicts which implied a definite point of view. Satire was also used in songs about a family or some specific work experience. Two non-satirical songs praised their subjects: one the "Trinity Bay Girls" and the other, the work of "Father Delaney".

Regionally-composed songs appealed to every listener, chiefly because they knew or had heard of the incidents being described, and this gave a sense of regional identity. A song composed in, or about, the community often involves the relatives of some of the audience so that there is personal interest and kin identity. The unpleasantness of some local tragedy or some specific conflict is generally shown in community-composed songs.

Although in Conche songs were basically used as entertainment, such local compositions serve an additional

function of giving social comment on an unacceptable situation or attitude, so they exert social pressures and help maintain the community norms. The portrayal of family conflict in "The Battle of Sandy Cove" and the conflict between one fisherman and the others of the community in "The Drawing of the Berths" helps maintain community social conformity. These local songs always lead to a discussion of the events or incidents recalled, so there is the extra reinforcement which shows the audience (and the young) the necessity of, and helps maintain the status quo in, the traditional values, norms and attitudes which are expected of every community citizen. Like all song singing, these local songs give a certain cultural stability, and certain cultural constants are expressed in the songs themselves. Singing also acts as a stabilizing force in the community, as even "a bad friend" is appreciated when he sings. Local songs also provided one of the means by which the younger people would get to know the past local history.

No recognized local songs have been composed since 1956, and probably the tradition of song composing is dying in Conche. The nostalgic kind of lyrical popular song called "folk song" on radio is very different in character from these Conche local narrative songs. Perhaps for that reason, the composer of a song with its realistic or satirical narrative and based on known events with details of the names and

incidents, or the singer of such a song, would gain little recognition now that the mass media of radio and television occupy the leisure hours of most of the people.

1. Drawing of the Berths [Contributor 20]

1. Come all you jolly fishermen who live on the shore,
I'll tell you of an incident which occurred in '54.
On the seventh day of April, in the hall we did sit,
And every man's wish was a salmon berth to get.

2. The time for the drawing was now near at hand,
And amid his great discomfort we made Jim Carey chairman,
The hall now did look crowded but was 'quite' as a worm,
Until at last Jim Carey said, "The committee you must form."

3. We formed a committee in about one quarter of an hour,
The first man to draw a berth was Mr. Dan Power,
About one hour did pass since first we did begin,
And every man had a draw except Uncle Cyril Flynn.

4. Oh, this for Cyril Flynn was a big surprise,
He was now very angry, I could see it in his eyes,
He looked all around, as if in a shock;
Until at last his eyes on Jim Carey they did stop.

5. While looking at Jim Carey he this to him did say,
"Why was my name not in the bag, your reason now I pray?"
"Oh the reason," cried Jim Carey, "oh, what can it be,
For I can't tell you Mr. Flynn if you were to kill me."

6. These two they talked and argued the hell of a lot,
As unto me it seemed that they never more would stop,
The time which did pass was eight minutes or ten,
Until at last Jim Carey said, "We'll draw them over again."

7. That evening a message to Wade he did send,
Seeking advice how to make the people content,
He had another the very next day,
Saying, "Contact the Board of Fisheries and that without delay."

8. Oh this for Jim Carey was a lot of trouble,
And Cyril Flynn he grew so mad, he did dance a double.
Some people they did laugh and some people they did smirk,
To think how they lost their fine salmon berth.

9. A few days later in the hall we sat once more,
Some sat on the benches, others sat on the floor,
Cyril Flynn got a draw which for him was as good as the bank,
Unfortunately like me, he did draw a blank.

10. Now you jolly fishermen, this to you I say,
Keep far away from trouble and you know that it will pay,
And when about drawing berths you may talk and chew the rag,
But make sure that every man's name is in the bag.

This song, composed by the singer [Contributor 20] when he was nineteen years old, describes the problems of the drawing of salmon berths at Conche in 1954. These are a limited number of named positions for setting salmon nets, which extend along the shoreline of Conche Harbour.

The annual drawing for salmon berths is held in the community hall during late March or early April. The names of all the fishermen who wish to draw a berth are placed in one bag; the names of the berth positions are placed in another bag. Since there are more fishermen than berths or positions a number of blank cards have to be included. The chairman of the Local Committee draws a man's name. This man then selects a card from the bag containing the berth location names. In the 1954 drawing, Cyril Flynn's name was accidentally omitted and when he objected, the Board of Fisheries ordered a re-drawing. Ironically, after all of this trouble Mr. Flynn "drew a blank," which provides the source of humour in the song. This song ends with a moral of how to prevent conflict in salmon berth drawings.

2. The Battle in Sandy Cove [Contributor 20]

1. Twas never seen in Flanders Fields nor anywhere you rove,
The battle that was witnessed one spring in Sandy Cove,
About a set of battles, I'll have ye all to know,
Which caused the mighty John to fight his little brother Joe.

2. The row rose quite suddenly with hooks both left and right,
When John called down a referee to regulate the fight,
Then Joey grabbed a bucksaw and John had quickly sped
And he said with a smile you'd see a mile, "Take that
on the old bald head."

3. Now this enraged the mighty John, you bet he wasn't slow,
He bared his chest, drawed up his sleeves, to threaten
his brother Joe,
He grabbed an ax which was lying there, he flung it and
he said,
"Take that on the head so red, so red, take that on the
head so red."

4. Joey was no coward, but he was no Irish boy,
It was his full intention big John [Smithers] to destroy,
So with a nail drove in a stick he struck with all his might,
It was considered foul by all so Joey lost the fight.

5. That night I went to Johnny's, he went down on his knees,
He held his head before the light that I might see with
ease,
In case I overlooked the mark, he scratched it all around,
And he pointed with his finger where the 4-inch nail went
down.

6. I then went in to Joey's, his tale of woe I heard,
He told it once, he told it twice, repeating every word,
He took the musket from the rack, he cocked it and he said,
"If I had this gun with me today, there'd be no more
bald head."

7. John Bromley was the witness, he said the fight was good,
He had a mind to interfere but he didn't think he could,
It was a mighty battle it was fought without a glove,
So if you wish to know these chaps then go down to
Sandy Cove.

This song reports a family feud between two brothers, which took place in part of the neighbouring community of Grey Islands (twelve miles off the coast from Conche). Although

I have no idea of the date of the incident, "Flanders Field" dates the song as post World War I. This song is a mock heroic one like the prize ring fight songs but it quickly shifts from a prize fight to weapons. Family conflict is held up for community disapproval and ridicule.

3. The [Smithers] [Contributor 20]

1. Friends and neighbours I found lots, wherever I did rove,
But the head of all, I found at all was living in Sandy Cove,
About the first of this century, or the last of the last,
so somewhere between or betwixt,
There came one Peter [Smithers] who liveth on that rock
and reared up a family of six.

2. He had one comely daughter who was Polly by name,
And five hearty fellows of sons,
He had them all titled as nice as you wish,
But here's by the handles they run.

3. There was Foxy Joe, there was Towser Jim,
There was bald-headed John, it's who but him
There was coal black Bill and Swarthy Paul
And that over there is Peter, the pride of them all.

4. Now this is how the title ran
Of this one fair maid and five strong men.
But years have passed, as all years do,
And each has earned a title new.

5. There was Johnny the lawyer, he was slow but sure,
He had a heart for the women wherever he went,
With all her troubles, no better could wish,
For with John the lawyer, the case was dismissed.

6. And next came Jimmy though quiet and shy,
But the power of evil you could see in his eye,
But he worked for his living from daylight till dark,
With the legs of his pants at the high water mark.

7. And next was Joey, but I haven't got time
His success unravels just to bring it in rhyme
And Bill, Mike and Mary are left on the shelf,
If you want any more you can make it yourself.

This song concerns a family in part of the neighbouring community of Grey Islands (twelve miles off the coast from Conche). Stanza 3 gives the nicknames and the text also gives slightly satirical character description as well as what became of a few of them. This technique is also found in old Irish, lumberwoods, and hobo song patterns. It has the stock ending for unfinished songs: "If you want any more you can make it yourself."

4. Lonely Buttytoo [Contributor 5]

1. Come all ye good people and listen to my song,
It's just a few short verses, it won't delay you long,
So stop, and think and listen, if what I say is true,
There is no friends or neighbours in lonely Buttytoo.

2. The 6th day of December, the NELLIE she came here,
And took our brother away from us and left us in despair,
To spend a lonely winter in the midst of frost and snow,
And mountains all around us and nowhere for to go.

3. Oh, stop and think and listen if what I say is true,
There are no friends or neighbours in lonely Buttytoo.

. . .

Buttytoo is a small cove located roughly midway between Conche and Englee (the next community twelve miles south of Conche). Although this cove was used extensively as a summer fishing port during the first three decades of the twentieth century, only one family of Dempsey's remained at Buttytoo during the winter months. The contributor could only remember part of three stanzas of the text but these give us the loneliness of the place which was increased when a brother left on the "Nellie" the last coastal boat before the winter

season. Since the singer only knew part of the song, she was very reluctant to sing it and I accidentally failed to check further historical details. This text has echoes of "Famed Waterloo".

5. Young Kelley or "Meter Flag" [Contributor 8]

1. Now ye tender hearted mothers, love your children dear,
Attend to those few lines I write, for Kelley drop a tear.
Leaving his home and friends behind sailed for the Labrador,
And 'twas little did he ever think, he'd never see them no more.

2. With those cruel hearted tyrants, young Kelley did agree,
To fish with him on the Labrador and well in health was he,
Till a sickness came upon him, when the caplin scull were o'er,
In a place called Gradey Harbour on the rugged Labrador.

3. The first week that young Kelly lay sick, he was quenched with the thirst,
They gave him nothing for to drink, till his tongue asunder burst,
But told him it was laziness Billy B---- and his crew,
And if his poor mother had been there, he now would be alive.

4. There was a girl who lived nearby, Sara Kelley was her name,
She nursed this poor boy day and night, may the Heavens reward the same,
She was kinder than the master's wife, whose pity never knew,
For she's a disgrace to female sex, I freely say to you.

5. Now Captain Ward was laying there, a worthy Englishman,
And when he hear how young Kelley was served, he pitied the young man,
He brought him drinks and nourishment and medicine also,
May the heavens send him a prosper wind, wherever he do go.

6. Ye fishermen of Newfoundland, who are always kind and true,
Not like John B---- and his crew, I'll freely say to you,
For he stayed aboard the "Meter Flag", young Kelly would not go,
To see his friends and him he loved and his dear native home.

7. Young Kelly died all on the way sailing to Newfoundland,
I'm in hopes his soul is welcomed there by all the heavenly band,
All ye true-hearted Catholics, I hope ye'll for him pray,
And may the Lord receive his soul on the [great Judgment Day.] [spoken]

The contributor of this song when asked if Kelley was a local man replied: "No, Kelley's from up Southern somewhere; I don't know where." The "Meter Flag" was the name of the ship on which Kelley was shareman. Gradey is still an important summer fishing station. This song condemns the treatment that a Catholic shareman received while fishing on the Labrador with a Protestant skipper. Although it is an anti-Protestant satirical song it chiefly attacks this particular Protestant skipper, his wife, and his crew and not all Protestants. The singer shifts the name of the skipper from Billy (stanza 3) to John (stanza 6).

6. <u>The White Bay Line</u> [Contributor 8]

1. In 1898, oh, the "Engram" sailed away,
With a crew of northern men on board for to tie up in White Bay;
The very day we leaved our home, it was a splendid day,
And we steamed from our own homes to Conche, from Conche to Englee.

2. We lay in Englee all night until the break of day,
We hove our anchors to the bow and steamed up in White Bay;
It was Wednesday, we had landed there, all things went very right,
"Oh, go up in the bottom and build your camps tonight."

3. We went about a half mile in, and there we built our camp,
We had to eat by the firelight because we had no lamp,
We would eat without a grumble but we had a lot to say,
For to swing our pick and shovel for a single dollar a day.

4. We got up Thursday morning and had a look around,
We went out to the boss's camp, and then went shoveling ground,
We were all in hopes that we would get a month upon the line,
And boys, we were so very glad, oh, the weather proved so fine.

5. Till bye and bye, the snow came down, and the frost came with it too,
And Mr. Taylor said, "My boys, we cannot cut it through."
For the man we sent in to the pond got very drunk one day,
And when the grub came to the pond, he would not bring it out.

6. And then the news went out about, oh, the work is struck I say,
"Oh, pack your bags, oh, now my boys, and walk out in the Bay."
At twelve o'clock on Sunday night, old Ruban he did say,
"Get up and boil the kettle boys, for we're going out today."

7. Was then we got our bags to right, and hove them on our backs,
And now the all as you may think, there were some heavy packs,
But when we got out in the Bay you'll hear somebody say,
We won't have very much longer, boys, she will be in today.

8. It was the steamship "Leopard" that came up in the bay,
And boys we were so very glad when she come in that day,
And then we got on board of her and she steamed very slow,
We were three days and nights my boys and never went below.

9. So I must bring to a close now, the song which I begin,
They were to work upon the line four hundred and fifty men.

The above text, which the singer claimed was composed by Harry Curtis of St. Anthony, describes the cutting of the White Bay line--a proposed railway line from Howley Station to Gould Cove in White Bay. This incident occurred in 1898 when the fishery was a failure and there was an election. The "Engram", an ice-hunting vessel, took the men from Raleigh to Englee, including about fifty from Conche. The "line" was

never completed and the men were returned home after much hardship in December on the "Leopard", realizing that their employment was a political game.

Informant 13 relates his experience in this incident. He was seventeen years old at the time.

> Fifty of 'em from this [Conche] I suppose. We come to go, it was a bad summer, bad times and an election was goin' off. And the government give this job to soap up people I suppose, soften 'em up. They were from Raleigh right up around here to this. Sent 'em to Englee and White Bay everywhere. Five hundred men, that's what men there were. We always call it White Bay Line. . . we use to go a mile a day through the woods that's good work with the pick and shovel. We use to get a dollar for ten hours.

7. S.S. Ethie [Contributor 6]

1. Come all ye true country men, come listen to me
A story I'll tell you of the S.S. Ethie.
She'd been our old steamboat, employed on the shore
Taking freight, mail and passengers down on the Labrador.

2. The tenth of December, as you all well may know,
In the year of nineteen and nineteen on her last trip did go,
When she left Daniel's Harbour about four p.m.
With the wind from the southard, for Cow Head did steam.

3. Her glass indicated showed a wild raging storm,
And about nine o'clock the storm it came on,
With the ship's husband on board the crew had no fear
Captain English gave orders, straight for Bonne Bay
to steer.

4. At the first of this breeze, our good ship gave no heed,
Till at last it was found, she was fast losing speed,
With the ship's husband on board, the crew had no fear,
Captain English gave orders, straight for Bonne Bay
to steer.

5. Walter Young being our purser, as you all understand,
Volunteered that he'd take her safely into the land,
Joe Kielly, our first mate, bravely stands to the wheel
Captain English gave orders, all worked with a will.

6. Now out of Martin's Point about nine o'clock,
Through bravery and courage, we escaped every rock,
We stayed at the Point till the storm it was o'er,
And the dear little Ethie lay stranded on shore.

7. We were all safely landed in a bosun's chair,
Taken in by good people and treated with care,
We stayed at the Point till the storm it was over,
And the dear little Ethie lay stranded on shore.

8. From the fright and exhaustion, from the hardship and cold,
The depths of my story will never be told,
Come all you good fellows get shipwrecked on sea,
Just think of the sad fate of the S.S. Ethie.

This song describes the wreck of the coastal ship "Ethie" on Martin's Point near Sally's Cove (twelve miles north of Bonne Bay on the West coast of Newfoundland) on December 11, 1919. The happy ending, that the ninety-two passengers and crew were safely rescued, cheers the audience. Greenleaf and Mansfield (p. 278) present a version of this song and they note that the composer was Miss Burney Easin of Port Saunders. They include their discussion with Jack Gullage, the first mate on the "Ethie," who describes the wreck and the behaviour of the crew and passengers.

"The Wreck of the Steamship 'Ethie'" is famous in Newfoundland and has appeared in such local song books as all the editions of Gerald S. Doyle's Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland; and Omar Blondahl's Newfoundlanders Sing (80-87). There is very little variation in the different versions. An account of this shipwreck appeared in The

Evening Telegram (St. John's), August 5, 1966, p. 8.

8. The L. and M. Rudolph [Contributor 5]

1. Listen 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 sorrow to bewail,
For the loss of sons and husbands caused by the dreadful gale.

2. The L. and M. Rudolph, a vessel staunch and clever seaboat too,
Her skipper's name was Blackwood and he composed her crew,
On the 6th day of December the Rudolph left the town,
Full load of general cargo for Port Nelson she was bound.

3. With a gentle breeze of sou'west wind the schooner sailed along,
But the sky was thick and heavy and night was coming on,
At 5 o'clock that evening through the Tickle she did pass,
The threatening of a violent storm was shown by the glass.

4. When from sou'east the wind did veer and stars all through the night,
The skipper's intention was to try and make Catalina light;
Now very far out in the bay, the schooner she did reel,
When our skipper changed his course again from north unto nor'east.

5. Thinking his ship would round the cape and reach Bonavista Bay
But under her foc'sle and jumbo she unfortunately made leeway,
Eight fine strong men that very night, all on her deck did stand,
With eager minds and piercing eyes all on a lookout for land.

6. When the winds blew strong and the seas ran high, oh what a terrible night,
When the L. and M. Rudolph ended her days on Catalina Shoals that night.
The vessel had scarcely struck the rock before covered with the waves,
All of her crew except one man did meet a watery grave.

7. This poor young chap jumped overboard in blinding snow and drift,
By the guiding hands of Providence was washed up on the cliff.
He went his way all up the cliff in blinding sleet and snow,
Over marshes, hills and valleys, not knowing where to go.

8. He looked for hospitality, and comfort for the night,
When to his surprise, before his eyes, saw Little Catalina light;
Tis early the next morning about the hour of four,
After eight long hours travelling he reached Levi Dalton's door.

9. Who kindly answered to his knock, the sad sight to see,
Was the lad standing there with oilskins on, a miracle from the sea.
"Come in, my lad, come in, my lad," this man did kindly say,
"And tell me what has happened and how you came this way."

10. The boy was so exhausted and all that he could say,
Was, "A schooner lost and all her crew not very far away."
And then this kind woman, poor lad did invite,
And with hot drinks and clothing warm she soon did him revive.

11. Which after rest and medical aid, the tale he told anew,
The sorrowful fate of the "Rudolph" and the loss of all her crew;
This man soon told his neighbours and soon the news had spread
And men before so very long were rising from their beds.

12. With ropes and gaffs and lanterns too, on a night dark and drear,
The path was thronged with people, for Brook Cove they did steer,
At last they arrived upon the scene they sadly heard no sound,
They searched with vain efforts but no creature could be found.

13. Those willing men they tried their might some bodies for to get,
But the sea was raging furiously and dashing by the cliffs,
But when dawning broke again an awful sight to see.
A schooner's wreckage washed ashore while her crew were in the sea.

14. An awful sight came before their eyes, as they stood there next day,
To see a body washed ashore upon a heaving wave,
This chanced to be the female was once gay and fane,
The Abbot girl from Hare Bay, her name was Mary Jane.

15. They worked with kind and willing hands her body to prepare,
They sent it along for burial to her mother's home so dear,
There's not one day that passed away but those men are on the spot,
And after days of toiling five bodies more they got.

16. And now they're resting in their graves beneath the churchyard sod,
But their souls have fled to a resting place in the Paradise of God,
So now my friends and comrades there is one more thing to do,
Let's not forget the widows and the little orphans too.

17. Who through this great disaster are left fatherless in their homes,
But the Lord knows what is best and then His will it must be done,
Now in conclusion, let us not forget our friends,
The people of Catalina that worked with willing hands.

18. To recover the bodies, the labour they didn't spare,
May a blessing rest on Catalina and all its citizens fair,
But two more bodies still are lying, beneath the ocean waves,
Waiting for their Saviour's call on the last great Judgement Day.
When the sea it will give up its dead as told by scripture true,
May the Lord have mercy on the souls of the L. and M. Rudolph's crew.

The contributor learned this song from the Bay Roberts people, who along with people from Bonavista and Trinity Bays, were stationary fishermen at North-East Crouse and Pillier during the summer. The contributor claimed that it was composed by a Dukey Blackwood, the rescued sailor, and a Hugh Sexton from Bonavista Bay. A text of this song appeared in The Trinitarian (Trinity, Newfoundland: F.J. Brady Printer and Publisher), December 21, 1926 (Christmas Edition), under the title "The Loss of the 'Ella M. Rudolph' by Hughie Sexton," Trinity,

December 1926." Another version of this song was collected from Cape Broyle (Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive, C493, 68-16).

The ship and all its crew, except one young man, were lost off the Catalina Shoals on the eastern side of the Bonavista Peninsula in Trinity Bay. I have been unable to get other information on this wreck. To the singer and the audience, the fact that two bodies were not recovered for proper burial was tragic. The song praises the hospitality and neighbourliness of the people from Catalina and the neighbouring communities in searching for the bodies with "kind and willing hands." The local people thought that the summer fishermen who came to Conche from this area were fine, hard working people and often close friendships developed between the two groups.

9. <u>The Greenland Disaster</u> [Contributor 5]

1. We sailed from St. John's harbour
All on the tenth of March,
Commanded by Captain Barbour
The ice fields for to search.
With colours flying gaily
We gave three hearty cheers,
And mark what followed after
Ye quickly will hear.

2. With colours flying gaily,
We boldly sailed away,
And to the north passed by the Funks,
We still kept on our way.
No danger seemed to threaten
This gay and gallant boat
And on the 12th I heard 'em say,
They took the first white-coat.

3. From that up to the twenty-fifth
When all seemed bright and gay,
And for to get a saving trip,
We killed and panned away.
All hands, all hands upon the ice,
Be ready one and all,
And each of them so cheerfully,
Responded to the call.

4. They all drew close together,
Their freezing lives to warm,
It was a small protection,
From the wild and bitter storm.
But when the "Greenland" steamed in view,
Oh, what a shockin' sight,
It was twenty-five cold frozen corpse,
Lay dead upon the ice.

5. Those twenty-five was brought to land,
Most shocking to relate,
And twenty-three still missin'
Which numbers forty-eight.
There was one among the number,
From St. Brendan's he came,
He was an honest fisherman,
Mike Hennessey by name.

6. On that Saturday night we layed him down,
Upon the ice to sleep,
But bore his blue of islands,
That threw him in the deep.
And now he fills a watery grave,
From his home and friends away,
Until the dead-roll will be called,
Upon the Judgement Day.

7. And Willie Hart from Harbour Grace
A promising young man,
Was his parents joy and hearts delight,
Describe their grief who can.
To see their dear and darling child,
Cut down in his bloom
With heavy sighs and mournful cries,
They laid him in his tomb.

8. And now he's gone that gallant boy,
And why they should repine,
For as manys a one as well as him,
Is gone and left behind.

There's mothers, wives and husbands
Are left behind to mourn,
For those who in the "Greenland" sailed,
Will never more return.

9. So may the Lord have mercy,
Will be our fervent prayer,
And may they rest in heaven,
Free from all earthly care.

This song concerns one of the two or three great sealing disasters in Newfoundland's history. On March 10, 1898 the S.S. Greenland, a four hundred ton ship under the command of George Barbour, left St. John's to prosecute the seal fishery off Newfoundland's northeast coast. The sealing ship, owned by Baine Johnson and Company, had a crew of two hundred and seven men. On March 21, 1898, while she was sealing in the Straits of Belle Isle, a sudden storm arose. When the storm arose one hundred and forty-eight men were on the ice; one hundred men were rescued--of the forty-eight missing twenty-five bodies were recovered and twenty-three were never found. John T. Melendy gives a personal account of this sealing disaster in The Evening Telegram (St. John's), April 27, 1967.

Greenleaf and Mansfield (299) have a version of this song and they note that the song was composed by Mrs. John Walsh of Fleur-de-Lys. Other versions appeared in Gerald S. Doyle's Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland (1925, 1940, 1955 and 1967 editions) and Peacock (926). Peacock mistakenly says this song is ". . . about the loss of a famous sealing vessel, the 'Greenland'. . . " (926). The "Greenland" was

not lost until March 16, 1907, nine years after the seal hunting disaster referred to in all versions of the song. Captain Daniel Bragg was in command of the ship at the time of her loss (about fifteen miles northeast of Cape Freels). Both Bragg and his forty-two man crew were saved.

10. E. Elsie [Contributor 8]

1. Oh, ye noble Newfoundlanders who suffers from the gale,
I'll hope you pay attention, and listen to my tale,
It is a tale of pity, which I am going tell,
Concerning of a fearful lot, a craft named E. Elsie.

2. The 20th of October when everything looked grey,
We hoisted our flags up to the mast in hopes to go away,
Before we did get ready, the wind came on to blow,
And with it rolled a heavy sea and also showers of snow.

3. Which caused us to get ready, our vessel to secure,
And after everything was done, we could do nothing more,
Only watch our lines and keep them served and pray to God for it,
That if our vessel should be lost that all hands may be saved.

4. For Jesus in his mercy do always answer pray,
With washed away for our escape, likewise our little crew;
But still we did not follow him but trust alone in pay,
Which leaves us now a warning, our story to relate.

5. At twelve o'clock on Sunday night, the wind did run and rage,
For twenty-one of our crew to meet a watery grave.
Amongst the faithful number there's one whose looks were grey,
He sat apart from all the rest, his thoughts seemed far away.

6. Oh when our vessel struck the shore, 'twas devilment for to hear,
While some in anguish cried for help, and others joined in prayer;
The women and the children stood on the quarter deck,
A heavy sea drashed over them, and swept them from the wreck.

7. But all was calm and quiet no crying could be heard,
For they were hurried quickly in the presence of the Lord,
The ragged shores of Labrador this fearful deed was done,
Into a place called Black Island,
In sight of our own home.

8. Where we had spent our summer, all working day and night,
To earn bread for our families and that with all our might,
While some of them are laying beneath the briny waves,
And others they are laying--Black Islands are their grave.

9. The rest is gone to Newfoundland in loneless last to dwell,
To thank the God of Providence who done this all things well;
That fearful night is passed and gone 'twill soon be out of day,
The warning skiff it leave to us, don't never [trust too late]. [spoken]

This is one of the many native Newfoundland ballads about shipwrecks. It is a somewhat garbled text about a sea disaster during late October, somewhere in the Black Island area of Labrador, in which twenty-one men lost their lives. There are always very rough seas along the northern Labrador coast in October and November. Presumably, the "E. Elsie" was a Newfoundland fishing schooner but I have no idea of the date of the disaster. The Contributor's comment about this song was:

> Well, now, I can't understand that very good. He said, "And to a place called Black Island in sight of our own home". They must be livin' on the Labrador as well.

Perhaps the composer(s), not the sailors described in the song, were from Black Island. This would explain the confusion.

11. George Alfred Beckett [Contributor 5]

1. George Alfred Beckett is my name, as you may understand,
Brought up by honest parents, reared up in Newfoundland,
In a pleasant little village, so beautiful and grand,
Near the Atlantic Ocean in a place called Perlican.

2. My parents reared me tenderly, the truth I will make known,
And good advice they gave to me, when I was leaving home,
It was little did my parents think when they bid me goodbye,
This awful crime I would commit and be condemned to die.

3. From the coalfields of Cape Breton, my course I did stray,
To go seek foreign climate, I landed in Glace Bay.
One evening in last autumn, as you will understand,
To take me out of Tower Road I engaged a taximan.

4. He little thought as we rode on, I had an iron bar,
The dreadful wounds I did inflict and robbed him in his car,
From the scene I made a quick escape, for to get home was
my plan,
I left Glace Bay and sailed away back home to Newfoundland.

5. 'Twas in a few days after, the police was on my trail,
They arrested me for murder and I was sent to St. John's
jail,
From that back to Cape Breton my trial for to stand,
And never more to see again my own dear native land.

6. The jury found me guilty and the judge made his reply,
"On the 30th day of April for this murder you must die."
'Tis to my aged parents I now must bid adieu,
My sisters and brothers and likewise my children too.

7. And not forgetting my dear wife wherever she may be,
So loving, kind and gentle, the blame lies all on me,
I wish to thank all my kind friends that were so loyal
to me,
My clergyman and lawyers who tried to set me free.

8. Likewise the warder of the jail, good courage to me gave,
Long may they live to enjoy their health, when I am in my
grave;
Now to conclude and finish, from this world I must depart,
For the murder of Mick Marshall I am sorry to the heart.

9. So now all men take a warning, and remember what I say,
Don't never murder anyone what ever you may do,
For like me you'll die on the gallows high,
At the age of forty-two.

10. So now all men take a warning and remember what I say,
May the Lord have mercy on my soul on the Judgement Day.

The contributor learned this song from the Bay Roberts fishermen who came to Northeast Crouse to fish each summer. Beckett, a Newfoundlander from Old Perlican, murdered a taximan, Mick Marshall, in Nova Scotia and then fled to his home town where he was later arrested. Several St. John's informants remember that Beckett was taken to the St. John's jail overnight before being returned to Nova Scotia where he was hanged. I have not, however, been able to date the incident exactly, but it took place in the late 1920's or early 1930's. Several informants noted that this murder ballad was composed by some of Beckett's friends in his home town of Old Perlican. The song follows the pattern of "The Boston Burglar" and "Charles Guiteau" where the prisoner tells his story.

12. <u>The First War</u> [Contributor 8]

1. Ye sons of Terra Nova, come listen to my song,
It's only a few verses, it won't delay ye long;
'Tis of our loyal comrades as you may understand,
Who enlisted in the regiment that went from Newfoundland.

2. Oh, when they arrived in England, their orders did run slow,
For to get eight months training before they'd face their foe,
And after eight months training with rifle, sword and gun,
The regiment were slated for the famous Dardanelles.

3. When they leave old England, I quite forget the day,
But the first of their engagement was down at Sugula Bay,
Where bullets fell like showers of hail, and cannons loud did roar,
Quite different to the times they spent on England's lovely shore.

4. But fearless and undaunted, those soldiers fought away,
To fragment a bursting shell, they fought there in a may;
To gain a good position, their foe to defeat,
With real determination their landing was complete.

5. For days and days they waited and watched the Turkey there,
Till at length they got fresh orders and embarkment to prepare,
To prepare for an embarkment unto some unknown land,
They found theirself in Egypt to guard the Suez grand.

6. May good luck attend all our gallant men, and may God send the day,
When the war will be all over, and peace once more hold sway,
And may they hold their health and strength to carry out their plan,
To conquer and return again to their homes in [Newfoundland].
[spoken]

This song praises the Second Battalion of the Newfoundland Regiment who were sent to Egypt in 1915 but did not remain there. The Battle of Suvla Bay (stanza 3) was fought in September, 1915. The last stanza suggests that the song was composed by some Newfoundlander who read about the exploits in the newspaper.

13. The Battlefield of France [Contributor 6]

1. On the battlefield in sunny France a hero he did stand,
He thought of loving friends at home in dear old Newfoundland,
His comrades thought to cheer him up but his free-frall life was run,
There's a mother at home in Newfoundland a-weeping for her son.

2. The Battle of Valcour, it was cruel there that day,
While on our right and on our left machine guns were at play,
With Donnelly our Captain, it's bravely he did stand,
And gave three cheers for the Empire and dear old Newfoundland.

3. The dying comrade raised his hand, a signal to draw near,
He said, "Dear Jack, bring those tidings back
To dear old Newfoundland".
He said, "Dear Jack, those parting words I want for you
to hear."

4. He said, "Dear Jack, those parting words I want you for
to tell,
My mother and my brothers and likewise my sister Nell.
Tell her not to weep for me but pray for me each day,
And whisper words of comfort, Jack, to her that's far away.

5. And whisper words of comfort, Jack, and take her by the
hand.
And tell her in the July drive how bravely I did stand.
And tell her in the July drive a bullet pierced my side,
My home I never more will see, or the valleys of Kilbride.

6. There's another at home will remember me, thinking I'm
coming home
But tell her that in Bowrings Park we never more will roam.
Or never will she see my face for now we have to part,
Her memory still lingers within my breathing heart.

7. The prayer that she gave to me, it lies close by my side,
You can hardly recognize it for with my blood it's dyed,
You can hardly recognize it but surely she will know,
It's a photo that she gave to me just a few short months
ago."

8. His voice grew weak, he scarce could speak,
He feebly clasped my hand,
He said, "Dear Jack, bring those tidings back
To dear old Newfoundland."

9. His comrades thought to cheer him up but his free-frall
life was run,
There's a mother at home in Newfoundland a-weeping for
her son.
There's a dark-haired girl will think of me when she is
all alone,
My grave lies low in sunny France far from my native home.

This First World War song is a local composition and is similar in pattern and structure to J7 "The Dying Soldier (Erin Far Away, II)", Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 132). Kilbride is across the Waterford River

from Bowring Park in St. John's. The Battle of the Somme was part of the July Drive which took place on July 1, 1916. I found no reference to a Battle of Valcour, although there are a number of town names ending in "court" in the Somme region of France. Perhaps "Valcour" [sic] may be a reference to a local engagement.

14. The Man From Newfoundland [Contributor 5]

1. One evening in my homestead, while sitting all alone,
I was thinking on my countrymen and where they had to roam,
From England to America, Australia and Japan,
Wherever you go you're sure to find a man from Newfoundland.

2. They're the pride of every nation,
You'll find it on the roll,
In Perry's expedition,
He went the nearest to the pole.

3. We fish the Southern Grand Banks,
On every shoal and knap,
Like hardy toilers of the deep,
They fished the Flemish Cap.

4. They searched the northern ice fields,
Where the white bears often roam,
Where the walrus, hoods, and white coats,
Makes it their native home.

5. A way out in Cape Breton,
Where the object stands so high,
We gained the heights of Alma,—
And crossed the River Nile.

6. A way out in South Africa,
Where the deer stretched on the plains,
Where the Americans fought the Spaniards,
For blowing up the Maine.

7. A way out in Jerusalem,
I heard our clergy tell,
We crossed the River Uknee,
Way out in Jacob's Well.

8. And now my song is ended,
I've something sad to tell,
Out in the mines of Cuba,
One of our comrades fell.

9. And at the age of twenty-one,
Cut down all in his bloom,
On the 18th day of January,
He was summoned to his tomb.

10. And now my song is ended,
I think I've runned the race,
I am a Newfoundlander,
I belong to Harbour Grace.

Under the title "The Roving Newfoundlander" this song appeared in Gerald S. Doyle's Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland (second edition, 1940, p. 55; and third edition, 1955, p. 71) and in Omar Blondahl's Newfoundlanders Sing (p. 15). The contributor, however, said she had learned this text from oral tradition.

This song which brags about the variety of occupations and countries in which Newfoundlanders may be found is sometimes a little confusing, for example, stanzas 5, 6 and 7. There are only two specific references. Stanza 2 mentions Captain Bob Bartlett who commanded the supply ship the "Roosevelt" when Peary successfully reached the North Pole in 1909. Stanza 10 indicates that the composer of the song belonged to Harbour Grace in Conception Bay.

15. Father Delaney [Contributor 8]

1. As the bell tolled the mournful music,
While friends sat listening with tearful eye,
Dear Father Delaney your task,
Forever to the band of angels beyond the sky.

2. But a few short years full of life and vigour,
And now today you are laid at rest,
In your lonely grave near the little orphanage,
Where you lived in love and so often bliss.

3. Now, how we miss you kind friend and father,
Although your form is beneath the soil,
You risk your life in the call of duty,
To prepare the dyin' to meet their God.

4. Though your life was short in this world of sorrow,
You should use it well for to serve your Lord,
You're always found at his post and danger,
And now you're gone to a bright reward.

5. This able priest was a friend in trouble,
To soothe the sick in their hour of pain,
A well ---- friend and a priest and brother,
Oh, Father Delaney we'll miss your name.

6. We'll miss you often at the morning service,
Yet we know you're happy on that heavenly shore,
To rest in peace with the saints in Heaven,
Where care and sorrow is known no more.

7. As the long processional drove through the city,
Are there none and nation with grief drew near,
To show respect to that faithful prelate,
Who sleeps with love-ones in Belvedere.

8. He's at rest with God, till the trumpets sounding,
That heavenly priest served his master well,
The beauty of that house, oh Lord, we loved him,
To rest with ever, with the glory dwell.

This song praises a well-liked Newfoundland Roman Catholic priest who apparently worked at Belvedere Orphanage for girls in St. John's. I was informed by the caretaker at Belvedere Cemetery that a Father P.J. Delaney who died April 13, 1888 was buried in his family plot there. I have no information on how this song got from St. John's to Conche, but it is a popular song in the community since it praises a priest.

16. Trinity Bay Girls [Contributor 8]

1. Come all ye kind friends attention to lend
To a song ye won't hear every day;
And if it don't please ye, I'm sure it won't tease ye,
But listen to what I will say.

2. Many places I've been, kind faces I've seen,
By night and as well as by day;
But the best girls I've met, ten dollars I'll bet,
Are those girls around Trinity Bay.

Chorus:
Somewhere, you will find one girl that loves you true;
Somewhere, someone is waiting for you, you, you.

3. In a cold shady nook by the side of a brook,
Two young girls were fishing one day,
They laughed as they fished and the young one wished,
For her true love so far, far away.

4. The older one said with a tout of her head,
She [-----] to mine to feel blue,
For your love you've not met but he'll come to you yet,
And there's somebody waiting for you.

Chorus:
Somewhere, somebody loves you true,
Somewhere, somebody's waiting for you, you, you.

5. 'Tis down by the fireside, sometimes he will met,
Those girls at the close of the day,
Sometimes they are sitting and perhaps they are kidding;
For someone so far, far away.

6. Oh boys, 'tis a treat to see girls so neat,
No matter at work or at play,
Well my song to an end, I don't wish to offend,
Those girls around Trinity Bay.

Chorus:
Somewhere, you will see one girl that loves you true,
Somewhere, somebody wishing for you, you, [you]. [spoken]

The Conche people had contact at North-east Crouse and Pillier with the summer fishermen from Trinity Bay; but Trinity Bay fishermen also visited Conche in fishing schooners on their way to and/or from the Labrador fishery. This song was

probably learned from one of these sources. Although it praises the faithfulness of Trinity Bay girls, the Conche people regard the song as somewhat humorous and amusing.

17. The Liquor Book [Contributor 20]

1. After working all the live long year, there finally came the day,
My two weeks summer holidays, my trip around the bay,
So taking off my overalls, I marched up in my glee,
With a dollar to get a drop of stuff to take along with me.

2. There were people there from Carbonear, Grand Falls and Corner Brook,
From Joe Batt's Arm and Billy's Farm, trying to get a book,
The USA and I dare say, in fact I really think,
Somewhere along the mighty line you'd find the missing link.

3. Oh, a great big policeman came along, and he lined us up in two's
But he had a billy in his hand so none of us refused,
"How long more will I have to wait?" said one old man to the cop,
"Well, I guess you'll be too old, sir, to even take a drop."

4. They were there from Catalina, they were there from Harbour Grace,
From Europe and from Asia and every other place,
From Greenland's icy mountain, Texas and Kitty's Brook,
Waiting tired and thirsty to get their liquor book.

5. After three long weeks of waiting, and goodness knows I tried,
With a half a dollar in me hand, I finally got inside,
Well, I went up to the wicket along with many more,
And such names and occupations I never heard before.

6. Oh, too late to go around the bay, me book I finally got,
Well I bought meself a bottle of screech, and I drank the whole damn lot,
Well, I went right out just like a light, dead to the world it seems,
But boy, oh boy, while I was out, what queer old things I dreamed.

7. I saw Adam eat the apple, Matthew chasing Mark,
Noah with his water bucket, a-scrubbing up the Ark,
King Solomon tryin' to count his wives and Abel run for Cain,
Is it ever any wonder that I'll ever drink again.

This text which appears to have been composed in the 1940's has been commercially recorded. I have no information on where the singer learned this song; it is not reported by Leach or Peacock. The song tells of the problems of obtaining a "liquor book" or permit from the Board of Liquor Control. Such a permit was necessary until 1963 to purchase a maximum of three bottles of liquor a week.

18. The Unquiet Grave (no local title). [Contributor 5]

1. It happened on the west coast, a couple was about to be married,
They had the date of ceremony planned but he got sick and died,
And eight months after her lover's death, she was wedded to another
And the very first night of her wedding, there appeared to her that lover.

2. Saying, "Cold are the winds tonight sweetheart, and cold are the drops of rain
You're the very first love that ever I had and you found to lover again.
What is it I've done to thee, thou will not let me sleep,
Has not cruel death between us come, a grave and winding sheet?"

3. "What is it I've done to thee, or my dear husband here,
That you should come to trouble us and break our wedding chain?
What is it I want of thee, what you had often gave,
A kiss from off your rosy lips and that is all I crave."

4. Cold are my lips in death sweetheart, but my loving heart is strong,
If you will touch my clay cold lips, your life it won't be long.
Now they both lie on their graves, and this it ends my song,
For both of them belonged in life, and deep in death belong.

This ballad is a version of one of these recognized by Professor Francis James Child. North American versions of this ballad are discussed under its standard Child number 78 and title "The Unquiet Grave" by Tristram P. Coffin in The British Traditional Ballad in North America (p. 77). The singer of this song did not have a title for it. Her only comment on the song was that it was very rarely sung because "it's about death--and everyone is happy when he sings."

Versions of this Child Ballad have been collected in widely separated geographical points within Newfoundland: Rocky Harbour on the northwest coast, Burnt Island and Isle aux Mort on the southwest coast (Peacock); and Exploits on the northeast coast and Sandy Cove on the northwest coast (Greenleaf and Mansfield). Kenneth Peacock gives the local title only from Rocky Harbour "Cold Falling Drops of Dew", whereas Greenleaf collected this song at Exploits under "The Auld Song From Cow Head".

This version is unlike any of the other versions collected in Newfoundland since they indicate that a lover has been slain and the girl mourns by her lover's grave for twelve months and one day. Peacock notes, "There is a widespread superstition right across Asia and Europe that prolonged and excessive grieving disturbs the peace of the dead." (p. 413), Motif C762.2. "Tabu: too much weeping for dead"; Motif E381. "Ghost summoned by weeping," and Motif E361. "Return from the dead to stop weeping." The opening stanza concerning a couple

about to be married seems an echo from another song.

1. Baird and Waterman [Contributor 20]

"James Bird" (A5) is listed by Laws, Native American Balladry (pp. 121-22) in the 'War Ballads' category.

Belden (p. 296) notes that "James Bird" which dates from the 1812-1814 War, was composed and printed by Charles Miner in his own paper The Gleaner, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania in 1814.

This widely known American ballad appears as a cantefable in the Conche text which was learned by the singer in the 1930's from his paternal grandfather who was then over seventy years old.

O.J. Abbott performs the song on Songs of the Great Lakes, FM4018. For a detailed discussion of this ballad see J.A.F., XXXV; 380; N.Y.F.Q., VII, 1951, pp. 142-44, and K.F.Q., VI, 1961, pp. 3-17.

2. Western Rangers [Versions from Contributors 6, 7, 8, 12]

Laws, Native American Balladry (p. 123) lists "The Texas Rangers" as A8 in the 'War Ballad' section.

Text A and C were performed by women informants. The singer of Text A claimed that she had forgotten the final stanzas since she had not sung it for some time. The stanza which opens "A girl so (both) young and innocent" appears as Stanza 6 in text A and Stanza 3 in text B. Text B is similar to but not as extensive as the text published by Leach (p. 264) from Pinware, Labrador. Although the song is found throughout the United States (as shown by Laws), Leach's text was the first published from Canada. Edith Fowke (p. 58) states that this song is part of the repertory of one of her Ontario singers.

The Texas Rangers, organized about 1836 to protect the settlers of the southwest from the Indians, continued until the Civil War when they became part of the Confederate Army. See J.B. Gillet, Six Years with the Texas Rangers.

3. Young Monroe [Contributor 20]

Laws lists this lumberjack ballad as C1, "The Jam on Gerry's Rock", Native American Balladry (p. 147).

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Additional references to these given by Laws are: Dean (Minnesota, 25); Dorson (Maine, Archivist, VIII, 1965, p. 15); Dorson (Buying the Wind, 103-05); Greenleaf (Newfoundland, 331); Leach (Labrador, 256); Mackenzie (Nova Scotia, 367); Manny (New Brunswick, 115); and Peacock (Newfoundland, 752). Tom Brandon of Peterborough, Ontario sings this ballad on Lumbering Songs from the Ontario Shanties, Folkways FM4052.

This widely distributed ballad is found under such titles as "Foreman Young Monroe" and "The Jam at Garby's Rock" throughout the United States and Eastern Canada. John Lomax found it among the cowboys in the southwestern United States while Gavin Creig reported it from Scotland.

Fannie H. Eckstorm and Mary W. Smyth, "The Pursuit of a Ballad Myth" in The Minstrelsy of Maine (pp. 176-98) discuss some of the research of the origin of this ballad.

The ballad appeared a number of times in The Family Herald (published in Montreal) perhaps accounting for the text being so well known in Eastern Canada.

4. Harry Dunn [Contributor 5]

This lumberjack ballad is listed a C14 "Harry Dunn" or "The Hanging Limb" by Laws in Native American Balladry (p. 153). Eckstorm and Smyth feel that this ballad originated in Nova Scotia at the beginning of the twentieth century and spread out from that center to the New England States and the northern states of the United States, as well as Ontario and Newfoundland (Greenleaf, 329 has also reported versions). Martin Sullivan of Nassau, Ontario, performs this song on Lumbering Songs from Ontario, Folkways FM4052 and it is also in Mr. Oliver J. Abbott's repertory, Fowke (Ontario, 13). It was also recorded by Herbert Halpert and Neil V. Rosenberg from Mr. R. Taylor of Chamberlains, Newfoundland, on September 28, 1970.

5. Peter Emberley [Contributor 5]

"Peter Emberley", a lumberjack ballad, is listed as C27 in Laws Native American Balladry (p. 160). Under the titles "Peter Emberley", "Peter Amberley", "Peter Rambelay", and "Peter Hemberley", this song is widely known in Nova Scotia (Creighton, 303); New Brunswick (Manny, 160), and Newfoundland. It also has been collected in Maine and New Hampshire.

Wilmot MacDonald performs this song on Folksongs of Miramichi, Folkways FM4053. See Louise Manny, Songs of Miramichi (pp. 160-63) for a discussion of the background of

the song and a photograph of "John Calhoun, author of Peter Emberley".

The name Emberley in the above text may be a localization, as this surname appears in the community studied.

6. The 'Mary Ann' [Contributor 8]

This sea ballad is listed by Laws, Native American Balladry (pp. 171-72) as D22, "Bound Down to Newfoundland".

This song is confined to the Canadian Maritimes, especially Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.

Under such titles as "Newfoundland", "Bound Down to Newfoundland", "The Schooner Mary Ann", and "The Banks of Newfoundland", the song always has the common theme of a young captain dying of smallpox.

W. Roy Mackenzie (p. 228) notes the song as a Nova Scotian composition by Captain Cale White of Maitland, County Colchester.

7. Jealous Lover [Contributor 5]

This murder-ballad is listed as F1 "The Jealous Lover" (Florella, Floella) by Laws, Native American Balladry (p. 191).

Laws states that this song has been frequently found throughout the United States since the 1860's. It has been collected in Newfoundland (Leach, 262), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick (Manny, 235) and Ontario, appearing under many titles: "Fair Florella", "Blue Eyed Ellen", "Sweet Fair Ella", "The Jealous Lover of Lone Green Valley", and "The Jealous Lover."

The above text was learned from The Family Herald magazine but the singer claimed to put her own "air" [tune] to it.

See Laws, Native American Balladry, Chapter III, pp. 27-38.

8. Henry Green [Contributor 5]

"Henry Green" or "The Murdered Wife" is listed as F14 in Laws, Native American Balladry (p. 198).

This ballad has been reported throughout the United States (see Laws for geographical references) but the only

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published Canadian versions are from Newfoundland (Peacock, 624) and Labrador (Leach, 100).

L.C. Jones notes that the murder of Mary Wyatt took place in Berlin, Rensselaer County, New York in February of 1845. In the above text, the name appears as Miss Whitehead and there is no mention of Henry Green's being found guilty and sentenced to death.

See L.C. Jones, "The Berlin Murder Case in Folklore and Ballad", New York History (XVII, 1936, pp. 192-205), and Jones' article in the Bulletin, No. 12, pp. 14-18.

9. Marion Parker [Contributor 5]

Although this ballad has not been published from Canada, it appears in most major collections from the United States. This murder ballad is listed as F33, "Marian Parker", in Laws, Native American Balladry (pp. 207-08).

O.W. Burt, American Murder Ballads and Their Stories (1958, p. 64), states that Marian Parker, the twelve year old daughter of a Los Angeles banker, was murdered in December, 1927. William Edward Hickman was executed the next year for this deed.

The singer of the above text placed great emphasis upon the sadness of the child's murder and the moral in the last stanza.

10. Frozen Charlotte [Contributor 7]

Laws lists "Young Charlotte (Fair Charlotte)" as G17 in the 'Ballads of Tragedies and Disasters' section of Native American Balladry, p. 221. Although Laws cites no Canadian references, this ballad has been collected in Nova Scotia (Creighton, 328 and Mackenzie, 161) and Newfoundland (Greenleaf, 347 and Peacock, 735); Edith Fowke Traditional Singers and Songs of Ontario, 100, lists this song in Mrs. Gordon Clark's repertory.

Popular in Newfoundland as "Frozen Charlotte", the song has been collected at Parsons Pond (Peacock) and Bonne Bay (Greenleaf). After completing the above text, the singer noted that this song proved that girls should not be proud and should wear lots of warm clothes.

The wide geographical distribution of this ballad throughout the United States is shown by Laws' bibliography. Philips Barry gathered evidence to show that William Lorenzo Carter, a blind poet of Benson or Bensontown, Vermont, composed the song. Later, Barry stated that the song was written by

Seba Smith (1792-1868) and first published as "A Corpse Going to a Ball". Barry further concludes that an article in the New York Observer, February 8, 1840, concerning a girl who froze to death while riding with her escort to the New Year's Eve Ball on December 31, 1839, was the basis for the song. (Bulletin, No. 12, 1937, p. 27).

11. Old Number Nine [Contributor 6]

Laws (p. 225) lists G26, "The Wreck of Number Nine" in "Ballads of Tragedies and Disasters". D.K. Wilgus notes that this song composed by Carson J. Robinson, appeared on many phonograph records.

12. The Spaniard [Contributor 9]

"The Spaniard" is a version of H8 "The Little Mohea", Laws, Native American Balladry (pp. 233-34).

The local adaptation is explainable since Newfoundland sailors often visited Spain with cargoes of dried salt codfish. The Conche text has not been completely adapted since it retains "the cocoanut tree" (2.4) of the "Indian Lasse", but it does make reference to "Newfoundland" (5.3).

In addition to the references cited by Laws there are the following: An unpublished version from Newfoundland by Peacock (National Museum, 121-23); Fowke (Ontario, 148); Moore, 192; E. Henry, No. 835; Leach (Labrador, 258). Edith Fowke collected her text from a person who "was born on the south coast of Newfoundland" and "learned his songs there". Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive has Newfoundland versions of "The Lass of Bohee" from Pines Cove (C132, 64-17) and "The Little Mohee" from Lushes Bight (C303, 66-25).

For a discussion of the origin of the various versions see Barry, Bulletin, No. 6, pp. 15-18; and Kittredge (J.A.F., 1922, p. 408), and Leach (Labrador, p. 259).

The informant learned the song by "listening to a Blackmore from Wesleyville or up around there" sing it. This man visited Conche on a fishing schooner.

13. John Morrissey [Contributor 8]

Laws lists "Morrissey and the Black" as H19, in Native American Balladry (239) because the ballad has been reported from tradition only in America. The Canadian Maritimes and Maine are the areas from which this ballad has been collected.

Laws quotes Russell Crouse, author of Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives (New York, 1930), pp. 85-88, as saying that John Morrissey, who was born in Ireland in 1831 moved to Troy, New York as a boy. In 1852, he became a professional fighter and defeated John C. Heenan for the championship in 1860. After retiring from fighting, Morrissey made Saratoga Springs a famous gambling resort, and was twice elected to Congress. He died in 1878.

14. The Baggage Coach Ahead [Contributor 5]

Laws, Native American Balladry (p. 277), places this song in category 4 "Melodramatic and sentimental pieces, usually of professional origin". Texts and tunes are given by Pound, 131 and Randolph, IV, 163-65. This song was performed on record by Vernon Dalhart (Edison 51557); A.K. Storm (Folk Legacy FLA-18), and Ernest Thompson (Columbia, 216D) among others. Edith Fowke reports it as part of the repertory of one of her Ontario singers.

The song, written by Gussie L. Davis, a Negro resident of Kansas City appears to have developed from an actual incident of 1869. Randolph (IV: 163-164) discussed the background of this song. The informant claimed, "That's a nice song if you could sing it good".

15. Bonny Bunch of Roses O [Contributor 8]

"The Bonny Bunch of Roses", J5, appears in Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (p. 131), in the "War Ballad" category.

This ballad, popular in the early nineteenth century in England, Scotland and Ireland, has been reprinted in Wehman Brothers' Irish Song Book No. 1, which has been widely distributed in America. However, there are no published oral texts from the United States. The song has been collected in Newfoundland (Greenleaf, 170 and Peacock, 988) and in Nova Scotia (Creighton, 140 and Mackenzie, 188).

Peacock writes:

> The Napoleon of this song is the Emperor's son by his second marriage to Marie Louise of Austria. After his famous father abdicated in 1814, the allies refused to recognize his status as Napoleon II, and he was kept a virtual prisoner in the Austrian court at Vienna. His dreams of following his father's footsteps were never realized, for he died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-one.
>
> (Newfoundland, 989)

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A version of this song is also found in Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs (1780-1900) by George-Denis Zimmermann (p. 188).

16. Old Erin Far Away [Contributor 7]

Laws cites only one published text, collected in Nova Scotia (Creighton, 146). This text is given as J6 "Erin Far Away 1" in 'War Ballads' section of Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 131).

The informant claimed it was a First World War song.

17. Dennis Munroe [Contributor 8]

This is listed as J12 "Donald Munroe" by Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 134) in the 'War Ballads' category.

Mackenzie states: "A broadside containing this song (together with 'Napoleon's Farewell') was presented by James Wright, Edinburgh."

In America this ballad is chiefly found in the Maritime Provinces and the New England States. In addition to the references cited by Laws there are the following:

Hudson, No. 49; Rickaby, No. 51; Adventure Magazine, July 20, 1925, p. 191; J.A.F., XXV, 1; Leach (Labrador, 110) and Peacock (Newfoundland, 812).

This song is also known by such titles as: "Sons of Lord Bateman", "Daniel Munroe", "Donald Munroe", "The Sons of North Britain", "Munroe", and the English title of "Munroe's Tragedy".

The singer of the above text learned it from his father who came from Tilting Harbour. Apparently his father learned it while he was living at Tilting from a Harbour Grace man. This song was claimed by the informant as "The song I like best but I don't know why. It's the one I took a liken to."

18. The Croppy Boy [Contributor 20]

This song, J14, Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 135) is popular in the Irish tradition and has been collected in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Minnesota and Missouri.

Patrick Galvin, Irish Songs of Resistance (New York: The Folklore Press, 1956), p. 22 discusses the background of the song which apparently arose from one of the Wexford rebellions of 1798.

Additional references to these given by Laws: Huntington, 188; Colm O'Lochlainn, More Irish Street Ballads, 80; Fowke, Ontario 86; Waltons 132 Best Irish Songs, 11; Bradshaw, II, 214; IV, 326; V, 262; VI, 14 and Folk Legacy FSC 10 (Brandon).

The text is identical to O'Lochlainn, No. 41, pp. 82-83 except that stanzas 4 and 5 of the confession are interchanged. O'Lochlainn writes: "This version is the newer 'Croppy Boy' and was contributed to The Nation in 1845, by 'Carrole Malone' said to be Dr. James McBurney of Balfast" (p. 209). It is also found in Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs (1780-1900) by Georges-Denis Zimmermann (p. 228).

19. When The Battle It is Wom [Contributor 5]

Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 139) lists this song as J23 "When The Battle It Was Won (Young Jimmy and the Officer)," in the 'War Ballads' category.

Additional references to the two Maritime versions given by Laws are Newfoundland (Peacock, 994) and Prince Edward Island (Northeast Folklore, V: 1963, pp. 59-61).

20. Willie Boy [Contributor 10]

K12, "The Sailor Boy" is listed by Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (pp. 146-47).

This ballad widely distributed in North America, has also been reported from England and Ireland. Leach (Labrador, 46) collected a version of this song at Lance au Loup in June, 1960. It is often known by the titles: "Sweet William", "The Sailor Boy", "True Sailor Boy", "Sweet Willie" and "The Sailor's Trade" and was a popular broadside both in England and in America.

The last stanza (six) of the text is identical to the last stanza of "The Butcher Boy", which was also collected at Conche.

21. Sailor Boy [Contributor 5]

Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 147), lists "The Faithful Sailor Boy" as K13.

In addition to the two North Carolina references given by Laws, see: Manny (New Brunswick, 237), James R. Wilson (Miramichi 22: 66-67), Maine (Northeast Folklore, VII: 1965, pp. 66-69), and The Family Herald, 4/14/15, p. 5 and 116/54, p. 32. Edith Fowke (pp. 100 and 155) mentions it as part of

the repertory of two Ontario singers.

The informant learned this song from her mother who had previously learned it from an old male singer of the community.

22. Thomas and Nancy [Contributor 5]

K15 of Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 148), is "Thomas and Nancy" in the category of 'Ballads of Sailors and the Sea'.

This song appears only in the Newfoundland collections (Greenleaf, 114 and Peacock, 729) and the broadsides cited by Laws.

This text is similar to Peacock's variant B which he collected at Cape Broyle in 1951. The above text was learned about forty years ago from the singer's aunt who is now in her eighties.

23. A Gay Spanish Maid [Contributor 5]

Laws lists "The Gay Spanish Maid" as K16 in the 'Ballads of Sailors and the Sea' section of American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 148).

Laws indicated that it had been collected throughout the United States and in Nova Scotia but Leach (Labrador, 66) presents the first published version from Newfoundland. Edmund Henneberry and his daughter Sadie of Devil's Island, Nova Scotia perform this song on Folk Music from Nova Scotia, Folkways FM 4006. Fowke (Ontario) reports this song from the repertory of Oliver J. Abbott (p. 13) and Mrs. Gordon Clarke (p. 100).

MacEdward Leach believes this is an American ballad since he could find no European versions of it. Malcolm Laws assumes the ballad is British because of internal evidence.

24. Susie Strayed the Briny Beach [Contributor 5]

In the category 'Ballads of Sailors and the Sea' Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (p. 149) gives K19 "Susan Strayed the Briny Beach".

This ballad has been collected in Newfoundland by Greenleaf (p. 206) at Rocky Harbour and Fortune Harbour, and by Leach (p. 78) at Sandy Cove.

Leach states: "This song appears only in America, and only in Newfoundland" (p. 79). Leach's text (p. 78) is more

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detailed than that of the above contributor.

The informant claimed this was a very old song which she learned from her mother.

25. The Flying Cloud [Contributor 8]

K28 "The Flying Cloud" is listed by Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (pp. 154-155) under the category 'Ballads of Sailors and the Sea'.

This widely collected ballad from the United States is also popular in Newfoundland (Greenleaf, 349; Leach, 156; and Peacock, 842). In addition to the references cited by Laws, texts appear in H. Beck, 246-251; Botkin, II: 845-47; Elmore Vincent, Lumberjack Songs, pp. 54-55, and Northeast Folklore, VIII; 1966, pp. 35-37. Edith Fowke (13, 84, 146) notes this song as part of the repertory of three of her Ontario informants.

MacEdward Leach (Labrador, 158) feels that there were originally two separate ballads--a pirate ballad and a slaving ballad which were combined and given the title, "The Flying Cloud". "The Flying Cloud", built in 1851, became famous for her quick voyage between New York and San Francisco around Cape Horn. Perhaps a pirate ship and a slave ship bore this same name.

Further discussion of this ballad is given by Horace Beck, The Folklore of Maine (pp. 246-51), and Beck's article in the J.A.F. 66: 123-33.

26. Boston Burglar [Contributor 5]

This ballad with its moralizing theme is listed as L16B of Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 175). This very popular song is found from Labrador to Florida as Laws indicates, and it has also been collected in England and Ireland.

In addition to the references cited by Laws, the following texts have been collected: Creighton (Nova Scotia, 206); J.F.S.S. (18: 85); Leach (Labrador, 254); Ives (Maine, Northeast Folklore, VIII: 1966, p. 42); Paul G. Brewster, Ballads and Songs of Indiana, pp. 223-25; and Sam Henry, Songs of the People, No. 202 gives a north of Ireland version called "Boston City".

27. Johnny Doyle [Contributor 1]

M2 "Johnny Doyle" is listed by Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (pp. 180-81) in the "Ballads of Family Opposition to Lovers'" category.

This ballad which is part of the general Anglo-American, as well as the English and Irish traditions, was described by Phillips Barry as a secondary form of "Lord Salton and Auchanachie" (Child 239).

Additional references to these cited by Laws: Leach (Labrador, 64); Peacock (Newfoundland, 687); and Prince Edward Island (Northeast Folklore, V: 1963, pp. 17-19). Edith Fowke reports this song as part of the repertory of two Ontario singers.

The informant learned this song from her father.

28. Willie Rielly [Contributor 8]

In American Balladry From British Broadsides, Laws lists "William (Willie) Riley", M10 in the section 'Ballads of Family Opposition to Lovers' (pp. 184-85).

In addition to references cited by Laws, texts appear in Trifet's Monthly Budget of Music, No. 15, 180 (no music); O'Conor, 86; Leach (Labrador, 328) and Charles G. Duffy, Ballad Poetry of Ireland (Dublin, 1845), 244.

The song which is based on events occurring in Northern Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century served as a basis for William Carleton's novel William Riley. See Leach (Labrador, p. 329), and Joyce, Old Irish Folk Music and Song, p. 230. The informant sings sixteen stanzas and then breaks into prose narrative with the remainder of the ballad.

29. On the Banks of Sweet Dundee [Contributors 1 and 5]

"The Banks of Dundee" or "Undaunted Mary", M25 is listed by Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (p. 192), in the 'Ballads of Family Opposition to Lovers' category.

A further discussion of this ballad is given by Kittridge (J.A.F., XXXV, 1922), p. 355.

This ballad has been collected throughout the United States, Labrador (Leach, 60), Nova Scotia (Mackenzie, 84, and Creighton and Senior, 128); and Edith Fowke (p. 58), reports it as part of one of her Ontario informant's repertory.

Most versions of this song tell of Mary sending for William and of their marriage.

30. Thomas Town [Contributor 5]

Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (pp. 212-13) lists this "Ballad of Lovers' Disguises and Tricks" as N20, "The Golden Glove".

Additional references to these given by Laws are: A Guide To English Folk Song Collections, p. 69; Peacock (Newfoundland, 340); Trifet's Monthly Budget of Music, No. 15, p. 171 and Edith Fowke (Ontario) reports it as part of the repertory of O.J. Abbott (p. 13 and FM4051, A. Simms, p. 146 and Mrs. Gordon Clarke, p. 100).

Kittredge in J.A.F., XXIX: p. 172 states that this popular eighteenth century English ballad was published as an American broadside in the early nineteenth century and is in the Harvard College Library, 25 242. 5. 10 (211).

The ballad has been collected under the titles: "Waistcoat and Britches", "Dog and Gun", "The Young Farmer", "The Squire of Tamworth", and the above text of "Thomas Town".

31. The Mantle of Green [Contributor 7]

G. Malcolm Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (pp. 222-23), lists this song as N38 in the 'Ballads of Lovers' Disguises and Tricks' category.

Additional references to these cited by Laws: New Brunswick (Manny, 285); Nova Scotia (Mackenzie, 182); Prince Edward Island (Northeast Folklore, V: 1963, pp. 28-31); Labrador (Leach, 312); Carrie Grover, A Heritage of Songs, 109; Gale Huntington, Songs the Whalemen Sang, 122-23; John Ord, The Bothy Songs and Ballads, 155-56 and James R. Wilson (New Brunswick, 28 and 78-79). Edith Fowke (Ontario, 58) reports this song as one of Mrs. Arlington Fraser's repertory.

Mrs. Marie Hare of Strathadam performs this song on Folksongs of the Miramichi, Folkways FM4053 and Folk Legacy FSC-9 (1962).

This ballad is also known by the titles: "Willie O'Reilly", "Famed Waterloo" and "Round Her Mantle So Green".

The informant learned this song by someone "just wordin' it out".

32. The Banks of Claudie [Contributor 5]

Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (pp. 223-24) lists N40, "The Banks of Claudy" in the 'Ballads of Lovers' Disguises and Tricks' category.

This song has been recorded in the United States, Scotland, Ireland and Nova Scotia (Mackenzie, 185) and Edith Fowke, Traditional Singers and Songs from Ontario, notes that it occurs in the repertory of Mrs. Arlington Fraser (p. 58) and Mrs. Gordon Clarke (p. 100).

There are no published versions from Newfoundland and Labrador.

The contributor heard this song when she was twelve or thirteen years old but she was fourteen or fifteen years old when she first sang in public at a wedding. "You'd hear a song and get the air to it, and then sometimes someone who knows it would write it down. You wouldn't be able to sing it if you didn't know the air of it and you couldn't remember 'em."

The songs which would be asked to be sung and which the informant liked best to sing were: "The Dying Girls' Message", "Thomas and Nancy", and "Susie Strayed the Briny Beach".

33. Sailor Boy [Contributor 10]

"Pretty Fair Maid" N42 is listed by Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (pp. 224-25) in the category 'Ballads of Lovers' Disguises and Tricks'.

As Laws' references indicate this song is known from the Canadian Maritimes to Florida under such titles as "The Broken Ring", "The Broken Token", and "The Maiden in the Garden".

34. Young Henry [Contributor 5]

Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 244) lists 037 "The Silvery Tide" in the 'Ballads of the Faithful Lovers' category.

This ballad, which was collected in Eastern Northern America has also been reported from England and Scotland. Additional texts to these cited by Laws, include: Grover, pp. 9-10; Huntington, pp. 125-27; and a text from Prince Edward Island (Northeast Folklore, V: 1963, pp. 72-75).

Sam Jagoe performs this song on Miramichi and Its Folksong Festival, Folkways, FM4053.

35. The Sailor [Contributor 8]

This ballad of a faithful lover is listed by Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 246) as O41 "The Constant Lovers".

Also known as "A Sailor Courted" and "The Sailor Boy" these are the only published texts from the Canadian Maritimes.

To the writer's knowledge this is the first printed text of this song from Newfoundland.

36. Nancy [Contributor 21]

This ballad of an unfaithful lover is Pl "Nancy 1" in Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (p. 254). The only published versions of this song are from the Canadian Maritimes: Nova Scotia (Creighton and Senior, 189) and New Brunswick (Manny, 254).

37. False Lover [Contributor 5]

An almost identical version of this song was collected from Contributor 10 under the title "Laying On Another Man's Pillow." Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 264), lists this song in 'Ballads of Unfaithful Lovers' category as P31 "The Nobleman's Wedding" (The Faultless Bride; The Love Token). This ballad has been collected extensively and under various titles in Newfoundland: "The Nobleman's Wedding" at Fortune Harbour (Greenleaf, 155) and Cape Broyle (Peacock, 691); "The Green Willow Tree" at Parsons Pond (Peacock, 693); "The Green Willow" at Ferryland (Peacock, 695); and "The Wedding" at St. Paul's (Peacock, 697). The song has also been collected from oral tradition in both North America, England and Ireland.

Both of the texts collected at Conche are "about a young girl who slighted her first true love".

38. Beneath The Old Oak Tree [Contributor 6]

"The Old Oak Tree" (P37) is listed by Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 270) in the 'Ballads of Unfaithful Lovers' category. This murder ballad of Irish origin ". . . the earliest record of it in print is an Irish broadside in the Boston Public Library" (Flanders-Barry, p. 77) is chiefly found in North America: Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Vermont, Maine and Michigan. Greenleaf and Mansfield collected a version of this song in Newfoundland under the title "Squire Nathaniel and Betsy" (p. 116). In addition to the Laws' references versions of this ballad have

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been collected at Cape Broyle, Newfoundland (Peacock, 628) and Lance au Loup and Lance au Clair, Labrador (Leach, 52 and 54). The other Newfoundland and Labrador versions have "eight long days," and the surname is "Nathaniel", whereas in this text it is "six long weary days" and "McCollion". The text from Michigan lists "Squire McCullogh" as the surname, while the text from Vermont has "Squire McCallam".

39. Butcher Boy [Contributor 12]

Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 260) lists P24 "The Butcher Boy" as a ballad found throughout the United States, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Great Britain and Ireland. Edith Fowke (Ontario, 100) notes this song as part of the repertory of Mrs. Gordon Clarke.

Apparently the song is combined from several broadsides ballads. H.N. Belden, Ballads and Songs (201-203) gives texts, historical background and references.

The last stanza, six, is identical with the last stanza of a version of "Willie Boy" which was also collected at Conche.

40. London City [Contributor 20]

The informant learned this song from his grandfather. Listed as P30 "Oxford City" by Laws (pp. 263-54), this song has been collected extensively in the Eastern North America.

41. Father Tom [Contributor 8]

The above text known by the singer as "Father Tom" or "The Widow" is listed as Q25, "Tom O'Neill", by Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (p. 285). The only published version of this ballad from North America was collected in Nova Scotia (Creighton, 187). It is found in the Irish tradition, and Laws has a listing of its appearance in the Irish songsters, for example, O'Conor, p. 8.

42. Erin's Green Shore [Contributor 5]

"Erin's Green Shore" appears as Q27 in the "Humorous and Miscellaneous Ballads" category of Laws, American Balladry From British Broadsides (p. 286).

Greenleaf (p. 143) noted the wide distribution of this song on English broadsides and in the songsters. It has appeared in collections from the United States (Belden, 282; and Randolph 1, 324); Nova Scotia (Creighton, 171); and Newfoundland (Greenleaf, 142). Fowke (Ontario, 100) lists this as one of Mrs. Gordon Clarke's repertory.

It is also found in Georges-Denis Zimmermann's Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs (1780-1900), p. 178.

Laws' summary has the girl "come to awaken her country men," while this text is more specific . . . "I came to awaken my brother". Stanzas 5 and 6 have been interchanged in Text A and B without altering the meaning of either text.

The texts, like all songs in Conche which mention Ireland or the Irish, were sung with strong patriotic feeling.

43. Lakes of Goldfin [Contributor 3]

"The Lakes of Cool Finn" or "Willie Leonard" is listed as Q33 in Laws, American Balladry from British Broadsides (p. 289).

Although there is no published text from Canada (Leach's manuscript has a version from Newfoundland) this song has appeared in collections from Vermont and Maine.

See Laws for broadsides and songster references.

44. The Drunkard's Dream [Contributor 3]

Laws, Native American Balladry (p. 279) notes that "The Drunkard's Dream" has been traced to British Broadsides. A version of this song was collected in Fortune Harbour, Newfoundland by Greenleaf (p. 151) in 1929. For bibliographical references see Greenleaf, p. 152; Cox, p. 398. Edith Fowke (Ontario, 12 and 58) states it as part of the repertory of two Ontario singers.

One of the audience claimed of this song: "That's a thousand years old".

45. The Old Man [Contributors 5 and 7]

This song, chiefly known as "The Irish Patriot" appears in Horace B. Beck, The Folklore of Maine, pp. 93-95; and Northeast Folklore (Folk Songs of Maine, VII: 1965), pp. 80-84. Beck notes that this ballad did not appear in printed collections prior to his book.

The above texts were sung by female informants.

Version A (The Old Man) and version B (The Lofty Pines) were learned by different informants from a sister and brother respectively.

Contributor 5 claimed, "I didn't hear it very often. If I heard anyone singin' a song, I could learn it after a couple of times. Once you get the air of the song, then you wouldn't be long pickin' it up. You'd pick it up fast."

46. O Nancy from England [Contributor 4]

Well-known and popular in Newfoundland, this song has been collected at Barr'd Island, Rose Blanche, and St. Paul's (Peacock) and at Sally's Cove and Bonavista (Greenleaf).

For additional texts see Greenleaf (Newfoundland, 73-75); Hammond (Folk Songs From Dorset, Book 1 of Sharp's, Folk-Songs of England, 20-21); Harvard College Library, 453; O'Conor Irish Come All-Ye's, 52; Peacock, Newfoundland, 568; Sharp, MS. (Appalachian).

It is also known by the titles: "Lovely Nancy From England", "Tall Grow the Rushes", and "Nancy From London".

47. The Drunken Captain [Contributor 10]

In addition to this text, an identical text was collected from Contributor 5 (female). Each contributor claimed to have learned the song orally from a different source and not to have heard the other Contributor sing it.

Versions have been collected in Newfoundland by Peacock (871), and Leach (40) while Helen Creighton (1966, 230) has collected this song in Nova Scotia under the title "In Canso Strait". It appears that the song was composed in the Maritimes and usually occurs with localized place-names.

Contributor 5 learned the song by hearing a man from Grey Islands sing it. Grey Islands is twelve miles off the coast from Conche.

48. Johnny Burke [Contributor 8]

This nineteenth century Irish lament was collected by Kenneth Peacock at Seal Cove, White Bay in June, 1960 (p. 467). Peacock was unable to find any references to this song in the Irish collections at his disposal.

49. Pat O'Donnell [Contributor 12]

Versions of this song appear in Manny (Miramichi, 274); Leach (Labrador, 122); O'Lochlainn (Irish Street Ballads, 210); and Edith Fowke (p. 13) reports it as part of the repertory of one of her Ontario singers. The fact that this ballad appeared in The Family Herald accounts perhaps for its prevalence in Eastern Canada.

It is also found in Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs by Georges-Denis Zimmermann (p. 284).

Pat O'Donnell murdered James Carey on the "S.S. Melrose" while bound from Ireland to Cape Town. O'Donnell's case caused international repercussions. He was executed on December 17, 1883. Leach (Labrador, p. 123) gives an interesting historical background to this song.

50. The Maid of Sweet Corteen [Contributor 7]

"The Maid of Sweet Gartheen" appears in Colm O'Lochlainn, Irish Street Ballads (p. 44) and in Irish songsters (O'Conor, p. 31).

The ballad author's name has appeared as Johnny O'Rielly (O'Lochlainn), John O'Brien (Peacock) and John O'Neill in the text. O'Neill is a surname found at Conche; thus this text gives evidence of localization.

A version of this song was recorded by Peacock (Newfoundland) at Codroy in July, 1960.

Edith Fowke (Ontario, 13) reports it as one of Oliver John Abbott's repertory.

The informant recognized that another male singer of the community who sang this song had "the same air but the words he used in it were different."

51. The Rosy Banks of Green [Contributor 12]

Three published versions of this song have been collected in Newfoundland: Leach (Pinware, Labrador, 326) and Peacock (Stock Cove, Bonavista Bay, 701 and Belburnes, 702).

E. Fowke, Traditional Singers and Songs of Ontario (p. 13) reports it as one of Oliver John Abbott's repertory.

52. John Bull [Contributor 8]

This song has a similar motif (Motif K66 'Dream Contests' and Type 1626) as the folktale in which there is a dreaming contest and the winner gets the food.

Versions of this song appear under the title of "Paddy MaGee's Dream" p. 72 in Six Hundred and Seventeen Irish Songs and Ballads (New York: Wehman Bros., n.d.) and Irish Come-All-Ye's compiled by Manus O'Conor (New York: The Popular Publishing Company, 1901), p. 99. Also see "The 'Dream Bread' Story Once More" by Archer Taylor, J.A.F., Vol. XXXIV, 1921, pp. 327-28.

53. Ditty About the Ram [Contributor 5]

The singer of this text learned it by hearing the collector's paternal grandmother singing it for children about forty years ago.

This is known locally as a "ditty" because it is humourous. It was only sung to keep children quiet or to put them to sleep. However, Ivor Gatty, "The Old Tup and its Ritual" Journal of the English Folksong Society, Vol. 5, pp. 23-30 shows that this song is related to the mummering plays, where the story of the ballad was acted out by four or six people while each sang a part of the song.

"The Darby Ram", of English origin, has been reported from England, Scotland, Ireland and many parts of the United States including a Negro version from Texas.

For additional texts see: Belden, F.S.M., 221-25; Brown, North Carolina, II, 439-40; J. Colcord, Roll and Go, 68; Dean-Smith, Guide, 63; Ford, Vagabond Songs, 124-125; G. Greig, Folksongs of the North-east, I, 53-54; Hugill, 437; O.D.N.R., 145-46; Peacock, Newfoundland, 10-11; Songs of the Outports of Newfoundland, Ethnic Folkway Library, FE 4075, and Randolph, I, 398.

54. A River Driver [Contributor 10]

The singer of this text learned it by listening to his brother, who had worked in the lumbering camps of Central and Northern Newfoundland.

A version of this song titled "The River Driver's Lament" (Peacock, 759) was collected in Searston, the Codroy Valley of Newfoundland, in July, 1959.

55. Save Your Money When You're Young, You'll Need It When You're Old [Contributor 9]

Although rare on the North American continent, "Save Your Money When You're Young", has been reported by E.C. Beck (Michigan, 95), Finger (Texas, 138), Fowke (Ontario, 134), Peacock (Newfoundland, National Museum, 801-811), and Rickaby (Michigan, 39). This song is also performed by O.J. Abbott on Irish and British Songs From the Ottawa Valley, Folkways, FM 4051.

Most versions of this song are specific in referring to lumbering but this text is general--"working men". In Conche, the song is sung and enjoyed chiefly for the message: "Save your money when you're young, you'll need it when you're old".

56. Napoleon [Contributor 8]

"Napoleon's Farewell to Paris" has been collected in Newfoundland at Fortune Harbour (Greenleaf, 167) and at Tilting (Peacock, 1009).

Edith Fowke, Traditional Singers and Songs From Ontario (p. 13), reports this song in the repertory of Oliver J. Abbott.

The two Newfoundland texts were collected from Irish-Roman Catholics communities. The fact that Napoleon almost defeated the English, making him an Irish folk hero, perhaps indirectly explains this song's popularity.

57. The Dying Girl's Message [Contributor 5]

"The Dying Girl's Message" appears in H.M. Belden (Missouri, 271); Randolph (Ozarks, IV: 168) and as No. 761 in Wehman's ballads, copyrighted in 1885.

H.M. Belden wrote of this song: ". . . I have not found it recorded in any collection of folk-song, probably because it is so patently a piece of 'literary' sentiment. One wonders whether it was suggested by Tennyson's "May Queen"; or whether some earlier form of it prompted Tennyson" (p. 217).

This song was learned by the contributor about thirty-five years ago from a male resident of the community. Since it was a very popular song at that time, she memorized it from a written version.

58. Brave Ann O'Neil [Contributor 5]

This song utilizes the "Maid Freed From the Gallows" motif (Coffin, 91-94). Similar versions have been collected by Belden; Davis, Traditional Ballads Virginia and V. Randolph. Perhaps the song was popular in Conche because the surname O'Neill exists in the community.

59. The Threshing Machine [Contributor 12]

James Reeves (ed.), The Idiom of the People lists No. 100, "The Threshing Machine", pp. 206-207. Sharp's unpublished manuscript appears to be the only source of this song. The threshing machine was invented in the late eighteenth century and came into popular use in the nineteenth century. This men's song has sexual connotations and would not be sung for a mixed audience. Another title is "Sweet Molly McGee".

60. I Had a Home out in Texas [Contributor 5]

Although the informant claimed to have learned this song from another community resident it was probably originally learned from radio or phonographs. John Greenway, "Folk Song Discography" Western Folklore, Vol. XXI, 1962, p. 73, lists one of Jimmy Rodger's songs as No. 57, "Mother, the Queen of my heart". A version of this song was also reported by Vance Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, Vol. IV, pp. 376-77.

61. While Jogging Along [Contributor 21]

A version of this song has been recorded by Charlie McKinnon, a Cape Breton singer, "Free and Easy White Joggin' Along" (Arc, A-731).

Twas of my rambling, I'm going to sing,
Just like the red birds all in the spring,
When a man gets married, he's race is runned
I'll be free and easy while jogging along.

62. The Midnight Express [Contributor 5]

This U.S. song was perhaps learned from a hillbilly record. Arnold Keith Storm of Mooresville, Indiana performs a version of this song on Folk-Legacy Records, FSA-18 under the title of "Jim Blake, Your Wife is Dying". It also appears in Weep Some More, My Lady, p. 139, Read 'em and Weep by Sigmund Spaeth and Shay's More Pious Friends and Drunken Companions also has a version of this song.

63. I'll Spilt the Waves that Rolls Mountains High [Contributor 5]

H.M. Belden, Ballads and Songs notes that this song goes back at least as far as the seventeenth century and was found in much of the Southern United States. It also appears under the title "Early, Early in the Spring."

64. One Lovely Night In Summer [Contributor 4]

A soldier before leaving for war, promises to wear a picture of his girlfriend next to his heart. Six weeks later, he was shot in battle and his comrade found the addressed picture returned to tell the soldier's girlfriend.—

One lonely night in summer before he went away
A soldier took his sweetheart's hand and this
to her did say,
"The inside of my true---- got lately tucked inside
There is a picture of a girl I love, my darling
own sweet heart.

65. The Roses Bloom Again [Contributor 4]

This may be a First World War sentimental hillbilly song which is also known by the title "Old Lang Syne".

Before leaving for war, a soldier's girlfriend promises to meet him by a specific river; but the soldier never returns as he is killed in battle.

In some foreign and distant country boys,
some foreign and distant river;
Stood a soldier and his sweetheart stout and true,
Their heads were bent in sorrow, they were thinking
on tomorrow,
When she pinned a rose into his coat of blue.

66. Here Love, Is a Letter [Contributor 5]

As a soldier lies dying in the trenches, he writes his girlfriend, Maggie, telling of his suffering and expresses his love both for her and his native land.

Here love, is a letter, 'tis the last one I'll send,
Now, love, our correspondence is now to an end,
I was wounded in battle, no surgeon can cure,—
And the wounds I received love, are hard to endure.

67. Dying Rebel [Contributor 6]

This may be an Irish Rebel song of 1916-1921. The love of Ireland is the chief theme.

The night was dark and the battle ended,
The moon shone down through Collins Street,
I stood alone where brave men parted,
Never more again to speak.

68. No local title [Contributor 5]

This murder song (dated January 18, 1864) shows the effect of a son's murder upon his parents.

Come all ye young men, I hope pay attention,
And listen to the few words, I have lately penned,
Giving up . . . . . conversation,
See what happened to a young man by following a friend.

69. Young Johnson [Contributor 5]

A condemned criminal tells his story and asks forgiveness of the world.

My name it is young Johnson
And cruel is my fate.
Not one on earth my life can save
My crime it is so great.

70. Willie Gillard [Contributor 8]

Gillard murdered his girlfriend, Mary Toope and threw her body in a river. For this deed, he was condemned to the gallows.

Now Willie Gillard was his name,
His mother's home and joy,
She reared him up so tenderly
And did a mother's heart,
But never dreamed the time was near
That he would break her heart.

71. No local title [Contributor 5]

This song told about a widow, and her child. It shows the tragedy she encountered when her husband tried to save his father from drowning.

One evening in June as I carelessly rambled,
I saw through the evening when calm was the sea.
I overheard a fair one with sad lamentation,
I'm afraid my tender Jimmy, I'll never see you no more.

72. One Leaf of a Rose [Contributor 7]

A widow relates to her son the importance of the faded rose leaf she holds. It is a leaf from the rose which she gave her husband as he left for work on the morning that he was killed.

When I was a child I remembered one day
As I sat on my dear mother's knee,
I asked her why she sighed when the rose she spied,
"I'll tell you the story," said she.

73. Greenwood Laddie [Contributor 2]

A girl falls in love with a poor boy. Her parents object to her plan to marry.

As I rowed out in Forteau one fine summer's evening,
Scarcely I strayed by the banks of the Lee.
I spied a fair female in sorrow complaining.
Twas all for the loss of the Greenwood Laddie.

74. Henry Connors [Contributor 3]

Henry tells how the father of his girlfriend was against his daughter's marriage. Their plan of eloping to Scotland discovered by Mary's father who had Henry thrown in jail.

My name is Henry Connors from the sweet town of Dustan,
The village I'll never put eyes on again,
I'm transported for life in the eyes of my vicar,
Which caused my old parents to blush for my shame.

75. No local title [Contributor 8]

Mary Ann was imprisoned in a dungeon by her father because she was in love with the servant man. Edmond freed his loved one from prison and stayed there himself. The father was overcome by the servant's kindness, so he approved of the marriage and bestowed much riches upon the couple.

The lady was fair and handsome,
These words being true, as I have been told.
Near the banks of Shannon, he loved to mention
Her father owned a large store of gold.

76. Galway Town [Contributor 10]

When Johnny refuses to marry a rich man's daughter, she threatens sucide and promises to haunt him as a ghost. They eloped but the bride's father was displeased and placed Johnny in prison. His wife gained his liberty and they became rich by owning one-half of Galway Town.

Now near the town of Sligo, I longed to where she's
dwelled,
My mother, she's a widow and she keeps a flour mill.
Thank God, she reared me tenderly having no child
but me
Till I became a strappin' man at the age of twenty-three.

77. Aunt Louise [Contributor 9]

An orphan, upon falling in love with a sailor, was forced to leave her aunt's home. While crying on her mother's grave, her sailor lover arrived and proposed marriage. A week after her marriage, her Aunt Louise died and Annie offered a prayer for her.

Come all ye good people and listen to my song,
It's only a few short verses and it won't delay me long,
Concerning the sorrow I had to go
When I was forced out in the world to suffer with the cold.

78. The Married Girl's Trouble [Contributor 5]

A wife of nine years complains about the problems of her married life and advises against marriage. The informant claimed to have learned this song from one of the summer fishermen who came to Conche from Notre Dame Bay. There are many versions of married girls' laments, for example, S. Spaeth, Read 'em And Weep, pp. 26-27; and V. Randolph Ozark Folksongs, pp. 69-70, but I was unable to find a parallel version to this one.

For nine long years I was married,
And I wished I'd been an old maid,
My husband is so lazy,
And he won't work at his trade.

79. The Girl In the Night [Contributors 2 and 5]

Two versions of this text were collected. Contributor 2 claimed that the audience "thought this was a nice song and they liked it". A girl was on her way to visit her lover. She met a woman who claimed that this same man had also promised to marry her but had left her.

A girl one day was on her way, her fond sweet heart to meet,
One she always thought was fond and true
Till a woman with a pale worn face had met her on the way,
And this is what she to this young girl said.

80. Young Flora and Me [Contributor 10]

The shepherd boy proposes marriage to Flora. She claims they are too young for marriage and they both agree to work until they are twenty-one. After six months, Flora refuses to marry the shepherd.

As I did rove out on one evening in spring,
For to hear the birds whistle and that nightingale sing,
There was me and my Flora,
Young Flora and me.

81. No local title [Contributors 6 and 9]

Two versions of this song were collected. The parents of a young man prevent him from marrying the girl of his choice. He later murdered his wife and is condemned to the gallows.

When I was young and in my prime like many the
young man,
I fell in love with a pretty fair maid, she had
my heart quite won.
T'was most dearly she loved me and the same she
never denied,
Till she disowned her parents down by the river side.

82. Kaiser on the Phone [Contributor 4]

The informant learned this song from oral tradition when he was a teenager. The audience laughed while a description of Kaiser Bill's war activities is given in his telephone conversation with the devil who offers Bill his job of running Hell. There are songs about Kaiser Bill but I was unable to find a parallel version to this one.

Now there answer was a Kaiser called the devil
on the telephone one day,
The central girl was listening for what they had to say,
For oft she heard the Kaiser say, "Tis dear old
Kaiser Bill,
Tell him it is the Kaiser that wants him on the phone.

83. No local title [Contributor 5]

The informant considered this "a youngster's song" and it was sung to children "when you were putting them asleep". This song comments upon children's activities.

In the children's schoolroom, a boy stands to view,
"Teacher, Nellie's making faces at you",
"Nellie," said the teacher, "when school is done,
Then a first class spanking I will reward you for
your fun."

84. The Drunken Squabble [Contributor 8]

Like No. 83, this is also a song to entertain children. During the collecting it was sung in the presence of adults, who responded with laughter.

Now there was a fight not long ago,
Down in the kitchen here below,
And I'll tell ye now how come to fray,
Where the broom stood in the dish cloth's way.

85. Best of Friends Must Part [Contributor 5]

This lyric gives warning "that the best of friends must part" using the examples of a soldier, close friend, sailor and a lover. The informant learned the song from an oral source in the community, when she was fourteen or fifteen years old.

I'm going for to sing a song,
It's a subject of my own,
That the best of friends must part some day,
At least so I am told.

86. My Mother Told Me So [Contributor 5]

Like No. 85, this song gives warning to a child of the realities of life. There will be temptations, falsehoods and deception. The main advice is that one should help the needy and the poor, and above all be honest.

There's a maxim that was told to me by mother dear,
When in childhood I was seated on her knee.
She told me that a rolling stone gathers little moss,
And many kind advice she gave to me.

87. Three Loaves of Bread [Contributor 5]

Mary MaCall, a sixteen year old, is charged with stealing three loaves of bread. When it was learned that she stole to feed her starving brothers and sisters she was forgiven.

She stood at the bar of justice, a creature one and all,
In form too small for a woman, in features too old
for a child,
With looks so warm and passionate she held her fair
young face,
Though long years of suffering had left a silent trace.

88. The Virgin Mary's Bank [Contributor 8]

A version of this song is found in Manus O'Conor Irish Come-All-Ye's (1901), p. 77.

What resembled a kneeling virgin appeared before the storm which sank a ship. The location of the sinking had been renamed from Ida Green to Virgin Mary's Bank.

Oh, the evening star rose beautiful
And bright and clear once more,
And to our lone and silent bridge,
A Virgin came to pray.

89. No local title [Contributor 9]

The conductor while putting a hobo off his train recognizes him as his long, lost son.

Up speaks the brave conductor to put me off his train,
He says, "You are a rambler, a rambler yes, by name,"
I looked at him and said, "Sir, if you'll just let me explain,
I'm sure you won't object in me a-riding on your train."

90. Way Down South [Contributor 4]

This song, like most of the singer's repertory was learned while working atlumbering camps or "from the lumberwoods."

The song praises a wife, Nellolee.

Way down south among the shady maple tree
There dwells a dark haired maiden, she's my darling Nellolee
She is as fair as any star that ever shined.

91. No local title [Contributor 5]

This tragic romance song may be based upon a hillbilly performance.

The man regretfully left his sweetheart when he saw her kissing another man. Later, a stranger, who claimed to be the brother of his lover, informed him that it was he who was embracing his sister. His sister never understood why her boyfriend went away and she died a few weeks later.

In the heart of old Tennessee Hills,
Beneath the peaceful pines, near the rocks and the rills,
There lies my old home of long, long ago,
Which bring back fond memories of the one that I love so.

92. Making Complaints to the Moon [Contributor 8]

This song resembles the nineteenth century popular song "Roll on Silvery Moon" referred to by Mark Twain. Complaints about the death of her lover are made by a girl to the moon.

As I strayed from my cottage at the close of the day,
About the beginning of June,
E'er I stood by a shade, there I spied a fair maid,
And she was complaining to the moon.

VI

STORIES AND STORY TELLING: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NEIGHBOURHOODS

"These Old Irish Whims About Spirits and Fairies"

In the old days, story telling was almost equal in importance to singing as entertainment in Conche. It was still an active tradition in some neighbourhoods when I was growing up there (1950-60). The local people recognized and associated certain neighbourhoods with specific narrative genres. However, as with singing, the people of these neighbourhood groups were not the only ones who knew and would tell such stories. The point I am stressing is that the community tradition still ascribes skill in a specific genre to a neighbourhood group.

The major groupings of stories that I have found in Conche are the following:

1. Personal experiences or memorates.
2. Tales concerning the French fishermen.
3. Tales of buried treasure. And
4. Tales of the supernatural.

The latter can be divided in three sub-groups: stories of ghosts, of devils and witches, and of fairies.

Personal experiences or memorates were told by people from all neighbourhoods, but as I shall explain later, such reminiscences were representative of a specific neighbourhood. Historical legends about the French fishermen and to a lesser extent tales of buried treasure were also locally recognized as the specialty of one neighbourhood group. In the case of stories about ghosts, the neighbourhood which the local people recognized or spoke of as "the people for the ghosts" rarely told such stories publicly. At least I was unable to collect examples of this folklore genre from that named group. But the fact that this neighbourhood group did manifest belief in ghosts is discussed later. The examples of such ghost stories that are included in this discussion were actually recorded from people of neighbourhoods other than the one which had the reputation. Unlike the preceding categories which were told publicly by men, my last categories of stories involving devils and witches, and stories of fairies, fall into the domain of the private or family performance of the woman's world. Such stories are used at least as much for their moralistic and disciplinary values, as for the entertainment of children. Perhaps it is because women go to live in their husband's neighbourhoods, there is no locally recognized neighbourhood group for these two sub-categories of narrative; at any rate they are apparently rarely told by men.

All the stories discussed in this paper were collected from people fifty years of age and older. The few stories

which I heard told by younger people related only their personal experiences and are not included in this study. The stories were recorded on tape, in most cases at the homes of the contributors, and were transcribed to obtain accurate and literal texts. Most of these stories came in response to such questions as: Do you remember the French? Did you ever hear any of the old people tell stories about the French/ buried treasure/ghosts/devils/or fairies? This latter question was particularly successful in eliciting many unexpected and passive traditions of Conche.

I should emphasize that of these various narrative categories which I collected in 1968, the only ones that I remember hearing and being really interested in when I was young, were stories about the history of the community, and especially about the French fishermen. I vaguely remembered that stories about personal experiences, buried treasure and ghosts were also told, and I fully expected to collect examples. However, Dr. Halpert insisted that since Conche was an Irish ethnic area there was every reason to expect fairy lore, so I even attempted to collect this narrative genre.

To my amazement not only were fairy legends known in Conche but even my mother knew several of these stories. Neither my older brother nor I had heard her tell any. Perhaps I should dwell on this point further. The stories I remembered most from my youth were heard chiefly in two neighbourhoods from male story tellers. At home my mother occasionally told

stories, but only if they were prompted by school work. For example, if I were studying the history of the French Shore in Newfoundland history, she would mention something about the French who came to Crouse or Croque.

Despite the fact that I did not know about oral fairy lore, I might equally well have failed to learn about the one or two other genres except by accident. It is very possible for any one individual in the community not to be aware of all the story categories in Conche. The community had four to ten neighbourhood groups depending on the specific time. When a person moved outside his own neighbourhood group he probably visited only one or two representative houses of the remaining groups.

Although I feel moderately sure that the categories I have here represent the major narrative forms in Conche, it is certainly possible that I somehow failed to learn of some genre that may even be extensively known in one of the neighbourhoods where I did not do intensive collecting.

As I have said before, a neighbourhood group was composed of most of the people who lived in a cove or a small geographical area, who met at one specific house "to talk" and "yarn" and socialize. So the generalizations made about one or two of these neighbourhood groups may not be completely applicable to the remaining six or ten groups. Furthermore, I have mentioned the kinds of questions I asked, so undoubtedly in everyone's eyes my expressed interest was in the more

serious topics included in the men's "talk sessions". There may well be other traditions, for example humourous stories, that I failed to inquire for and did not observe.

Although I have stressed a method of collecting stories and have a large body of fully transcribed texts available,[1] I am not including any full-length texts here, though in my discussion I have quoted liberally from the texts to make both the content and style sufficiently clear. My intention is rather to discuss in considerable detail aspects of the story-telling situation, and analyze some of the functions of the various narrative categories popular in Conche.

Story-telling Situation

Men take the leading role in public story-telling, as in singing. For each neighbourhood group, a certain house was noted as "the place to hear the songs and stories". Both married and single men would gather at such a house to discuss their work and the community happenings, to play cards, or just to "talk". "Talk" meant not only the local topics which came under discussion but also included reminiscences, stories of personal experiences, or discussion of stories which were read or heard on radio. While the men continued to "talk", the women of the house or any woman that was visiting would sit and listen attentively while sewing or knitting, perhaps making

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[1] A complete set of texts is on deposit in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive.

an occasional comment.

> All the men from around [neighbourhood group] and the youngsters would come in to listen but they [the children] wouldn't be sayin' anything, that's for sure. . . Then the young men usedto mix up with the married men, and it didn't make any difference. It's not like that now. [Contributor 5].

It was the men who told stories outside the family or in public. When a group of men gathered, the news of the community would be discussed first, and then the news that they had heard on radio. From these topics they would move to some related subject which they had read or had personally experienced. Gradually, the conversation revolved around personal matters and work problems; these topics varied according to the season. The direction such a discussion might take on a winter or spring day ranged from general descriptions of seal or duck hunting trips to discussions or even arguments about the mistakes made during a specific trip, such as firing too soon. These criticisms were accepted and acted upon by the younger and less experienced men, especially when the advice came from an older and more respected hunter. When one topic ran out, there might be other kinds of story telling, especially at night when there would be stories about the French, buried treasure, and ghosts. A member of the group might tell a ghost story or a story with a supernatural flavour, which might lead to supernatural stories by other members of the group.

The recognized story teller with a specialty might tell supernatural stories, while others were recognized for their

recounting of historical tales and legends.

> Some people use to tell a story or two, and then someone else would know something else, and he'd tell that. It was great pastime. Jimmy D------- use to come down to our house and take off his shoes and lie down and tell story after story about the French. Johnny B------ use to tell all sorts of stories, but they'd be mostly about himself and the countries and places he visited when he use to be goin' overseas, and about his experiences. [Contributor 5].

Story telling was a seasonal affair but with marked differences. There is no time in summer for "talk" because of the peak fishing season, except on Sunday, the day of rest, which was faithfully observed no matter what the fishing was. The summer fishing crews fished at North-east Crouse and Pillier for three and a half months from mid-June to mid-August or early September.

> They use to come from Bay Roberts and Spaniard's Bay and the other southern people, they'd tell stories--old wartime stories and everything. It wouldn't be things they read but what happened. For example, the story of the Newfoundlander who saved another man's life in the war, and later when this Newfoundlander was on a ship bringing fish to Spain, he met this fellow and he knew him. [Contributor 5].

During the spring and the fall, the schooners of the Labrador fishermen, who were on their way north or who were returning home after the fishing season, would stop at Conche. The geographical location of Conche made the harbour a safe one and a calling point for schooners which came "inside the Grey Islands". These fishing schooners whether going or returning from Labrador would call at Conche to telegraph

their relatives at home, to take on a supply of fresh water, to make repairs to their ship, or just to party or celebrate their successful summer voyage and/or safe trip.

The story-telling season as woven around the visits of the fishermen is best described by one of the oldest community residents:

> In the spring and in the fall when the boats would be going to the Labrador, they'd come ashore to the houses and they'd tell stories. What couldn't sing would tell a story--any kind of a story. They'd tell a story they heard their father or their grandfathers tellin' or something. Some of them [the stories] I suppose were a hundred years old. [Contributor 5].

This story-telling situation paralleled the local community one, in that the experiences of the fishermen on the Labrador or happenings in their communities during the previous winter would be discussed. The local men reciprocated with similar talk and stories of their summer fishing experiences. Such Sunday and evening story-telling occasions no longer exist, because fishermen from southern Newfoundland do not go to the Labrador fishery in the same numbers or in the same type of schooners, so there is no necessity for them to stop.

In addition to the division of story-telling on a seasonal basis, there was the major division between male-public performance, and female-family or private performance patterns.

The long winter nights provided an opportunity for family story-telling, especially when there were no visitors.

The women were the chief source of entertainment in the family. Women also told "bed time stories" to keep children quiet or to get them to sleep. Such stories were usually supernatural tales of fairies, witches or Jack Frost. These stories often carried a moral message or warning to the young children. The categories of witch and fairy stories, as well as some of the ghost stories, were told only by the women to the children, and did not fit into the public performance pattern of the men.

The long winter nights also provided an opportunity for public story-telling, chiefly by the men, which, as I suggested earlier, tended to be localized at one specific house of a neighbourhood. The neighbourhood men gathered in one house to "talk" and to play cards. "The most time they'd tell stories when someone come that liked stories and he'd [the visitor would] stay for Hours and hours."

Boasts, personal experiences, and legends are sure to be told at any such gathering, whether they are mending nets, catching or cleaning fish or drinking.

> Only the men would tell stories. I did hear the women sometimes but it was mostly the men. . . . The women would never tell stories like the men.

When women would gather at quilting or matting they might re-tell a few stories that they recently had heard someone else tell.

The wake, which is discussed in detail in Chapter VII, provided the only other major story-telling situation. The

type of story would partially depend on whether the deceased was a man or a woman. At the wake some of the favourite reminiscences of the deceased would be related--the fact that he was a great friend, a good fisherman, hunter, church-goer, family man, singer, storyteller or boat-builder. After these praises and stories in illustration of these facts, perhaps someone would tell a favourite story of the deceased. Similarly, if the deceased were a woman, the stories would praise her helpfulness, neighbourliness, and her good church work, and might also include some story she was fond of relating.

From such praise and stories of the deceased, the talk would then develop into general story-telling, most usually stories of a supernatural character.

These story-telling sessions at wakes provided two chief functions: one, to pass the time especially for the people who "stayed up" all night at the wake; the other was a replacement function, where individual fear of death and the supernatural, which is felt at the death of a member of close kin or of a younger member of the community, is replaced by a public or group fear.

The following interview with Contributor 17, a recognized story-teller of historical narratives, legends and personal and family experiences, outlines the views the Conche people have about stories and story-telling. The interview gives information about the story-telling situation, types of

situation, types of stories told, the recognition of story tellers and a discussion of one specific story-teller, and the effect that radio had upon the story-telling traditions of Conche.

Q. When would stories be told mostly?

A. Mostly in the long evenings or the long nights now, when a bunch of people'd get together, in some house, some of the neighbours' houses and, and mostly in the winter time or in the fall of the year. In the summer time it wouldn't be much of it done because people would be too busy, and the nights were short. But once the nights begin to lengthen out a bit, well you'd be gathered in the houses. But usually on the group, there'd be somebody come up with a story. . . . perhaps someone from one end of the harbour to the other, you know, would be visiting each other, and there'd be some houses now, mostly called houses of resort, where most of the young people gather in, mixed groups, mixed ages, middle age, perhaps old people, perhaps there'd be someone in the house, an old grandmother or an old grandfather or somebody living there, they'd be getting him to tell his experiences. You know, olden times, his time, what they didn't know anything about. You'd often hear the younger people tellin' of things which happened to their fathers or their grandfathers.

Q. When would people tell stories?

A. When the evening would begin to get long, or sometimes now a stormy day in the fall of the year when they wouldn't be able to get out in boat and the weather would be too bad for spreading fish, and all that sort of thing. It would be more or less what they call a fisherman's holiday. Well, perhaps there'd be a bunch gather into some of the houses, this thing would be goin' on. The women if they were at work in the house, well, they wouldn't stop their work, you know all together, not completely, but be talking through and fro, well perhaps, perhaps, they'd take a little breather and sit down and join in.

Q. Would people tell the same stories over and over?

A. In some cases you'd hear the same stories repeated perhaps from year to year. Perhaps from one year to the next; moreover if it was somebody, well say now it was

somebody, a group here in this house, this year, and somebody was tellin' a particularly good story or they were a good story teller, well now probably they'd whoever it'd be there, it'd be tellin' someone else, well, perhaps next month or some time that person drop in there and it would be someone there and they'd get him to tell the story again to them. That could happen, that often did.

Q. Were there people who were recognized as story tellers?

A. One thing, one thing I noticed, that the most of them did have, they had a dramatic way, you know, of explaining things, of tellin' the story. I suppose they were born story tellers. It's hard to say how they started. I suppose they'd just start spontaneously, you know. Someone would just, something perhaps would remind them, they, some of the old people be talking about the weather or something, they say it reminds me of such a time and then, then it'd be a story come out of it. Perhaps something in their own experiences, or something that happened in the community, or in some other community that they lived in before, or something like that. And then perhaps, it'd be a story of tragedy: storms and wrecks and loss of life perhaps, and all this sort of thing. Some of them use to be really good stories, b'y, some of them. They'd be mostly personal experiences. One thing it'd bring on another. And perhaps there'd be a little bit of the supernatural creep in you know. Like some of those, some of those tragic stories now, someone would say well, there was something happened before-hand was an omen of this, or an omen of that, you know, and they seemed to really believe in that; it wasn't just, the people of that time they seemed to, to feel that that really did mean something.

Q. Would everyone tell a story?

A. Yes, everyone pretty well'd have something to tell. But mostly if it was a good story teller like, like those we just mentioned, well they'd mostly have it all to themselves the story tellin', because everybody be more interested in listening to them if they had good, good yarns to tell, and moreover old people now that had a lot of experience. Well, the younger people would be more interested in listenin' to them tellin' those stories than they'd be in tellin' one themselves. Grandmother, she use to have all kinds of stories. She was a good hand to tell stories that she read too,

you know. She was a great reader, and she use to tell a lot of the stories that she'd read. Now, some of, a good many of the people couldn't even read, and a lot of 'em that could read, they weren't interested much in readin' stories, but they liked to hear stories. She was a great story teller, tellin' those stories that she read but she was also a good story teller about her own experiences, and things that she knew right back to her childhood in Harbour Main. And before, things that happened there, before she was born, that she was told about. She could, she had a wonderful memory right up to her death. Harry L---- was a great story teller. He was much the same. He was much the same type of story teller as, he wasn't as old certainly, he didn't have as much personal experience as she did.

Q. Did he [Harry L----] travel outside the community?

A. Yes, he knocked about a bit when he was a younger man. Up around the lumber woods, and around, up around Gambo and up around there, I don't know how much. But he was up around there anyway, when he was a younger man, up there in the woods and around. He use to tell some humorous stories, Harry use. They weren't exactly dirty stories but they were a bit humorous, you know. He use to have a lot of humorous stories. He was always good for a laugh, you know. Well, some of them would be really tall tales but the way he'd tell it, you know, you could, you'd almost, you'd hardly doubt it while he'd be tellin' it. It'd be only afterwards you'd begin to wonder. He use to always have a humorous one or two. But he use to be a great hand to tell stories that he read too, in books. He was a good reader, great reader. There'd be some among the younger people I suppose were, had a flair for story tellin' say and they'd, when they'd get away some, perhaps way in camp, or away somewhere like that, they'd pass the time, they'd be tellin' stories that they heard the older people tell. It was a great pastime with the adults. There was no radio until about thirty years ago, I suppose, before the radios got here. Well, there may be one or two before that but not long before that. The first radio was here Father FitzGerald brought it here. That was in 1930 he came here, late, late about Christmas, he come. He brought a radio. That's the first radio ever I heard here in Conche. It wasn't many of the people had any radios right up till about, well till after the beginning of the Second War, the Second World War. They all begin to get 'em then.

Q. Were there as many stories told after radios came?

A. For a long time there were. Radios usen't to take up all the spare time. There was lots of times perhaps they'd hear something on the radio, and it would be very similar to some of the old stories you know, you'd be after hearin' told around the community. Well, that'd, when the radio be turned off, that's the topic that 'd be up then that it reminded you of such a thing, well now, the story was told all over again and compared, and so on like that. There's still some story tellers, a lot of story tellin' done say, because a lot of the young people, some of 'em, not a great lot of 'em but a good many of 'em, moreover the more intelligent ones seem to be very interested in the, the old stories of the community, even today. I see young fellows come in here now, young fellows in, up in grade nine and grade ten like that, and they'll come in here you know, and if dad starts tellin', is tellin' something to somebody else or starts up tellin' something they're all ears. They're listenin' to it, some of 'em you know. More of 'em are not, more of 'em are not interested in anything I suppose, only something outside. Some of those fellows, especially now stories about adventure, and on the water and on huntin' trips, storms and goin' around like that, they're very interested.

Q. Do you see any purpose in this [story telling at wakes]?

A. I don't know. The only purpose I could see in it, I suppose was just to help to pass the time, when a crowd'd get together. They couldn't--a wake was a solemn occasion or suppose to be. Well, they wouldn't be able to have any lively activities, we'll say, Well, story tellin' now and games, simple games or something like that. But that was in dad's time, there was none of that in my time, very little of that after I started goin' to wakes, there wasn't much story tellin'. . . . Like I was saying, when a group 'd get together like that, in the daytime or stormy day or something like that, or in the night time mostly, the story tellers would have it all to themselves with regard to the tellin', but others 'd be more interested in listenin'. But at all times there was always somebody had something to tell when a crowd 'd get together, usually, and then everybody have something. Now, moreover in the absence of those recognized story tellers, you were in a group now where there was no, no real recognized story teller, well, everybody 'd be tellin' their own story.

Q. Someone may repeat some of the stories that he heard, from the recognized story tellers?

A. Yes, that's right. But everyone have, even the youngest say, they'd have something to tell. They'd have some experiences because they'd have some adventure or something, always in boat and around, and huntin' the bird shootin' and all this. They'd always have some little thing. Something unusual happening and they'd have it to tell. [Contributor 17]

Personal Reminiscences and Memorates

A useful technique for getting an informant started telling narratives is to have him relate some stories of his personal experiences. Often the collector hears of these experiences accidentally from another informant, and may then enquire for them. These personal reminiscences not only give valuable background information on the informant, but place other folklore collected from him in perspective. In recent years, folklorists have begun to recognize that such personal experience stories are an important narrative form.

The personal reminiscences and memorates may be divided into two basic categories. The first is stories of major events in the personal life of an individual, which are told by the individual himself. For example, in the personal reminiscences of Contributor 13, the narrator is usually the hero.[2] Similar stories may concern the specific adventures

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[2]Richard M. Dorson, Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 249-272 has suggested the "sagamen" for old timers who spin long yarns about themselves. C.W. von Sydow, Selected Papers on Folklore (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948), pp. 73-74 and p. 87 used the term "memorate" for "narratives of a personal happening."

or experiences of some relative of the narrator. Many of these stories have entered oral tradition in Conche. They are told about some specific local historical happening by a story teller whose version and verification to the factuality of the event is based on his source: "I heard Uncle Tom tell about that, and he was there."

These stories not only transmit the tradition of the "local hero", they also recount in detail the life and experiences of a specific member of the community. An eighty-nine year old informant related two stories concerning himself. One story was a detailed description of how, at the age of thirteen, he was stranded alone on an island for two days when his uncle was unable to return because of a storm. The other related his narrow escape from drowning while fishing alone in a boat at the age of fourteen. In other narratives he describes with precise, vivid details his work at the age of seventeen and the hardships which he and the other men experienced while working in the woods, clearing a right-of-way for a proposed railway track--"Cutting the White Bay Line". (See p. 172 for a song and comments about this same event.)

> We had a bowl of hard bread a man, large bowl, might have been two cups, I suppose. That's all the grub we had. We had no tea or nothing, and we travelled out to Gould Coye in the bottom of the Bay. It took us till dark to get out. We had neither camp or nothing then. We had to build camps, side camps with a big fire lit between 'em.

Since Contributor 13 was a major informant, these accounts give

perspective on his personality and life. Additionally, these stories show the social and economic conditions as seen and experienced by an individual.

Besides functioning as a source of entertainment, these personal narratives establish certain people as "local heroes", especially when they have performed an act of bravery or some other outstanding local feat. The concept of the "local hero" as portrayed in these narratives ranges from the individual thinking of himself as a hero, to situations in which the whole community thinks of a person as a hero. These stories not only display pride in the acts of fellow community members, but allow the narrator and his audience to identify with the local hero. They feel that since they belong to the same kin group or community they are like the hero in many respects. Additionally, such narratives reinforce the positive and desired values of endurance and bravery which people of the community hold in high esteem.

The other category of personal reminiscences and memorates includes the major and most talked about occurrences in the past life of the community. For example, the burning of the church in 1926 is still remembered. Likewise, stories are still told about men who were lost at sea and later rescued, and those that were never heard from again. Such stories describing accidental death of people in the community are very popular in Conche. These stories are popular not only because they illustrate some historical incidents but,

more important, they reflect the idealized values and indicate the incidents in the past when people of Conche lived up to these values. Group or joint community efforts were described in these instances. Differences among individuals were forgotten when the status quo of the community was threatened. This is illustrated in the narratives which told of the burning of the Church on April 26th, 1926, and the co-operative effort of the people of the community to build another Church.

> We had a meeting the next evening and we decided on getting timber. The 27th April, you knowed what that was to go in over the hills to get timber.[3] We went over there, every man and boy in the harbour and we put the whole thing [the framing] there, that spring to build a Church. It was all free labour. Every man in his turn. . . And in 1929, just three years after, the first Mass was said in it, and Bishop March held Confirmation. [Contributor 17]

These stories, like most songs, are not too personalized, but have wide enough scope to be of community interest especially when they involve danger, hardship, death, disaster or tragedy. These events bring all the community people together. It is at times of stress such as these that a large number of customs and traditions become functional. These common traditions tend to bind the community together.

Undoubtedly, each of the personal reminiscences and

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[3]The spring thaw would make work in the woods particularly unpleasant and difficult at this time. Major woods work is generally done during the first two weeks of March when there is sufficient frost and snow for hauling.

memorates have varying amounts of distortions, exaggerations and omissions depending upon the narrator and the composition of his audience. These factual errors are usually remarked upon when the story is told in the presence of another older member of the community who has either heard the chief character of the story tell it, or who remembers the events described. Such an individual in the listening audience would be very quick and willing to point out errors and omissions.

These memorates also recap local history, as when they tell about local people who were driven off on the ice and how they survived.

> . . . I think that was around the last of March. And in the month of May, they were drivin' around White Bay until the month of May in the boat, and the only food they had when their own food was out was the deer. . . . Cut-up parts of the boat use to make a fire and roast the deer. That's what they lived on.

Other of these personal stories recount the walking from St. John's by four men who went there in autumn to work but after two or three weeks they found themselves unemployed. They left St. John's in December to walk to their homes at Conche.

> They were twenty-seven days from Sandy Lake to Harbour Deep. . . . John Flynn, Edward Flynn, Patrick Hunt and Patrick Carroll arrived at Conche February 6, 1908. . . . The last six days they were without food.[4]

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[4] This must be the same incident which was noted by Don Morris "Brrr... This is a Real Old Fashion Newfoundland Winter", The Daily News Magazine: Newscene (January 30, 1971), p. 3, "February 6, 1908, four men walked 150 miles to their homes at Conche. It took them a week to make the journey and there was a constant storm all the way."

The narrative elaborates in detail on the great hardships, endurance and bravery of each of the walkers.

It is the personal narratives that generally opened authentic story telling situations. Such personal reminiscences followed the opening conversation concerning the day's local happenings, leading to one of the audience relating a similar past experience, and then on to the legends and stories involving the supernatural which concluded the evening "talk" session.

STAGE I

(a) A discussion of the local day's happenings.

(b) A discussion by each of the audience of the work he accomplished during the past day.

STAGE II

(a) A discussion of some past experience similar to the day's happenings.

(b) The relating of personal narratives or memorates.

STAGE III

(a) Relating historical legends.

(b) Telling stories involving various aspects of the supernatural.

PATTERN OF "TALK" SESSIONS

Stories involving any aspect of the supernatural are only told during the night or evening. Any day time conversation would only reach Stage I and occasionally Stage II, whereas the night conversation or "talk" would range through the first

two stages and sometimes reach Stage III.

The people in Conche do not recognize any one specific individual or neighbourhood group for their expertise in telling reminiscences or memorates. But these stories told by one raconteur are personal stories or stories concerning kin (the narrator or his kin are the chief characters), so in this sense these are neighbourhood stories, since they are representative of a specific neighbourhood.

Stories About the French

Once a "talk" session has temporarily exhausted the topic of personal reminiscences, it may well advance to historical legends (Stage III of the "talk" session patterns). Of these, perhaps the most typical and of the greatest interest to many listeners are the stories told chiefly by a few narrators about the French who fished in the Conche area.

As I have already pointed out in considerable detail, the French were deeply involved in the history of Conche and held fishing rights there until the Treaty of 1904. I also gave some of the stories of conflicts which had developed between the French and the Irish settlers. Some of these stories about the French took the form of personal reminiscences, since the six Conche residents who were born prior to 1890 still remembered from their childhood seeing the French summer fishing crews, and later the French "Bankers" (deep sea fishing boats) which called at Conche each spring and autumn for caplin and squid to use as bait. Their interest in telling stories

about the French was obviously reinforced by this fact. For other members of the community, apart from these story tellers, knowledge of the French is limited to the few references to the French in school texts and to the observation of the periodic visits of the French war ships to clean and care for the many French graves of the area.

It is worth noting, however, that personal reminiscences about the French fall outside of Stage II of my "talk" session patterns because the local people see these personal reminiscences only in connection with historical legends (Stage III of the "talk" session).

The narratives which these older people tell about the French fall into two patterns: those which are historically based and are told as personal experiences or legends, and a much smaller group which deals with the world of the supernatural, especially ghosts. The first of these patterns reports the relations which existed between the French fishermen and the settlers. Such stories not only show the influence these fishermen had upon the life of the community during the summer, but also give the social history of this French fishery.

Most of the stories in this collection came from two men of the recognized neighbourhood for "stories about the French", although like other folklore genres several people from other neighbourhoods could also tell them. The greater number of these stories deal with the relationships, expecially the conflicts, between the French and the Irish. Stories of

the conflicts I have presented in Chapter II. Examples of the remaining kinds of stories about the French are given here.

The anticipated arrival of the French ships each spring and their departure each autumn caused much interest among the local settlers:

> The 25th of March they'd leave France. Now some of 'em [the ships] would get here the latter part of May, and more of 'em 'd get in pretty quick, all according to the ice. They'd see 'em out here now, outside the ice. The old fellows use to go on the hills watchin' for 'em in the spring and old skipper John Poor, he'd be mostly the first. He'd go in on Sailor Jack's Hill about, between sunset and dark say. That 'd be the farthest time to see, they said. And I often see him comin' over here to tell grandfather and them, he saw the vessels outside of the ice that day--reachin' back and forth.
>
> . . . the 26th then they had to get out. I was often over there and there'd be a gale of wind but they'd [the French ships] go on.[5] [Contributor 13]

Although there was conflict between the Irish and the French fishermen, some of the narratives illustrate a different relationship. This occurred in times of illness, death or major tragedy, as when nine French fishermen were drowned at North-East Crouse about 1885.

> They [the French] never got ashore and they drowned. Four or five of them, I think. Only a few days after that, there was one of the fellows [the French] they were heavin' down the wood over the Scrape [hill] and a rock rolled down and crippled him up. They

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[5] British Colonial Papers (microfilm) C.O. 194; Vol. 160, 1859, p. 70 "The French fishermen usually came according to the state of the ice, from 25th May to the early part of June. . . . The French leave the coast from the 15th to the end of September unless delayed by bad weather in getting the fish on board."

> went to St. Julian's after the doctor. The day they came up, it blowed hard and they reached off of Crouse Head. That's the last time they see them. . . . And they [the French] lost the doctor and three more fellows, all within a week. Yes, it was hard times. [Contributor 13]

In the next story which describes a disaster, one has to be conscious of the strong feeling in Conche that the dead are sacred, and that each man is entitled to a proper wake and burial in an individual coffin and grave, to understand the feeling of sympathy such a story still arouses among the local people.

> The Frenchmen, they were drown, on the upper room, the Little Room they use to call it. The captain called them in the morning, called the young feller, kitchen boy, and he went to put them aboard [the schooner]. And they capsized on the Point, capsized the boat and they all drown only the young fellow [who survived]. [Contributor 13]

> I was over there when they were wakin' and I was there when they were buried. . . . They were buried in pits say. Two French men-of-war and an English man-of-war were there, and they fired the salute aboard the ship. . . . They were all in the one grave. Pits they were, boarded up on the sides like that, and then plank put across it and then covered right in. . . . They put them in and put the canvas over the top. I suppose they didn't have lumber enough to make coffins for that many of them. . . . There were nine. [Contributor 13]

This feeling about the responsibility towards the dead also permeates the next story, which stresses the strict discipline of the French captains over the fishermen under their charge. The audience thought such treatment was unnecessarily extreme.

> Now, this is something about how strict the French rules were with their men and everything. And the

> day his father got sick and when he was dyin'. . . . and the other son was washin' fish, the day, the whole crew were washin' fish the day his father died. And the captain wouldn't let him leave. That's how strict now the French rules were. And he couldn't leave on his own. If he left, well, he was punished. They had to obey the captain. It was counted mutiny if they disobeyed the captain. [Contributor 17]

Most of my informants mentioned that there were communication problems between many of the Irish settlers and the French. Several of the older contributors also talked about similar communication difficulties between the French fishing at Croque, most of whom were supposedly from Normandy, and the French at Crouse who came from Brittany. However, I recorded no stories that illustrate specific problems.

Earlier, I gave some stories about the fear the French had of guns. Many incidents are recounted of the settlers outwitting the French by using sticks, handles of shovels, fish pitching forks, or even old, defective guns to scare the Frenchmen. The settlers used such devices to frighten the French fishermen away from their property, or to persuade them to return goods that had been taken. "The French were wonderful afraid of guns, and they were half afraid of the Newfoundlanders, too say." [Contributor 13]

One narrative I collected combined elements of historical legend, folk tale, and tall tale; we might call this a humorous anecdote. Although the narrator told this story in a matter-of-fact manner, the audience reacted with occasional laughter throughout the narration. The story tells

of the plan of two Frenchmen to spend the night with two women whose husbands were absent from the cove. The women put six dogs in the porch to protect themselves. The Frenchmen tried to get into the house by cutting through the roof; then the woman shot at them and frightened them away.

The second pattern involving the supernatural includes elements of historical fact or legend. For this reason, I am arbitrarily including them in this section. Such supernatural stories, however, were never told to me when I asked for stories about the French. I should stress that these stories were not considered by the Conche people as belonging in the same category as "stories about the French" (Stage II), but were only told in the context of a ghost-story-telling session (Stage III of the "talk" session pattern).

One narrative relates that artificial flowers which were brought by a French captain for his father's grave were taken by men from a visiting schooner but later had to be returned.

> A boat came in from the Island, dropped the anchor in the cove, and the two men came ashore and went up to the graveyard. . . . And after that it [the flowers] was put back. Rumour said that they were haunted or something--they brought it back. Whether it was all right or not, I don't know. They heard something aboard the vessel or something like that. . . . They were troubled aboard the vessel.[6] [Contributor 13]

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[6] Alicia F. Norris, "The Ghost that Went to Sea", Atlantic Guardian, II (June, 1946), 12-13 and 39-41 gives a version of this story. I believe this story had been published earlier in a fisherman's newsletter.

Another narrative tells of the return of a French crew from the dead to warn of an approaching storm.

> There were eight men lost there, off the stage down there. . . . And every time, the eighth of the month now, that they were lost on, they were heard and it was a light followed them. A light use to go behind the boat when they'd see the boat. After the storm coming there'd be a light, like a candle light followin' them on the water. . . . You wouldn't see 'em or hear 'em only when the storm 'd be, always hear 'em when there'd be a storm, hear 'em singin' out in French. [Contributor 18]

A French baker, who was known to have gone home to France, was suddenly seen again in the Conche bakery. This was taken to be an omen of his death, which was later verified.

> There was a French baker here years ago when the Frenchmen were comin' here. . . . And every evening, me father and this other man he had for a buddy . . . every evening they'd pass to go on the road for a walk, the baker he talkin' to 'em. . . . And this winter, in the winter late, they went over in the evening. The French were gone home then. He went over by the old bakery house and the window was opened. . . . he [the baker] came out and put his two arms on the window. . . . And me father said to the other man, he said, "That's the baker", he said, "that we use to see so often and", he said, "he must be dead". "So", he said, "when the mail came, a few months after that, . . . they had a letter and he was dead." And that was him [the baker], that they saw through the window as they use to see him when he was alive. [Contributor 18]

In the traditions concerning the French, the presence of a recognized neighbourhood group was again evident, although different aspects of the tradition were remembered and told by different groups. For example, Contributor 13, who was the person "who knows the most about the history of the harbour" related nearly all of the historical narratives.

The stories which told of his personal experiences with the French are really memorates, but both to him and to the other community people, they are part and parcel of the same body of tradition. Although he very rarely told stories of the supernatural, he did give me one in which the French were involved. I suspect, however, that this story may have been learned from a printed source.

Contributor 18, who belongs to a different neighbourhood group was recognized by the people of the community as a good ghost story teller. Among the ghost stories which were recorded from this contributor were several supernatural stories involving the French. The contributor assured me, however, that she knew little or none of the historical or legendary traditions about the French. Thus, as mentioned previously, one specific folklore genre again tends to take a major role in the repertoire of each neighbourhood group as represented by these two informants.

Stories of Buried Treasure

In a normal "talk" session, one would expect to hear occasional stories about buried treasure when the session reached what I have called Stage III, that of historical legends. The local people would regard these stories primarily as historical, despite the fact that several have supernatural elements. This attitude is probably reinforced by the fact that so many of these narratives refer to specific geographical places in either Conche or the surrounding area.

Although I remembered from my youth that such stories came up occasionally during the men's "talk" session, in 1968, even when I asked for stories specifically about buried treasure, only a limited number were collected. The community people do not recognize any neighbourhood as specializing in this story genre. Both men and women tell treasure stories, and it was interesting to observe that I was able to collect them from both male and female informants. On the whole, however, it was the men who showed the most active interest in this type of story. Perhaps part of such interest may be related to the fact that the men are the bread winners in the community.

Such narratives were previously well known in the community but are now dying out; this is commented upon by one contributor who remarked: "You never hear anyone talkin' about pirate money anymore. I suppose everyone got enough [money] now".

Stories of buried treasure were a matter of serious interest and involvement in the past. Two or three of the informants had actually dug for buried treasure as they state in their narratives, while other persons were said to have dug. Several informants expressed an open belief in the buried treasure stories which they had usually heard from their parents. Other informants claimed they did not believe such stories. For example, Contributor 6 told a story which showed a member of the community using the opportunity of people digging for

treasure to play a practical joke or trick on them. In this story a resident disguised as a ghost frightened diggers.[7] Although this informant claimed to be a skeptic, this story showed other themes than skepticism. The narrator is demonstrating her realization that other people believed, and that these people took seriously the idea of a ghost guarding buried treasure.[8] The trick of disguise as a ghost may, however, have been used as a protective device. The trickster may himself have really believed that his fellow members would be troubled or haunted if they removed "pirate money".[9] In such a case, the joker might have knowingly used a trick to get his result, but his intention might have been to protect his fellows from the unknown supernatural.

Another aspect of this narrative which involved the practical joke could illustrate psychological and social overtones of major concern to the informant. Although the informant continued to laugh while narrating this legend, the laughter might not have been directed at or caused by the joke played, but might have been an expression of a need for security, especially since this story was told when treasure legends were being collected.

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[7] Motif K1833. "Disguise as ghost".

[8] Motif N576. "Ghost prevents men from raising treasure".

[9] Motif N591. "Curse on treasure. Finder or owner to have bad luck".

Buried treasure in the Conche legends took the forms of "money", "bars", and "gold", with the exception of two stories, one about stolen "brandy" and the other about the "diamond up on the hill".[10] It was always "pirates" who buried the treasure in a chest or box.[11] Most of the narratives indicate that a man was selected, or volunteered, to protect the buried treasure and he was then shot.[12]

> Got it [the money] into a trunk, say, and when he puts the money down, they'll ask then who'll volunteer to stop to watch that money. . . . soon as you says, "I will", [he] takes a gun and shoots you and bury you down long-side of the money. [Contributor 8]

People were fearful of the supernatural when digging for treasure because it was always said that the ghost or treasure guardian would constantly haunt the finder. Incidents were sometimes cited, vividly describing a ghost or guardian who came and took the finder from his bed at night; the finder could not have any rest or sleep until the treasure was returned to its original location.

> But they didn't have nerve enough for anything. Afraid to dig it. Afraid the devil'd take 'em or something. [Contributor 14]

They said when the pirates buried money they shot

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[10] Motif N511.1.11. "Treasure buried on top of mountain". Also see Miss Dempster's "The Folklore of Sutherlandshire", The Folk-Lore Journal, VI (1888), 241-42.

[11] Motif N511.1.8. "Treasure buried in chest, kettle or cannon barrel".

[12] Motif E291.1. "Person burying treasure kills person to supply guardian ghost".

someone to watch it. Then you can't touch it, as he's always there. [Contributor 23]

This fear of the supernatural also prevented people who claimed to have known where treasure was buried from informing prospective diggers of the location.

> . . . tellin' him that he better not show it [the location] to him. If there was anything there, any money there, and there was any ghost or anything attached to it, anyone buried to mind the money like the old pirate yarns use to go, that they'd go after him say. God, he wouldn't show it to him. [Contributor 17]

The narratives always indicated that burying places for treasure were in areas where there were no inhabitants or where very few people lived, such as uninhabited islands[13] or isolated coves. "They went out there out to Grey Islands to dig for it [the treasure]." [Contributor 8]

There are a number of deep caves in the area but none of the narratives suggested that treasure was buried or hidden in these caves along the coast. A grassy field or meadow were preferred locations, although two of the narratives describe money and "valuables" on the floor of the ocean.[14] Obviously, treasure in the ocean is just as inaccessible as that buried in the ground.

> The bottom was covered right over with silver. True. [Contributor 14]

And when he got off a short distance there, he

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[13]Motif N511.1.12. "Treasure buried on island".

[14]Motif N513. "Treasure hidden under the water".

> happened to glance overboard. And he saw a lot of money on the bottom and jewellery and a lot of other things. [Contributor 17]

It was alleged that certain men of the community supposedly knew where buried treasure was located. This information was said to have come to them in a dream,[15] or by the chance discovery of markings on the rocks.

> He dreamed three nights runnin' about money buried up in the meadow where he was cuttin' the grass. . . . he runned his scythe into this iron peg and he hauled it up and threw it a one side and he gave it no more thought. [Contributor 24]

> I dreamt that I had discovered some treasure and that it was marked with a puncheon stave. [Contributor 5]

Any type of unusual marking[16] whether human inscriptions or not, in rocks which were along the coast, aroused great curiosity. Each was generally explained by a buried treasure legend.

> The iron peg with the dates on it. Letters and figures. [Contributor 14]

> . . . There was a sun vane compass and there was a mark, certainly it was pointing the one way. Now there was three spaces--three spaces in the rock whatever it was. [Contributor 19]

> . . . where the rocks along the edge of the beach have letters on it. Engraved in this rock is a compass, boxes, circles, and letters. [Contributor 23]

Two of the stories illustrate that one of the people who helped bury the treasure either gave the directions for

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[15] Motif N531. "Treasure discovered through dream".

[16] Compare Motif 535. "Treasure indicated by statue (stone) with inscription, "Dig here".

its location, or returned himself to recover it. Since no member of the Conche community ever became rich suddenly, the local people never had reason to believe that any of their neighbours made any treasure finds.[17] But in the Conche treasure legends there is the belief that such treasure had been found by "outsiders" or "strangers". Some outsiders, who had been in the area fishing, suddenly quit and never returned.

> . . . they gave up fishin' where they were at. Sold their fish, whatever they had, sold off all and went on. They never come back there no more. No one knows what they got. [Contributor 19]

There is no evidence, as far as I know, that any outsiders who left the area suddenly became rich.

That outsiders made successful finds was indicated by the gift by the diggers[18] to a resident of the community for a favour performed, such as retiring early, or allowing the searchers to use his boat to reach an island, or the place where the treasure was buried.

> . . . there was a two gallon jar . . . on his gallery and that was full of money. Right full of money. That's what they left him a two gallon jar. [Contributor 8]

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[17] George M. Foster, "Treasure Tales, and the Image of the Static Economy in a Mexican Peasant Community", Journal of American Folklore, LXXVII (1964), 39-44 notes: "The role of treasure tales in Tzintzuntzan should now be clear: they account for wealth that can be accounted for in no other manner". p. 42.

[18] Motif 553.3* "Treasure finders must not take all of money".

> And in the middle of the summer here comes these two strange men. . . and asked a man for the loan of his cod seine skiff. . . . When he got up on Sunday morning, the skiff was on the collar [moored] and when he went aboard on Monday morning for to get her to go to the seine, there was forty pounds[19] left in the cuddy. [Contributor 8]

Again where money or a gift was left by successful treasure hunters, the story was not centered about Conche but about some other unnamed community, always a considerable distance away.

In a few cases, the only proof that the narrator had that there was buried treasure in the area was based on the location of a hole or pit in the ground where it was said that treasure must have been buried,[20] as "why would anyone want to dig a big hole in the ground?"

None of the stories indicated that the people of the community saw the treasure.

> . . . somewhere on that bank there was a big hole dug. The hole was there then but whatever was into it was gone. It was heavy enough that they had to lay a rail track for to haul it out to the landwash. [Contributor 8]

> And they took a skiff and they went off [to the island] the hole was there but the trunk was gone. [Contributor 8]

It appeared to the collector from participant observation that a larger percentage of the people expressed

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[19]Newfoundland changed from sterling currency to the dollar system in 1865.

[20]Motif N563. "Treasure seekers find hole from which treasure has recently been removed".

a greater degree of belief in buried treasure legends than in other kinds of stories of the supernatural.

Since there was a barter-credit economy in the community until the end of the Second World War, there was always a scarcity of money or cash. The idea of buried treasure or "portable money" was wishful thinking on the part of many residents, just as entering the various chance contests today reflects such motivation. It was the men who were the treasure diggers; this corresponds to the contemporary role of the men as the money makers in the society.

The treasure was always found by some person from the outside, and the buried treasure always came from the outside. There are no legends connected with a wealthy man coming to live in the community and people being unable to find his money when he died. Since this area has no mining tradition, the people sought this sophisticated form of treasure or "pirate money".

Although names such as Treasure Cove or Pirate's Rock are found in other Newfoundland localities, no such connotative place names are found in the Conche region despite this body of oral treasure narratives. All the rock markings in the area were traditionally interpreted to signify the location of buried treasure. There were Indians and more recently the French in the area, but rock markings were not attributed to

them. Only recently[21] have the Vikings entered the popular tradition for such rock markings, whereas Dr. Herbert Halpert tells me that in Massachusetts many rock markings have been traditionally explained by the presence of the Vikings.

The community has a recently developed consciousness that oil or various important minerals may exist in the area. The search for these, especially with the appearance of geologists from oil companies each summer, is generating hopes which replace those that the older people and the older traditions held about buried treasure. In fact, the local people refer to any of the geologists who have worked in the area, even University students doing routine geological mapping, as "prospectors".

Stories of Ghosts

Although a large number of the treasure stories have supernatural overtones or even specifically mention ghosts, such stories are regarded by the Conche people as historical legends. Further, if I asked for ghost stories I was never told any stories about buried treasure no matter how predominant ghostly motifs were in such stories. As I recall, the telling of ghost stories was an active part of the tradition of some individuals in Conche until the mid-fifties. In those days, and even when occasionally told today, such stories always

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[21] This was since H. Ingstad found the remains of a Viking settlement at L'ance au Meadows in 1963. L'ance au Meadows is about forty miles by sea to the north of Conche.

come after what the local people consider historical legends. This last stage of a "talk" session (the second part of my Stage III) would rarely be reached today. In 1968, the telling of ghost stories in a normal "talk" session was never observed; such stories had to be specifically requested.

The fact that forty-three stories[22] of various forms of apparitions were collected from fourteen contributors (nine men and five women) indicates that the tradition was once an active one. Only two of these fourteen story tellers volunteered ghost stories during a formal interview. These two women may be regarded as active tradition bearers, to use Van Sydow's term. The other twelve informants recalled these stories for the collector, so probably should be classified as passive tradition bearers.

All ghost stories in Conche are concerned with the disembodied spirits of the dead who made their presence known to the living in various forms for a variety of reasons. One informant told me that he once asked a teller of ghost stories why city people did not see ghosts. The narrator's response was "they might be all ghosts for all you'd know, because they're all strangers". The ghost is never an unknown; it must be someone that the seer individually knew in life,

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[22] These forty-three stories came only in response to questions about ghosts and do not include those that I have under Frenchman Stories, although they were told in the ghost-story-telling context or were the ghostly element in treasure narratives.

or at least belonged to a known group.[23]

In analyzing the ghost stories collected at Conche, I shall discuss the forms of the ghosts, the reasons for their return, their activities and the local attitudes towards ghosts and ghost stories.

All of the narratives collected had traditional motifs, and none were stories told as jokes about ghost-shamming to scare people. Forty-one of the stories can be grouped into two general categories: visible or invisible ghosts. Each of these two general categories has been further subdivided. Eighteen of the forty-one stories were concerned with visible ghosts in human form[24] (ten male and five female, including one ghostly skelton[25]); two stories told of the appearance of ghosts in animal form,[26] while five of the visible ghosts were of phantom ships.[27]

Sixteen of the forty-one stories collected told of

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[23]This pattern is very close to a community in Northern Ireland. Ronald H. Buchanan, "The Folklore of an Irish Townland", Ulster Folklife, II (1956), pp. 43-55, notes: "The ghosts of Sheepland are not impersonal creatures of the unknown, but the figures of friends and relations, members of the kinship group, who have preceded the living into another world but who still maintain a tenuous link with the places they have known in earthly life." p. 48.

[24]Motif E425. "Revenant in human form."

[25]Motif E422.1.11.4. "Revenant as skeleton."

[26]Motif E423. "Revenant in animal form."

[27]Motif E535.3. "Ghost ship."

invisible ghosts: eleven in the form of sound (seven noises or knocks, three human voices[28] and one poltergeist); two in the form of smell; two as ghostly lights and one felt as a breath.[29] Two additional stories were collected in which the supposed ghost was later explained as some natural phenomenon. Fourteen of the forty-one narratives told of the appearance of ghosts which could not be distinguished from other human beings. The viewer realized it was a ghost because he knew the person was dead.[30] In this group of narratives, none recounted the appearance of more than one ghost at any one time.[31] None of the stories had inanimate objects take on ghostly forms.

In eight of the forty-one stories the chief motif was the return of the ghost for a specific purpose. In only one story was there direct conversation with a ghost; no other story had anyone address a ghost. This narrative did not use a pattern found in many American and British ghost stories, that the ghost must be addressed by a special formula.

In this one story, the informant claimed to have conversed with his mother. She returned from the world of the

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[28]Motif E402.1.1. "Vocal sounds of ghost of human being."

[29]Compare Motif E422.1.5. "Revenant with bad breath."

[30]Motif E425. "Revenant in human form."

[31]The only exception which I collected was one story which told of a ghostly French batteau crew.

the dead in order to warn her only son of a severe infection or illness that he would experience. She told him where to find a religious relic that she had used during her life to help heal many infections. In this story, the narrator recognized his deceased mother, and carried on normal conversation: "What, are you in trouble?" This is the only story to have a formulistic conclusion. Like the ghost of Hamlet, his mother disappeared saying "my time is up".[32]

Other ghosts returned from the dead for a variety of specific reasons, for example, one to give away a red dress to a friend;[33] another to protect his dog from being beaten, while a third story told of a mother returning from the dead to sit and wait at the family house until her daughter arrived home safely from a dance, which she did not have permission to attend.[34]

The greater number of stories (thirty-three of the forty-one) gave no specific explanation for the appearance of a ghost. Some vague reason was usually implied, for example:

> "Well" he said, "if you saw what you're telling me," he said, "and the same size of a man, that was a man," he said, "that destroyed himself down in the woods years ago. And that's what

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[32]William Shakespeare, Hamlet, I: 5, Ghost: "My hour is almost come. . . "

[33]Motif E363.5. "Dead provide material aid to living."

[34]Motif E323. "Dead mother's friendly return."

> he destroyed himself with, his handkerchief was on his neck. Hung himself[35] they said down there in the woods. And that was him. He had a little house, they said, over there by [Jones] and that's where he was goin'. He had a bit of money "and that's where he was goin'," he said, "towards his house, his own house." [Contributor 18]

This suggests that the ghost could not rest because the man had money which was not found.[36]

Other explanations for the appearance of a ghost were an approaching storm or unfavourable weather conditions.[37] "A storm light." "When there'd be a storm goin' to come, he'd show himself, this spirit--the man." ". . . That storm mark there--dirty and blowin' and snowin' and driftin' and everything." "That's what they said it was, again weather. Because after that, there was a big storm of wind."[38] [Contributor 7]

The one consistent feature or motif in all the stories collected was that the ghostly form, sound or smell always appeared at night or during darkness. The only specific time mentioned was twelve o'clock, midnight. Most of the ghosts made their appearance in homes or temporary accommodations,

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[35] Motif 411.1.1. "Suicide cannot rest in grave."

[36] Motif 410. "The unquiet grave."

[37] Motif 363.3 (c). "Ghost warns of approaching storm" (Baughman).

[38] It will be remembered that one of the French stories described the appearance of a French batteau and its crew at the place where they drowned; this was also locally called a "storm warning."

for example, lumber camps and fishermen's shacks, or on the community road. The arrival and disappearance of a ghost was usually not observed. The ghosts would wander off, sometimes disappearing into another room, or outdoors, or over a cliff.

None of the narratives told of the appearance of a ghost in the churchyard or graveyard.[39] This is perhaps due to the fact that the church and graveyard in Conche are located back from the seashore and away from the main road through the community, so people have no reason to pass that way.

Although there were five narratives concerning unexplainable noises, only one can be considered a poltergeist story. The narratives indicate that in Conche any unexplainable speech or noise was attributed to ghosts. In two of the narratives, the hearer recognized the voice as belonging to a specific person who was known to be seriously ill, and in each case this was interpreted as an omen or sign of death.[40] Except the poltergeist, who slammed doors, none of the ghosts

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[39]Rosalie Hankey, "California Ghosts", California Folklore Quarterly, I (1942), 155-177 and St. John D. Seymour in Irish Ghost Stories also illustrate the lack of ghosts in churchyards.

[40]Motif 574. "Appearance of ghost serves as death omen" and Motif E723.6. "Appearance of his wraith as announcement of person's death."

showed any malevolence.[41]

> And we were in the kitchen. And the two doors came open and shut, and the kitchen door came open, went back and hit against the partin' and went to again and shut. And every bit of the house was tremblin' . . . . . And it made that much noise and the house trembled that much, that the wood was piled up aback of the stove in the box fell down. [Contributor 23][42]

Informants generally agreed in casual discussion that the only way to get rid of ghosts was to pray, or to place some religious symbol[43] near the place of appearance.

None of the narratives collected, however, recounted any of the ways to rid one of a ghost except two narratives which told about the same man. One of these stories involved a noise which was heard in his family house after his wife had died.

> And after she died, they said it was her. And the priest asked Jack if he ever heard it, what would he do? And he said he'd curse it.[44] And

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[41]Melford E. Spiro, "Ghosts: An Anthropologist Inquiry into Learning and Perception", The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVIII, (1953), 376-384 discusses the concept of the malevolent and benevolent ghost.

[42]Motif F473. "Poltergeist Invisible Spirit."

[43]Motif E434.8. "Ghost cannot pass cross or prayerbook."

[44]In Catholic tradition cursing is considered a very serious matter, since it is calling upon God to harm or to destroy some person or object.

> the priest said, "Well", he said, "you won't hear it." And he [the priest] had to go over and go through the house and he read and read and read [prayed].[45] But I don't believe they heard it after that. [Contributor 22]

Another narrative recounts how this same man got rid of a ghost by cursing it:

> . . . got up one night when it got dark and lit the lamp, a bracket lamp. She was just sat down and the light went out. No wind nor nothing. And she got up and lit it again and it went out. And then Jack swore out "Now then", he says, "old woman," he said, "I'm goin' to get up and light it." "And" he said, "if he blows it out this time," he said "he won't blow it out no more." And he got up and lit the lamp. And he wasn't sat down in the chair when it went out again. And then he started in swearin' that he was goin' to light it once more now and he better not blow it out. Because that's the way he [Jack] was you know, carryin' on like that. And he got up and lit it again, and it stayed lit. That was the third time then. And it was full of oil. There was no difficulty in, there was nothing the matter with the lamp. [Contributor 23]

Jack is once again showing his disregard for religious belief. In the community this would not be considered humourous by the older people.

The fact that an informant tells ghost stories or other stories involving the supernatural does not necessarily indicate that either he or his audience believes in them. It was observed that the neighbourhood which was the one noted by informants from other neighbourhoods as "the people for the ghosts" was not one in which people told numerous ghost

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[45] Motif E443.2.2 (e). "Ghost laid by Roman Catholic priest (presumably by prayer)." (Baughman).

stories, at least to me. The association of ghost traditions with this particular neighbourhood group was an indication not that they told ghost stories, but that they were recognized as believing such stories. It was as obvious to me, however, as it was to the other community residents, that people of this neighbourhood manifested their belief in ghosts by behaviour rather than by what they said. Their attitude towards ghosts is one of fear. This is shown in their actions, for example, their refusal to go alone on a certain road after midnight. Conversely, the informants from whom ghost stories (except the phantom ship stories) were obtained told these stories in a serious tone and tried to impress their audience that the stories were true. Perhaps the telling of these stories is a means of reducing or manifesting their fear. But on the other hand, the narrators manifested by their actions that they did not take the stories very seriously. At least, fear of the supernatural apparently did not restrict their activities in any noticeable manner.

The limited quantity of ghost stories obtained from any one informant indicates that most of the informants are passive tradition bearers. Only two of the stories were related as personal experiences, and in each case the informant did not state explicitly that the unknown element was a ghost. For example:

> Something struck the camp. Oh boy, what a racket. . . . Not a man in the bunk house but came to his feet. Two drums, one in each end

> of the bunk house, and all shook to pieces, rocked back and forth. All the dogs were out of the barn, all gone everywhere, all left the camp, everyone of 'em in one screech. And the horses got mad down in the barn. . . . Now what was that? [Contributor 15]

The implication, however, of telling these stories when talking about ghosts showed how the narrator structured them, and how he expected his audience to see such stories. Except for these two stories which were told as personal experiences by the narrators, all the remaining stories were part of the kin or neighbourhood tradition.

Five narratives were collected whose plots dealt with phantom ships. Unlike the other narratives involving the supernatural, these stories were regarded in a completely different light; they were accepted by the audience as true. Even men who dismissed any belief in other aspects of the supernatural manifested a full-fledged belief in the narratives concerning phantom ships. These stories share some common characteristics. All of the phantom ship stories were told as true personal experiences, so most of them could be called memorates or legends.

Although there are legends recalling the loss of local motor boats and their crews, none of these have developed into narratives which recount their appearance in ghostly form. The ships in the narratives were equally divided between steamers and sailing ships--"full-rigged" and

"full of sails".[46] All of the ships were moving at full speed. "And you could hear the water rushin' where she [the ship] was goin' along, and the t'rob of the engine" [Contributor 23]. These phantom ships were usually seen when it was still dark, so that they were nearly always fully lit: ". . . when she [the ship] got handy we could see the lights shinin' out through the portholes. . . before daylight". [Contributor 23]. Contributor 26 describes his experience as: "We were coming home from a wedding at two o'clock in the morning. She was fully rigged and full of lights." Contributor 27 states: ". . . and come on up with all her portholes lit up. . . . between half past eleven and twelve o'clock [midnight] you'd see her." Another story does not mention lights: "It wasn't properly daylight. And they saw this ship, all full of sails. . ." [Contributor 7]

In one case, a legend has developed to explain that a ship and all its crew were lost close to the location of the phantom's reappearance. The motifs found in the phantom ship narratives are international in scope and content, and the stories of Conche ghost ships are like spectre ships found throughout the world, in that they are likely to reappear after they have suffered some disaster which usually involved

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[46] The appearance of non-sailing ships is unusual as has been reported by Ralph Des. Childs, "Phantom Ships of the North-East Coast of North America," New York Folklore Quarterly (1949), 146-165. See Motif E535.3 (a). "Ship floats with fully-spread sails." (Baughman).

the loss of the ship and sometimes its crew. As with other categories of folklore in Conche, for example, songs and memorates, disasters at sea and loss of life are of serious interest.

The phantom ship stories which I collected may be divided into two general categories: (1) those ships that appear when a storm threatens[47] and (2) those ships whose appearance seems to have no special significance.

The narratives about phantom ships were chiefly told by men, who were the only ones who were reported to have had these experiences. Many of the phantom ships are believed to be warnings of storms. I have pointed out earlier that weather conditions are of the utmost importance to Conche men who depend upon the sea for a livelihood. It would be a foolhardy fisherman who would risk his property and his life by disbelieving in any traditional weather sign. So phantom ships combine two Conche themes, the serious feeling about disaster and the related notion of the careful attention to weather signs, since they may prevent such sea disasters. In addition to these functional reasons, there is a third possible reason for this belief in phantom ship narratives, and that is the influence of print. Today, many Conche residents know newspaper and magazine articles, as well as

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[47] Motif 535.3 (d). "Ghost ship foretells storm." (Baughman).

pocket novels which deal with phantom ships off the Nova Scotian Coast. It appears likely that here the local traditions are reinforced by the influence of print.

There is one other supernatural story rather different from those I have discussed. It is well known and is widely believed by all the community neighbourhood groups. Of all Conche stories about the supernatural, this one has been most affected by the outside media. It has been told and retold on radio, and versions have appeared more than once in print. Though this is told as a ghost story in Conche, it is not properly such, since the woman was not dead. This story recounts the events of the spirit of a woman, who wandered across the ice fields to her husband's sealing ship, to check some business papers which were mistakenly left on board. The various incidents of this story are recounted with great detail. The lady lay in a trance at home, and in fact was thought by her family and neighbours to be dead. Her husband, the captain of his ship, saw what he was sure was the ghost of his wife. The ship returned immediately to Conche, for the captain was certain his wife was dead. His wife, however, was alive and described that she dreamt she had walked many miles across the ice to his ship at the same time that he had reported seeing her.[48]

This well known story is always told as true, and even

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[48]Motif E721.2. "Body in trance while soul is absent."

the people who expressed no other belief in the supernatural appeared convinced that it had happened. "It's just as true as the light is shinin'; them people didn't tell lies, b'y." [Contributor 13]. "T'was no joke, she was off to the ice. She was in a trance. . . . yes, that was really true." [Contributor 7].

The effect that print has upon tradition is illustrated by this story in two ways: (1) print reduced the importance of recognized neighbourhood folklore genre specialty and gives rise to one common community tradition; (2) the people use the printed version as a source or as evidence that the narrative is true, thus increasing the degree of belief in such stories.[49] Contributor 13, however, criticized the printed version of this story.

> It said in the Christmas Number [presumably Christmas Bells] that he [Ned] was awake in the bunk and he was smokin' his pipe. But he never smoked the pipe in his life. That was wrong. Suppose they put a little bit on it say.[50] [Contributor 13]

In addition to the association of print with truth, the title of the 1899 printed version of this story as

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[49] See for example, J.W. Kinsella, "Conche: A True Story", Christmas Bells (St. John's: Gray and Goodland Publishers), Dec., 1899, pp. 6-7 and also Addison Bown (retold), "A Remarkable Story of the Seal Fishery", The Newfoundland Quarterly, XXVII (April, 1928), 2-4.

[50] Kinsella, Christmas Bells, Dec., 1899, wrote: "The hour was 6:30 p.m.; Skipper Ned had just lit his pipe, and lay in the bunk thinking, as he blew the white whiffs deckwards. . . ." p. 6.

"A True Story" reinforces this conviction. J.W. Kinsella in the 1899 version claimed: "This story came to me from the lips of Captain Edward Dower himself, under his own roof." (p. 7). Since everyone in the community knew and highly respected "Captain Ned", this further added to their belief of the described happenings.

With this last story, we have moved outside of recognized neighbourhood groups to a community wide knowledge brought about by print and radio. As with other folklore genres, a few ghost stories were collected from a number of different neighbourhood groups, but chiefly from the two active female tradition bearers who represent two different neighbourhoods. These story tellers had a limited number of such stories which they retold frequently. For these two story tellers, ghost stories were part of their personal or kin experiences; in this respect, they are neighbourhood stories since the story tellers represent specific neighbourhood groups.

Today, men rarely reach the stage of telling ghost stories in their public "talk" session patterns, and do not volunteer them, although some of them can still remember a few of these stories. It appears that women are now the chief bearers of this tradition, just as they are the chief narrators of other supernatural traditions.

Stories of Devils and Witches

Narratives concerning devils and witches are considered jointly in this section not only because they are such a small group of stories, six in all, but because people in Conche, unlike the folklorist, do not regard them as separate genres. Both represent evil which is manifested by their influences, and one is likely to hear "that old witch is like the devil". The association of evil with the devil and his works is common, and is reinforced by religious philosophy and teachings.

The narratives concerning witches and devils always referred to people who were strangers and non-residents of the community. Such people usually belonged to some distant bay, though in two stories a specific neighbouring settlement was named. Only one incident described a person who was looked upon with suspicion as a possible witch by the neighbourhood groups in Conche.

Although informants always associated the devil and witches with evil deeds, it was indicated in the narratives that each of these types had distinctive characteristics, were recognized by different tests or techniques, and though each caused evil, it was for different reasons.

In the six stories which I collected, witches were always women and had a number of common traits. Each was an old woman with an unwed son or sons, and always poor. The narratives illustrated that misfortune would come to any person

who did not treat such a woman in an honest and charitable manner.

> . . . she said, "I'm comin' over tomorrow. . . . for a meal of beefsteaks". He snapped her off and told her, "you won't get none then", he said. And when she was goin' out she rubbed her hand over the cow's back and she said, "poor old Betsy [the cow], you won't be there tomorrow, you won't be alive tomorrow".[51] [Contributor 16]

> . . . Wouldn't give her son work. . . . when he was driving his wood, and she put up her hand and told him, "you'll give him work", she said, "when you gets well tormented". And he never got that wood to drive. Never got the river, the water to rise until he gave that young fella work. [Contributor 16]

Another narrative shows the misfortunes which befell the captain of a schooner when he failed to provide an old lady with a favour in return for some fresh vegetables which she gave to him.

> . . . and she told me to come back. . . and get some wood for her". And he [the captain] said to him [the sailor] ". . . the hell with her", he said, "let's go on". So begar, they hauled up and away with 'em. And on the way, they lost their load of fish, lost the schooner[52] . . . and that winter his house [the captain's] caught afire, lost everything he was owner of, and he was left with nothing only an overcoat. . . . he got a job. . . and he was there about a week and he lost his job. So he blames the old woman. [Contributor 22]

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[51] Motif G265.4.0.1. "Witch punishes owner for injury or slight by killing his animals."

[52] Motif G269.8. "Ship wrecked by witch."

One narrative shows that a witch can be detected by means of a test.

> They hid a broom handle in a sawdust pit and when she came to it she knew the broom handle was there. She didn't cross over the broom handle.[53] [Contributor 16]

My third narrative concerned a local woman who had many of the characteristics of the witch and was suspected or feared, yet no one actually described an incident where blame for some misfortune was associated with her.

The devil narratives are cautionary tales which teach that a person should not threaten to resort to the devil for help or even mention his name when in need of help. In two of the three stories collected, the devil was helpful to people. In all cases this helpfulness, which was received from the devil in disguise, had disastrous consequences.

> . . . I watched and, he said, "the fish begin to come in over both sides of the boat." So begar, he got uneasy. Then . . . he [the devil] disappeared and when he was goin' he took stage, fish and the whole lot with him. [Contributor 22]

In two of the narratives the devil appeared in the form of a man, while in the third, the devil was in the disguise of a dog. The devil would appear as the result of a curse or threat in which his name was mentioned. A common pattern was to have a man who desperately needed immediate help or

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[53] Compare Motif G256 (b). "Broom laid across threshold keeps witch in house all day until it is removed." (Baughman).

assistance to indicate that he would accept anyone to fill this need, "even the devil".

> So he was that long huntin' around and couldn't find neither shareman, he got out of patience. So begar, this day he said to his wife, "I'm that long lookin' for a shareman", he said, "I don't care now", he said, "if it was the old devil come", he said, "I'd take him on." [Contributor 22]

In another story:

> . . . they were lookin' for a quay fiddle one time for to play for a dance for 'em and they couldn't get one. And this fella went out and he said, "he was goin' to get one", he said, "suppose and", he said, "it was the devil", he said, "he'd get him". [Contributor 22]

In the narratives, the devil was generally recognized by his "hoofs".[54]

> . . . In the dance what did buddy do only pull up the leg of his pants and here was his cloven hoof. . . he dropped the accordion and away with him and they never see him after. [Contributor 22]

The devil is sometimes used as a boogie figure to scare or control children and most of the devil narratives which women told the children had an obvious moral lesson. Fishermen explain to children that the markings which resemble the print of a finger and thumb on the back of a haddock as those left by the devil.[55] The explanation adds that the

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[54] This is a common international theme. See Motif G303.4.5.3.1. "Devil detected by his hoofs." (Baughman).

[55] Motif A2217.3.2. "Marks on certain fish from devil's fingerprints." (Baughman). For further references see Herbert Halpert, "Three Maine Legends", Journal of American Folklore, LXX (1957), Footnote 1, p. 183.

marks remained when the fish managed to slip through the finger and thumb of the devil.[56] In the adult world, the devil is still considered an evil and powerful figure with the tremendous power to tempt a soul and lead him along the wrong road to an everlasting hell. Although religion often condemns some aspects of folk superstition, in this case the concept of the power of the devil is reinforced by religion. Only one narrative, however, tells of a priest who read prayers to get rid of the devil.[57]

There are a few place names along the shoreline which have connotations of evil and the devil such as Hell's Mouth and Devil's Cove. When a clergyman once questioned a fisherman on the location of the drowning of two men, it is reported that this man replied, "It wasn't in a very good spot, Father, it was between Hell's Mouth and Devil's Cove". This response was considered humourous or a joke which had religious overtones by the informant, as well as by the priest.

Most stories of witches and devils were set "outside" the community, but two other narratives mentioned people who were members of Conche. Although they were not accused of being devils or witches, these two people were believed to be

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[56] Incidentally, this fish is one of the species which is not eaten locally. Other species such as crab and flounder which, so far as I know, have no reference to the devil also are not locally eaten.

[57] Motif G303.16.14.1. "Priest chases devil away."

able to change a person's luck negatively in much the same way as a witch could. These women who had "some kind of power" were involved in stories concerning the making of butter. This evil spell or "preventing the butter from comin'," could be broken by having the visitor place his or her hand on the churn.

> And if I go and Aunt Biddy was churnin' she'd say, "Come over now and put your hand to the churn." And certainly I would go over and only too glad to do so. "Go 'way, Aunt Biddy," I'd say, "don't be so, nonsense." [Contributor 16][58]

> "She makes more butter than you do," he said, "with one cow," he said, "and you have three." . . . she was takin' the other, she was a . . . . And she was takin' the other woman's butter and sellin' it. [Contributor 22]

The term "jinker", that is a jinx, was not connected with the devil or a witch. It was a joking technique used by people for younger children and outsiders who were not familiar with the specifics of fishing. Accusing a person of being a "jinker" proved a very successful means of avoiding conflict. A child or a visitor might be accused of being a "jinker" if no salmon or codfish were obtained when he accompanied the fishermen to their nets or traps. In many instances, this joking manner helped prevent children or visitors from accompanying the men to their fishing nets, because if a successful catch were obtained, "they'd be only in the way," or "they're more trouble than any good". This

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[58]Motif D1573. "Charms to make butter come."

rational explanation for children and subtle insinuation for adults helps to maintain harmony in the community where a negative response or refusal is rarely made. Any request is considered a favour and cannot be directly refused, since a return favour may very well be reversed in the future.

Although stories of devils and witches were requested from various informants, only very few (nine) were obtained, and all of them from women. [Contributors 16 and 22]. Such stories are not told by men, as far as I could determine. Like ghost stories and stories about fairies (to be discussed in the next section), they were chiefly told by women to children for their moralistic and disciplinary values, as well as for entertainment. Some of these stories were fragments, while a few were full-fledged tales concerning the deeds of the devil or a witch. Stories concerning witches always show misfortune, the cause of the misfortune and the recognition of the "evil" cause in a setting "outside" the community. Similarly, the narratives about the devil[59] showed the cause of such evil, the helpful deeds performed, and the recognition and disappearance of the devil with all the favours he had rendered. Some people expressed ambivalence about the truth of such stories. Other people desired an explanation for otherwise unexplainable happenings, such as one man's

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[59] Louis C. Jones, "The Devil in New York State," New York Folklore Quarterly, VIII (1952), 5-19. There is a history of the devil in Life magazine, February 2, 1948.

failure at fishing. Some of these narratives remain in tradition and function as explanations. Today, many of the traditional witch and devil narratives have been reduced to one phase or a statement expressing the indefinite evil of the undefined "bad luck".

Stories About the Fairies

The stories which were told "mostly in the evening, when there'd be no one around you know, bed time stories like, more or less", concerned a group of supernatural beings known as the fairies.[60] These stories were usually told by mothers to children at bed time.

Since ninety per cent or more of the population of the community are of Irish ethnic origin, it was not surprising to find fairy stories.[61] However, as I have mentioned earlier, this was one of the categories of narratives which I did not hear while growing up in the community. This is due to the fact that fairy narratives were told neither in my

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[60]Maria Leach (ed.), Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, Vol. 1 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), p. 363, "The creatures referred to as fays, fées, fairies in Romance Languages and English are by no means confined to West European culture. . . They are more frequently met with in Europe and Asia, less frequently met in America and Africa". (MacEdward Leach).

[61]Seán O'Súilleabháin, A Handbook of Irish Folklore (Dublin: The Educational Co. of Ireland, Ltd., 1942), p. 450, "Belief in fairies was very strong in Ireland in former times as it was in most countries throughout the world. In Ireland, however, it flourished to an unusual degree owing to the highly developed imaginative process of our ancestors." Stories containing traditional motifs about fairies are found in both Irish and English-Newfoundland communities.

family nor in the neighbourhoods which I visited.

As fairies did not like to be referred to by name, various euphemistic terms were used: "with those fallen angels"[62] [Contributor 8], "red caps"[63] and "the good people" [Contributor 26], "they"[64] and "a lot of people". None of the informants claimed to have seen these supernatural beings. Instead they would say that a specific relative, that is, a brother, sister, mother, father, or grandparents saw them. When I checked with the people referred to, who were supposed to have had these experiences, they in turn would claim that it was their mother, father, or grandparents who really saw the fairies, and who told the stories about them. Informants were very vague about the appearance of fairies and the only consistent detail was "Oh, they wore red caps". In most cases

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[62] William B. Yeats (ed.), Irish Folk Stories and Fairy Tales (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, n.d.), p. 3. "Fallen angels who were not good enough to be saved, nor bad enough to be lost", says the peasantry. "The gods of the earth", says the Book of Armagh. "The gods of pagan Ireland", said the Irish antiquarians, "The Tuatha De Danan, who, when no longer worshipped and fed with offerings, dwindled away in popular imagination, and now are only a few spanse high." "Blake saw a funeral but in Ireland we say they are immortal.", p. 5. See Motif F251.6. "Fairies are fallen angels" (Baughman). He notes that fairies as fallen angels, was reported from Ireland, Sutherland and United States (Irish).

[63] Motif F236.3.2. "Fairies with red caps."

[64] O'Súilleabháin, Handbook, p. 450, "It is very difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between the kingdom of the dead and the fairy world in Irish popular belief."

no description could be given; the informant would explain that he did not personally see the fairies, but that some older person had seen them and had told the stories. One story teller gives this description:

> There were four little girls,[65] she said, come out of the meadow. . . out through the pickets. Four little girls dressed in white,[66] and they danced a ring of roses, their hands all together. . . That's what they claimed, they were fairies.

Another informant indicated that the fairies were small in size but said:

> The good people took him off the gallery [veranda] and there was one tall girl with them.[67] [Contributor 8]

Sometimes the narratives indicated that the fairies were inviaible, but that their presence was felt by people involved.

> And when he got about half up the hill, he thought that he found someone rubbin' him on the back . . . And he looked around and he couldn't see no one. [Contributor 8]

All of the eight narratives collected described the dangerous consequences of human relationship with the fairies. One narrative shows a person being abducted by the fairies who dragged him to some strange and unfamiliar surroundings.

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[65] Compare Motif F239.4.2. "Fairies are the size of small children."

[66] Motif F236.1.3. "Fairies in white clothes."

[67] There is an implied suggestion, although the narrator did not state explicitly, that this tall girl was a Queen, or at least a leader.

The period of time spent there was three days.

> Now they kept him for three days and he heard some, some stories about the fairies and if they took ye away and you eat what they give you to eat, and took anything from them, they'd keep ye.[68] This was the old tale and he wouldn't eat anyhow. So they brought him back again. . . . Two or three days after, he got a bad leg. And it got sore, festered up. ... [Contributor 23]

In another story:

> And after the three days was over, this big tall one. . . come and took him by the arm, and brought him home again. But he was home for a long time before you could understand what he was sayin'. [Contributor 8]

The treatment that humans received at the hands of these supernatural beings was by no means gracious.

> . . . when they let him go, there was something struck him across the back of the leg. And when he pitched, he fell in the water. . . . up to his knees [Contributor 23]

> . . . they'd have served him barbarous. But they use to try to drag him on his face and eyes and everything. [Contributor 8]

Several of the fairy stories and legends describe the casting of an evil spell upon humans, or depict changelings.[69] These inflictions occurred when parents let a child remain out of doors "after six o'clock", or "at night" or "after the sun

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[68] Motif C211.1. "Tabu: eating in fairyland."

[69] Leach, Standard Dictionary of Folklore, p. 208, "[Changeling]. . . believed to be the offspring of fairies (in the British Isles, France, Italy), of underground dwarfs or gnomes (in Germany, Scandinavia and among Slavin peoples) or of a witch or demon (in various parts of the world), ... The changeling belief stems from one still more ancient: that infants are peculiarly liable to demoniacal attack until after certain purificatory rites."

went down", or "between day and dark", without taking the proper protection to ward off the fairies. Two of the older informants could remember some of the precautions that their grandparents took against fairies.

> Aunt Betsy often came down on the Back Beach when we'd be making up fish and put a bit of bread in the box with the child or a bit of bread in the bosom of the child so the fairies wouldn't take 'em. She'd sure to be out just as the sun was going down. [Contributor 29]

> The old people always use to take a bit of bread or turn their pockets inside out to protect them against the fairies.[70] [Contributor 26]

> The old people wouldn't take out a child at night without putting a bit of bread in the bosom. They use to say the fairies might take the child. [Contributor 29]

Changelings or babies which were believed to have been replaced by the fairies were recognized by their manner of behaviour.

> There was a woman in the olden times and she had a twin, twin boys. Begar, the twins were so cross she didn't know what to do with them. [Contributor 22]

Physical features[71] often indicated that a child had been "fairy struck" or was a changeling, for example, "his fingers were long and his legs were long", and "she had a little neck and a great big head. . . . She had long fingers

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[70] Compare Motif F385.1. "Fairy spell averted by turning coat."

[71] Motif F321.1.2.1. "Changeling has abnormal features or growth."

and an old person's face." Here are three examples:

> And when he was grown, his body was normal and his fingers were long and his legs were long. And anyone went to see him, he sat down before the old fireplace you know, the old time fireplaces. And he'd get his fingers in through the grates and be rootin' at the fire with his big long fingers. [Contributor 22]

> . . . "It's not your children", he said, "when you were gone today and I was in there", he said, "at the shoes", he said, "I opened the door and looked out here", he said, "there was two old men", he said, "up in the middle of the floor", he said, "and they beatin' out a tune." [Contributor 22]

> She was a nice little girl but something happened to her. She had a little neck and a great big head. . . The baby couldn't talk or couldn't walk or do anything. She had long fingers and an old person's face. long fingers just like little claws. . . . they use to see lights around her. . . she use to grab them in her hands and the lights would come out through her fingers. . . . They said the fairies took her. [Contributor 5]

The narratives demonstrated that most of the ills were caused by negligent parents who did not take the necessary precautions for their children's safety, or parents who did not listen "to the old women". In most incidents when the parent refused to place bread in the bosom of an infant which was taken out doors after sunset, the child became deformed or was changed. One narrative illustrated the common international folk technique of getting rid of a changeling and receiving back one's own child.

> After a spell she give consent and he went out and he hottened the shovel and put the two youngsters on the shovel and opened the door and put 'em out through and when he put 'em out through, her own two came back in the cot.[72] [Contributor 22]

These "bed time stories" or fairy stories were told by women to children. The combination of mystery, horror and strangeness in these stories made them a prime source of entertainment for children. Children were intrigued but also were scared. At least one story teller [Contributor 8] clearly indicated this when he interrupted a fairy narrative he was telling me and said to two children who were visiting and were sitting in the kitchen ". . . ye better go out because ye're listening to all this. It might make ye nervous".

In addition, these narratives served as a conscious or unconscious means of control. It is interesting to observe that none of the fairy stories are told about the sea. Parents do not want their children, especially the boys, to be afraid of the ocean, where they must have confidence not only to help the father when they are a little older to catch fish, but perhaps even to make a living later in life. Fathers keep watch over their offspring while they play around the fishing stages and boats; they periodically shout to them and check that they are safe. When the fishermen are not present as guardians, children are warned away from these dangerous areas

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[72] Motif F321.1.4.5. "When changeling is threatened with burning, child is returned."

by specific physical and not supernatural threats, for example "the shark or the whale will take you".

On land, while there is less danger, it is more difficult to control children, especially during the summer holidays. In the long summer evenings after supper (5:00 p.m.), since there are no "lessons" to be prepared at home, the children move away from the fishing stages and wander about with their playmates to some field, or berry hill, where they play until it is bed time. Parents are not present on the hills or fields to keep a watchful eye on their activities or to help if some difficulty arises. It is then that parents have the chief problem of getting children to return home. Most of the stories were specific about the time that the fairies had been seen, "after sunset", "at night", and "after six o'clock". This definite emphasis in these stories apparently served to warn children that they must certainly return home after sunset and before it gets dark.

Since some parents regard mushrooms as possible causes for infection, it is interesting to note that the wild mushrooms are called "fairy caps", and children are warned not to touch them. Again, we see the fairies used as a means of control on land where the parents are not present to supervise.

In the winter, some mothers replace the "fairies" by stories about "Mrs. Woods", a strange, mysterious (therefore vaguely frightening), fictional character who is very

hospitable to children and who lives alone in the forest. Additionally; frost designs on window panes often brought spontaneous stories which explained the various patterns. Any resemblence of a bearded face was referred to as "Jack Frost, a big man with icicles hanging from his whiskers". Children were led to believe that if they wandered away from home in winter they might meet this mysterious character. Again these narratives served the dual purpose of entertainment, as well as a discipline control.

In discussing these supernatural stories, I have stressed that devils, fairies and various other devices, function as community-wide control for children. Such stories are not locally designated to any specific neighbourhood group; they are usually told by women and function importantly in the control of children. These supernatural stories, whether they tell of ghosts who return from the dead, or of devils, or even give the folk explanation for the fairies as "fallen angels", also have religious and moral overtones. For adults on the other hand, the bases for community-wide control are found in religion and the church.

The next chapter will deal with two special events in which the church plays a dominant role--one, a rite of passage, and the other an annual calendaric event. Both these religiously oriented events help to integrate the community, and in the case of the latter, the entire parish.

None of the customs and traditions connected with these events had recognized neighbourhood speciality; they were uniform throughout the whole community.

VII

COMMUNITY INTEGRATION:— BURIAL PRACTICES AND THE GARDEN PARTY

Death, Wake and Burial

As in all Newfoundland communities, but certainly in Catholic ones, death was a major community event surrounded by belief, practices, tabus, rituals, language and behaviour. Although some of this body of lore and practice is changing today, some of the older people and a few of the middle-aged people still remember and sometimes remark certain signs that indicate that a person is about to die. "If a dog howls or digs a hole near the 'sick house' it's a sure sign that someone is going to die." "If the ticking in the wall paper in the sick room stops, it's a sign that the sick person is not going to recover but is going to die." This ticking sound was known as the "tick of the death watch". A shovel would not be permitted to be brought into the house because someone would die from that house. "Don't buy a broom in May; it will sweep the family away." A rainbow which pointed from the graveyard to some specific spot in the harbour indicated that the next corpse would come from there. As an informant said, "We often remarked it." To dream of a steamer or ship sailing on land was also a sign that there would be a death in the family. But to dream about a dead person means that there

will be no sudden death in the family or that one of the family will be married. Three knocks for which the source is unknown also indicates a death.

One informant, eighty-nine years old, recalled that when he was young, all the old people then would say on hearing that someone had died, "The poor fella went up the flue last night", or "Poor old [Joe] went up the flue last night."

All of the people wish to die at home among their family and relatives. In fact, there are very few deaths from the community at the St. Anthony Hospital. The priest always visits the dying. When a person is ill and shows signs of "a change", meaning that he is close to death, the relatives go, or send someone, for the clergyman if he is in the community. This call is not affected by the fact that the priest may have previously visited the patient a number of times during his illness. It is considered a desirable necessity and a great privilege to have the services of the priest at the hour of death. In addition, "You know that your relatives would be with you when you're dying." The dying person is surrounded by his immediate relatives who light a candle and place it in his hand. This candle is usually held in position by the closest kin who is present. For example, a wife would hold the candle if her husband were dying. There is usually a "stranger", that is, a next door neighbour, who is not a relative, also present.

When the person dies, the windows and especially all the doors are opened.[1] The closest female relative then sprinkles the corpse with holy water and walks through the house to the last or back door, sprinkling holy water and saying some little prayer like "God grant him the light of Heaven". Anyone who was entering the house at the time would step aside and allow this person to pass.

A practice of waiting fifteen minutes after death before starting to wash and dress the corpse was always observed. As one old lady said, "They [the dead] have to be judged on their death bed". This implies, in local thinking, that the immediate fate of the deceased, whether Heaven, Purgatory, or Hell, is being decided.

The corpse was washed, dressed and "laid out" by non-relatives. There are two or three people involved in this "laying out" process and they would correspond in age (to some degree) and sex to the deceased. The people requested to do this task always had previous experience in dealing with the dead and they never refused, although there was no payment. Liquor was provided for the men laying out the corpse: "The old woman would always hold up [keep] a drop of strong stuff [alcohol] for layin' out the old man." The corpse was given a bed bath and was then dressed. The under clothing was usually

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[1] E. Estyn Evans, Irish Folk Ways (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1957), p. 289, writes: "The custom of opening windows and doors to let the spirit of the dead depart is well known."

new, in that it had not been worn previously. A man was dressed in his best suit of clothes with a white shirt and dark coloured tie, while a woman might have a dark coloured dress or sometimes her wedding dress.[2]

Until twenty years ago, many of the dead were dressed in an additional outer garment known as a "habit". This habit was prepared prior to death, especially if the person was old or had an extensive period of illness. The "habit" was a dark brown monk-like robe which reached the toes and had long sleeves. On the chest of the habit was a white or red shaped heart made of ribbon and the letters I.H.S. (In Hoc Signo), but explained locally as "I have suffered". Combs, towels, facecloths, soap and other articles which were used for the "laying out" of the dead were afterwards burnt.

The "big room" or "front room" was prepared for the wake by the neighbouring women under the directions of the immediate family. This preparation was done while the body was being washed and dressed. If, however, the person died in "the front room", the room preparations were not carried out until the body was made ready. All removable articles were taken from the room and any things which remained, for example, mirrors, family photographs, or sideboards, were covered with white cloths. The walls around the immediate

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[2]Many women may have a dress which they especially like and which has been stored years before their death for this purpose.

coffin area were draped in white sheets. The window shades or "blinds" were closed at every window in the house.

The corpse was laid on a table or on boards supported by two barrels until the coffin was made ready. The corpse was "waked" with the feet pointing to the east if at all possible, depending upon the room plan. The explanation given was, "That's the way they got to go when they leave this world".

A small table covered with a white cloth was placed in front of the coffin. On this table rested two lighted candles in candlesticks, a crucifix, a prayer book, a small container or plate for Mass and Sympathy cards and telegrams, and a small bottle of holy water. Two candles burned continuously day and night during the wake and it was considered improper to let them burn out. An extra supply of candles, obtained from the church, was kept nearby so the candles could be replenished at once when they burned low. Some people would have a kneeler beside this table so the visitors might conveniently kneel to pray. Otherwise, visitors knelt on the floor to offer prayers. Until 1897 or later, clay pipes and tobacco were also spread out on a table near the coffin. These "God be merciful pipes and tobacco" were smoked by visitors and could be taken when leaving the "wake house."[3]

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[3]Kevin Danaher, In Ireland Long Ago (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1962), p. 173, writes: "Large numbers of new clay pipes already filled with tobacco were put in charge of a neighbour, whose task it was to see that every man who came got a pipe..."

Chairs were placed all around the "wake room" for the callers. The relatives and close neighbours used to draw their window shades, but this neighbourly practice is dying out. All the clocks in the wake house were stopped from the moment the person died until he was taken out for burial.[4] The house was not to be swept or cleaned and a lamp or light was not permitted in the room where the corpse lay, the light being supplied by the two candles.

The immediate family dressed in black, the men in their Sunday suits which were always dark in colour. Any family member who was away from home was notified and he returned for the funeral if at all possible. Practically everyone in the community would make one visit to the "wake house" dressed in their Sunday church-going clothes. The visitor would enter the room where the body was laid out, kneel, say a prayer, sprinkle the body with holy water in the form of a cross, and sit in this room for an hour or so. As new callers came, if the seats were filled some of those who had been in the room would retire, usually to the kitchen or any adjoining room which had seating space. No attempt was made to express special regret or sympathy to the family, as the visitors considered this superfluous since they had been

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[4] Ibid., p. 173. "At the moment of death the clock was stopped; this is said to have been done so that all could see the actual time of death, for which people usually made enquiry."

concerned enough to come and that was sign enough of their feelings.

The visitors would talk in low tones to the other people present and the men would smoke. Before leaving the house they returned again to the side of the corpse and the pattern of actions of the arrival was repeated. If the priest of the parish was in the community, he usually came at 9:00 p.m. and led the visitors in saying the Rosary and the Litany for the Dead. During the day when there were few visitors except the women and children, if a person found himself alone in the wake room he would not leave, although the family might be in the next room, until someone came into that particular room.[5]

The corpse was kept for two nights and during this time people from the community and one or two members of the family stayed up and watched all night. Nowadays, they talk, tell about the recent happenings in the community, pray, eat and read. The activities were different about the turn of the century. As an eighty-nine year old informant remembers:

> All hands go to the wake, all the young people. It was great. We'd be after wishin' for some old fella to die. You'd play old games, tell old stories and listen to the old people. [Contributor 13]

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[5] "From the moment of death until the burial, tradition demanded that the body should never be left alone and unwatched," writes Kevin Danaher, In Ireland Long Ago, p. 172.

He also remembers that games such as "Who got the button?" would be played. Another game which was played when he was a youth involved passing the fire tongs. Each person would take the tongs which were by the fireplace and tap the floor and say in a chanting manner, "He's a fool, she's a fool, that can't do this, this, this." The sayer would then pass the tongs on to the person seated next to him. The game involved the passing. If, in tapping the floor, the right hand was used, the tongs had to be moved to the left and then passed on. "They were passed right around the house and perhaps there'd be no one see the catch in passing it."[6] The "talk" moved from how the corpse looked to personal reminiscences involving the deceased, to praise of his past work and behaviour, and it usually ended with ghost stories or stories involving the supernatural.

The older people would never dig a grave on Monday because it was believed that they would be digging graves the rest of the week.[7] At the invitation of a member of the family of the deceased, men who were not relatives dug the grave.

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[6]Contributor 13. This is similar to the catch-games described by Seán O'Súilleabháin, Irish Wake Amusements (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1967), pp. 102-114.

[7]At Fishot, a Roman Catholic community about twenty miles north and in the same pariah, a grave will not be dug on Friday. Danaher, In Ireland Long Ago, p. 179. "A grave was never dug after nightfall, or on a Monday unless one sod had been cut on the Sunday evening before."

It was usually six feet deep. All work done by members of the community in connection with death and burial was done without payment. If possible the grave was dug next to the graves of other family members. A wife was always buried with her husband and his family. After the grave was dug the shovels were left over the open grave in the form of a cross.

When all the coffins were made locally, a relative of the deceased would have no part in its construction. Three or four men of recognized skill would be asked to make it. This coffin was a six-sided wooden box (widest at the shoulders) which was covered with a dark brown or purple material on the exterior and a white material on the inside. The coffin was made in a neighbourhood store or stage and when completed the makers took it to the "wake house" and placed the corpse in it. The older women would always make a "stroud" [shroud] or winding sheet which was placed in the coffin and wrapped over the face before closing the lid. This shroud was made of white material which had been cut or scalloped in a certain way. There were a number of crosses cut into the material at the corners. Before the coffin was closed, any special possessions of the dead person might be placed in it, for example his pipe. One explanation: "I put in his walkin' stick because it might help him up the hill."

The people will leave the decision of the time of burial to the priest. Until the beginning of the twentieth

century, the priest accompanied by three altar boys would go to the house of the departed. He would read prayers at the home and then walk ahead of the corpse on its way to church. In front would be one altar boy carrying a cross, flanked by two others as candle bearers. Another practice that was observed until about eighty years ago was that all the pall bearers (six or eight), and all the mourners would say a decade of the Rosary before taking the corpse out of the house. The Irish flag with a harp was flown at half mast at a number of homes in the community during funerals until the late 1890's.

The pallbearers are always chosen from among the men of the community and are never of close kin to the deceased. The people who made the coffin would never be pallbearers because the old people believed that this would cause a death in the carpenters' families. They would not have two brothers as pallbearers at the same funeral because this was also believed to bring on some misfortune such as death to one of the brothers. Sometimes the pallbearers are told in advance that they are needed at the funeral. If the chosen pallbearers are not told in advance, and they are not present, other bystanders are asked to perform the duties instead.

Since the late 1950's, the men mourners wear a black ribbon and the pallbearers wear a white ribbon tied to their left arm just above the elbow. In describing the dress of a century ago, an informant said:

> The pall bearers would have white fliers, a white band around their caps, and the women [mourners] they'd have a veil, a black veil come right down to their waist, right over their head. But now they only have a band on their arm or something. [Contributor 13]

The open coffin is lifted by the pallbearers from the table on which it has been resting and placed on chairs to "put on the lid". The coffin would be taken through the front door; if not, it would be taken through a window of the room where the wake was held. A special point was made to carry the coffin so the feet were pointing forward. Before trucks and motorized snow toboggans, the coffin was carried to the graveyard on the shoulders of six pallbearers, with two pallbearers to act as relief. The first coffin to be brought to the church on a horse-drawn cart was in 1945; when horses were no longer available, trucks were used. Before the motorized snow toboggan, the coffin was placed on a hand-slide (sled) and was pulled to the church by the younger children of the community. When the coffin had been laid on the truck or sleigh, someone present, and practically all of the community were there, would be asked to read the mourners' list. This list of names was prepared the previous night and each of the mourners was aware of his walking partner and position.

As the names were called, a man and a woman always paired off and followed behind the casket. The mourners usually followed a set pattern with some minor modification. If a married woman died, the mourners' list would take this form:

First - the husband and the oldest daughter
Second - the oldest son(s) and the next oldest daughter(s)
Third - the oldest brother(s) and sister(s)
Fourth - grandchild(ren) down to ten or twelve years of age
Fifth - oldest first cousins
Sixth - daughter(s)-in-law and son(s)-in-law
Seventh - godparents and an exceedingly close friend.

In any of these ranks, if there were no person of one sex to fill the position, the next closest kin moved up. For example, if there were no sons, brothers or male first cousins moved up to the position with the daughters.

The non-relatives of the community followed behind the mourners without any set pattern, except that unlike the mourners they usually grouped themselves according to age and sex. The church bell started to toll when the funeral procession was seen approaching the church. As the funeral moved along the road through the community, the few people who remained at home to care for younger children would "pull down the blinds" or window shades on the windows facing the road. This "mark of respect" has almost died out. The older folk would not permit anyone to open a door when the funeral was passing the house.[8] "It wasn't right to do it. It was just a superstition." Anyone meeting a funeral would step off

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[8]Danaher, Ireland Long Ago, p. 182. "The house doors were closed as the funeral approached, and those who had window blinds or curtains pulled them."

the road, remove his cap and wait until the funeral procession had passed.

Today, the coffin is met at the church steps by the priest, who sprinkles it with holy water and recites some prayers for the dead. The pallbearers carry the coffin feet-first into the church and place it on the catafalque. The priest then celebrates Mass for the Dead. If the priest is not in the community, the coffin is still taken into church and a Rosary and prayers for the dead are recited by one of the congregation.

After the church service, the pallbearers turn the coffin around to the right, so the foot is again forward and then take it to the graveyard which is on the north side of the church. The priest and altar boys follow the coffin, then the mourners, who are followed by the rest of the congregation. The coffin is lowered into the grave with the feet facing to the east, and the immediate family usually pick up a bit of earth and sprinkle it in the grave. The priest leaves the graveyard after the prayers and the congregation disperses to visit and pray at the graves of their relatives. Two or three men (non-relatives) fill the grave with earth. The pallbearers would not cover up the grave because it was believed to bring misfortune or death to their families. This older custom was not followed during the period of field work, as the pallbearers filled the grave at a funeral which I attended.

It is interesting to note some of the differences between these burial practices and those of the French fishermen, as remembered by one of my oldest informants:

> The French captains use to bury their own people. The priest wouldn't bury them. He'd [the priest] read the prayers in the church but the captain would read the prayers in the graveyard, buryin' service in the graveyard. One of the captains would do that. They'd have the crew and whoever be there singin' the hymns in French. [Contributor 13]

For the usual Conche burial, two or three neighbourhood women or friends would stay behind to clean up the "wake house" and take care of young children or any older persons who were unable to attend the funeral. The older folk use a number of sayings when they are talking about someone who is dead: "Poor old Joe", "Poor Joe", "God be good to him," "God be merciful to him", "Lord have mercy on his soul", "I hope he's in Heaven", "Lord have mercy on him"; or a combination of these sayings.

Relatives of the deceased used to wear black for a year, but today only a handful of the older people still do this. Nowadays even close relatives may be seen wearing coloured clothing after a few weeks.

Headstones, which have always been ordered from St. John's, are not placed at the graves until about a year after the burial. At that time some member of the family, relative or friend makes a coffin-shaped frame approximately six inches high and lays it on the grave. This frame is refilled with white sea shells each year.

Two of the oldest headstones bear the following inscriptions:

Gloria in Excelsis Deo
Erected by Edward and John Dower in
memory of their beloved mother

Catherine Dower

native of the County Waterford, Ireland,
and who departed this life September 26,
1826 aged 29 years, and also her beloved
husband, James Dower who departed this
life May 20, 1840, aged 60 years and his
beloved brother John Dower, who died
September 1, 1823, aged 30 years, and her
beloved brother Thomas Cashman, who died
January 24, 1851, aged 72 years.
Requiescant in Pace
Amen

and

Sacred to the memory of

Captain Barth Burke

A native of Gowran, County Kilkenney,
Ireland, died July 28, 1861, aged 36 years.

Green be the turf above thee
Friend of my better days
None knew thee, but to love thee
Nor named thee but to praise
Tears fell when thou wert dying
From eyes unused to weep
And love where thou art lying
Will tears the cold turf seep

Erected by his wife Mary

Ninety per cent of the headstones prior to 1935 had an epitaph or verse on the stone below the name. The initials I.H.S. were engraved at the top and R.I.P. on the foot of each stone. Each stone also stated by whom it was erected.

The majority of the inscriptions before 1950 would include a verse epitaph ranging in length from four to ten lines. The following are a fairly representative sampling:

1. Three orphans miss your tender care
   But plead to God for thee
   In Heaven we hope to meet again
   And live eternally.

2. A loving one from us is gone
   A voice we loved is stilled
   A place is vacant in our home
   Which never can be filled.

3. Dear husband I tremble to think I must die
   It is lonely and sad in the cold grave to lie
   Could you but come with me
   I know that your hand would guide me
   Through the gloom of Death's shadowy land.
   The deep endless I think as I feel
   Its darkness and mystery o'er me steal
   I fear its wild woes will my soul overwhelm
   Ere I reach the far shore of the Heavenly realm.

4. Remember friends as you pass by
   As you are now so once was I
   As I am now so you shall be
   Prepare for death and follow me.

5. Farewell my wife and children dear
   While life did last, I loved you dear
   My love for you will still remain
   And I hope in Heaven we'll meet again
   Farewell, dear father my hour has come
   Weep not my mother for your son
   Farewell dear sister and brother all
   I met my death by a sudden fall.

Today, the inscriptions on the headstones have been reduced to name, age and date of death and at most a line or two such as "May He Rest In Peace".

In the next section I shall discuss another church oriented custom--the annual garden party. Like death and burial practices, it belongs not to a specific neighbourhood group but to the entire community.

The Annual Garden Party

To the majority of Conche people, time is the ordinary sequence of nature and of local events. The past, present and future have different weight in the everyday life of the community. Current events are the immediate topics of casual conversation, and as I have indicated they start the normal "talk" sessions. Once current local events are treated, I have shown that the past occupies a large part of the "talk". Past minor events are not referred to by specific date, but rather in reference to major past events which everyone in the community is expected either to remember or at least to know about. A minor event is dated as before or after "the spring of White Bay[in 1923 there was a major catch of seals in White Bay]"; "the year [1926] the church burnt," and "the year that the Blackwoods were frozed in," that is, their Bonavista Bay schooner was caught by ice in Conche Harbour in 1932 and had to stay until spring. Earlier periods are lumped into an undifferentiated past. In contrast to this extended view of the past, future specific events are only discussed a week or two before they take place. For example, the local people talk about weddings, which generally take place in late October or November, about two weeks before the ceremony;

"mummering" or "jannying" occurs only within the twelve days of Christmas, and is rarely talked about except the day before someone plans to go out. The annual garden party takes place in mid-summer. For this community wide activity, there is no extended period of preparation. All work and discussion is crammed into the two weeks before the event.

The Conche garden party, a church sponsored activity, was the biggest annual social event in all of the Conche Parish communities. It was parish bound, that is, the only attendance from outside the parish communities would be the men from any schooner or boat which happened to be at Conche at the time, and the "southern people" who were fishermen at Pillier and North-east Cxouse. The routine of every day life in an isolated Newfoundland outport gave the residents few opportunities to see relatives and friends from outside the community. The annual garden party provided for such reunions. It not only brought people together for reunions and celebrations, but it generally marked the conclusion of the cod-trap season, and the beginning of the trawl or fall fishery. So, in addition to the social function of such festivities, it provided a break and rest between the intensive and strenuous cod-trap fishery and the washing and sun-curing of the salt cod, which was done while carrying on the fall trawl fishery. Furthermore, if the cod-trap fishery had been successful, it was a good excuse for celebration.

These were the main social functions, but officially the garden party was chiefly a way for the parish to make money. The profits went towards church projects like "upkeep and repair" of the church, parish house and schools. Since it was such an important financial matter for the church, the priest was deeply involved. It was the priest who decided whether the garden party was to be held on the last Sunday of July or the first Sunday of August. His decision was influenced by the tentative dates of the other (somewhat smaller) community garden parties in the parish. Once the priest had set the date, the garden party was held whether "it rains or shines," although everyone hoped for sunshine.

On the Sunday evening two weeks before the event, there were two congregational meetings in the classrooms of the school.[9] One of the meetings was for the men of the community, while the other was for the women. At these meetings, plans for such things as the "supper" and the various garden party activities were made. Each of the meetings elected a chairman and a committee. The men's committee was responsible for such things as the setting up of tables and chairs which would be used for serving the meal, installing extra stoves, as well building stalls for selling handiwork and knitted goods, and also the booths for the various games.

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[9]The school classrooms were used for these meetings rather than the community hall because the hall had only one chamber.

The women also elected a chairman and a committee whose responsibility was to decide on the menu for the meal or "supper", and its preparation, to sell tickets, and to attend to the various stalls and booths.

From the first annual garden party, which was sponsored and organized by Father Williams in 1926, until the late 1930's there were "hot suppers" which consisted of local produce; potatoes, turnips and cabbage and fresh lamb, with the usual fruit, cakes and tea for dessert. The meal was prepared indoors, but was served outside on the meadow if the weather was suitable. Since then the hot meal has been abandoned, and the meal has now become fairly standardized. It is a "cold meat supper" with corned beef or roast meat and vegetable and potato salads. Each household or each married woman is expected to contribute a certain amount towards providing the "supper". To examine one woman's contribution: about a half pound of butter, some tea or a bottle of coffee, about a half pound of sugar, a tin of milk, a loaf of homemade bread, a tin of fruit, a pie or fruit cake or some cookies, a roast of meat and salads. Only the roast of meat and the salads would be brought on Sunday afternoon, the remainder of the food would be brought to the dining hall on Saturday afternoon.

The week before the garden party the women of the community bought extra groceries, made an extra supply of breads, cakes and cookies, and they did some general house cleaning because guests were expected. These extra duties,

in addition to their regular household work and perhaps helping the men with "spreadin' the fish" each morning, and "making up the fish" each evening, made this a very busy week for the women.

The men, however, rarely spoke about the garden party except to ask a neighbour "got either drop of stuff for the garden party", or to joke with a younger person "you'll get a fella [boy friend] or you'll get a girl for yourself [girl friend] at the garden party". For this occasion, a man either made "some blue ribbon", which is a home brew, or bought some beer, or ordered rum, or perhaps if he could financially afford it, he had a combination of all three.

On Thursday and Friday, the activities in preparation for the garden party really picked up momentum. The high school girls went from house to house selling tickets for various prizes, for example, the gate prize would be a calf, a lamb, a box of butter, a sack of sugar, or a gun. Almost all of the prizes were donated by the community people. The girls made a house to house collection for some item for grocery boxes which would be either auctioned or used as prizes, that is, "sell tickets on them". Perhaps the next day, another such collection would be made for little gifts which were used for children's grabs or for use in a "fish pond". The local business people were contacted for donations usually of "soft drinks", candies and chocolate bars which would be sold to the children.

By Friday night the excitement and the rush had grown greater. The women of the elected committee washed the parish dishes, arranged the tables at the dining hall, wrapped prizes and checked other last minute details such as the arrangement of the tables in the dining hall. The men's committee took the church tables and arranged them together in a long line. They also built the booths and stalls outside on the grounds.

Saturday, the day of excitement had finally arrived. The men proceeded with their usual tasks such as fishing. Most of the women started the day a little earlier--around 5:00 a.m. so they could have the necessary cleaning and cooking completed early in the day. On Saturday afternoon most of the women took their contribution of food to the dining hall. Until 1963, it was one of the school classrooms; today there is a separate dining room attached to the community hall.

Early Saturday afternoon, the boats of the first visitors began to arrive. The boats from north of Conche "down the shore" went into Crouse Harbour, while the boats from south of Conche, "up the shore" went into Conche Harbour. These boats were large "trap skiffs" and in recent years "long-liners". Each was manned by the owner, and from ten to thirty people were jammed into each boat. They included women, children, teenagers and older men; the age range was from one to sixty.

For the Conche residents, the arrival of the visiting boats and the number of people who came seemed to cause much excitement and happiness. Perhaps this was because the number of people proved to them that their work or preparation was not going to be in vain and that the garden party would be a success.

On seeing a boat come into the harbour, a number of the residents of the community, particularly the men and children "go down on the wharf", to meet the visitors and to see who had "come". Children became really excited, and they made sure they met every visiting boat when it arrived at some fishing stage. Their role was to spread the news to the various neighbourhoods about the number of visitors, their home community, and to try to remember as many names as possible. The men invited "up to the house" any people that were known. Ten men might meet a boat with thirty people but the visitors would go to only three or four of the houses represented. In this way, all outside visitors were taken care of.

When the visitors entered the house, the wife immediately began to prepare lunch and carry on conversation especially if there were any women visitors. The women's conversation usually centered around the health of the individual, her family and "how she has been all year". The wife might also inquire about other people whom she knew from the visitors' home community. The men's conversation centered around the

fishery, and its success or failure, and was carried on while they exchanged "drinks". The host was always the first to offer a drink to the visitors.

If the host could provide accommodations, the visitors were requested to stay. If, on the other hand, closer friends were expected, the visitors were usually told about the situation, and although they went to some other house, they were invited "back for dinner" the next day which was Sunday.

The boats and visitors continued to arrive throughout Saturday afternoon and Saturday night, with a few arriving on Sunday morning. The majority of the visitors, however, who planned on attending the garden party, arrived on Saturday because on Sunday the weather might be stormy. Hospitality was free and generous but visitors were expected to attend and pay for the formal garden party events. On Saturday night there was a movie or a "play", which was usually a three act Irish comedy, presented by the local adults in the community hall. Not only adults but also the children attended. After the show was through, the children and those under fifteen years of age were requested, usually by the priest, to return home, while the adults prepared for a dance which continued until 2:00 a.m. on Sunday.

The "square dancing" which followed was done to accordion music. One or two skilled performers would alternate in the playing. They were not paid for their services but they were usually kept well supplied with "a drop

of stuff". The people who did not dance strolled about the hall and conversed with the visitors they knew, some of whom they would not have seen since the garden party of the previous year or even of two or three years before. The few visitors who did not attend the dance went from house to house in the community exchanging drinks, talking and singing. Although there was lots of drinking throughout the period of the garden party, the whole atmosphere was one of congeniality and rarely did any conflicts develop. Hospitality, generosity and friendliness were evident everywhere. Behaviour was certainly different at the garden party, as it was at any of "the times" or community social events, than it was in usual daily interaction. Behaviour and comments normally thought to be improper, especially in mixed company, were now excused, and people danced, sang and told jokes and stories that were mildly bawdy.

In the weeks just prior to this, as throughout most of the summer, fishermen went to bed early. During these two or three nights of the garden party, the houses were lit up more than usual and lights remained on until 2:00 or 3:00 a.m. All summer, prior to the garden party, most of the lights in the community would be out by 10:00 or 10:30 p.m. and many would never come on until the fishermen "got up" (arose) at 4:00 or 4:30 a.m.

On Sunday morning, the visitors and the community residents attended church and returned to have an early dinner

at noon. Many of the male visitors remained over-night at the house where they became tired. The number of people for whom the woman of a household would have to prepare breakfast (and/or dinner) on Sunday, might range from two or three to fifteen or twenty, plus her own family. This could well be realized when one understands that the visitors had increased the population of the community by fifty per cent overnight.

The garden party resumed on Sunday afternoon at two o'clock on the parish or "church grounds". People dressed in their Sunday best, and often new clothing was purchased for this occasion. Women and girls made a special effort to have a new dress, which they had not previously worn, for the Sunday activities, which were the high point of the garden party. These activities were largely but not entirely child-centered, with the mother and father taking the whole family. Some of the attractions for the children were ice cream, candies, pop, grabs, fish ponds and various types of races and games. For the adults, there were rifle shooting contests, darts, rings, dice, wheel of fortune, sale of knitted goods and "fancy work", and tickets on the various prizes. As the children had been saving their money for two or three weeks, each child spent from two to five dollars during the day. At four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, supper was served by the community women. The meal cost a quarter for the children and a half-dollar for the adults, with separate tables for children and adults.

The women of the parish each "give" an hour or two serving the "supper". At 7:00 p.m. after the families had supper, all parents took their children home; visitors took theirs to the houses where they were staying. If the family had an older child who could baby-sit, both parents returned with their adult visitors to "the time" at night. If no baby-sitter was available, only one of the parents attended that night. Sunday night continued with the serving of "supper" until nine o'clock; continuous dancing from 6:00 p.m. to 2:00 a.m., and the excitement of drawing the winning tickets for the various prizes. The people danced or sat around and talked. By 2:00 a.m. Monday, most of the people were tired and guests went home with their hosts.

On Monday morning the excitement was over. If weather conditions were suitable, the visitors started leaving the community about nine o'clock and most would have gone within two hours. If weather conditions were unsuitable and the visiting boats could not leave, there was usually another social with a dance, and soup and sandwiches on Monday night. Both the men and women of the community went "down on the wharf" to wish the visitors "good-bye", and hoped that they would have a safe return home. These people normally would not see each other again until the next garden party the following year.

When all the visiting boats had left the community, the men continued with their daily tasks while the women started

house cleaning again. On Monday evening, unless visitors were still there, the women of the community gathered and cleaned the hall and shared up any food that was left over. The only other conversation about the garden party was centered around some of the visiting people, the prize winners, the amount of money that was "made", and other detailed incidents. On Monday night the residents of the community retired earlier than usual, and all the activities returned to normal as the excitement of the garden party had passed for another year.

It is worth observing that few, if any people from Conche who were over forty years old attended the garden parties sponsored in any of the other neighbouring parish communities. The same did not hold true for the people from the neighbouring parish communities who always attended the Conche garden party. This difference might have been influenced by the religious rather than the social factors. Conche, the religious center of the parish, was where the priest lived. Many of the older visitors to Conche took advantage of this festivity and social gathering to attend Mass and other religious services. Leaders from other parish communities attended the Conche garden party since it provided them with an opportunity to discuss with the parish priest new plans for the educational and religious needs of their respective communities.

The only recognition of neighbourhoods in relation to the garden party was where visitors stayed. Generally, the visiting people from one community stayed with one neighbourhood group, mostly because of kin or friendship ties.

The garden party appears to be a folk adaptation of the annual Lieutenant Governor's formal garden party in St. John's. At first it was primarily a means to help finance parish projects, such as new schools and churches, and their maintenance and operating expenses. It became a welcomed break in the work year by providing entertainment and a time for celebration and revelry. Socially, the garden party further functions by providing opportunities to meet prospective mates, and one of the local adult expectations was that every young person would have an escort or "date" during this occasion. Any younger person who did not, became the butt of jokes concerning his inability "to get a girl and there were lots of 'em here".

Additionally, it functions in giving community solidarity, where people work together for the financial good of the church, and for the public image of the community. The garden party also gives the parishioners the added sense of loyalty to their priest and their church.

Like the customs associated with death and burial, the garden party is community rather than neighbourhood oriented; they are church organized and dominated, so all the customs and traditions are representative of the whole community rather than of specific neighbourhoods.

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APPENDICES

The figures of the land in use, the number of boats, the production of hay, crops and fish, provide a picture of the traditional economic situation.

Year	Population	Married Males	Married Females	Catching and curing fish	Inhabited Houses	Stores Barns	Fishing Rooms	Boats	Nets and Seines	Cod Caught	Salmon Caught	Herring Caught	Codoil	Seals	Tons Hay	Potatoes	Turnips	Cattle	Sheep	Swine and Goats	Improved Land
1857	129	17	14	41	19	26	11	43	166	688	42 Tierces	25 brls.	4 5/8 tons	965	41	52		35		35	13½ A.
1869	118	16	16		13	13	13	43	166							202		25	23	17	
1884	269	40	41		41	55	39	59	12 traps 384	847	105	64	gals 593	54	64 3/4	419	brls 11½	44	50	11	
1891	252	27	27	76	44	81	38	104	18 traps 360	1733	193	56	1516	7	72	502	24	69	66	13	42 A.pasture 44 A.gardens
1901	298	33	33	114	57	103	42	94	13 traps 404	2148	159	25	1816	74	87	707	49	46	99	24	25 A.pasture 49 A.gardens 98 Improved
1911	325	53	54	198			51		19 traps 482	4260					142	681	50	61	14	47	6 A. pasture 23 A. Gardens 253 Improved
1921	376	52	51	226		139		105	34 traps 850	5335 28,000 lbs. tinned	82				101	629	20	75	88	36	
1935	403	59	59				73 used and not used	36 motor	21 traps 347												