FOLKLORE, THE SCHOOL, AND THE CHILD: THE ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN CHILDREN'S CALENDAR CUSTOMS IN A NEWFOUNDLAND OUTPORT

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by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to assess the role of educational institutions and their representatives in one area of children's folklore in Newfoundland, in the light of contemporary scholarship in the general field of folklore and education.

An examination of literature reveals that in recent years folklorists and educators alike have focused more attention, and more intently, on the topic of 'folklore and education', with a view to incorporating folklore in the regular school curriculum. Though a number of journals have devoted entire issues to the subject of folklore and education, and others have from time to time published articles offering specific suggestions for utilizing folklore in the classroom (usually as a minor portion of a high school social studies or English course or an integrated part of an elementary school language arts program), the material has largely remained sporadic and unorganized.

When folklorists have considered the school setting as part of their research area, they have generally restricted themselves to an investigation of children's activities on the playground. Attention to children's calendar customs has been even more limited, with general works on calendar customs often incidentally including purely descriptive accounts of children's calendric activities, intermingled with descriptions of adult behaviors.

This work contends that the formal classroom setting has not been viewed by folklorists as a viable area in which to conduct practical fieldwork. Documentary accounts of classroom settings have come from teachers who have inevitably seen folklore as serving a strictly didactic function. Folklorists and teachers have not seen the classroom group (teacher and students) as worthy of study in itself, as evidenced in their omission to study the traditions of the classroom and the school.

This investigation of children's calendar customs in the primary school at Musgrave Harbour, illustrates the viability of the formal classroom as a setting for folklore research. It is not enough to investigate student activities; teachers themselves have a definite value as informants. Folklorists must study not only the place of folklore as an instructional unit, but the teachers and students, who are together active participants in their own group traditions.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The topic of folklore and education is one which has achieved considerable prominence in folkloristic debate throughout the past few years. The focus of this discussion has been the pedagogical applications of folklore materials in the school.[1] However, few studies have investigated the ongoing presence of folklore in existing school situations or discussed the relationships that exist between educational institutions and the indigenous folklore traditions of the communities which they serve.

In 1977 I came to the community of Musgrave Harbour, a small fishing settlement in the section of Newfoundland's northeast coast known as the Straight Shore. In the following years I worked as a teacher in the local primary school. As a folklorist I soon came to appreciate the interdependence of the established educational institutions and local cultural tradition. Nowhere was this relationship more apparent than in the field of children's calendar customs.

During the course of my work, I was able to observe in an intimate way, the traditional calendric activities of Musgrave Harbour schoolchildren and the role played by the school and its teachers. This study is a result of those observations. The research technique employed was essentially that of participant-observation rather than the more usual practice of employing field recorded interviews. In

[1] See Chapter one.

this case it was my feeling that the use of the latter might seriously impinge upon the teacher-to-teacher and teacher-to-student relationships which enabled me to observe these particular traditions from an emic point of view.

This thesis seeks to understand the relationship between the community and the social institutions which serve it in the realm of cultural tradition. It is my hope that the achievement of this goal will help to illustrate the relevance of folklore in the classroom and to the educational profession as a whole. The establishment of this point is particularly important at this stage in the history of education in Newfoundland. The importance of cultural heritage in our school curriculum is now being acknowledged by professional educators. An informed approach to the existing presence of cultural tradition in the educational sphere should assist in charting the future course of a program of heritage study for this province.

1. FOLKLORE AND EDUCATION: A DISCUSSION OF CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARSHIP

In recent years folklorists and educators alike have increasingly focused attention and more intently, on the subject of 'folklore and education', with a view to incorporating Folklore into the regular school curriculum. Though their respective approaches to the topic differ, perhaps necessarily so, the basic premise remains the same: the teaching of folklore can and should function as an integral and integrated part of the educational process.

Folklorists have long been offering suggestions to teachers and outlining methods for the inclusion of folklore in their instructional programs. As early as 1951, a committee presented to the American Folklore Society a list of eighteen recommendations to be used as an aid in promoting the introduction of folklore into the curriculum of the public school system. The committee suggested that appropriate literature be made readily available to those directly responsible for the education of young people.[1] Shortly thereafter, in 1952, the American Folklore Society published a bibliography which contained sources for both teachers and students.[2] Since then, a number of folklore journals, notably The New York Folklore

[1] M. Jagendorf, "Committee on Folklore For Children and Young People," Journal of American Folklore, 64 (1951), 213-214.

[2] Eloise Ramsey & Dorothy Mills Howard, Folklore For Children and Young People: A Critical Bibliography and Description for Use in the Elementary and Intermediate Schools, Bibliographic Series of the American Folklore Society, Volume 3, 1952.

Quarterly, The Journal of American Folklore, Folklore Forum and Keystone Folklore, have had an outpouring of articles on, and some have devoted entire issues to, the topic of folklore and education.[3] Despite the apparent interest and enthusiasm displayed by folklorists, the material has largely remained sporadic and unorganized, amounting to little more than a potpourri of suggestions, albeit many of them good ones. The obvious result of this is that the material has often neither reached the audience nor has it been utilized in the environment for which it was intended.

The advocates of Folklore for the schools have met with a modicum of success. The study of folklore is slowly seeping into some schools, as evidenced by the appearance, in a number of educational journals, of reports depicting the practical application of the subject in the classroom. For those teaching at the junior high or at a more advanced level of education, the Indiana English Journal has published an issue entitled "Focus on Folklore".[4] The articles in it range from one offering general suggestions to teachers wishing to establish guidelines for their students to follow when conducting folklore research,[5]

[3] See in particular, "Special Issue: Folklore and Education", Keystone Folklore, 22, No. 1-2 (1978), which contains an annotated bibliography of selected periodical literature on Folklore and Education, as well as a number of excellent articles on the subject; and Perspectives on Folklore and Education, Folklore Forum Bibliographic and Special Series, No. 2, (1969).

[4] "Focus on Folklore", Indiana English Journal, 11, 2 (Winter 1976-77).

[5] Janice F. Byrne & James E. Byrne, "Developing Teaching Materials and Activities for Folklore Study", Indiana English Journal, 11, 2 (Winter 1976-77), 34-39.

to one which gives very specific ways of dramatizing a particular folk-tale for children.[6] Other journals have from time to time published articles offering specific suggestions for utilizing folklore in the classroom; articles which usually recommend the inclusion of folklore as a minor portion of a high school Social Studies or English course, or as an integrated part of an elementary Language Arts program.[7]

Certain educational centres have for a time concentrated their resources on the subject of folklore for the schools and their efforts have resulted in some extremely valuable aids for the classroom teacher. The Nebraska Curriculum Center, in 1968 published a volume of childlore, which is to date the best handbook on the subject for teachers of elementary education.[8] The book is divided into two sections: part one, the "Playlore of Children", offers suggestions for teachers on how and why to approach the study of playlore; part two, "Folklore of the Community", proposes specific ways of studying, gathering and cataloguing community lore. The Southwest Educational

[6] James Walden & Edward Berry, "Dramatizing The Folktale: Procedures for "Tzar Trojan and the Goat Ears", Indiana English Journal, 11, 2 (Winter 1976-77), 47-50.

[7] See for example, Laurence I. Seidman, "Teaching About The American Revolution Through its Folk Songs", Social Education, 37 (November, 1973), 653-664. Genelle Grant Morain, "French Folklore: A Fresh Approach to the Teaching of Culture", French Review, 41 (April, 1968), 675-681. Clyde Roberson, "Ben Scott, the Biggest Teacher East and West of the Mississippi", Teacher, 93 (April, 1976) 68-69.

[8] Folklore in the Elementary Grades, Tri-University Project in Elementary Education Curriculum, Volume 6, Lincoln Nebraska: University of Nebraska Center, 1968. The Center has also published a Curriculum for English for kindergarten through high school, which capitalizes on folklore, with special emphasis on the folktale.

Development Laboratory of Austin, Texas has developed a Children's Folklore Program which involves both conducting field research in children's folklore and using the results of that research to improve the quality of instruction to elementary school children. The Laboratory has issued a study of children's handclaps which includes the text, pattern, and music of a number of individual handclaps, and also offers to the teacher suggestions for instructing children in the rudiments of handclapping.[9] By outlining the basic skills involved, the author explains to teachers how aspects of informal learning on the playground can be directly correlated with, and aid in the process of, more formal learning in classroom situations. More of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory findings have been published as Black Girls At Play: Folkloric Perspectives on Child Development. The authors studied the playlore of black girls in primary school - grades kindergarten to three.[10]

Folklorists have strongly championed the cause of "Folklore for the schools", but have done little to demonstrate the practical application of their theories. Some attempts have been made to bridge the gap that exists between folklorists and educators. Richard and Laurna Tallman worked on a project in 1977 which resulted in the publication of a folklore textbook for high school students the only

[9] Beverely J. Stoeltje, Children's Handclaps: Informal Learning in Play (Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1978).

[10] Black Girls At Play: Folkloric Perspectives on Child Development. (Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1975).

one of its kind in print. The aim of the project coordinators was two-fold:"..to create curriculum materials in regional folklore for secondary school English and History classes, grades 8-11; to train teachers in the use of these materials."[11] The teachers involved were trained in workshops conducted by the Tallmans and then used these methods and materials in their individual teaching situations. Roy Palmer, too, has tried to deal directly with the application of folklore in the classroom. He and Robert Leach edited Folk Music in School, a collection of essays which reviews work done in Britain by teachers who have employed folk music as an aid in the teaching of a number of academic subjects including history, music, religious education and culture in general.[12] Folk Music could also function as a resource book for teachers as it offers additional suggestions for utilizing folk songs in specific instructional situations. Palmer has also published a series for use in schools, one of which is The Painful Plough, which depicts nineteenth century agricultural history through the study of folk music from that period.[13]

One of the best demonstrations of the applicability of folklore study in the school has been made by Elliot Wigginton, instigator of Foxfire experiments. Mr. Wigginton's high school students collected

[11] Richard and Laurna Tallman, Country Folks. (Arkansas: Arkansas College Folklore Archive Publications, 1978), p. 107.

[12] Robert Leach and Roy Palmer, Folk Music in School, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[13] Roy Palmer, ed., The Painful Plough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). Palmer's other publications designed for school use include A Touch on The Times: Songs of Social Change 1770 to 1914, (1974), and The Rambling Soldier: Military Life Through Soldier's Songs and Writings, (1977).

folklore mainly from older people in their community, analyzed the material and under the direction of their teacher published their findings in a magazine of their own production. Wigginton edited the articles and at a later date, helped the students organize and publish some of them in book form: The Foxfire Book was printed in 1972, Foxfire 2 appeared a year later, Foxfire 3 was produced in 1975 and Foxfire 4 in 1977. Wigginton and his students have succeeded far beyond their original aspirations. Their achievements include the publication of traditional music in record form and the production of a television program for their area's local T.V. station. Wigginton's concept of education has spread throughout the United States to the extent that hundreds of schools are currently engaged in projects modeled on Foxfire. Wigginton has since written a book for teachers interested in starting a similar project of their own.[14]

In the introduction to Foxfire 2 Wigginton criticized teachers for their failure to make education relate in any meaningful way to the real life-world of their students. He admonished teachers who never attempt to treat the students' activities and the community around them as worthy of study. A similar criticism may be made of folklorists; while wishing to see Folklore established as an area of serious study in the schools, they are themselves guilty of neglecting the study of educational institutions. The formal classroom setting has simply not

[14] See his, Moments: The Foxfire Experience (1975). Wigginton has also edited "I Wish I Could Give My Son A Wild Raccoon", which describes projects similar to Foxfire from different parts of the United States. For an example of a project modelled on Foxfire, see Pamela Wood, The Salt Book (New York: Anchor Books, 1977).

been viewed by folklorists as a viable area in which to conduct practical fieldwork. When they have considered the school environment as part of their research area, they have generally restricted themselves to an investigation of children's activities on the playground. Studies of playground lore, of games and other activities that children engage in, when out of the bounds of adult supervision, have an intrinsic value in that they provide an insight into one particular aspect of childhood. The Opies' work in this regard has done much to enlighten us as to the nature and content of children's playlore.[15] The contributions made by Sutton-Smith to the field of folklore include the study of children's traditional games on the school playground. In his "The Games of New Zealand Children", which in addition to listing the games, included documenting the historical changes that had occurred in the games over a number of years, Sutton-Smith collected games from, among others, a large number of schoolchildren throughout the country.[16]

One of the few attempts to document childhood activities in the classroom is outlined in The Study of Games, which includes a section entitled, "Games in Education".[17] In primary and elementary schools,

[15] Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren (Oxford: 1959), and Children's Games in Street and Playground (Oxford: 1969).

[16] Brian Sutton-Smith, "The Games of New Zealand Children", in his, The Folkgames of Children (Austin: 1972), pp. 5-257.

[17] In Elliott M. Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games (New York: 1971), there are three articles on Folklore and Education: J.S. Coleman, "Learning Through Games", pp. 322-325; I. Kraft, "Pedagogical Futility in Fun and Games?", pp. 326-329; and Elliot Carlson, "Games in the Classroom", pp. 330-339.

in particular, games are used to aid in many instructional activities, and a number of articles have been published to demonstrate their effectiveness.[18] Certain cognitive skills, especially those involving memory, are thought by some educators to be enhanced through the playing of specially selected games. Therefore games have been devised to assist children in the acquisition of rudimentary knowledge, such as the alphabet, certain phonetic skills, as well as the mastery of spelling and basic mathematical concepts. The advocates of games as instructional tools appear to assume that games stimulate a child's interest when other, more conventional methods of education have failed. Some educators feel that the fun of playing a game makes learning easier, especially for children with any sort of learning disability.[19] Simultaneously, educators who oppose the game craze in schools argue that "children lose sight of the objectives, see games in a fun context, and do not really learn anything by playing them".[20] Most teachers however, are not caught up in any sort of theoretical

[18] See D.C. Farran, "Games Work With Underachievers", Scholastic Teacher, (November 9, 1967), 10-11. J.H. Humphrey, "Comparison of the Use of Active Games and Language Workbook Exercises as Learning Media for the Development of Language Understanding with 3rd. Grade Children", Perceptual and Motor Skills, 21, No. 1 (1965), 23-26. S. McClure, "Vowel Tic-Tac-Toe", The Instructor (January, 1967), 122.

[19] One schoolboard has even published a booklet of games, some educational and some traditional children's games, for parents who wish to help with their child's reading in the primary grades - see Doris Beck and Vivirella Chow, Talking and Reading: Easy Language Games To Play At Home (Montreal: 1979).

[20] Avedon and Sutton-Smith, "Games in Education", in their The Study of Games, p. 316.

debate concerning the pros and cons of the usage of games in the classroom. Avedon and Sutton-Smith most clearly enunciated the situation when they stated that "the use of games in the teaching of academic subjects in so embedded in instructional technique that the only issue most teachers are really concerned with is whether they can find a suitable game for their purposes."[21]

Teachers at the primary or elementary level generally have little difficulty in obtaining games with which to stimulate their students, for a portion of their training at teachers' colleges consisted of finding and often devising student activities, such as games to be used as methods of instruction. There are also numerous books available to aid teachers in their search for just the right game to enhance their teaching of a certain subject or basic learning skill.[22]

In a rather enlightening assessment of the role of games in the classroom, Coleman spoke out in favour of their usage:

> the development of academic simulation games is a response to two challenges: that posed by a complex, difficult-to-understand society and that posed by children uninterested in or unprepared for abstract intellectual learning. These challenges may be blessings in disguise if they force the development of approaches to learning in school that more nearly approximate the natural processes through which learning occurs outside school. 23

[21] Ibid., p. 316

[22] One of the books which claims that its games have a dual function in promoting both fun and learning is: Guy Wagner, et. al., Educational Games and Activities: A Sourcebook for Parents and Teachers, (Darien, Conn.; Teachers Publishing Corporation, 1966). The same group has published games dealing with specific skills, including: Language Games: Strengthening Language Skills With Instructional Games (1963) and Science Games and Activities (1967).

[23] James S. Coleman, "Learning Through Games", in Avedon and Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games, p. 325.

Coleman is thus advocating that schools attempt to relate more to the real-life world of the child. Folklorists for their part should investigate, via practical fieldwork, this area of child development which they have hitherto neglected.

Coleman's article is an exception to the rule of folkloristics, for documentary accounts of classroom settings have usually come from teachers, and they have inevitably seen folklore as serving a strictly didactic function. The specific genre on which the interest of teachers has most often alighted is the folktale, perhaps because its applicability to their classroom reading programs is most clearly discernible. The folktales are often viewed, not as forms of composition worthy of academic study in themselves, but as a means to an end, as a method of developing specific reading or writing skills.[24]

Educators have demonstrated their awareness of the role that folklore is currently playing in formal learning situations. A number of teachers' colleges and other educational centers have produced serious studies of the position of folklore in the schools. One particular study was conducted into the use of folklore in elementary education, but the author's avowed purpose was to investigate the possibilities of manipulating folklore to assist in accomplishing the aims of

[24] See for example, Margaret Blake Kirkpatrick, "Teaching Motifs Through Fables, Myths, Fairy Stories, and Other Folk Tales", Elementary English, 48 (October, 1971), 672-674. Herbert Loewenthal, "Folk Tales as a Focus for Teaching Inter-Related Language Arts Skills", Elementary English, 49 (March, 1972), 428. Karl Ames, "Some Folklore and Related Materials for Composition Classes", Indiana English Journal, 11, No.2, (Winter, 1976-77), 25-33.

formal education.[25]

Expressing concern for the failure of some collectors to accept folklore as they found it, and their consequent rewriting of the collected material, Alan Dundes commented: "This retouching of oral tales continues today in the children's literature field where reconstructed, reconstituted stories written in accordance with written not oral convention are palmed off as genuine folktales."[26] A matter for concern in this regard is the apparent readiness of educators to accept these so-called folkloric items and promote their inclusion in classroom studies. Writing in 1956, Alfred R. Bates attempted to determine which folkloric materials were then being utilized in schools. He stated that the purpose of his study was to assess "the amount of folklore in America available for use by the elementary school child or teacher."[27] He then proceeded to examine a number of social studies and reading texts to determine the amount of "legends" and "folk stories" these contained. Bates obviously gave no consideration at all to the preponderance of oral literature in existence in America. Solely on the basis of the number of stories he counted, Bates drew a

[25] John Fay Putnam, "Folklore in Elementary Education", Ph.D. Dissertation, in Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1960. For a genre specific study of folklore in the school context see, Richard Gerald Alvey, "The Historical Development of Organized Story-telling To Children in The United States," Ph.D. Dissertation University of Pennsylvania, 1974.

[26] Alan Dundes, "Folklore as a Mirror of Culture", Elementary English, 46 (1969), p. 472.

[27] Alfred R. Bates, "The Materials of Folklore Used in the Elementary Schools (Norwalk, California)", Masters of Education Thesis, Whittier College, 1956, p. 1.

number of conclusions about the utilization of folklore in schools in the United States. He stated that as part of his initial research, he had examined a couple of folklore textbooks to help him in determining the definition of Folklore. This however, did not prevent his acceptance of the written literature as genuine folktales and legends.

Another group that has recently begun studying schools in a manner which might prove to have some applications for folklore theory, are anthropologists. Because of the peculiar characteristics of their discipline, anthropologists have taken an approach which differs from that of both the educator and the folklorist. Consequently, certain areas of classroom study remain unexplored, leaving gaps which only folklore can fill.

With regard to the study of education, folklore could take a number of lessons from anthropology. Anthropologists George and Louise Spindler are the general editors of sixteen case studies on education and culture, whose aim was to delineate the relationship between the two. Harry F. Wolcott, author of A Kwakiutl Village and School, did an ethnographic study of an Indian village and its school.[28] Wolcott taught at the local school. The role of teacher provided him with a unique participant-observer position from which to assess the conflict existing between the formal education system as represented by the

[28] Others in the series include: Lorene Fox, A Rural Community and Its School (New York: 1948). Leo W. Simmons, Nichu: A Japanese School (New York: 1967). John Collier, Alaskan Eskimo Education: Analysis of Cultural Confrontation in the Schools, (New York: 1973), and Alan Peshkin, Kanuri Schoolchildren: Education and Social Mobilization in Nigeria (New York: 1972).

school and the informal traditional system of the Indian culture.

"Recently there has been increasing attention paid by anthropologists to studying schools as cultural institutions."[29] Two anthropologists, Hostetler and Huntington, in their study of childhood in Amish society, focused on the school within that society, as being a very conscious and deliberate 'cultural institution'.[30] Amish society is unusual in that the school actually supports family and local traditions; and church and school are viewed as supplementers of home teachings. The home, rather than the church, assumes the major responsibility for providing moral and religious instruction to their children. The authors stress that Amish schools differ from "public" schools in that they do not undermine the child's system and values that he brings to school with him.

Other anthropologists, in a manner similar to Wolcott's, have centered their investigations on the controversy that inevitably arises between a traditional culture and a formal educational system imposed on it from the outside world. One such anthropologist is Lorene K. Fox, the editor of East African Childhood, which contains three versions of growing up in an African tribe.[31] Fox was teaching a

[29] Jean Doyle, "Helpers, Officers and Lunchers: Ethnography of a Third-Grade Class," in Spradley and McCurdy, The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in Complex Society (Chicago: 1972), p. 147.

[30] Hostetler and Huntington, Children in Amish Society, (New York: 1971).

[31] See Fox, East African Childhood, for Joseph A. Lizembe, "The Valley Between: A Muluyia's Story", pp. 1-41; Arina Apoko, "At Home in the Village: Growing Up in Acholi," pp. 45-75; and J. Mutuku Nzioki, "Thorns in the Grass: The Story of a Kamba Boy," pp. 79-137.

bachelor of education program at an African university. As part of their program his students studied both their native and other tribes; they also read literature concerning Western and non-Western children. Perhaps educators of the Western world would do well to take a lesson from Fox's approach. Three of Fox's students wrote the essays in the book he edited; each writer came from a different tribe. All three stressed that in his tribe, education had traditionally been the responsibility of the family first and secondarily of the tribe. At the time the book was published the schools were vying with the community for control of education, and hence of the child. In the writers' opinions the schools appeared to be winning the contest.

A collection of essays by prominent anthropologists describing educational systems in a number of countries around the world has been edited by John Middleton. One of the articles, concerning education in Guatemala, investigates two native groups, Indian and Ladino, upon whom a formal educational system has been imposed by government agencies. The author indicates that the schools are failing in their endeavours. The Indians and Ladino continue to educate their children through their own socialization processes, with the foreign educational system having little influence.[32]

[32] Robert Redfield, "Culture and Education in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala", in John Middleton, ed., From Child to Adult, (New York: 1970), pp. 287-300. See also, in the same book, Manning Nash, "Education in a New Nation: The Village School in Upper Burma", pp. 301-313, which similarily points out the failure of pedagogical institutions in the face of traditional educational methods. Melville Herskovits, "Education and Cultural Dynamics: Dahomey and the New World", in From Child to Adult, pp. 250-271, states that a group of people maintains a continuing sense of identity only when certain essential cultural elements are retained. To emphasize his point he

In studies similar to that conducted by Raum among the Chaga, anthropological investigations have delineated longlasting and highly successful indigenous educational systems. Many of the investigators influenced by early anthropologists like Malinowski and Mead, sought out native groups that had been little contaminated by the outside world. In so doing they did provide unique insights into educational processes that achieved their intended purpose, while being totally non-pedagogical in nature. Firth's We, The Tikopia and Whiting's Becoming a Kwoma are classic studies of that type. The authors findings were similar in that both found education to be an ongoing part of the lives of the people they were studying. A child of such a group was not isolated from his society in order to learn about it; his learning was an inherent part of growing-up.[33]

Margaret Mead had taken her investigations and recommendations one step further than did later anthropologists. She studied primitive cultures, paying particular attention to their childrearing practices. She attempted to correlate and compare her findings with then current philosophies and methods of educating children in the Western hemisphere. She suggested taking cues from tribal systems she studied

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refers to the Dahomey, whose retention of aspects of their native culture has steadfastly defied years and miles of separation from their original homeland.

[33] Meyer Fortes, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland", in Middleton's From Child to Adult, pp. 14-74, describes the Tallensi of northern Ghana, whose indigenous educational system is supported by, and in reciprocal manner, supports the social organization; neither of which would survive without the other. Firth's and Whiting's studies are cited fully in the appended bibliography.

and implementing them in rearing our own children.[34]

In a textbook designed for student use, the editors, Beals and the Spindlers, explained that part of their work was concerned with "situations where alien or future-oriented cultural systems are introduced through formal schooling."[35] The reference groups they mentioned - North American Indians and black ghetto groups - are closer to home than are primitive tribes of Africa or New Guinea; but the enforced educational institutions are as detrimental to them as to the latter.

Other authors have demonstrated the incongruity of contemporary formal educational methods among blacks in the United States. Both Dillard and Kochman have focused on the native dialects of many black children in contrast to the standard English they are taught in schools.[36] Kochman criticized educators who attempted to determine the language development of black children, using standard English as their criterion, instead of referring to the children's own dialect. Though Dillard maintained that his "is a work on language primarily and on education almost incidentally",[37] he did contribute to both education

[34] See Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa, (New York: 1971); Growing Up in New Guinea, (New York: 1975); and Mead and Wolfenstein, eds., Childhood in Contemporary Cultures, (Chicago, 1955).

[35] Alan Beals and George & Louise Spindler, eds., Culture in Process (New York: 1973), p. 259.

[36] See J. L. Dillard, Black English: Its History and Usage in The United States, (New York: 1972). And Thomas Kochman, ed., Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America (Urbana, Illinois: 1972).

[37] Dillard, Black English, p. i.

and culture when he suggested that standard English be taught to Black children not as a replacement for what they had learned prior to coming to school, but as a second language.

In an attempt to make the study of cultural anthropology more meaningful to their undergraduate students, Spradley and McCurdy had their students conduct ethnographic research, and subsequently published some of their findings in a textbook.[38] Some of their students studied school situations: Sue Parrott, when studying children at recess, worked, in the initial stages of her research, directly with the classroom teacher.[39] The teacher assisted her in the selection of children for the study, but once past the initial introductory stages, Parrott worked solely with the children. Another of the student writers did not work directly with the school, but conducted her research through a series of interviews with children away from the school environment.[40]

One of the few attempts to study the student's world, both inside and outside the classroom has come from anthropologist Philip Cusick. Cusick investigated one particular high school situation, by daily associating with the students and directly participating in both their

[38] James Spradley and David McCurdy, The Cultural Experience, (Chicago: 1972).

[39] Sue Parrott, "Games Children Play", in The Cultural Experience, pp. 207-219.

[40] See, Jean Doyle, "Helpers, Officers, and Lunchers", in The Cultural Experience, pp. 147-156. See also, Janet Davis, "Teachers, Kids, and Conflict: Ethnography of a Junior High School", in The Cultural Experience, pp. 103-119.

academic and recreational activities.[41]

Another author, Laurence Wylie, studied, during the early nineteen fifties, both the pre-school and schooltime education of children in a French village.[42] Wylie detailed childrearing practices from infancy to a child's entry into school. Acting as a supplementary teacher provided him with ready access to the village school. He described both the formal and informal activities at school and explained the school's role as existing within the larger circle of village life.

Gerry Rosenfeld's findings were directly in contrast with those detected by Wylie in his French village. Rosenfeld conducted an anthropological field study at a school in Harlem, and, rather than the school being a part of community life, he found the school to be alienated from the neighborhood in which it existed.[43] He stated that the teachers expected little in the way of academic performance from the children they were there to instruct. The teachers' ignorance he blamed, at least in part, on the lack of preparation they received at teacher training colleges.

[41] Philip A. Cusick, Inside High School: The Student's World (New York: 1973). Cusick's work is one in a series, under the editorial guidance of Solon T. Kimball. Others in the series include: Thomas A. Leemon, The Rites of Passage in a Student Culture: A Study of the Dynamics of Transition (New York, 1972). And Mary Ellen Goodman, The Culture of Childhood: Child's Eye Views of Society and Culture (New York: 1970).

[42] Wylie, Village in The Vaucluse (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1974), first published in 1957.

[43] Gerry Rosenfeld, "Shut Those Thick Lips": A Study in School Slum Failure (New York: 1971).

Martha Ward's ethnographic research revealed that the school in the community she studied was at variance with both its children and their parents.[44] She found a distinct lack of communication between school and home; the result of which was total absence of cooperation between parents and teachers concerning the training of children. From the child's point of view, his activities at school were highly regulated and supervised; this was in contrast with his natural environment in which he was largely unsupervised and life was run according to a fixed routine as little as possible.

In a study of an educational process that would never occur in a school, Evans-Pritchard depicted two alternate methods of instruction, designed to achieve the same ends.[45] He studied witchcraft among the Azande, paying particular attention to the way a novice was initiated into the trade. One method was an on-going process, when from childhood a potential witch-doctor was gradually and informally taught the knowledge he would later require. The other method of instruction occurred when a young man decided of his own accord that he would like to become a witch-doctor. In the latter case, the instructional methods were much more intense and formalized, as the initiate had to learn a great deal of knowledge in a relatively short space of time.

Some of the best suggestions concerning the how and why of folklore study for schools have originated with those, who at the same time,

[44] Martha Ward, Them Children: A Study in Language Learning, (New York: 1971).

[45] Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among The Azande (Oxford: 1976, an abridged version of the original 1937 edition).

have been both teachers and folklorists.[46] Tallman pointed out that not the least advantage of folklore study in the schools is its assistance to the classroom in functioning less as a dictatorship, for when exchanging and discussing their folklore, the teacher and students learn from each other.

While strides are being made in the area of folklore and education, much remains to be accomplished. An interesting article by Marcia Walerstein describes an experimental school in which folklore is a regular part of the curriculum, not as a course of academic study, but as a way of children learning folklore from each other.[47] The teachers at the school also engage in the transmission of folklore, through teaching games and songs and celebrating special calendric events with their students.

Cultural studies have always played a vital role in Finnish education. The study of folklore is also a required part of elementary, secondary and post-secondary education in Finland.[48]

Some folklorists have at least partially utilized the schools when conducting field research. Ó Súilleabháin, in Ireland, used questionnaires to gather data; questionnaires which found their way

[46] See especially, Richard S. Tallman, "Folklore in The Schools: Teaching, Collecting, and Publishing", New York Folklore Quarterly, 28 (1972), 163-185.

[47] Marcia Walerstein, "Ethnic Folklore in the Primary School Classroom", Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 15 (1970), 161-166.

[48] Edson W. Richmond, "The Study of Folklore in Finland", in Richard Dorson, ed., Folklore Research Around The World, (New York: 1961), pp. 39-49.

into schools as well as into households. In his Handbook of Irish Folklore, Ó Súilleabháin makes mention of "the half million pages collected by the teachers and senior pupils of the Primary Schools in 1937/38."[49] The Opies in England canvassed schools, and with the aid of teachers and students, compiled material for their collections.[50]

Provincial cultural studies have in recent years, become a regular part of the curriculum in Newfoundland junior and senior high schools. Educators have actively encouraged and promoted "Newfoundlandia" studies in the classroom; with Newfoundlandia being defined as anything and everything that is specifically related to the island, whether it comes under the heading of history, geography, literature, folklore, music. During the past decade, a number of books, containing various Newfoundland writings, have been published, with most of them aimed at the schools, and some designed to reach a particular group, such as English teachers.[51]

While Newfoundlandia has remained little more than a loose conglomerate of topics, some folklorists and some educators have sought to improve matters by designing specific instructional techniques and programs for teaching folklore in provincial schools. R. A. Bragg, on

[49] Seán Ó Súilleabháin, A Handbook of Irish Folklore, (Detroit: 1970), pp. i.

[50] See the Opies, Children's Games in Street and Playground (Oxford: 1969); and The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren (Oxford 1959).

[51] See, Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty, eds., By Great Waters: A Newfoundland and Labrador Anthology (Toronto: 1974). Kevin Major, Doryloads: Newfoundland Writings and Art Selected and Edited For Young People (Portugal Cove: 1974). And Clyde Rose, ed., Baffles of Wind and Tide: An Anthology of Newfoundland Poetry, Prose and Drama (Portugal Cove: 1974).

a rather enlightening and progressive note, has proposed a model for the study of dialect in the schools.[52] She suggests that the study begin with the student's own dialect, and then move outward to include his family, his community, the district and finally the entire province.

Aidan O'Hara, in an endeavour to promote the study of oral literature, has recommended its inclusion in English and Literature classes.[53] He suggests that teachers begin by introducing their students to oral literature starting with their own community and province, and comparing some of it to the written form. He advises that students be taught that some of the best classical literature was based largely on stories that were in oral circulation at the time it was written.

In outlining the reasons and objectives for making the study of Newfoundlandia a vital part of the school curriculum, Stanley Sparkes includes a number of suggestions for the inclusion of folklore as part of that study.[54] His suggestions include utilizing folk music in the classroom and encouraging students to record their local folklore through interviews with community members to obtain information.

[52] R. A. Bragg, "Dialect in The Classroom", NTA Journal, 68: 1, (1978-79), 21-26.

[53] Aidan O'Hara, "Oral Literature - Has It A Place?" NTA Journal, 68: 1, (1978-79), 9-13.

[54] Stanley Sparkes, "Newfoundlandia in The Classroom", NTA Journal, (November, 1970), 8-11.

A number of Newfoundland teachers have recently, of their own accord, initiated the study of folklore in their classes. Jesse Fudge and his grade eight students in Stephenville have not only collected and recorded folklore in their community, but have compiled some of their findings in the form of a locally produced booklet, entitled "The Folklore of Newfoundland."

Christine Hedges was awarded the 1980 Hilroy Fellowship in recognition of her work with students in Grand Falls. Teacher and students, together, explored and studied the local history of the area. Brian Manning has introduced the teaching of folklore in grades eight and nine at St. Clare's High School in Carbonear.

The Institute of Social and Economic Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland has published many accounts of various aspects of Newfoundland life, including its history and its folklore. One of their best recent publications is John Widdowson's study of verbal social control, through which many aspects of child-rearing practices in Newfoundland are brought to light.[55]

The Department of Folklore at Memorial University has had its undergraduate students completing questionnaires and collecting information since its inception in 1968.[56] Its Archives contain an abundance of material which would be a tremenduous aid to teachers

[55] John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland (St. John's: 1977).

[56] For an account of the Folklore work done at Memorial University see, Halpert and Rosenberg, "Folklore Work At Memorial University", The Canadian Forum, (March, 1974), 31-32.

and other educators interested in encouraging the serious study of folklore in our schools; it is there as a potential resource when needed.

In the next chapter we shall examine the educational system in this province as portrayed by a typical Newfoundland outport school, and the school's place in the local community.

2. THE COMMUNITY AND ITS SCHOOLS

Musgrave Harbour, a small community with a population of approximately 1,500 people, is located on the north-east coast of Newfoundland. It lies on the stretch of coastline between Notre Dame and Bonavista Bays known as "The Straight Shore." The nearest community of any significant size is the inland town of Gander, nearly sixty miles away. Musgrave Harbour is flanked on one side by the adjoining community of Doting Cove and on the other side by the smaller settlement of Ragged Harbour; in 1954 the three were incorporated to form the town of Musgrave Harbour. Though now officially one community, the individual sections remain locally distinguished.

I - History and Geography of Musgrave Harbour

Musgrave Harbour, christened "Muddy Hole" by its earliest inhabitants, was originally settled in 1834. In that year John Whiteway and his family, "three generations out from Devonshire,"[1] England, arrived there from Western Bay. Ragged Harbour had probably been settled a few years earlier, for according to Seary, one, James Abbott, was living there in 1822.[2] His incentive in

[1] E.R. Seary, Family Names of The Island of Newfoundland (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), p. 509.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

choosing Ragged Harbour was very likely not the attractions of the fishing industry but the farming potentials of the area. By the early 1840's a number of people, mostly sharemen[3], had begun to settle in Muddy Hole. Doting Cove also began to receive its share of settlers in the mid 1840's — fishermen from Bonavista Bay. While Muddy Hole and Doting Cove developed primarily as fishing outports, Ragged Harbour continued for some time as a farming community.

The early settlers to Musgrave Harbour were not lured there to reap the benefits offered by its harbour. The harbour, beset by submerged rocks, requires navigational skill and a thorough knowledge of the area, to negotiate it safely. The attraction for fishermen was the Wadhams, a group of islands some ten or twelve miles off-shore from Musgrave Harbour. These were the centre for a large and lucrative migratory fishery. Fishermen from Bonavista Bay wintered at Bonavista, but in the spring when the fishing season began, they removed with their families to the islands. The migratory fishery was a yearly event long before Musgrave Harbour was settled; Head speculates that the Wadhams had a summer fishery by the early 1760's.[4] Ragged Harbour, though developed originally for agricul-

[3] In Newfoundland communities a shareman is an individual who joins the crew of a fishing boat as a hired hand. In return he receives a "share" of the total catch for the season. He has no investment in the boat or fishing gear. In Musgrave Harbour as elsewhere, the boat owner usually reserves forty percent of the net catch for the maintenance of gear and the vessel itself. The remaining sixty percent is divided equally among the crew members.

[4] C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), p. 175.

tural purposes, was a centre for some fishing. Prowse cites Ragged Harbour as being one source for salmon fishing as early as 1723.[5] It is unlikely however, that any boats actually landed there; their catch was probably processed elsewhere, perhaps on one of the nearby islands.

The fishermen from Bonavista Bay who in the 1840's settled at Musgrave Harbour and Doting Cove probably did so as a matter of convenience. Musgrave Harbour was closer to the islands from which they fished than was Bonavista. At Musgrave Harbour they continued to follow their established pattern: they wintered at home and fished from the islands in summer.

These first settlers to the Musgrave Harbour area, some of whose surnames were Mouland, Pardy, Abbott, Hicks and Guy, have descendants living there today. Their ancestry can be traced back to immigrants who arrived in Bonavista Bay "mostly from the West Counties of Devonshire and Somershire." (Sic)[6]

The early inhabitants built their houses close to the shoreline, with the garden giving direct access to the fishing premises. The early settlement patterns and subsequent division of land were similar to that described by Faris as characteristic of Cat

[5] D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland From The English Colonial and Foreign Records (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Studio, 1972), p. 283.

[6] R.W. Guy, "A Short History of Muddy Hole 1834 - 1866 - Musgrave Harbour 1866", First Prize Winning Entries in The Government Arts and Letters Competition 1971, p. 1 - 62.

Harbour.[7] When a man had grown-up sons, his children did not move to land elsewhere in the community; the father divided his "garden" into sections, on which each son built a house. The garden was always divided in such a manner as to ensure that the land in front of a house led directly to the sea. A direct route from a man's garden to the sea was considered essential, for there was little chance that he would not follow the traditional way of life established by his father; the fishery was the only occupation available to him. As was the situation with Faris's Cat Harbour, people in Musgrave Harbour also went "up and down gardens, not across them."[8]

Land is still inherited in the same way: it passes from father to son, with the father's house eventually going to the youngest son. Succeeding generations also continued to divide land in the traditional manner, until all possible divisions of that nature had been made. In recent years, fathers continued, and where possible still do continue, the subdivision of their gardens, but with less regard to the positioning of a sea access. Land is merely divided in any way that permits the construction of a house; in many gardens there is simply no more land to be divided. Many young people have, consequently, to look beyond their fathers' property when planning the building of a house. There is practically no seafront land

[7] See James C. Faris, Cat Harbour - A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1972) pp. 54-63, and pp. 96-97.

[8] Ibid., p. 96.

available, and therefore much new construction is centered on what is locally known as "the ridge" - a hill, approximately three quarters of a mile from the sea, through which the new highway runs. It is no longer necessary that a fisherman has direct access from his garden to the water. For each crew, and often individual fishermen, as in the case of lobster fishermen, has its own "store" - a small wooden building, erected on the shore, in which fishing equipment and supplies are kept, and its own small wharf from which to launch a small boat. Larger boats, such as long liners, are launched from the recently constructed community wharf. Any attempt to sell a house in Musgrave Harbour is at best a difficult and often impossible endeavour. All houses are locally constructed, with a young man receiving assistance in his task from his father and other close relatives; therefore, buying a house would be considered an unnecessary expense, and a prospect not generally given consideration.

Until approximately twenty years ago, Musgrave Harbour was an isolated community, accessible only by sea. A road was then built inland to Gander; however, the upgrading and paving of that road was not completed until four years ago, in the summer of 1977.

In 1866 Sir Anthony Musgrave, then Governor of Newfoundland, had made an historic visit to the Straight Shore area. Upon viewing the settlement at Muddy Hole, he decided that its name should undergo a change and suggested "Musgrave Harbour" as an alternative. His wishes were duly complied with and Musgrave Harbour it has remained since.

II - Economics

The chief occupation and mainstay of Musgrave Harbour was the inshore cod fishery. In addition, a number of men put out in schooners each year to fish off the Southern Labrador coast. Ragged Harbour continued to develop as a profitable farming area, supplying foodstuffs for the Fogo and Twillingate areas. By the late 1880's Ragged Harbour had an additional industry in the form of a lobster canning factory. Produce from the cannery was shipped to Fogo and from there to larger, and presumably more lucrative markets. By 1884, two local merchants were well established in Musgrave Harbour. To these store owners the fishermen paid the bulk of their yearly catch, in return for whatever fishing gear they purchased. Prior to the establishment of merchants in the community fishermen from Musgrave Harbour had, in the fall, travelled to St. John's to pay for the provisions they had earlier obtained from merchants there. To these suppliers the fishermen often paid their entire catch, and at times even that was insufficient to settle their accounts. One story is related in Musgrave Harbour concerning a fishing crew which had journeyed to St. John's ". . . with their season's catch neatly stowed in three small schooners. To their disappointment they had to return in one. The other two crafts and their cargoes, together with the cargo of the third, were retained

by the merchant to settle accounts."[9]

Though they had of necessity to procure their fishing gear from merchants, the most of their consumables, by far, were provided by the people themselves. Many of the local residents still pursue a semi-subsistence life style. They continue to grow their own vegetables and to provide other staples such as fish, seal, moose, wild ducks and berries. There remain, scattered throughout the community, a number of old, grass-covered root cellars, in which vegetables are stored and preserved for the winter's use. Most of the men also provide their own fuel which they gather from the forest.

The people of this community have been directly affected by two of the most important incidents to occur in the labour movement in the province: the development of the Fishermen's Protective Union and the International Woodworkers Association strike in 1959. In 1908 William Coaker arrived here and the local fishermen participated in the formation of the F.P.U. This led to the setting up of a Union Co-operative whose purpose was to buy fish directly from the fishermen, in competition with the established merchants.

From the early part of this century the lumbering industry had been an important source of employment for the people of Musgrave Harbour. The majority of fishermen supplemented their income by engaging in seasonal, mostly winter work in the lumber woods. Most

[9] Pleman Philip Hicks, "A Brief History of Musgrave Harbour," unpub. Ms., p. 6. Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

of the men so employed worked at the Bowater's lumbering operation in Indian Bay. For these men the usual means of transportation to Indian Bay was walking a distance of over sixty miles carrying supplies on their back. Others who did not work at Indian Bay travelled across the island to the Anglo Newfoundland Development Corporation operations at Millertown in central Newfoundland. The men from Musgrave Harbour either walked, or travelled by boat to Gambo, approximately eighty miles away, and from there took the train to Millertown.

The inshore fishery continued to be the main occupation of the people of Musgrave Harbour until about the middle of this century. At that time there was a province-wide movement away from fishing. That situation rendered the lumbering operations essential to the economy of the area. In 1961 a hugh fire destroyed the area's forest lands and had a devastating effect on its economy. The community was evacuated during the fire; women and children were transported to Fogo island for safety. The men remained behind to fight the blaze. The fire was finally arrested within a couple of hundred feet of the community. The forest has not yet regrown. The coastal road passes through almost one hundred miles of country-side which still shows the scars of the devastation caused by the fire.

A number of men from the area did, and some still do, participate in the seal fishery. They engaged in the industry both as landsmen and as participants in the main sealing fleet which departed

from St. John's each spring.[10] This participation continues to the present day. Several men leave the community each year to join up with the St. John's sealing fleet. There is also a land-based seal fishery: three or four local boats each year take seals off-shore and return to the community within a few days. The duration of their stay "at the ice" depends on two factors: the number of seals and the ice conditions.

Only about twenty years ago did Musgrave Harbour cease being the center of a migratory fishery. Like the earliest settlers, a number of people used the community as a winter base and spent their summers on the Wadhams. There, entire families went and fished during the summer.

In recent years the inshore cod fishery has become a more profitable operation, and is again the main industry of most of the population. Two types of boats are employed in the fishery. One is the traditional punt, a small, open boat, eighteen to twenty-five feet long. The other is the more modern long liner, a large boat between thirty and sixty feet in length, with a fully-planked deck and an enclosed wheelhouse. Though not all fishermen own a long liner, the majority aspire to one. The fishing season usually gets under way by the

[10] The landsman differs from a member of the main sealing fleet in so far as he commutes to the ice from his home community rather than spending a period of several weeks at sea until the sea fishery is over. The method of slaughter also varies from one to the other. While members of the main fleet hunt the seals as they remain on the ice pans after pupping and kill them by rendering them unconcious with a blow to the head, the landsmen use a high powered rifle to shoot the seals as they swim through the water.

beginning of June, at which point the long liners use gill nets or cod traps. Then, usually starting the latter part of August and going on through September, the bigger boats use trawls and the small boats use hand lines and jiggers.

With plentiful markets and the aid of the fishermen's union, the lobster fishery has become another successful and vital source of income to the region. As the lobster fishery became a more lucrative proposition, the number of fishermen wishing to pursue it was greatly increased. Government regulations then intervened until now practically the only way to obtain a lobster license is to inherit one from a close relative. The lobster season is a very short one, of approximately two month duration, beginning in the latter part of May and running until mid-July. The lobster fishermen then engage in other fishing activities; they fish for cod with gill nets through July and August, and in late August or early September switch to jiggers.

On a smaller scale, some men fish for lump roe; a small amount of turbot and flounder are also caught, as are squid and herring, when market conditions are favourable to those fisheries. The community also has a small fish plant and a modest local construction firm which hire a number of local residents. Though a few men work at the fish plant, most of the employees are women, the majority of whom are fishermen's wives. In traditional fishing communities in the past, women were allottedthe task of spreading the fish for drying. Although their work at the plant involves a different method

of processing fish, it is basically an extension of the role that women in earlier years played in the fishery.

Mainly due to increased prices, and better gear and working conditions, fishermen generally no longer need to supplement their incomes - other than with the Unemployment Insurance benefits which they collect during the winter months. Throughout this period of the year, the men are occupied building and repairing gear for the coming fishing season.

Prior to the conclusion of the fishing season in the fall, most of the men in the community, whether full-time fishermen or not, spend a day or two jigging cod. This is then salted, dried and stored in the traditional manner, for use during the ensuing winter.

Young people who do not go "on the water" have little option other than to leave the community and usually the province to seek employment. Some members of the community work farther afield on construction sites, returning home only on weekends and a number commute to work inland to the larger center of Gander.

The community has a number of small grocery stores which provide an income for their proprietors and supply most of the needs of the local residents. The provincial government recently erected a town center, the Jesse Russell Building, so named in honour of the community's oldest citizen, who lived to the ripe old age of one hundred and four. Officially opened in 1968, it houses the community council office, courthouse, post office, library and public health nursing office. It is also the site of a small nursing station, supplemented in recent years by the bi-weekly presence of a

doctor from the nearby cottage hospital at Wesleyville.

III - Social Life

The social life of Musgrave Harbour is reflected in its community organizations, most of which are divided according to religious denomination or sex. The organization of longest standing in the community is the Loyal Orange Association, which was formed there in 1877. The Lodge building was constructed one year later, and remains there today. It has been the scene of many concerts, meetings and other local events. New Year's Day of each year was heralded by a Loyal Orange parade, followed by a supper and concert at the lodge. The entire concert, consisting of locally composed dialogues, songs and recitations, was performed by the men of the Lodge. The songs were, as one local resident explained, "based on daily work," and were mostly songs of the sea. The Lodge has in recent years declined in stature, and during the past decade the New Year's tradition has ceased to be observed.

There are two women's church groups in the community: the United Church Women's Association and its Salvation Army equivalent, the Home League. In an endeavour to raise money for the particular interests of their church, each group, at various times throughout the year, has a soup or "pot luck" supper, and a sale of baked and knitted goods. Occasionally one of the groups will sponsor a

community concert, though that phenomenon has become something of a rarity in recent years. One such concert held in 1980 was so well received that some of the would-be audience had to be turned away at the door; the hall was simply not big enough to accomodate all who wished to see the concert.

The local volunteer fire brigade serves a social as well as a practical function: it holds monthly bingo games which are generally well attended. In recent months a branch of the Lions Club was formed in the community.

A relatively recent addition is in the form of two nightclubs; these have been in existence approximately ten years. For many years strong religious opposition in the community prevented the opening of any sort of liquor establishment. At each of the clubs dart leagues have been organized. Each club has a ladies' and a men's league, in addition to a "mixed" league, in which men and women play together. The darts "season" begins in the fall and continues through the winter until spring which heralds the beginning of the fishing season. The demands of the fishery leave little time for darts or other social activities so that most organizations are suspended for the summer months. Each dart league has an annual party, to conclude its activities, which consists of a supper and dance and at which trophies are presented to the winning teams.

One of the biggest social events of the year is the annual Fishermen's Ball which is held each spring at one of the local nightclubs.

In July of each year the entire community celebrates with a Musgrave Harbour Day. The actual events occur over a whole weekend, from Friday evening until Sunday. They include a Miss Musgrave and a Little Miss Musgrave pageant, a demolition derby and a supper and dance on Saturday night. The highlight of the occasion is a parade comprised of floats designed by various community groups. It is one of the few events in which the entire community participates.

In the past, events organized by the whole community were a more frequent occurrence. On the occasion of Uncle Jesse Russell's one hundredth birthday, a party was held for him at which practically the entire population was in attendance. On the arrival of the "Brendan" to their shores, the people of Musgrave Harbour invited the crew to participate in a celebration to commemorate the event; again, most of the residents attended.[11]

Children for the most part, are left to pursue their own social activities. There are, however, a number of groups organized by adults; for girls there are brownies, guides and pathfinders, and for boys there are cub scouts.

IV - Religion

Most of the original inhabitants of Musgrave Harbour professed an allegiance to the Church of England, and during its early

[11] See Tim Severin, The Brendan Voyage (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1978), pp. 262-265.

formative years the community was visited by an Anglican minister from Fogo. Nearby Bonavista Bay had seen Methodist missionaries established there for a number of years. Their influence had eventually spread to Muddy Hole, for with the settlers from Bonavista had come their Wesleyan religious beliefs.

A number of disputes ensued between the two denominations, mostly because in lieu of a church, religious services were conducted in the local school. By 1893, a Methodist Church was under construction at Musgrave Harbour, and the following year the community received its first minister with the arrival of Reverend Henry Lewis. The physical presence of a church structure and an 'offical' minister probably helped remove whatever antagonism existed between the Methodists and the followers of the Church of England. At any rate, by the turn of the century, the latter faith had died out in Musgrave Harbour, probably because the Anglicans had not built a church there and consequently, many people converted to Methodism.

The population of Doting Cove was entirely Methodist, but in 1890 the first Salvation Army meeting was held there. By the early 1900's the Salvation Army was beginning to make its presence felt in the religious life of the community, and shortly thereafter the first "barracks" was built in Doting Cove.[12]

In 1901 an extension was added to the existing Methodist Church to accomodate the growing population. Twenty-five years later the

[12] Barracks is the colloquialism locally employed to refer to the Salvation Army Citadel.

church was torn down and a new one, by this time the United Church, was built on the site and officially opened in 1928.

The influence of the Salvation Army gradually spread from Doting Cove to Musgrave Harbour and Ragged Harbour. In 1957 the present Salvation Army Citadel, by far the largest church in the community was built, this time in Musgrave Harbour. By the 1950's Pentecostal missionaries had arrived in the area, and in 1959 a Pentecostal Church was built in Musgrave Harbour. A few years later the Jehovah's Witness faith attracted some of the residents and in 1964 a small Kingdom Hall was erected in the community.

The United Church congregation was by this time considerably declined. Though a new church was built in 1969, it was smaller than had been any of its predecessors. The largest religious denomination in the community at the present time is the Salvation Army, with the Pentecost Assembly running second.

V - Education

The first schoolhouse, a small one-room structure, was erected in Muddy Hole in 1851 by the local residents.[13] They evidentally received at least verbal assistance in their endeavours from the Wesleyan School Society, who claimed ownership of the new building. The community's first teacher, Charles Harris, arrived there in

[13] Pleman Philip Hicks, p. 12.

1852. In addition to his teaching duties, Harris, like many of his counterparts in Newfoundland at the time, conducted Methodist church services at the school. Throughout Newfoundland there was already controversy between a number of religious denominations concerning the educational system. Muddy Hole was not without its involvment in the dispute. A number of local residents, adherents to the Church of England, who had assisted in the construction of the school, were less than favourably disposed to the idea of their teacher conducting Methodist services at the community's only school. Their disfavour eventually led to a row between the two religious groups. By 1862 the dispute had become more than a verbal one: Harris fled from the community, reportedly in fear for his life. The school itself was partially destroyed in the final conflict.[14]

Originally under the jurisdiction of the Greenspond School Board, the school had, sometime prior to this incident, been transferred to the Fogo Board. That Board refused to supply a new teacher, insisting that the residents who had damaged the school were responsible for repairing it. The disagreement continued in a stalemate for the next three years, but was eventually settled and the school re-opened in 1865. The new teacher, one John Brown Wheeler, was, like his predecessor, a member of the Methodist faith and a lay preacher. Either Wheeler or the religious beliefs he proferred were by this time more acceptable to the general populace, for he remained as the local schoolmaster for the

[14] Pleman Philip Hicks, p. 13-14.

following twenty-four years.

The original school building lasted until 1882, when a new one was constructed. Children from Doting Cove attended the school at Musgrave Harbour. Ragged Harbour had its own school, erected there by the local inhabitants.

From the twentieth century onwards it is difficult to separate religion and education in the area; their history is inexorably bound together. In 1908 The Wesley Hall was completed in Musgrave Harbour. This building was, for the next forty years, to serve a dual purpose: it functioned as the school house and as a social center for the entire community. Here, concerts, soup suppers, 'times', meetings and numerous other social activities were held.

At approximately the same time the Wesley Hall was under construction at Musgrave Harbour, a school was being built for the first time at Hicks Hill in Doting Cove. The erection of that building testifies to the increasing influence of the Salvation Army, under whose auspices it was being constructed. From this date onwards, the school which children of the area attended was determined by the religious affiliations of their parents.

Although most of the children in the community attended school on a regular basis, in the spring and early fall enrollment declined markedly. The absence of students that time of year was largely due to the fishery. When families moved to off-shore islands for the fishing season they could hardly be expected to leave their children behind in Musgrave Harbour. In any case, boys eight years

of age and older traditionally went fishing with their fathers. Daughters too would have their share of responsibility. They shared in their mothers' task of drying the fish or they were engaged to look after their younger siblings while their parents worked. Though attendance at school during the winter months was fairly consistent, in the eyes of the local residents, formal education evidently ranked second to the more mundane business of earning a living. A child's presence at the fishery precluded any formal schooling, but while there his education still continued. Fishing with his father, a boy learned the skills he would need to earn a livelihood.

Until 1942 the Salvation Army school was a single room structure with only one teacher to instruct often upwards of eighty children, from grades one to eleven. The 1942 building, this time constructed in Musgrave Harbour, boasted two rooms, and with the additional classroom came an additional teacher. Converts to the Salvation Army increased and subsequently so did the number of children attending the school. As the enrollment increased additional classrooms and additional teachers were added to the school.

In 1948 the Methodists (by now the United Church of Canada) constructed a small two-room school. Though the Wesley Hall continued for many years to function as a social center, it had finished operating as a school.

The Salvation Army, which by this time had become a rather dominant force in the area, was responsible, in 1961, for the

construction of a local high school. Children from both the United Church and the Salvation Army elementary schools attended the new high school. The school in Ragged Harbour, which had been built by the Salvation Army, continued to operate as an elementary school; students beyond the grade six level attended the high school at Musgrave Harbour.

With the integration of the Protestant school boards throughout the province, the newly constructed high school came, in 1969, under the jurisdiction of the Terra Nova Integrated School Board. The Board subsequently closed the school at Ragged Harbour and introduced a busing system. Children from Ragged Harbour and others who lived a distance of a mile or more from the school travelled there by bus. Though the local Salvation Army signed over control of the high school to the Terra Nova Board, they maintained, under the terms of the agreement, a voice in the running of the school.

The Terra Nova Board had built, adjacent to the high school, a new elementary school which was officially opened in the spring of 1980. From the time the Terra Nova Board assumed responsibility for the schools in the area, the Salvation Army had functioned as an elementary school and the smaller United Church school housed the primary grades. With the opening of the new elementary school the two older buildings ceased to operate as educational institutions and were returned to the churches which had originally constructed them.

The elementary and high schools in the community now constitute

a joint complex, with a number of shared facilities, including a gymnasium and a library-resource center. Grades kindergarten through six are contained in the elementary section. The high school consists of grades seven to eleven, and like all other secondary schools throughout the province it is preparing for the forthcoming introduction of grade twelve into the educational system.

Curriculum instruction in the primary sector (grades kindergarten to three) focuses largely on the acquisition of reading as a skill. Rudimentary mathematics is also taught, along with some physical education, music, science and health science. A new social studies program is currently in the process of being introduced to the school; it is planned that the child will first begin by studying himself, then respectively his home and his community. The elementary curriculum is basically an extension of subjects taught in the primary grades. The primary emphasis on reading continues through to grade six; however, the curriculum is expanded somewhat to include History and Geography and very recently a smattering of French. By the time a student reaches junior high school he is afforded a minimum option in areas he may wish to study further. In addition to the core subjects for his grade, he may elect to study or omit from his curriculum industrial arts or music.[15] At the

[15] The "core curriculum" consists of those subjects which the provincial Department of Education has deemed contribute the most to the student's intellectual development and consequently must be studied by all students. At the present time, and due to be altered at the introduction of the re-organized high school program, the core subjects are English, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies (History or Geography).

senior high level a student's options have widened slightly to the extent that he may elect to pursue a general or an academic course of study. This choice is not as comprehensive as it might appear; in essence, a student may opt to study mathematics and English programs designed for potential university entrants or he may confine himself to learning a more basic knowledge of the two subjects, a course intended only to afford him a high school diploma. The secondary school student has one other academic alternative: to choose between one of the two sciences offered by his school.

In addition to its graded educational system, the school at Musgrave Harbour has two learning centres, one at each of the primary and elementary sectors. The purpose of the learning centre is to provide small-group and when necessary, individual assistance, to children with any sort of learning problem, whether it be academic, social or physical. There is also one special education class for children whose abilities, as decided by the school, do not enable them to learn in a 'regular' classroom. Such a teaching-learning situation has at least one advantage in its flexibility; the teacher is not confined to a definite curriculum but is expected to vary instructions to meet the individual needs of his students. In 1980 the special education class had one partial work-study program. One teenage boy from the class fished with his father and attended school part-time, attending during the seasons and days when it was not possible to fish. The boy's father and his teachers cooperated to determine between them the skills he would require to

pursue a living at the fishery. They differentiated between skills which could only be acquired by on-the-job training and those which could be taught by the school.

Though reminiscent of the tendency in former years to remove children from school to assist with fishing, this case is very much an exception to the general rule. A student would ordinarily never be given the school's permission to defer academic studies in order to pursue a job opportunity. During the summer holidays when school is closed, most young boys and in recent years many girls, will spend at least a day or two fishing with their fathers. Whereas in the past a child was expected to do his share of the work, nowadays though he may help with the fishing, his enjoyment of the occasion is above all stressed. In this manner some measure of indigenous education pertaining to the father's occupation continues, however, with the re-opening of school in September all such excursions for the child cease. One attempt made by the school to relate in a meaningful way to the world outside the classroom comes in the form of the increasingly popular field trip. A field trip can range from a stroll along the community's beach in search of rocks and sea shells to a bus trip to Gander, designed to afford students a glimpse at more sophisticated pursuits and amusements. Though viewed by some teachers as an important and even vital part of the child's schooling, others see the field trip as a trivial and often wasteful excursion.

On the surface at least, the school, being the direct responsibility of the Terra Nova Board, is now freed from local community

and religious conflicts. The local Salvation Army officials are nonetheless not unwilling to voice their disapproval of school activities which they consider to be outside the bounds of their ethics. The Pentecostal hierarchy has gone even further, to the extent of forbidding their children to participate in certain curricular and extra-curricular activities. There has even been some discussion among the Pentecostal membership, in recent months, of the possibility of busing their children some twenty miles away to Carmanville, so that they might attend the Pentecostal school there. Should such an unlikely event occur, the local school would be the loser for with declining enrollements, a consequence of a drop in the birth rate, it is having difficulty maintaining its present quota of teachers.

The community and its school system that we have just described provide the context for children's calendar customs which will be the object of discussion in the following chapters. A description of children's calendar customs in Musgrave Harbour is preceded by a survey of literature to date on the topic of children's calendar celebrations.

3. CHILDREN'S CALENDAR CUSTOMS: A SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER

From the time in 1846 when William Thoms first suggested replacing the outmoded term "popular antiquities" with the word "Folklore", the study of calendar customs was a preoccupation of many of that discipline's early disciples. This is not to suggest that the study of calendar customs had its beginnings at that point. Academicians belonging to the antiquarian school, whose avowed aim was to preserve from extinction those aspects of mainly country life which its members judged to be traditional, quaint and in danger of fading from popular usage, perceived calendar customs as being among the most vulnerable. Consequently, early antiquarians and succeeding folklorists sought to collect and record the observance of calendar customs for the sake of posterity.

"The heart of antiquarian folklore lay in custom, and particularly in calendar custom".[1] In making this statement Richard Dorson was underlining the importance attached to calendar customs by the British predecessors of modern folkloristics. Henry Bourne's collection of parochial customs and calendric festivities appeared in 1725 as Antiquitates Vulgares: or the Antiquities of the Common

[1] Richard Dorson, ed., Folklore Research Around The World (Port Washington, N.W.: Kennikat Press, 1973) p. 20.

People. Bourne's work was revised, up-dated and republished a number of times. Brand's revision, Popular Antiquities, was seen as more than a laudable effort by British folklorists, whom Dorson criticized for their lack of progression, when he stated: "English Folklore studies have followed this rubric right up to the present; scarcely a year passes but the same volume in slightly new design issues from the press".[2]

Among those directly traceable to Brand's influence is William Hone's The Table Book, which was published in 1827, fifty years after the publication of Popular Antiquities. Throughout his book, Hone stressed his indebtedness to Brand, from whom he quoted extensively. T. Sharper Knowlson's 1910 edition, The Origins of Popular Superstitions and Customs, was again an extension of Brand's earlier work. Continuing with this trend, A.R. Wright and T.E. Lones brought out in 1936 their contribution, British Calendar Customs, in two volumes. As proof of the authenticity of their material, the authors referred to similar findings by Brand. Christine Chaundler's Everyman's Book of Ancient Customs, released in 1968, cited the Popular Antiquities among the principle sources of reference. The list of Brand's followers is practically endless; those mentioned here should suffice to demonstrate the tenacious nature of Brand's influence.

This trend in folklore scholarship continued right through the nineteenth and into the contemporary twentieth century, with

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

collections of customs associated with Christmas, seen as the greatest yearly festival, being the most abundant.[3] An exhaustive succession of collections dominated the field of folkloristics. The chief and often sole concern of these collections, as stated by their respective compilers was the preservation of traditions which, to their eyes, were rapidly evaporating. A large majority of these collectors appeared to be guided almost entirely by the theory which Dundes refers to as the "devolutionary premise"; "Progress meant leaving the past behind. From this perspective, the noble savage and the equally noble peasant - folkloristically speaking - were destined to lose their folklore as they marched ineluctably towards civilization".[4]

Change was seen as essentially a negative happening. Collectors sadly lamented the erosion of traditions which, until modernistic concerns intruded, had been both longlasting and vital to man. The

[3] Books about Christmas range from those dealing with some of the more ancient Yuletide traditions to those concerned with the relatively new Santa Claus phenomenon, such as: Clement A. Miles, Christmas in Ritual and Tradition (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913). T.G. Crippen, Christmas and Christmas Lore (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1971, first published in 1923). William S. Walsh, The Story of Santa Klaus (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1970, first published in 1909). Willis E. Jones, The Santa Claus Book (New York: Walker and Company, 1976). Tristram Potter Coffin, The Book of Christmas Folklore (New York: Seabury Press, 1973). For a description of a particular custom, the Philadelphia Mummers Parade, held each Christmas season, see Charles E. Welch, Oh! Dem Golden Slippers (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1970).

[4] Alan Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory", in his Analytic Essays in Folklore (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), p. 21.

validity of Dundes' thesis is accentuated by the following remarks of Drake-Carnell, written in 1938: "Progress is the enemy of tradition. Before the growth of industrial cities, old customs and ceremonies wither and die. Proof of this can be found in every city in Britain, for, if the customs we keep would fill a volume or two, those that have decayed and disappeared would fill a library".[5] Drake-Carnell's assessment of the degenerative nature of folklore is an apt summation of the ideas shared by his fellow collectors. In seeking to formulate a more acceptable definition of folklore, Dan Ben-Amos also noted these negativistic tendencies in folkloristics and urged the adoption of an approach which centered upon folklore as process rather than item.[6]

In addition to preserving that which they felt was threatened with extinction, a number of the early collectors sought to find the original form of a tradition and to establish the initial reason for its existence. Nowhere is the concept of the 'Search for Origins' better illustrated than in the history of the study of calendar custom. The oldest form of a custom was thought to be the most valuable, and any change within a tradition was to be lamented. Writing of a traditional Yule time rhyme, Guthrie stated with obvious

[5] F.J. Drake-Carnell, Old English Customs and Ceremonies (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1938), p. 58.

[6] See Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context", in Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman, eds., Toward New Perspectives in Folklore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), pp. 3-15.

regret: "This rhyme is now so sadly shorn of its original proportions that it's real meaning can scarcely be arrived at".[7]

The attempt to reconstruct ancient practices and beliefs from present traditions continued. Researchers sought to reveal unknown aspects of man's past, through the investigation of his contemporary folklore. When explaining his reasons for presenting a collection of calendar customs, George Long declared:

> " . . . the study of their remote origins provides valuable knowledge of the very beginnings of human beliefs. Just as the scientist can construct a 'missing link' from a few fragments of skull and bone; or picture to us some vast and terrifying monster of the Liassic or Jurrasic epoch from scanty vestiges imbedded in the rocks; so can the student of folklore discover in these ancient customs 'fossil remains' of human beliefs". [8]

Such was the reasoning that for many years prompted the study of calendar customs. The fervor that surrounds the search for origins was not easily diminished. In his study of European festivals, published in 1961, E.O. James proposed an explanation for their existence, suggesting that their beginnings might be traced to the Middle East and its ancient rituals.[9] Buchanan, in 1962, was recommending an intensive investigation of local customs in Ireland in the expectation that extensive data would yield information

[7] E.J. Guthrie, Old Scottish Customs: Local and General (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., 1885), p. 164.

[8] George Long, The Folklore Calendar (London: Philip Allan, 1930), p. 1.

[9] E.O. James, Seasonal Feasts and Festivals (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961).

concerning their historical origins.[10] Many of the researchers, such as Buchanan, relied on printed sources for their information, and consequently, descriptions were often given in the past tense.[11] For them, the context in which the custom currently existed was of minimal importance.

With the advent of the functionalist approach, the existing context was accorded a much higher priority. Customs however were often not investigated solely to determine the manner in which they currently functioned in the lives of the people who celebrated them. They were instead part of a larger comparative study, in which contemporary customs were compared and contrasted with their counterparts of the past.[12] Still other folklorists contrived to establish the similarities and differences between the customs of one country and those observed in other parts of the world.[13] One of the most recent and most comprehensive works is Venetia Newall's An Egg at Easter. Newall conducted a thorough investigation of the customs, myths, beliefs, games and legends that universal man has

[10] Ronald H. Buchanan, "Calendar Customs: Part II", Ulster Folklife, 9 (1963), pp. 61-79.

[11] See, for example: Margaret Baker, Folklore and Customs of Rural England (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974), and Christina Hole, English Traditional Customs (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1947).

[12] For examples of this comparative method see: Roy Christian, Old English Customs (London: Country Life Limited, 1966). J.R.W. Coxhead, Old Devon Customs (Exmouth: The Raleigh Press, 1957), and Laurence Whistler, The English Festivals (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1947).

[13] Such as, Dorothy Gladys Spicer, The Book of Festivals (New York: Woman's Press, 1937), and Margaret Baker, Folklore and Customs

for centuries associated with the egg. Her analysis included a comparison of both past and present customs, and of the traditional 'egg' celebrations of a number of countries.

Some of the more contemporary studies have been characterized by a tendency to be more specific than the earlier ones, in that they have focused largely on one particular custom, generally from a distinct geographic area. In his All Silver and No Brass, Henry Glassie has presented a modern interpretation of a tradition as it existed approximately forty years ago. His conclusions, as to the impact of a mummers' Christmas play on a community in Ireland, are based on the rememberances of a small group of old people. Halpert and Story's Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland provides an in-depth look at Mumming in that province, and is unique in that it uses a combination of three approaches: historical, anthropological and folkloristic. Although the main emphasis of the respective essays is the adult mummer, some of them do refer to the children's participation in the tradition.[14] The 'little janneys' are mentioned, but we are provided with only a cursory analysis of their particular role.

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of Rural England.

[14] The following three articles deal in varying detail with Children's mumming traditions: Melvin M. Firestone, "Mummers and Strangers in Northern Newfoundland", p. 62-75; Louis J. Chiarominte, "Mumming in 'Deep Harbour': Aspects of Social Organization in Mumming and Drinking", p. 76-103; and John F. Szwed, "The Mask of Friendship: Mumming as a Ritual of Social Relationships", p.104-118, all in Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, eds., Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

Attention to children's calendar customs as a distinct phenomenon has been extremely limited, with general works often incidentally including a purely descriptive account of children's calendric activities, intermingled with descriptions of adult behaviors. Danaher for instance, describing Christmas celebrations in Ireland, incorporated in his depiction of the over-all family traditions the segments that belonged particularly to the children. - "The welcome task of providing the decorations usually fell to the children who for some time past had been making careful note of holly, ivy, bay and other evergreens for cutting and bringing home on Christmas Eve."[15]

Children's calendar customs have usually been mentioned only as they pertain to the larger area of family activities.[16] In order to fully comprehend this trend in the study of calendar customs, it is necessary to examine the broader field of children's folklore. This tendency to view children as minor participants in adult traditions is not confined to the study of calendar customs, but for a long time was a ubiquitous trend in folklore scholarship. In fact, the

[15] Kevin Danaher, The Year in Ireland (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1972), p. 233.

[16] See for instance, A.R. Wright and T.E. Lones, British Calendar Customs: England 3 vols. (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1936); Trefor M. Owen, Welsh Folk Customs (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1959); and Dorothy Gladys Spicer, Yearbook of English Festivals (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972).

entire area of children's folklore has been largely neglected by scholars, and has only recently begun to come into its own as a reputable field of study. In 1959, the Opies clearly distinguished between the concepts of 'nursery lore' and 'child lore', with the former defined as that which passes from adult to child and the latter as that which is communicated between children.[17] Prior to that time, there was little attempt to mark a demarcation point between the folklore which children and adults share, and that which is the exclusive property of the former.

"Twentieth century scholars have paid more attention than their predecessors to the category of children's lore."[18] While acknowledging the validity of the preceding statement, in order to analyze the reasons for the previous lack of importance attached to 'child-lore', we must probe further into the history of the study of childhood. Philippe Aries, in his famous study of childlife, has indicated that for a long time in the history of man, 'childhood' was essentially an unrecognized status. Because of the high infant mortality rate children were singularly unimportant until they had survived the first few precarious years of life. They were then admitted directly into adult society, which included their

[17] Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of School-Children (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 1.

[18] Mary Sanches and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Children's Traditional Speech Play and Child Language", in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ed., Speech Play (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), p. 66.

participation in its concomitant pastimes and amusements.[19] In a similar manner Raum's study of Chaga Childhood centers upon the child in the transitional stage at which he enters adult society.[20]

Until adults acknowledged childhood as a distinct and important phenomenon, they could hardly be expected to study it. According to Aries, an awareness of childhood began to develop in France by the end of the seventeenth century, for which development he offers the following explanation: "There can be no doubt that the importance accorded to the child's personality was linked to the growing influence of Christianity on life and manners."[21] This influence, coupled with a gradual decline in the number of infant deaths led to the eventual recognition of childhood as an important developmental episode in an individual's life.

Once children were accorded a status that was separate and distinct from adulthood, they were then removed from certain adult influences. Whereas children had formerly participated in the recreations of their elders, such pastimes were held to be unsuitable for childhood. Peter Brooks has explained that it was at this point that a literature written especially for children began to appear. Folktales and other forms of oral narration which had been listened

[19] Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, trans. Robert Baldick, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), pp. 38-40.

[20] See Otto Raum, Chaga Childhood: A Description of Indigenous Education in an East African Tribe (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), especially the section entitled "The Entry of the Child into Society", pp. 67-102, and the section on "Childhood", pp. 155-284.

[21] Aries, p. 43.

to by children and adults together, were relinquished by the latter and became a means of providing written moral instruction for children.[22] Aries elucidated the evolution of certain narrative forms as the property of children when he stated:

> In order for the necessary distancing between the adult's and child's world to take place, children had to be sufficiently separated from adults by boarding schools, in a world apart. It was also necessary that the themes offered to them cease to be those of adults, and so abandoned, became 'available'.[23]

The mentality which accorded to children only that folklore which had been 'abandoned' by adults dictated the trends of the first studies of children's folklore; studies which, in actuality were not of childlore but of nursery lore.

The earliest investigators of any lore pertaining to childhood applied not to children but to adults for information. The Grimms, in the early nineteenth century, collected and rewrote for publication, folktales which they had heard as children from their nursemaid. And Brunvand has said of American children's folklore: "The collecting tends to be from grownups recalling their youth instead of from the youths themselves."[24] Though children were finally acknowledged to possess some 'lore' of their own, they were

[22] Peter Brooks, ed., The Child's Part (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972).

[23] Philippe Aries, "At the Point of Origin," trans. Margaret Brooks, in Peter Brooks, ed., The Child's Part, p. 15.

[24] Jan Harold Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), p. 23.

not yet viewed by folklorists as reliable purveyors of that information.

The Victorian era in England was in large measure responsible for the acceptance of childhood as a vitally important concept. Queen Victoria's obvious liking for the company of her own children spread throughout the kingdom. Explaining the Victorian concept of childhood, Caroline Carver declared: "One would almost think that children were a new invention, so sudden and over-whelming was their popularity with the Victorians."[25] Children themselves were certainly not new, but recognition of their importance was. Of Queen Victoria's personal influence Carver stated: "At the beginning of her reign, children's feelings were considered only in the upper echelons of society; but by the end, Christmas was considered their special time, by even the most humble families."[26] Christmas was viewed as fundamentally a children's day, but one which had been deemed as such by adults. During the Victorian era we get some collections of folklore which devote a minor section to children's activities. Children's folklore in that context was thought to consist of that which had been discarded by adults and subsequently adopted by children; the existence of childlore in any other form, that is, totally devoid of adult influence, was not credited.

The nineteenth century reasoning which prompted the study of

[25] Caroline Carver, Canadian Christmas Book: A Handsel From Our Victorian Past (Montreal: Tundat Books, 1975), p. 24.

[26] Ibid., p. 21.

children's folklore appears to adhere closely to Dundes' idea of folklore's "devolutionary premise." Collections from that era were based on the theory that children, and their folklore, belonged to society's lower strata. Childhood was seen as a repository for fading or devolving adult traditions. Studies of children's lore generally concentrated solely on games, which were collected not from the children who played them, but from adults remembering games they played. Lady Gomme's classic collection of children's games belongs to that category. Like other folklorists of her time she sought to determine the origin of many of the games, and in this regard she asserted:

> "Children do not invent, but they imitate or mimic very largely, and in many of these games we have, there is little doubt, unconscious folk-dramas of events and customs which were at one time being enacted as a part of the serious concerns of life before the eyes of children many generations ago." 27

Adhering to the philosophy that "children do not invent," folklorists were unlikely to see in children's lore anything beyond the remains of adult traditions. In his 1883 publication Games and Songs of American Children, Newell felt that he was collecting the remnants of former adult traditions which had reached the bottom of their downward trend and were in the process of expiring completely.

Most of the surveys of calendar customs include a section on children's activities, which usually contains traditions that the

27 Alice Bertha Gomme, The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), I, p. xvi.

author feels have faded from adult usage. In this context, children are included because they are valued as preservers of tradition. Analyzing the changes that have occurred in the celebration of Valentine's Day, Frank Staff observed:

> the old ideas appear to have been carried on mainly by children, apart from those sentimentally inclined. It is thanks to children that so many of the old customs were saved from being forgotten, and in this way continued to be observed right up to the turn of the century. [28]

Children's traditions were rarely discussed in any detailed or analytical way, beyond the author's assertion that he was describing customs that had degenerated to a point at which they ceased to be observed by adults and so, came to belong to the world of children. Coxhead referred to some customs which in his opinion had moved "downward" to become the property of children. Of one such custom, Guy Fawkes Night, he had this to say: "What was once a popular revel has now become a 'children's day'."[29] Palmer and Lloyd said of a particular Garland Day celebration - "Nowadays the custom is kept alive by children."[30] The indication here is that children's material was included solely because it had once belonged to the grownup world.

When it comes to reporting on children's customs, some folk-

[28] Frank Staff, The Valentine and Its Origins, (London: Lutterwirth Press, 1969), p. 25.

[29] Coxhead, Old Devon Customs, p. 43.

[30] Geoffrey Palmer and Noel Lloyd, A Year of Festivals: A Guide to British Calendar Customs (London: Frederick Warne, 1972), p. 29.

lorists seem to feel no compunction in making value judgements. Referring to the children's procedure of setting off rockets at Hallowe'en, Jeanne C. Foster said, "It is a dangerous practice and one which many people would be relieved to see die out." [31]

With recent trends in folklore scholarship, much has been accomplished in some areas of children's folklore, particularly in the field of playlore.[32] This progression has not, however, infiltrated the realm of calendar customs. A few childlore studies have included a minor section devoted to children's calendar festivities. The Opies' Lore and Language contains a chapter entitled the "Children's Calendar" which provides a short description of games and activities arranged in accordance with the calendar. Emrich and Korson's general work on children's folklore gives a rather concise account of beliefs and games associated with certain yearly festive occasions.[33] Leslie Daiken said that the playing of some children's games was confined to a particular month of the year, and listed the

[31] Jeanne Cooper Foster, Ulster Folklore (Belfast: H.R. Carter Publications, 1951), p. 26.

[32] In particular, Brian Sutton-Smith's unique method of inquiry has provided a new insight into the nature of children's games and other play activities. See his, The Folkgames of Children (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); R.E. Herron and Brian Sutton-Smith, Child's Play (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971); and Elliot Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971).

[33] Marion Vallat Emrich and George Korson, eds., The Child's Book of Folklore (New York: The Dial Press, 1947), pp. 90-98.

games accordingly.[34]

A number of twentieth century researchers have commented on children's customs as they occur both at home and at school. Their approach to school-time traditions was generally confined to presenting a description of ceremonies and celebrations that were formally arranged by adults for children. The school customs thus described include the particular attire of the children - "Our great public schools are brimming over with tradition . . . . . Most schools have customs peculiar to them: the dress of the Eton and Westminister boys, the straw hats which are worn all the year round at Felsted."[35] A special feature of Shrove Tuesday, the tossing of a pancake, appears to have been a great favorite of at least the folklorists recording the tradition, judging by the number of them who mention the custom.[36] Others have mentioned yearly events, such as children's "Walking Days" which are arranged by schools or churches.[37] Still other affairs seem to have been included because of the season in which they occur, for instance: "Lectures by eminent authorities and

[34] Leslie Daiken, Children's Games Throughout the Year (London: B.T. Batsford, 1949). See also Iris Vinton, The Folkways Omnibus of Children's Games (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1970).

[35] Drake-Carnell, Old English Customs and Ceremonies, p. 103.

[36] See for instance, Cecil Hunt, British Customs and Ceremonies (London: Ernest Benn, 1954), p. 195. Drake-Carnell, Old English Customs and Ceremonies, p. 103, and Hole, English Traditional Customs, p. 29.

[37] See, Palmer and Lloyd, p. 50.

special concerts are arranged for children and young people in London during the Christmas school holidays."[38]

Children's calendar customs that warranted inclusion in folklore studies have been those which are characterized by some adult influence, either the family or the school. The child's particular celebrations and events that are uniquely his own have been basically overlooked by folklorists.

[38] Hunt, British Customs and Ceremonies, p. 87.

4. A SURVEY OF CHILDREN'S CALENDAR CUSTOMS IN MUSGRAVE HARBOUR

The aim of the following chapter is to provide an outline and description of children's calendar customs as they occur in one Newfoundland community. The customs to be portrayed are characterized by both home and school influences. There are, however, certain aspects of the celebrations which are confined to a strictly child-dominated non-adult domain. Although the subject will be discussed from the perspective of all three areas, those elements which pertain to the school environment will be accorded the most comprehensive account. While older students may be mentioned, the principal emphasis will be on the primary school children, whose ages range from approximately five to eight years. In keeping with the school milieu, the "calendar" for purposes of this study, is the school year, which runs from September to June. The particular role of the teacher, in celebrating or promoting the customs, will also be considered.

Thanksgiving

The first custom on the calendar following the start of the school year is Thanksgiving.[1] The day is of course, a national

[1] For an account of the first Canadian Thanksgiving celebrations see Robert Meyer Jr., Festivals U.S.A. and Canada (New York: Ives Washburn, 1967), 152-153.

holiday, and its special attraction for children is that it provides them with a day off from school. Although Thanksgiving was originally a religious occurrence and more recently has become a family tradition, schoolchildren have certain customs of their own appropriate to the occasion.

Dating at least from the early part of the twentieth century, the church at Musgrave Harbour had, at Thanksgiving, a display, known locally as the "fruits of the harvest."[2] In the church, the best of everything, of fish, vegetable and dairy produce was displayed. The night following Thanksgiving, a hot supper was served in the church hall or the school, the location depending largely on whether or not there was a church hall in existence at the time. All the goods that had been displayed in the church were sold, with the proceeds going to the church. The Salvation Army referred to their display as a "harvest festival," at which the congregation had a chance to present an offering if they wished. Tables were decorated before the altar and on these were placed the offerings.

Anita Field,[3] a retired school teacher, in reference to the nineteen forties and fifties when she was teaching in the community, explained that Thanksgiving was "mainly a church affair, but we'd

[2] For a description of American harvest festivals see Marguerite Ickis, The Book of Festival Holidays (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1964), 138-148.

[3] All names used here are pseudonyms for people I interviewed personally.

probably talk about Thanksgiving in school, and perhaps make a poster."

Though Thanksgiving is at the present time mentioned in the community's churches as being a time for giving special prayers of thanks, the traditional harvest festival has long since disappeared.

Thanksgiving in school has in more recent times been confused with American traditions.[4] The children learn of the "origin" of Thanksgiving from their teachers, who explain the American version of the Pilgrims and Indians story which led to the first Thanksgiving. The point of its being borrowed from the American observance is either not acknowledged or is incidentally mentioned as being of minor importance. At least a couple of weeks before the holiday, the teacher provides the children with stenciled pictures of what she deems to be suitable Thanksgiving items, such as Pilgrims and Indians, turkeys and other food stuffs. The children then proceed to colour these pictures and use them to decorate the classroom walls.

Attention to local tradition comes when the children discuss with the teacher the special foods their families eat at Thanksgiving dinner, which the class sometimes depicts in poster form. Some of the older children write stories concerning their own perceptions of Thanksgiving, either of the American Pilgrim feast, or of their present-day family traditions. Perhaps because it is a federal

[4] An explaination of the origin of American Thanksgiving is contained in Robert Meyer Jr., p. 156-157.

holiday, many people who live within driving distance return home for the day. Thanksgiving dinner is sometimes, but not always, a family gathering, with married sons and daughters going to their parents' home for the mid-day meal. There is usually a turkey, but quite often, instead of or in addition to this, the meat course consists of wild duck, which has been caught by one or more of the men present. The vegetables are not of the Pilgrim's corn and cranberry-sauce variety, but tend to be much heartier fare - locally produced potatoes, turnip, carrot and cabbage.

The local church traditions no longer exist for Thanksgiving, except in the minds of those who can remember them. These people could, and undoubtedly would, if given by the school an opportunity to do so, provide the children with a sense of Thanksgiving traditions from their own heritage.

Hallowe'en

At the end of October comes Hallowe'en,[5] a day which many children describe as one of their favourites of the year, ranking only behind Christmas, Easter and one's birthday. School preparations for the event begin almost as soon as Thanksgiving ends. Similar to the practice at Thanksgiving, the younger children colour

[5] A.R. Wright, Vol. III, pp. 107-120, describes traditional English Hallowe'en customs. For a discussion of Scottish Hallowe'en traditions see, F. Marian McNeill, The Silver Bough (Glasgow: W. Maclellan, 1961) Vol. III, pp. 11-42, and his Hallowe'en: Its Origin, Rites and Ceremonies in the Scottish Tradition (Edinburgh: The Albyn Press, 1970).

pictures, and those dexterous enough to do so, create their own designs of pumpkins, witches, ghosts and goblins. The teacher and children together arrange these Hallowe'en scenes on classroom walls and windows. Once the school has been sufficiently decorated, superfluous pictures are taken home by the children. At this time of year, houses which contain primary school-age children are readily discernible, for a few days prior to and, in many instances, a few days following Hallowe'en, their windows display seasonal images made at, and brought from school. Once they have begun, with the teacher's assistance, making pictures during classtime, the children soon switch the activity to their own leisure time. At recess time in school and at home after school hours, they continue to produce Hallowe'en representations, some of which are subsequently brought to school.

Hallowe'en celebrations are a relatively recent phenomenon, having begun locally in approximately the late nineteen forties. In reference to the original start of the customs, Thomas Gillen, a sixty-five year old local resident, stated that there was

> No Hallowe'en in my school days. I can remember when they started that among the children . . . . . most all this came in during or after the war. We got a big exchange of people. Then right after that we got Confederation and they put in the roads . . . . . from Wesleyville down here.

Anita Field related that Miss Maud Parker, a teacher from outside the community, was teaching at the Salvation Army school in 1946, and at that time she organized the first Hallowe'en program the community had seen. Shortly after that the children began "trick or treating"; it was also a few years after the first concert that

Hallowe'en decorations first began to appear in the school. Hallowe'en traditions are, at any rate, currently well and firmly established.

In recent years the media have focused considerable attention on Hallowe'en and the possible dangers to children unescorted by adults, masquerading at night. Perhaps as a result of the media's influence, some teachers suggest to their classes that they observe certain safety rules, such as wearing bright clothing that will be easily distinguished by motorists, and refraining from eating any of their treats until they return home. One teacher wrote up ten such rules on strips of coloured paper, attached each to a pumpkin and posted them around the classroom where they could be seen by the children, (See photograph 1).

At school on Hallowe'en the children engage in regular classroom activities until approximately mid-morning. At this point the children don special hats which, with their teachers' assistance, they had previously made for the occasion (See photograph 2). Teachers and students then proceed to the gymnasium. Here, the elementary children - grades four to six - provide entertainment, in concert form, for the younger ones. With children and gymnasium appropriately costumed and decorated, the fun begins. The children sing "Hallowe'en" songs, which are entitled for example, "The Witch in The Dark" and "The Goblin" (For words of the songs see appendix # A). Some of the songs have been composed by adapting popular songs to fit the occasion. The tunes remain intact, but the words are altered to give the songs a unique Hallowe'en flavour.

The revised titles include: "I'm Dreaming of the Great Pumpkin," "One Little, Two Little, Three Little Witches " and "Pumpkin Wonderland." The highlight of the event is a short play, which varies from year to year, but generally involves ghosts and witches (see Photographs 3, 4 and 5).

Classes for the primary school children are suspended for the afternoon, in order that each class may have its own Hallowe'en party. The attire for this affair consists of the previously-made Hallowe'en hats, and for many children also includes face masks and costumes (see photograph 6). Though many of the costumes are store bought, some children do display apparel that is generally more imaginative and obviously fashioned with parental assistance. Desks and tables are moved aside to supply additional space in which to play games. Some of the games are decided or suggested by the teacher, while others are left to the discretion of the students. Teacher-organized games for the kindergarten class include singing games, such as "Fly Little Bluebird Through My Window," in which the participants form a circle and join hands; and games, for example "Musical Chairs,"[6] which involve more physical action (For a description of the games mentioned herein, see appendix B). The children themselves select singing games, with "The Farmer in the

[6] Other versions of this game can be found in the following: Alice Bertha Gomme, The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), I, 408; and Brian Sutton-Smith, The Folkgames of Children (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 147.

Dell"[7] and "Little Sally Saucer"[8] numbering among the favourites.

The older children, in grades one to three, prefer more active games, such as "London Bridge is Falling Down"[9] which concludes with a tug-of-war; or alternately, they choose kissing games, such as "Spin the Bottle."[10] Prior to being dismissed for the day, the children consume refreshments which they have brought from home for this purpose. In honour of the special circumstances, the children are granted an evening free from homework.

By late afternoon, beginning around four o'clock, very young children, ranging from approximately two to five years of age, are making their door-to-door rounds. There is at this point a very clear distinction between the behaviour of pre-schoolers and that of school-age children. Youngsters of pre-school age are invariably accompanied by their parents or older siblings. This chaperoning ends when a child begins school; very rarely is a child who has started school, even a five-year-old in kindergarten, escorted by his parents. Children accompanied by parents are distinct from the general Hallowe'en peer group in that they have usually finished

[7] For other versions of this game see Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, p. 43 and 531-532.

[8] A similar game entitled "Sally Water" was described by Alice Bertha Gomme, II, 151-178 and by Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 24-25.

[9] For other versions of this game see the following: Alice Bertha Gomme, I, 333-350; Iona and Peter Opie, 1969, 235; and Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 32-33 and 531-532.

[10] This game has been documented by: Elliott Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), 207; and Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 480.

making their rounds by the time the latter group begins; their parents generally take them to only a few neighbouring houses, whereas older children venture farther afield; and they often do not wear masks, while their un-chaperoned counterparts always disguise their faces.

Older children, depending on their age, begin their visitations at later times of the evening. Children about six to nine years of age can be seen trick or treating anytime between five and seven o'clock. Children ten years and older will arrive at the door anytime after dark and until about eight-thirty. Some teenagers do participate, but most stop doing so when they have reached junior high school. Older children who do partake of the custom will have finished their rounds of the community by nine o'clock; any trick-or-treaters after that hour are rare.

A great number of the children are attired in store-bought costumes and face masks, and carry bags or plastic pumpkins especially manufactured for Hallowe'en purposes (see photograph seven). Many of the masqueraders still engage in the traditional practice of blackening or otherwise disguising their faces with make-up. Some wear homemade costumes, or clothes belonging to the opposite sex, or to older family members (see photographs 8 and 9). These means of disguise are reminiscent of the Christmas mummering tradition. The children never travel singly, but arrive in groups, numbering from two to about six or eight. One of the group knocks loudly at the door and declares, usually on an ingressive breath, "trick or treat." This action too is similar to the mummers' method of

disguising their voices.

Unlike the mummers, the children at Hallowe'en are not invited, nor do they request to be, into the house. They wait outside the door until they are presented with the usual treats, normally candy or fruit. Failure to provide the expected treat is nowadays extremely rare and consequently, the profusion of Hallowe'en pranks, a feature of the past, has in recent years greatly diminished and practically disappeared. Adults who as children had participated in the custom twenty to thirty years ago, attested that at that time one did not always receive a treat, and that in fact some older members of the community who did not approve of the newly introduced custom, were decidedly unapproachable and not averse to chasing would-be trick-or-treaters off their property. Such people were constant targets for Hallowe'en mischief makers. The pranks often involved moving objects from their designated site to another, so that the following morning the owners had to search for them. Gates were removed from their hinges to be interchanged with a neighbour's gate; clotheslines disappeared from their poles and axes from their woodpiles. I could, however, find no children who would currently admit to being pranksters, nor any adults who had recently had tricks of any sort played on them. In fact, the only untoward behaviour I observed was, as the children marched down the road, their chanting of the following rhyme:

Trick or treat, smell my feet;
Give me something good to eat.

The rhyme was, I believe, first introduced via a television program

annually repeated at Hallowe'en for the past few years. When questioned about the origin of the rhyme, some of the older children readily acknowledged the television program from which it came. Most of the children, however, especially the younger ones, replied with what tended to be an invariable response, "I don't know, we just sing it." For them at least, the verse itself and not its origin was of significience.

Bonfire Night

Five days after Hallowe'en, November Fifth, is Bonfire Night.[11] Weeks before the actual event, the children spend practically all their spare time cutting boughs and otherwise making elaborate plans for their fire. Although the activity itself occurs outdoors, the subject is discussed informally at home with parents, and to a lesser extent with teachers at school. Parents sometimes assist young children with cutting trees or removing them from the woods to

[11] For an account of Bonfire traditions in one Newfoundland community see, Catherine Schwoefferman, "An Exploration of The November Fifth Bonfire Celebration in Brigus, Newfoundland," M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982. Alan Gailey has provided a description of Irish bonfire customs in his, "The Bonfire in North Irish Tradition," Folklore, 88:1 (1977), 3-38. Bonfires in England have been used to herald other festive occasions, in addition to Bonfire Night. For portrayals of English bonfire traditions at various times of the year see: A.R. Wright, 1940, III, 145-156, Venetia Newall, "Two English Fire Festivals in Relation to Their Contemporary Setting," Western Folklore, 31 (1972), 244-274, and Christina Hole, "Winter Bonfires," Folklore, 71 (December, 1960), 217-227. For a description of November Fifth

the site of the fire. Because of the fire of 1961 which destroyed the forest land for miles around, the nearest woods is sometimes a mile or two from the proposed bonfire site. In that case, a father will use his truck to remove his son's boughs to the site. However, boys who do not manage to perform the larger part of the wood-cutting task themselves are ridiculed by their peers for their failure. One seven year old boy was accused by his classmates of being "lazy", because on the eve of the big event he had as yet neglected to procure any boughs for his fire. Girls assist with stacking the boughs into piles and moving them to the site of the fire, but most of the wood-cutting is done by boys.

Children usually attempt to conceal from their peers the wood they have prepared in advance of the big night. For though reluctant to admit it, some children do surreptitiously steal boughs from those already cut and piled by another, especially if the boughs have been left, clearly visible, in the woods awaiting removal to the site of the bonfire. One seventy year old resident stated that when he was a boy, a favourite trick was not the current one of stealing another's boughs, but lighting them prior to the owner's having an opportunity to do so. Perhaps because today most of the fires are lit immediately after supper and therefore before dark, the latter prank seems to have ceased. Undoubtedly, one would entertain a greater chance of being caught in the act of lighting

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celebrations in the South of England during the 1860's see George Sturt, A Small Boy in the Sixties (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1927), 53-59.

someone else's fire if the deed were attempted during daylight, rather than under cover of darkness.

Bill Warren, a seventy year old resident, describing the antics of his youth, explained that many of their boughs were collected from people's fishing flakes[12] and not solely for the purpose of a bonfire:

> we'd take them whether they were good or bad . . . . . steal boughs from flakes to fill a ninety gallon puncheon - stog it full of boughs an' take a lunger - stick of wood about twenty feet long, wood from a flake - an' push it through the barrel. Then light it an' carry it through the community. You'd have another lunger ready to push through when the other one burnt.

In addition to boughs, in Bill Warren's childhood, burned in the bonfire were "empty 'tar barrels' - barrels of forty-five gallons of tar for tarring houses, traps and bottoms of boats." Children today in addition to accumulating trees and discarded pieces of wood, also collect worn-out automobile tires which, when ignited, burn with an immense flame. The number of tires a child can collect is a sign of prestige. One twelve year old boy was exalted by his peers because he had collected a grand total of fifty-four tires - a record according to the children who kept track of the numbers collected in past years. The materials to be burnt are stacked together on a beach or in a garden, if it has a wide-open space from which there is little danger of the fire spreading (see photograph ten).

[12] A fishing flake is a wooden structure employed by fishermen in drying of cod, which is one of the stages in the processing of salt fish.

Although the boys, with minimal assistance from their fathers, are chiefly responsible for the fire preparations, entire families participate in the activities on bonfire night (see photograph eleven). Unlike the situation at Hallowe'en, there appears to be no age restriction applied to bonfire night; though the bonfire is referred to as belonging to the child, his grandparents, aunts, uncles and often friends of his parents will attend to share the fire with him. Occasionally, young children can be seen with their own small fires that have been prepared for them by older brothers (see photograph twelve).

Once the fire has been lit and is burning brightly, the children run back and forth through the sparks which fly from it; sparks are locally referred to as "flankers." Wieners and marshmallows are placed on sticks and toasted over the open fire, and when the fire burns down potatoes are roasted in the smouldering remains. Children are permitted to stay up later than usual and with their families, will remain at the bonfire for hours. The fire is then not deliberately extinguished but left to burn out at its own rate.

Christmas

Of all the yearly festivals Christmas is the one which receives the most elaborate preparation, attention and enjoyment. Excitement is evident among the children months prior to the actual event.

Bombastic television commercials leave the children with little doubt that its arrival is imminent. Weeks are devoted to colouring pictures and creating decorations which will grace both classroom walls and the Christmas tree. At least a month before the affair, a part of every day is spent in preparation for the upcoming Christmas concert, which is held approximately three or four days prior to the school's closing for the holidays.[13]

Prior to the date at which the schools in the community integrated and became the responsibility of the Terra Nova Board, each school had a separate Christmas concert. The Salvation Army School concert was held each year on Christmas Eve, and the United Church School concert on the afternoon of Christmas Day. Both concerts were attended by practically the entire community. At that period, too, the majority of teachers were Musgrave Harbour born and bred and those who were not, could not leave it during the Christmas season – isolation made that impossible. With the change in school boards and improved road conditions, teachers whose native community was not Musgrave Harbour could, and did begin to spend the Christmas vacation elsewhere. The time of the concert was, therefore, altered to a date which was more convenient, from the teachers' point of view, though perhaps in the community's opinion, not as acceptable.

Until the high school was constructed, the concerts were each

[13] A couple of days later, the elementary school, grades three to six, has a separate Christmas concert. The performance is very similar to that given by the younger children and virtually the same community members attend.

held in the Wesley Hall, - the site of virtually all major social events in the community. Contained in the new school was a gymnasium large enough to accomodate the Christmas concert and all who wished to attend, so it became the setting for all future concerts. At present, as in years past, nearly everyone in the community, from toddlers to grandparents, are in attendance at the concert. The content of the program, the preparation and the performers are virtually unchanged; over the years only minor alterations have ensued in these areas. Teachers and students together make all the costumes, stage props and decorations (see photograph thirteen). The actual entertainment is of little more than an hour's duration. All of the primary school children are involved, at least in the preparations. However, in recent years a few parents, adhering to religious beliefs which condemn so-called secular activities, such as a Christmas concert, will not permit their children to participate in actual entertainment.

All of the performers engage in the on-stage singing of popular Christmas carols (see photograph fourteen). Lively tunes such as "Jingle Bells" and "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" are favourites with both teachers and children, perhaps because they are so easily learned. The program includes a number of "recitals"; a recital involves a small group of children, each of whom has a few separate lines to deliver (see photographs fifteen, sixteen and seventeen). The theme of these items is generally centered around the subject of Santa Claus and the potentials for children, inherent in his

forthcoming visit. Interspersed throughout the relatively longer pieces are short, four or five line, recitations, delivered by individual children (see photograph eighteen). The following is a typical example: (enter on-stage a child holding a small Christmas stocking and saying -

> See! My stocking's much too small;
> It won't hold anything at all.
> Guess I'll go and borrow ma's;
> Won't that surprise old Santa Claus!

The highlight of the entertainment is a short play, based on a Christmas theme, performed by the older children in grades two and three (see photographs nineteen and twenty).

Though ostensibly, the purpose of the evening's gathering is the children's concert, the focal point is the arrival of Santa Claus. Concluding the concert performance, the children sing "Hurrah for Santa Claus," the cue for his entrance. Amid much cheering and applauding, mixed with some crying by the younger children who are startled by his sudden and rather boisterous appearance, he proceeds to the stage. Here there is a huge tree, surrounded with presents previously placed there by parents and other relatives, for all the children present.[14] With assistance from the teachers, Santa Claus distributes the gifts, a process that is more prolonged than was the concert. The essence of the session is the gift-giving, for it is

[14] Until recently, approximately three or four years ago, presents were placed around the tree for the entire community - parents, relatives, friends. At the school's insistence the gift-giving was restricted to the children, apparently because of the amount of time required to pass out all the gifts.

this aspect of the occasion which is most readily discussed by both parents and children. The children's gifts are nearly always factory produced toys, though in the past, at Thomas Gillen explained it, this was not always the case: "Children from ten years down got something to play with, others got something of value - mitts, scarves, stockings, brooches."

The Loyal Orange Association Christmas concert, traditionally held on New Year's night, was always as well attended as its school organized counterpart. Children of course did not participate in the entertaining, but they were a part of the audience, for which they were amply rewarded, for at the conclusion of the concert Santa Claus arrived again. The Lodge as well as the school had a Christmas tree on which, in the words of Mr. Gillen, "All the presents was tied. This was a huge tree, from the ceiling to the floor, an' all the gifts was tied on it." Though most of the gifts were intended for children, everyone present received something from the tree; families gave to children, and children to adults. The content of the gifts was similar to those distributed at the school concert: toys for the younger children and something of more practical use for everyone else concerned. The criterion for choosing the individual who would play Santa Claus was then very much as that used by the school in making its selection today, Mr. Gillen described the Santa Claus character thus:

> Santa Claus would be somebody that got a kick out of acting Santa Claus. A person that could put off a good show and create a lot of excitement - that could either be a man or a woman, mostly men though.

The Orangemen's New Year's tradition was discontinued some years ago. The children's part in that event has, however, been assumed and modified by two of the community's churches. Sometime prior to Christmas Day, the Salvation Army and the United Church each sponsor a children's party. These parties are attended by pre-schoolers and primary school-age children. Unlike the former Orangemen's occasion, at which attendance was unrelated to religious affiliation, the parties are attended by children whose parents profess an allegience to the church sponsoring it. The church organized parties, similar to other Christmas related events, are visited by Santa Claus, who distributes presents to the children.

The last school day preceeding the start of the Christmas vacation is characteristically a lively, festive occasion, for it is the scene of a children's party. Early in December, each child selects from a box the name of a classmate for whom he will bring a Christmas present. These gifts and those for the teacher, the recipient of gifts from most of the children in her class are placed beneath the classroom Christmas tree. In the past each classroom had a tree that was cut and brought from the woods by some of the schoolchildren. Currently enforced fire regulations prohibit the use of natural trees in the school. Consequently classrooms submit to having a store-bought artifical tree or else teacher and students together construct a small tree-shape from green cardboard. Whatever the tree, it is gaily adorned with child-made ornaments consisting of some Christmas stockings, Santa Clauses and even reindeer, but mostly bells and candy canes because these are the easiest for

little hands to draw. By the day of the party the classroom walls are barely visible, being entirely covered with Christmas decorations. Some are merely pictures which the teacher has duplicated and the children have coloured and pasted on the walls. Other decorations, allowing for more originality of design, are formed and molded by the children themselves. Hand-made streamers and bells decorate the ceiling. In one corner of the room there is often a small nativity scene.

With the classroom displaying such a seasonally appropriate air, the children arrive, many of them accompanied by younger brothers and sisters who have been given permission to attend the party. Classroom furniture has been moved aside to create a space large enough in which to play games. The entertainment begins with the children listening to recordings of Christmas music. Not content to be inactive for an extended period of time, the children soon begin playing games: Button-Button,[15] Ring a Round A Rosie,[16] Musical Chairs, and Red Rover.[17] They then consume a lunch consisting largely of Christmas cakes and cookies. Though ostensibly giving their undivided attention to the food at hand, the children who are familiar with the workings of a Christmas party are

[15] For a description of the game "Buttons," see Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 142.

[16] Additional versions of this game may be found in Alice Bertha Gomme, II, 108-111; and in Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 19-20.

[17] This game has been documented by Iona and Peter Opie, 1969, 139-241.

constantly alert for the sound of ringing bells, a sure sign that Santa has arrived. He enters the classroom and distributes the presents that have been carefully placed under the tree (see photograph twenty-one). Though all the children profess an eagerness and an impatience to see Santa Claus, many exhibit signs of fear on his arrival. Some of the younger ones will state, as did five year old Jeanette Day, "I'm afraid. Don't let him touch me. I'll get me present, but I don't want to shake his hand." The fear of Santa Claus may stem from the fact that he is often used as a threatening figure by parents to induce children to behave, with admonitions such as, "If you don't go to bed on time I'll tell Santa Claus."[18] Immediately prior to their leaving for the day, the teacher gives each of the children a small gift, often a book, or a Christmas stocking filled with candy canes and other sweets. This is an established tradition and the point of its coming from the teacher is emphasized, for unlike the other gifts, it is not placed under the tree to be distributed by Santa but is presented to the children by the teacher.

At home during the month of December, children write letters requesting the toys they would like to receive for Christmas and then put the letter "In the stove so it goes up the chimney to Santa Claus." Though practically all houses in the community have

[18] For a description of the proliferation in Newfoundland of using Santa Claus as a threatening figure see, John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good: Verbal Social Control in Newfoundland (St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977). 206-212.

an alternate source of heat, most of them still maintain at least one wood stove. Describing a time when neither toys nor money to buy them were as plentiful as they are today, James Field said of his youth: "You'd write a note to Santa Claus an' put it in the soot damper. You'd put the thing you wanted most on the top of the list - only get one thing."

Family trees are put up and decorated about a week prior to Christmas. All the children in a family help with trimming the tree, which the father and some of the boys have brought from the woods. All the tree ornaments are currently store-bought, but in former years all decorations were hand-made from a special paper designed and sold for that purpose, known as "rose paper." The room that contained the tree was adorned with streamers and bells. In the decorating of the tree, however, the children had no hand; this was done by parents on Christmas Eve, after the children had gone to bed. Mr. Field gave a portrayal of Christmas trees in his childhood of sixty years ago - "Trees were decorated with apples, candy canes, suckers and balloons. We'd take a bite out of an apple an' then turn it around on the tree so nobody would know."

Prior to the introduction of paved highways and cars, horses were a chief mode of transportation, but one not often available to children. On Christmas Eve or Christmas Day, the children were given a special treat (as explained by Mr. Gillen): "We'd decorate the horse with bells and mom'd give us a good hooked mat to decorate the sleigh, and we could go to visit a friend." The tradition of driving a horse on Christmas Day no longer exists, but children in

the community do make a special point of visiting their friends on Christmas Day. Early on Christmas Eve the children hang up their stockings and go to bed. They arise very early on Christmas morning, any time after five o'clock, to find their stockings filled with fruit, nuts, candy and a small toy or two. Larger presents from Santa Claus are located below their stockings; presents from the family are beneath the tree. Most of the toys are store-bought, but some boys will receive a hand-made boat - a replica of a fishing schooner complete with sails or a model of a more modern long liner. A number of older men specialize in the art of model boat-making and the boats are much treasured by the young boys who receive them. Among the gifts under the Christmas tree, there are always some knitted goods - sweaters, scarves, caps and mitts. In the morning, as soon as they are allowed, children take what they consider to be their best toy and go to visit friends, to view what the latter have received and to compare those toys with their own. The afternoon is devoted to trying out new sleighs, skates and toboggans.

In days when the community was completely isolated in winter and freezers were as yet unheard-of, families stock-piled supplies enough for six months. All preparations for the winter were completed by Christmas, which allowed time for an extended period of recreation. This began on Christmas Eve; at four o'clock on that day, men fired their guns to announce the start of the Christmas season. The men then began visiting houses to "Look for a treat of Newfoundland screech." House visits and janneying/mummering continued for the twelve days of Christmas, with the exception of Sunday,

for no one would thing of 'Dressin' up or puttin' on a face on Sunday." Old and young alike joined in the fun of janneying, with children going out in the early hours of the evening and adult janneys visiting later at night.[19] A loud knock at the door and the "Any janneys allowed in tonight?" cry heralded their arrival. The occuptants of the house attempted to guess the identity of the janneys, and provided them with a lunch before they left.

Adults still house visit during Christmas; the invitation to 'come for your Christmas" - meaning a Christmas drink - can be heard throughout the community. Their janneying traditions however, have all but disappeared; in recent years, one may see an occasional adult janney, but this is very much an exception. The children of the community still maintain their janneying customs, and may be seen at almost any time throughout the Christmas season. Some of the janneys carry bags similar to the practice at Hallowe'en, much to the chagrin of older community members who condemn the method as "begging."

Valentine's Day

The next important date on the children's calendar is February

[19] For contrasting descriptions of mumming in England and Newfoundland see: Martin J. Lovelace, "Christmas Mummering in England: The House-Visit," in Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg, eds., Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980) 271-281; and Gerald M. Sider, "Christmas Mumming and the New Year in Outport Newfoundland," Past and Present, 71 (1976), 102-25.

Fourteenth, Valentine's Day.[20] At approximately the beginning of Februrary, the children in school construct valentine "boxes" — large construction-paper envelopes of a bright red colour, on which they draw heart-shapes and write their names. Into these boxes are placed the valentines which the children bring to school for each other; each child brings a valentine for every student in his class. The only hand-made valentines in evidence are those which, with the teacher's assistance, the children make in school to present to their parents.

In former years in Musgrave Harbour, Valentine's Day began when two people, adults or children, met with the saying, "Good Morning Faultin." The person who issued the greeting first, had succeeded in "playing a joke" on the other. The work "Faultin" is no longer heard and Valentine's Day celebrations officially begin at school with the children's party that is held in the afternoon. Desks are moved aside and the children, with the addition of their pre-school siblings, play games similar to those at Hallowe'en and Christmas parties. At the Valentine's party there were a number of additional games: the guessing game, "I Spy"[21] one which the children refer to simply as "the racing game";[22] and rhymes accompanied by appropriate

[20] For descriptions of Valentines and Valentine traditions see Ruth Web Lee, The History of Valentines (London: B.T. Batsford, 1953) and Frank Staff, The Valentine and Its Origins (London: Lutterwirth Press, 1969).

[21] This game is referred to in Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, pp. 147 and 409.

[22] For a discussion of chasing games in general see Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 75-99 and Iona and Peter Opie, 1969, 62-123.

actions: "Ten Little Monkeys Jumpin' On The Bed" and "When I Was A Teacher."[23] Prior to going home for the day, the children, as on other similar occasions, consume refreshments, a large portion of which are home-made heart-shaped cakes and cookies. The children take with them the valentines which, for a couple of weeks, have been accumulating in their boxes (see photographs twenty-two and twenty-three). The children are again given no homework, for they will be far too busy delivering valentines in the evening to give a thought to lessons.

After dark the children deliver valentines to all their neighbouring friends. The valentines are slipped under a door, whereupon the children knock and then exit before they can be seen by anyone in the household. Unlike the valentines which they bring to school, the children do not sign their name to these, but simply write "Guess Who?". The valentines are all store-bought, but this of course was not always the case, as Mr. Gillen explained: "Before the war I never seen a professional valentine - other than what we made ourselves. We made 'em heart-shaped an' coloured 'em an' wrote poems on 'em like this one:

> "Love is like a head of cabbage,
> When it's cut in two.
> The leaves I'll give to others,
> But the heart I'll give to you."

As he elucidated further, valentines were not only delivered to houses -

[23] For other versions of this singing game see, Alice Bertha Gomme, II, 362-374 and Brian Sutton-Smith, 1972, 29.

"There was always some comical old fellow you know, someone in the community who's a joke. We'd go to the barn an' tie one on his horse, an' it'd be a big one."

Sixty-year-old Herbert Campbell explained that in his youth: "The next night, after Valentine's, you'd run up against the boys an' girls an' see how they did. Some wouldn't say whether they got any or no." Children still compare the amount and kinds of valentines they receive. They do not, however, wait until the evening to do so. The morning following Valentine's Day, the children bring to school all the valentines they received the night before. Before classes start for the day, children can be seen comparing and contrasting their valentines with those of their friends; this process continues at every available moment throughout the day.

April Fool's Day

April First[24] is the traditional time for playing pranks and jokes on others, and generally making as much mischief as possible, for which endeavour there are very few restrictions placed by the adult world. Perhaps because the joking session is a relatively short one, children begin pranks early in the morning. Adults occasionally join in the fun, but not as often as they formerly did.

[24] For a description of traditional Irish April First customs see Kevin Danaher, 1972, 84. For April Fool's Day traditions in various parts of England see A.R. Wright, II, 171-176.

In the past, the pranks were begun by adults immediately after midnight on March Thirty-First, with the intention of "gettin' a joke off on someone else before they got one on you."

Parents tend to be the first recipients of children's jokes, as they are apt to forget the day's significance prior to experiencing the first prank. Unlike other calendric events, April Fool's Day is not characterized by overt prior planning. Some amount of surreptitious preparation must occur, as evidened by the following account given by an eight-year-old girl:

> "We got up early this morning an' Billy an' Keith went in the living room an' made a racket. I ran in Mom's room an' said 'Come quick. The boys got the new curtains tore down.' Mom was mad, she jumped out a bed an' ran in. Then we all shouted 'April Fool'. It was some funny."

When April Fool coincides with a school day, children compete with each other to be the first one to successfully fool the teacher. The younger children's activities generally consist of asking questions which they hope will catch the teacher unawares, such as, "What is that thing on your back?" or "How did you get that hole in your jacket?". Anyone who succeeds in fooling a teacher is loudly applauded by his peers. Sometimes an entire class will unite to outwit the teacher, whose desk, normally off-limits to students, is fair game. In the desk or on her chair, she might find a variety of objects, throughout the morning, ranging from a banana peel to a plastic spider. Hiding the teacher's books, chalk and other instructional aids, is always a favourite prank.

The joke-making session continues throughout the morning, but

anyone who attempts an April Fool after twelve o'clock noon is immediately denounced with:

> April Fool is gone apass,
> You're the biggest fool at last.
> Up a ladder an' down a tree
> You're a bigger fool than me.

For which there is a standard reply:

> Skin a chicken, skin a hen,
> You're a bigger fool again.

Easter

The final major calendric celebrations of the school year are those associated with Easter. Children spend weeks colouring pictures of eggs, ducks and chickens (see photograph twenty-four). With the teacher's assistance much attention is given to the Easter egg.[25] Egg shells are brought to school. The children prepare the shell, often with the assistance of an older family member, by piercing the egg at both ends and then blowing through one hole, forcing the substance out through the other end. Once brought to school, the egg shells are coloured, painted with elaborate designs and some are even made into an Easter egg tree (see photograph twenty-five).

[25] Venetia Newall has provided a comprehensive study of customs and traditions associated with Easter eggs in her An Egg At Easter (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971). For a description of more general Easter traditions see Priscilla Sawyer Lord and Daniel J. Foley, Easter The World Over (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1971).

One rather unusual technique of egg decorating involves slicing the top off the empty shell; this step is usually performed by the teacher. Each child then paints a face on an egg, and fills the shell with soil and a few grains of lawn seed. This method quickly produces grass, which gives the illusion of being hair. The completed product resembles a head. One seven-year-old boy had covered his shell with small brown dots; when questioned about his motive for doing so, he replied: "I put freckles on it, so it'd look like me."

Each classroom makes large posters depicting the Easter bunny, and smaller pictures to decorate the walls and windows. Under the teacher's guidance the children also construct Easter baskets. The teacher secretly fills the baskets with chocolate bunnies, eggs and other sweets, prior to giving them to take home at the start of the Easter vacation. On this occasion too, the children make cards for their parents; they draw a picture on the front of the card, and with the teacher's help, compose a short verse for the inside. Most of the children conceal the cards until Easter morning, when they are presented to their parents.

In contrast with the other principal occasions, Easter is not the scene of a children's school party. Perhaps because the last school day preceeding the start of the Easter holidays is Holy Thursday, the teachers explained that they wanted the children to understand that some aspects of Easter are of a solemn and religious nature. Consequently, they deemed a party to be inappropriate on

that day.

Easter Sunday morning, at home, the children receive chocolate eggs and rabbits, and often small toys, all supposedly left by the Easter Bunny on his nocturnal visit. Some but not all families engage in a traditional Easter egg hunt. For those who do, eggs are hidden throughout the house by the mother, and at her signal the hunt begins. The winner of the event is the child who finds the most eggs. Breakfast fare consists of hard-boiled eggs, of which a child is permitted to eat as many as he can.

For children who are Sunday School regulars, Easter Sunday afternoon is a time for a special program, which is attended by their parents, grandparents and often older brothers and sisters. Like the school concerts, each child was given a small "part" which he learned and recited on the occasion. Mrs. Field explained that when she was both a school and a Sunday School teacher:

> "We did programs in church and talked about Easter in school. We practiced with the school children. Each denomination did their own, the Salvation Army program was on Easter Sunday afternoon, and the United Church, at night. It was all practiced in school, but after integration we didn't like to do this."

The Sunday School programs continue, and when the classroom teacher is also the Sunday School teacher, practice is sometimes held at recess or lunch time, but never during offical class time.

Mother's Day and Father's Day

The other calendric activities in which children play a minor, but not insignificant role, are Mother's Day and Father's Day.[26] Although by their very nature these are adult affairs, children have certain customs of their own relative to the occasions. School-children make cards which they present to their parents on their respective days. They are also instructed by their teachers to be particularly helpful and obedient to each parent as befits his or her special day.

On the afternoon of each of these days, the Sunday Schools again have a special "program", which is attended by their parents. On Mother's Day there is the added tradition of each child in the Sunday School group presenting a small red paper rose, which they have previously made in class, to his mother.

The school plays an important role in most children's calendar customs. All of the customs are fostered and reinforced in the school environment, and the majority of them have certain aspects or observances which are peculiar to the school setting. Now we will turn to a more detailed examination of the role played by the school.

[26] Robert Meyer Jr. explains the origins of American Mother's Day and Father's Day celebrations in his Festivals U.S.A. and Canada, 141 and 145.

5. THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND OF THE TEACHER

Schools, and the educators responsible for their operation, have long been accused by folklorists, anthropologists, sociologists and even some educators of being destroyers of local culture and tradition. Teachers have been criticized for their labeling and condemnation of the "culturally deprived" child, whose life outside of the school they have deemed invalid. Nell Keddie is the editor of a collection of articles which condemns the concept of cultural deprivation as a myth and equally condemns the educators who coined the term.[1] Keddie challenges the supposition put forth by teachers that a child's family and his social environment are inadequate and are the cause of his subsequent failure in school. She insists that a very tangible gap exists between the child's life within the confines of an educational institution and his 'real' life outside of that environment and that the gap is of the school's creation.[2]

[1] See Nell Keddie, Tinker, Tailor . . . The Myth of Cultural Deprivation, (London: Penguin Books, 1973), especially William Labov, "The Logic of Nonstandard English," pp. 21-66, and Estelle Fuchs, "How Teachers Learn to Help Children Fail," pp. 75-85.

[2] Basil Bernstein, "A Critique of the Concept of Compensatory Education," in Courtney B. Cazden, Vera John & Dell Hymes, Eds., Functions of Language in the Classroom, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972), pp. 135-151, has also criticized schools for not providing a satisfactory educational environment and suggested that studies have neglected to investigate the school as a possible cause of the child's failure.

In a similar manner, folklorists have maintained that schools and folklore, as viewed by educators, are incompatible. They reiterate that teachers see folklore, in the form of folk belief and superstition, as being synonymous with fallacy, and consequently seek to reduce its influence on the children they teach. This concept of formal education's position on the subject of folklore was perhaps best summarized by Dundes when he said:

> "it is thought by some educators to be a good thing that folklore is dying out. In fact, it has been argued that one of the purposes of education is to help stamp out folklore. As man evolves, he leaves folklore behind such that the truly civilized man is conceived to be folkloreless. From this kind of thinking, one can understand why education and folklore have been on opposite sides." [3]

Thus, teachers tend to have a rather old-fashioned or traditional view of folklore.[4]

Folklorists further criticize teachers by asserting that when they do recognize folklore as being something other than error they see it only from a pedagogical viewpoint. The recent proliferation, in a number of educational journals, of articles expounding the various potential didactic functions of folklore lends credence to that assessment.[5] These criticisms, when applied to some educators, are undoubtedly valid. Yet it should be remembered that teachers

[3] Alan Dundes, "Folklore as a Mirror of Culture," Elementary English, 46 (4), 1969, 471-482, p. 473.

[4] For further discussion of this topic see Alan Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory," in his, Analytic Essays in Folklore, The Hague: Mouton, 1975.

[5] See in particular a number of articles in the following publications: Elementary English, Instructor, School and Community, and Music Educator's Journal.

have been trained and are expected to teach their students in a prearranged manner. It is therefore hardly surprising that the educational merits of folklore should be the first aspect of that subject to become apparent to them or that they should view folklore as a means of making their instructional task an easier one.

For whatever reasons, folklore is being taught in some schools by some teachers. As Lynda Burack has said: "Many people are teaching folklore, unaware that this is what they are teaching."[6] Whatever may be the offical view of educational administrators and supervising personnel, teachers in primary schools are, albeit perhaps unconsciously, teaching folklore. An examination of the role played by the teachers of the particular school under discussion herein, in the celebration of specific calendar customs, should determine the relative importance of the school and the teachers to these customs.

In order to fully appreciate the school's influence, we must examine the nature of the primary school itself. For the greater part of each day, five days a week, children and their teacher come together as a group. Unlike the situation at secondary and even elementary schools, class groupings are not determined by subject matter. Practically all curriculum areas are taught by the homeroom teacher, and therefore teacher and children, for most of the day, remain together in the classroom. If we accept the class-

[6] Lynda Burack, "Preface" of "Special Issue: Folklore and Education," Keystone Folklore 22, No. 1-2, (1978), p. 13.

room unit - teacher and students - as a distinct 'folk group', then we automatically have the possibility of a folklore that is specific and unique to that group. Accepting Ben-Amos' definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups," and using his criterion to define a small group, the student-teacher situation meets those qualifications.[7] During the celebration of calendar customs at school there occurs an obvious contextual shift from a situation in which the performance is from one person - the teacher, to a situation in which all the children participate in the performance. As the preceding chapter indicated, not all of the hours that the children spend at school are devoted to academic pursuits. A not unsubstantial amount of time is spent in preparing for and in celebrating calendar customs. The primary school provides an environment in which at least a segment of the celebrations can occur. The peculiar nature of the relationship between teacher and students is such as to supply an atmosphere which is conducive to folklore activities in which both participate.

In certain areas of some calendric activities the school can be seen as replacing, or at least supplementing, family traditions. The onslaught of mass-produced holiday goods: Christmas cards, and

[7] Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in Americo Paredes & Richard Bauman, eds., Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 3-15. It also meets the requirements outlined by Alan Dundes in his article, "Who Are The Folk?", in his Interpreting Folklore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 1-19.

decorations, Valentines, chocolate Easter bunnies, and Hallowe'en costumes, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Entire families formerly spent a considerable amount of time making the items which were considered essential to these yearly events. The school does not, nor could it be expected to, duplicate such former familial experiences. What it does provide is an opportunity for children to make holiday cards and decorations, and generally to engage in certain pre-festival preparations which, in all probability, would have entirely faded from usage. Children do have certain approaches to their calendar customs that have little or nothing in common with the classroom situation. However, special aspects of the preparation and indeed of the celebration itself belong, and are recognized as belonging, exclusively to the school. Far from being an element which suppresses folkloric activities the school, in this case, promotes such happenings. The school's involvement ensures that all the holiday celebrations described here achieve the status of cyclical customs as opposed to those of a single day - calendar customs. Traditional activities, while focused towards the day of celebration itself, are extended over a much more substantial period of time. Weeks are spent practicing for the Christmas concert: singing songs and rehearsing plays and recitations. Much time is devoted to making holiday decorations and costumes. Music and art classes are occupied with songs and projects in keeping with the appropriate holiday theme.

When asked to explain the existence of these customs within the

framework of an otherwise formal educational system, the teachers asserted that these are as much a part of the curriculum and as vital to the development of the child as are reading and mathematics. They cited pedagogical reasons to justify their position. Participation in the Christmas concert is said to promote self-expression and oratory skills. The making of holiday cards, decorations and posters is regarded as simply another art class activity.

In an analysis of recent Hallowe'en trends in American schools, Maurice Mook commented: "Halloween has increasingly come to be used as a "teaching unit" in elementary school instruction."[8] That statement also applies to the primary school being discussed here. The assessment however, is relevant not only when applied to Hallowe'en, but also to other holidays of a comparable nature. The teachers do not acknowledge that they are promoting children's calendar customs, nor that they are teaching folklore; in fact, they did not acknowledge that the term folklore applied to any aspect of the at-school celebrations. They explain, rather, that they are aiding the development of certain rudimentary educational skills. As one teacher explained:

> Learning pieces for the concert helps to improve their memory, especially for children who have poor memories and have trouble remembering things they're supposed to learn in school . . . . . and it helps their speech and language development, helps them get used to speaking out in public. [9]

[8] Maurice A. Mook, "Halloween in Central Pennsylvania," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, (Fall, 1969), 124-129, p. 127.

[9] Interview conducted with Christine Carr at the Musgrave Harbour School on March 21, 1981.

Another teacher discussed the educational merits of making holiday decorations:

> Making things for the classroom and for the Christmas tree develops children's creative instincts - even when they're all making the same thing, say a hat for Hallowe'en, they all make them a little bit different and never decorate them the same. And it helps with their fine-motor coordination, they have to think about the decorations they're going to make and then they have to use their hands to make them. [10]

However, a discrepancy exists between the instructional uses, which the teachers take great pains to explain, and the extra-curricular nature of the actual celebrations. The festive nature of such occasions and the suspension of regular classroom activities are attributed to the fact that these are the children's "special days." Though the teachers seem to feel compelled to view school-time holiday celebrations in educational terms, the customs are recognized by teachers, as well as students, as being 'special' events and as existing outside the realm of formal instruction. At the same time, the celebrations are accepted as being an intrinsic part of the school experience; this attitude applies not only to the acknowledged educational aspects, but also to the parties, disguises and games. They are perceived by all those involved as being a period of special 'licence' for the children. One teacher was heard making the following comment in response to a remark concerning the noise level in her classroom during a Valentine party: "What odds about the noise. This is their day." Through their endorsement and promotion of the celebrations, the teachers themselves become

[10] Interview conducted with Linda Noseworthy at the Musgrave Harbour School on March 21, 1981.

participants in the children's at-school customs.

Local tradition dictates that certain annual events, such as Hallowe'en and Valentine's Day, provide the children with evenings in which they are released from the constraints of homework. By conforming to the practice, the teachers are acknowledging the importance of the celebrations and even ensuring their continuation. In this regard, the school exerts an influence on the celebration of these customs as it occurs both in the school and in territory beyond its jurisdiction.

The school is in part responsible for both continuation and change in some areas of the children's calendar customs. For instance, though the Christmas concert is organized, directed by and held at the school, it is in actuality a community tradition. Yet an alteration in the tradition was generated by the school authorities. At their insistence the concert gift-giving session was restricted to children of, or below, primary school age. Older children and adults who had formerly participated were to be excluded.

Teachers, generally oblivious to their contribution, promote the continuation of some customs. April Fool's Day, for example, has an established time restriction; the mischief-making must conclude at noon. When the first of April coincides with a school day, the children are at school during the traditional time for playing jokes. If the teachers did not sanction the children's pranks it is unlikely that these would entirely cease, for the children would, in all probability, covertly continue their activities. The teachers' cooperation however, does enable the children to play at least some of their pranks overtly, and to extend the number of participants to

a larger group, which includes the teachers.

Some aspects of children's participation in specifically adult or family customs originated with the school. Under their teacher's guidance, children design and decorate cards to present to their parents on Father's Day and Mother's Day and on some of the other holiday occasions discussed here. Father's Day and Mother's Day observances are, of course, not occasions in which the school is directly involved. However, by introducing the card-making tradition, the school has assumed some participation in the events. Young children would probably not of their own initiative have begun making cards for and presenting them to their parents. The school has started a tradition which originates in the school and is completed at home, when the children present the cards to their parents.

The school's influence has also been felt in other customs which are mainly child-oriented. Hallowe'en celebrations in the community began when a teacher 'from away' introduced the idea of Hallowe'en concerts to the school. From the school, the concept of Hallowe'en festivities spread and children gradually began 'trick or treating' throughout the community.

The school also has introduced to the children aspects of some customs which have little or nothing in common with local traditions or perceptions. Of Thanksgiving, for instance, the school presents an American version, complete with Pilgrims and Indians. Local, mainly church-oriented traditions, are, for whatever reason, largely ignored by the school. With other occasions, such as Christmas and

Hallowe'en, school-based activities supplement, or at least bear some relation to, events which occur outside the school. That which the children are taught in school with regard to Thanksgiving is unrelated to past or present family and community traditions. The school is either unaware of, or else attaches no importance to, local Thanksgiving customs.

Though the school has obviously borrowed some of its happenings from former home-based traditions, it has, in some instances, established its own traditional activities. The venerable art of decorating eggs at Easter time is certainly an age-old tradition in some societies, however, it has evidentally never been a part of local family or community happenings. The school however does have a tradition of decorating and otherwise using eggs in classroom activities. Empty eggshells and often whole eggs are brought to school by the children and employed in the construction of artistic projects, such as an Easter egg tree.

The in-school parties which characterize Hallowe'en, Christmas and Valentine's Day observances cultivate an atmosphere which is conducive to the playing of children's games. Albeit, some of the games, as was explained in the preceding chapter, are teacher organized. This however does not detract from the essentially traditional nature of the games. The children do select many of the recreational activities; they tend to prefer action or singing games. On these occasions, there exists a veritable tradition of playing a number of favourite party games. During a regular school day, children play games at recess time and, if they are at school

early enough, before the bell rings announcing the beginning of classes. Games are generally not a part of the normal school day. However, on the occasions of the parties game-playing is a traditional part of the activity - as much a tradition as game-playing at recess time. This too lends credence to the idea that these are days like none other - they are indeed unique periods of 'special licence', during which the children engage in pursuits which are usually conducted outside the realm of the classroom.

Teachers in general and English teachers in particular have been criticized for their handling of the modicum of folklore which has found its way into the instructional setting. Brunvand's rather caustic dismissal of teachers who "trot out the appropriate folk heroes or customary decorations at the drop of a holiday," may be quite justified, depending on the particular school situation being referred to.[11] With regard to the school circumstances presently under discussion, the holiday decoration techniques generally herald the approach of calendar customs. Preparation for and anticipation of the arrival of such annual events seem to, at least unofficially, begin with seasonal picture-colouring and poster-making. Children's Hallowe'en activities can be used to illustrate this point. Weeks prior to Hallowe'en, children are busy creating pictures of pumpkins, ghosts and witches which are used to decorate their classrooms. They then bring some of these home to enhance doors and windows there. The focal point of Hallowe'en is trick-

[11] Jan Harold Brunvand, "Crumbs for the Court Jester: Folklore in English Departments," Folklore Forum Bibliographic and Special Series, 2 (May, 1969), 45-49, p. 48.

or-treating, which actually has nothing to do with the school, however, it is there that the initial preparation and expectation for the occasion begins.

The existence of calendar celebrations within the school does provide that which is so very often lacking in the classrooms - culturally relevant curricula. The school-oriented aspects of the customs are one of the few areas in which material associated with the school is directly related to the child's life outside the classroom. The teachers' sanction of and actual participation in the school customs provides a direct link between these two often diametrically opposed aspects of a child's life.

In fact, the more extensive the analysis of the teacher's role, the more cognizant one becomes of the tremendous significance of the teacher's participation. In his classic elucidation of the functions of folklore, Bascom defined one of its roles as ". . . that which it plays in validating culture, in justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them."[12] This explanation can be applied to the teacher's position in the celebration of the children's calendar customs, and in this regard, it is in essence, a summary of the teacher's function. The children's obvious enjoyment of the festivities is sufficient reason for their continued existence. The teacher's presence, however, does offer

[12] William R. Bascom, "Four Functions of Folklore," in Alan Dundes, ed., The Study of Folklore, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 292.

additional justification, whether or not such is actually required. The teacher and the school do more than provide an atmosphere in which the customs may occur, they promote and justify their continued existence.

One of the broad but generally vague and unspecified goals of education has supposedly been to provide children with an understanding and appreciation of society and its culture. In Newfoundland schools this has not entailed the study of local or provincial culture, but of North American society in general. Children have thus been studying a society that is labeled as their own but with which they often have nothing in common and to which they have no means of relating their personal experience. A recent task force report on education in Newfoundland accentuates the importance of supplying instruction in provincial and regional culture.[13] In an endeavour to introduce to the schools the study of purely Newfoundland, as opposed to North American, culture, the recently proposed revised provincial high school curriculum includes an emphasis on 'heritage studies'.[14] The field of heritage studies is intended to include provincial culture, literature and history.

Through their role in calendar celebrations the teachers are at least promoting some part of local culture and tradition. They

[13] R.K. Crocker & F.T. Riggs, Improving The Quality of Education: Challenge and Opportunity. Final Report, Task Force on Education, (St. John's: Department of Education, 1979). See throughout.

[14] See The Report of the Sub-Committee on Curriculum Reorganization presented to The Committee Planning the Implementation of Grade XII, August 1979.

are supporting perennial school traditions, and the student-teacher sharing of these seasonal observances. The teachers' participation is as much a local tradition as is the children's. New teachers entering the school system learn from their colleagues and from their students the role they are expected to play as the customs occur, and they generally fulfill their predetermined function.

To those critics who maintain that children's folklore degenerates once adults, especially teachers, interfere, I would refer them to the customs existing in local primary schools. The position of the teachers and the school as co-participants in the children's traditions is probably neither positive nor negative. It is an inherent ingredient in local culture, and should be viewed as such. Just as the children's pranks on April Fool's Day are an accepted part of an annual tradition, so is the school's and the teacher's involvement in seasonal children's festivities. The school's involvement in one aspect of a custom does not detract from those aspects which children conduct when out of the bounds of adult supervision. One part of the celebration is as much a 'folk tradition' as the other.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A classroom unit which consists of teacher and students comprises a distinct 'small group' of its own, possessing unique patterns and traditions. As a group existing together and temporarily devoid of extraneous influences, 'teacher and students' has been with us certainly since the days of Aristotle. If time establishes a tradition, then the classroom is certainly a traditional setting. Having established that fact, and at the same time having accepted Nell Keddies' position that the school is not a child's natural habitat,[1] we must also accept that, whether naturally or unnaturally contrived, the school does become a part of the child's entire environment. Therefore, in studying childhood and childlore, the school cannot be ignored. With particular reference to calendar customs, the school is part of the entire gamut of childhood experiences; as such, its role is two-fold. On the one hand, there are particular activities which are the prerogative of the small group within a classroom, but on the other hand, these activities are merely one part of the entire calendric experience.

The relationship between the child and the school is, to some

[1] See Nell Keddie, Tinker, Tailor . . . The Myth of Cultural Deprivation, pp. 7-19.

extent, a reciprocal one. Just as the school-oriented events have an effect on the entire celebrations of children's calendar customs, so do the children's pre-conceived perceptions (learned at home and in the community) affect the school's treatment of the customs. For the child does not initially experience calendar customs at school. Long before he arrives in the classroom, the child has already reached the stage at which calendar customs have become an established part of his childhood traditions.

As this study has indicated, whatever schools may intend to do or to be, they are not entirely occupied with formal learning. That calendar customs are a part of the school tradition has been clearly demonstrated. It also seems apparent that in the teachers' eyes, the extended preparations for calendric activities are not consciously viewed as existing outside the realm of normal classroom events. While the actual day itself is seen as something different - a period of special licence - the preparations are not. The teachers' perceptions in this area are perhaps best demonstrated by the following incident. During the course of this study, there occurred a change in the principalship of the school and teachers felt that there would be subsequent changes in school philosophy and policy. Immediately prior to Hallowe'en, all the usual preparations - costumes, decorations - were made at school and this was done without reference to the new principal. However, when it came to the point of having a Hallowe'en party, the teachers consulted with the new principal before making plans with their classes.

This incident suggests that the teachers do not view the cyclical, or extended, events and the actual calendar custom itself in the same light. They evidentally assume that the preparatory events belong naturally to the classroom; whereas the party is perceived as something outside of the usual schooltime activities, and as such requires some form of offical sanction. The preparations are not questioned, they are simply done. Teachers would no more neglect the activities associated with calendar customs than they would neglect to teach reading.

The attention and focus on calendar customs is not confined to the school under discussion here, nor is it a recent phenomenon. Writing in the 1940's, Julia Weber Gordon published a diary giving day-to-day descriptions of her work in an American one-room rural school. The book contains excellent and beautifully-written portrayals of both the academic and non-academic pursuits of her students. Witness the following excerpt:

> Wednesday, November 20. The Christmas spirit is in the air and the children work feverishly to get many things done. The play is progressing. Christmas gift making turns part of the day into a workshop. The boys brought in some material for making Christmas wreaths and placed hemlock boughs around the room. [2]

Such explicit documentation of classroom activities as given by Gordon is unusual; the activities themselves are not. Whether seen in the schoolroom of the 1940's, or in the context of a modern-day well-equipped classroom, teachers and students together engage in

[2] Julia Weber Gordon, My Country School Diary, (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970), p. 222.

activities that fall outside the bounds of formal instruction. Events similar to those described by Gordon occur in many schools, are often sanctioned by educational authorities, and are generally viewed by the teacher as belonging naturally to the educational process. At this point, the folklorist could step in, for many of these behaviours are essentially of an informal nature.

In her account, Gordon did not make a distinction between formal instructional activities and the folkloric events in which her students engaged; nor do the teachers at the Musgrave Harbour school make such a distinction. Teachers will insist that the activities associated with the celebration of calendar customs are an integral part of the school experience, yet they sometimes seem to feel compelled to defend, for example, holding a Valentine party in school. What we have in essence is a rather paradoxical situation in which folkloric events are equated with formal instructional ones, but are simultaneously viewed as being somehow different.

When studying the at-school activities, the folklorist would do well to keep in mind that though the school events are basically a 'folk event' in their own right, they are influenced and affected by and in turn, have an influence and an effect on children's calendar customs outside the school. Though they are a part of the entire celebration, the context in which they occur is undeniably different. For one thing, the mere presence of adults is a contributing factor, and in this case, the adults are not only present, but also participating in the events. Events in which the participants

are both adults and children are naturally going to differ from events in which children partake, devoid of adult influence. Though children tend to be highly traditional creatures, their teachers in many ways are not. The children, for instance, have game preferences which tend to be the same at every party occasion and they oppose any change in the format of the games, insisting that these be played in only the 'right' way. Their teachers, however, when planning activities for, rather than with, the children, strive for innovation; they seek that which is new, unusual or different. The teacher does not plan the same activities for each occasion; if her class designs an egg tree one Easter, they may create 'egg people' the following year. Or, if one group made an egg tree, that project would likely become the prerogative of another group for the next season. The activities, however, do tend to follow the same basic formation; though the children engaging in them differ from one year to the next, the projects themselves remain fundamentally the same. There is, at least in some measure, a balance between the teachers' influence on the calendar events and the influence of their students. Though the teacher may possess a propensity for innovation, the children will insist that things are not subjected to too radical a change.

Both teachers and children, whether or not the former are aware of it, are co-participants in calendar custom activities at the school level. This is an important factor of which the folklorist should be cognizant and which should influence and at least in part

dictate his subsequent approach to the study of such celebrations and their concomitant happenings. If the initial classroom studies provide evidence of the teachers' participation, then the folklorist could ultimately demonstrate to these teachers that they themselves are purveyors of children's folklore. As Dundes and other discerning folklorists have observed, some educators perceive folklore as being fundamentally negative and inherently restrictive and as such as being diametrically opposed to the sort of progressive and forward-thinking attitudes that education boasts it promotes in its students.[3] A demonstration to teachers of their active participation in children's calendar customs should result in providing them with some indication of what folklore actually comprises, and should consequently alter such perceptions and opinions. If teachers become aware that they are aiding and abetting folklore, they might then become aware of its positive attributes.

There exist in schools other avenues which folklorists should explore in the study of children's folklore in general and of calendar custom in particular. Though this study was confined to the primary grades, children's celebration of calendar customs does not end with that age group. Elementary classes engage in similar activities and in secondary schools, especially in music, art and creative arts classes, students undertake special projects in recognition of particular calendar events. Certain student

[3] See Alan Dundes, "Folklore as a Mirror of Culture." p. 472.

organizations, such as arts and craft clubs, which exist to pursue extra-curricular activities, often create elaborate designs and otherwise engage in festivities in celebration of seasonal customs. Studies of such students' pursuits would likely be profitable for two reasons. From a folkloristic point of view, they would supply specific information concerning children and their customs. Secondly, from an educational perspective, they would reveal knowledge of a more general nature relative to children's interests and accomplishments, which folklorists could then convey to educators.

Other areas of school related activities which should be the focus of folkloric investigation include the pastimes in which children engage at recess time and during other interludes from formal schooling. Some of these sessions are held under teacher supervision, and at times direct participation, but more often are the sole prerogative of the children. This is the one sector of the child's school life which folklorists have endeavoured to study. However, the results of such research have been subjected to very little real analysis, and when such has been done, the findings contain at best, a modicum of recommendations, and usually none at all, which are intended for educators.

Also worthy of note by folklorists are the many educational games which primary and elementary schoolteachers employ to teach specific tasks or skills. These are often variations of traditional childhood games; one such example is the parlour game, I Spy, which has been used as a part of reading instruction to teach or reinforce

phonics and other decoding skills. Other so-called educational games find their way out of the classroom to become part of the general repertoire of children's games. When children encounter a game that they enjoy, no matter what its origin, they proceed to make it their own.

Another area which could certainly prove of interest to folklorists is what one might term child-rearing practices within the school. Young children especially are generally closely supervised by their teachers. Consequently, their movements, mannerisms and entire mode of conduct are influenced and to an extent controlled by their teachers. The methods employed to induce children to conform to desired forms of behavior are themselves deserving of study. Widdowson has documented accounts of teachers being used as authority figures with which to threaten children.[4] Just as parents employ those tactics at home, so do teachers in their turn apply the same approach to discipline at school. Threats and threatening figures are utilized by teachers to coerce children into obedience. Corporal punishment and other traditional disciplinary measures are no longer options of which teachers may avail to achieve 'classroom control'. Consequently, they seek other methods and the use of threatening figures is but one of these. A study of the entire gamut of educational child-rearing practices, some of which are peculiar to the school situation while others are more indicative

[4] John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good, pp. 256-260.

of parental authority, would undoubtedly yield valuable information concerning the unique relationship that exists between teachers and their young charges.

Folklorists can also learn more about schools and students by studying the results of research conducted by other disciplines. A number of anthropological and ethnographic studies have been carried out at schools and folklore can certainly receive some cues from these. At the same time, we would do well to bear in mind that an approach which may be a practical one for ethnographic studies, would not necessarily apply to studies conducted from a folkloric perspective. Folkloric investigations at the school would essentially be of a different nature, and therefore would require a different method of study.

Before plunging headlong into the schoolroom, folklorists might do well to attend to cautions that have been expressed to anthropologists engaged in similar pursuits. Wolcott criticized anthropologists who viewed schools as though they were a "single monolithic structure."[5] For those afforded only a superficial glimpse into the real nature of schools, it is easy enough to assume that one school is little more than the duplicate of another, or that student behaviors in one classroom are necessarily reproduced in the adjoining one. In actuality, each school and each classroom functions,

[5] Harry F. Wolcott, "Handle With Care: Necessary Precautions in the Anthropology of Schools", in Murray L. Wax, Stanley Diamond & Fred O. Gearing, eds., Anthropological Perspectives on Education, (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 98-117.

perhaps especially in its informal situations, as a distinct and separate unit.

Wolcott also expressed disapproval of anthropologists who, without having previously conducted research in schools, proceeded to advise educators as to curriculum content. He suggested that field work is required for anthropologists in every other area, and that the same rule should apply to schools. A similar caution may be recommended to folklorists: prior to designing teaching units for schools and advising teachers as to the best ways of utilizing folklore in their classrooms, they should, if not actually conducting fieldwork there, at least take care to be thoroughly familiar with the situations to which they address themselves.

If folklorists wish to see folklore being utilized in the schools, they must enter into that environment themselves, and they must approach teachers and educators with their suggestions. Bauman said of children's folklore that it "is an index to what is important to children in the peer group, and their communicative competence within it."[6] This valid and perceptive assessment of children's folklore is an argument that should be presented to educators in general and to teachers in particular, for it is via their influence that folklore will become an object of study in schools. In the same vein, Dorothy Howard suggested that "The use

[6] Richard Bauman, "Introduction", to Beverly J. Stoeltje, Children's Handclaps, p. 1.

of folklore in schools depends on teachers and teachers have their beginnings in teachers' colleges."[7] She then described the way in which one such college had introduced a folklore course to its student teachers, and how this in turn had translated into the teachers doing folklore work in their schools. The validity of her statement is obvious: if teachers are to teach folklore in their classes, they must have some knowledge of the discipline. The push for educational departments and teachers' colleges to include the study of folklore in their curriculum must come from folklorists.

In addition to promoting folklore study in schools, folklorists must take themselves out into the field, and begin to study an area that they have long neglected.

[7] Dorothy Mills Howard, "Folklore in the Schools," New York Folklore Quarterly, 6 (1950), 99-107, p. 100.

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Appendix A - Songs

Pumpkin Bells

Dashing through the streets,
In our costumes bright and gay,
To each house we go,
Laughing all the way.

Hallowe'en is here,
Making spirits bright,
What fun it is to trick-or-treat
And sing pumpkin carols tonight.

Oh! Pumpkin bells! Pumpkin bells!
Ringing loud and clear,
Oh what fun great pumpkin brings,
When Hallowe'en is here.

(Sung to the tune of Jingle Bells).

The Little Witches

One little, two little, three little witches
Flying over haystacks, flying over ditches,
Sliding down moonbeams without any hitches.
Heigh ho, Hallowe'en's here!

(Sung to the tune of Ten Little Indians).

The Witch in The Dark

The witch in the dark, the witch in the dark,
Hi ho for Hallowe'en, the witch in the dark.

The witch takes a bat, the witch takes a bat,
Hi ho for Hallowe'en, the witch takes a bat.

The bat takes a black cat, the bat takes a black cat,
Hi ho for Hallowe'en, the bat takes a black cat.

The black cat takes a ghost, the black cat takes a ghost,
Hi ho for Hallowe'en, the black cat takes a ghost.

The ghost says BOO! The ghost says BOO!
Hi ho for Hallowe'en, the ghost says BOO!

They all run away, they all run away,

Hi ho for Hallowe'en, they all run away.

(Sung to the tune of The Farmer in The Dell).

The Goblin

A goblin lives in our house, in our house, in our house.

A goblin lives in our house, all the year round.

He bumps

And he jumps

And he thumps

And he stumps.

He knocks

And he rocks

And he rattles at the locks.

A goblin lives in our house, in our house, in our house.

A goblin lives in our house, all the year round.

Appendix B - Games

Singing Games

The Farmer in The Dell

The children join hands and form a circle. One child is chosen to be the farmer. He stands in the centre of the circle, while the others walk around him singing the following verses:

The farmer in the dell, the farmer in the dell,
Heigh-ho the derrio, the farmer in the dell.

The farmer takes a wife, the farmer takes a wife,
Heigh-ho the derrio, the farmer takes a wife.

The wife takes a child.
The child takes a nurse.
The nurse takes a dog.
The dog takes a cat.
The cat takes a mouse.
The mouse takes the cheese.

The chorous is sung after each verse. At the appropriate point, the child selects someone from the circle to join him in the centre. The game continues until all seven people have been chosen, at which point the children sing the following:

The farmer leaves his wife, the farmer leaves his wife,
Heigh-ho the derrio, the farmer leaves his wife.

The wife leaves the child.
The child leaves the nurse.
The nurse leaves the dog.

The dog leaves the cat.
The cat leaves the mouse.
The mouse leaves the cheese.
The cheese stands alone.

The children so named leave the centre and rejoin the circle, with the exception of the "cheese" who remains in the centre. On the last verse, the circle moves in closely around the child in the centre, and the children no longer hold hands but clap their hands in tune.

Fly Little Bluebird Through My Window

This is a circle game in which all the children raise their arms, and one child, "the bluebird" goes in and out through the uplifted arms, while the others sing:

Fly little bluebird through my window, through my window,
through my window. Fly little bluebird through my
window, heigh diddle diddle dum dae.

At the end of which, the "bluebird" moves into the centre of the ring, the children lower their arms and sing:

Choose a little partner and walk in the garden,
Choose a little partner and walk in the garden,
Choose a little partner and walk in the garden,
Heigh diddle diddle dum dae.

While they are singing this, the "bluebird" selects another child to join him in the circle. The game continues with both "bluebirds" walking through the circle, and then each of these choosing a partner. The game ends when no more "bluebirds" can fit in the inner circle, or the children tire of the game.

Little Sally Saucer

In this central person circle game, the child in the centre makes the appropriate actions while the other children sing:

> Little Sally Saucer sitting on the water,
> Rise up Sally and wipe away your tears.
> Turn to the East Sally, turn to the West Sally,
> Turn to the very one that you love best.

With eyes closed, "Sally" chooses someone from the circle and that person becomes Sally Saucer, while the original returns to the ring. Play continues until each child has had a turn at being "Sally" or they grow tired of the game and decide they've played it long enough.

London Bridge

In this game the children line up and walk between two players who stand facing each other and with their arms build an arch in synchronization with the following, which all sing:

> London Bridge is falling down, falling down, falling down.
> London Bridge is falling down, My fair lady-o.
>
> London Bridge is half built up, half built up, half built up. London Bridge is half built up, My fair lady-o.
>
> London Bridge is all built up, all built up, all built up.
> London Bridge is all built up, my fair lady-o.
>
> Take the key and lock her up, lock her up, lock her up.
> Take the key and lock her up, my fair lady-o.

As the last word is sung, the player going through the arch is caught and becomes the prisoner of the other two players. He is

then taken aside, so that the other children do not overhear what transpires, and told to choose one of two objects or colours predetermined by the two players who formed the arch. He then belongs on the side of the player whose object he selected, and he stands behind that player while the game continues. The game continues until all the participants are lined up on one side or the other; they then engage in a tug-of-war to determine the winner.

Ring Around A Rosie

The players join hands, form a circle and walk around singing:

Ring around a rosie
A pocket full a tosie.
All the ladies in the town,
All flop down.

On the last line, all the players fall down.

Ten Little Monkeys

This is a unison singing game in which all the players perform actions in keeping with the following:

Ten little monkeys jumping on the bed.
One fell off and bumped his head.
Momma called the doctor,
The doctor said:
No more monkeys jumping on the bed.

The song continues down to the number one with the chorous repeated each time. The last verse is:

No little monkeys jumping on the bed.
None fell off and bumped his head.
Momma called the doctor,
The doctor said:
Put those monkeys straight to bed.

When I Was A Teacher

This is also a singing-action game, in which all players sing the following:

When I was a baby, a baby, a baby.
Ha-ha this a-way, ha-ha that a-way.

When I was a brownie, a brownie, a brownie.
When I was a girl guide.
When I was a teenager.
When I was a lady.
When I was a teacher.

The actions are done on the chorus line - motions with the arms to resemble rocking a baby, a brownie salute, a girl guide salute, hands on the hips and twisting from the waist to indicate a teenager, an imitation of powdering the face to suggest a lady and pointing with the index finger to indicate a teacher.

Parlor Games

Button Button

The children sit around in a circle, while one child stands in the centre with a button in his hands. He walks around the circle and in turn passes his hands through the hands of each child in the group. At some point he surreptitiously drops the button into the hands of one child. Having completed his round of the circle, he then asks someone: "Button, Button, Who has the button?" If the child so asked, correctly identifies the button holder, he becomes "it" and has a turn with the button. However, if he guesses incorrectly, he receives a slap on the hands with a ruler, delivered by the child who is "it".

I Spy

This is a game which starts with a child saying, "I syp with my little eye something that begins with -" (he names a letter of the alphabet). The other participants then attempt to identify the object. The one who guesses correctly has the next turn at "I spy".

Musical Chairs

This game is usually played with the teacher's assistance. A group of chairs is placed in the centre of the room, totaling one less than the number of children playing the game. The teacher, or one of the children, starts the record player - the signal for the participants to begin walking around the chairs. When the music is stopped the children rush to sit on the chairs. The one left standing is out of the game. One more chair is removed, the music starts again and the game continues. One chair is removed each time the music stops, until there are two children, but only one chair remaining. The winner is the child who sits on the last remaining chair when the music stops.

Kissing Games

Spin The Bottle

The participants sit around in a circle, with a bottle in the centre. One child spins the bottle and when it stops spinning he is required to kiss the person at whom the bottle is pointing. When the bottle is pointing at a member of the same sex as the person doing the spinning, the response of the spinner varies according to his sex. Girls quite willing kiss the cheek of other girls,

boys however, refrain from kissing each other, and instead, they quite solemnly shake hands. The game usually continues until each of the participants has had at least one turn at spinning the bottle.

Exerting Games

Mouse Trap

In this game, half of the participants (usually all of the girls or all of the boys) join hands and form a circle. The other half forms a straight line outside the circle. The teacher, or if the children are playing the game alone, one of the participants calls "Open the mouse trap." At that signal the children in the circle raise their arms and the other participants walk in and out through the resulting arches. They continue going through the arches until the teacher calls "Close the mouse trap," at which point the children in the circle lower their arms. Any player caught inside the mouse trap when the arms are lowered, is required to stay there, unless he is quick and agile enough to escape through the lowered arms. The winner is the last player to remain outside the mouse trap.

Red Rover

To play Red Rover all of the furniture is first cleared from the centre of the room. The participants divide into two teams and each team forms a line at opposite ends of the room. The captain of one team calls out, "Red Rover, Red Rover, send - - - - right over." The child whose name is called, then runs across the room and attempts to break through the line of the opposing team. If successful, he returns to his own team, if not, he joins the opposition. The game continue until all of the players are aligned on one side.

Appendix C - Photographs

No. 1 -

Safety rules
for Hallowe'en.

No. 2 -

Wearing Hallowe'en hats and waiting for the play to begin.

No. 3 -

Witches in the play.

No. 4 -

A pumpkin and ghosts star in the Hallowe'en play.

No. 5 -

The head witch.

No. 6 -

The Kindergarten class, ready for their Hallowe'en party.

No. 7 -

Store-bought trick-or-treat bags.

No. 8 -

Home-made costumes.

No. 9 -

Elaborate facial disguises

No. 10 -

Wood stacked, ready for lighting.

No. 11 -

A family bonfire.

No. 12 -

Some very young children with the remnants of their fire.

No. 13 -

Costumes and props designed by teachers and students.

No. 14 -

All on stage for the choral singing.

No. 15 -

A short recital

No. 16 -

Christmas Eve
bedtime scene

No. 17 -

Spelling out
Merry Christmas

No. 18 -

A solo recitation.

No. 19 -

A scene from the Grade 2 play.

No. 20 -

Another play

No. 21 -

Santa Claus distributing presents at school.

No. 22 -

A class with their Valentine boxes in the background.

No. 23 -

Receiving the Valentine boxes.

No. 24 -

A group of Grade 2 children with their Easter project.

No. 25 -

An Easter egg tree.

No. 26 -

Lunchtime at the Hallowe'en party.

No. 27 -

Wood for a bonfire transported by cart.

No. 28 -

Cardboard boxes will help ignite the fire.

No. 29 -

The performers waiting to go on stage form part of the audience.

No. 30 -

End of the play and Christmas tree with presents.

No. 31 -

The audience comprises all age groups.

No. 32 -

Santa Claus and teachers ready to distribute gifts following the Christmas concert.

No. 33 -

Grade 1 class with their Valentine envelopes.

No. 32 -

Santa Claus and teachers ready to distribute gifts following the Christmas concert.

No. 33 -

Grade 1 class with their Valentine envelopes.