CHILDREN'S GAMES AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN
SAVAGE COVE, NEWFOUNDLAND (1900-1992)

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Children's Games and Social Change

in Savage Cove, Newfoundland (1900-1992)

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis records the evolution of the repertoire of children's games and pastimes for the community of Savage Cove on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula from approximately 1900 to 1992. Also, it explores the relationship between this evolution and the social and economic changes which have occurred within the community over the same period of time. This is achieved through the classification and analysis of the games, which serves to quantify the worldview of the community as expressed through its evolving game preference.

The study focuses on change rather than continuity, for although the games can be seen to represent *traditional* tendencies and needs, they have changed profoundly over time, and express the conservative yet innovative manner in which the community has responded to social and economic developments. The children's negotiation between the new and the traditional demonstrates the enculturation of the upcoming generation within the community, as well as their reaction to change within the context of the community's worldview. In the end, the evolution of the repertoire can be seen to represent the community's response to modernization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

...A game that is esteemed by a people may at the
same time be utilized to define the society's moral
or intellectual character, provide proof of its
precise meaning, and contribute to its popular
acceptance by accentuating the relevant qualities.[1]

The aim of this thesis is to record the repertoire of
children's games and pastimes for the community of Savage Cove
from approximately 1900 to 1992, and to comment on the
relationship between this repertoire and the social and
economic changes which have occurred over the same period of
time within the community. In the end, it is my hope that
this study will contribute to the ongoing scholarly debate on
children's games, while focusing on a region of Canada in
general terms, and specifically on a Newfoundland community.
To achieve this aim, I will discuss the history of scholarship
regarding children's games and present the social and economic
history of Savage Cove before presenting the game repertoire
of the community. I will then classify the games and

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[1] Roger Caillois, <u>Man, Play and Games</u> trans. Meyer Barash
(1958; New York: Shocken Books, 1979) 83.

activities in the repertoire and analyze the results with consideration to this relationship.

Savage Cove was chosen as the Newfoundland community in which to conduct this research because, given my connection to it, I would be looking at a familiar place in an unfamiliar way. My father, Baxter Coles, is from Savage Cove, having been born there, as was my grandfather, Matthew Coles. Furthermore, after his marriage as a young man, my great-grandfather, Matthew Coles (Senior) moved to the community from the neighbouring community of Sandy Cove, where my great-great-grandfather, George Coles, settled after he emigrated from England. Over the years, I have spent a considerable amount of time in the Straits, particularly in the community of Savage Cove, returning there most summers for weeks at a time until in my mid-teens. Because of this, I either know the residents of the community personally through kinship ties and shared experiences, or am known by them because they know of my father. Given this situation, I determined that I could do fieldwork in Savage Cove without having to worry about being perceived as a stranger or establishing rapport with prospective informants. Having grown up in St. John's, this

situation made me both an insider and an outsider in the
community.

Information for this study was collected in three ways:
by directed tape-recorded interviews, by directed interviews
from which I took notes, and through casual conversation.
Each method was employed for the initial fieldwork, as well as
during follow-up interviews in order to define which games
were extant at different points in time, and the extent of
each informant's experience with all of the games collected.
Also, by reviewing the literature on children's game
scholarship, I was able to acquaint myself with directions
taken by past scholars in this field and formulate the present
thesis. Interviews were conducted on three separate occasions
within the community, between June 9 and July 10, 1992,
between August 17 and 27, 1992, and between March 1 and 31,
1993. As well, interviews were conducted at various times
during 1992 and 1993 with past residents of the community now
residing in St. John's.[2]

It is necessary to point out from the outset that this
thesis is not a comparative study, rather, it addresses the
relationship between change and children's games in the

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[1] A list of informants is included at the end of the
thesis.

community. There is no doubt that the games presented here have antecedents, yet to assume, as some early scholars have done, that the contexts in which these games were played and the meaning which they held for the participants over the years was constant is a false assumption given that, for the most part, these scholars simply compared texts. By only focusing on the games collected in Savage Cove, I mean to rectify this assumption.

Following a review of the literature in Chapter Two, Chapter Three presents a brief social and economic history of Savage Cove illustrating the nature of life within the community and the heritage of its residents, while setting the social backdrop for the game repertoire of the community described in Chapters Four, Five and Six. These three chapters discuss the periods between 1900 and 1935, 1935 and 1965, and 1965 and 1992, respectively. By dividing the entire time frame into three approximately thirty-year periods, I present the games and pastimes for each period, with my intention being to view the game repertoire for the community at various points in time so that the changes to it can be traced over the years.

I have chosen these dates because they encompass certain important social and economic changes within the community which suggests an era, and because my informants born between these dates have similar shared experiences which suggest that

they should be grouped together. Also, it should be stated that even though there are divisions between each of the three periods, I do not mean to imply that the older informants from one period did not play with the younger from the following period. This was certainly not the case, for the difference between their ages is very little and well within the range for most of the games. At the same time, some of the games played by the older informants in each time period were not played by the younger and vice versa, and such instances will be noted.

In each of these chapters, the changes are noted by looking at the continuance of certain games and pastimes over the whole ninety-year period, by looking at the addition of new games to the repertoire or the variation of existing games in the repertoire, and by looking at the deletion of games and pastimes from the repertoire. In each case, I concentrate on the rules and play of the games, the gender and age of the participants, the equipment used--if any--where each was played, the time of day each was played, the season in which each was played, plus any other significant contextual information. Also, in order to further analyze this relationship, I intend to make use of three classification systems or models which have been proposed by Roger Caillois, Robert Georges, and Brian Sutton-Smith for the purpose of investigating play and games. Finally, by using these

classifications, I hope to quantify the worldview of the community as it is expressed through its evolving game preference over the course of this ninety-year period.

The first of these classification systems was devised by Roger Caillois and is based on his definition of play as essentially free, separate, uncertain, and unproductive, yet governed by rules and make-believe, that is to say "by a special awareness of a second reality."[3] His system proposes four main rubrics--Competition, Chance, Simulation, or Vertigo--based on the "essential and irreducible impulses" central in each play activity.[4] Within each of these rubrics, games are arranged in a rank order of progression from *Paidia*, the principle of free improvisation, at one extreme, to *Ludus*, the principle of arbitrary, purposely tedious conventions, at the other.[5]

The second of these classification systems or models was devised by Robert A. Georges and is based on his definition of play as a voluntary, nonproductive activity which may contribute "to the physical, social and psychological growth and development of the individual," and which occurs within a "temporal and spatial detachment from reality."[6] He divides

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[3] Caillois 9-10. In Chapter I of this book, the author derives his definition of Play.
[4] Caillois 14.
[5] Caillois 12-13.
[6] Robert A. Georges, "Recreations and Games," <u>Folklore and Folklife</u>, ed. Richard Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972) 173-174.

play activities into two categories: Nongames or Recreations and Pastimes in which there is no competition, and Games in which there is competition between at least two people, explicit or implicit rules, and a method for determining a winner and a loser.[7] This model ranks play activities according to "the principal kind of behaviour necessary to achieve the . . . objective of the play activity," rather than along "configurational lines, . . . the nature of the activity involved, . . . the sex of the players, . . . [or] the type of equipment used" as past scholars have done.[8] Within each of these two categories he offers two possibilities: Nongames that involve Role-Playing and Imitation, Nongames in which Chance determines achievement, Games in which Physical Skill and Dexterity determine achievement, and Games in which Strategy determines achievement.[9]

The third of these classification systems was devised by Brian Sutton-Smith and approaches games as "complex group behaviors deriving their nature from many different sources."[10] This system, based on both structural and developmental considerations, offers ten different structural categories arranged in order of the child's development from approximately age six to twelve years old:

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[7] Georges 174.
[8] Georges 177-178.
[9] Georges 178-183.
[10] Brian Sutton-Smith, <u>The Folkgames of Children</u> (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972) 15.

Category A, Singing Games, includes circle games, games
with two opposing team lines, and couple games;

Category B, Dialogue Games, includes games in which a
central player represents a fearsome person or is
teased by the others;

Category C, Informal Games, includes imitative games,
pack games, activities with play objects and
seasonal activities;

Category D, Leader Games, includes games in which a
central person directs the course of the game and
the moves that the others are allowed to make as
the others compete to take the leaders place;

Category E, Chasing Games, includes games in which
either a central person does the chasing, or a
team does the chasing;

Category F, Rhythmic Games, includes skipping games
with rhymes, games involving rhythmic movements
accompanied by chants, hand clapping games, and
ball bouncing games with rhymes;

Category G, Games of Chance, includes games in which
the outcome of the game is determined by factors
beyond the control of the players;

Category H, Teasing Activities, includes physical and
verbal tricks, initiations, teasing rhymes
and smart answers;

Category J, Parlor Games, includes miscellaneous indoor
   games for special occasions;

Category K, Games of Skill, includes games which
   involve physical activity such as hitting,
   throwing, pitching, hopping, jumping and running.[11]

Sutton-Smith also offers a developmental synopsis of
games which is divided into four groupings: Choral Games,
Central-person Games, Individual Skills Games, and Team
Games.[12] *Choral Games* are generally for children between the
ages of six and nine years old, and all players carry out the
same actions to choral accompaniment. These games are of a
simple form and easy for young children to comprehend. The
children gain security from these large group social
activities. *Central-person Games* are generally for children
up to eleven years old, and the children are related in
special ways to one or more central players. The central
person sometimes takes a "limelight" role, sometimes a
dominating "maternal or leader figure" role, or sometimes a
fearsome "He" character role. With these three types, the
players are on the defensive against the central person. At
about the age of ten, two other types become important--either
the central person has to maintain his position in the face of
open competition, or he is made a scapegoat by the group.

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[11] Sutton-Smith 16-152.
[12] Sutton-Smith 212-214.

With these two types, the players are on the attack against a central person. *Individual Skills Games* become important at about the age of ten. The players compete as individuals against others in terms of a variety of skills. *Team Games*, between the ages of seven and nine, take the form of pack versus pack rather than straight competition. Between approximately eleven and twelve, these games take the form of organized sports or children's simplified versions of such games, cooperative group games in which the players work for a common result and team singing games.

It is important to note that each of these classification systems carries its own set of problems and deficiencies,[13] stemming less from an internal flaw in the logic of the system than from each system's failed attempt to cover all possibilities, while at the same time, limiting the total number of game types or characteristics. While this is only natural given that each system was admittedly devised for the specific purpose of the author's present task and not as a definitive, all-encompassing classification system, each breaks down at one time or another when applied to the games presented in the following chapters. Specifically, the main

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[13] For a discussion of classification systems in Folklore see Paul S. Smith, "Trees and Buckets: Approaches to the Classification of Folklore Materials and Some Thoughts for the Future," <u>Lore and Language</u> 7.2 (1988): 3-21.

problem is that either the games fit into more than one single classification, or they cannot be classified at all.

Respectively, this problem is due to the multiple aspects of each game and the limits which are imposed by each system. This being so, the primary classification and component characteristic presented in the following chapters appears capitalized, while any secondary classification and component characteristic appears in lower-case and enclosed in square brackets. In instances where a game could not be classified at all due to the limits imposed by the system, I have manipulated the terms of the system in order to achieve a classification. This problem occurred most often with the model proposed by Georges, as will become apparent. Regardless, in these instances the classifications appear within square brackets.

The classification of each game according to these three systems directly follows the description of each game given in chapters Four, Five and Six. In the end, additions to, and deletions from the repertoire are addressed, and the various classifications are referred to at the end of each chapter for the purpose of analysis.

Finally, it is necessary to define certain terms which I use to explain the relationship between games and their meaning for the citizens of the place under study. Firstly, with respect to the term *community*, I use this in its broadest

sense to refer to the total resident population, the geographical and spatial place, the social and economic unit of production, and the esoteric folk group consisting of the children of Savage Cove. With respect to the term *repertoire* I mean a collection of specific knowledge possessed by an individual or community. The *game repertoire* of Savage Cove refers to the total collective game knowledge of its residents at any given time.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

While this thesis is not a comparative study of games
from Savage Cove, by reviewing the literature, it is easy to
find games comparable to those included in the game repertoire
of the children of this community. In fact, versions of most
of the games described in Chapters Four, Five and Six can be
found in the works of Newell, Gomme and Opie, discussed later
in this chapter. As for "games rooted in antiquity," to give
just one example, "Steering [a] capricious hoop with a little
hooked stick which they called a *key*," essentially the game of
Rolling Hoops found in Savage Cove, "was a favourite sport of
women" in Rome in the 1st century A.D.[14] Finding versions of
the games I collected in the literature is almost inevitable;
however, a comparative study of this material does not offer
any concrete explanation of how certain games are transmitted,
or why certain games change in the small ways that they do, or
that there is any local cultural influence on this process of
change. Furthermore, as a review of past collections offers
just as much evidence for change as for continuity, I have
chosen to focus on the concept of change believing that the
information that I have gathered from the small area of Savage
Cove is more appropriate to my analysis than perfunctory
references to similar games played in areas which have no

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[14] Jerome Carcopino, <u>Daily Life in Ancient Rome</u>, trans. E.
O. Lorimer, ed. Henry T. Rowell (New Haven & London: Yale
University Press, 1968) 260.

active cultural link with this community. One should bear in mind that although the lines of transmission may ultimately reach every nation in the world, each repertoire community of children represents a very small link in this complex chain.

This is not to say that noting the direction of past scholarship on the subject of children's games and pastimes is not important, for this is not so. On the contrary, for my purposes here, it is absolutely essential for the sake of appropriately defining my approach, and placing the thesis within the context of this past work. Consequently, the following section discusses the history and development of scholarship on children's games, and looks at the strengths and weaknesses of past approaches. In the process, it is my intention to illustrate why some of these works proved useful for my study while others did not. Finally, I should say that the following review is selective and does not discuss every reference on the subject. For a more complete bibliography on the study of children's games, the reader is directed to Sylvia Ann Grider, "A Select Bibliography of Childlore," Western Folklore 39.3 (1980): 248-265, and Herbert Halpert, "Childlore Bibliography: A Supplement," Western Folklore 41.3 (1982) 205-228.

Before William Thoms supposedly coined the term *Folklore* in 1846,[15] antiquarians and early folklorists seemed drawn to the subject of children's games and pastimes as a result of the so-called romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century. It has been pointed out that early investigators, people such as Joseph Strutt, <u>The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England</u> (1801), Robert Chambers, <u>Popular Rhymes of Scotland</u> (1842), and James O. Halliwell, <u>The Nursery Rhymes of England</u> (1849), "were not concerned with the nature of play," rather they were "interested in the leisure-time activities of [their] countrymen because [they] thought [these activities] could provide some insight into [their country's] national character."[16] These scholars approached games as being the survivals of rituals and customs of some earlier pre-civilized society which had decayed as adult practices, but which had been preserved and disseminated as children's mimetic games, and passed down through the generations. With this approach, they generally did not concern themselves with the processes of creation or alteration, instead, they concentrated on the origins of the games, on gathering and editing texts, and on providing distributional and historical descriptions.[17] Through their efforts, these early investigators enticed later

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[15] See William Thoms [pseud. Ambrose Merton], "Folk-Lore," <u>The Athenaeum</u> 982 (August 22, 1846): 1-3; and Jeffery Alan Mazo, "A Good Saxon Compound," <u>Folklore</u> 107 (1996): 107-108.
[16] Georges 174-5.
[17] Georges 175.

nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars to continue in this direction, and to work towards producing "definitive" works on their nation's games. While definitive works were never to be wholly realized, the extensive scope and productivity of this research tilled the field for future comparative studies.

Of the later nineteenth century scholars involved with English traditions, William Wells Newell, <u>Games and Songs of American Children</u> (1883), and Lady Alice B. Gomme, <u>Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland</u> (1894, 1898), deserve special attention. Newell's pioneering work was the first systematic gathering, annotation, and comparative study of English-speaking children's games in the United States, while Gomme's study, published eleven years later, proved to be the "culminating work of the 19th century" British scholars.[18] With the publication of the second edition of <u>Games and Songs of American Children</u> in 1903, Newell was able to compare his findings with Gomme's and show "conclusively that [the] games and their texts were part of an international body of data,"[19] thus putting to rest the debate between whether the games in these countries were born of "common inheritance or parallel

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[18] Dorothy Howard, introduction, <u>The Traditional Games England, Scotland, and Ireland</u>, by Alice Bertha Gomme (1894; New York: Dover, 1964) vi.
[19] Carl Withers, introduction, <u>Games and Songs of American Children</u>, by William Wells Newell (1883; New York: Dover, 1963) vi.

invention."[20] This being said, however, from a contemporary
perspective, these two seminal works are not without their
shortcomings.

To begin, they reached backwards to the past in an
attempt to explain the games collected in the present. In
their defense, this is not surprising given the direction set
by past scholarship in this relatively new area of interest.
At the same time, Newell and Gomme were aware of the "paradox
of conservatism and evanescence"[21] in children's games; yet,
both chose to concentrate on those older items which appeared
to be on the brink of extinction, and which had been mentioned
in previous works, rather than concentrating on the processes
which effected change itself. Granted, this tendency still
exists to some degree today,[22] as scholars view the passing of
old traditions and culture with dismay; however, the
melancholic tone with which it was expressed in these early
works is on the verge of being maudlin, not to mention
unproductive and generally misleading. For example, in the
introduction to <u>Games and Songs of American Children's</u>, Newell
states:

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[20] William Wells Newell, preface, <u>Games and Songs of
American Children</u>, 2nd ed. (1883; New York: Dover, 1963) xvi.
    [21] Withers vii.
    [22] For a discussion of this tendency see Georgina Smith,
"Social Bases of Tradition: The Limitations and Implications
of 'The Search for Origins'," <u>Language, Culture and
Tradition</u>, eds. A. E. Green and J. D. A. Widdowson
(Sheffield: The Centre for English Cultural Tradition and
Language, U of Sheffield, 1981) 77-87.

The vine of oral tradition, of popular poetry,
which for a thousand years has twined and bloomed
on English soil, in other days enriching with color
and fragrance equally the castle and the cottage,
is perishing at the roots; its prouder branches
have long since been blasted, and children's song,
its humble but longest-flowering offshoot, will
soon have shared their fate. (1)

Also, despite Newell's praise of Gomme for making use of
"direct observation,"[23] it is evident that both authors relied
solely on the reminiscences of older informants. While this
is not necessarily a bad method, for it allows the researcher
to reach further backwards into the past, it produces only a
momentary glimpse of that distant time, and a partial one at
that. To this point, Gomme admits "none of the versions of the
games [she] collected together are in their original form, but
are more or less fragmentary."[24] For her greater purpose of
"obtaining an insight into . . . the customs and beliefs of
[her country's] ancestors," this was understandably a minor
deficiency.[25] Yet, when this is viewed in light of Gomme's
hope to cover "the whole field of games as played by children

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[23] Newell xv. See also, Howard viii.
[24] Alice B. Gomme, preface, <u>The Traditional Games England,
Scotland, and Ireland</u>, 2 vols. (1894; New York: Dover, 1964)
xvi.
[25] Gomme xvi.

in the United Kingdom,"[26] it simply goes to demonstrate that, despite the exhaustive research, the ideal of producing a definitive work on this scale is out of reach in practical terms.

Finally, in these early works, the material is presented and classified in a general and *ad hoc* fashion. Newell, in dealing with both games and songs, appears to separate his material according to form, content, context, and gender; yet, there is no consistency within his divisions, nor any explanation of them. The chapter headings "Guessing-Games," and "Games of Chase," for example, suggest that content and form are the criteria for the divisions, while others, "Ball, and Similar Sports," and "Mythology," suggest that some other criteria are being used. Gomme, on the other hand, appears to avoid classification outright by simply presenting her material in alphabetical order.

In spite of these shortcomings, which from a modern perspective seem apparent, the quality of these early works set the stage for scholarship in this area for years to come. This being so, echoes of these approaches (and their inherent shortcomings) can be heard into the mid-20th century.[27]

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[26] Gomme vi.
[27] For example, see Henry Bett, <u>The Games of Children: Their Origin and History</u> (1929; Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968) which includes the following chapter headings: "Weddings and Funerals," "Springtime and Verdure," and "Fairies and Goblins." Also, see Leslie Daiken, <u>Children's Games Throughout the Year</u> (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1949) which

With the introduction of new analytical approaches and methods during the 20th century, however, sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists helped to expand the discourse on the subject by addressing earlier weaknesses, encouraging cross-cultural studies, and moving the study of games and pastimes in a new direction.

Sociologists Johan Huizinga[28] and Roger Caillois[29] independently chose to concentrate on the nature of play and its relationship to culture, thus reexamining the earlier contention that insight could be gained into one's culture by studying its games. Although Caillois eventually went on to dispute some of Huizinga's assumptions, his own work was in response to Huizinga's earlier work, which he lauded and summarized in his introductory comments. He wrote:

> . . . it is permanently to J. Huizinga's credit
> that he has masterfully analyzed several of the
> fundamental characteristics of play and has
> demonstrated the importance of its role in the very
> development of civilization. First, he sought an

purports to be arranged according to the months of the year. At the same time, it alternately presents the games of each month according to form, context, or thematic content. In both of these cases, there is no inherent explanation for the arrangement of the material, rather, it appears that the headings are simply contrived, and the material arranged to fit some other preconceived analytical framework.

[28] Johan Huizinga, _Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture_ (1938; New York: Roy Publishers, 1950).

[29] Caillois, _Man, Play and Games_.

exact definition of the essence of play; second, he
tried to clarify the role of play present in or
animating the essential aspects of culture. (3)

Expanding on Huizinga's general approach, Caillois established
a typology of play, before addressing the nature and social
function of play in society, assuming that "the patterns or
basic themes of culture should be deducible from the study of
play and games no less than from the study of economic,
political, religious, or familial institutions."[30] This
assumption helped Caillois to draw certain general
conclusions. However, it is evident that he did not employ
direct interviewing techniques to obtain the repertoire of
games for any one specific culture, even though he did present
comparative examples from a variety of different cultures
throughout his discourse. This being so, his approach was
essentially theoretical in nature and generally untested.
Furthermore, neither he nor Huizinga brought the discourse so
far as to address the processes of creation or alteration in
games. Regardless of these points, through their works,
Huizinga and Caillois not only helped to clarify and define
some fundamental issues, but in addressing the social
functions of play, introduced a new analytical framework which
initiated a rigorous reexamination of earlier assumptions and

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[30] Meyer Barash, introduction, _Man, Play, and Games_, by
Roger Caillois (New York: Shocken Books, 1979) ix.

approaches. Developmental psychologist, Brian Sutton-Smith, who later went on to explore many different approaches to the study of play and games,[31] and who is undoubtedly the most productive of the 20th century game scholars, chose to concentrate on the process of change in his early work, The Games of New Zealand Children (1959). By using an historical approach, he focused on "changes in games rather than constancies" in order to "compare game changes with changes in other areas of child behavior."[32] In this work, Sutton-Smith used direct interviewing techniques for his primary purpose of recording the games of New Zealand children. In this purpose, his research resembles that of Newell and Gomme, in that it moves in the direction of attempting to be a definitive work on a particular country, even though he does not specifically state this as his intention. His secondary, "but no less important," purpose was to record the changes that had taken place in these games between 1870 and 1950.[33] Also, in this

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[31] See for example Elliott M. Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith, eds. The Study of Games (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971); Brian Sutton-Smith, Folkgames; A History of Children's Play: New Zealand 1840-1950 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); "Children's Folk Games as Custom," Western Folklore 48 (1989): 33-42; and Brian Sutton-Smith, Jay Mechling, Thomas W. Johnson, and Felicia R. McMahon, eds., Children's Folklore: A Source Book (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995).
[32] Sutton-Smith, Folkgames 3. This book contains a reprint of Sutton-Smith's 1959 publication, The Games of New Zealand Children, as well, subsequent articles which take "anthropological," "psychological," and so-called "unified" approaches to the study of games.
[33] Sutton-Smith, Folkgames 5.

work, he addresses the problem of classification by devising a system based on both structural and developmental criteria which allowed him to analyze the games by their character as well as by the age and sex of the participants.[34]

In the same year, anthropologists John Roberts, Malcolm Arth and Robert Bush took up the "classic ethnographic concerns" of their discipline, and sought to produce a general theory to deal with the "description and explanation of the historical development of games, their world distribution, and their functional significance in various societies."[35]   To this end, rather than conducting a survey of their own, they garnered data on games from "the literature and from the Cross-Cultural Survey files on approximately 100 tribes,"[36] before devising a general classification, and applying statistical analysis to the presence or absence of certain classes of games in different cultures. Postulating that all games are "expressive behavior," and "models of various cultural activities," they concluded by speculating that:

> . . . further inquiry will show that games of
> strategy are linked with the learning of social

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[34] Sutton-Smith, Folkgames 16.
[35] John M. Roberts, Malcolm J. Arth, and Robert R. Bush, "Games in Culture," American Anthropologist 61 (1959): 597.
[36] Roberts, Arth, and Bush 598. The Cross-Cultural Survey is held by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University.

roles, games of chance with responsibility and
achievement, and games of physical skill with self-
reliance. Alternatively stated, games of strategy
may be related to the mastery of the social system;
games of chance . . . with the mastery of the
supernatural; and games of physical skill . . .
possibly associated with the mastery both of self
and of environment.[37]

From this exploration of the relationship between games and
culture, Roberts, Arth and Bush urged others to continue work
with comparative studies of games by fostering a functional
approach to analysis.

During the mid to late 20th century, folklorists also
continued to be productive in the area of children's games and
pastimes, as works by Paul Brewster, Iona and Peter Opie, and
Mary and Herbert Knapp will attest.[38] However, while much was
collected in the way of children's games, jokes and customs,
(providing further comparative, historical, and, in the latter

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[37] Roberts, Arth, and Bush 604. For their discussion of
games as "expressive models" see pp.598-600.
[38] See Paul G. Brewster, "Children's Games and Rhymes,"
The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, vol.
1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1952) 31-219, American Non-
Singing Games (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953);
Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), Children's Games in Street
and Playground (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and Mary and
Herbert Knapp, One Potato, Two Potato...: The Secret Education
of American Children (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976).

cases, functional analysis) little of this work was innovative in so far as diverging from previous analytical trends developed in other disciplines. As in the past, the tendency in these works is to focus on a large population, or an entire country, in an attempt to produce a general or representative overview of games in context. At the same time, to their credit, these folklorists present "curiosities of juvenile lore and language" collected "direct from oral tradition," generally with insightful contextual information in addition to the bare texts.[39] They also address the issues of creation and adaption in the course of their analyses, which otherwise get overlooked by the more theoretical approaches taken in the other social sciences.

Also during this time, several children's folklore newsletters came into being. In 1978, the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society was placed under the direction of a steering committee, and began publishing The Children's Folklore Newsletter, the first of its kind, in order to "promote, stimulate, and encourage the study of children's folklore."[40] Through various *Announcements*," and "*Notes and queries*," the newsletter endeavours to keep its members informed of events and developments in the field. In 1988, the Newsletter changed its format and its name to the

[39] Opie viii.
[40] "Children's Folklore Section Constitution," The Children's Folklore Newsletter 3.2 (Fall 1980): 2.

Children's Folklore Review, hoping to expand by including book reviews, announcements, articles and research statements, and consequently gain more subscriptions. In 1990, the Review was reformatted to booklet form, and has come to be the model for other such newsletters launched elsewhere.

The Australian Children's Folklore Newsletter, published bi-annually by the Institute of Early Childhood Development since 1981, aims to focus on Australian children's folklore while drawing together "people from a diversity of backgrounds and professions who share a common interest in children's folklore."[41]

Also, the first "subject-specialist section" of the Folklore Society in Britain, the Children's Folklore Group, began publishing its FLS Children's Folklore Newsletter in 1988. Issued twice a year, this newsletter shares the same goals as the other two, and is "designed to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas, information and material to the mutual benefit" of those various disciplines and fields interested in "children's traditional culture."[42]

Most recently, folklorists have continued the study of children's folklore while aspiring to address some of the

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[41] The Australian Children's Folklore Newsletter 1.1 (September 1981): 1. For a bibliography of Australian children's folklore see June Factor, Children's Folklore in Autralia: An Annotated Bibliography, (Victoria: Institute of Early Childhood Development, 1986).

[42] FLS Children's Folklore Newsletter 1 (January 1988): 1.

shortcomings and problems of the past. Simon Bronner's book, American Children's Folklore (1988) attempts to bring "children's folklore up to date" by covering the era after World War II.[43] An excellent resource with substantial annotated references and contextual information, it deals more with children's speech and beliefs than with children's games, having only one of its ten chapters devoted to this subject. Like others in the past, his study tends to focus on a large unconnected population producing a general overview of a nation's childlore. Children's Folklore: A Source Book (1995),[44] edited by Brian Sutton-Smith, Jay Mechling, Thomas W. Johnson and Felicia R. McMahon, offers the most recent perspectives on the study of children's folklore, and represents the field as it presently stands, with contributions ranging from "attempts to catch contemporary children's play and games. . . to surveys of collected children's folklore."[45] By presenting different approaches to genre, method, setting and theory, the editors offer a balanced approach and "remind the reader of [the] underlying

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[43] Simon Bronner, American Children's Folklore (Little Rock: August House, 1988) 27.
[44] The Newsletter of the Children's Folklore Section (currently The Children's Folklore Review) of the American Folklore Society is the organizational sponsor of this volume. Sutton-Smith, et al., Children's Folklore, 318.
[45] Sutton-Smith, et al., Children's Folklore 3.

complexity of the folklorist's constantly shifting perspective between group and tradition, between 'context' and 'text'."[46]

With respect to Canadian contributions to the study of children's games, there seems to be a relative dearth when compared to British and American contributions. No Canadian publications are noted in the general literature as being of any great theoretical or methodological significance, the assumption apparently being that children's games in Canada are adequately covered by American treatises on the subject. This aside, Edith Fowke is the most prolific Canadian scholar with respect to publication on this topic,[47] although for the most part her works consist of collectanea with very little in the way of theoretical analysis or contextual information.

In Newfoundland, the situation is not much different. In general terms, very little has been published on children's games outside of passing references found in reminiscences of life in the province, or the odd scholarly article which uses Newfoundland examples.[48] In these cases, games are loosely

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[46] Sutton-Smith, et al., Children's Folklore 9.
[47] Her most notable books on childlore are Red Rover, Red Rover: Children's Games Played in Canada, (Toronto: Doubleday, 1988); Ring Around the Moon (1977; Toronto: North Carolina Press, 1987); and Sally Go Round the Sun: Three Hundred Children's Songs, Rhymes and Games (1969; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981).
[48] See R. F. Sparkes, The Winds Softly Sigh (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1981) and Hilda Chaulk Murray, More Than 50% (St. John's: Breakwater Books) for reference to some childhood games played in Jackson's Arm and Maberly; Them Days 7.2 (1981) devoted to Labrador pastimes, games and toys; Paul O'Neill, "Around and About," The Monitor 48.10 (October 1980)

described with no specific analysis. There are some
exceptions, notably Delf Hohmann's M.A. thesis, "Play and
Games in Southern Harbour" (1993), which offers a system for
the classification of children's games as well as a
performance model for analysis, and most recently Sandra
Cooze's Roses in December: A Treasury of Children's Verse
(1996) which is a substantial collection of children's verses
from the author's resettled childhood home, Lumsden North.[49]

This discussion of the history and development of
scholarship on children's games presents the general state of
affairs to date. While this scholarship might prove valuable
for comparative analysis, for my purposes of exploring the
process of transmission, change and local cultural effect, its
value is more limited. Ultimately, in addition to adding to
this existing corpus of game descriptions, my hope is to offer
another perspective to the study and analysis of children's
games through focusing on one particular *repertoire community*.

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for reminiscences of childhood games played in St. John's;
Joan Kosby, "Children's Games in Newfoundland," no.15 (1975)
Centre for Newfoundland Studies for some general analysis on
children's games; and Carole H. Carpenter, "Developing an
Appreciation for the Cultural Significance of Childlore,"
Children's Folklore Review 17.1 (1994) for Newfoundland
examples in a scholarly discourse.
    [49] Delf Maria Hohmann, "Play and Games in Southern
Harbour: A Performance Oriented Study of Children's Activities
in a Newfoundland Outport Community," M. A. thesis, Memorial
University, 1993; Sandra Cooze, Roses in December: A Treasury
of Children's Verse (St. John's: Tuckamore Books, 1996).

N

Atlantic Ocean

L A B R A D O R

Strait of Belle Isle

Savage Cove

Q U E B E C

Great Northern Peninsula

Gulf of St. Lawrence
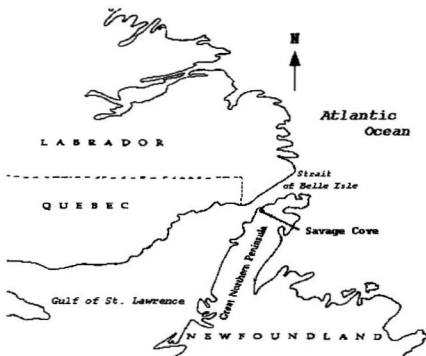
N E W F O U N D L A N D

Map 1: Map of Newfoundland and Labrador
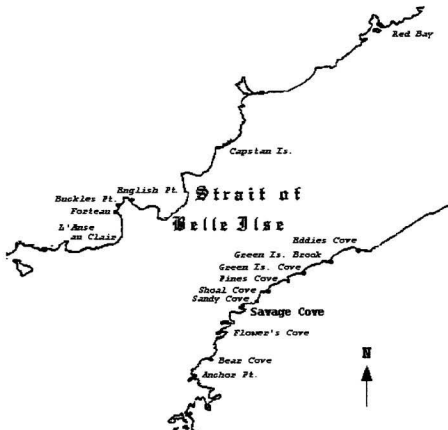
Map 2: Strait of Belle Ilse

CHAPTER III: HISTORY

This chapter presents a brief social and economic history of Savage Cove from the beginning of settlement up to the present day, concentrating on settlement, migration, work patterns, communications, transportation, and education. In addition to presenting the official history, where possible, I have included relevant anecdotes gleaned from various sources with the intention of enlivening what might otherwise be a relatively dry, factual account of development in one of the province's many small and seemingly insignificant outports. To this point, it needs to be stated that references to the history and development of this small corner of the new world are at times quite limited; however, with this historical chapter I shall illustrate to some degree the nature of life within the community over time, as well as the heritage of its residents. My intention is to draw from this history later in the thesis while discussing the changes to the repertoire of games for the community.

Essentially, settlement, and social and economic development in Savage Cove originated from the political disposition of the area known as the French Shore of Newfoundland. The <u>Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador</u> states:

> The name French Shore derives from the fact that
> special privileges on this vast stretch of the

northeast and west coasts of Newfoundland were
granted to migratory French fishermen by two
Eighteenth Century treaties. The Shore's original
boundaries, established by the 1713 Treaty of
Utrecht, were at Cape Bonavista and Pointe Riche.
They were changed by the 1783 Treaty of Versailles,
to Cape St. John in the northeast and Cape Ray in
the southwest. (407-408)

With these special privileges the French were entitled to
catch and dry fish unmolested by British interests. At the
same time, however, the French were not allowed to settle, and
were only permitted to construct "those facilities necessary
for the fishery."[50]

During the 1750s, "the demand for Newfoundland fish
began to rise swiftly and steadily . . . [which] meant that as
production grew in Newfoundland the demand in the markets kept
pace with it and the price of fish, far from falling, tended
to rise slowly."[51] As a result, this demand caused an
increase in fishing effort by the British, and also an
increase in the population of the colony. Matthews notes
that:

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[50] Geoff E. Budden, "French Shore," Encyclopedia of
Newfoundland and Labrador, 5 vols., St. John's: Joseph R.
Smallwood Heritage Foundation, 1988.
[51] Keith Matthews, Lectures on the History of
Newfoundland: 1500-1830, Newfoundland History Series 4 (St.
John's: Breakwater Books, 1988) 114.

English settlement, confined until 1713 to the area
between Bonavista Bay and Trepassey, spread first
into St. Mary's and Placentia Bays, then to Fogo
and Twillingate, up into the French Shore on the
Northern Peninsula, into Fortune Bay and
eventually, after 1763, up into Labrador. (109)

This wave of settlement created friction, not only
between the French and English with respect to treaty rights,
but between the British fishing interests and the now
established resident fishing interests on what was the English
Shore of Newfoundland. This wave of settlement was such that
it almost completely displaced the British ship fishery. The
Encyclopedia goes on to observe that:

From the mid-Eighteenth Century bad relations
existed between French and English fishermen, and
their governments, over the extent of France's
special privileges on the French Shore. The
Nineteenth Century saw a third participant in the
debate, as resident Newfoundlanders attempted to
consolidate and expand their economic and
constitutional control over the Island. . . .
Before its final resolution in the Anglo-French
Convention or Entente Cordiale of 1904, the
continuous French Shore issue had bedevilled
Newfoundland internal politics and external

relations for decades, and in the process helped shape the emerging nation.[52]

With the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Labrador was ceded to the British by the French which caused the whole coast to be reorganized with respect to the British ship fishery. This cession, coupled with the Governor of the day, Hugh Palliser, discouraging settlement on the coast of Labrador, helped to relieve some of the friction between the British interests and the resident planters on the old English Shore by permitting the British migratory fishery to continue elsewhere in the colony. This political situation created a healthy climate for a West Country and Jersey trade in the Straits of Belle Isle that lasted for approximately 100 years before its final collapse and takeover by Job Brothers of St. John's in the 1870s.

This new migratory fishery in the Straits was first undertaken by Jersey merchants who concentrated on the cod fishery as a seasonal operation, shipping out their personnel at the beginning of the season, then returning them home at the end of it. West Country merchants, whose crews and agents were also recruited at home, soon followed, concentrating on seal, salmon and fur industries.[53] Subsequently, in 1773,

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[52] Budden 407-408.
[53] The West Country & Jersey Ship Fishery in the Labrador Straits: 1770-1870 (n.p.: The Labrador Straits Historical Development Corporation, n.d.): n. pag.

when the Jersey and West Country merchants were granted property rights and residence in Labrador for the benefit of their migratory trade, members of these crews were retained over the winter to prosecute the seal and whale fisheries, and to prepare for the ensuing fishing season.[54] As the trade developed, these employees were brought out for longer periods of time: "two summers and a winter . . . or in the case of 'youngsters' for two and a half years to learn a trade."[55]

Gradually, due to the vagaries of the trade, the financial relationship between the merchants and their employees evolved into a complex of "cash, credit and truck,"[56] with many of these employees going "on their own account," which effectively meant "physical relocation away from the merchant sites; . . . and economic independence . . . [by] providing one's own outfit, fishing independently, and selling the catch in return for supplies."[57] In addition, some of the so-called youngsters, having finished their

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[54] Patricia Thornton, "The Transition from the Migratory to the Resident Fishery in the Strait of Belle Isle," _Acadiensis_ 19.2 (1990): 94.

[55] Thornton, "Transition" 102.

[56] While previously employees were shipped exclusively from the west country, it became economical for merchants to employ Newfoundlanders, shipping them from St. John's and Carbonear. Subsequently, some of the employees were paid straight wages in cash, a percentage of the worth of their voyage, or a set amount per quintal of wet fish; some others were paid half in cash and half in goods or credit from the merchant, while some others still were payed in "truck" to be cashed in at the merchant's store.

[57] Thornton, "Transition" 104-105.

contracts, settled in the area, "attracted to the long low
strand across the Strait" by Abram Genge, a planter at Anchor
Point, who "allotted to each the section of the coast he
wished him to hunt."[58]

This period between 1773 and 1830, on the Newfoundland
side of the Straits of Belle Isle, has been referred to as the
"frontier phase," given that there were no women settlers, and
that the population, for the most part, was composed of single
men of British origin.[59] This lack of women, however, was
remedied when Alexander Duncan, "a Scotchman lieutenant on
board the British warship patrolling the coast," deserted to
wed Mary Watts, one of "the only marriageable girls on the
coast."[60] As Richards describes it, this union about 1800
which "resulted in the birth of three sons and no less than
fourteen children . . . seems to have been ordered by
providence, for by now, more and more English and Scottish
youngsters were trickling into the coast, and these girls,
half Scotch and half English, became their wives."[61] A census
of the Newfoundland West Coast for 1838 shows that "these
first permanent settlers, while they had come originally to
Labrador, ultimately settled in isolated places along the

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[58] J. T. Richards, "The First Settlers On The French
Shore," <u>Newfoundland Quarterly</u> 52.3 (1953): 18.
[59] Patricia Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic
Experience: The World We Have Not Lost," <u>Newfoundland
Quarterly</u> 1.2 (1985): 149.
[60] Richards, "First" 19.
[61] Richards, "First" 19.

coast--one family to a Bay--wherever seals, salmon, and furs could be caught."[62]

Around the mid-1800s the population of the area began to increase with a relatively large influx of settlers from the east coast of Newfoundland.[63] While this influx helped to diversify the general population to some extent, it had a profound effect on the formation of communities along the coast. The original families, seemingly contented with their isolation and quick to affirm their property rights, resisted the encroachment of these new settlers on their territory. One example of this, related by Richards, concerns Henry Whalen of Brigus, who sailed into Savage Cove in 1850 and seeing "only one solitary house," thought he might settle there:

Coming around the shore they saw a stout burly individual who came up to them and opened conversation in a quaint Old country dialect. Gaulton, from one of the southern countries of England, had elected to squat in this cove and raise his family. He regarded himself as undisputed monarch of all he surveyed, and when Henry Whalen proposed to settle in the spacious harbour, he became very indignant, and claimed that

[62] Thornton, "Transition" 105.
[63] Thornton, "Newfoundland's" 149.

there was not sufficient room for another family
beside himself. He warned them that they had
better go further west. . . . Next day a party of
men examined the Coast line as far as Flower's Cove
. . . [and] as no sign of human life existed to
dispute their landing, they decided that they had
reached their goal.[64]

Richards goes on to state that Mr. Gaulton's response
expressed "the common attitude taken by each of the few old
pioneers who had settled on the coast."[65]

By the late 1800s these new settlers managed to
establish themselves between the pioneering settlements in the
area, and began to claim their own squatter's rights. One
informant, Dave Noseworthy, who moved from Green Island Brook
to Savage Cove in the 1930s, tells of how his grandfather, an
immigrant from Bryant's Cove, Conception Bay, affirmed his
rights when he first settled in the Straits:

DN: Grandfather built on this side of the brook,
you understand. . . . Now, t'was no bridge there
then, and back in. . . 1888, t'wasn't many bridges
on the shore. . . . There was about fifteen
families from Cooks Harbour to Ferrolle then.
That's about what families was on this shore. . . .

[64] J. T. Richards, "Mission Work, Etc., in the Straits of
Belle Isle," The Diocesan Magazine July-Aug 1926: 266-67, 314.
[65] Richards, "Mission" 314.

Old Uncle Phil Coates lived in Eddy's Cove and. . .
he owned the two brooks. He owned Eddy's Cove
Brook and Green Island Brook. . . . Now,
grandfather Hughes used to, what salmon he catched
there, you know, and he wouldn't catch very many
not likely, he had to give them to Uncle Phil
Coates. . . . In the old times, whatever man come
in a cove first, he'd always get out on the point.
Now, he was the headmaster; he owned the whole
cove. . . and that's something like Savage Cove,
too.[46]

Now, they couldn't talk to one another, only
when the water'd fall, cause it t'was no bridge
across the brook, see; 'cause Green Island Brook is
a good sized brook. . . . And they used to be back
and forth. So, he was telling grandfather, you
know.

"You know, John," he said, "what salmon you
gets out of this brook," he said, "belongs to Uncle
Phil Coates."

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[46] In addition to this story of the early days of
settlement in the area, Mr. Noseworthy also related a story
concerning a Mr. Pine who like Henry Whalen thought he might
settle in Savage Cove, and who likewise was driven out by the
"headmaster" in the harbour, George Gaulton. His story ends
with Mr. Pine travelling farther east along the coast, naming
and settling in the community that is today known as Pine's
Cove.

Grandfather said, "yeah?"

"Yes," he said.

"How is that, Hen?" He said.

"Well," he said, "he was down to Eddy's Cove," he said, "and he was fishing in the two brooks before I come, so he's entitled to the salmon, you know."

(And grandfather Noseworthy, he was a kind of a queer stick. . .) so he said, "look here Hen, what salmon you gets on that side of the brook, you do what you like with them, but," he said, "what John gets on this side of the brook, he's going to eat them. . . ."

So, old grandfather Hughes, he told. . . Coates about it, see. . . very good. Up come. . . old Uncle Phil Coates come up to grandfather and then with the water falled, dodged across the brook, he and Hen.

"Yeah, John," he said, "I heard," he said, "you're going to eat what salmon you gets out of that brook."

"Please God, Phil," he said. "Yeah," he said, "I mightn't eat them all," he said, "I'll give some to me family, I suppose."

. . . Well, he [Coates] said he was down there

first. . . and he fished in this brook first.

"Yes,". . . [Noseworthy] said, "and you can

fish there last if you like, but," he said, "if you

wants any salmon out of this brook, every salmon

you can get out of that brook," he said, "you can

get en on that side of the brook or you can come

over on my side of the brook and get en, you can go

on home with en. I've got nothing to say about en,

but," he said, "if I gets en, don't come after me,"

he said, "you're not going getting en."

. . . So, that ended up that, and grandfather

Hughes never gave old Uncle Phil Coates no more

salmon after that.[67]

It is obvious through this account that some immigrants

to the area challenged the original pioneers' property rights

while affirming their own; however, in the case of Savage

Cove, it appears that Mr. Gaulton successfully resisted

immigration until the 1870s. Early censuses of the area show

at least eleven families living in what is today known as

Flower's Cove, while there is only one in the neighbouring

community of Savage Cove.[68] This changed over the next twenty

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[67] Taped interview with Dave Noseworthy, Savage Cove, March 19, 1993.

[68] Janet E. Miller Pitt, "Flower's Cove," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 5 vols., St. John's: Joseph R. Smallwood Heritage Foundation, 1988; John Lovell, Lovell's

years, however, as it seems that Mr. Gaulton, who lived in the extreme south west corner of the cove, relinquished some of his control by allowing others to settle. Four of the five new families that moved into the community were related to Gaulton through marriage, which suggests that expansion in Savage Cove may well have been determined by kinship ties. John Way, who came from Flower's Cove, was connected to Gaulton through marriage, as his wife Jane Coles was the niece of Susan Gaulton, George Gaulton's wife. Matthew Coles, who came from the neighbouring community of Sandy Cove, was the brother of Jane and thus a nephew of Susan Gaulton. William "Jersey" Hodge came from the Jersey Islands via Blanc Sablon[69] and was likewise connected through marriage as he married Matthew and Jane's sister, Susanna Coles. These three families settled on the north side of the cove, along with a second unrelated family of Hodges.[70] The fifth settler, a Mr.

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Gazetteer of British North America, to contain descriptions of every city, town and village in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island (Montreal: Dominion Directory Office, 1871).

[69] Melvin M. Firestone, Brothers and Rivals: Patrilocality in Savage Cove (St. John's: ISER, 1967) 32.

[70] The progenitor of this family of Hodges, William J. Hodge, is listed in the 1921 census as being born in Savage Cove in 1866, which seems to contradict Lovell's Gazetteer. Furthermore, I am unable to explain why his family was allowed to settle in the cove, given Gaulton's previous attitude towards outsiders. Regardless, by the late 1940s, the last of the sons of this family had moved to Main Brook on the eastern side of the peninsula. Marcia Coles, the granddaughter of William who died in Savage Cove in 1993, was the last member of this family in the community.

Matchim, "perhaps from Bonavista Bay, . . . married a Gaulton and settled on the south side."[71] Whether or not these kinship ties caused Gaulton to relinquish his control over the whole of the cove is conjecture, since he was an old man during this time with perhaps less control over who settled. Nonetheless, the point to be made is that the formation of communities in the area was determined by the nature of interaction between the pioneering families and the Newfoundland immigrants. During the 1880s, the majority of the adult population in Savage Cove were the offspring of British settlers. After the 1880s, Newfoundland immigration ended, and the population of the area, for the most part, grew as a result of marriages between the residents of the existing communities.

Throughout this period, settlement on the French Shore was still considered illegal by the English Government, and "consequently," as Rowe states, "residents in the north and west of Newfoundland . . . existed without religious, educational and other amenities" for many years.[72] Despite the fact that a Church of England mission had been established at Forteau in 1849 for the benefit of the residents of the area, and its headquarters on the Newfoundland side of the Straits had been at Flower's Cove since 1871, these

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[71] Firestone 32.
[72] Frederick W. Rowe, <u>The Development of Education in Newfoundland</u> (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964) 14.

deficiencies remained endemic until after the turn of the century.

With respect to education, the residents in the Straits had little access to formal schooling before the 1880s. While there is evidence that some residents travelled to England to be educated,[73] the majority of settlers could not afford this luxury, and, like the residents of Savage Cove, had to wait until schools were opened in the area. The first of these schools was built in Flower's Cove between 1871 and 1874,[74] and judging from later school board reports, it is possible that the residents of Savage Cove benefited from their proximity to Flower's Cove, and availed themselves of these early educational facilities.[75] Nonetheless, the earliest report of a school in Savage Cove itself is 1891 by the Church of England board.[76] Subsequent school board reports indicate that some amount of schooling was available within Savage Cove from this time onwards. By the 1920s, education had been established in the area long enough that teachers were being

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[73] J. T. Richards in "Ninety Years Ago in the Straits of Belle Isle," The Diocesan Magazine, July-August 1939: 215, writes that Thomas Genge, born circa 1827, the son of the merchant in Anchor Point, William Genge, was educated as a youth in his father's native town of Yeovil, county of Somerset, England.

[74] Pitt 230.

[75] The Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland Under Church of England Boards (St. John's, 1897): 92, states that one teacher "at Flower's Cove goes also to Savage Cove and Green Island."

[76] Report of the Public Schools Under Church of England Boards (St. John's, 1891).

produced from the area, as Savage Cove provided its own teacher in 1921.[77] At the same time, however, there is evidence that both teachers and facilities were wanting for some time. A report of the Bishop's visitation to the area in 1926, states that "the great and pressing need is that of EDUCATION . . . [as] the teachers have, in many cases, to divide their time between two or more settlements; giving . . . the children the mere bread and water of education."[78] Until 1954, when a new two-room school was built on the south side of the cove, the educational needs of the community were served by a one-room Church of England School-Chapel in the northeast corner of the cove.

Social conditions, poverty and disease were still overwhelming when Sir Wilfred Grenfell and the Reverend John Thomas Richards arrived on the coast at the turn of the century. Grenfell had been sent from England in 1892 by the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen to "investigate the need for its services" in the area.[79] While this mission, once established, worked to provide medical aid to the residents, poverty still remained a debilitating problem in this neglected region of the colony. The economy of the area,

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[77] The 1921 <u>Census of Newfoundland</u> lists the occupation of Elijah Way of Savage Cove as teacher.

[78] "The Bishop's Visitation," <u>The Diocesan Magazine</u> Sept. 1926: 338.

[79] Ellen M. Dinn, "Grenfell Association, International," <u>Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador</u>, 5 vols., St. John's: Joseph R. Smallwood Heritage Foundation, 1988.

"based on seals, herring, cod and some furring,"[80] was
supported by a credit system and subject to the availability
of resources, which often left the local residents in debt to
the merchant and short of cash. Not satisfied with this
situation, or with merely serving the medical needs of the
residents, Grenfell endeavoured to improve the economic
conditions and social welfare of the people. Besides opening
one of the first nursing stations in the Straits at Flower's
Cove by 1908, he opened schools, started co-operative stores,
and promoted the production of marketable commodities by the
residents.[81] His work towards social reform in the Straits
was aided in 1904 by the appointment of the Reverend J. T.
Richards to the Church of England mission at Flower's Cove.
Richards, "a great humanitarian and devoted churchman . . .
[with] a special interest in the history and folklore of his
parishioners," likewise became involved in more than his
expected duties, and supported Grenfell by initiating a
sealskin boot trade and assisting in the establishment of a
co-operative at Flower's Cove.[82] For his work in the mission,
Richards was made a Canon by the Church in 1928, and an
Ordinary Officer of the Order of the British Empire by King

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[80] Pitt 230.
[81] Ellen M. Dinn, "Grenfell, Sir Wilfred Thomason,"
Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 5 vols., St. John's:
Joseph R. Smallwood Heritage Foundation, 1988.
[82] Irving Letto, introduction, Snapshots of Grenfell, by
J. T. Richards (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1989) 3-5.

George VI in 1949.[83] Together, he and Grenfell were responsible for most of the social improvements to the area in the first half of the twentieth century.

In the meantime, until the 1930s, communities on the shore remained somewhat isolated, not only from the outside world, but also from one another. The sea, which connected the area to the outside world, was blocked with ice between December and May, and as a result, news, which usually arrived intermittently during the summer with coastal boats or along the trails that connected the settlements on the shore, came less often during the winter months by dog team. Rhoda Dawson Bickersdyke, who was hired by the Grenfell Association to teach in the community of Pines Cove in 1933-34, offers the following description of life in the Straits during this time:

> To live on that shore, with fifty miles of empty
> shrub behind them and the green hills of Labrador
> across eight miles of sea in front, the only change
> of scene from blue and green to white, ice, snow
> and black-green trees; the same neighbours year in,
> year out, the only dramas those of birth, death and
> illness; no radio, no newspapers, no books to speak
> of. In its way it was a charmed life; what you
> don't know you don't miss.[84]

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[83] Letto 5.
[84] Rhoda Dawson Bickersdyke Collection, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives, MUN. It is also notable that

This isolation slowly started to diminish after the turn of the century, as developments brought changes to the dynamic of the area. Grenfell's efforts towards social improvement brought medical staff and teachers to the area from Canada, the United States, Britain and "as far away as New Zealand."[85] In addition, a relatively large number of men from the area served overseas during the First World War and returned with their experiences of life abroad. In Savage Cove, there were at least five men who returned after the war to their home community of fifteen families.

With respect to communications, "a strong local entrepreneurial tradition"[86] started in Flower's Cove in the early part of the twentieth century, causing the community to become the local business and service centre for the area. As

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this community, known locally as Pines Cove (as the road sign indicates), is referred to on most provincial maps as Payne's Cove. Likewise, in his Toponymy of the Island of Newfoundland: The Northern Peninsula, E. R. Seary, who fails to mention the locally accepted name, lists the name of the community as Payne's Cove, deriving from the French name for the community, Anse aux Épingles, which roughly translates as Pin Cove. In addition, while Seary correctly notes that Payne is a common family name on the West Coast of Newfoundland, I believe that the inclusion of this information in his entry is misleading for, as far as I have been able to discover, there has never been a family of Payne's listed as living in this community. Alternately, in the 1921 census for the area, the community is listed as Points Cove, which is not only closer phonetically to the local pronunciation of 'Pines Cove', but is also precisely how the name is pronounced by some older residents of the area today.
    [85] J. T. Richards, Snapshots of Grenfell (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1989) 73.
    [86] Pitt 230.

such, it possessed the local co-operative store, the main post office, the regional nursing station, and the local telegraph office.[97] By the 1930s, local telephone lines connected most communities on the shore.

In terms of the *social area*,[98] the Newfoundland side of the Straits from Anchor Point to Eddies Cove East appears to have contained a community of sorts, as residents moved and resettled within this area more freely after the turn of the century. In Savage Cove, two new families—David and Eliza Noseworthy, and Samuel and Naomi Applin—moved from other neighbouring communities and established themselves by 1935. This immigration, like that of the late 1800s, appears to have been fostered, or at least supported, by kinship ties, as Jane Gaulton was the sister of both Samuel and Eliza.

Meanwhile, the day-to-day life of residents in Savage Cove remained most profoundly determined by the exigencies of their work. During the summer, residents prosecuted the fishery, tended livestock and maintained vegetable gardens. In the fall, they repaired fishing gear, harvested their gardens, picked berries, hunted small game, and cut wood for home use. In the winter, they hauled this wood out, and in the spring, they hunted seals and prepared for the upcoming

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[97] Pitt 230-31.

[98] In Brothers and Rivals, Firestone defines a social area "as a geographical area in which the inhabitants are all known to one another ([and] share a similar 'social context')" (33).

fishing season.[89] As with most communities in the Straits, the fishery was the most important of these occupations, as it provided the primary means of income for residents. After the opening of the Bowater's pulp and paper mill in Corner Brook in 1925, residents supplemented their incomes with winter woods work. As a result of this work during the 1930s, some of the residents of Savage Cove would move back in the country during the winter, partly to escape the wind on the coast, but partly so the "men could cut wood for nearby lumber camps and not have to be too far from their families."[90]

Life in the community, like that in the rest of Newfoundland, was also greatly affected by the depression of the 1930s. By 1936, the effects of the depression were such that the average annual wage for a Newfoundland fisherman was reported to be $200.00.[91] Depressed markets in the pulp and paper industry also drastically reduced the availability of woods work. Moreover, unlike many nations, it was not until the end of the Second World War that the effects of the Depression were eliminated in Newfoundland.[92]

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[89] For an excellent discussion of the division of labour in these various activities between men and women, and boys and girls, see Hilda Chaulk Murray's book, More Than 50%: Women's Life in a Newfoundland Outport 1900-1950 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1979).

[90] Firestone 45.

[91] Wayne C. Stockwood, "Depression and Destitution, Effects of (The Great Depression)," The Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 5 vols., St. John's: Joseph R. Smallwood Heritage Foundation, 1981.

[92] Stockwood 612-13.

Given the effects of the Depression, further improvements in Savage Cove came slowly during this time. By the 1940s and '50s, however, there were some notable developments within the community. George H. Coles of Savage Cove established the first general store in the community in the 1940s. In addition, during the second World War, the first radios in the community had been purchased, further linking the residents to world events. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, the first snowmobiles, which would eventually supplant dog teams as the winter means of transportation, arrived in the community, and by the late 1950s, local roads had improved enough that the first pick-up trucks were in use.

Despite these developments, according to the Newfoundland Fisheries Survey[33] for 1953, the population of Savage Cove, approximately 160 people, was still primarily employed by the fishery, with the value of the total catch for the community that year being approximately $16,000. Also, while other occupations--lumbering, pulpwood operations, and local sawmilling--are listed, it can be seen that the community was still relatively poor. Subsistence-type gardens were still kept in the summer, producing minor quantities of vegetables,[34] and cattle, horses, sheep and hens were also

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[33] Newfoundland, Dept. of Fisheries and Co-ops, Newfoundland Fisheries Survey, By A. Vannan, Vol. 20 (1953).
[34] Most residents kept two gardens, one for potatoes, and one for "small seed" which included carrot, turnip, cabbage and beet. The total quantity produced was generally

still maintained. The survey further reports that there was no post office, and that the mail was deposited at a private home in the community. There was a telephone line from Savage Cove to the Flower's Cove telegraph office, and a second store had been opened in the community by this time. Given this information, in many ways, it appears that daily life in the community had not changed much since the 1930s, the only difference being that the standard of living improved somewhat as a result of the various social programs that had come with Confederation in 1949.

The 1960s marked further changes and improvements in the area. By 1960, Bowater had curtailed its operations, thus ending woods work as a supplement to fishing incomes in the area.[95] Also, in 1960, the Canon J. T. Richards Memorial Central High School opened in Flower's Cove, and had a profound effect on the community. Firestone, who did research in Savage Cove in the early 1960s, reports:

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determined by one's ability to preserve them. Mostly all vegetables were stored in a root cellar which kept them dry and cool, except for the beet, and some of the cabbage, which was made into pickles and bottled. I have been told that approximately 20 barrels of potatoes, 100-200 pounds of carrots, and 100-200 pounds of turnip were generally produced to last most of the year. Also, turnip greens were sometimes preserved in salt in order to keep them over the winter. Writing about the early 1960s, Firestone, in Brothers and Rivals, states that "despite the fact that most families grow a substantial amount of vegetables most must buy at least additional potatoes to see them through the winter" (113).

[95] Decks Awash July - August 1983: 9, 12.

until recently one did not come to know many people in other settlements until one grew up and started travelling about, but now with communication facilitated by the road, and by the opening of the high school in Flower's Cove, the adults say that the children of different settlements become acquainted in a way that they never previously did.[96]

The new highway, a dirt road, was completed by late 1962, and served to connect the communities in the Straits to the community of Deer Lake, and thus to the rest of the Island. In 1966, Savage Cove was linked to a diesel generator in Flower's Cove, which provided electricity to all residents of the community for the first time.[97] There were some homes in the community which had been hooked to a portable generator by the early 1960s; however, the rest of the community had to wait until 1966.[98]

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[96] Firestone 33.

[97] Personal correspondence, Al Ballard, Customer Services Supervisor, Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro, St. John's (1992).

[98] With electricity came the first electric appliances which, through their convenience, marked the end of some traditional ways of doing things. Refrigerators, for one, had a profound effect on foodways generally, and on the storage of food specifically, as the old root cellars came to be used less and less. Interestingly, the relative prosperity in the community throughout the 1960s and 1970s reduced the necessity for subsistence farming, and in turn the need for storing large quantities of vegetables over the winter.

Lastly, during the 1960s, there were changes to the fishery. The cod trap remained the primary means of catching fish during the early years of this decade; however, outboard motors came on the scene during this time, and by the late 1960s, gill nets and longliners were being employed for prosecuting the fishery. In addition, fishermen in the area stopped salting and drying their own catch, and instead sold it fresh to local processors. Due to the vagaries of the cod fishery and advances in fishing technology, by the late 1960s some fishermen had moved away from fishing for cod and begun dragging for scallops.

Further changes to the fishery also came in the 1970s. By 1974, there was a local buyer in Savage Cove, Harris Coles, buying fresh fish from the fishermen and processing it, salt bulk. Also, by the mid 1970s, otter trawls and draggers came to be used in the area in addition to the gill netters and trap boats. During this time, fishermen, through necessity, started to fish farther and farther away from their home port in pursuit of their catch.

There were also in this decade, improvements to communications, education and transportation. By 1970, Canadian National Telecommunications (CNT) telephones were replaced by dial telephones, and this new service was available for individual homes. Also, the first televisions, receiving one channel, arrived in the area around this time.

In 1971, the Straits Elementary School opened in Flower's
Cove, taking pupils of all denominations in the area, and
resulting in the closure of eight smaller one and two room
schools between Eddy's Cove East and Bear Cove. Between 1975
and 1978, the highway to Deer Lake was paved, greatly
improving the road as a year-round means of transportation.
Commenting on these changes in 1977, Matthew Coles states:

> the highway, television and the telephone have
> played the most important part in the modernization
> of Savage Cove. . . . Because of the highway . . .
> [and] the centralized schools in Flower's Cove,
> young and old people know each other, from Eddies
> Cove to the north to Anchor Point to the south. . .
> . [In addition,] people now can travel to Corner
> Brook or St. John's for things they can't find in
> the area. . . . [Through] television [residents
> can] see what's going on in Corner Brook or St.
> John's . . . [and moreover], because of the
> communication link with the outside world, people
> are just getting to realize what they missed in the
> [past].[99]

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[99] Matthew Coles, "Savage Cove since 1965: Changes,"
Archive of Undergraduate Research on Newfoundland Society and
Culture, unpublished research paper for Sociology 2230 (T.
Nemec), M.U.N., 1977, 12-25.

Further notable changes occurred throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In 1984, the fish plant in Savage Cove began filleting fresh fish, thus marking the end of commercial salt fish processing in the community. By the mid-1980s, the fishing fleet in the area had reached its peak capacity, and a new wharf was built in Savage Cove to accommodate the larger boats in the community.

With respect to communications, by the mid-1980s, satellite dishes arrived in the area, greatly improving television reception and increasing the number of channels available to residents. A new hospital opened in Flower's Cove in the late 1980s with more room and improved facilities. Finally, the old Central High School in Flower's Cove, which had fallen into disrepair, was replaced by a new building in 1990.

Today, residents are still mainly employed by the fishery, by private businesses, or in government agencies and services which cater to the residents of the area. As a result of diminishing cod quotas during the 1980s, however, people have attempted to expand their efforts in other fisheries in order to offset these cutbacks. By 1994, a moratorium, which had been in effect on the east coast of the province since 1992, was called on the Gulf of St. Lawrence cod fishery--effectively cutting the mainstay of residents in the community. While many qualified for The Atlantic

Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) compensation being offered by the federal government, a typical conclusion is that "it's coming back to the old times," the old times of self-reliance, and possibly the old times of hardship and subsistence.

Most young people now are being urged towards education and a life outside of the fishery; and with the prospects of employment within the area so bleak, many are leaving. At the time of this writing, I have heard of five young men from the community who have left and found work in Alberta. As a result of emigration from the area, the population is decreasing and enrolment at the local schools has gone down. Savage Cove today is a community with a precarious future.

Wreck Cove

To Sandy Cove

N

School-
Chapel

Graveyard

Aunt Mary
Hodge's

The Mill

Meadows

Skin Pond

The Point
or
Capstan Point

Bottom
of
the Cove

Aunt
Peggy
Hodge's
Garden

Cooper
Island

Path

To Flower's Cove

● Houses
■ Fishing Stores and Stages
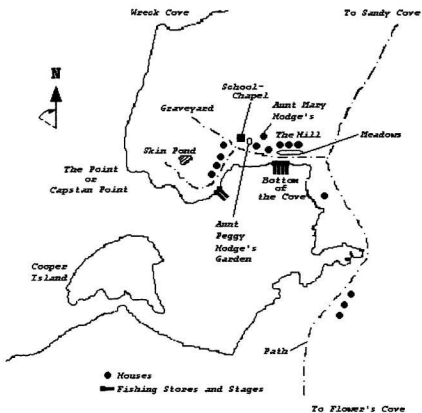
Map 3: Rough Map of Savage Cove 1900-1935

CHAPTER IV: GAMES BETWEEN 1900-1935

As is suggested by the preceding chapter, the period
between the turn of the century and the 1940s in the community
of Savage Cove can be described as one of isolation, need,
independence, and limited improvement. Education was provided
in a one-room school-chapel for at least part of the school
year. Serious medical needs were attended to by a Grenfell
nursing station in neighbouring Flower's Cove. Transportation
in the summer was by sea in sailboats, punts, and later
motorboats, or by land along the footpaths connecting the
communities on the shore; while in the winter, transportation
was limited to dog teams and komatiks. There was a local
telegraph office in Flower's Cove and a local postal service
connecting the area to the outside world. Work within the
community revolved around the cod fishery and around
activities which provided sustenance for the families, such as
tending vegetable gardens, keeping livestock, hunting, and
cutting wood for both lumber and fuel. In addition, for the
first thirty years of the century, the quality of life in
Savage Cove was greatly affected by its depressed economy.

With respect to children's lives during this time,
school ran five days a week from 9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. with a
morning recess break at 11 o'clock and a mid-day dinner break.
Children played games during these breaks from school or in
the evenings or after homework and chores were done.

Especially during the summer break from school but also in general, children were relatively free to go anywhere in the community, although very young children would have to be supervised, usually by older children. Even so, they would also gather at times around the fishing stages in the bottom of the cove or in someone's house where the adults would sometimes gather to socialize. Young adults (13-14) and those even younger would be expected to do their part of the household work, which might include drying fish, tending animals, raising hay, cutting wood, helping with the vegetable garden or getting water and various other household chores, all of which consumed a considerable amount of time. As the children got older, they would be given increasingly greater responsibilities in this work. Given this overall context, it is my premise that the games of the period reflect the social and economic reality of the community.

The following presents the repertoire of games for the community of Savage Cove between approximately 1900 and 1935.[100] I have identified 39 games in the repertoire for this

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[100] The information used in this chapter was obtained through interviews with Pad Lawless, John Way (born 1907), Miriam Hounsell, Elijah Mitchelmore, Norm Mitchelmore, Mamie Mitchelmore, Ike Chambers, Dave Noseworthy Sr., Hazel (Coles) Way, Dora Coles, Maxwell Coles, John Way (born 1927), Gladys (White) Coles, Ennis Gaulton and Baxter Coles. Also, through the course of my interviews, several informants told me that older residents of Savage Cove, in particular Matthew Coles, born 1888, and George Coles, born 1891, played the games of Bandy Ball, Football, Marbles and Quoits, allowing me to conclude that these, if not all of the games of this period,

period, and have listed them here in alphabetical order so that the chapter may serve as an index. Except where otherwise noted, these games were learned by children from other children and, in this sense, represent chilren's own culture. Besides the rules and play of each game, I describe the gender and age of the participants for each game, the equipment used, the time during the day and year when each was played, where they were played in the community,[101] and any other relevant contextual data. In addition, each game is classified according to the systems offered by Caillois, Georges and Sutton-Smith as outlined in Chapter One. All of this information, the social and economic context, the game descriptions and the three classifications will serve as the basis for my analysis at the end of the chapter.

<center>* * *</center>

GENERAL:

BANDY BALL was played by both boys and girls, but mostly boys, between the ages of seven and sixteen. The equipment needed to play the game were a bat, a ball, and two "goals" or bases. An ordinary round stick or "picket" off a fence

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were being played at the turn of the century.
[101] Although I have endeavoured to give exact descriptions for each of the games, the reader should bear in mind that for some of the elements of the games, it is impossible to be more specific than I have been. For example, while the ages given by my informants for playing these games may help to indicate a range, I cannot assume that a person one year younger or older did not participate in the activity.

approximately an inch and a half in diameter and three feet long served as a bat, while the ball, in the early years of this period, was homemade by women in the community. An old dish cloth or floor cloth was tightly wrapped with twine or yarn then cased with sealskin from an old sealskin boot leg, forming a ball approximately three inches in diameter. The casing consisted of three pieces of tanned sealskin--two round pieces and a band to go around the middle. Later in this period, a sponge ball bought at the local store was used for the purpose. Pieces of wood or holes dug in the snow served as bases.

This game was played in the spring and during the summer, generally in the evenings "on the meadows," although it was sometimes played on the harbour ice. The playing field consisted of the two "goals" or bases placed approximately thirty yards apart. Two teams would be chosen from those who were present and there was no referee or umpire, yet the teams might be added to if more people came along who were interested in taking part. After the teams were chosen, one took the field and the other was at bat. A player from the team in the field tossed the ball to a player from the team who was standing over "goal" with the stick. The object of the game for the player with the stick was to hit the ball out into the field without it being caught by the other team, for if it was, he was "out." Also, if the batter made three

unsuccessful attempts at hitting the ball he was out.
However, if the ball was hit and not caught, the batter would
then drop the bat and try to run to the other goal and back
again without getting out in order to score a point. The
object of the game for the players in the field was to either
get the runner out or to stop him from making a round trip
back to the goal that he had started from, and thus scoring.
In order to get the runner out, some player in the field had
to hit him with the ball. If the runner made it to the other
goal without getting hit, and the ball was in possession of a
player in the field who was close enough to hit him, the
runner could opt to stay safely at the other goal. After this
first batter's turn in which he either got a hit or got out,
another of his teammates would take a turn at bat. If the
first batter was stationed at the other goal, it was the
second batter's job to get a hit so that the first could
safely run back and score a point. The game continued with
each player on the team taking his turn at bat. The team at
bat was retired either after everyone on the team got out or
after everyone but one was out, and this one failed to get a
hit which allowed him to make a round trip to the other goal
and back to where he started. If he did, his team would
continue, and everyone would bat again. After the team at bat
was retired, the other team then had its turn at bat. The

game continued in this fashion until one team won by scoring a predetermined number of points.

It was said that some fellows would "fire their best" or, in other words, throw the ball as hard as they could no matter how close they were. Also, it was said that some fellows would inevitably get hit with the ball and argue that they had not been hit. After such disputes, the next time this player was hit with the ball it was made certain that he would feel it so there would be no further disputes.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, physical
>   activity-hitting, pitching, running.
>   Individual skills game. Team game,
>   cooperative group game, [simplified sports].
> ***

BOATS[102] was generally a game or pastime for boys between the ages of seven and ten years old, although girls would take part sometimes. "Proper rigged" boats with "foremast, mainsail, jibs and jumbos" were homemade either by the boys themselves or by their fathers. A piece of wood was cut in the shape of a boat while a piece of dowel was stuck in the middle as a mast. Pieces of cotton sheet were attached with twine for the sails, and a piece of iron barrel hoop was driven into the bottom to serve as the keel and rudder. Boats were played with in the summertime after chores, and around

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[102] My older informants for this period described this activity as Sailing Boats.

the landwash of the cove or in the Skin Pond on the "Point."
The play involved twisting the rudder in such a way that the
boat, when set off from a point of land, would catch the wind
and sail to a point further on. Someone on that point would
in turn twist the rudder and sail it back. Often, the boats
would sail off course, and so rocks would be thrown into the
water in an effort to have the splash force the boats back on
course. Another part of this game for the children was to
collect minnows from Coles's Brook, or sand, or kelp on their
boats and generally pretend that they were fishing like the
men. When the children were finished playing for the day,
they would moor their boats off in the pond.

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
> games-play objects. Team game, cooperative
> group game.
>   ***

BUTTON BUTTON was a game played by both sexes and by all
ages during the cold winter months when it was not fit to play
outside. People would gather in one of the houses in the
community, often at "Aunt Mary Hodge's", and "by-and-by
someone would come up, let's have a game of Button." One
person would then go around with a button in his or her hands,
palms together, to the people sitting around on benches in the
room and slide his oor her hands between theirs, pretending to
drop the button into each person's hands, while leaving it in
only one person's hands. He or she would then take a belt and

begin asking each person around the room: Button, Button, Who got the Button? If the person guessed right then the game would begin again, and that person would take his or her turn going around with the button. However, if the person guessed wrongly, he or she would get a "crack" on the hand with the belt, and the person with the belt would then move on to the next person and continue the questioning. The guesser would be "trusting to the mercy of the one that had the belt" not to be hit too hard. In effect, "Button was a pastime for the night" during these gatherings in which "one was company for the other."

> Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Chance.
> Sutton-Smith: Category G/Games of chance, guessing
> game|Category J/Parlor games, indoor games
> for special occasions. Central person game,
> fearsome "He" character.
> ***

CLUMMIN'[103] was a "sport" for boys and men between their teenage years and approximately twenty-five or thirty. There was no equipment, and no particular time of year or day necessary for this activity. Generally, men and children would gather around the fishing stages in the community to talk and such. Out of this informal gathering, a "clum" might get started. Essentially, it was a wrestling match between two people that usually took one of two forms. The two men

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[103] The *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* defines "clum" as a verb meaning to grapple or to grab with hands, and as a noun meaning a scuffle, physical grappling or fight.

standing and facing each other would either grab each other by the belt, or hold each other off at arms length, and try to "put the other fellow down" on the ground. The winner was the one who put the other fellow down. While this sport was not played by all people, some in the community were known for it, and everyone was familiar with the activity.

> Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
>   wrestling. Individual skills game.
> ***

COPY HOUSE[104] was played mainly by young girls between the ages of five and ten years of age though young boys might sometimes get involved. It was generally played in the

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[104] Copy house, or "cobby" house, as it is locally pronounced, is defined in the <u>Dictionary of Newfoundland English</u> as a "a little house built by children . . . [or] a place on the ground outlined with rocks." This activity is also described in R. F. Sparkes, <u>The Winds Softly Sigh</u>, as "copy-house":

> Her skill at carpentry might have been rated
> by a kindly inspector at zero plus. Recognizing
> her own incompetence at structural work, she, with
> faith and loyalty far outweighing common sense,
> called upon Father for his equally unskilled
> assistance. . . . The roof . . . was not entirely
> waterproof and the one wall and the table leaned at
> angles Euclid never knew, but the magic wand of a
> child's imagination erased all defects and she set
> up housekeeping with her dolls in a bower of
> delight. Broken bits of kitchen ironstone became
> Dresden china, and a doll's tea-service of tin
> became Sterling silver. Pieces of an old stove she
> transformed into a magic oven. She would put in a
> batter of sawdust mixed with brown mud from the
> little brook and out would come cookies, chocolate
> cake or whatever the mood or the occasion called
> for. (33)

summertime after chores amongst the stunted spruce trees behind the houses on the north side of the cove. Girls would gather up pieces of old broken plates and dishes, along with old cans and shells and such, and bring them to a choice spot or clearing amongst the trees which served as their 'house'. The play consisted of pretending that they were grown up and doing what their mothers did around their houses. The involvement of boys might be to come along and "pretend they was going to have a cup of tea."

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
>   games, activities with play objects. Team
>   game, cooperative group game.
> ***

DUCK ON A ROCK[105] was a game for boys roughly between the ages of twelve and fifteen, and was played by the stages in the community during the informal gatherings mentioned above. A rock "the size of a ball," roughly three or four inches in diameter, was placed on top of a large boulder approximately twenty feet away; then boys would stand back a distance and take turns "firing rocks," trying to knock the rock off the boulder. Sometimes knocking the rock off was worth a point and a set number of points would win the game, while other

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[105] This game is also referred to in Hilda Chaulk Murray's book, More that 50%, as "Duck on the Rock." (53)

times the object of the game was simply to be the first to knock the rock off.[106]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, pitching.
> Individual skills game.
> ***

FOOTBALL was a game played by boys and men between fourteen or fifteen and up. In the early years of this period, the football itself would be homemade from a cow's bladder cased in tanned sealskin. After a cow or calf was killed in the fall, its bladder would be placed in pickle for approximately two or three months in order to toughen it up. All of the fat would be cleaned off, and the women would fashion a casing out of twelve triangular sealskin "quarters" plus a band for around the middle. The bladder would then be blown up inside this spherical casing, forming a ball

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[106] Interestingly, in the community of Green Island Brook, approximately eight miles to the north of Savage Cove, the game of Duck on a Rock was different and somewhat more complicated. Both boys and girls played and blocks of wood were used instead of rocks. A stick to represent "home" was laid on the ground some fifteen or twenty feet from a rock approximately one foot in diameter. Players would first stand at home and toss their wooden "ducks" towards the rock. The closest one would then place his duck on the rock and stand nearby. The other players standing at home would then take turns tossing their ducks, trying to knock the one off the rock. When this was achieved, the others would run and retrieve their ducks, and run back for home. At the same time, the player with his duck on the rock would have to retrieve his, and put it back on the rock, before running after the others and trying to catch them. The person that was caught would have to put their duck on the rock and the game would begin again. If he did not catch anyone, he would have to put his own duck back on the rock.

approximately ten inches in diameter. In the later years of
this period, store-bought balls were purchased from the local
shop. The game was played in Savage Cove during late winter
and early spring on the ice in the cove which was the playing
field, and was essentially a standard game of Football or
Soccer with two opposing teams kicking for their opponent's
goal. The game would sometimes be interrupted, and teams
changed, as new people came to take part, and others left.
Sometimes, later in the season, the men of Savage Cove would
"take up" the neighbouring community of Flower's Cove for a
"match," and there was said to be a good rivalry between these
two communities. Also, while the men of Savage Cove were used
to playing on the ice and snow, the men of Flower's Cove were
more used to playing on the grass, and so each team would have
the advantage depending on the surface they played on.[107]

Caillois: Competition/Ludus.

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[107] J. T. Richards, in his book Snapshots of Grenfell (St.
John's: Creative Publishers, 1989.), states:
    The idea of organized sport had never found a
    place in the minds of the fishermen of Northern
    Newfoundland and Labrador. If they kicked a
    football at Christmas time, it would usually take
    the form of a rough and tumble, in which the chief
    object was to get the ball and kick it into the air
    as high as possible. He who could kick it highest
    would be regarded as a star player. Kicking by
    opposing teams for goals was not known. Grenfell
    changed all this, and when I was at Griquet in
    1906, from St. Anthony came an up-to-date team, led
    by the doctor himself, to meet the Griquet team,
    also organized under his influence. . . . Under
    the auspices of the Mission Station, the [sport
    was] later introduced to Flower's Cove. (69-71)

> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, kicking,
> running. Individual skills game. Team
> game, pack versus pack, simplified sports.

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FOUR FEATHER FLYERS were darts homemade by young boys between the ages of approximately seven and thirteen years old. A piece of broom handle six or eight inches long would have a nail driven into one end of it with the head of the nail filed off and sharpened to a point. At the other end, four holes were bored and a feather stuck into each hole. This "flyer" was thrown like a regular dart, usually at an arbitrarily chosen spot on the side of a store. This pastime might involve one boy, or a number of boys taking turns to see who could hit the mark.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
> dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, throwing.
> Individual skills game.[108]

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HIDE-N-GO-SEEK, or HIDE-N-BLIND as it was sometimes called, was a game played by both boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen, and required no equipment. It was generally a summer game played after chores or after supper in the evenings around the stages and stores in the community. Essentially, the children would gather in "the bottom of the cove" near the stages, and either choose someone to be "it" or

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[108] This game might involve direct competition between two players, or be done as a solitary pursuit.

someone would volunteer to be "it" first. Sometimes, if there were a large number of children playing, two people might be "it." The person or persons who were "it" would then "blind" or cover their eyes up against the side of a stage and repeat the following rhyme in order to give the other children time to hide:

Hide-n-go-seek for all the week, except Sunday

Sunday is the holy day and so is Easter Monday

Ready or not, I'm coming, gone.

At this point, the person or persons who were "it" would seek out those who were hiding. A person was caught when he or she was seen and identified. The game was over after everyone was found, and if someone was difficult to find, that person might be asked to "give us a signal" to which he or she would whistle or make some sound to help those who were "it" find him or her. I was unable to discover whether there was any rule of thumb that determined who would be "it" in the next game (such as the first one caught is it); however, I was told that the older boys and girls, fourteen or fifteen, would sometimes "wander off" to be alone.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.[109]
> Georges: Game/Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill - running,
> hiding. Central person game, fearsome "He"

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[109] As noted above, children of different ages may have very different reasons for playing different games. The classification here, however, does not address any sexual para-aspect which might exist in this game.

character. Individual skills game.
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   JUMPING ROPE was an activity for both boys and girls

between the ages of roughly thirteen and sixteen. It was

essentially a summer activity, played near the stages in "the

bottom of the cove." No rhymes were used; two people simply

turned a piece of rope while the others took turns jumping

over it.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category F/Rhythmic games| Category
>   K/Games of skill, jumping. Individual skills
>   game.
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   LADY STICK[110] was a game for boys and men of all ages

played indoors during the winter months. Like Button Button,

it was usually played during informal social gatherings. It

was generally a test of strength between two people pulling on

a broom handle known as a lady stick; however, sometimes a

poker was used. The two opponents would sit on the floor

facing one another with their legs straight and the soles of

their feet touching together. Both would then grab the lady

stick in their two hands and attempt to pull the other fellow

up off the floor. The winner was the one who succeeded in

this task. It was mentioned that sometimes, when the strain

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[110] Although the term "lady stick" does not appear in the
Dictionary of Newfoundland English, there is an entry for the
term "lazy-stick: a game in which two contestants try to raise
each other from a sitting position by pulling on a stick; the
stick used for this game."

got too great, someone's hand might slip on purpose, sending his opponent back on his tail bone.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and
>   dexterity[strategy].[111]
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill| [category
>   H/Teasing activities, physical tricks].[112]
>   Individual skills game.
> ***

LAST TOUCH was a game for boys and girls of all ages played outdoors and requiring no equipment. It could be played at any time of the year, after chores, or in the evenings after supper, but especially when children were dismissed from school at lunch hour and at the end of the day. One would try to get the "last touch" on the other. The one would touch the other and say "last touch," then try to escape before the other could touch him or her back. Essentially, it had the potential to be an ongoing game, and sometimes was. I was told that sometimes one would get "last touch" on another on his or her way home during dinner break, only to be pursued by the other on the way back to school after dinner.

> Caillois: Competition, Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games| [category
>   H/Teasing activities]| Category K/Games of
>   skill, running. Individual skills game.
> ***

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[111] Also, Strategy may have some bearing on achievement with this activity, ie. if one can trick the other and drop him on his tailbone.
[112] If it turns out to be a game of strategy, then it is in turn, Category H/Teasing activity, physical tricks.

MARBLES[113] was a game played by both children and adults
of all ages and of both sexes. It was played outdoors at
school by children in the spring after the snow had gone and
the ground had dried, or indoors in the houses by both
children and adults over the winter. The equipment for this
game consisted of five lead marbles, generally cast in the
community from a gunball mould, and a coat or mat to lay on
the ground or floor to serve as a playing surface.
Essentially, the players would take turns trying to
successively complete the thirty different steps of the game,
(see below) which involved tossing, catching, dropping and
picking up the marbles in various ways.

      1) Twenty-fives: The player had to take the five
marbles in the palm of his or her hand, toss them in the air,
and catch them on the back of the same hand. He or she then
tossed them in the air again and caught them in his or her
palm; this counts as five. Tossing the five marbles from palm
to back of hand to palm again was repeated five times to make
twenty-five. If any marbles were dropped when tossing from
the palm to the back of the hand, the player could continue
only after he or she tossed the remaining marbles back into
his or her palm and after he or she had successfully retrieved
the dropped marbles. If more marbles were dropped when

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    [113] One informant said that this game was sometimes
referred to as Jackstones.

tossing from the back of the hand to the palm, then that player's turn was over. The dropped marbles were retrieved by tossing one of the caught marbles into the air, "scravelling"[114] or picking up one of the dropped marbles, then catching the "tosser" before it landed on the mat. If more than one was dropped, this move--tossing one marble, scravelling up one marble, and catching the tosser--was repeated for the remaining dropped marbles. When the dropped marbles were successfully retrieved then this counted as five, and the player continued tossing the marbles from the palm of his hand to the back of his hand and then back into his palm to make twenty-five.

      2) Ones: The player held the five marbles in his or her hand, tossed one of them into the air, dropped the remaining four on the mat then caught the tosser before it landed on the mat.[115] Each of the four dropped marbles was then retrieved by tossing the tosser into the air, scravelling up one of the marbles and then catching the tosser.

      3) Twos: Standard opening. This time, the dropped marbles were retrieved two at a time by tossing the tosser

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[114] The _Dictionary of Newfoundland English_ defines "scravel" as a verb meaning "to scratch, claw; hence, to grab, pick up (something)."

[115] This opening move of holding the five marbles in the palm, tossing one of them into the air, dropping the remaining four then catching the tosser, is a standard move for many of the thirty steps. Therefore, for the sake of being concise in the following steps where this move is the opening move, I will refer to it as a 'standard opening'.

into the air, scravelling up two marbles, then catching the tosser.

4) Threes: Standard opening. The dropped marbles were then retrieved three at a time and one, or one and three by tossing the tosser into the air, picking up the marbles, then catching the tosser.

5) Fours: Standard opening. The tosser was then tossed into the air, and the four dropped marbles were scravelled up before the tosser was caught again.

6) Easy or First Bowlings: Standard opening. A space of approximately four to six inches was made with the other hand by stretching the thumb and middle finger apart and then touching their tips to the mat. The tosser was tossed into the air, and one of the dropped marbles was then bowled through the space made by the other hand before the tosser was caught. This was repeated for the remaining dropped marbles.

7) Small Button Holes: Standard opening. A "button hole" was made by touching the tips of the thumb and index finger of the other hand together. The button hole (palm down) was then laid on the mat. The tosser was tossed into the air and one of the marbles was picked up from the mat before the tosser was caught. The tosser was tossed again, and the marble that was picked up was then dropped into the button hole before catching the tosser. This was repeated for the remaining marbles. Once this was accomplished, the button

hole was removed, the tosser was tossed into the air, the four marbles were scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

8) Little Eatings: Standard opening, except that the four marbles were dropped into the other hand. The tosser was tossed, and one of the marbles was taken from the hand and put into the player's mouth before catching the tosser. The tosser was then tossed again, and the marble was taken out of the player's mouth and replaced into his or her hand. This was done four times.

9) Second Ones: Exactly the same as "Ones" above.

10) Second Twos: The same as "Twos" above, except that it was repeated twice.

11) Second Threes: The same as "Threes" above, except that it was repeated three times.

12) Second Fours: The same as "Fours" above, except that it was repeated four times.

13) Crooked Bowlings: The same as "Easy or First Bowlings" above except that, when making the space with the other hand, the index and ring fingers were crossed over the back of the middle finger forming a 'pocket'. The tosser was tossed in the air, one marble was picked up from the mat and placed in this pocket before catching the tosser. The tosser was then tossed again, the marble taken from the pocket and bowled through the space between thumb and middle finger

before the tosser was caught. This was repeated for the other marbles. Finally, the tosser was tossed again and the four marbles were scravelled up from where they had been bowled, and the tosser was then caught.

14) Second or High Eatings: The same as "Little Eatings" above, except that the four marbles were dropped onto the mat, and had to be taken from there and put into the player's mouth.

15) Big Button Holes: The same as "Small Button Holes" above, except that the "button hole" was made with the thumb and middle finger, and the marbles were put in the hole in one motion; that is to say, the tosser was tossed into the air, and a marble was picked up and dropped into the button hole before catching the tosser. The four marbles were then scravelled up as above.

16) Soffins or Softins: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and one marble was picked up before the tosser was caught. However, the player could not let the two "crack together" and make a noise. This was repeated for the remaining marbles.

17) Crackins: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and one marble was picked up before the tosser was caught. However, this time, the tosser had to "crack" against the other marble and make a noise. This was repeated for the remaining marbles.

18) Laying Eggs: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and one marble was picked up before catching the tosser. The tosser was then tossed again and another marble was picked up while, at the same time, the first marble was dropped back onto the mat before the tosser was caught. This had to be done four times, and without "cracking the eggs" (ie. letting them hit together to make a noise).

19) Pans: Another player makes a "pan" with his or her two hands by touching the tips of his or her two index fingers and two thumbs together, then placing his or her palms flat on the mat. Standard opening. The dropped marbles were then put into the pan one at a time. The tosser was tossed into the air, one marble was picked up from the mat and dropped in the pan before catching the tosser. Once all of the marbles were in the pan the pan was removed and the tosser was tossed into the air, the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

20) Pots: The same as "Pans," except that the marbles were this time dropped into a "pot" made by another player cupping his or her two hands and touching the tips of his or her four fingers and the heels of his or her two hands together. The sides of his or her two cupped hands were then layed on the mat.

21) Washing: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and the player scrubbed the front of his or her shirt with the his or her hand, as if washing on a scrubbing board, before catching the tosser. The tosser was tossed again, and the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

22) Ringing: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and the player twirled his or her two hands around one another before catching the tosser. The tosser was then tossed again, the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

23) Ironing: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and the player smoothed the palm of his or her hand across the mat before catching the tosser. The tosser was tossed again, the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

24) Scrubbins: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and the player then scrubbed the mat with his or her hand, as if scrubbing the floor, before catching the tosser. The tosser was then tossed again, the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

25) Milking: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and the player then pulled on one of the fingers of his or her other hand, as if it were the teat of a cow, before catching the tosser. The tosser was then tossed

again, the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught as above.

26) Straining: Standard opening. The tosser was tossed into the air and the player then inserted a finger from one hand through a hole formed by the thumb and index finger of the other, and removed it before catching the tosser. The tosser was tossed again, the four marbles scravelled up, and the tosser caught before it landed.

27) Fingers: Standard opening. The player's other hand was laid with the palm flat on the mat and fingers spread. The tosser was tossed, and one of the dropped marbles was then pushed in between two of the spread fingers on the mat before the tosser was caught. This was repeated for the remaining marbles, until one had been pushed between the thumb and index finger, one between the index and middle finger, one between the middle and ring finger, and one between the ring and little finger. The spread hand was then removed, the tosser tossed into the air, and the four marbles scravelled up before the tosser was caught.

28) Joints: The player laid his or her hand palm down on the mat with his or her fingers together. One marble was then placed at the tip of the thumb, another at the tip of the index finger, another at the tip of the little finger, and another at the side of the hand at the base of the little finger. The hand was then removed, the tosser tossed into the

air, and the four marbles scravelled up before catching the tosser.

29) Elbows: The player laid his or her forearm on the mat and places one marble at the tip of his or her little finger and another at his or her elbow. He or she then removes his or her arm, tossed the tosser up and scravelled the two before catching the tosser. This was then repeated for the remaining two marbles.

30) Forty-five catchalls: There were two parts to this final step. The first part was exactly the same as "Twenty-fives" above, except that it was repeated nine times rather than five. Also, the same rule applied to dropped marbles. Once this first step was accomplished, the second step began with a standard opening. The player then tossed the tosser into the air and scravelled up one marble before catching the tosser. These two marbles were then tossed into the air, and one more marble was scravelled up from the mat before catching the two. These three marbles were then tossed into the air, and another one was scravelled up from the mat before catching the three. Finally, these four marbles were tossed into the air and the last marble was scravelled up from the mat before the four were caught. This second part of the final step was then repeated five times.

If a player made a mistake while attempting any one of the thirty steps during the game, then his or her turn was

over, and he or she had to wait until his or her turn came around again before re-attempting the same step. Also, if the tosser touched the player before it was caught in his or her hand, his or her turn was over, and the other players would call out "you burned your clothes" or "burned clothes, out" indicating that the mistake had been noticed.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game [nongame][116]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   K/Games of skill. Individual skills game.
>   ***

MAY I was a game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of seven and thirteen requiring no equipment and played inside the school during recess and dinner break. One child was chosen to be the caller and the other children lined up opposite and facing this person at the other end of the room against the wall. The caller would then instruct each of the other children in turn to take various types of steps; for example, a "baby step" which was a small step, a "step" which was a normal step, a "giant step" which was a stride, a "foot" which was putting one foot in front of the other, a "half foot" which was putting half a foot in front of the other, or one of these steps "back" towards the wall where they started. Once a child had been instructed to take a certain type of

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[116] This is a game that a child could take part in without anyone else around.

step, he or she would have to ask "May I" before taking the step; otherwise, he had to go back to the wall and start over. After the child asked "May I," the caller replied "Yes, you may," and the step would be taken. The object of the game was to arrive at the other end of the room first.[117]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.[118]
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central
>   person directs the moves the others make as
>   they compete for central person role. Central
>   person game, dominating maternal figure or
>   leader.

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QUOITS[119] was a game for boys and men from ten years of age and up, played outdoors by the stages between work and after supper during the "fishing scull" and late summer. It required two "megs" or sharpened sticks about a foot high to be driven in the ground approximately thirty feet apart. The players, standing at one meg, would take turns pitching barrel hoops, hoops of rope, or horseshoes, or sometimes the damper from an old stove, towards the other "meg." The object of the

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[117] Three of my older informants for this period, John Way born 1907, Miriam Housnell born 1910, and Hazel Way born 1919, said that they did not play this game when they were growing up.

[118] To say that strategy here determines achievement is somewhat misleading, given the "para-aspect" of the game in which the caller may favour one player, perhaps a special friend, over another. This para-aspect of the game would be learned as one got older, and is an example of how a particular game might fulfil different functions for children of different ages.

[119] The game of Quoits was also known variously as Rings, Horseshoes, and Hoop by residents of the community.

game was to put the hoop as close as possible to the meg, either touching it, ringing it, or leaning the hoop against it. Each of these was worth a different number of points, which I was unfortunately unable to discover. Twenty-one points was needed to win the game.[120]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, pitching.
> Individual skills game.
> ***

RED ROVER was an outdoor game played by both boys and girls between the ages of ten and fifteen during the summer, requiring no equipment. The children would line up by the side of the school and each would be assigned a colour. The caller, who would not know who had been assigned which colour, would say:

> Red Rover, Red Rover send [a colour] right over.

If the colour he or she called had not been assigned, he or she repeated the phrase with a different colour. If the colour had been assigned, then the person with that colour had to run around the school without being caught by the caller. If the player won the race then he or she was assigned a new colour; if not he or she was out. For his or her part, the caller had the option of either chasing after the player, or

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[120] My informant John Way born 1907 said that this was a "big game" for "the old fellows," meaning those of his father's generation, suggesting that the game was played in the community prior to the turn of the century.

running around the school in the opposite direction with the hope of heading the player off. Once this first race was over and despite its outcome, the caller would proceed to ask for a new colour to be "sent over." When the caller had successfully caught all of the players, someone else would become the caller.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games – central
>   person does the chasing| Category K/Games of
>   skill, running. Individual skills game.

                              ***

RIDING or SLIDING was a winter activity for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of ten and fourteen. Anytime during the day after chores or in the evenings after supper, the children would gather "over on the hill" in the bottom of the cove to slide on the snow on "komatiks" or "carry-alls."[121]

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects, seasonal
>   activities. Team game, cooperative group
>   game.

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[121] Both "komatiks" and "carry-alls" were sleds locally made for various purposes. Komatiks, roughly ten feet in length, were primarily pulled by dog teams and used for hauling wood or carrying passengers, while carry-alls, roughly six feet in length, were usually pulled by hand and used for transporting smaller loads. For a discussion of these sleds and their derivation see Melvin Firestone, "Inuit Derived Culture Traits in Northern Newfoundland," Arctic Anthropology 29.1 (1992): 112-128.

    RIDING HORSES was an activity for boys around fourteen to sixteen years old requiring only a piece of rope. During the summer, horses owned by people in the area would generally roam free and graze. Boys would catch these horses and, having fashioned makeshift bridles from the rope, take turns riding them bareback around the community.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   Activities with play objects, seasonal
>   activities| Category K/Game of skill.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

RING GAMES:

    FARMER IN THE DALE was a ring game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It was played both indoors and outdoors during school time and during the summer, and required no equipment. It was usually played in the school or on the playground near the school, and involved the children forming a ring by holding hands with one another, with one child in the middle of the ring. The children forming the ring would circle around the one in the middle singing:

The farmer in the dale, the farmer in the dale,

Hi ho the derrio, the farmer in the dale.[122]

Next came:

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[122] A variation given by some older informant runs:
> The farmer in the dale, the farmer in the dale,
> Hi ho victorio, the farmer in the dale.

The farmer takes a wife, the farmer takes a wife,

Hi ho the derrio, the farmer takes a wife,

at which time the child playing the farmer would choose someone from the ring to join him or her in the middle as the wife. The game continued in this manner with the players in the middle choosing others from the ring to play the various parts:

The wife takes a child, the wife takes a child,

Hi ho the derrio, the wife takes a child.

The child takes a nurse, the child takes a nurse,

Hi ho the derrio, the child takes a nurse.

The nurse takes a dog, the nurse takes a dog,

Hi ho the derrio, the nurse takes a dog.

The dog takes a bone, the dog takes a bone,

Hi ho the derrio, the dog takes a bone.

Once these six children are gathered in the middle of the ring, they begin to leave and return to the ring as their cue comes in the ditty:

The farmer leaves the wife, the farmer leaves the wife,

Hi ho the derrio, the farmer leaves the wife.

The wife leaves the child, the wife leaves the child,

Hi ho the derrio, the wife leaves the child.

The child leaves the nurse, the child leaves the nurse,

Hi ho the derrio, the child leaves the nurse.

The nurse leaves the dog, the nurse leaves the dog,

Hi ho the derrio, the nurse leaves the dog.

The dog leaves the bone, the dog leaves the bone,

Hi ho the derrio, the dog leaves the bone.

At this point, there is only the one individual remaining in

the ring, and the others sing:

Three cheers for the bone, three cheers for the bone,

Hi ho the derrio, the bone stands alone.[123]

This effectively marked the end of the game and either the

"bone" would be the farmer for the next game, or a new person

from the ring would be chosen to be the farmer.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.[124]
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle

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[123] Alternative versions of this last verse were:
> The bone stands alone, the bone stands alone,
> Hi ho the derrio, three cheers for the bone.
and,
> The bone stands alone, the bone stands alone,
> Hi ho victorio, the bone stands alone.

[124] This is how Georges classified this game, and though
it is a role-playing game to some degree, I have to question
the appropriateness of classifying it as an imitative game.

game| Category F/Rhythmic games – movements
accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
person game, limelight. Team game, team
singing game.
    ***

GO IN AND OUT THE WINDOW was a ring game for both boys
and girls roughly between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It
was played both indoors and outdoors during school time and
during the summer, and required no equipment. It was usually
played in the school or on the playground near the school.
Some of the children formed a ring by holding hands, while
those remaining reeved in and out between those forming the
ring as they all sang:

  Go in and out the window, go in and out the window,

  Go in and out the window, 'til the iron gates are

              locked.

  Go up and down the ladder, go up and down the ladder,

  Go up and down the ladder, 'til the iron gates are

              locked.[125]

  Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
  Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
  Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
   game| Category F/Rhythmic games – movements
   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Team
   game, team singing game.
     ***

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  [125] From what I can gather, this was the extent of the
game.

KING WILLIAM was a ring game for both boys and girls
roughly between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It was
played both indoors and outdoors during school time and during
the summer, and at parties held in the school, "after the tea
was over." It required no equipment and was usually played in
the school or on the playground near the school. The
children, formed into a ring--boy, girl, boy, girl--with one
player in the middle. They would circle the one in the middle
singing:

> King William was King George's son,
>
> All the royal races run;
>
> Come choose to the east;
>
> Come choose to the west;
>
> Choose the very one that you love best.
>
> If she's not here to take your part,
>
> Choose another with all your heart.
>
> Down on this carpet your must kneel,
>
> As the grass grows in the field;
>
> You must kiss your partner oh so sweet,
>
> As you stand up on your feet.

When the cue came in the ditty, the one in the middle would
look left then right before choosing someone from the ring to
join him or her. The two would then follow what the verse
instructed them to do, namely kneel down on the floor facing
one another, then stand up and kiss.

Next, the individual who had been in the middle would return to the ring, and the ditty would be sung again. Now, the one who had been chosen from the ring would have a turn choosing someone else from the ring. The game continued in this fashion until the players lost interest or until too many had to leave.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith:[126]Category A/Singing games, circle
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games - movements
>   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
>   person game, limelight. Team game, team
>   singing game.
> ***

LAZY MARY was a ring game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It was played both indoors and outdoors during school time and during the summer, and required no equipment. It was usually played in the school or on the playground near the school. The children would form a ring, with one child in the middle lying in the fetal position, and they would all sing:

Lazy Mary will you get up, will you get up,

Will you get up;

Lazy Mary will you get up, will you get up today?

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[126] This game and Wally Wally Wallflower do not fit into Sutton-Smith's developmental age grouping for Choral games which is six to nine years old. In Savage Cove these games were played by young adults, twelve to fourteen, and were, for lack of a better term, courtship games.

The child in the middle responded by slowly rising and singing:

Oh yes my mother I will get up, I will get up,

I will get up;

Oh yes my mother I will get up, I will get up today.

The game began again after "Mary" was replaced by another player.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
> game| Category F/Rhythmic games — movements
> accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
> person game, limelight. Team game, team
> singing game.
> ***

LITTLE SALLY SAUCER was a ring game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It was played both indoors and outdoors during school time and during the summer, and required no equipment. It was usually played in the school or on the playground near the school. The children would form a ring with one child in the middle and all would sing:

Little Sally Saucer sitting on the water

Crying and weeping for her young man;

Rise up Sally, wipe away your tears.

Turn to the east side,

Turn to the west side,

Turn to the very one that you love best.

Corresponding with the ditty, "Sally" would be sitting down in the middle of the ring, and pretending that he or she was crying. He or she would then "rise up" and pretend to wipe away his or her tears before pointing left and right, and finally to the person he or she "loved best." He or she would then go and kiss that person, who would take "Sally's" place in the centre of the ring. The game would then begin again.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle game| Category F/Rhythmic games — movements accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central person game, limelight. Team game, team singing game.
>   ***

LONDON BRIDGE was a ring game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of twelve and fourteen. It was played both indoors and outdoors during school time and during the summer, and required no equipment. It was usually played in the school or on the playground near the school, and involved two children standing facing each other holding their two hands together to form an arch or "bridge." The other children formed a line and filed beneath the arms of the two singing:

London bridge is falling down, falling down, falling

down,

London bridge is falling down, my fair lady.

At the word "lady," the two would drop their arms and trap the child who was between them at that time. The two who formed

the "bridge," who had each secretly chosen a treat of some
sort beforehand, such as apples and oranges, would ask the
trapped child which he or she liked best: apples or oranges.
The treat that the trapped child picked would determine which
of the two he or she had to stand behind. The game then
continued in this manner until all of the other children had
been trapped and lined up behind one or the other of the two
forming the bridge. The game ended with a "tug-of-war"
between the two teams now formed into human chains, each
teammate pulling on the person in front of him or her.
Usually someone would lose his or her grip causing some to
fall down. After this, the game could begin again.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
> game| Category F/Rhythmic games - movements
> accompanied by chants. Choral game. [central
> person game, limelight]. Team game, team
> singing game.

***

WALLY WALLY WALLFLOWER was a ring game for both boys and
girls roughly between their teenage years and up. It was
played both indoors and outdoors during school time and during
the summer, and at parties held in the school. It required no
equipment and was usually played in the school or on the
playground near the school. The children would form a ring
and circle one person in the middle while singing:

Wally wally wallflowers growing up so high,

Come all you pretty fair maids you must kill or die,

Except pretty Polly[127] she's the fairest flower;

She can skip and she can dance, she can fill the hour.

Fight, fight for shame;

Turn your back and tell your true love's name.

The person named from the ring would then have to comply, turn around facing away from the center of the ring and name their "true love."[128]

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games - movements
>   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
>   person game, limelight. Team game, team
>   singing game.
>   ***

GENERAL cont'd:

ROLLING BARREL HOOPS was a game or activity mainly for boys between the ages of approximately seven and thirteen years old. Outdoors, during the summer, boys would get barrel hoops and simply set them rolling with their hands--evidently, the object of the activity being simply to watch the hoop travel by itself.[129]

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[127] This was the name used in the ditty when it was sung by my informant.

[128] I was unable to discover what part the person in the middle played as my informant was unclear about it. It makes sense if the person in the middle is the one who chooses which player from the ring names their "true love."

[129] Although one of my older informants mentioned this activity, I have been unable to find out if there was anything more to it than is mentioned above. Furthermore, none of my other informants mentioned this activity at all, and one in particular (a younger informant) told me that he did not do it, nor did he remember others doing it while he was growing

Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
activities with play objects. Individual
skills game.

***

ROUNDERS was a game for both boys and girls between

roughly seven and fifteen years of age, but played more so by

boys. It was played in the spring or anytime during the

summer on the meadows, and in essence, was the same as Bandy

Ball mentioned above, except that four bases were used instead

of two.[130]

Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
Georges: Game/Physical Skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill - hitting,
throwing, running. Individual skills game.
Team game, [simplified sports], cooperative
group game.

***

SCOUT was a "big" game played by both boys and girls

between ten and sixteen years of age which required no

equipment. It was played outdoors in spring and early summer

at recess and lunch time during school, and in the evenings

from the end of April to the beginning of the fishing season,

---

up.
[130] While this game was described by one of my oldest
informant for this period, John Way born 1907, my younger
informants for this period have generally not heard of it,
causing me to wonder whether it is a variation of the more
prominent game Bandy Ball or simply a similar game which went
out of fashion for some reason. Also, it should be noted
that, although Bandy Ball and Rounder are respectively similar
to the British game Cricket and the American game Baseball, I
was told that children were unaware of these outside games
during their childhood.

and was usually played on a piece of ground between the side of the school and the fence of "Aunt Peggy Hodge's garden."

To begin, there was no limit on the number of players, and two "captains" picked teams from those who were there to play; sometimes there might be ten or fifteen on each side. Once chosen, each team took its place on opposite ends of the playing field, one against the school and the other against the fence.

The game started by someone from one of the teams "going up for a tease," in essence, leaving the safety of his or her goal and tempting the other team to chase after him or her. If he or she were caught, he or she was taken prisoner and had to accompany his or her captor back to the opposing team's goal. The object of the game was to catch everyone on the other team, and once this was achieved the game was over. This was complicated, however, by the fact that once an opposing player gave chase, he himself or she herself could be pursued by one of the other players on the other team and so it went back and forth.

With respect to the playing field, it was not limited to the area between the school and Aunt Peggy Hodge's garden. Players were free to pursue or evade their opponents throughout the community and might end up "down through Wreck Cove," a considerable distance from the school. Also, a teammate could free a captured player if he or she was able to

run up and touch him or her without being caught by the other team. One informant told me that in order to catch someone "you had to hold them one time, almost nail them to the ground" but that later on as long as you touched the person he or she was caught. I was also told that catching the girls and squeezing them was a big part of the game.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing Games| Category
>   K/Games of skill, running. Team game, pack
>   versus pack.
>   ***

SHINNYING[131] PANS was a spring activity mostly for boys twelve years of age and older. In the spring of the year as the ice in the cove began to break up, boys would get a stick or pole each and use it to help them jump from one ice-pan to the next or push themselves around on the ice-pans as if they were rafts.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
>   activities| Category K/Games of skill,
>   jumping. Individual skills game.
>   ***

SKATING was a winter activity mostly for boys roughly nine to fourteen years old. During the day and in the evenings, they would go out on the Point to skate on Skin Pond. Both homemade and store-bought skates were used--the

_____

[131] The Dictionary of Newfoundland English defines "shinny" as a verb meaning "to jump from one ice-pan to another."

homemade skates being modelled after the store-bought ones. For the homemade version, a piece of barrel hoop was driven into a block of wood which was in turn laced to the skater's boot. There was no sport to this activity other than simply gliding over the ice.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
>   activities. Individual skills game.
> ***

SLINGSHOTS were employed as a pastime by boys roughly between the age of seven and thirteen years old. There were two kinds of slingshots, one that worked on the pendulum principle and the other that worked as a catapult.

For the pendulum kind, a small oval-shaped piece of tanned sealskin with a fair-sized hole cut in the middle of it to hold a stone is needed, and two pieces of twine about two feet long. At each of the two ends of the oval a small hole is punched and the pieces of string tied on. This type of slingshot is used for firing a single round stone which is placed in the pocket formed in the sealskin when the two ends of the pieces of twine are taken in one hand. Once loaded with a stone, the slingshot is swung round in a circular motion over the boy's head, and fired by releasing one of the ends of the twine.

For the catapult kind, a piece of bamboo approximately twenty inches long is needed, and a piece of twine about twice

that length. Firstly, a notch is cut lengthwise about two inches long in one end of the bamboo. Secondly, the two ends of the twine are tied together forming a loop. Thirdly, using two half hitches, the twine is attached to the end of the bamboo with the notch in it so that the loop now hangs directly over the notch. Next a single knot is tied in the doubled piece of twine forming two loops of different sizes, the smaller of these two being nearest the notch and measuring approximately an inch and a half in length. This type of slingshot is used for firing a flat stone. The stone is laid into the notch then held in by slipping the small loop in the twine over the stone. The boy then takes the other end of the bamboo in his hand and nips the stone into the notch by hooking his thumb into the other loop and pulling down on it. The slingshot is then swung side-arm like a tennis racquet and the stone fired by releasing the loop with the thumb. Both of these types of slingshots were used by boys during the summer "down around the landwash," either for firing at birds and other targets, or for seeing who could fire a rock the farthest.

> Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   K/Games of Skill, throwing.   Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

SPIN TOPS were used by both boys and girls roughly between the ages of seven and thirteen. These toys were played with indoors during the winter in the home and were generally homemade from an old wooden thread spool, or devised from the weighted wheel in a clock, if one were lucky enough to have one. The amusement in this activity was watching the top spin or seeing whose could spin the longest.

> Caillois: Competition, [vertigo]/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects. Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

STILTS were another homemade toy used in Savage Cove. Boys between seven and fifteen years of age made and used them during the summer. They were made by nailing triangular blocks of wood big enough to support the boy's feet onto two sticks. The fun in this activity was to see how far you could walk on the stilts.

> Caillois: Competition, Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   K/Games of Skill, walking.   Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

STORE GAMES AND TESTS OF AGILITY AND STRENGTH:

The social setting or context for these games or tests of agility and strength was around the fishing stores which were both the centre of summer work and the centre of informal

social gatherings mentioned above. Generally, these activities were done during breaks from work or during these social gatherings.

MEASURE YOUR ARM ON A BROOMSTICK AND BEND AND TOUCH THE FLOOR was a game or test of agility for boys between thirteen and seventeen years old, and was played in the fishing stores during the summer. First, the boy would grip the broomstick at the point which measured the length of his arm. Next, he would put this point to his nose so that the broomstick extended over his head. The object of the game was to bend over backwards and touch the tip of the stick off the floor without falling over. This activity was also done mainly as a test, and boys would take turns trying it.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| [category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations]| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting. Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

MEASURE YOUR NOSE ON A BROOMSTICK AND GO UNDER YOUR ARM was another game or test of agility for boys between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. It was played during the summer usually in the fishing stores, though sometimes in the kitchen of someone's house or outdoors. First, a boy would grip a broomstick or some other similar stick with both hands, his two palms facing in opposite directions. Next, he would move his top hand to mark the length of his nose along the stick.

Once he had marked this measurement, he would touch this end of the stick to the floor maintaining his grip with both hands. The object now was to manoeuvre first his head then the rest of his body between the arm that was closest to the floor and the floor itself, while supporting himself solely on his two feet and the tip of the stick. This activity was done mainly as a test, and boys would take turns trying to do it.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| [category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations]| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting. Individual
>   skills game.

<center>***</center>

SKIN THE PUDDING was a game or test of agility played by boys between the ages of thirteen and seventeen in the fishing stores during the summer time. It required no special equipment except the sweater or jacket that the boy was wearing. The object of the game was to for the boy to jump up and grab the rafter with his hands then swing his legs up and hook the back of his knees around the rafter so that when he let go with his hands he was hanging upside-down from his knees. Once this was done, he had to "skin the pudding," which meant take his sweater or jacket completely off and then put it back on again. Once the piece of clothing was back on, the boy gripped the rafter again with his hands, unhooked his legs and then jumped back down. Although this game might be done as an individual activity, it was often done with a

couple boys competing against one another to see who could do it the fastest.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
> activities with play objects| [category
> H/Physical tricks, initiations]| Category
> K/Games of skill, twisting. Individual
> skills game.
> ***

GENERAL cont'd:

SWIMMING was a summer activity mostly for boys between ten and sixteen years of age. This was usually done in the salt water of the cove and involved jumping and diving from the wharves. While girls did wade in the water, they did not participate in this activity to the same extent as boys.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
> activities. Individual skills game.
> ***

TIDDLY was a game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of seven and fourteen. It was played outdoors from early spring through to the end of the spring season--either around the houses, or on the harbour ice, or "over on the hill." The game required a long stick, a short stick and a hole. The long stick was usually a picket approximately one inch in diameter and measuring roughly four feet in length. A small section on one end of it was cut away to form a flat surface roughly three or four inches long. The short stick or "tiddly stick" was usually thicker than the

long one, roughly an inch and a half to two inches in diameter and a foot in length. The hole sometimes referred to as the "tiddly hole" was dug in the ground with the child's foot or with a stick and measured roughly four inches across and three inches deep.

To begin, two teams were chosen from those who were present, and one took the field in front of the hole, while the other went to the hole. The team at the hole would then choose who from their team would go first. This first person laid the tiddly stick across the hole, then "hooked" or flicked it into the air, using the flat edge of the long stick. If someone from the other team caught the tiddly stick, then the one who hooked it was out and the next person on his or her team took a turn. After everyone on the team was "out" the other team was "up." However, if the tiddly stick was not caught, the person who hooked it then laid the long stick across the hole while someone from the other team retrieved and tossed the tiddly stick from where it had landed back at the long stick. If the long stick was hit, then the player who hooked was out and the next person on his or her team had a turn. If the long stick was not hit, then the player continued his or her turn by choosing to hit either a "single" or a "double."

A single was hit by holding the tiddly stick at one end at arm's length and then batting it with the long stick;

whereas, a double was hit by first tapping the tiddly stick up into the air and then batting it with the long stick. If for some reason the player failed in his or her attempt to hit either a single or a double, by failing to hit the tiddly stick a 'long stick length' from the hole, or by missing the tiddly stick, then he or she was out. If the player was successful in hitting it, but the tiddly stick was caught, he or she was also out. However, if the player was successful in hitting it, and the tiddly stick was not caught, then someone from the other team retrieved and tossed the tiddly stick from where it landed back at the hole. If it landed within a "long stick length" of the hole then the player who hooked it was out and, again, the next player on his or her team took a turn.

This stage of the game was complicated, however, by the fact that the player who hooked the tiddly stick was protecting the hole, and could bat the tiddly stick back out if it came close enough to him or her. Once again, if it was caught after being batted out, the person who hooked it was out. However, if the tiddly stick was not caught, then the person who hooked it tabulated his or her score by counting the number of stick lengths between the hole and where the tiddly stick had landed. Which stick was used for measuring was determined by whether the player had hit a single or a double. If a single had been hit, you measured with the long

stick, and if a double, you measured with the tiddly stick. At this point the player would continue his turn by hooking the tiddly stick again, and he or she would keep going until he or she was put out. Also, no particular score was needed to win the game; instead, whichever team had more points when they decided to quit would be declared the winner.

I was told be my informants that this game was both good and "treacherous"--good because if you only had a short while for playing you could play it around the houses, but treacherous because sometimes a player on the opposing team might get the tiddly stick in the face.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting,
> pitching. Individual skills game. Team
> game, cooperative group game.
> ***

WALKING THE FENCES was a game or activity played by both boys and girls roughly between ten and fifteen years of age which was one of the first played in the early spring. In essence, the game involved balancing on the top rail of someone's fence and trying to walk the whole length of it. While sometimes the children would simply go around the church fence, other times the game was more complicated, and involved trying to walk the fences all the way "out to Capstan Point." For this version of the game a piece of board was needed to lay down on the snow between the various fences in the community, for the object of the game was to go all the way

"without touching a pick of snow." All the players would
start walking the fences at a particular spot, but if they
fell off or touched the snow would have to go back and start
over at the beginning.

>Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
> balancing. Individual skills game.

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SUMMARY: 1900-1935

The games and pastimes listed above describe the extent
of the community's children's game repertoire for the period
between 1900 and 1935. Some of these were obviously more
popular than others, and were therefore played more often.
This became apparent as certain games were always among the
first ones mentioned by my informants, and as they were
usually described as "big" games. Included in this list of
so-called "big" games, or most popular games are Bandy Ball,
Button Button, Copy House, Football, Hide-n-Go-Seek, Marbles,
Quoits, the various Ring Games, Scout, and Tiddly. I have
listed the other less popular games and pastimes in an attempt
to give as complete a picture as possible for this time
period, and also to show the entire range of activities for
this period. In many instances, my informants' descriptions
of these other activities and games included qualifying
statements which indicated that they were played less
frequently.

Viewing this repertoire, certain aspects become apparent which seem to reflect the social and economic condition of the community during this time. With few exceptions, most of these activities were not played on Sundays, as Sunday was recognised as a day of rest, and as such, only certain activities were deemed acceptable.[132] Instead, children either visited the other houses, or went sliding, or hitched some dogs to a carry-all and went for a ride, or went for a row in the punt, or looked for bird's nests, or went picking berries, depending on the time of the year.

Games, however, were played during the rest of the week between breaks in the school day, or in the evenings, or after chores, and were generally linked to certain social gatherings within the community, both of children, and of children and adults. Of course, children would gather in the one place for school, but they would also congregate at different times of the year around the stages in the bottom of the cove or in someone's house where adults also gathered to talk, exchange news and socialize. During such gatherings, the children would play their games which, in some cases, would entice certain adults to participate in an impromptu and superficial way. In other cases, children and young adults played an

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[132] This is not to say that Sundays were entirely spent in religious pursuits. Baxter Coles, born 1933, told me that during his childhood church services were not held every Sunday within the community as there was only one minister for the whole parish.

integral part in adult pastimes, such as Button Button and pulling on the Lady Stick. In this context then, the playing of games in the community seemed to be linked to the social dynamic of the community with respect to how, why, and when residents gathered for social interaction.

Connected to this social dynamic, and probably determined by the relatively small number of potential playmates within the community, is the inclusive nature of the games themselves with respect to the age and sex of the participants. It was not unusual for there to be a difference of four or five years or more between the age of the oldest and youngest child involved in a particular game. Also, although there were some games and activities that were played exclusively by males, such as the Store Games, which offered an environment for gaining prestige by being proven the best or strongest at a particular activity, for the most part, the games listed above were played by whoever was present at the time, be they boys or girls. In fact, my female informants seemed pleased to tell me that they did whatever the boys did.

As the children got older, the inclusive nature of the games provided the opportunity for children to explore their sexual maturation. Ring games allow children to test their affections for a particular member of the opposite sex by playfully requiring them to indicate who they "love best." As mentioned above, in games such as Hide-n-Go-Seek and Scout,

older children might "wander off" to be alone, or take pleasure in "squeezing" a member of the opposite sex, or being squeezed. These new functions for the games corresponded with boys and girls "coming of age" and being introduced to the local courtship rituals.[133]

As might be expected, a number of the games and pastimes for this period were mimetic. These include Boats, Copy House, and Marbles, and each in its own way copied the world of adults which the children were on the verge of entering. On one hand, the game of Boats mimicked both the method of procuring fish as well as the processing of it; while on the other hand, Copy House and, in some of its steps, Marbles mimicked the domestic world of the household. With these activities it is important to recognize that they specifically imitated the day-to-day work of the community during that time period.

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[133] While games were played up into the teenage years, at approximately thirteen, boys and girls started to get involved in the local courtship ritual of "walking the road." Teenagers would walk back and forth along the road on the south side of the cove, sometimes as far west as Flower's Cove—the boys in one group following the girls in the other. A fellow would "try" a girl he was interested in by walking up behind her and placing his hand on her shoulder. If the girl was interested in the fellow then she would break from the group of girls and walk alone with him, the couples following behind the two groups. At the end of the evening, the two would either rejoin their respective group and go home, or might walk home together. It would then be said that so-and-so "had" so-and-so. If the girl was not interested then she simply pulled her shoulder away.

In addition, many of the games and activities in the repertoire were competitive and involved the display and development of physical and manual dexterity, agility, balance and strength--qualities that were valued and seen as important for adult life in the community. With this in mind, activities such as Walking the Fences, Shinnying Pans, pulling on the Lady Stick, and the various Store Games and Tests of Agility and Strength with a broomstick aided in the acquisition of these qualities. At the same time, however, it needs to be emphasized that, due to the labour-intensive nature of work in the community, children started to learn practical work skills at a relatively early age. Certainly by the time a child reached the age of thirteen, and most likely before this, he or she would be expected to do his or her share of the various work that needed to be done for the household, be it "at the fish," or "at the garden," or "around the house." This being so, the fabric of a child's experience appears to have been interwoven with both play and increasing work responsibilities as he or she matured.[134]

While the games for this period, for the most part, required some type of equipment, it was generally homemade from materials that were available within the community--such as sticks from the wood pile, or pieces of tanned sealskin, or

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[134] One of my older informants told me that as he was coming in from fishing one time with his father, they met one of his toy sailboats headed for "the Labrador."

lead from a cod-jigger caste in a gunball mould. Except for
the sealskin bandy balls and footballs, and the leaden marbles
which required an adult's expertise, most of this equipment
was made by the children themselves. This use of homemade,
and therefore inexpensive, equipment is perhaps indicative of
the poverty that existed in the community in the first part of
the century which did not show any significant signs of
improvement until after the Depression. While it may also say
something about parent's attitudes towards purchasing such
items, and the general community's attitude towards self-
reliance and resourcefulness, there was generally little extra
money at hand for such things during this period anyway. The
rare store-bought item or piece of equipment during this
period was the sponge ball which came to replace the sealskin
ball in Bandy Ball and Rounders. This item, I was told, was a
typical gift for a boy at Christmas, and would have to be
purchased in Flower's Cove, as there was no local shop in
Savage Cove until the 1940s.

Turning to the classification and character of the game
repertoire of the community during this period,[135] using
Caillois's classification, the games and pastimes listed in
the repertoire are as follows:

> 18 competition/ludus
>
> 8 and [1] vertigo/ludus

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[135] See Chapter One, pages 4-9.

        8 and [1] vertigo/paidia

        4 competition/paidia

        2 simulation/paidia

        1 chance/ludus

        0 chance/paidia

        0 simulation/ludus

Adding these numbers gives a total of forty-three even though
there are only thirty-nine games reported for the period.
This is because, as mentioned above, certain games fit more
than one category—a feature we will see as clasification is
examined. The games that were described as "big" games
(namely Bandy Ball, Button Button, Copy House, Football, Hide-
n-Go-Seek, Marbles, Quoits, Scout, Tiddly, and the various
Ring Games: Farmer in the Dale, Go In and Out the Window, King
William, Lazy Mary, Little Sally Saucer, London Bridge, and
Wally Wally Wallflower) breakdown as follows:

        8 vertigo/ludus

        7 competition/ludus

        1 chance/ludus

        1 simulation/paidia

    With Georges's model, the games listed in the repertoire
fall into the following categories:

        19 competition: game/physical skill and dexterity

        12 no competition: nongame/[physical skill and

                                        dexterity]

9 no competition: nongame/role-playing and

imitation

2 and [1] competition: game/strategy

1 no competition: nongame/chance

This gives a total of forty-four. Viewing the list of "big"
games (see above), these fall into the following categories:

8 no competition: nongame/role-playing and

imitation

6 competition: game/physical skill and dexterity

1 no competition: nongame/chance

1 competition: game/strategy

1 no competition: nongame/[physical skill and

dexterity]

When looking at Sutton-Smith's classification system,
the breakdown is as follows:

23 category K/games of skill

15 category C/informal games

8 category F/rhythmic games

7 category A/singing games

[5] category H/teasing activities

3 category E/chasing games

1 category D/leader games

1 category G/games of chance

1 category J/parlor games

0 category B/dialogue games

Adding these numbers gives a total of sixty-four, with the "big" games fallinf into the following categories:

          7 category F/rhythmic games

          7 category A/singing games

          7 category K/games of skill

          2 category C/informal games

          1 category E/chasing games

          1 category G/games of chance

Using Sutton-Smith's developmental synopsis for the total repertoire, the games fall into the following groups:

          26 individual skills games

          7 choral games

          7 team: singing games

          6 team: cooperative group games

          5 and [1] central-person: limelight role games

          1 and [2] team: simplified sport

          2 team: pack versus pack

          2 central-person: fearsome "He" games

          1 central-person: dominating figure game
          0 central-person: maintain position or scapegoat

                                                            games

Of the "big" games described, these can be classified thus:

          7 choral games

          7 central-person: limelight role games

          7 team: singing games

    5 individual skills games

    3 team: cooperative group games

    2 central-person: fearsome "He" games

    2 team: pack versus pack

    1 team: simplified sport

Given these classifications, it can be seen that the repertoire consists primarily of games which involve competition and "arbitrary, purposely tedious conventions," that achievement in the largest group of games is determined by physical skill and dexterity, and that the structure of the largest group of games is based on the action of a specific skill. Moreover, from a developmental standpoint, the largest group of games in the repertoire encourages and promulgates the development of individual skills.

The next largest group are those which involve vertigo and both "free improvisation" and "arbitrary conventions." Achievement in these non-competitive activities is for the most part determined by some type of physical skill and dexterity or by role-playing and imitation. Using Sutton-Smith's terms, these games and activities generally take the structural form of Informal games, Rhythmic games, Singing games, Teasing activities or Leader games, and developmentally represent Choral games, Team singing games, Team cooperative group games, or Central-person games in which a player takes a limelight role, represents a dominating figure who controls

the moves that the others can make or represents a fearsome "He" character.

The least represented group of games in the repertoire for this period are competitive games which involve "free improvisation," and non-competitive games which involve simulation and "free improvisation" or chance and "arbitrary convention." With these games, physical skill and dexterity, role-playing and imitation or chance determine achievement, and they take the structural form of Informal games or Games of chance. With respect to Sutton-Smith's developmental synopsis, these games represent individual skills games, team cooperative group games, and central-person games in which either a central person takes a limelight role or represents a fearsome "He" character.

As for the list of "big" games, it appears to confirm the game preference of the community indicated above. This is especially so if one views the various Ring Games as variations of a single game--as seemed to be indicated by my informants when offering this list. Also, while imitation and chance games appear to be ranked above other types in the total repertoire, they still appear as the least popular of the "big" games--possibly suggesting their true ranking with respect to the overall preference of the community.
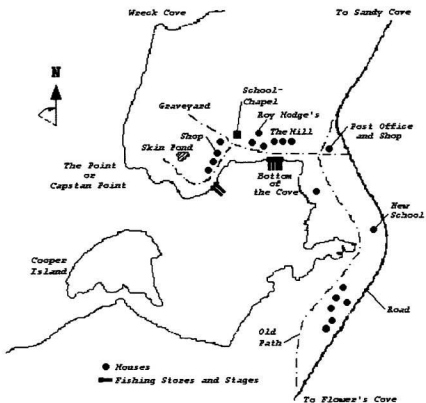
Map 4: Rough Map of Savage Cove 1935-1965

CHAPTER V: GAMES BETWEEN 1935-65

The period between the 1940s and the 1960s in Savage
Cove is marked by profound change and improvement. Until the
end of the Second World War, the effects of the Depression
were still being felt. With Confederation in 1949, however,
the standard of living began to improve as a result of the
various social programs which then became available. During
the 1940s and early 1950s, two shops were opened by residents
in the community. Also, in the early 1940s, the first radios
in the community were purchased, further linking it to world
events. By 1953, there was a mail service in the community,
and a telephone line connected to the Flower's Cove telegraph
office. By 1966, all residents of Savage Cove were provided
with electricity by a diesel generator in Flower's Cove. With
respect to transportation, during the late 1940s and early
1950s, the first snowmobiles were bought. These eventually
supplanted the dog team as the winter mode of transportation.
By the late 1950s, local roads were good enough for the first
pick-up trucks to be purchased, and in 1962, the highway, a
dirt road, was completed, connecting the communities in the
Straits to Deer Lake and the rest of the Island.

For the most part, however, the day-to-day life of the
community throughout this period remained the same except for
some notable changes in the fishery and education. In the
early 1960s, outboard motors came on the scene, and by the

late 1960s, the first gillnetters and longliners were being used. In addition, by the late 1960s, fishermen stopped salting and drying their own catch, and instead sold it fresh to local processors. With respect to education, in 1954, a new two-room school was opened in the community, and in 1960, the Canon J. T. Richards Memorial Central High School opened in Flower's Cove.[136]

Children's lives remained relatively the same as during the last period. Children still attended school for most of the year, and played between the breaks from school or in the evenings or after chores were done; however, the opening of the new school effectively moved the playing field for some of the games. Also, adult involvement in the leisure-time activities of children started during this period through the school's physical education curriculum and children's organizations, such as the Junior Red Cross.

Obviously, all of these events together mark the slow evolution of the community from relative dearth to relative

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[136] Given these dates, my informants for this time period did not all share the same school experience. For example, my oldest informant for this period, finished her schooling before 1954. The next oldest finished her schooling before 1960. A couple of informants started school before 1954 and finished after 1960, while the rest started their schooling after 1954. This being so, the area referred to, when different informants say they played "by the school," is somewhat confusing. Regardless, in my discussion, "by the school" generally refers to the community school on the south side of the cove built in 1954.

prosperity. At the same time, this evolution is reflected in various ways in the games the children played.

The following presents the repertoire of games and pastimes found in the community between 1935 and 1965,[137] and once again represents games learned by children from other children, except where noted. Using the same approach as was adopted in Chapter Four,[138] fifty-four games have been listed in alphabetical order so the chapter may serve as an index.

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GENERAL:

 BALL-IN-A-LINE,[139] sometimes called BASEBALL-IN-A-LINE, was a game played by boys roughly between the age of twelve and fourteen during the summer and fall, and was usually played by the school or "over on the hill behind Roy Hodge's house." It required a sponge ball, a number of bats, and two

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[137] The information used in this chapter was obtained through interviews with Hazel (Applin) Way, Edith (Applin) Coles, Hubert Genge, Miriam (Coles) Genge, Albert Coles, George Way, Earle Way, Terry Coles, Nancy (Genge) Coles, Matthew Coles, Margaret (Genge) Coles, George Coles, Barry Coles and George Henry Coles.

[138] Besides the rules and play of each game, I describe the gender and age of the participants for each game, the equipment used, the time during the day and year when each was played, where they were played in the community, and any other useful contextual data. Again, each game is classified according to the classification systems offered by Caillois, Georges and Sutton-Smith as outlined in Chapter One. All of this information, the social reality, the game descriptions and the three classifications serve as the basis for my analysis at the end of the chapter.

[139] This game was also referred to as Baseball by some of my informants.

bases. Any type of round stick or picket served as a bat, and the ball was store-bought. After the two bases were placed approximately 100 feet apart, two teams were chosen. Two players from one team would stand at each of the two bases while the rest of their teammates spread themselves around out in the field. Meanwhile, the other team lined up between the two bases, each player equipped with a bat. The object of the game was for the two players on the bases to hit the players lined up on the other team with the ball. When a player was hit, he was out. At the same time, the players from the other team would try to avoid getting hit by batting the ball out into the field. If the players in the field could catch the ball before it touched the ground, then the player who hit it was out. If not the game continued. Once everyone on the team "at bat" was out, the other team had their turn "at bat."[140]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.[141]
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting,
> pitching, running. Individual skills
> game. Team game, cooperative group game.
> ***

BANDY BALL, alternately referred to as BAT BALL, BASEBALL, or simply BALL, was a game for both boys and girls

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[140] This game was not played by my older informants during this period.
[141] This game is possibly a local variation of Bandy Ball.

between twelve and fourteen years of age[142] played during the summer and fall. It was usually played by the school, or "up behind Roy Hodge's" on the top of the hill, and required a sponge ball, a bat, and two bases. As for the equipment and rules of play, they were essentially the same as in the preceding chapter, except now a store-bought sponge ball was always used, and, in some cases, if the batter missed the third pitch, rather than being out, he could run for the second base. Also, there was no scoring in this version of the game, and a side would simply keep playing until they were out.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting,
>   pitching running. Individual skills game.
>   Team game, cooperative group game [simplified
>   sports].

<div align="center">***</div>

BARREL HOOPS was a game for boys and girls, though played more by boys, between ten and thirteen years old. It required two posts and a number of barrel hoops and was played outdoors during the summer. It could be played with as few as two players, one on each side, or as many as eight. Each player had a number of hoops, and the posts were set in the ground approximately twenty feet apart. The object of the game was to stand at one post and toss the hoop over the other

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[142] One informant told me that he did not play this game after he started high school.

one. If one team kept "ringing" the post then the other team would have to wait until they missed to get a turn. Other than this, I was unable to discover any specific rules as to scoring or how the game was won, even though one informant said that this game was played quite often.[143]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, pitching.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

BASKETBALL was a game for both boys and girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen played during the school year as a part of gym class in the high school gymnasium in Flower's Cove. In the class, the children were taught the official rules of the game by the teacher, and played it in that manner. The mention of this organized sport by one of my younger informants, born in 1956, marks the first instance where adults, through the school curriculum, were responsible for introducing new non-traditional games into the repertoire of children in Savage Cove. Up to this point, the games were learned directly from older children.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category J/Parlor games, indoor
>   games for special occasions| Category K/Games
>   of skill, dribbling, running. Individual

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[143] Although this game is very similar to the game of "Quoits" described in the previous chapter, none of my informants for this period were familiar with this term. When I described the game to them, they invariably called it "Barrel Hoops."

skills game. Team game, simplified sports.

***

BAT BALL was a game for both boys and girls between twelve and fourteen years of age played during the summer and fall. It was usually played by the school, or "over on the hill," and required a sponge ball, a bat, and four bases. In essence, Bat Ball was the local version of American Baseball, as indicated by one informant, except once again, the runner had to be struck with the ball in order to be out. While the game appears to be exactly the same as Rounders mentioned in Chapter Four, none of my informants for this time period had knowledge of the earlier name.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.[144]
> Georges: Game/Physical Skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of Skill, hitting, throwing, running. Individual skills game. Team game, cooperative group game [simplified sports].

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BLACK CAT was a game for boys approximately twelve to fifteen years old played during the summer in the fishing "stages," and required no equipment. The game needed five players, one to stand in each of the four corners of the room,

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[144] While Bat Ball appears to be exactly the same as Rounders described in Chapter Four, none of my informants for this time period had knowledge of this earlier name. For this reason, I have treated Bat Ball as an entirely new game even though I would assume that it was Rounders learned from older children in the community but called by its new name by the younger children. The confusion of having two games called by the same descriptive name may account for the supplanting of the older name, Rounders.

and one to stand in the middle of the floor. The object of
the game was for the four players in the corners to change
places before the one in the middle could get to an open
corner. This involved waiting for the person in the middle to
turn his back before running, or feigning to run in order to
distract the one in the middle so two of the others might
change places.[145]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity
>   [strategy].
> Sutton-Smith: [category H/Teasing activities]|
>   Category K/Game of skill, running. Individual
>   skills game. Central person game, scapegoat.
> ***

BOATS was a game for both boys and girls between the
ages of five and nine played during the summer in Skin Pond on
the "Point." Either the children themselves, or their
fathers, would "sharpen out" a piece of board to form the bow
of the boat and a nail would be driven in to attach the
painter. The biggest part of the game was pretending to be
"at the fish" like the adult:

> So, we'd have our wharves down there . . . a
> little wharf each. . . . We put our, carry our
> bags, brin bag over on this side of the pond and ah

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[145] This game was definitely not played by one of my
female informants. At the same time, it was only described to
me by one informant who spent his early childhood in the
nearby community of Green Island Brook, before moving to
Savage Cove around the age of ten. This causes me to conclude
that either this was solely a boy's game or that my informant
was recounting a "Green Island Brook" game.

. . . that was called Labrador, see. We was comparing here to over across the Straits, see, . . . for the men. So we, we would call this "over the Labrador" . . . . We'd put our bag across the brook there to catch all the minnows that was coming down through the brook [laughs] . . . . So, we'd come over, we'd say we'd come over to "tuck the trap." Tuck it and carry it back, and then we split . . . and salt them then. Boy, at the end of the summer you'd have a real little bulk of it, minnows, ay, split . . . just like a little bulk of cod fish . . . .

When the brook's low in the summertime, . . . [the minnows] didn't get any chance to get out. So, they'd be trapped, then you'd catch them easy, there in the brook. You'd make a real good catch. You could land your voyage in one evening [laughs] . . . .

[We'd] carry them in the boats. We might say, ah, sometimes we'd say, well, three fish, three "minnies" is a quintal . . . . We'd come in and, say we had . . . thirty, well, we had ten quintal . . . .

"How many'd you get?"

"Ten quintal."

You wouldn't say the number because that'd sound .
. . too small, you know. We tried to make out like
it was cod fish, ay. Tried to pretend that we was
fishing like the bigger people . . . . That's what
it was. That was the main aim . . . .[146]

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
>   games, play objects. Team game, cooperative
>   group game.[147]

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BUTTON BUTTON was a game for both boys and girls between
the ages of ten and thirteen. It was played indoors in the
houses on bad winter days "when you couldn't get out," but
mostly it was played in school during recess and dinner time.
The rules of play were the same as those described in the
preceding chapter, except I found a discrepancy for this time
period when it comes to the treatment of the person who
guesses wrongly. My older informants for this period agreed
that the person gets hit with a belt as described in the last
chapter, while one of my younger informants said that the
person is simply out of the game.

> Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Chance.

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[146] From a tape-recorded interview with Matthew Coles,
August 1992.
[147] Sutton-Smith's classification is based on
developmental considerations. Given the descriptive phrases
applied to the game of Boats, one would think that they are
the "lessons" being learned, ie., cooperation and working
towards a common goal.

Sutton-Smith: Category G/Games of chance, guessing
games| Category J/Parlor games, indoor games
for special occasions. Central person game,
fearsome "He" character.
***

CLUMMIN' was a game or pastime for boys and men from
fourteen or fifteen up to their thirties. Essentially, this
pastime was the same during this period as in the last.
Generally an outdoor activity, it may take place at any time
of the year. It did not matter how you put the other fellow
down on the ground, either draw him in around the back or trip
him. It was described as "all rough and tumble."[148]

Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
wrestling. Individual skills game.
***

COPY HOUSE was a game for both boys and girls roughly
five to eight years old which was played during the summer
months, in essentially the same way and place as described in
the previous chapter.

Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
games, play objects. Team game, cooperative
group game.

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[148] Although one informant said that for the winner, it
"was just the same as if Cassius Clay got the world
championship," some other informants left the impression that
they did not think much of this activity nor of those who were
always at it.

COWBOYS or COWBOYS AND INDIANS was a game mostly for boys between the ages of eight and thirteen played outdoors around the community during the summer. Usually, a stick would serve as a gun, and the boy's pocket would serve as a holster. Sometimes, I was told, they even had a "western hat." The game involved dividing into two groups, the "Cowboys" and the "Indians," and then pretending to shoot those individuals in the other group:

> You had to look . . . to see who was [makes shooting noise] shooting, and then, if it was you, then down you go . . . . You didn't miss, . . . whoever you aimed at, then they was dead, shot.

By the late 1950s, the first movies had been shown in the community, and by the 1960s, there was a local movie house operated by a resident. Most of the shows were Westerns, and, in particular, films starring "Hopalong Cassidy" (affectionately known as "Hoppy") and "California." The game involved imitating the action and "shoot outs" in these movies.

> Caillois: Simulation [competition]/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative game, play objects. Team game, pack versus pack, cooperative group game.
> ***

    <u>DRIVING TRUCKS</u>[149] was a game or pastime for both boys and
girls roughly between five and eight years old and required a
barrel hoop or an old bicycle rim with the spokes removed and
a wire driver fashioned from aluminum "telephone" wire.[150]
While a barrel hoop would serve the purpose, I was told that,
if a child was "lucky," he had a bike rim because they were
more sturdy and considered the best. The driver was made from
a piece of aluminum wire approximately two feet long and a
quarter inch in diameter with a "U" bent into one end of it
approximately two inches deep and two inches wide. The
remainder of the piece of wire ran back from one of the arms
of the "U" and perpendicular to it, so that a child, holding
on to the other end of the driver in one hand, could slip the
rim into the "U" and set it rolling by pushing it from behind
with the driver. The other end of the wire was doubled back
to form a handle approximately four inches long.

    I was told that this toy was very popular. One might
hear "fifteen or twenty" of them "going around the harbour,"
and if a child was lucky enough to have a bike rim, the child
would look after it. Children would drive their "trucks" to

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    [149] Although I list this activity by the name "Driving
Trucks," I found that there was no one definitive name for it.
It was also referred to as "Pretending You Were a Car" and
"Rolling Hoops."
    [150] One informant told me that he believed the first boy
to use the aluminum wire driver was a local fellow, a couple
of years older than himself, who lived right along side the
"telephone wire," and who made them for the other boys.

school, and hide them under the school during class so no one else would find them. After school, they would drive back home again. A big part of the play was running with the wheel on the dirt road in the community to create a dust cloud, and thus imitate the real cars and trucks passing along the high road on the south side of the community. Also, while this game appears to be quite similar to Rolling Barrel Hoops mentioned in Chapter Four, none of my informants for this time period used this name when referring to the present game.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.[151]
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
>   game, play objects. Individual skills game.
>   ***

DUCK ON A ROCK was a game for boys and girls approximately between twelve and fifteen years old and was played in the same manner as described in the previous chapter.[152]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, pitching.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

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[151] The name change marks a change in the nature of the game, and defines it now as imitative.
[152] Although some of my informants remembered playing this game, their details on it were sketchy, leaving me with the impression that this game was not played as often. At the same time, informants told me that they spent a lot of time throwing rocks, sometimes at different targets, such as bottles and cans, set on a boulder.

FOOTBALL was a game for both boys and men eighteen and older, and for teenage girls between thirteen and nineteen. During this period, the boys and men always played together and against each other, while the girls always played together and against each other. Between 1935 and 1965, the game was played in the same way, place and time of year as described in the previous chapter. The one exception was that the ball was no longer homemade; instead a store-bought soccerball was always used. Also, a big part of playing the game in the community was preparing for "Football matches" in the spring against the other neighbouring communities. This was also true for the girls who, I was told, would sometimes play against the girls from the neighbouring community of Sandy Cove.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, kicking, running. Team game, pack versus pack [simplified sports].
> ***

FOUR FEATHER FLYERS were homemade darts made by boys between the ages of approximately seven and thirteen. They were made and used in the same way during this period as described in the previous chapter.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and dexterity.[153]

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[153] This game might involve direct competition between two players, or be done as a solitary pursuit.

Sutton-Smith: Category K/Game of skill, throwing.
Individual skills game.
***

<u>HIDE-N-BLIND TOUCH</u> was a game for both boys and girls
between the ages of six and twelve years old. It was played
outdoors during the summer, and in essence was the same as
Hide-n-Go-Seek described in the last chapter, but with a
couple of notable exceptions. In Hide-n-Go-Seek, one person
is chosen to be "it," then the others go and hide. In order
to get the others out, the person who is "it" has to see and
identify the one who is hiding; however, in Hide-n-Blind
Touch, once a hiding player is identified, the one who is "it"
must touch that player, before the player gets "home," in
order to get him out. Also, there is no rhyme repeated by
the person who is it; instead, the person counts up to a
certain number and then says: "I'm ready, I'm coming."[154] One
of my younger informants for this period offered the following
counting out rhymes as the ones most often used for choosing
who would be "it":

1. Ittle ottle blue bottle   2. Ink pink

   Ittle ottle out;   Pudding stink

   If you want a piece of bread   Dirty fingers out.

   Just step out.

---

[154] This game was not played by my older informants during
this period. The similarity between Hide-n-Blind Touch and
Hide-n-Go-Seek, which was sometimes called Hide-n-Blind in the
previous period, leads me to believe that it may simply be a
later variation of the earlier game.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.[155]
> Georges: Game/Strategy, Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing Games| Category
>   K/Games of skill, running, hiding. Central
>   person game, fearsome "He" character.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

<u>HIDE-N-GO-SEEK</u> was a game for both boys and girls

between seven and thirteen years old played during the summer.

It was played "over on the hill" and in the "bottom" of the

cove around the stages. During this period, the game remained

the same as that described in the previous chapter,[156] except

the rhyme has a slight variation:

Hide-n-go-seek for all the week except Sunday

Sunday is the holy day and so is Easter Monday

Up she goes and down she falls

Hided or not, I'm coming, gone.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, running,
>   hiding. Central person game, fearsome "He"
>   character. Individual skills game.
>   ***

---

[155] It is quite possible, given the similarity, that this game developed as a variation of Hide-n-go Seek, and is therefore questionable as far as being a new game.

[156] As in the last period, it was indicated that the older boys and girls during this period might take the opportunity presented during this hiding game to be alone. In one interview I conducted with a man and his wife, when I asked about Hide-n-Go Seek, the wife replied with a grin: "Ask him about the girls."

and the order in which the others would follow. After this,
the first player started by standing at square one and tossing
his or her stone into it. This had to be done without the
stone touching any of the lines, for if it did, that player's
turn was over and the next one took his or her turn.

Figure 5.1:
```
            --- ---
           | 7 | 8 |
            --- ---
             | 6 |
            --- ---
           | 4 | 5 |
            --- ---
             | 3 |
             ---
             | 2 |
             ---
             | 1 |
             ---
```
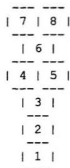
When the stone was successfully tossed, the player proceeded
to hop through the sequence. This had to be done without
stepping on any of the lines. First, he or she hopped over
square one and landed on one foot in square two. He or she
then hopped from square two to square three on the same foot.
From square three, he or she hopped to squares four and five,
landing on two feet with one in each of the squares. Next, he
or she hopped into square six, landing on one foot, and then
to squares seven and eight on two feet, one in each square.
The player then jumped up and spun around 180 degrees, landing
with one foot in each of squares seven and eight again. He or
she then proceeded back through the sequence in the same
manner as he or she came, using two feet in double squares and

one foot in single squares until he or she landed in square two, where he or she balanced on the one foot, bended and picked up his or her stone in square one, then hopped into square one and then out. Once this trip through the sequence was successfully completed, the player continued his or her turn by tossing his or her stone into the next square. He or she then proceeded to hop through the sequence again, hopping over the square that he or she had tossed his or her stone into, and stopping on the way back before the square the stone was in to bend and pick it up. The play continued in this way until the player had successfully tossed and retrieved his or her stone from all eight squares. Once this was achieved, the player stood back on to the sequence and tossed his or her stone over his or her shoulder, aiming for any one of the eight squares. If the player's stone landed on a line or missed the sequence all together, then he or she was out and the next player took his or her turn. However, if he or she was successful in landing the stone in one of the squares, he or she then marked that square with an "X" to show his or her ownership, and he or she was the only player allowed to step in it. Also, he or she could put both feet into this square.

The play continued with this player attempting to go all the way through the sequence again, starting at square one. Each time he or she was successful in advancing through all eight squares, he or she got a chance to toss the stone over

his or her shoulder and claim a square. The object of the game was to claim all of the squares, or to claim so many that the other players could not continue.

I was told that this was a popular game, and that it was best played in the springtime, when the ground was "sogged wet," for not only could the sequence be easily drawn in the mud, but the tossed stones would not slide as much and, instead, would "pitch" in the mud.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hopping.
> Individual skills game.
> ***

JUMPING ROPE or SKIPPING ROPE was a summer activity for both boys and girls up to thirteen years old, and was played by the houses. It required a piece of rope approximately twenty to twenty-five feet long. For the most part, this activity was the same as in the last period, in that there was no rhyme recited, and two children swung the rope while the others took turns, one at a time, jumping over it.[160] If the one in the middle stopped the rope, then his turn was over. One slight variation mentioned for this period was that

---

[160] One of my younger male informants reserved the term "skipping rope" to refer solely to the activity of jumping rope while saying corresponding rhymes. He was the only one for this period to mention skipping rhymes but could not remember any of them, adding that skipping rope was mostly a girl's game.

sometimes two would get in and hold onto one another, and see
if they could jump the rope together.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category F/Rhythmic games| Category
>   K /Games of skill, jumping. Individual skills
>   game.

<div align="center">***</div>

LADY STICK was a game for boys and men roughly ten years
old and up, played in the store or in the house, and was
basically as described in the last chapter. It was a test of
strength between the two opponents, and the trick element,
letting go of the stick and sending your opponent back on his
"poll," was a big part of my informants' descriptions.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity
>   [strategy].
> Sutton-Smith: [category H/Teasing activities,
>   physical tricks]| Category K/Games of skill.
>   Individual skills game.

<div align="center">***</div>

LAST TOUCH was a game for both boys and girls up to
thirteen years old, and was played the same way as described
in the preceding chapter. Any number of children could be
involved in this game at the one time, but basically one would
torment the other by getting the "last touch" on him.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games| [category
>   H /Teasing activities]| Category K/Games of
>   skill, running. Individual skills game.

<div align="center">***</div>

MARBLES was a game for both boys and girls up to thirteen years old. It was played in the same places and manner, and with the same equipment as described in the last chapter The only differences in the game between the last period and this one are that some of the steps are in a different order, and that some informants said they omitted certain steps, such as Washing, Ringing, Ironing, Scrubbing, Milking, and Straining, when they played.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.[61]
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   K/Games of skill. Individual skills game.
>   ***

MAY I was a game for both boys and girls between the ages of five and eight, and required no equipment. It was played in much the same manner as described in the previous chapter with a few slight differences. For this period, the game was mostly played outdoors by the houses during the spring, and two lines marked on the ground delineated the playing field. The person who calls the steps for the others is "back on" to them, and this being so, a big part of the game was trying to sneak up on the caller without being caught. If a player was caught, he must go back to the

---

[61] This game may or may not be competitive, as it was sometimes played when a child was alone.

starting line.[162] I was also told that this game was not

played frequently by children.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central
>   person directs the moves the others make as
>   they compete for central person role. Central
>   person game, dominating maternal figure or
>   leader.
>   ***

RED ROVER was a game for both boys and girls between ten

and fifteen years old, and was played outdoors during the

summer. It was played in the same way as described in the

Chapter Four except that during this period the children

usually ran around their houses.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games, central
>   person does the chasing| Category K/Games of
>   skill, running. Individual skills game.
>   ***

RIDING or SLIDING was a winter pastime for both boys and

girls roughly between seven and seventeen years old.

Essentially, it was as described for the preceding period, and

done in the same part of the community on "carryalls" or

store-bought sleighs.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play object, seasonal
>   activities. Team game, cooperative group,

----

[162] This game was called MOTHER MAY I by my younger
informants for this period. In their descriptions of the
game, the phrase "Mother may I" is used instead of "May I."

players work for a common result.
***

RIDING HORSES was a summer activity for boys
approximately fourteen to sixteen years old, and done in the
same way as described in the last chapter.

>   Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
>   Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
>   Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play object, seasonal
>   activities| Category K/Games of skill.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

RING GAMES:

FARMER IN THE DALE was a ring game for both boys and
girls roughly between the age of seven and thirteen, and was
played during the summer. It required no equipment. It was
played outdoors "over on the hill," and was played in exactly
the same manner as described in the last chapter.

>   Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
>   Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.[163]
>   Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
>   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
>   person game, limelight. Team game, team
>   singing game.
>   ***

GO IN AND OUT THE WINDOW was a ring game for both boys
and girls roughly between the age of seven and thirteen. It
was played outdoors during the summer "over on the hill," and

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[163] This is how Georges classifies this game, and though
it is a role-playing game to some degree, I have to question
the propriety of classifying it as an imitative game.

required no equipment. All but one of the children would join
hands forming a circle, and sing:

> Go in and out the window, go in and out the window,
>
> Go in and out the window, 'til the iron gates are
>
> > > locked.

While this was being sung, the child who was not part of the
circle would reeve in and out between the children forming the
circle. Next, the children forming the circle would sing:

> Go up and down the ladder, go up and down the ladder,
>
> Go up and down the ladder, 'til the iron gates are
>
> > > locked.

While this was being sung, the child would be in the ring, and
walk back and forth from one edge of the circle to the other.
Next, the children forming the circle would sing:

> Kneel down and face your true love, kneel down and
>
> > > face your true love,
>
> Kneel down and face your true love, 'til the iron
>
> > > gates are locked.

While this was being sung, the child in the middle would pick
one person from the circle and kneel down in front of them.
Unfortunately, it is at this point that my informants'
descriptions of the game break down, and I was unable to

discover any more about it, what happened next, or how it ended.[164]

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
>   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
>   person game, limelight. Team game, team
>   singing game.

<div align="center">***</div>

GREEN GRAVEL was a ring game for both boys and girls between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the summer "over on the hill," and required no equipment. The children would join hands and form a ring, singing:

On the green gravel the grass grows green,

Many a turn, many is seen;

Dressed in silk and washed in milk,

Last one down tell true lover.

At this point, everyone in the ring dropped to the ground. The last child to drop down had to then get in the centre of the ring and close his or her eyes while those in the ring stood up and quietly circle. The child in the middle with his or her eyes closed had to then go and take one person from the

---

[164] It is interesting to note that the description of the game for this period is somewhat different than that given for the last period. Although it is noteworthy that for this period only one child did the actions, while a number of children did them in the last period, it is perhaps less important than the fact that this description seems to suggest that the game was a kissing game, given that a player has to pick out his "true love." In both cases, my ability to provide a complete and accurate description of the game is tempered by my informants' memories.

ring into the middle with him or her. With these two in the middle of the ring, the children forming the circle then started over again, repeated the verse, and dropped to the ground at the appropriate time. The last to drop down this time, once again, closed his or her eyes and selected someone from the ring so that there were now four in the middle. The game was repeated until the ring of children was too small to circle those in the middle.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
> game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
> accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
> person game, limelight. Team game, team
> singing game.

                    ***

KING WILLIAM, also called KING EDWARD by one informant, was a ring game for both boys and girls between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the summer "over on the hill," and required no equipment. During this period, it was played in the same way as described in the last chapter; however, in addition, the child in the middle was supposed to have eyes closed so as not to see who was being chosen. The existence of this rule elicited stories from my informants of players peeking so that they would choose the right person. Also, some of my younger informants for this period said that they did not remember playing this game.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle

game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
person game, limelight. Team game, team
singing game.

***

LAZY MARY was a ring game for both boys and girls
between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the summer
"over on the hill," and required no equipment. The children
would form a ring with one child in the middle who pretended
to be in bed. They all would sing:

Lazy Mary will you get up, will you get up,

Will you get up;

Lazy Mary will you get up, will you get up today.

To which the child in the middle would respond:

Oh no, my mother, I won't get up, I won't get up,

I won't get up;

Oh no, my mother, I won't get up, I won't get up today.

I was unable to discover specifically what those forming the
ring sang next; however, I was told that, in essence, "Lazy
Mary" was offered different foods for breakfast, dinner and
supper to entice her to get up. One example I was given for
breakfast is "cold water and a crack of hard bread." "Mary"
refuses everything that is offered until offered "a nice young
man with rosy cheeks." The game ends with "Lazy Mary"
singing:

Oh yes, my mother, I will get up, I will get up,

I will get up;

Oh yes, my mother, I will get up, I will get up today.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
> game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
> accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
> person game, limelight. Team game, team
> singing game.
> ***

LITTLE SALLY SAUCER was a ring game for both boys and
girls between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the
summer "over on the hill," which required no equipment. It
was played in the same way as described in the last chapter;
however, as in King William, the one in the middle was
supposed to have eyes closed so as not see who is being
chosen. Once again, some players might peek in order to
choose the right person from the ring.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
> game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
> accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
> person game, limelight. Team game, team
> singing game.
> ***

LONDON BRIDGE was a ring game for both boys and girls
between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the summer
"over on the hill," which required no equipment. It was
played in the same way as described for the previous period,
and I was told that "apples and oranges" were always the two
choices given to the players who got trapped.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.

Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
person game, limelight. Team game, team
singing game.

***

RING AROUND THE ROSY was a ring game for both boys and
girls between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the
summer "over on the hill," which required no equipment. The
children joined hands to form a ring, and circling, they sang:

Ring around the rosy,

Pocket full o' tosy;

I saw Esau;

We all fall down.

At the word "down," all of the children would fall to the
ground, and the last one down had to go into the middle of the
ring. The game then continued in this manner, with the last
one down, each time the verse was sung, going into the middle
of the ring, until the ring was too small to circle those in
the middle.[165]

_____

[165] I was given a different version of this game by one
informant who said that, after the ring was formed, one child
got in the middle, while the others circled and sang simply:
Ring around the rosy,
Pocket full o' posy,
We all fall down.
Although he was not absolutely sure, he believed that when the
children had dropped to the ground at the word, "down," the
one in the middle would try to escape. At the same time,
those forming the ring would jump back up and try to keep the
person in the middle. Obviously this description is at
variance with the one given above; however, the informant who
offered it spent his early childhood, until he was ten, in the
nearby community of Green Island Brook which may account for

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
>   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
>   person game, limelight. Team game, team
>   singing game.[16d]
>
>   ***

    <u>WALLY WALLY WALLFLOWER</u> was a ring game for both boys and
girls between seven and thirteen years of age, played in the
summer "over on the hill," requiring no equipment.
Essentially, it was played in the same way as described in the
previous chapter; however, I was told that it was only played
rarely during this period.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
>   accompanied by chants. Choral game. Central
>   person game, limelight. Team game, team
>   singing game.
>
>   ***

GENERAL cont'd:

    <u>SCOUT</u> was a game for both boys and girls between seven
and twelve which required no equipment. It was played in the
evenings in the summer "over on the hill" after children had
finished their chores. The game during this period was set up
in essentially the same way as described in the last chapter.

---

the difference.
   [16] Note that your description for this game is very much
the same as for "Green Gravel," except that the last one down
does not choose someone from the ring. The variation given by
Earl Way described in the footnote could be described as
competitive, or Category K, and a Central person game.

Two teams would be picked, and then stand at their respective "goals" on opposite ends of the playing field. During this period, however, the two teams would take turns being the chasers. One team would leave the safety of their goal to "go for a tease," while the other team would try to catch them. The one team remained the chasers until they caught everyone on the other team and brought them back to their goal, or until the other team freed all its teammates from the other team's goal and returned them to their own goal. At this point, the two teams would change roles, with the chasers going for "a tease," and those who were chased becoming the chasers. As in the last period, the play of the game was not confined to the area between the two goals, and players could run anywhere in the community, "down through Wreck Cove," or hide in "the bottom" of the cove around the stages, to avoid being taken prisoner. Also, this game was described as the "main game" during the summer, and children would be anxious to finish their chores so they could go and play.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games| Category
>   K/Games of skill, running, Team game, pack
>   versus pack.

***

SHINNYING PANS was a game or pastime mainly for boys, although some girls did participate, between seven and thirteen years old. As in the previous period, there was no equipment for this activity other than a stick or pole which

was used to help the child jump from one pan of ice to the next, or which was used to push the pans around as if they were rafts.

As the school during this period was on the south side of the cove, informants who grew up on the north side of the community remembered shinnying pans across the cove as a shortcut both to and from school. Generally, this activity was done in the early spring, around Easter, as the ice in the cove was beginning to break up. One informant associated this pastime with the "Blue Bar" hip rubbers he would receive as a gift at Easter, so named because of a blue-coloured band around the top of the boot.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal game, seasonal
>   activities| Category K/Games of skill,
>   jumping. Individual skills game.
> ***

SKATING was a winter pastime for both boys and girls roughly between the age of six and seventeen. It was done in the same manner and place as described in the last chapter, except that during this period, most children had store-bought boot skates.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal game, seasonal
>   activities. Individual skills game.
> ***

SLINGSHOTS were employed by both boys and girls roughly between seven and ten years old during the summer in the same

manner as described for the previous period. Likewise, the same two designs were still in use.

> Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal game, activities
>   with play objects| Category K/Games of skill,
>   throwing. Individual skills game.
>   ***

SPIN THE BOTTLE was a game for both boys and girls up to approximately twelve years old played indoors in the school during the school year at Junior Red Cross meetings.[167] It required an empty bottle, and the children, sitting on the floor in a circle, would take turns spinning the bottle on its side. It was not a kissing game; instead, whomever the bottle pointed to after it had stopped spinning would take his or her turn to spin the bottle. While the Junior Red Cross was in existence throughout this period, my older informants do not remember ever playing this game.

> Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Chance.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   G/Games of chance, outcome determined by
>   factors beyond player's control| Category
>   J/Parlour games, indoor games for special
>   occasions. Central-person game, limelight.
>   ***

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[167] The Junior Red Cross was a youth group overseen by the teacher at the school under the auspices of teaching health education and, also, exposing children to the workings of organizations. For this period, it was generally a part of a child's schooling experience until entering the high school at Flower's Cove in grade seven.

SPIN TOPS were used by both boys and girls roughly between five and seven years old. They were used indoors during the winter, and were generally received from "Santa Claus" as Christmas presents. Essentially, the activity was the same as described in the last chapter, with the exception that, now, the spin tops were no longer homemade, but store-bought.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Paidia.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.[168]
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal game, activities
>   with play objects. Individual skills game.
>   ***

STILTS were a homemade toy used by both boys and girls between roughly seven and thirteen years old during the summer months. They were made and used in the same way as described in the last chapter.

> Caillois: Vertigo [competition]/Paidia.
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal game, activities
>   with play objects| Category K/Games of skill,
>   walking. Individual skills game.
>   ***

STORE GAMES AND TESTS OF AGILITY AND STRENGTH:[169]

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[168] Georges only allows two possibilities for Nongames: chance and imitation, neither of which fit the game of Spin Tops.

[169] Given the somewhat simple nature of some of the "new" games, namely Chin the Beam, Go through your Arms, and Lifting Weights over your Head, I suspect that they were likewise done between 1900 and 1935 even though they were not mentioned by my informants for that period.

Generally, as in the last chapter, the social setting or context for these games or tests of agility and strength was around the fishing stores which were both the centre of summer work and the centre of informal social gatherings for men. These pastimes were done during breaks from work or during these social gatherings.

CHIN THE BEAM was a game or pastime for boys and men from thirteen years old and up, and took place in the fishing stores during the summer. It required no special equipment, except the use of a ceiling beam in the store. Essentially, boys and men would take turn grabbing the beam with their two hands and pulling themselves up until their chins were over the beam. They would do this to see who could do it, and to see who could do the most.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, lifting. Individual skills
>   game.
>   ***

GO THROUGH YOUR ARMS was a test of agility and strength for boys and men, from thirteen years old and up, and was done in the fishing stores during the summer. The object of the game was to jump up and grab the beam with both hands and then swing your legs up, first to your chest, and then through your arms so that your knees were pointing towards the floor,

before swinging your legs back through your arms and jumping down.

>Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities   with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting. Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

LIFTING WEIGHT OVER YOUR HEAD was a game or test of strength for boys and men, from thirteen years old and up, which took place in the fishing stores during the summer. Boys and men would taken turns lifting various heavy objects in the store, such as weights from the scale, or "grapelins" or anchors, to see who could lift the most weight.

>Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, lifting. Individual skills
>   game.
>   ***

MEASURE YOUR ARM ON A BROOMSTICK AND BEND AND TOUCH THE FLOOR was a game or test of agility for boys and men, from thirteen years old and up, which took place in the fishing stores during the summer. It was done in the same manner and for the same reasons as described in the last chapter.

>Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting.Individual skills

game.

***

<u>MEASURE YOUR NOSE ON A BROOMSTICK AND GO UNDER YOUR ARM</u>

was a game or test of agility for boys and men, from thirteen
years old and up, which took place in the fishing stores
during the summer. This activity was done in the same way and
for the same reasons as described in the previous chapter.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting. Individual
>   skills game.

***

    <u>SKIN THE PUDDING</u> was a game for boys and men, from
thirteen years old and up, which took place in the fishing
stores during the summer. It was done in essentially the same
manner as described in Chapter Four, except that now, it
incorporated Go Through Your Arms. After the person had
"skinned the pudding bag" and put the garment back on, he had
to grip the beam with his hands, unhook his legs, and hang
from his arms before going "through his arms," as described
above.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting, lifting.
>   Individual skills game.

***

GENERAL cont'd:

SWIMMING was a summer activity for both boys and girls aged approximately five years and up. Swimming for the younger children might best be described as wading, which was done in a shallow fresh water pond, approximately a foot and a half deep, "on the Point." The older children, meanwhile, would swim in the salt water in the cove, and jump and dive from the wharves and stages.

>   Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
>   Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
>   Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
>   activities. Individual skills game.
>   ***

TIDDLY was a game for both boys and girls roughly seven to thirteen years old, and was played outdoors during the spring and summer on "top of the hill." It was played with the same equipment and in the same way as described for the last period.

>   Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>   Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>   Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting,
>   pitching, Individual skills game. Team Game,
>   cooperative group game.
>   ***

TUNNELS IN THE SNOW were dug by both boys and girls roughly between six and thirteen years old during the winter months. Children would dig tunnels and cubbyholes, or "little houses" with shovels in the snowbanks near the houses. Sometimes, they would form a "table" and chairs inside from the snow and burn candles. This activity involved the

building of the tunnels and the "little house," but might also
take on some of the characteristics of Copy House, mentioned
above.

>Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.[170]
>Georges: Nongame/Physical skill and dexterity,
>   [role-playing and imitation].
>Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
>   games, activities with play objects, seasonal
>   activities. Team game, cooperative group
>   game, players work for a common result.
>   ***

WALKING THE FENCES was an activity for both boys and
girls roughly between seven and thirteen years old played
during the summer. It was essentially done in the same way as
described in the last chapter. Children would balance on the
top rail of the church fence, or other fences in the community
to see who among them had the best balance. It was usually
done after chores were finished, or during breaks from work.
However, unlike in the last period, no one mentioned the
version of the game which involved walking most of the fences
in the community.

>Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
>   balancing. Individual skills game.
>   ***

---

[170] This "new" game might have been played by my
informants during the 1900-1935 period as a winter version of
Copy House, but not mentioned simply because they did not
think of it as the sort of activity I was interested in, or as
a game. At the same time, it may be that it was just not
played.

Xs AND Os was a game for both boys and girls between seven and thirteen years old played indoors in the school during recess on days when the weather was too inclement to go outside. It required a pencil or pen, and a piece of paper on which was drawn two sets of parallel lines which intersect each other at 90 degree angles (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2

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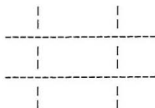
It was a game for two players, in which one would be "X" and the other "O." They would take turns marking their symbol in one of the nine "squares;" the object of the game being to claim three squares in a row, either horizontally, vertically or diagonally, before your opponent did. Either the game ended when this was achieved, or, in the case of a stalemate, when it could not be. Being a short game, it could be repeated many times during recess.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,activities
>   with play object| Category J/Parlour games,
>   indoor games for special occasions.
>   Individual skills game.

....

SUMMARY: 1935-1965

The games and pastimes listed above describe the extent of the community's children's game repertoire for the period between 1935 and 1965, and includes both the popular games, as well as those which were played less frequently. The "main game" for this period was Scout, while other "big" games included Tiddly, Bandy Ball, Football, Marbles, the various Ring Games, Hopscotch, Hide-n-Go-Seek, Boats, and Walking the Fences. Other somewhat popular games were Driving Trucks, Jumping Rope, Copy House, and Riding with the remaining games being played only occasionally or for short periods of time during specific seasons.

In some ways, children's games and pastimes, and the context of these games and pastimes, remained much the same as described in the last chapter. Most of the games in the repertoire were still competitive, and boys and girls usually played together. Furthermore, the games were generally played between breaks from school, or in the evenings, or after chores were completed, as children still attended school for most of the year, and were still expected to do their part of the various work required for the household. At the same time, however, as the community slowly evolved from relative hardship to relative prosperity as a result of Confederation and changes to transportation, education and communications,

there are signs that this evolution is reflected in the many games that were played.

With respect to the equipment used in the games during this period, it appears that purchased items became more common as more money came into the community. Games such as Bandy Ball, Football, and Skating, which during the last period often used homemade equipment, used only store-bought equipment during this period. Likewise, while a barrel hoop would suffice for the game of Driving Trucks, the remains of a purchased item, namely the rim from a bicycle, was a coveted item during this period and considered the best for this activity. This is not to say there was no adherence to tradition in the games, for this was not so. Locally cast lead marbles were still considered the best for the game of Marbles because of their weight, even though store-bought glass marbles were available. Also, the games of Tiddly and Bandy Ball continued to use sticks and fence pickets, obtained in the community. Given this, it seems apparent that certain choices were made concerning what sort of improvements were acceptable or rational, suggesting the community's attitude towards such expenditures, as well as the conservative character of its worldview at this time.

With respect to transportation, the effect of changes from 1935 onwards can be seen directly in the game of Driving Trucks. With improvements to the high road, and the increase

in the number of vehicles in the area, children mimicked what they saw by rolling wheels and stirring up clouds of dust in the summertime, just like the trucks that passed by on the road. Indirectly, the improvements to transportation in the area may have affected the repertoire for this period, as they facilitated interaction with children from neighbouring communities. This in itself may account for how some of the "new" games for this period were acquired.

Changes to education, likewise, had some effect on games during this period. With the opening of the new community school on the south side of the cove in 1954, the playing field for those games played "by the school" also moved. Also, as mentioned above, the location of this new school created a new context for the game of Shinnying Pans for those children living on the north side of the cove. With the opening of the central high school in Flower's Cove in 1960, there seems to be a corresponding change in the age range for some of the games played in the community. Seven remained the age at which a child was first allowed to wander that far from home--"over on the hill" where most of the games were played. However, unlike the previous period, when children played certain games well into their teenage years, between 1935 and 1965, most children stopped playing the games listed above

when they were thirteen, the same age that they started high school.[171]

Other notable changes to the repertoire of games for the community, seem to be somehow linked to improvements in communications during this period. The coming of movies to the area marked an addition to the types of mimetic games played. While games like Boats and Copy House continued to mimic adult life in the community, after watching "Hopalong Cassidy" movies, children began to play Cowboys which mimicked actions that came from the outside world, and a different time period. The addition of North American Ice Hockey to the repertoire also suggests a new communications link. Although I cannot say for certain how the game was introduced to Savage Cove, it is certain that Hockey was being broadcast on the radio, and this coupled with the arrival of teachers from other parts of the province may account for its beginnings.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that there were both changes in the repertoire of games between 1900-1935 and this period, as well as changes to the repertoire over the course of this period. These changes to the repertoire are reflected

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[171] As in the last period, thirteen was the age at which children began to get involved in the local courtship ritual of "walking the road." One informant told me, however, that this practice started to go out of fashion around 1960, about the same time a "restaurant" and movie theatre opened in the community. Also, I was told that during this period, they would only walk back and forth along the road on the south side of the cove, and not as far as Flower's Cove.

in subtle ways through changes to the type of equipment, through the movement of the playing field and through the subject of mimetic games, and in more fundamental ways by the addition of "new" games to the repertoire. In all cases, these "new" games were either introduced by adults and other outside influences, or were variations on games that had previously been a part of the repertoire.

As for the character of the game repertoire during this period, the classification systems offered by Roger Caillois, Robert Georges and Brian Sutton-Smith[172] help to map certain quantitative changes. According to Caillois's classification, the games and pastimes listed in the repertoire for this period breakdown as follows:

28 competition/ludus

9 and [3] vertigo/ludus

8 and [1] vertigo/paidia

3 and [2] competition/paidia

4 simulation/paidia

2 chance/ludus

0 chance/paidia

0 simulation/ludus

Adding these gives a total of sixty even though there are only fifty-four games reported for the period. This is possible because some games fit into more than one category. Of the so-

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[172] See Chapter One, pages 4-9.

called "big" games (namely Scout, Tiddly, Bandy Ball, Football, Marbles, Hopscotch, Hide-n-Go-Seek, Boats, Walking the Fences and the various Ring Games: Farmer in the Dale, Go In and Out the Window, Green Gravel, King William or King Edward, Lazy Mary, Little Sally Saucer, London Bridge, and Wally Wally Wallflower), these breakdown as follows:

> 10 vertigo/ludus
>
> 8 competition/ludus
>
> 1 simulation/paidia

It should also be noted that within this list the "main" game for this period, Scout, is competition/ludus.

Given Georges's model, the games listed in the repertoire fall into the following categories:

> 29 competition: game/physical skill and dexterity
>
> 14 no competition: nongame/role-playing and
>
>> imitation
>
> 12 no competition: nongame/[physical skill and
>
>> dexterity]
>
> 4 and [2] competition: game/strategy
>
> 2 no competition: nongame/chance

Adding these numbers gives a total of sixty-three. Of the games described as "big" games, there are:

> 10 no competition: nongame/role-playing and
>
>> imitation
>
> 7 competition: game/physical skill and dexterity

        1 competition: game/strategy

        1 no competition: nongame/[physical skill and

                                            dexterity]

    Using Sutton-Smith's classification system, the

following breakdown is found:

        32 category K/games of skill

        22 category C/informal games

        10 category F/rhythmic games

        9 category A/singing games

        6 and [3] category H/teasing activities

        4 category J/parlor games

        4 category E/chasing games

        2 category G/games of chance

        1 category D/leader games

        0 category B/dialogue games

Adding these numbers gives a total of ninety-three. Of the

games described as "big" games, there are:

        9 category F/rhythmic games

        9 category A/singing games

        8 category K/games of skill

        2 category C/informal games

        1 category E/chasing games

    Sutton-Smith's developmental synopsis reveals that there

are:

        34 individual skills games

9 and [1] central-person: limelight role games

9 choral games

9 team: singing games

9 team: cooperative group games

4 team: pack versus pack

2 and [3] team: simplified sport

3 central-person: fearsome "He" games

1 central-person: dominating figure game

1 central-person: scapegoat game

0 central-person: maintain position games

Of the "big" games described, there are:

9 choral games

9 team: singing games

8 central-person: limelight role games

6 individual skills games

3 team: cooperative group games

2 team: pack versus pack

These classifications indicate that the character of the repertoire for this period remained exactly the same as during the last period: in that the largest group of games involved competition and "arbitrary, purposely tedious conventions." Achievement with this group of games is determined by physical skill and dexterity, and the structure of these games is based on the action of a specific skill. Also, this group of games

still encourages and promulgates the development of individual skills.

Next in order of occurrence are those which involve vertigo and "arbitrary conventions," followed closely by those which involve vertigo and "free improvisation"--indicating a shift in the popularity of these games. Achievement in these non-competitive activities is still generally determined by some type of physical skill and dexterity, or by role-playing and imitation. Once again, these games and activities take the structural form of Informal games, Rhythmic games, Singing games, Teasing activities, Chasing games or Leader games, and developmentally represent Choral games, Team singing games, Team cooperative group games, or Central-person games in which a player takes a limelight role, represents a dominating figure who controls the moves that the others can make, or a Fearsome "He" character.

As during the 1900-1935 period, those competitive games which involve "free improvisation," and those non-competitive games which involve simulation and "free improvisation" or chance and "arbitrary convention" are the least represented in the repertoire. Again, physical skill and dexterity, role-playing and imitation, or chance, determine achievement, and they take the structural form of Informal games or Games of chance. Also, these games continue to represent individual skills games, team cooperative group games, and Central-person

games in which either a central person takes a limelight role or represents a fearsome "He" character.

The list of "big" games likewise continues to confirm the game preference of the community defined during the last period--especially if one bears in mind that the game Scout was described as the "main" game for this period. It is also notable that games involving chance have now been dropped from the list of "big" games. Lastly, while imitation games remain ranked above other types in the total repertoire, they are still the least popular of the "big" games.

With respect to changes in the repertoire since the 1900-1935 period, there have been quite a few new games added, two name changes and a few questionable deletions. In effect, Quoits, Rounders and Rolling Barrel Hoops, which were previously played, have now been dropped from the repertoire. No informants for the 1935-1965 period played these games or knew them by these names--even though the games Barrel Hoops, Bat Ball and Driving Trucks in the repertoire for this period are remarkably similar. This suggests that these titles might simply be more contemporary descriptions of the activities-- one referring to the equipment, one to the exact action and one to the imitative action. This also suggests the community's continued preference for these sorts of games, if not a direct traditional line of transmission. With respect to name changes, two appear to have occurred. Firstly, Bandy

Ball was now alternately referred to as Bat Ball, Baseball and
Ball. Secondly, the ring game King William was now
alternately referred to as King Edward. The alternate names
for Bandy Ball suggest contemporary descriptions of the object
of the activity, while the alternate name for King William is
the same syllabic length.

With regards to the new games, Ball-in-a-line,
Basketball, Bat Ball, Black Cat, Cowboys and Indians, Hide-n-
blind Touch, Hockey, Hopscotch, Barrel Hoops, Green Gravel,
Ring Around the Rosy, Driving Trucks, Spin the Bottle, Chin
the Beam, Go Through Your Arms, Lifting Weight Over Your Head,
Tunnels in the Snow, and Xs and Os, they mark an increase in
certain types of games in the repertoire. Employing
Caillois's classification of these eighteen games, there are:

> 12 competition/ludus
>
> 3 vertigo/ludus
>
> 2 simulation/paidia
>
> 1 competition/paidia
>
> 1 vertigo/paidia

Using Georges's model there are:

> 11 competition: game/physical skill and dexterity
>
> 5 no competition: nongame/role-playing and
>
>   imitation
>
> 3 competition: game/strategy
>
> 1 no competition: nongame/chance

    1 competition: nongame/[physical skill and

                                        dexterity]

Using Sutton-Smith's classification there are:

        11 category K/games of skill

        8 category C/informal games

        4 category H/teasing activities

        3 category J/parlor games

        2 category A/singing games

        2 category F/rhythmic games

        1 category G/games of chance

        1 category E/chasing games

In terms of Sutton-Smith's developmental synopsis, there are:

        12 individual skills games

        4 team: cooperative group games

        3 team: simplified sports

        3 central-person: limelight role games

        2 team: pack versus pack games

        2 choral games

        2 team: singing games

        1 central-person: fearsome "He" character game

        1 central-person: scapegoat game

    Given this breakdown, it is apparent that the greatest
increase in the new games occurred with games which involve
competition and "arbitrary convention" and in which
achievement is determined by physical skill and dexterity.

Structurally, these games take the form of Games of skill and from a developmental perspective represent Individual skills games. The next most notable increase occurred with games which involve vertigo and "arbitrary convention," and simulation and "free improvisation." Role-playing and imitation determine achievement in these games, and they generally take the form of Informal games, Singing games and Rhythmic games. Developmentally, these represent Cooperative group games, Limelight role games, Choral games and Team singing games. In addition, during this period there was an noteworthy increase in the number of games in which strategy determines achievement as well as the introduction of the developmental game type in which a central-person takes on a "scapegoat" role—something which was not previously found in the repertoire.

Finally, there was a marked decrease in the relative number of vertigo/ludus and vertigo/paidia games played during this period, when compared to the number of competition/ludus games. While the total of these two types equalled the number of competition/ludus games during the 1900-1935 period, during the 1935-1965 period they made up only 75% of the number of competition/ludus games. Also, while the number of vertigo/ludus games increased during this period, the number of vertigo/paidia games remained the same--indicating a

relative decrease in this game type, when compared to the total number of games in the repertoire.
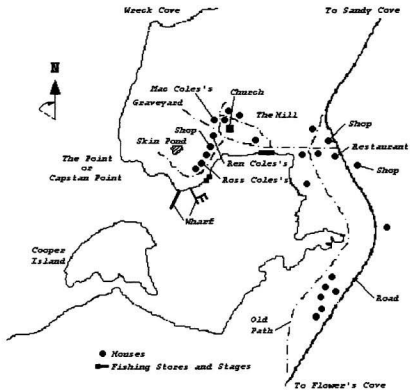
Map 5: Rough Map of Savage Cove 1965-1992

CHAPTER VI: GAMES BETWEEN 1965-92

As suggested in Chapter Three, the period between 1965
and 1992 in Savage Cove was one of continued improvement,
modernization and relative prosperity, fuelled, to a large
extent, by federal money which came to the residents as a
result of Confederation with Canada and by way of federal
transfer payments and social security programs. At the same
time, this period encompassed the modernization,
diversification and demise of the fishery in the area, as well
as some notable change in communications, transportation, and
education.

In 1966, all residents of Savage Cove were provided with
electricity for the first time. By 1970, dial telephones were
available for individual homes, and the first televisions,
receiving poor reception on the Canadian Broadcasting
Corporation (CBC) channel, arrived in the community. By the
mid 1980s, satellite dishes arrived in the area, which greatly
improved television reception and increased the number of
available channels, many of which were broadcast from the
United States. Between 1975 and 1978, the dirt highway,
connecting the communities in the Straits to Deer Lake and the
rest of the province, was paved, creating employment and
greatly improving the road as a year-round means of
transportation.

In 1971, in nearby Flower's Cove, the Straits Elementary School was opened for kindergarten to grade six students of all denominations from Eddy's Cove East to Bear Cove. Also, in 1990, the old Canon Richard's Memorial High School, which had fallen into disrepair, was replaced by a new building situated on the highway running past Flower's Cove.

With respect to the fishery, by the late 1960s, gill nets and longliners were being used to fish cod, and some fishermen were concentrating on the new scallop fishery. By the mid 1970s, otter trawls and draggers had been introduced allowing fishermen to catch more fish, and through necessity, to fish farther away from their home port for longer periods of time. By the mid 1980s, a new community wharf had been built in Savage Cove to accommodate the draggers and larger boats which now made up the majority of the fishing fleet. By 1974, fishermen had stopped salting and drying their own catch, selling it instead to a buyer in the community who processed it, salt bulk. In 1984, the fish plant in Savage Cove began filleting fresh fish, thus marking the end of commercial salt fish production in the community. Finally, throughout the 1980s, as cod quotas diminished, fishermen expanded their efforts to fish other species. That is until 1994 when a moratorium was called on the Gulf of St. Lawrence cod fishery, greatly reducing employment within the community and casting a shadow on the future of many residents.

This period also marked the greatest change in the day-to-day experience of children with respect to the amount of free time they had. Families got away from the time consuming practice of heating their homes with wood, and started to use oil and later electric heat. This development greatly reduced some of the work that children and young adults previously had to do. The change from salt fish production to fresh fish production, likewise, removed another chore which had been done by children. Lastly, over the course of this period people got away from keeping animals and vegetable gardens to the extent that they had in the past, removing another large chore for children. At the same time, television and the school's physical education curriculum came to play a greater role in children's lives. The central elementary school increased the interaction of children from neighbouring communities, while increased prosperity brought more store-bought toys and such into the community. Given these developments, it will be seen that the repertoire of games reflects the various changes during the period.

Sixty-four different games were identified which were played in the community during this time.[173] Except where noted, these consist of games learned by children from other

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[173] The information used in this chapter was obtained through interviews with Brian Coles, Rex Genge, Rod Genge, Bill Genge, Craig Sinnicks, Trudy White, Heather White, Marsha Coles, Sherry Coles, and Michelle Coles.

children, and represent children's own culture. Using the
approach previously adopted, these have been listed in
alphabetical order so the chapter may serve as an index.[174]

***

GENERAL:

BADMINTON was a game for both boys and girls roughly
between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, and was first
learned and played in school where the official game was
played indoors with opponents using badminton rackets to bat a
shuttlecock over a net, to vie for a predetermined number of
points to win. Within the community, the game was played
during the summer by boys and girls using a store-bought net
and rackets, and sometimes by boys between thirteen and
seventeen in the "big aluminum store" situated on the hill.
In the store, the boys would tie a piece of rope across the
width of the building to serve as a net and, using badminton
rackets and a shuttlecock, play the game in essentially the
same manner as they did in school.

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[174] Besides the rules and play of each game, I describe
the gender and age of the participants for each game, the
equipment used, the time during the day and year when each was
played, where they were played in the community, and any other
useful contextual data. Also, I focus on the differences
which have come about and the changes which have taken place
in these games during this period. As in the previous two
chapters, each game is classified according to the
classification systems offered by Caillois, Georges and
Sutton-Smith as outlined in Chapter One. All of this
information, the social reality, the game descriptions and the
three classifications serve as the basis for my analysis at
the end of the chapter.

Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category J/Parlor game, indoor games
   for special occasions| Category K/Games of
   skill, hitting, running. Individual skills
   game. Team game, simplified sports.
                    ***

BANDY BALL was a game mostly for boys played during the

summer on the "Point" and requiring a sponge ball and a bat.

In essence, it was played in much the same way as described in

Chapter Four, except that the bases were only placed

approximately twenty-five feet apart rather than thirty yards,

and there was the addition of a third marker, a "home run

rock," approximately forty feet from "home." If the ball were

hit past this third marker, the batter got a "home run," and

ran to the second base and back "home" unimpeded, and so

scoring a point.[175]

Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting,
   pitching, running. Individual skills
   game. Team game, [simplified sport],
   cooperative group game.
                    ***

BARREL OFF was a game for both boys and girls up to the

age of thirteen, played outdoors during the summer, which

required no equipment. It was generally played around the

---

[175] This description came from one of my younger
informants for this period. My older informants, however, did
not use the name Bandy Ball to describe this game, but
referred to it, instead, as Baseball. For my older
informants, the name Bandy Ball was an alternate name for the
game In-a-line, described below.

houses on the "Point," and started with the children first
determining who would be "it."

This was done by using the counting-out rhyme "Mickey
Mouse," in which all of the children formed a circle and put
one foot forward toward the centre. One child would then do
the counting by advancing around the circle and touching each
person's foot with his finger, as he said the rhyme. If there
were eight children playing, for example, the rhyme would go
as follows, with the numbers below representing the touch on
each child's foot:

```
Mickey Mouse built a house
1,    2,    3,      4,
How many bricks did he use?
5,  6,   7,     8,  1, 2.
```

At this point, player number two responds with a number, for
example, five. The child saying the rhyme then continues by
incorporating the number that was given into the rhyme.

```
One, Two, Three, Four, Five,
3,    4,    5,      6,     7,

And you are out of this game, Barrel Off[176]
8,  1, 2,  3,   4, 5,   6,    7,     8,

As fast as your little legs can car-ry you.
1, 2,   3, 4,    5,     6,   7, 8,  1, 2.
```

In this example, player number two would be out, and the
counting out would continue with the seven remaining players.

_____

[176] I was told that this counting-out rhyme was also used
for determining who would be the first one "it" in other
games. Whichever game was being played, the name of the game
would simply be substituted at this point in the rhyme.

On each subsequent turn of the counting-out rhyme, one player
would be put out, until the final round when only one was
left, and he would be "it" in the first game.

The game began with the person who was "it" standing at
"home," and slowly counting to "fifty by ones," as the others
went and hid. When the counting was finished, the person who
was "it" shouts:

Ready or not, you'll be caught,

Hiding in a spot or not.

The person who was "it" then went to look for the other
players who had hidden away. When someone was found, the
person who was "it" had to go back to "home" and, using the
following phrase, say the person's name and where he or she
was hiding, for example:

"One, two, three, Barrel Off on Michelle behind

the house."

After this was done, the person who was "it" tried to get the
player "out" by chasing and tagging him or her. At the same,
the player who was named tried to get "home" without getting
caught. The object of the game for the person who was "it"
was to catch all of the other players, while the object of the
game for the other players was to get back home without

getting caught. The last one to be caught was "it" in the next game.[177]

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical and skill dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games, central
>   person does the chasing| Category K/Games of
>   skill, running. Central person game, fearsome
>   "He" character. Individual skills game.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

BASEBALL was a game mostly for boys[178] up to the age of thirteen, played outdoors during the summer, requiring a bat, a baseball, and baseball gloves. It closely resembled the official game of Baseball, with three bases and a home plate, and the two opposing teams taking turns "at bat." While this game was one of the "sports" played in school, within the community it was usually played "on the hill" by the older informants, or on the "Point" by the younger. For the older informants, the game, Baseball, was sometimes played using only two bases, "home" and one other. The number of bases used in the game, either two or four, was determined by the number of children present to play the game. Also, I was told by one of the older informants that the version of the game with four bases was sometimes played with a sponge ball, and,

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[177] I was told about this game by one of my younger informants who said he learned it recently from the "Labrador City people," his cousins who were visiting from Labrador City. Also, this game was not played by my older informants during this period.

[178] One female informant told me that she, like most of her girl friends, did not play any games with a bat and a ball, like Softball or Baseball, until she got older. Women in the area now play in an organized Softball league.

in essence, was the same as the game, Rounders, described in Chapter Four, although it was not known by that name.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.[179]
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting, pitching, running. Individual skills game. Team game, simplified sports, cooperative group game.
>   ***

BASKETBALL was a game for both boys and girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen, and was played during the school year as a part of the physical education class curriculum. Essentially, it was played in the same manner as described for the last period.[180]

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category J/Parlour games, indoor games for special occasion| Category K/Games of skill, dribbling, running. Individual skills game. Team game, simplified sports.
>   ***

BAT THE BALL was a game for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen played outdoors during the summer on the road leading to the homes on the "Point." The game required a badminton racket and a plastic ball about the size of a

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[179] This game is very similar to Rounders described in the 1900-1935 period, and in the second period as Bat Ball. I suspect, however, that Baseball did not enter the repertoire through the natural evolution of these forerunners in the community, as it is played according to the official rules, and seems to have been introduced through the school's Physical Education program.

[180] In addition to Basketball, the following games and activities were mentioned as being taught and played in school: Hockey, Soccer, Lacrosse, Volleyball, Badminton, Baseball, Wrestling, Gymnastics.

baseball. This game was invented by my informant and three of his cousins, and it is likely that it was only played by them.

There were two players on each team, and one team batted while the other was in the field. A person from the team "at bat" began the game by tossing the ball into the air and hitting it with the badminton racket. He or she then dropped the racket on the ground as his or her teammate ran after the ball and tried to retrieve it. If he or she could retrieve it and bring it back and touch the racket which was on the ground, then his or her team continued to bat, and he or she took his or her turn. At the same time, however, the team that was in the field also tried to retrieve the ball, and if they brought it back and touch the racket then it was their turn "at bat." The retrieval of the ball was complicated by the fact that the opposing team was allowed to block the other's advance, and was also allowed to "steal" the ball. To avoid losing the ball, teammates could toss the ball back and forth between themselves as they advanced towards the racket. There was no scoring in the game, and the play simply continued with the two teams vying to bat.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing game| Category
>   K/Games of skill, hitting, throwing, running.
>   Individual skills game, Team game,
>   cooperative group game.
> ***

BOATS, also referred to as CUTTING FISH, was a game or pastime for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen, and was played during the summer months. In many ways, this pastime was the same as described in the previous two chapters, yet there were some notable developments. While this game was still played down around the "landwash" in the cove, the miniature boats used by the children during this period were generally fashioned after the large sixty-five foot draggers used by many of the fishermen, and had a "boom on them and the net," the same as the larger boats. The children dragged a rock tied on to the back of their boat along the bottom, and thus collected kelp which they would pretend to be fish. At other times, the children simply pulled their boats along behind them as they went about collecting crabs or minnows. Once the collecting was done, the children pretended that they were "cutting fish." Most often minnows or "minnies" were used for this activity, and the children would set up a makeshift table from a old piece of wood, and "split" and cut the heads off the little fish before spreading them out to dry. If "minnies" were not available, then "eltrot" or pond grass was used as a substitute.

Interestingly, the children imitated not only what the adults were doing, but the division of labour along gender lines. Although boys and girls would play at both Boats and

Cutting Fish separately, when the boys and girls were playing together, the boys would generally go out and catch the "minnies" in the "minnie brook" and bring them back to the girls to clean. One of my female informants commented that "we always wanted to [clean the fish] because we knew the women were out in the fish plant working" at it.[181]

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
>   games, play objects. Team game, cooperative
>   group game.
>   ***

BRITISH BULLDOG CHARGE was a game for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen which required no equipment. It was usually played on the playground at school in Flower's Cove, and required two lines or "goals" drawn on the ground approximately thirty to forty feet apart. The person chosen to be "it" stood in the middle between the two goals while the other children lined up at one of the two goals. The person who was it then called out:

British Bulldog Charge!

At this cue, the others tried to run past the person who was "it" to the other goal while he or she tried to catch as many of the others as possible. In order to catch someone, the person who was "it" had to get the person and put him or her down on the ground. Once a player was caught, he or she also

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[181] From a tape-recorded interview with Marsha Coles, August 1992.

became "it," and joined with the first person in the middle at trying to catch the others. Each time the phrase was repeated, the other players made a run for the other goal while those who were "it" tried to catch them. The game continued in this way until everyone was caught.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing game, central
> person does the chasing, team does the
> chasing| Category K/Games of skill, running.
> Individual skills game. Central person game,
> fearsome "He" character. Team game, pack
> versus pack.

***

BUILDING CAMPS was a summer activity for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. The children would go around the community and gather old pieces of lumber, plastic, felt paper and shingles, and used these materials to construct "camps" or little shacks. They would go "up over the hill" to build these camps which were not much bigger than a dog house. Sometimes, these camps were built out by the graveyard and used in the game of Copy House described below, however, when they were built "up over the hill," the construction itself was the goal of the activity.

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
> activities/Team game, cooperative group game.

***

BUTTON BUTTON was a game for both boys and girls under thirteen. It was generally learned and played indoors at the

elementary school in Flower's Cove during free periods. The game was played in the same manner with the same equipment as described in the previous two chapters, with one person going around with a button and dropping it between the hands of one of the other players. The remaining players then took turns guessing who had the button. Now, however, if a player guessed wrong, he or she was simply out of the game, and received no punishment. Also, one of my younger informants said that if the player who had the button was not named after three players had had a guess, then the game was over, and the one with the button would get up and begin the next game.

> Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Chance.
> Sutton-Smith: Category G/Games of chance, guessing game| Category J/Parlor games, indoor games for special occasions. Central person game, fearsome "He" character.
> ***

CHARADES was a game for both boys and girls up into their teenage years. It was played both indoors and outdoors and required no equipment. The game was usually played outdoors by younger children up to approximately thirteen years old. Basically, it was a guessing game where one player would start off by picking a specific person or trade (for example a carpenter) in his or her mind, and then get up and silently act out the "charade" while the others tried to guess what he or she had picked. There was no scoring in the game when it was played outside, and the person who correctly

guessed the "charade" would be the next one to pick something and act it out. The game was also played indoors at house parties when the children were older teens. In this context, two teams were formed, usually the girls against the boys, and one team made a number of things for the other team to act out, and vice versa. This was typically a person's name, or the name of a book, or a movie or a T.V. show. These "names" were written down and put into a bag. One team went first, and a player drew from the bag and acted out the "charade" for his or her teammates. Each team would be given approximately thirty seconds to one minute to guess what was being acted out. If the team guessed correctly then it received one point; if wrongly, then it lost one point. The two teams would thus take turns until all of the "charades" were gone from the bag, and whichever had the most points at the end was declared the winner.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus, Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Game/[role-playing and imitation].
> Sutton-Smith: Category G/Games of chance, guessing
> game. Central person game, limelight. Team
> game, cooperative group game.
> ***

CLOWNS AND STATUES was a game for both boys and girls between five and thirteen years of age played indoors in the school in Flower's Cove, and required no equipment. One person was the "clown" while the rest were "statues." The "statues" had to stand up by their seats and remain perfectly still, as the "clown" went around trying to make them laugh.

If a "statue" laughed or moved, then this person was out and had to sit down. This continued until only one "statue" remained. This person would then be the "clown" in the next game.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, players
>   compete to take the leader's place| Category
>   J/Parlor games, indoor games for special
>   occasions. Central person game, limelight
>   role. Individual skills game.
>   ***

CLUMMIN' was a game mostly for teenaged boys, generally under the age of seventeen[182] which required no equipment. This outdoor pastime could take place anywhere, and was generally the same as described in the previous two chapters, with the two opponents wrestling to see who was the strongest.[183]

> Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
>   wrestling. Individual skills game.
>   ***

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[182] One seventeen-year-old informant, who offered information regarding the age of participants in this activity, said that it was something he did more when he was a bit younger.
[183] One female informant told me that Clummin was not a big thing during her childhood, and that while it was generally a boy's activity, girls would sometimes get involved in it. Growing up, she was bigger than most of the boys, and so sometimes it would be boys against the girls to see who was stronger.

COPY HOUSE, also referred to as HOUSE,[184] was a summer game for both boys and girls, though mostly girls, roughly under ten years old. It was played in essentially the same manner as described in the previous two chapters, in that the children would build a "little house" or "camp" amongst the woods on the northside of the community out by the graveyard and decorate it with discarded flowers from the graveyard and sea shells. Primarily, the children would pretend that they were a family with each child playing a different role. Sometimes, if only the girls were playing, their dolls or "Barbies" would become the other family members.[185]

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative
>   games, play objects. Team game, cooperative
>   group game.
>   ***

COWBOYS, known as GUNS by my younger informants, was a summer game for boys approximately five to ten years old, played "up on the hill" or around the woods and "copy houses"

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[184] One of my younger informants made a definite distinction between the two names, Copy House and House. For him the structure was called a Copy House, and the play was called House.

[185] It is interesting to note the level of involvement of boys in this game. One informant told me that often the boys would not be too interested in decorating the "house" with flowers, so they might be sent off to "school" for a "couple of minutes" to play the part of teacher or students. Other times, the "sons" might pretend that their bicycles were motorcycles, and simply ride their bikes. Another informant said that "Copy House" was mostly a girl's game, and that the boys would "beat up" the girls' copy houses.

on the northside of the community. In essence, the game was the same as described in the last chapter, with the children dividing into two teams and pretending to shoot one another with toy guns. To begin, one team would "blind," or cover their eyes, and give the other team a certain amount of time to go and hide before pursuing them. Players from both teams would then try to win the game by "shooting" everybody on the opposing team. In order to "shoot" an opponent, a player would make a shooting sound and then name the person that he was shooting, saying "So-and-so, you're dead." In one version of the game, a "dead" player had to sit out until one team was declared the winner. In another version of the game, a "dead" player was revived after counting to a predetermined number, and could rejoin the game. The team that won would then be the one to hide in the next game.

> Caillois: Simulation/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, imitative game, play objects. Team Game, pack versus pack, cooperative group game.
> ***

CUT THE BUTTER was a running game for both boys and girls under thirteen years of age played outdoors in the summer and fall, and required no equipment. The children would choose a person to start the "race," and two opponents to race against each other. In order to choose who would be "up" first, meaning who would start the race, my younger informants would use the counting-out rhyme Mickey Mouse,

described above, or "Ink Pink." In Ink Pink the children formed a circle and put one foot forward toward the centre. One child would then do the counting by advancing around the circle and touching each person's foot with his finger, as he said the rhyme:

```
Ink Pink, Puddin' Stink,
1    2      3         4
Dirty Fingers, Out.
5       6       7
```

The person, whose foot was touched at the word "Out," would be eliminated, and the rhyme would be repeated until only one person remained. This person would then be "up," and would pick one person from the other children to be the first runner. To determine who would be the second runner, the person who was "up" would pick a number in his or her head and whisper it to the first runner, being careful to keep it a secret. The person who was "up" would then call on one of the remaining children to guess the number, saying so-and-so, "What number?" If the child guessed rightly then he or she was the second runner; if not, the person who was "up" would continue to ask individuals from the group until someone guessed it.

After the two runners were chosen, they would stand ready to run in opposite directions with one arm each outstretched touching their finger tips together. The person who was "up" then started the race by motioning his or her

hand back and forth like a knife over the runners hands, saying:

>   Spread the butter; spread the cheese;

>   Cut the butter.

On the word "cut," the person who was "up" chopped his or her hand down between the hands of the two who were ready to race, and the runners took off in opposite directions. Each made a round trip around the house or trailer, meeting at some point on the opposite side from where they started. Meanwhile, the person who was "up" stood waiting at the starting point with both of his or her arms outstretched and his or her palms open. The first of the racers to go completely around and then slap one of his or her hands won. In the case of a tie, the two runners raced again. Once the winner was declared, he or she was "up" in the next race and the process of choosing two runners was repeated.

>   Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
>   Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>   Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader Games, central
>   person directs the course of the game|
>   Category K/Games of skill, running.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

DODGE BALL was a game for both boys and girls up to approximately sixteen years of age. It was learned at school in Flower's Cove, and played outdoors during the summer and fall in Savage Cove. It required only one piece of equipment, a sponge ball approximately two and a half inches in diameter.

The game started with one player throwing the ball up into the air. Each player would then try to get control of the ball and eliminate the others by hitting them with it. When a player was hit three times, he or she had to "sit out" until the next game. The game continued with players throwing and dodging the ball until only one person was left. This individual would then throw the ball into the air to start the next game.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category J/Parlor games, indoor games for special occasions?[186] Category K/Games of skill, running, throwing. Central person game, maintain position. Individual skills game.

                              ***

DUCK DUCK GOOSE was a game for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. It was learned, and usually played, indoors at elementary school. It required no equipment and the children would sit on the floor in a circle facing the centre as one child walked around the outside of the circle "tapping" the others on the head. With each "tap," the child walking around the circle would say either "Duck" or "Goose." "Duck" meant that everyone in the circle remained in the same position; however, at the word "Goose," the one who was "tapped" on the head would jump up and race around the circle in the opposite direction of the child doing the "tapping."

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[186] This game was learned and played in school.

The object of the race was to be the first one back to the empty space in the circle. The child who lost the race would do the "tapping" in the next round of the game. The excitement of the game was that this child arbitrarily picked who he would race against, and so might repeat "Duck" a number of times before surprising the other racer with the word, "Goose."

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central
>   person directs the course of the game|
>   Category J/Parlor games, indoor games,
>   special occasions| Category K/Games of skill,
>   running. Individual skills game.
> ***

FIVE-HUNDREDS was a game mostly for boys up to the age of thirteen, and was played outdoors during the summer. It required a bat, a baseball, and baseball gloves. It was usually played "on the hill," and one person would be "up at bat" while the others were out in the field. The batter would toss the ball into the air and then bat it out into the field, while the players in the field tried to catch or retrieve it. The object of the game for each player in the field was to accumulate five hundred points before the others did, and thus become the batter in the next game. The number of points awarded each catch or retrieval of the ball was determined by whether or not the ball touched the ground, and the number of times it bounced when it did. If the ball was caught before it hit the ground, it was worth 100 points. If it bounced

once, it was worth seventy-five points. If it bounced either

twice or three times, it was worth fifty points.[187] If it

bounced four times, it was worth twenty-five points, and if

the ball was rolling, it was worth ten points. Essentially,

those in the field would jockey for the best position, and try

to get in front of their opponents in order to catch or

retrieve most of the balls that were hit.

>   Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>   Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>   Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, others
>   compete to take the leader's place| Category
>   K/Games of skill, hitting, catching, running.
>   Central person game, limelight role.
>   Individual skills game.
>   ***

FLYING KITES was a pastime for both boys and girls under

the age of thirteen years old. Children usually used plastic

store-bought kites and flew them "out on the Point," or "on

the barrens," where there is a flat open space.[188]

>   Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
>   Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
>   Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,

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[187] The fact that the same number of points is awarded for
a ball that bounces twice or three times seems odd to me as
"Five-Hundreds" is very much the same as a game I played
during my childhood called "Knock Outs," in which each
additional bounce of the ball made it worth less. Another
difference is that in the game of "Knock Outs," a player went
back to "zero" if he made an error—that is if he touched the
ball and then dropped it. This rule was not mentioned in the
description of "Five-Hundreds" given by my informant.

[188] This information about "Kites" was given by one
informant when I asked if she had played "Quoits." She had
never played this older game, nor did she have any knowledge
of it.

activities with play objects. Individual
skills game.
***

FREEZER was a game for both boys and girls roughly
between the ages of five and twelve years old played outdoors
in the evenings during the summer and fall. The game required
no equipment, and was usually played around Ren Coles's old
house, or by Ross Coles's trailer by the children who live on
the "Point." It had three different variations, FREEZER or
FREEZE TAG, PARTNER FREEZER, and TEAM FREEZER, one being
selected depending on the whim of the children, and the number
of children available for play.

In Freezer or Freeze Tag, one person was chosen to be
"it," or the "catcher" by using one of the counting out rhymes
Ink Pink or Mickey Mouse, described above. Sometimes one of
the players simply volunteered to go first. After the catcher
was chosen, he or she stood at the "home base," usually the
concrete steps of the house or the garbage box near the
trailer, and counted to a predetermined number before saying:

Ready or not, you'll be caught;

Hiding in a spot or not.

During the counting, the other players ran off a distance from
home base or hid, depending on their personal strategies, for
the object of the game for them was to get back to the home
base without being caught by the catcher. The catcher, in
turn, would try to catch as many of the other players as he or

she could. If it was realized that the catcher was likely to "guard" the home base, then the others would hide, forcing the catcher to leave the home base and come after them. In one version of this game, once a player was caught, he or she was out of the game until all the others were either caught or got to home base safely. In the other version, once a player was caught, he or she had to "freeze" until one of the other players freed him or her so he or she could run again. A player was freed after he or she was tagged by one of the other players. Sometimes, however, the game was played requiring the frozen player to spread his or her legs apart and have another player crawl through them in order to be freed. In this second version of the game, the catcher had to "freeze" everybody to end the game. In both versions, the last player caught would be the "catcher" for the next game.

In Partner Freezer, the game was played in essentially the same manner, except that two children would be "it." This game was played when there was a bigger crowd of children playing, and usually one catcher would guard the home base, while the other chased the other players. With two "catchers," it was considerably more difficult for players to get home.

In Team Freezer, two teams were chosen from the children present, and one team was chosen to be "it" first. The object of the game was for the team that was "it" to chase and catch

everyone on the other team, and so to prevent them from getting to the home base. If one player on the other team managed to get home safely then the first team would be "it " again in the next game. However, if the team that was "it" caught everyone on the other team, then the other team would be "it" in the next game.[189]

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games, central
>   person or team does the chasing| Category
>   K/Games of skill, running. Central-person
>   game, fearsome "He" character. Individual
>   skills game. Team game, pack versus pack.
>   ***

HAND GAMES:

DOWN DOWN BABY was a hand game for both boys and girls roughly under the age of thirteen. It was played indoors at school during breaks, and required no equipment. It was a game for two people in which the two would repeat a rhyme while doing certain actions. For the first part of the rhyme, the two players would stand facing each other and join hands, gripping the fingers of the other into a fist, so that each

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[189] I was told by one of my older informants for this period that while she played "Team Freezer" with the older children when she was younger, the game was not played as much after she had grown to be one of the older children because they did not enjoy it so much. In addition, she had a vague memory of another quite similar untitled game played with the older children in which a player could free a teammate who had been caught. Given this information, and its similarity to the older game "Scout" described in previous chapters, I suspect that "Team Freezer" may be an adaptation incorporating elements of the older game.

had one hand palm up and the other palm down. While in this grip, the two would then shake or bob their hands up and down, and repeat:

>Down down baby, sweet roller coaster,
>
>I love my roller coaster.

For the next part of the rhyme, the two would clap hands, again one palm up and the other palm down, while repeating:

>Jimmy jimmy high, jimmy jimmy coco puff.

Each time the word "jimmy" was said in the rhyme, the children's hands would correspondingly clap together, and at the words "high" and "coco puff" the two would each stop clapping and put their hands on their hips. The next part of the rhyme was chanted in a syncopated rhythm as the two children clapped their hands (as above), but with one palm up and the other palm down:

>Gram-ma, gram-ma sick in bed,
>
>She called the doctor, and the doctor said:
>
>Let's get the rhythm of the head,
>
>Ding dong.

At the words "ding dong," the two children each stopped clapping and put their hands on their hips, while wagging their heads back and forth, so that their head was over their left shoulder for the word "ding," and over their right shoulder for the word "dong," or vice versa. This was then repeated:

    Let's get the rhythm of the head,

    Ding dong,

Next, they continued to say the rhyme and clapped each other's
hands as described above:

    Let's get the rhythm of the finger,

    Coo coo.

At the words "coo coo," each child stopped clapping and put
one hand on his hip. The other was clenched into a fist with
the index finger straight, and the arm bent at the elbow.
With each "coo," the straight index finger was crooked down.
This was then repeated:

    Let's get the rhythm of the finger,

    Coo coo.

They then continued to say the rhyme and again clapped each
other's hands as described above:

    Let's get the rhythm of the hand.

After this line was said, the two stopped clapping each
other's hands, and clapped their own hands together twice.
This was also repeated:

    Let's get the rhythm of the hand.

    [clap, clap]

Again, the two continued to clap each other's hands and
delivered the rhyme as described above:

    Let's get the rhythm of the feet.

After this line was said, the two stopped clapping each other's hands, and stamped their feet on the floor twice, first one foot, then the other. This too was repeated:

    Let's get the rhythm of the feet.

    [stamp, stamp]

Next, they continued to say the rhyme and clapped each other's hands as described above:

    Let's get the rhythm of the,

    High low.

At the words "high low," the two stopped clapping hands, put their two hands on their hips, and swung their pelvises in a circular motion, making one complete circle during the time it takes to say the two words. This was also repeated:

    Let's get the rhythm of the,

    High low.[190]

Again, they continued to say the rhyme and clapped each other's hands, as above; however, they stopped clapping and did the appropriate corresponding action as they went through the list:

    Put it all together and what do you get? [clapping]

    Ding dong [head move],

    Coo coo [finger move],

---

[190] My two informants for this game, a boy and a girl, aged twelve and ten respectively, giggled and seemed to derive great amusement from this somewhat risque body movement for a pre-adolescent.

[clap, clap: ie. hand move],

[stamp, stamp: ie. feet move],

High low [circle hips].

This was then repeated in reverse, as the two chanted:

Put them all backwards and what do you get? [clapping]

High low [hip move],

[stamp, stamp: ie. feet move],

[clap, clap: ie. hand move],

Coo coo [finger move],

Ding dong [head move]

There seems to be no great object to this hand game other than
the simple pleasure derived from doing it.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, couple
>   game| Category F/Rhythmic games, game
>   involving rhythmic movements accompanied by
>   chants, hand clapping game| Category J/Parlor
>   games, indoor game for special occasions.
>   Choral game.
>   ***

MISS MARY MAC was a hand game for both boys and girls
roughly under the age of thirteen and was generally played
indoors at school during breaks. It required no equipment.
It was a game for two people in which the two stood facing
each other while clapping their hands in a certain pattern.
First, each person clapped his or her hands together, then his
or her left hand with the other person's left hand. Next,
each clapped his or her hands together again and then his or

her right hand with the other person's right hand. This
clapping pattern was repeated over and over while the two
chanted the following verse:

Miss Mary Mac, Mac, Mac

all dressed in black, black, black;

she wore her buttons, buttons, buttons

all down her back, back, back;

she could not read, read, read;

she could not write, write, write,

but she could smoke, smoke, smoke

her father's pipe, pipe, pipe;

she asked her mother, mother, mother

for 15 cents, cents, cents

to see the elephants, elephants, elephants

climb the fence, fence, fence

they climbed so high, high, high;

they reached the sky, sky, sky,

and never came back, came back, came back

'til the last of July, July, July.

she asked her mother, mother, mother

for 15 cents more, more, more

to see the elephants, elephants, elephants

sweep the floor, floor, floor;

they swept so hard, hard, hard;

they broke the glass, glass, glass,

and all the splinters, splinters, splinters

went up their blank, blank, blank.

My informant told me that the rhyme was expurgated "because we weren't allowed to say bad words." At the same time, it seems that the most amusing aspect of this game for the children was teasing or testing the adults who may be present with the extent of their knowledge--in this case, knowledge of the "bad word," ass, suggested by the rhyme.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, couple game| Category F/Rhythmic games, game involving rhythmic movements accompanied by chants, hand clapping game| Category J/Parlor games, indoor game for special occasions. Choral game.
>   ***

GENERAL cont'd:

HEADS UP STAND UP was a game for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen played indoors at school in Flower's Cove during recess and lunch. A number of children would be picked to go around, and each equipped with a ruler which they would have as part of their school supplies. The rest of the children would sit at their desks with their heads down and their eyes covered up so they could not see, as each child equipped with a ruler went around and hit one of those sitting down on the head. After each of those picked to go around had hit someone on the head, they would go to the front of the room and say, "Heads up, stand up." Those children who had

been hit on the head would then stand up by their seats and try to guess who of those at the front of the room had hit them. If a child guessed correctly, then he or she would take the place of the person who had hit him or her, and the hitter would have to return to his or her seat. If a child guessed incorrectly, then the person who hit him or her would remain at the front for the next game.

> Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame [game]/Chance.
> Georges: Category G/Games of chance, guessing
>   game| Category J/Parlor Games, indoor games
>   for special occasions. Central person game,
>   limelight role.
>   ***

HIDE-N-BLIND TOUCH, also known as TAG by my younger informants, was a summer and fall game for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. It was played in the evenings, usually outdoors by Ren Coles's old house, or around the homes on the "Point" by my younger informants, and required no equipment. The game was very much like Hide-n-Seek, described above, except that there was no "home base." Someone was chosen to be "it," and that child would count to one hundred, so giving the others a chance to hide, before saying:

Ready or not, you'll be caught,

Hiding in a spot or not.

After this, the person who was "it" would have to go and try to catch the others who were hiding. The person who was "it" simply had to find the others and touch them in order to catch

them. In the version of this game played by my older
informants, the first person caught would be "it" in the next
game, and so those who were hiding would rely on their ability
to find a spot that would keep them from being the first
caught, and simply wait for the outcome of the person's
search. In the version of the game played by my younger
informants, once a player was found, he or she could avoid
being touched by running away, and thus force the child who
was "it" to look for someone else. In this version of the
game, the last person caught would be "it" in the next game.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy, Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing games| Category
>   K/Games of skill, running. Central person
>   game, fearsome "He" character. Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

HIDE-N-SEEK, also referred to as HIDE-N-GO-SEEK and
HIDE-N-BLIND, was a summer and fall game for both boys and
girls under the age of thirteen. It was played outdoors in
the evening by Ren Coles's old house, or around the homes on
the "Point" by the children who live there. The game was
similar to Hide-n-Go-Seek described in the previous two
chapters, but with some notable exceptions. During this
period, the children would use a counting-out rhyme like
Mickey Mouse, described above, to choose who would be "it"
first, or one of the older children would volunteer to be "it"
first. After this, the person who was "it" would give the

others a chance to hide by covering his or her eyes and
quickly counting to 100 before saying:

Ready or not, you'll be caught,

Hiding in a spot or not.

He or she would then try to find the others and catch them
before they could get "home free" by running back to the home
base. One of my younger informants said that if a number of
children managed to get "home free," then they could link
their arms and form a human chain, thus extending "home"
closer to those who were not in yet. Usually, the last person
caught would be "it" in the next game.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy, Physical skill and
>   dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing Games| Category
>   K/Games of skill, running. Central person
>   game, fearsome "He" character. Individual
>   skills game.

<center>* * *</center>

HOCKEY was a game played mostly by boys up into their
teenage years.[191] As in the period between 1935-1965, it was
played outdoors in the community during the winter months on
"Skin Pond" out on the "Point," or, since approximately 1970,

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[191] The game of ice hockey was generally very popular in
the Straits area during this period, and was played by all
ages, some up into their forties. This being so, there was no
definite age criterion separating teenage players from adult
players. A boy's size and skill level were more important in
determining whether he could compete with the men, and so
these might be reached before a fellow was seventeen years
old. At the same time, however, before this level was
reached, boys generally played together with others
approximately the same age.

on the community's outdoor rink. It required skates and
hockey sticks for each player, and a puck. During this
period, store-bought equipment was generally used by everyone.
In addition, during this period, hockey leagues were
organized, and the game came to be played indoors at a new
arena in the community of St. Barbe, approximately thirteen
miles away.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, skating,
>   passing, etc. Team game, pack versus pack,
>   simplified sports.

<div align="center">***</div>

HOCKEY BALL, also known as ROAD HOCKEY, was generally a
winter and early spring game for both boys and girls
approximately up to the age of thirteen. It was usually
played in the evenings under the streetlight in front of
Llewelyn Way's house, and required two goals, a hockey stick
for each player, and a ball. Homemade hockey nets were
sometimes used for the goals, although two blocks of snow
would suffice if nets were not available, and these two goals
would be place approximately forty feet apart. Two teams
would be picked, with either the two youngest or two oldest
players taking turns to select one person at a time until
everyone present was assigned to a team. The game then
proceeded like a regular hockey game with the two opposing
teams shooting at the other's goal.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.

Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, passing,
    shooting, etc. Team game, pack versus pack,
    simplified sports.
***

HOPSCOTCH was a summer game for both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. It was played outdoors on the dirt road going through the community, essentially in the same manner, with the same rules, diagram[192] and equipment as described in the last chapter. For this period, however, there were three options once a player succeeded in tossing and retrieving his or her stone from all eight squares. Firstly, the game was over and the player who completed the "course" first was declared the winner. Secondly, the game would continue in the same way as described in the last chapter with the player turning back on to the diagram and tossing the stone over his or her shoulder, in the hope of "marking off" one of the squares as his or her own. Thirdly, an extra square would be drawn on the end of the original diagram (see figure 6.1) and the player would continue the game starting from the other end of the diagram where the new square would become square one.

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[192] During this period, square number six was referred to as the "Pot."

Figure 6.1:

```
        ---
       | 1 |
    --- ---
   | 2 | 3 |
    --- ---
       | 4 |
    --- ---
   | 5 | 6 |
    --- ---
       | 7 |
        ---
       | 8 |
        ---
       | 9 |
        ---
```

With this third option, the player who went all the way

through first was declared the winner.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, pitching,
> hopping. Individual skills game.

***

HORSESHOES was a game for both boys and girls, though

mostly boys, approximately fourteen to seventeen years old.

It required two steel posts to be placed in the ground roughly

twenty-five feet apart, and a set of three horseshoes for each

player. The object of the game was to stand at one of the two

posts and toss each horseshoe around the other post in order

to score points. The equipment was usually store-bought, and

the game was most often played during the summer on camping

trips to the province's parks.[193]

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[193] Although this game seems very similar to "Barrel
Hoops" described in the last chapter, and to "Quoits"
described in Chapter Four, I unfortunately had only one
informant for it, and was unable to discover more about its

Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
    pitching. Individual skills game.
***

IN-A-LINE, also referred to as BANDY BALL and LINE-IN-

LINE, was a game mostly for boys up to the age of thirteen

played outdoors during the summer. It required a sponge ball,

baseball gloves, and bats or pieces of wood. It was usually

played "on the hill," and in essence, was the same as the

game, Ball-in-a-line, described in the previous chapter.

Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category K/Game of skill, hitting,
    pitching running. Individual skills game.
    Team game, cooperative group game.
***

KING OF THE HILL was a game for both boys and girls

under the age of thirteen, and required no equipment. It was

played outdoors, usually during school at Flower's Cove, and

required something to serve as the "hill." This was not

necessarily a real hill, but might be a lumber platform, a

step to a building, or an "old plancheon," or floor to a

house. One child would get up on the "hill," and would be

---

particulars. At the same time, his comment that he played it
"a bit" in the last few years, left me with the impression
that it was not played very often, and that it was seldom
played within the community. This being so, I would hesitate
to draw a direct line of transmission between this game and
Barrel Hoops or Quoits. While horseshoes were available
during the last period, barrel hoops were used for that game.
Furthermore, the equipment for Horseshoes was usually store-
bought rather than found within the community.

"king." In order to remain the "king," he had to stop the others from getting up on the hill by pushing them off. This game was described as a "bully" game and was not played very often.

> Caillois: Competition/Paidia.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader game, others
>   compete to take the leader's place| Category
>   K/Games of skill, bullying, pushing, etc.
>   Central person game, central person has to
>   maintain his position in the face of open
>   competition. Individual skills game.
>   ***

KISS TAG was a summer and fall game for both boys and girls approximately ten to twelve years old, and required no equipment. It was played outdoors by Ren Coles's old house in the evenings, and at school in Flower's Cove during the recess and lunch breaks. The children would divide into two teams, the boys and the girls, and one team would be "it" first. The team that was "it" would then have to chase after the members of the other team and try to catch them. When a player caught someone from the other team, he or she had to kiss her or him, usually on the face, or hug her or him. After a player was caught twice, that player would have to sit out until the next game. In the next game, the other team would be "it."

> Caillois: Competition, [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category E/Chasing game, team does
>   the chasing| Category K/Games of skill,
>   running. Individual skills game. Team Game,
>   pack versus pack.
>   ***

LAWN DARTS was a game for both boys and girls, though mostly boys, approximately fourteen to seventeen years old. It required two plastic hoops (approximately eighteen inches in diameter) set roughly twenty-five feet apart, and three steel darts (approximately twelve inches long with plastic "feathers") for each player. The object of the game was to stand at one of the two hoops and toss each dart into the air so that it landed inside the other hoop. Whoever got the most darts inside the hoop would win.

In many ways, the game seems similar to Horseshoes, described above. The equipment was usually store-bought, and the game was most often played during the summer on camping trips to the province's parks. As with "Horseshoes" described above, I had only one informant for this game, and was unfortunately unable to discover more about its particulars. Again, my informant's comments left me with the impression that it was not played very often, and that it was seldom played within the community.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects and seasonal
>   activities| Category K/Games of skill,
>   throwing, pitching. Individual skills game.
>   ***

LEMONADE, also called BUM BUM by my younger informants, was a summer and fall game played outdoors by both boys and girls up to the age of thirteen, and required no equipment.

The children would first form two teams of equal number. Each team would then line up at its "home base," either a line drawn in the ground or a piece of board. These two "home bases" ran parallel to each other, and were approximately fifty feet apart. The two teams would then decide which would go first, and that team would choose something to act out. When they had decided what they would act out, they headed towards the other team chanting:

Bum, bum here we come.

The team would continue chanting until they reached another line or board on the ground roughly ten feet from the other team's "home base." After the first team reached the line, the second team asked:

Where ya from?

The first team would reply:

Savage Cove.

The second team would then ask:

What's your trade?

The first team would reply:

Lemonade.

Finally, the second team would say:

Do it if you're not afraid.

The first team would then begin acting out its "trade." The example that one informant gave was "painting," and so in that case, each member of the team would pretend that he was

painting. When someone on the other team guessed correctly by saying "painting," the first team would take off running towards its "home base." The object of the game at this point for the other team is to chase after the first team and capture as many of its member as possible before they can get back to their "home base." If someone was caught, then he became a member of the other team. The game then continued with the second team taking its turn at acting something out. The game continued in this manner with the two teams taking turns and chasing each other until one team had captured everyone on the other team. I was told that, although this was the object of the game, very seldom did the game end in this way for the slowest runners might change sides many times. This being so, most times the children would play until they were tired of the game, and whichever team had the most players at that point would be declared the winner.

The description of this game, referred to as Bum Bum, given by my younger informants, was slightly different. First, the team that was acting only went to a halfway point between the two "home bases" (the "middle") instead of ten feet from the other "home base." Second, the rhyme was slightly different in that the first team began by saying:

Bum, bum here we come;

Bum, bum kiss me bum.

The second team then asked:

What do you drink?

The first team's reply to this was not standard, and could be anything. The second team then asked:

Where do you live?

Again, there was no standard response to this question, and the first team could say anything. The first team then began acting out what it decided on, and the second team guessed. At this point, the game continued in the same manner as described above. Lastly, unlike that described above, one team was declared the winner when one player was left on the other team.[194]

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus,
> Simulation/Paidia.[195]
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation,
> Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, game with
> two opposing lines| Category B/Dialogue
> games| Category E/Chasing games, team does
> the chasing| Category H/Teasing activities,
> teasing rhymes| Category K/Games of skill,
> running. Choral game, all player carry out
> the same actions to choral accompaniment.
> Individual skills game. Team game, pack versus
> pack.

***

MARBLES was a game for both boys and girls up to the age of thirteen although girls seem to have played it more often

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[194] Given the variation between these two descriptions, and the absence of rhyme in the second text, I suspect that there has been a break in the transmission of this game, and that it has been reinvented by the younger children who still find enjoyment in playing it.
[195] Note this is partly a guessing game, but not a game of chance.

during this period. Essentially, it was played in the same way, and required the same equipment as described in the previous two chapters. During this period, however, the game was always played indoors, whether it be at school or at home, and some of the steps were slightly varied in name and action, and in a different order than described in Chapter Four.[196]

For example, "Little Eatings" was called "Eatins," and the children would simply slap their chins rather than put the lead marbles in their mouths. "Second or High Eatings" was called "Floor Eatins," and again the children would slap the floor then their chins rather than pick up a marble from the floor and put it into their mouths. Also, "Crooked Bowlings" was referred to as "Devil Crooky-Eyed Bullins," "Elbows" as "Long Elbows" or "Long Arms," "Crackins" as "Hardins," and "Forty-five catchalls" as "Nine times catchies."

Also, during this period there were a number of intermediate steps added. Between "Eatins" and "Floor Eatins" was "Hand Eatins" in which the player would toss the "tosser" in the air then clap his or her two hands together before

---

[196] The order of the step for this period were as follows: Twenty-fives, Onesies, Twosies, Threesies, Foursies, Bullins, Eatins, Second Onesies, Second Twosies, Second Threesies, Second Foursies, Crooky-Eyed Bullins, Hand Eatins, Floor Eatins, Little Buttons, Big Buttons, Fingers, Little Joints, Big Joints, Softins, Hardins, Laying Eggs, Onesies Knockouts, Twosies Knockouts, Threesies Knockouts, Foursies Knockouts, Short Arms, Long Arms, Pans, Pots, Scrubbins, Ironins, Paintins, Washins, Dryins, Devil Crooky-Eyed Bullins, and Nine times catchies.

catching the tosser. Between "Bowlings" (or "Bullins") and
"Devil Crooky-Eyed Bullins" was Crooky-Eyed Bullins" in which
a marble was simply laid in the pocket formed by crossing the
index and ring fingers across the back of the middle finger
before the move began rather than placed there between tosses
of the tosser as in "Devil Crooky-Eyed Bullins." Also, while
"Long Elbows" or "Long Arms" was exactly the same as "Elbows"
described in Chapter Four, during this period the preceding
step was also called "Elbows" or "Short Arms," and, though
essentially the same, required that the two marbles be spaced
the distance between the child's wrist and elbow, rather than
the tip of his little finger and elbow as in "Long Elbows."
"Big Joints" was exactly the same as "Joints" described in
Chapter Four, yet was preceded by "Little Joints" which
required that the four marbles be spaced by laying a hand palm
down on the floor and putting one marble at the tip of each
finger. The tosser was then tossed in the air and the four
marbles "scravelled" up before catching the tosser.

During this period, the steps "Milking," "Straining,"
and "Ringing" were omitted, although the motion for "Ringing"
(twirling the hands around one another) was used for "Washins"
rather than scrubbing the front of one's shirt as in Chapter
Four. Also, during this period "Washins" was followed by a
step called "Dryins" which was essentially the same except

that the hands were twirled around one another in the opposite direction.

In addition, five new steps were added during this period: "Paintins," "Onesies Knockouts," "Twosies Knockouts," "Threesies Knockouts," and "Foursies Knockouts." In "Paintings," four marbles were laid aside. The tosser was then tossed into the air and the player made a painting motion on the floor with his or her hand before catching the tosser. This was then repeated three more times. In "Onesies Knockouts," the four marbles and the tosser were taken in one hand and the tosser tossed into the air. With the other hand, the player then slapped the hand holding the other marbles, and knocked one marble out onto the floor. this was repeated three more times for the remaining marbles. Once all the marbles were out, the player tossed the tosser and picked up one marble before catching the tosser. This was then repeated for the remaining marbles. In "Twosies Knockouts," the move was repeated in the same manner except the marbles were knocked out two at a time and picked up two at a time. With "Threesies Knockouts," the marbles were knocked out three at a time and one, or one and three, and then picked up in the same manner. With "Foursies Knockouts," the four marbles were knocked out with one slap, and likewise picked up with one toss of the tosser. Also, if a player failed to successfully complete a move at any stage of "Knockouts," he or she had to

start over at "Onesies Knockouts" the next time his or her
turn came around.

My main informant for this information told me that she
was taught the game by her mother, and that the additions were
invented by her and her friends.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game [noname]/Physical skill and
> dexterity.[197]
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
> activities with play objects| Category
> K/Games of skill. Individual skills game.

<center>***</center>

MOTHER MAY I[198] was a game for both boys and girls under
the age of thirteen. It was played outdoors during the summer
and fall, and required no equipment. Essentially, it was
played in the same manner as May I described in the previous
two chapters, usually in someone's yard with the fence
enclosing the yard delineating the playing field. In addition
to those steps described in the previous chapters, during this
period, players might be required to take a "normal" step, a
"bunny hop," or to "turn around."

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.[199]

---

[197] This is a game that a child could take part in without
anyone else around.

[198] I was told by one male informant that during this
period some "people," namely the boys, called this game FATHER
MAY I because they did not want to be referred to as
"mothers," indicating their awareness at this age of gender
differences.

[199] To say that strategy here determines achievement is
somewhat misleading, given the "para-aspect" of the game in
which the caller may favour one player, perhaps a special

Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central
person directs the moves the others make as
they compete for central person role. Central
person game, dominating maternal figure.
***

PAT was an outdoor game for both boys and girls up to
the age of ten or eleven played during the summer. It
required no equipment. Generally, it was played in the
evenings by Ren Coles's old house, or around the homes on the
"Point" by the children who lived there. In many ways it was
similar to both Hide-n-Seek, and Barrel Off, described above.
To begin, the children would choose someone to be "it" by
using one of their counting-out rhymes, Ink Pink or Mickey
Mouse. The person who was "it" then stood at "home," covering
his oor her eyes, and counting to five hundred by fives while
the others hid. Once the person who was "it" finished
counting, he or she said:

Ready or not, you'll be caught,

Hiding in a spot or not.

The person who was "it" would then go and find the other
children who had hidden away. When he or she saw someone, he
or she would then go back to "home" and, using the following
phrase, say the person's name and where he or she was hiding,
for example:

---

friend, over another. This "para-aspect" of the game would be
learned as one got older, and is an example of how a
particular game might fulfil different social functions for
children of different ages.

One, two, three,

Pat on Michelle hiding behind the house.

If the person who was "it" correctly identified the person and the hiding place, then that person was caught. Usually, the first person caught was "it" in the next game, so when someone was caught the game was over. This being so, the object of the game for those who were hiding was to either get a good enough spot so as not to be the first caught, or to make it difficult for the person who was "it" to correctly identify them once they were seen.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hiding.
> Central person game, fearsome "He" character.
> Individual skills game.
> ***

POST OFFICE was a game for both boys and girls approximately ten to twelve years old, and required no equipment. First, the boys would be put into one group, and the girls in the other, and everyone would pick a number in his or her head. Next, someone from one of the teams would call out his or her number. If someone from the other team had also picked that number then the two would have to kiss. If no one else had picked the number, then the next player would call out his or her number, and so on.[200]

---

[200] The fact that only one informant mentioned this game to me, and the scantiness of details seems to suggest that it was not played very often.

Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
Georges: Nongame/Chance.
Sutton-Smith: Category G/Games of chance, outcome
    determined by factors beyond the control of
    the players, guessing game. Central person
    game, limelight role.
                    ***

RAFTS were used for outdoor play in the summertime by
both boys and girls up to thirteen years old. They were built
by the children using old pieces of wood that they gathered
from around the community, and poled around "Skin Pond" out on
the "Point." I was told that this activity was done quite
often, although never in the salt water of the cove.

Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].[201]
Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
    activities with play objects. Team game,
    cooperative group game.
                    ***

RED ROVER was a game for both boys and girls under the
age of thirteen which required no equipment, and which was
quite different from the game of the same name described in
the previous two chapters. Generally, it was played outdoors-
-both at school during recess and within the community after
supper in the evenings. The children would divide into two
teams, and line up holding hands facing the other team
approximately twenty feet away. One team would go first, and

---

[201] This game did not involve role-playing, imitation or
chance; however, part of the 'play' was the building of the
raft, which would involve physical skill. This is another
example of Georges's model breaking down.

call on a single person from the other team using the

following phrase:

Red Rover, Red Rover send [child's name] right over.

The child who was called would then try to "bust through" the

other line by running between two children and causing them to

lose their grip. If the child was successful, then he oor she

was allowed to take one player from the other team back to his

or her line. If he or she was unsuccessful, then he or she

had to join the other team. Next, the other team would take a

turn at calling someone over. The object of the game was to

get everybody on the one side; however, most times, the game

ended because the children got tired of it, or because the

recess period was over. Also, one of my older informants told

me that it was not played very much because it tended to be a

rough game, especially for the smaller children.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, game with
>   two opposing lines| Category K/Games of
>   skill, running. Individual skills game. Team
>   game, cooperative group game.
>   ***

RING GAMES:[202]

FARMER IN THE DALE was a ring game for both boys and

girls roughly between the ages of four and seven, and required

---

[202] Interestingly, I was told by my informants for this
period that they had no knowledge of the ring games, "Go In
and Out the Window," "Lazy Mary" or "King William," played
during the previous two periods.

no equipment. It was played indoors during school, and was
learned by the children from the teachers. Essentially, it
was played in the same manner as described in the previous two
chapters, and the rhyme was exactly the same until the point
where the "child" picked something. During this period, the
rhyme continued as follows, with players in the middle of the
ring choosing others from the ring to play the various parts:

The child picks the dog, the child picks the dog,
High ho the derrio, the child picks the dog.[203]

The dog picks the cat, the dog picks the cat,
High ho the derrio, the dog picks the cat.

The cat picks the mice, the cat picks the mice,
High ho the derry oh, the cat picks the mice.

The mice picks the cheese, the mice picks the cheese,
High ho the derry oh, the mice picks the cheese.

At this point, there were seven children gathered in the
middle of the ring, and the game continued with the children
leaving the middle at their cue in the ditty and returning to
the ring:

The farmer leaves the wife, the farmer leaves the wife,

---

[203] One of my older informants for this period gave a
slightly different list. In her description, the child takes
a "nurse," the nurse takes a "maid," and the maid takes a dog.

High ho the derrio, the farmer leaves the wife.

The wife leaves the child, the wife leaves the child,
High ho the derrio, the wife leaves the child.

The child leaves the dog, the child leaves the dog,
High ho the derrio, the child leaves the dog.

The dog leaves the cat, the dog leaves the cat,
High ho the derrio, the dog leaves the cat.

The cat leaves the mice, the cat leaves the mice,
High ho the derrio, the cat leaves the mice.

The mice leaves the cheese, the mice leaves the cheese,
High ho the derrio, the mice leaves the cheese.

The cheese stands alone, the cheese stands alone,
High ho the derrio, the cheese stands alone.

This effectively marked the end of the game, and either
someone who did not have a part in the previous game, or the
person who was the "cheese" would be the farmer in the next
game.

Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.

Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.[204]
Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
accompanied by chants. Choral games. Central
person game, limelight. Team game, team
singing game.

***

LITTLE SALLY SAUCER was a ring game for both boys and
girls roughly between the ages of four and seven, and required
no equipment. It was played indoors during school, and was
learned by the children from the teachers. My informant said
that she remembered playing this game, but could not remember
exactly how it went except for the following fragment of the
rhyme:

Little Sally Saucer, sitting in the washer,

Rise up Sally wipe away your tears.

Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle
game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
accompanied by chants, Choral game. Central
person game, limelight. Team game, team
singing game.

***

LONDON BRIDGE was a ring game for both boys and girls
roughly between the ages of four and seven, and required no
equipment. It was also learned from the teachers, and played
indoors during school. Essentially, it was the same as
described in the previous two chapters; however, during this

---

[204] This is how Georges classifies this game, and though
it is a role-playing game to some degree, I have to question
his classifying it as an imitative games.

period the rhyme had three added verses which corresponded to
the building of the "bridge." First, the two children who
formed the "bridge" stood facing each other with their two
arms by their sides. The others filed between them while
singing:

>   London bridge is not built up, not built up, not built
>
>   up;
>
>   London bridge is not built up, my fair lady oh.

Next, the two raised one arm each, one the right and the other
the left, and joined hands. The others continued to file
between them and under their raised arms while singing:

>   London bridge is half built up, half built up, half
>
>   built up;
>
>   London bridge is half built up, my fair lady oh.

Finally, the two raised their other arms and join hands, as
the others continued to file between them and sing:

>   London bridge is all built up, all built up, all built
>
>   up;
>
>   London bridge is all built up, my fair lady oh.

At this point, on the word "oh," the two dropped their arms
and trapped the child who was filing between them. The
trapped child was then asked what he or she liked the best in
order to determine which of the two he or she would stand
behind. The two choices given to me for this period were
"chips or pizza." From this point, the game continued in the

same manner as described in the previous two chapter with the rhyme being repeated until all of the children had been assigned behind one of the two children forming the "bridge." As before, the game ended in a "tug-of-war" between the two sides.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements accompanied by chants, Choral game. Central person game, limelight. Team game, team singing game.
>
> ***

RING AROUND THE ROSY was a game for both boys and girls roughly between the ages of four and seven, and required no equipment. It was learned from the teachers, and played indoors during school. In essence, the game was played in exactly the same way as described in the last chapter, the only exception being a slight variation in the rhyme:

Ring around the rosy,

Pocket full of tosy;

Ashes, ashes,

We all fall down.

The last child to fall to the ground at the word "down" went into the middle of the ring, and the game continued until the ring was too small to circle those that had gathered in the middle.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category A/Singing games, circle

> game| Category F/Rhythmic games, movements
> accompanied by chants. Choral games. Central
> person game, limelight. Team game, team
> singing game.
>
> ***

***GENERAL* cont'd:**

    SHINNYING PANS was a game or pastime mostly for boys

approximately up the age of fifteen, and essentially, was the

same as described in the previous two chapters.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
> activities| Category K/Games of skill,
> jumping. Individual skills game.
>
> ***

    SIMON SAYS was a summer and fall game for both boys and

girls under the age of thirteen. It required no equipment.

To begin, one child would be chosen to be the "leader,"

essentially playing the part of "Simon." Once this was done,

the "leader" would stand up in front of the other children and

command them to do certain things, such as jump up and down,

or walk forward, or stop an activity and stand still.

However, before the others were allowed to do a particular

activity, the leader had to frame the command within the

following phrase:

    Simon says (stop).

If, for instance, the leader did not use "Simon says" and

simply yelled "stop," and one of the children did stop then

that child would be out. Likewise, if "Simon said. . ." to do

something and one of the children did not, he or she would

also be out. The game continued until everyone but one was out, at which point he or she would be the "leader" in the next game.[205] Essentially, the object of the game for the leader was to try and fool the others into doing something they were not asked to do. Notably, one informant said the object of the game was to see who could "stand it the longest" indicating that perhaps the game was not that popular.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central person directs the course of the game, others compete to take the leaders place. Central person game, limelight role. Individual skills game.
> ***

SKATING was a winter pastime for both boys and girls up to approximately thirteen years of age. Essentially, it was done in the same manner as described in the previous two chapters. During this period, store-bought skates were the norm.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal activities| Category K/Games of skill, skating. Individual skills game.
> ***

SKIPPING GAMES AND GAMES WITH ROPE:

BLACK MAGIC was a game with a rope played outdoors by both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. To begin, the

---

[205] One of my younger informants said that he was taught this game by his Aunt.

rope was tied into a loop and held open around the ankles of
two children standing inside it and facing each other. Each
child was then required to go through a number of moves while
the loop was at ankle height, either jumping inside the loop,
on the rope, or out of the loop. For the first move, the
player had to "walk through." This was done by stepping one
foot inside the loop, then stepping completely over to the
other side with the other foot, and finally, removing the
first foot from inside the loop (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2:

```
i)                  ii)                iii)
                     L                  L R
 /-------\         /-------\          /-------\
|    R    |        |    R    |        |         |
 \-------/         \-------/          \-------/
     L
```
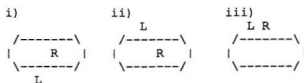
For the second move, the player had to hop inside the loop on
two feet, then hop out the other side (see Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3:

```
i)                  ii)
                    L R
 /-------\         /-------\
|   L R   |        |         |
 \-------/         \-------/
```
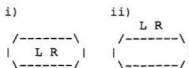
For the third move, the player hopped inside the loop on two
feet, then hopped his or her two feet out so that he or she
was straddling the loop with one foot on each side. Next, he
or she hopped so that he or she landed with his or her two

feet on the rope, on opposite sides of the loop. Finally, he
or she hopped out the other side (see Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4:

```
   i)                 ii)              iii)             iv)
                       R                                 L R
 /-------\          /-------\         /----R--\         /-------\
 |  L R  |          |       |         |       |         |       |
 \-------/          \-------/         \--L---/          \-------/
                       L
```

The fourth move was the same as the last one except the player
had to jump up and on the rope twice before jumping out. The
fifth move was called "Jack Rabbit," and the player had to hop
up and hook one side of the loop with his or her feet before
landing outside the other side of the loop, effectively
twisting the loop over. Finally, the player hopped up so that
the loop returned to its original position, and he or she
landed outside the other side of the loop (see Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5:

```
   i)                      ii)                    iii)
                                                   LR
 /----------\          /\ /--\ /\          /----------\
 |          |          | \/ LR \/ |          |          |
 \----------/          \/ \--/ \/          \----------/
       LR
```

For the final move, the player hopped and hooked one side of
the loop while twisting it over as in the last move. From
this position, the player then spelled out "black magic" by
hopping and alternating between spreading the legs forward and
backward, and side to side while saying each letter. Once

this was done, the player hopped out and landed on the other side of the loop (see Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6:

```
   i) "B"          ii) "L"         iii) "A"            iv) "C"

 /\  /L\  /\     /\  /-\  /\     /\  /L\  /\        /\  /-\  /\
 | / \ \/ |      | | \L  R/ |    | \/    \/ |       | | \L  R/ |
 \/  \R/ \/      \/  \-/  \/     \/  \R/  \/        \/  \-/  \/


   v) "K"         vi) "M"         vii) "A"           viii) "G"

 /\  /L\  /\     /\  /-\  /\     /\  /L\  /\        /\  /-\  /\
 | /    \/ |     | | \L  R/ |    | \/    \/ |       | | \L  R/ |
 \/  \R/ \/      \/  \-/  \/     \/  \R/  \/        \/  \-/  \/


   ix) "I"         x) "C"         xi)
                                           LR
 /\  /L\  /\     /\  /-\  /\     /----------\
 | \/    \/ |    | | \L  R/ |    |           |
 \/  \R/  \/     \/  \-/  \/     \----------/
```
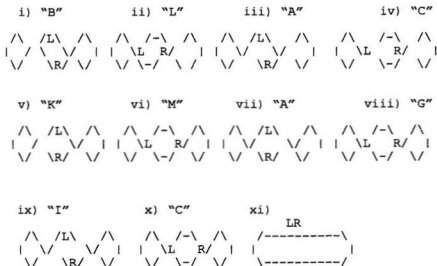
These six moves were then repeated, first with the loop at knee height, and then with it at waist height. Finally, the loop was raised up to the underarm, and the player had to "limbo" under it. This was done by bending backwards and walking under the rope without touching it. This effectively marked the end of the game--the object being to see who could get through all of the steps.

Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
     activities with play objects, seasonal games|
     Category F/Rhythmic games, skipping game with
     rhymes| Category K/Games of skill, hopping,
     jumping. Individual skills game.

***

HELICOPTER was a game with a rope played outdoors by both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. One child stood with his or her back to the others, while gripping a rope at one end and swinging it in a circular motion over his or her head. The other players then chanted:

Helicopter, helicopter please come down;

If you don't, I'll break your crown.

The child swinging the rope then picked a colour by using the following formula:

Only if you are wearing the colour of (blue).

If none of the children were wearing the chosen colour, in this case blue, then they replied, "no," and the first child continued to swing the rope above his or her head. However, if some of the other children were wearing this colour, then they replied, "yes." At this point, the child who was swinging the rope dropped it down so that it now circled at ground level, and the others who were wearing the chosen colour would jump the rope as it came around. Once someone was hit with the rope, the game was over and the child that was hit swung the rope in the next game.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects, seasonal games|
>   Category F/Rhythmic games, skipping game with
>   rhymes| Category K/Games of skill, hopping,
>   jumping. Individual skills game.
> ***

<u>PEACHES PLUMS</u> was a skipping game played outdoors by both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. It required a skipping rope. Two children were chosen to turn the rope and began the game by chanting:

Peaches, plums,

When do your birthday come?

Next, with each turn of the rope, the two began to say the months of the year:

January, February, March, April . . . .

Meanwhile, each player waited to jump over the turn of the rope that corresponded to the month of his or her birth. Once someone was "in," the two began to count the days of the month:

One, two, three, four . . . .

The player then stayed "in" until he or she had jumped over the turn of the rope that corresponded to his or her birthday. For example, if a player's birthday was April 4th, he or she would jump the rope a total of five times, once for the month and once for each day, before running out. If a player was unsuccessful, then he or she was out of the game. However, if a player was successful, then he or she would do it over again in competition with the others who had been successful until only one player was left, and thus determined the winner.

Alternately, the game was sometimes played so that once a player was "in," he or she would continue to jump the rope

until he or she was out. The object of the game in this variation was to see who could jump the rope the most times.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects, seasonal games|
>   Category F/Rhythmic games, skipping game with
>   rhymes| Category K/Games of skill - hopping,
>   jumping. Individual skills game.
>   ***

SCHOOL was a skipping game played outdoors by both boys and girls under the age of thirteen. It required a skipping rope. Two children were chosen to turn the rope while the others went through the various "grades." For "Kindergarten," the player had to run under the turning rope without touching it. For "Grade One," the player had to get between the two turning the rope, jump over it once, then run out without touching the rope. The game continued in this fashion up to "Grade Twelve," with the player jumping over the rope the same number of times as corresponded to the grade number. After "Grade Twelve" was completed, the next stage was "to see do you know all your ABCs." For this, the player would get between the two who are turning the rope and jump over it twenty-six times in succession as the others called out the letters of the alphabet. He or she would then run out without touching the rope. If a player was unsuccessful, then he or she had to start over at "A" on his or her next turn.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,

activities with play objects, seasonal games|
Category F/Rhythmic games, skipping game with
rhymes| Category K/Games of skill, hopping,
jumping. Individual skills game.
***

GENERAL cont'd:

SLIDING was a winter activity for both boys and girls
under thirteen years of age. During this period, the children
would usually use store-bought "toboggans," or "little skis"
to slide on the snow banks around the community, or "over on
the hill." Essentially, it was the same activity as described
in the last two chapters.

Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
Georges: Nongame/[physical skill and dexterity].
Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
activities with play object, seasonal
activities| Team game, cooperative group
game.
***

SOCCER was a summer game for younger boys and girls up
to thirteen, and a winter game for older boys and men from
roughly fifteen years of age and up. In both cases, a store-
bought soccerball was used, and essentially, the game was
played in the same manner as Football[206] described in the
previous two chapters. For the younger boys and girls, it was
played "over on the hill," or "out on the Point," and was

---

[206] One seventeen-year-old male informant, when asked
about Football, went on to comment on the game of American
Football, which he said was played outdoors during the summer
"over on the hill," mostly by boys approximately eleven or
twelve years old. I have not included it in the body of this
chapter, however, because he also said that it was not played
very often.

learned at school in Flower's Cove. For the older boys and men, the game was always played on the harbour ice in the early spring.

>Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
>Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
>Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, kicking, running. Team game, pack versus pack, simplified sports.
>
>***

SPIN THE BOTTLE was an indoor game for both boys and girls approximately thirteen or fourteen years old. Essentially, it was played in the same manner as described in the last chapter, except that during this period, the one that spun the bottle would have to kiss the one that it pointed to when it stopped spinning.

>Caillois: Chance/Ludus.
>Georges: Nongame/Chance.
>Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, activities with play objects| Category G/Games of chance, outcome determined by factors beyond player's control| Category J/Parlor games, indoor games for special occasions. Central-person game, limelight role.
>
>***

SPOTLIGHT was a game for both boys and girls under thirteen years old, and was played outdoors in the evenings during the summer and fall. It required a flashlight, and was usually played near Ren Coles's old house. To begin, one person would be chosen to be "it." This person would then cover his or her eyes and count up to an agreed number in order to give the others time to hide. When he or she had

finished counting, he or she would go around with the
flashlight and try to find the others in order to get them
"out." To get someone "out," the person who was "it" had to
shine the light on the person and identify him or her by name,
as well as say where he or she was hiding, using the following
phrase:

Spot on [1. person's name][2. hiding place].

There was no "home base" in this game, and the object of the
game for the others who were hiding was to simply find a good
place to hide, and make it difficult for the person who was
"it" to identify them.

An alternate version of this game was also played.
Essentially, it was the same except there was a "home base,"
and the other players, instead of staying hidden, would try to
sneak back to "home base" without being spotted, and caught as
described above.[207]

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity,
>   Strategy.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   activities with play objects, seasonal
>   activities| Category K/Games of skill,
>   hiding. Central-person game, fearsome "He"
>   character. Individual skills game.

***

STATUE was an outdoor game for both boys and girls under
the age of thirteen, and was played mainly during the summer

---

[207] In both cases, I was not told of any rule which
determined who would be "it" in the next game, nor was I given
any indication as to which version was more popular.

and fall. Sometimes a radio was used in the game. One person
was chosen to be up first, and he or she stood with his oor
her back to the other children. If a radio or "ghetto
blaster" was available, then the child who was "up" tuned it
to a station playing music. If a radio was not available, the
child sang a song that he or she knew. The example given by
one informant was of the popular song by Tom Petty, which my
informant entitled, "I Used to Live in a Two-Room Apartment":

> I used to live in a two-room apartment,
>
> Neighbours knockin' on my wall;
>
> Down the hall [another one a-knockin'],
>
> I don't miss this much at all.
>
> Oh yeah, I'm alright;
>
> I just feel a little lonely tonight,
>
> I'm OK most of the time;
>
> Just feel a little lonely tonight.
>
> I used to need your love so badly
>
> That I can't live with it;
>
> Baby I get a far away feelin'
>
> After something starts again.
>
> Oh yeah, I'm alright;
>
> I just feel a little lonely tonight.
>
> I'm OK most of the time;
>
> Just feel a little lonely tonight.

While the music was playing, or the song being sung, the others danced or moved around. At some point, the person who was up stopped the song, and the others were supposed to stop moving and stand still "like statues" before he or she could turn around. Anyone caught moving when he or she turned around was out of the game. The game continued in this fashion with the music starting and stopping, and the person who was "up" turning around to try to catch any of the others who were moving. When only one person was left, the game was over and that person was "up" in the next game.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central
>   person directs the course of the game, others
>   compete to take the leader's place| Category
>   F/Rhythmic games| Central-person game,
>   limelight role. Individual skills game.
> ***

STORE GAMES AND TESTS OF AGILITY AND STRENGTH:

An untitled test of agility and strength, essentially the same as <u>GO THROUGH YOUR ARMS</u> described in the last chapter, was done during this period mainly by boys under thirteen. The children, rather than hanging from a beam in the fishing stores, would perform this activity by hanging from the bars inside the school buses parked behind Mac Coles's house.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Games/Physical skill and dexterity.

Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
      Activities with play objects| Category
      H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
      K/Games of skill, twisting, lifting.
      Individual skills games.
                    ***

[GAME WITH A BROOM HANDLE] was an untitled test of

agility played by boys roughly between thirteen and seventeen

years old. It could be played at any time during the year,

and was usually done indoors in a fishing store. Essentially,

the test was for a boy to grip a broom handle and then twist

it around his body in a particular way without losing his grip

on the broom handle. A boy would first grip the broom handle

at the ends with his palms towards his body. Next, he had to

step out around one of his arms, and back over the broom

handle with one of his legs, so that his leg was now inside

the space formed by his arms and the broom handle. From this

position, he next had to slip the broom handle behind his back

while maintaining his grip. At this point, the boy would be

standing with the broom handle behind him, with one hand

between his legs and the other behind his head. To complete

the move, he would next slide the broom handle down his back

towards the floor so that he could step over it with his other

leg, and so that the broom handle is now in front of him, with

his grip maintained and his palms facing away from him.[208]

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[208] Although this manoeuvre seems to me to be next to
impossible to do, my informant assured me that it was
something that he and his peers spent time trying to do.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Games/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games,
>   Activities with play objects| Category
>   H/Physical tricks, initiations| Category
>   K/Games of skill, twisting. Individual
>   skills game.
>   ***

GENERAL cont'd:

SWIMMING was a summer activity for both boys and girls approximately ten years old and younger, which might more accurately be described as wading. Essentially, this activity was done in the same manner and place as that described for younger children in the last chapter. No informant mentioned older children swimming in the salt water of the cove during this period.

> Caillois: Vertigo/Paidia.
> Georges: Nongames/[physical skill and dexterity].
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, seasonal
>   activities. Individual skills game.[209]
>   ***

TUNNELS IN THE SNOW were dug by both boys and girls under thirteen years old during the winter months. They would dig a maze of tunnels in the snowbanks near the houses, and sometimes use these tunnels to play Freezer, described above. The maze would have only one opening to the outside, and sometimes the children would have to get outside to be "home." Other times, the game would be played without a "home" and would continue until everyone was caught. Generally, the

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[209] This activity might involve teasing, chasing, or play with objects.

first person caught would be "it" in the next game, and, once caught, he would wait outside until the game was over.

> Caillois: Competition [vertigo]/Ludus.[210]
> Georges: Game [nongame]/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category C/Informal games, activities with play objects, seasonal activities| Category E/Chasing games, central person does the chasing| Category K/Games of skill, crawling. Central-person game, fearsome "He" character. Individual skills game. Team game, pack versus pack.

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T.V. GAMES was a guessing and acting game played outdoors during the summer and fall by both boys and girls under thirteen years of age. It required no equipment. It was usually played by Ren Coles's old house, and required one child to give certain information about a particular television program while the others tried to guess the name of the program. First, the child would give the initials of the show. For example, "The Facts of Life" would be "TFOL." If nobody guessed it, then he or she would give the day of the week on which the program was aired. If the others still could not guess it, the child would give a rough estimate of the time of day when it came on; for example, "between seven and ten." If the others were still unable to guess it, then the child would act out something that one of the characters did on the show. The first person to guess correctly would be

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[210] This game changed from the last period, it sometimes included a version of Freezer described above.

"up" in the next game, and would take a turn giving out the information and acting out a character, if the game went that far.

> Caillois: Simulation/Ludus.
> Georges: Nongame/Role-playing and imitation.
> Sutton-Smith: Category D/Leader games, central
>   player directs the course of the game, other
>   compete to take his place| Category G/Games
>   of chance, guessing game. Central person
>   game, limelight role.
>   ***

VOLLEYBALL was a game for both boys and girls between thirteen and seventeen first learned and played in school. At school, the official game was played indoors with opponents volleying or batting a volleyball over a net, and vying for a predetermined number of points to win. Within the community, it was played during the summer mostly by boys using a store-bought volleyball, and someone's clothesline for a net. In essence, the game was the same as in school, except that there were no lines delineating the court.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Game/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill, hitting.
>   Individual skills game. Team game, simplified
>   sports, cooperative group game.
>   ***

WALKING THE FENCES was an activity for both boys and girls under thirteen years of age, and required no equipment. It was done in the same manner as described in the last chapter with the children balancing on the top rail of the fence and trying to walk the entire length of it. If someone

fell off, he would have to go back to the starting point and try again. Also, while my younger informant for this period made no mention of this activity, the older ones all did, and said that it was done exclusively on the fence surrounding the church on the north side of the cove.

> Caillois: Competition/Ludus.
> Georges: Games/Physical skill and dexterity.
> Sutton-Smith: Category K/Games of skill,
> balancing. Individual skills game.

....

SUMMARY: 1965-1992

As in the preceding periods, some of the games in the repertoire were more popular than others, and played more often. These include Hide-n-Seek, Hide-n-Blind Touch or Tag, Freezer, Spotlight, Cut the Butter, Lemonade or Bum Bum, Simon Says, Mother/Father May I, Kiss Tag, and Red Rover. Next to these in popularity were Charades, Copy House, Hockey Ball, Bandy Ball, In-a-Line, Boats and Marbles, with the remainder being played occasionally or during specific times or seasons. Other activities which were mentioned by my informants, such as "riding bikes," "fishing off the wharf," and "rolling someone around in a barrel," I have chosen to omit from the above list, primarily because little detail was given about them, but also because they fit into the list of general outport play, given in Chapter Four, which included "picking berries," and "playing around the stages and boats."

As in the previous two periods, the games and pastimes here seem to reflect the social and economic reality of the community, which for this period can be described as one of conservatism, innovation, and modernization. To begin, the school remained an arena for play, and the school year still determined when and where certain games were played. Specifically, games were still played at school during recess and lunchbreak, or after school in Savage Cove in the evenings. At the same time, children during this period grew up with a different educational experience than did children in the previous periods. Most notably, due to the opening of a centralized elementary school in Flower's Cove, they came in contact with children from neighbouring communities at an earlier age, and so, in turn, were exposed to their game repertoires. The improvements to local roads facilitated the periodic return of people who had out-migrated from the area, and also their children. Such contact was profound in that it created new networks for the introduction of new games into the community. Some of these new games were exchanged at school and the children brought them back to their home communities where they were played in a new context. In Savage Cove, some of these games would be reinvented as the children might not understand all of the rules to a particular game, and would "say how the game would go," so there would be

general agreement and no fighting.[211] Furthermore, due to its physical education curriculum, and its involvement in organized sports, the school as an institution came to be more involved with the games and pastimes of children than in previous periods. This new involvement may have more to do with increases in funding that came as a result of Confederation than with changes to the basic philosophy of education. The fact remains, however, that non-traditional sports such as Hockey, Basketball, Soccer, Lacrosse, Volleyball, Badminton, Baseball, Wrestling, Gymnastics, and Rugby came to be offered to the children through the school. Some of these games, namely Hockey, Soccer, Baseball and Wrestling, had a history or similar precursor within the community's repertoire. In general terms, however, the introduction of these new games prompted local children to consider these alternatives for incorporation into their existing repertoire. In most cases, where new games were taken back to Savage Cove, the children made certain changes to the official rules, equipment, or playing field in order to accommodate the playing of these games within the community. Badminton and Volleyball described above are both prime examples.

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[211] Taken from a tape-recorded interview conducted with Marsha Coles in August 1992.

Those games and pastimes played by children while away from school or during the summer break likewise reflect the conservative and innovative character of this period. Most conspicuous of these are the mimetic pastimes such as Boats and Cutting Fish which continued to copy the present day work of adults on the one hand, while reflecting the changes to the fishery on the other. As mentioned above, the toy boats during this period were generally modelled after the stern draggers used by many fishermen in the area, and the play usually copied the fishing operations of these large boats. With Cutting Fish, the children copied the division of labour along gender lines as it was in the local fish plant, suggesting that presently children may be more cognizant of gender roles than in previous periods.[212] Most importantly, however, changes to the fishery over the course of this period seem to have had some effect on the total repertoire of games played in the community. The demise of the labour intensive salt fishery greatly reduced the participation of children in the traditional family unit of production, which in past years determined, to a large extent, how a child's time was spent during the summer. Also, in recent years the fishery has been slowly declining leading up to the crash of 1992 which likely

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[212] Another indication of this new awareness, which was not overtly stated in previous periods, was the titling of "Mother/Father May I" by boys, and the deference shown by male informants to females in the game Marbles mentioned above.

caused parents to discourage their children from getting
involved in the fishery, an industry with an uncertain future.
This being so, changes in the fishery allowed children more
free time for play. Perhaps not surprisingly, the increase in
free time during this period corresponds with an increase in
the number of games in the repertoire, suggesting the
community's disposition with respect to the importance of
play.[13]

With respect to the character of the games, and the age
and sex of the participants, it appears that this period's
conservatism, innovation and modernization were pervasive.
The majority of games, as in previous periods, were
competitive with a large number of these being running and
chasing games. At the same time, however, there is a
noticeably smaller number of store games or tests of agility
and strength in the repertoire during this period. Homemade
equipment was now the exception rather than the rule with
community games, and standard equipment was used for the
different sports. Furthermore, the effect of improvements to
communications during this period is reflected in several
games. The television, which became a common fixture in most
homes over the course of this period, can be seen as a source

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[13] At the same time, it is interesting to note that the
parents I talked to during my time in Savage Cove believed
that their children did not play as much as they themselves
did when they were children. This may be true and the result
of television, or simply the parents perception.

for both T.V. Games as well Charades, which I suspect came from a celebrity Charades program that ran during the late 1970s. The effect of radio, as a mouthpiece for North American culture, can be seen in the game Statue, which required the use of a "ghetto blaster." Interestingly, the song that was sung for me as an example of how to play the game without a radio was a popular song by an American recording artist.

Finally, while most of the games in the community's repertoire were played by both boys and girls together, there does seem to have developed some separation between children in later years--perhaps as a result of the increase in the number of children in the community. Essentially, because children did not have to go as far to find an adequate number of playmates for their games, they did not regularly play with the other children in the community who lived a distance from them. At the same time, as mentioned above with such mimetic games as Cutting Fish, Boats, and Copy House, younger children seemed to be more conscious of "appropriate" gender roles than in previous periods. Also, there were instances where boys showed deference to girls with respect to expertise. For example, with the game of Marbles, while boys acknowledged that both boys and girls played the game, they often directed me to female informants for the later steps of the game, suggesting that either they were generally not good at the

game, or that they did not play it often enough to become good at it.

To conclude, while there was generally some overlap between the repertoire of the 1935-1965 period and this period, it can be seen that the repertoire of games has gradually evolved in terms of changes to the equipment, playing field, and gender criteria, and through the introduction of new games. At the same time, the repertoire is marked with a conservative element, suggesting that some older games remained appealing to the tastes of the children during this period.

Once again, the classifications and terms offered by Caillois, Georges and Sutton-Smith[214] help to quantify these changes.

In Caillois's terms, of the games and pastimes listed in the repertoire for this period, there are:

> 36 competition/ludus
>
> 10 and [9] vertigo/ludus
>
> 6 vertigo/paidia
>
> 6 simulation/paidia
>
> 4 chance/ludus
>
> 3 competition/paidia
>
> 1 simulation/ludus
>
> 0 chance/paidia

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[214] See Chapter One, pages 4-9.

This gives a total of seventy-five even though there are only sixty-four games reported for the period. Of the games that were described as "big" games, namely Hide-n-Seek, Hide-n-Blind Touch or Tag, the various types of Freezer, Spotlight, Cut the Butter, Lemonade or Bum Bum, Simon Says, Mother/Father May I, Kiss Tag and Red Rover, these breakdown as follows:

        9 competition/ludus

        5 vertigo/ludus

        1 competition/paidia

Using Georges's model, this gives a total of seventy-one falling into the following categories:

        39 competition: game/physical skill and dexterity

        11 no competition: nongame/[physical skill and

                              dexterity]

        9 no competition: nongame/role-playing and

                                    imitation

        6 competition: game/strategy

        4 no competition: nongame/chance

        1 no competition: [game/role-playing and

                                  imitation]

        1 no competition: [game/chance]

Of the games described as "big" games, there are:

        9 competition: game/physical skill & dexterity

        5 competition: game/strategy

        1 no competition: nongame/role-playing & imitation

According to Sutton-Smith's classification, the games breakdown as follows:

      40 category K/games of skill

      21 category C/informal games

      11 category F/rhythmic games

      10 category J/parlor games

      9 category D/leader games

      9 category E/chasing games

      8 category A/singing games

      6 category G/games of chance

      3 category H/teasing activities

      1 category B/dialogue games

This gives a total of 118.

Of the games described as "big" games, there are:

      8 category K/games of skill

      5 category E/chasing games

      3 category D/leader games

      1 category A/singing games

      1 category C/informal games

      1 category H/teasing activities

With his developmental synopsis, the breakdown is:

      42 individual skills games

      13 team: cooperative group games

      12 central-person: limelight role games

      9 central-person: fearsome "He" games

9 team: pack versus pack games

7 and [1] team: simplified sports

7 choral games

4 team: singing games

2 central-person: maintain position games

1 central-person: dominating figure game

0 central-person: scapegoat games

Of the "big" games described for this period, there are:

9 individual skills games

4 central-person: fearsome "He" games

3 team: pack versus pack games

1 choral game

1 central-person: limelight role game

1 central-person dominating figure game

1 team: cooperative group game

With this breakdown, it can be seen that the largest group in the repertoire for this period, as in the last two periods, consists of games which involve competition and "arbitrary, purposely tedious conventions." Achievement in these games is still determined by physical skill and dexterity, although there are a notable number in which strategy determines achievement. Again, these games generally take the structural form of Games of skill, yet, to a lesser degree, they comprise Informal games, Parlor games, Leader games and Chasing games, while continuing to encourage and

promulgate the development of individual skills from a developmental standpoint.

The next most popular set of games continues to be those which involve vertigo and "arbitrary conventions," and achievement in these games is still determined by some type of physical skill and dexterity, or by role-playing and imitation. At the same time this rank of game has come to include a different set of structural forms, namely Games of skill, Rhythmic games, Singing games, Informal games, Chasing games or Parlor games, and a different set of developmental forms namely Choral games, Team singing games, Central-person games in which a player takes a limelight role or represents a Fearsome "He" character, and team pack versus pack games, indicating a shift of refinement in this general category of game.

These are followed by those games which involve either vertigo and "free improvisation" or simulation and "free improvisation." In these games achievement is determined by role-playing and imitation and, to a lesser degree, by physical skill and dexterity. This rank of game further illustrates the trend that began during the last period in which vertigo/ludus games became more popular than vertigo/paidia games, now so much so that there is a greater, and definite, difference between their popularity. Also, as with the vertigo/ludus games, the vertigo/paidia games have

been refined and they now take the structural form of Informal games or Games of skill, and developmentally represent team cooperative group games and pack versus pack games.

The least represented games during this period are non-competitive games which involve chance and "arbitrary convention" or simulation and "free improvisation," and competitive games which involve "free improvisation." In these types of games, chance, role-playing and imitation, or physical skill and dexterity determine achievement, and they take the structural form of Games of chance, Parlor games and Leader games. With respect to Sutton-Smith's developmental synopsis, these games represent either, Central-person games in which a central person takes a limelight role, or represents a fearsome "He" character, or has to maintain his position in the face of open competition; and individual skills games.

As with the last two period, the list of "big" games, continues to confirm the game preference of the community. Notably, ring games which previously accounted for a large part of the list have been dropped during this period. Also, simulation or imitation games have been dropped, even though they are still considered "somewhat" popular. Lastly, during this period the number of games involving strategy has surpassed the number of games involving role-playing, and the number of Chasing games and Leader games have surpassed the

number of Informal games and Singing games, when compared to the ranking of "big" game types in the previous two chapters—so marking a shift in game preference for this period.

With respect to changes to the repertoire since the last period, there have been twenty-five games dropped, twelve name changes and thirty-eight new games added. The games dropped from the repertoire since the last period include Black Cat, Duck on a Rock, Four Feather Flyer, Lady Stick, Last Touch, Barrel Hoops, Red Rover, Riding Horses, Driving Trucks, Scout, Slingshots, Spin Tops, Stilts, Tiddly, Xs and Os, the ring games Go In and Out the Window, Green Gravel, King William, Lazy Mary, and Wally Wally Wallflower, and the Store Games and Tests of Agility and Strength, Chin the Beam, Lifting Weight Over Your Head, Measure Your Arm on a Broomstick, Measure Your Nose on a Broomstick, and Skin the Pudding. According to Caillois's classification, of these twenty-five deletions there are:

> 15 competition/ludus
>
> 6 vertigo/ludus
>
> 4 vertigo/paidia
>
> 3 competition/paidia

According to Georges's model, these represent:

> 17 competition: Game/physical skill and dexterity
>
> 6 no competition: Nongame/role-playing and

                                                    imitation

        5 no competition: Nongame/[physical skill and

                                                    dexterity]

        3 competition: Game/strategy

Using Sutton-Smith's classification, these deletions comprise:

        17 category K/Games of skill

        11 category C/Informal games

        8 category H/Teasing activities

        5 category F/Rhythmic games

        5 category A/Singing games

        3 category E/Chasing games

        1 category J/Parlor games

In terms of his developmental synopsis, these represent:

        19 individual skills games

        5 central-person: limelight role games

        5 choral games

        5 team singing games

        1 team: cooperative group games

        1 team: pack versus pack games

        1 central-person: scapegoat games

    As for name changes, these generally take the form of a
slight variation on the former name, a North American or
standard replacement of the older name, a new descriptive name
for an older activity or some combination of these three. For
example, the games previously known as Ball-in-a-line, Copy

House and Hide-n-Go-Seek are now known as In-a-Line, House and Hide-n-Seek, respectively. The games known by older informants as Football and Hide-n-Blind Touch, are now referred to by younger informants by the standard North American terms, Soccer and Tag. Finally, the games Boats and Cowboys and Indians are now also referred to as Cutting Fish and Guns, respectively, indicating the prime focus in the first mimetic game and the shift in the subject of the second.

The games added to the repertoire since the last period include Badminton, Barrel Off, Baseball, Bat the Ball, British Bulldog Charge, Building Camps, Charades, Clowns and Statues, Cut the Butter, Dodge Ball, Duck Duck Goose, Five-Hundreds, Flying Kites, the various types of Freezer or Freeze Tag, Heads Up Stand Up, Hockey Ball or Road Hockey, Horseshoes, King of the Hill, Kiss Tag, Lawn Darts, Lemonade or Bum Bum, Pat, Post Office, Rafts, Red Rover,[215] Simon Says, Spotlight, Statue, Tunnels in the Snow,[216] T.V. Games, Volleyball, the various Hand Games, Down Down Baby and Miss Mary Mac, the various skipping games School, Peaches Plums, Helicopter and Black Magic, and the untitled Store game or test of agility with a broom handle. According to Caillois's classification these thirty-eight fall into the following categories:

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[215] This game is completely different from the game of the same name described in the previous two chapters.

[216] This game is notably different from the game of the same name described in Chapter Four.

23 competition/ludus

13 vertigo/ludus

3 simulation/paidia

2 vertigo/paidia

2 competition/paidia

2 chance/ludus

1 simulation/ludus

Using Georges's terms, these breakdown as:

27 competition: Game/physical skill and dexterity

6 no competition: Nongame/[physical skill and

dexterity]

3 competition: Game/strategy

2 no competition: Nongame/role-playing and

imitation

2 no competition: Nongame/chance

1 competition: Game/[role-playing and imitation]

1 competition: Game/[chance]

With Sutton-Smith's classification, there are:

26 category K/games of skill

11 category C/informal games

8 category D/leader games

7 category J/parlor games

7 category E/chasing games

7 category F/rhythmic games

4 category G/games of chance

4 category A/singing games

2 category H/teasing activities

In terms of his developmental synopsis, there are:

29 individual skills games

8 central-person: limelight role games

7 team: cooperative group games

6 team: pack versus pack games

6 central-person: fearsome "He" character games

4 team: simplified sports

3 choral games

2 central-person: maintain position games

As with the 1935-1965 period, this breakdown indicates that the greatest increase occurred with games which involve competition and "arbitrary convention" and in which achievement is determined by physical skill and dexterity. Also, there was a further reduction in the relative number of vertigo/paidia games, and a smaller percentage of noncompetitive role-playing and imitation games during this period, while the relative number of games involving strategy remained about the same.

Structurally, the greatest increase occurred with games that take the form of Games of skill, and from a developmental perspective, the greatest increase occurred with Individual skills games. The next most notable increase occurred with games which involve vertigo and "arbitrary convention," and

with noncompetitive games in which physical skill and
dexterity determine achievement. These games generally take
the structural form of Games of skill, Informal games,
Rhythmic games, Chasing games and Singing games, and
developmentally represent Individual skills games, Team: pack
versus pack games or Team games in which players work as a
cooperative group, Central-person games in which a central
person represents a fearsome "He" character, and Choral games.

Notably, the percentage of Team: cooperative group games
has surpassed the percentage of Central-person: limelight role
games during this period, while both these types have
surpassed the percentage of Choral games and Team singing
games. Likewise, the number of Central-person: fearsome "He"
character games have surpassed the number of Choral games and
Team singing games, as well as the number of Team: pack versus
pack and simplified sports games. Also, there was a marked
increase in the percentage of Category E/chasing games and
Category J/parlor (essentially indoor) games during this
period, along with a decrease in the number of Category
H/teasing activities and Category A/singing games.
Interestingly, the percentage of Category F/rhythmic games did
not decrease along with the Category A/singing games due to
the introduction of Hand Clapping games to the repertoire.

Lastly, during this period four new types of games were
introduced into the repertoire and one type previously found

was dropped. Those introduced include one Competition: Game/[role-playing and imitation] game, one Competition: Game/[chance] game, one Category B/dialogue game and 2 Central-person games in which a central player has to maintain his position, while the Central-person: scapegoat type game first introduced during the last period was dropped.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore the effect of social and economic change on the repertoire of children's games in the community of Savage Cove between roughly 1900 and 1992, and in doing so add to the scholarship on children's games, particularly the study of children's games in Newfoundland. A brief social and economic history of Savage Cove illustrating the nature of life within the community, the heritage of its residents, and the social and economic backdrop for the game repertoire of the community was presented. Three indices of games for the periods 1900 to 1935, 1935 to 1965, and 1965 to 1992, respectively, presented the qualitative aspects of the various games by noting the rules of play, the gender and age requirements, the type of equipment used, where and when each game was played plus any other relevant contextual information. Further, by using the three classification systems offered by Roger Caillois, Robert A. Georges and Brian Sutton-Smith, I have endeavoured to quantify the character of the games and the subtle changes to the repertoire which have taken place over the course of this ninety-year period. The purpose of this was to analyze the games and the relationship between the changes found and coinciding social and economic changes within the community.

It can be said that the games and pastimes, and the context of these games and pastimes, remained much the same

over the course of time. Most games in the repertoire were competitive in nature, and boys and girls generally played together during recess and lunchbreak at school, or around home in the evenings after chores or homework was completed, with the school year determining when and where games were played. At the same time, however, changes to household work and decreases in children's chores increased the amount of time available for play, which came to be taken up more and more by watching television and adult-organized activities. These changes effectively shaped later children's experience. Furthermore, there is evidence that certain games, and the overall character of the repertoire, changed considerably in response to social and economic changes, suggesting both a conservative yet innovative attitude, or worldview, within the community. Both of these seemingly opposite qualities, conservation and innovation, are represented throughout the evolution of the repertoire to varying degrees. Furthermore, in later years, it is notable that the repertoire also includes certain "revivals," such as the game of Marbles which was passed down from parent to child.

Overall, the changes to the games are subtly represented through changes to their qualitative nature, or fundamental to the character of the repertoire—as seen in the addition of "new" games, the deletion of old games, or the adaptation and transformation of old games. In essence, the evolution of the

repertoire of children's games in Savage Cove when viewed in relation to social and economic changes within the community, specifically, changes in transportation, education, communications, work and economic prosperity, can be seen as representing the community's response to modernization.

For example, with regards to transportation over the ninety years, dogteams and horses were replaced by modern vehicles, and the coming of the modern highway opened up new networks for learning games—in that they facilitated travel into and out of the community.

Furthermore, these changes marked the demise of certain games and activities, such as Riding Horses and Hitching Dogs to a Komatik, while paving the way for the introduction of others, such as Driving Trucks and Road Hockey.

With regards to education, facilities developed from a small school within the community for the local children to a modern central school in Flower's Cove for all of the children of the area. This translated into a new educational experience for the children of Savage Cove as they came in contact with children from neighbouring communities at an earlier age, which expanded their network for experiencing new games for possible inclusion in their repertoire. In addition to moving the playing field for certain games and causing others to be played in a new context, these developments also caused a change in the age criteria for the playing of games--

the new cut off age being thirteen, the same age at which children went to Flower's Cove for high school.

Furthermore, over this period of time, adult involvement in the leisure time activities of children began to increase. The various Ring Games which were formerly passed on from child to child came to be taught at preschool by adults, and the official versions of North American sports, such as Hockey, Basketball, Soccer, Lacrosse, Volleyball, Badminton, Baseball, Wrestling, Gymnastics and Rugby, came to be taught through the school's physical education curriculum. Of these sports, those that had similar precursors within the community were generally changed to be more like the "new" official versions taught at school, while others were brought back to the home community and reinvented either because the children did not understand or remember the rules of the game, or in order for the new game to be accommodated in a different context.

Improvements to communications, with the introduction of electricity, telephones, movies, television and radio, also had a great effect on the game repertoire. For instance, the coming of electricity and telephones provided part of the equipment for the game of Driving Trucks, as well as the location for the new hiding game, Spotlight. Movies provided the subject for new types of mimetic game, such as Cowboys and Indians, which did not mirror everyday life in the community

as previous mimetic games had done. Television likewise provided the subject for new guessing games, such as Charades and TV Games, while radio provided North American music and songs which were used for the game Statue. Furthermore, both television and radio presented the North American sports that the children had learned in school, and so aided in supplanting and standardizing the similar local precursors of these "new" games.

With the modernization of work in the community, specifically changes to the fishery, children's involvement was reduced. This in turn increased the amount of time available to them for play--possibly accounting for the increase in the number of games in the repertoire in later years. In addition, technological changes to the fishery and fish processing were mirrored in children's mimetic games such as Boats and Cutting Fish, indicating that the children imitated both the everyday world of adults and also the new divisions of labour along gender lines.

This new gender awareness, was also evident in other games such as Mother/Father May I and Marbles, and may have had just as much to do with the increasing number of children in the community as with a changing community attitude. Most games continued to be played by both boys and girls; however, later children experienced an environment more conducive to gender separation as, due to the community's increase in

population and consequent increase in the number of possible playmates, they were not restricted by the number of children in the community as previous generations had been. Subsequently, some games which were formerly played by both sexes came to be regarded as unisex games with one sex showing deference to the other.

Finally, the arrival of a period of relative economic prosperity helped fuel the changes listed above, while having an impact on the type of equipment used in certain games. While the community preference for homemade equipment in the game Marbles prevailed, possibly because this game was essentially revived and passed down from parent to child, as more disposable income became available within the community, the means for purchasing equipment increased and the manufacture and use of homemade equipment effectively came to an end. Specifically, the homemade equipment previously used in the games Football, Rounders, Bandy Ball, Skating, Spin Tops, Boats and Rolling Barrel Hoops came to be replaced by store-bought items. At the same time, the games Four Feather Flyers, Slingshots, Stilts and Tiddly which employed homemade equipment were eventually dropped from the repertoire altogether, suggesting that the general attitude was one in favour of standardization, and one in which store-bought items were seen as preferable, if not simply more easily procured.

In effect, as the community moved from isolation, need and independence towards improvement, modernization and relative prosperity in the 1970s and 1980s, the game repertoire changed correspondingly—with the addition and deletion of games, and through changes in individual game elements. By viewing the subsequent changes to the overall character of the repertoire as presented through the various classifications, there appears to be a correlation with the social and economic changes within the community over the same period, and with the community's evolving attitude towards these changes. For example, over the course of time, there appears to have been a purging of the older games, or game elements, in the repertoire in favour of new games or modern game elements, as in the various mimetic games. Yet, the activities for the most part remain traditional in nature and context. In other words, from a strictly subjective standpoint, there has been considerable change with respect to specific games even though, from a thematic or structural or behavioural or developmental standpoint, the games represent, and fulfil, noticeably traditional tendencies and needs.

Given that games are traditional by nature, it could be assumed that by viewing, even subjectively, the specific elements of games one might gauge a "community's" reaction, or view, of both the past and the present. In this sense, the community is organic and the children's reaction to the *new*,

and their negotiation between the *new* and the *old* (or the traditional), demonstrates the enculturation of the upcoming generation within the community.

Furthermore, as the games in question are the property of children, it could be assumed that the changes to them are less self-conscious and perhaps more true or frank, as the children are negotiating the reality of the world around them through their explorations in the form of play. This negotiation is demonstrated through the application of the three classification systems offered by Caillois, Georges and Sutton-Smith, and although the subjectivity of these classifications must be recognized, it does not necessarily detract from their usefulness as a tool.

Using the terms introduced by Caillois, Georges and Sutton-Smith, it is evident that the repertoire over the full ninety year period consisted principally of games which involved competition and "arbitrary, purposely tedious conventions." Achievement in most games was determined by physical skill and dexterity, and the structure of most games was based on the action of a specific skill. Moreover, most games in the repertoire promulgated the development of individual skills. Yet, after 1965, there is a notable increase in the number of games in which strategy determines achievement, as well as an increase in the number of games

with the structural form of Informal games, Parlor games, Leader games and Chasing games.

The next most common type of game found between 1900 and 1992 was those which involved vertigo and both "free improvisation" and "arbitrary conventions." Achievement in these non-competitive activities was for the most part determined by some type of physical skill and dexterity or by role-playing and imitation. These games and activities took the structural form of Informal games, Rhythmic games, Singing games, Teasing activities or Leader games, and developmentally represented Choral games, Team singing games, Team cooperative group games, or Central-person games in which a player takes a limelight role, represents a dominating figure who controls the moves that the others can make or represents a fearsome "He" character. At the same time, a trend began between 1935 and 1965 in which games involving vertigo and "arbitrary conventions" or ludus started to outnumber the games involving vertigo and "free improvisation" or paidia. This trend continued until 1992 when the number of vertigo/ludus games far surpassed the number of vertigo/paidia games, becoming distinctly the second most popular type of game in the repertoire. Furthermore, between 1965 and 1992, team cooperative group games and central person games, in which a central person represents a dominating figure, lost favour, while the percentage of pack versus pack games in the

repertoire increased. In later years, there was also an increase in the number of games with the structural forms Games of skill, Chasing games and Parlor games.

The least represented in the repertoire over the whole time frame were competitive games which involved "free improvisation" and non-competitive games which involved simulation and "free improvisation" or chance and "arbitrary convention." In these types, physical skill and dexterity, role-playing and imitation or chance determined achievement, and they took the structural form of Informal games or Games of chance. With respect to Sutton-Smith's developmental synopsis, these games represented individual skills games, team cooperative group games, and central-person games in which either a central person takes a limelight role or represents a fearsome "He" character. Between 1965 and 1992, a new central-person game in which a player has to maintain his position in the face of open competition was added to this list. At the same time, the central-person game introduced between 1935 and 1965 in which a central-person is made a scapegoat by the other players was eventually dropped by the last period.

Given this as representing the traits of the repertoire over time, it can be seen that the repertoire is indeed evolving, and that the additions and deletions from the repertoire mark the subtle choices made by children in the

face of all influences, both traditional and current. These specific developments, or evolutionary changes, to the repertoire between 1900 and 1992, moreover, suggest the evolving worldview of the entire community as it reacts to change.

The increase in strategy games points towards an increase in the complexity of the world in which the community is embedded. The increased popularity of vertigo/ludus games over vertigo/paidia games also seems to point towards this increased complexity. The increase in the percentage of Parlor games in later years suggests a change in the place where games were played--in essence, games were always played *at* school but in later years they came to be played *in* school. To this point, some indoor games learned at school were brought back to the community and played as indoor games, as was the case with the game Badminton. Team cooperative group games and central-person games in which a central person represents a dominating figure lost favour, while pack versus pack games increased--suggesting a breakdown in the unity or cooperative nature of the community dynamic and a shift towards segmentation. This segmentation is mirrored in the changes to the units of production within the community over time. The addition of the central-person game type in which a central player has to maintain his position in the face of open competition, and the deletion of the central-person game

type in which a central player is made a scapegoat by the other players suggests a further refining of the community's attitude. In effect, this development seems to suggest that the community attitude tolerates testing individuals on a singular basis while not tolerating treating them as scapegoats, not even in play. Finally, the small number of games involving chance might suggest a community attitude that is more deterministic than fatalistic.

The anthropologists, Roberts, Arth and Bush, concluded their study by speculating that:

> . . . further inquiry [into the study of games] will show that games of strategy are linked with the learning of social roles, games of chance with responsibility and achievement, and games of physical skill with self-reliance. Alternatively stated, games of strategy may be related to the mastery of the social system; games of chance . . . with the mastery of the supernatural; and games of physical skill . . . possibly associated with the mastery both of self and of environment. (604)

In light of their conclusion, the above breakdown suggests that Savage Cove is a community which appreciates mastery of both the self and the physical environment, and which values self-reliance. At the same time, the community does not appreciate, or attempt mastery of, the supernatural. Also,

the increase in the number of strategy games points towards the community's growing appreciation of mastery of the social system.

Finally, with respect to variation and innovation in specific older games, this is most noticeable during the middle or transitional period, as the children apparently negotiated the extent of their repertoire between the old games and the new games that were being introduced to them. While this modification or renovation of the repertoire over time may prove to be a natural progression, in Savage Cove and within the time frame under examination, it is most noticeable between 1935 and 1965. As noted, no games were dropped during this period while new games were added and some older games greatly altered through innovation and experimentation. Through these changes and new lines of transmission, there was a process by which the body of traditional games was expanded through the introduction of "new" games. The introduction of these new games caused variation to occur in the older games and this, combined with the new games and the "revival" of certain older games, produced an entirely new repertoire.

Although scholars in the past have tended to concentrate on the traditional nature of games, I have focused on the dynamic nature of this genre of folklore. In my Newfoundland examples, I have found evidence that games, and the game repertoire of the community, change profoundly in response to

social and economic changes and that certain patterns of change to the repertoire express the manner in which the community responds to these social and economic changes. In effect, the games changed materially in the same manner as did other aspects of life in the community. As the community of Savage Cove evolved in the twentieth century, the character of the games came to express this modernizing trend.

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Appendix 1

Participants in the Study
Fieldwork dates: June 9 - July 10, 1992
                 August 17-27, 1992
                 March 1-31, 1993

List of Informants and Interview Dates:
1. Pad Lawless of Flower's Cove, born 1904.
      Interviewed 29 March 1993.
2. John Way of Savage Cove, born 1907.
      Interviewed July 1992.
3. Miriam (Coles) Hounsell of Savage Cove, born 1910.
      Interviewed July 1992.
4. Mamie Mitchelmore of Green Island Cove, born 1914.
      Interviewed June 1992.
5. Dave Noseworthy Sr., Green Island Brook, late of Savage
      Cove, born 1914. Interviewed 19 March 1993.
6. Hazel (Coles) Way of Savage Cove, born 1919.
      Interviewed July 1992.
7. Dora Coles of Savage Cove, born 1923.
      Interviewed 27 March 1993.
8. Maxwell {Mac} Coles of Savage Cove, born 1926.
      Interviewed 24 March 1993.
9. John Way of Savage Cove, born 1927.[217]
      Interviewed 30 March 1993.
10. Gladys (White) Coles, Mrs. Maxwell, of Sandy Cove, born
      1933. Interviewed August 1992.
11. Baxter Coles of Savage Cove, born 1933.
      Interviewed June 1992.
12. Hazel (Applin) Way of Savage Cove, born 1936.
      Interviewed August 1992.
13. Edith (Applin) Coles of Savage Cove, [sister of Hazel],
      born 1940. Interviewed August 1992.
14. Albert Coles of Savage Cove, born 1945.
      Interviewed 6 March 1993.
15. George Way of Savage Cove, born 1949.
      Interviewed 9 March 1993.
16. Earle Way of Savage Cove, born 1951.
      Interviewed 10-11 March 1993.
17. Matthew Coles of Savage Cove, born 1954.
      Interviewed July 1992.
18. Margaret (Genge) Coles of Anchor Point, born 1956.
      Interviewed July 1992.
19. George Coles of Savage Cove, born 1956.
      Interviewed June 1992.

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[217] This John Way is a first cousin of the John Way born 1907.

20. Barry Coles of Savage Cove, born 1960.
    Interviewed 4 March 1993.
21. George Henry {Hen} Coles of Savage Cove, born 1962.
    Interviewed August 1992.
22. Brian Coles of Savage Cove, [brother of Hen] born 1966.
    Interviewed August 1992.
23. Trudy White of Sandy Cove, born 1969.
    Interviewed August 1992.
24. Heather White of Sandy Cove, born 1971.
    Interviewed August 1992.
25. Marsha Coles of Savage Cove, born 1974.
    Interviewed 19 August 1992.
26. Maurice Way of Savage Cove, born 1976.
    Interviewed 30 March 1993.
27. Mark Coles of Savage Cove, born 1981.
    Interviewed August 1992.
28. Sherry Coles of Savage Cove, born 1981.
    Interviewed August 1992.
29. Michelle Coles of Savage Cove, born 1983.
    Interviewed August 1992.

Appendix 2

Concordance of tape numbers
with Informants and dates recorded:
#1 - Maimie Ellen Mitchelmore, June 1992 (one tape)
#2 - John and Hazel (Coles) Way, July 1992 (two tapes)
#3 - Matthew and Margaret (Genge) Coles, July 1992 (one tape)
#4 - Marsha Coles, 19 August 1992 (two tapes)
#5 - Mark and Michelle Coles, August 1992 (one tape)
#6 - Ike Chambers, August 1992 (two tapes:1Games,2Music)
#7 - Albert Coles, 6 March 1993 (two tapes)
#8 - Dave Noseworthy Sr., 19 March 1993 (two tapes)
#9 - Maurice Way, 30 March 1993 (one tape)