

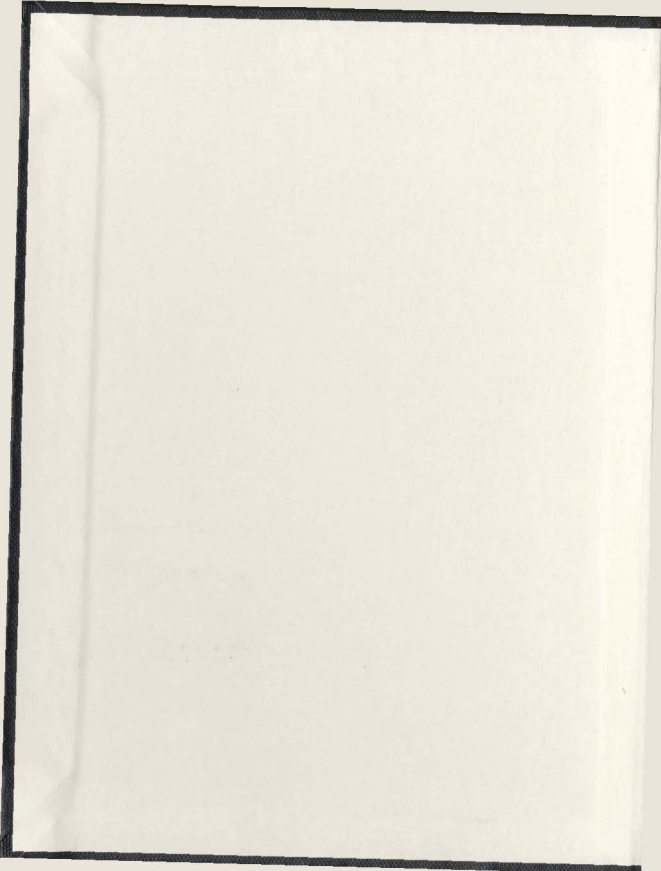
FOLK TRADITION, LITERATURE, AND A SOCIETY
IN TRANSITION: NEWFOUNDLAND

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PAT BYRNE



FOLK TRADITION, LITERATURE, AND A SOCIETY IN
TRANSITION: NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Folklore
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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the ways in which the folk tradition was perceived and presented by selected twentieth-century Newfoundland authors during the period in which an indigenous literature was developing on the Island, and it argues that, because Newfoundland also witnessed sweeping political, economic and cultural changes during the decades between 1920 and 1970, various conceptions of the worldview, communicative structures, and other expressive forms of the folk tradition provided writers with a means of addressing the anxieties and uncertainties which accompanied the society's transition from a traditional to a modern one. In order to create a framework for the study, Chapter One provides a general overview of the scholarship on the interrelationships between the verbal and written arts in general, and between folklore and literature in particular, and argues that an understanding of this interrelationship is facilitated by the view which sees folklore as the result of repeated patterns and processes and not simply as items or texts. Chapter Two discusses the notion of the folk culture as an intellectual construction in historical and scholarly perspective as related to folkloristics generally, discusses the notion specifically in terms of the Newfoundland context, and advances the concept of a regional mythology as a notion less susceptible to high cultural bias because it evolves as a product of both the folk and literate traditions. Chapter Three presents an overview of the socio-political forces that moulded the evolving Newfoundland society which formed the background against which the

indigenous literature developed, and provides a survey of the Island's literary history to 1920. Chapters Four and Five discuss the different responses to the folk tradition in the works of writers who published between 1920 and 1970, and Chapter Five suggests, as a basis for further study, that, once an indigenous literature was fully established, the uses made of the folk tradition by the literate culture were radically different from those which had marked the period during which an indigenous literature was developing.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BN</i>	<i>The Book of Newfoundland</i>
<i>DNE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Newfoundland English</i>
<i>ENL</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador</i>
<i>JAF</i>	<i>Journal of American Folklore</i>
<i>JFI</i>	<i>Journal of the Folklore Institute</i>
<i>JFR</i>	<i>Journal of Folklore Research</i>
MUN/CNS	Memorial University of Newfoundland Centre for Newfoundland Studies
MUNFLA	Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive
MUN/ISER	Memorial University of Newfoundland Institute of Social and Economic Research
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>SFQ</i>	<i>Southern Folklore Quarterly</i>

INTRODUCTION

One of the first remarks that one is likely to hear from a person newly acquainted with Newfoundland is that the English language as spoken here is strange sounding to the ear and unusual in many of its usages. As the person becomes more familiar with the new environment he or she will likely be struck by the prominence of, and reliance on, the spoken word in Newfoundland society. The visitor may, therefore, be surprised to hear some local people, especially older ones, complain that Newfoundlanders sound just like other Canadians these days, that people do not talk as much as they used to, that one seldom hears a recitation or an old time song any more, that people no longer tell stories or yarns, that nothing is the way it used to be, and that everyone is writing books nowadays. A trip to one of the local book shops may lead the person to conclude that the last point, at least, appears to be true. There, along with the best-selling international titles, the visitor will discover novels, plays, and books of poetry alongside scholarly treatises on history, politics, economics, and education—all by local writers. Closer inspection reveals that the majority of these titles carry an original publication date later than 1970. Also to be found there are several popular titles of the same vintage which eulogize bygone days and argue that Newfoundlanders are a people unique unto themselves, and that the Island is a place that is unlike any other, with more folklore and tradition per square foot than any other part of Canada, with the possible exception of Québec. This same message is repeatedly broadcast by the local electronic media and promulgated in various forms of advertising. A visit to a local record store will reveal,

again side-by-side with the latest international hits, racks of local folk music, almost all of which has been recorded since 1970 as well. The visitor might well be forgiven for being confused by this proliferation of paradoxical and conflicting signals—suggesting a society experiencing more than the usual tensions with regard to its preferences for the spoken or the written word, and grappling with more than the usual antipathies between the traditional and the modern. If the visitor hails from mainland Canada, an even greater potential for confusion and disorientation on his or her part comes into play. This is due to the fact that a popular mainland image of this place and its people is that of a barren, desolate, icebound island peopled by the numskull butts of "Newfie" joke cycles. Ironically, this image is often fostered—unwittingly, and in an attempt to achieve a quite different effect, one assumes—by Newfoundlanders themselves, both at home and off the Island. An extension of this view sees Newfoundlanders as existing in a cultureless vacuum and as noteworthy, in the present scheme of things in Canada, only for being the largest single burden on their fellow Canadian taxpayers.

It was with the intention of unravelling some of these conflicting signals, perceptions, and misconceptions that this study was undertaken. I had for long been aware of the existence of conflicting views, both at home and beyond the Gulf of St. Lawrence, about Newfoundland in general and about the traditional way of life as lived on the Island in particular. I was familiar with the major writers and works in Newfoundland literary history, and I had some firsthand experience with the folk tradition. I had witnessed as well the marked increase in literary production and artistic

activity generally in Newfoundland during the 1970s and 1980s, and I knew that much of the written literature had drawn heavily on aspects of the folk tradition. I estimated, therefore, that it would be a relatively uncomplicated exercise to examine a representative selection of works and investigate the ways in which the folk tradition was represented in them. The fact that the study does not include for discussion any Newfoundland literary work published after 1970 is an indication of my underestimation of the scope and complexity of the undertaking.

There were other problems as well which were not related to the Newfoundland context specifically. A preliminary survey of the scholarship dealing with the interrelationships between folklore and literature revealed that, while there were numerous studies of the use of folklore in particular works and an equal number of studies of the uses made of the folk tradition by specific authors, no precedent existed for the study of the ways in which the folk tradition of a particular country or region informed the mainstream literary culture of that same area during a specific and extended period of time. Furthermore, it soon became clear that no general agreement existed among scholars on a number of terms and concepts which were integral to the study, and that terminological and methodological concerns would have to be addressed throughout the work. There is little agreement, for instance, on the exact nature of the interrelationships between folklore and literature, and considerable confusion and disagreement, despite some significant recent progress, with regard to a suitable terminology for dealing with them. One necessary step toward a clarification of the

terminological problems is to draw working distinctions between "oral," "verbal," and "literate" cultures, and to see these not as frozen categories but as shifting points along a continuum. It is even more important to view folklore as more than "verbal art," and to consider the encompassing influence of the folk tradition on the literary milieu rather than being content with the simple identification of an author's *use* of a folkloric item or process.

The scholarly and popular notions of the folk and folk culture proved to be even more amorphous and troublesome. Despite the fact that these terms are still part of current usage, few scholars today would attempt a definition of either without attaching so many qualifications to them as to render the definitions meaningless. Attempts to apply these concepts to the Newfoundland situation are made all the more challenging because of a wide divergence of views on the nature of Newfoundland history, society, and culture *per se* among scholars, on the one hand, and an even wider divergence of opinion among people generally, including writers, on the other. It is possible, however, to cast this in more positive and workable terms once one realizes that what one is actually dealing with are *perceptions* rather than hard and fast realities and actualities. The perceptions about the folk and folk tradition on the part of the popular and high cultural spheres are the determining factors in how the expressive forms of the latter reflect the former. Furthermore, influences among the three are not unidirectional. Expressive forms within the folk culture are equally as susceptible to influences from the popular and high cultural spheres. Over time, this tri-directional field of influences gives

rise to the development of a mutually acceptable regional mythology which operates in the folk, popular, and high cultural realms and functions on both esoteric and exoteric levels.

In order to investigate the intermingling of the forces within this tri-directional field of influences locally, it is necessary to examine in some detail the socio-political background because it is, for Newfoundland, the indispensable contextual framework within which expressive forms at the popular and high cultural levels move and have their being, and to which the folk culture itself is perennially responsive. It is also necessary to examine the literary history which predated the development of an indigenous literature in the twentieth century, not only for purposes of continuity but also to illustrate the relationships between the colonialist viewpoints contained in the earlier written record and more modern expressions of regional identity in both written and verbal forms. Every Newfoundland writer, from the earliest times to the present day, was or is an apologist—in the classical, ecclesiastical sense of that term—and not a few of their works have been *apologiae*, both *pro vita* and *pro patria*. To consider the literature without paying close attention to the background in a study such as this would be to ignore one of the fundamental principles of contextualism.

The latter chapters of this study address two fundamental paradoxes with regard to the development of an indigenous Newfoundland literature. Until very recent times, and with very few exceptions, the bulk of Newfoundland's imaginative literature has focused on life as lived in the outports and bays. Many of the writers who produced this

literature, however, were urbanites with little or no firsthand experience of the society and culture they were attempting to portray. That these writers should have chosen such a course attests to the importance they ascribed to that way of life. Furthermore, serious literary examination and interpretation of the outport way of life did not begin until social and political forces seemed to be threatening its very existence. As a result, the literature examined in these chapters is a mirror image of the uncertain, ambivalent attitudes prevalent in Newfoundland society generally early in the second half of the present century.

CHAPTER ONE: APPROACHES TO LITERATURE AND FOLK TRADITION

Study of the interconnection between folklore and literature is longstanding, traceable at least to the emergence of folkloristics as a distinctive, recognizable discipline. William Thoms, in the course of his letter to *The Athenaeum* in 1846, wherein he claimed "the honor of introducing the epithet Folklore" into the language, noted that he was offering the "good Saxon compound" as a replacement for "what we in England designate as Popular Antiquities, or Popular Literature." Parenthetically, he added the following qualifier: "though by-the-bye it is more a Lore than a Literature."¹ Thoms was, of course, coining a word, not creating a discipline, "for the materials of folklore had been studied with rigor long before [the] nineteenth-century intellectual currents of romanticism and nationalism"² fostered renewed interest in "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc., of the olden time."³ Thoms's distinction between Lore and Literature notwithstanding, "as the century progressed, [and] theory, methods of analysis and more importantly, principles of editing underwent major changes, the literary source remained one of the major resources for the study of folklore."⁴ The current century has witnessed the maturation of folklore into an internationally recognized discipline with its own methodologies and its own critical terminology. Various times throughout this period have been marked by the ascendancy of the so-called literary or anthropological folklorists, and the shifting emphasis in folkloristics of theories which stress performance, dynamics, text, or context, but the literary source has remained grist for the folklorist's mill. Indeed, two

bibliographies published in the 1980s list over two thousand items dealing with folkloric elements in American and British literature alone.⁵

In this context it is rather disheartening to note that, despite the efforts of so many, "the scholarship on the subject leaves the impression that folklore and literature are fundamentally incompatible,"⁶ and that study in the area "has been a surprisingly active and yet paradoxically disjointed affair."⁷ It is necessary, therefore, without venturing too far afield into an examination of how the politics of academe⁸ have been brought to bear on a discipline whose birth has been described—somewhat facetiously, but not without a grain of truth—as that of "a bastard field that anthropology begot upon English,"⁹ to delineate the major theoretical contributions which have fostered this disjointedness. In the process, few of the numerous studies which have come to characterize what one commentator has cavalierly referred to as "the lore-in-lit approach"¹⁰ to the study of the interrelationships between folklore and literature will be considered. Instead, the emphasis will be to illustrate the significant new directions which have emerged in the past decade or so. The effect of such a summary is the provision of a base upon which a broader concept than the usual prescriptive notions of the interrelationships between folklore and literature can be mounted, leading to an examination of the ways in which, and the reasons why, the entire literary process of a particular place, at a particular time, is informed by the folk tradition.

One rarely reads a theoretical study of the interrelationships between folklore and literature written in North America in the past thirty years which does not make

reference to "Folklore in Literature: A Symposium"¹¹ as its starting point. The papers presented there, and especially that of Dorson,¹² have proven to be seminal; they have provided practically every writer since with a foundation upon which to build, or a goad against which to kick, in attempting to advance study in this area. The importance which has been attached to this symposium, however, has tended to obscure contributions which preceded it. Therefore, before turning to a detailed consideration of the principles enunciated by the symposium participants, it is necessary to refer to some of these earlier statements.

Dorson noted "three flaws" which had impaired "the attempts hitherto made to identify the oral traditions used by American authors." These flaws he identified as follows: "some critics confuse 'folk' with 'folklore'"; others "simply list supposedly traditional items with no attempt to prove their folk quality"; and a third group fails because of "too ready an acceptance of the Rourke thesis."¹³ According to Dorson, the Rourke thesis, as developed by Constance Rourke and expanded by later scholars, fails because of its "major misconception" regarding a body of material which "belongs to popular literature and not to folklore."¹⁴ The problem with Dorson's easy dismissal of Rourke is that it depends on his own finely drawn distinction between folk culture and popular culture, a distinction he had developed earlier in distinguishing folklore from "fakelore."¹⁵ Even if that distinction were universally accepted among folklorists in 1957, or today for that matter, it begs the question to apply it in retrospect to Rourke's work. To do so obscures the legitimate contribution she made.

Constance Rourke was a historian who was preoccupied with defining and defending an indigenous American culture. Writing at a time when the study of folklore had not yet emerged as a recognized discipline in American universities,¹⁶ and labouring under "a concept of folklore as local color and sentimental theatrical memories,"¹⁷ she nevertheless employed a Herderian ideology in an attempt "to offset the assertion by many of her contemporaries that American civilization had little to offer in the fine arts."¹⁸ Her nationalist intentions caused her to use procrustean methods to demonstrate that the tradition of humour which developed around the character types of the Yankee, the backwoodsman, and the Negro in oral tradition and in early American literature "has been a fashioning instrument in America," helping to form "a consistent native tradition."¹⁹ Despite the broad sweep of her analysis and the faltering methodologies she sometimes employed, later, more cautious critics might do well to recall a central dictum of the Rourke thesis: that as an indigenous literature develops, there is a considerable blurring of genres, causing the tidy distinctions and divisions which critics are wont to make after the fact to be somewhat parachronistic. Speaking of the early development of American humour, she notes:

Since it had been produced on many levels this comic poetry could not be called folk-poetry, but it had the breadth and much of the spontaneous freedom of a folk-poetry; in a rough sense its makers had been the nation. Full of experiment and improvisation, it did not belong to literature; but it used the primary stuffs of literature, the theater that lies behind the drama, the primitive religious ceremony that has been anterior to both, the tale that preceded both the drama and the novel, the monologue that has been a rudimentary source for many forms.²⁰

Although her vision was limited by her immediate concern of demonstrating a legitimacy for American literature, she realized that:

Such preludes have existed for all literatures, in songs and primitive ballads and a folk-theater and rude chronicles. Great writers have often drawn directly from these sources. . . . From them literature gains immensely; without them it can hardly be said to exist at all.²¹

In the final analysis she concludes, almost grudgingly, that American literature, "like other literatures, is related to an anterior popular lore that must for lack of a better word be called a folk-lore."²² Some sixty years later the folklorist may wish to quibble with her terminology, but the value of her basic insights is not easily dismissed. There is an intuitive quality in her analyses which is obscured by the terminology she uses. Ironically, as the terminology became more precise, due largely to developments in folkloristics, much of the intuitive aspect was lost.

Prior to the publication of the papers read at the symposium, the touchstone for folklorists interested in literature was a 1948 article by Archer Taylor.²³ Having limited himself "primarily to folklore expressed in words," Taylor proceeds to identify "three problems arising from three different kinds of relationships: (1) folklore is, in many cultures, indistinguishable from literature; (2) literature contains elements borrowed from folklore; and (3) writers have imitated folklore."²⁴ In his last paragraph he mentions in passing "a curious modern variation" of the third category where "instead of writing something in imitation of folklore and wishing it to be accepted as literature, a writer may have the wish that his work may pass as folklore."²⁵ With the possible exception

of this last, it is unfortunate that Taylor designates his other categories as "problems." They become problems only when folklore is seen as a distinct body of material, a collection of items, to be dispassionately culled, manipulated, and used by the writer to serve his belletristic purposes. What Taylor is, in fact, hinting at are the different stages of the interface between the written and the oral. Lest it seem unfair to Taylor to apply this terminology to an article written in 1948, it is worth noting that he reminds his readers that "until a differentiation of folk literature and the literature of art occurred, conscious imitation of folk style and folk matter could not have come into being."²⁶ In highlighting this differentiation, he set the tone for much of the criticism which followed. Grobman provides a convenient summary of the dichotomy which developed:

On one end of the spectrum there are those folklore scholars who stress the methodology a critic must employ and the authenticity of the sources of folklore. . . . On the opposite end of the spectrum, there are those literary scholars who are concerned *only* with the classification of the ways in which authors utilize folklore in their work.²⁷

In the first instance folklore remains a thing, an item to be identified, authenticated, classified, and indexed; in the second, it becomes a hazy, ill-defined, romanticized, impressionistic notion arising out of a "pre-disposition to folkery,"²⁸ or a predilection for the "folksy,"²⁹ usually predicated on nativistic or revivalist agendas. Both approaches tend to lose sight of the fact that folklore is a process, to the study of which the professional folklorist brings an orientation and a perspective rather than ironclad definitions,³⁰ and that folklore and literature "are both creations of the human fantasy

or imagination operating upon the materials of human experience."³¹ All of these concerns are addressed at different levels in the symposium papers published in 1957.

As noted above, the paper which Dorson delivered had the greatest impact on later scholarship. It is worthwhile, therefore, to consider his paper in the larger context of his contributions to the question of the interconnection between folklore and literature over a period of years before considering the positions of the other participants. Having dismissed those efforts marred by the "three flaws" noted above, Dorson proceeds to prescribe "three principal kinds of evidence" which the literary critic can use to "satisfactorily establish the relationship of a given work to folk tradition." These he designates as follows: "an author may be shown through *biographical evidence* to have enjoyed direct contact with oral lore"; the critic may turn to "*internal evidence* in the literary composition itself, that indicates direct familiarity of the author with folklore"; and, the "critic must present *corroborative evidence* to supplement his proofs from biographical and internal evidence" to demonstrate that what has been judged to be folklore "inside the literary work possesses an independent traditional life."³² Some years later he gave credit to Bernth Lindfors for establishing a fourth method, the evidence from "literary sources," or "intermediary literary influences" resulting from an author's reading. He maintained that this method "should be added to [his] criteria,"³³ but many writers who refer to Dorson's original tripartite scheme do not add this fourth.

These principles must be seen within the context of Dorson's long, polemical battle to "defend and demonstrate the validity"³⁴ of folkloristics as a legitimate academic

study. As early as 1945 he was concerned that "the purist approach to defining and collecting folk tales by the touchstone of oral currency [was] gradually being refuted by poaching literary historians."³⁵ He was prepared to admit that printed sources offered "a virtually unexplored country . . . for folklore hunting," but he was concerned that "what collectors today gather . . . as living tradition may well have drained through subliterate conduits."³⁶ By 1951 he suggested the use of folklore as a tool of literary analysis, as one of five lines of development with future promise, but warned against "the dangers of over-playing literary interpretation in disregard of folklore principles."³⁷

The symposium provided him with an opportunity to bring these views together in a coherent form and present them before an audience of folklorists and literary critics. That he felt his remarks had not had the desired effect can be gathered by the fact that a year later he reiterated his position and castigated those—Hoffman among them—who continued to publish studies which followed the course he had attacked, many of them written by those who had "never done any fieldwork . . . read no field collections [and knew] nothing of type and motif indexes."³⁸ By 1976 he was prepared to allow that the mere tabulation of items of folklore in literature was "the old-fashioned way," but, with reference to Dundes (see note 17, chap. 1), he maintained it was "banal to say we must interpret as well as identify." To do so was simply to state the obvious. In the same place, while ceding that Rourke "was really the first theorist of American folklore" and "the first scholar to interrelate that folklore with literature," he blasts Bluestein's book (see note 146, chap. 1) as a "fiasco production" which is nothing more than a slavish

paraphrase of her work couched in "turgid literary criticism."³⁹ This is an unfair dismissal of a work which, while it is folkloristically unsound on many counts, "respects oral performance" and deals "intuitively" with literary "representations of folkloric events" partly "because no precise terminology exists for the literary phenomenon"⁴⁰ which Bluestein observes.

John Holloway, in a review of Dorson's *Folklore and Fakelore*, chides him for not explaining more fully the potential contributions of folkloristics to literary studies:

The enthusiastic specialist, arguing for his own discipline, is inclined to find everything rather obvious, and then the rest of us have to elicit the answers or even the questions for ourselves, where really he ought to have done that for us. I don't myself need to be persuaded of the importance of folklore studies, the study of literature itself did that for me long ago, and I see the fact that it did so as near to the heart of the whole matter. But at several points in his book I have looked for articulation and enlightenment, and found great liveliness and rich detail, but they are not the same thing.⁴¹

In a response to Hemenway and Holloway, Dorson states that their comments touch "on several major concerns of the folklore fraternity," and concludes that "the pendulum of folkloristics has swung far enough toward the social sciences; it is time to concern ourselves more energetically with our humanistic side."⁴² Dorson's apparent change of heart should not obscure the fact that, over a period of years, his prestigious position, intellectually and politically, in the North American "folklore fraternity" meant that his views had considerable influence on the direction of the pendulum.⁴³ Few younger scholars were prepared to challenge his stated positions; those who did felt the full weight of his displeasure.⁴⁴

I have dealt at some length with Dorson's comments because his original tripartite scheme had the effect not only of disqualifying anyone except the professional folklorist—as defined by Dorson—from legitimately commenting on the interrelationships between folklore and literature but also, because of the interpretations placed on biographical and internal evidence especially, of seeming to suggest that the competent and legitimate handling of folklore in a literary work necessitates that the *writer* be a folklorist as well. The result was that the gulf separating the folklorist and the literary critic widened; the dichotomy between identification and interpretation became entrenched. This can be demonstrated by comments made by the other participants in the symposium. Collins suggested that the folklorist should balance his collecting with spending "more energy working toward understanding."⁴⁵ Ashton noted that "as long as we are not engaged in the dubious pleasures of source hunting, the directness of the influence on the creative artist is not of prime importance."⁴⁶ Hoffman felt that Dorson's scheme "would in practice limit our search for folklore in literature to the writings of regional and provincial authors" and negate "bold claims for the importance of folk materials in literary tradition."⁴⁷ The scholarship which has appeared since 1957 tends, with a few notable exceptions, to be situated on one side or the other in this debate. At the center of this debate are problems of perception and nomenclature regarding the nature of folklore and literature and the nature of the interrelationships between the two; "as a result, 'Studies' of folklore and literature more often resemble warfare than scholarship."⁴⁸ Folklorists and literary critics must share equally the

blame for the perpetuation of the conflict, and broader, less entrenched attitudes than those which have characterized positions on both sides for the past quarter century and more, combined with closer attention to a more precise nomenclature, are required for its resolution.

The problems associated with nomenclature are best illustrated by reference to "oral" and "verbal," two "keywords," to use Raymond Williams's apt term, which are central to folkloristics. Buchan pointed out in 1972 the unfortunate ambiguity surrounding the word "oral," which "is used specifically to refer to the tradition of nonliterate societies, and is also used generally to refer to that tradition *and* the word-of-mouth tradition of literate societies."⁴⁹ He suggested, and employed in his own work, a finer distinction: "Henceforth 'oral' will be employed only in the specific sense—to refer to nonliterate tradition—and 'verbal' will be employed for the word-of-mouth tradition of a literate culture."⁵⁰ The failure on the part of later critics to employ this distinction has contributed a measure of confusion to their arguments. Lindahl, in the course of advancing his own case for oral artistry, notes that "folk narrators themselves do not distinguish their tales as written or oral in origin," and balances this with the statement that "many of the most famous figures of the past—including Robert Burns, Abraham Lincoln, and Mark Twain—were praised for their great talents as both oral and written artists."⁵¹ Similarly, Stahl's contention that "it is perhaps the teller-turned-writer or the writer-turned-teller, or better yet the narrator who performs in either medium, who can be most helpful in revealing the differences between written and oral

style, "⁵² is equally confusing because her arguments are based on a comparison between the personal experience stories and the newspaper columns of a literate individual. Significantly, both of these writers object to Lord's position (see note 74, chap. 1), but while Lord is referring to the differences between the *oral* and the written, they are, in effect, referring to the differences between the *verbal* and the written. The importance of keeping such distinctions in mind is illustrated in much of what follows.

Lindahl identifies two approaches which are distinguishable in the various studies of the interrelationships between folklore and literature: "the populist-historical approach" and "the elitist approach." The biases which characterize these approaches are very different; the assumption which underlies both is the same. "They share a major premise which can be reduced to the following equation: Literature - Art = Folklore." The first approach is committed to source hunting, but it ignores the artistic aspects of the source or looks upon art as "a destructive force which corrupts the purity of the lore and which must be weeded out before the lore is considered authentic." The second approach operates with an opposite bias; the source is considered worthy of the critic's attention only insofar as it can be demonstrated that the literary genius "transforms the contents of folklore and transcends the limits of tradition."⁵³ This oppositional approach is not unique to studies of the interrelationships between folklore and literature; parallels are to be found in several areas of folkloristics, and in related fields of study which have influenced the discipline.⁵⁴

Lindahl limits himself to a consideration of "the artistic uses of folklore and literature" and attempts "to define the boundaries between oral and written *narrative art*," through an examination of "eight criteria most often used to build walls between"⁵⁵ the two forms. Because his main purpose is to demonstrate an artistic legitimacy for the verbal forms, his focus is different from that of the present study. On the other hand, these criteria can be applied much more broadly to an examination of the interrelationships between folklore and literature and to an examination of the reasons behind the presumed incompatibility of the two, because, in large measure, it is presumptions and biases, not solid theory or demonstrable facts, that one has to deal with in assessing much of the scholarship in the area. It is instructive, therefore, to consider each category in turn and relate them to studies dealing with folklore and literature.⁵⁶ The eight criteria, in the order in which Lindahl discusses them, are: Voice vs. Print; Fixity vs. Fluidity; Complexity; Style and Structure; Tradition vs. Creativity; Authorship; Compositional Techniques; and, Audience.

The first of these is the most difficult with which to grapple because it is central to an understanding of what folklore is and how the folklore process operates. This concept is also the foundation upon which the other criteria rest. It is, however, a fluid concept which changes as societies change, and which cannot be applied without qualification cross-culturally or in any generalized way to all areas in any given cultural sphere. Furthermore, the critical articulation of the concept has been bedeviled by terminological and definitional problems, often exacerbated by historical biases and

pejorative applications. Lindahl outlines the problem in these terms: "Scholars traditionally have taken the most literal interpretation possible and simply have assumed that literature signifies a written artwork, while folklore refers to an oral one."⁵⁷ This is an apt assessment, as far as it goes, but, as the examples which Lindahl uses illustrate, attempting to argue against this position by using only the polar division between the oral and the written, the illiterate and the literate, creates as many problems as it solves.

The notion that print is the enemy of, and antithetical to, lore has a long history. Dorson's concerns regarding the diluting effect of print on folklore, noted above, echo views expressed by Krohn in 1926:

Literary documents whose folk origins are clearly preserved, as well as folklore that survives in copies, prints, translations, or further reworkings of older documents, are, as such, worthless to the folklorist. . . . Now and then a hybrid form occurs in which it is extremely difficult to sort the literary aspect from the folk aspect. For lack of more genuine evidence this hybrid form may serve, but it must by all means be checked with great care and must be segregated temporarily. . . . Above all, the *oral*, *genuine*, and *actual* variations of the selected themes are to be assembled.⁵⁸

One of the most direct statements on the polar separation of verbal and written art was formulated by Cohen in 1968. While admitting that the interrelationships between folklore and literature are "subtle and complex," and that "literature nourishes folklore and folklore nourishes literature," he maintains that "where literacy thrives the folk decay, while a flourishing folk culture is evidence of a relatively low level of literacy."⁵⁹ Writing of the difficulty of documenting true medieval folklore, Utley notes that "there are plentiful evidences of the existence of oral transmission in the Middle

Ages, but few or none of the documents can be trusted without qualification since all come through a literary screen."⁶⁰ Similar concerns about the same period are expressed by Friedman, who notes that folklore "in the days before field research only accidentally got recorded in literary texts and in a form that changed its nature in the process."⁶¹ The problem with these positions is that the oral and the literate are perceived as separate states, frozen in time and space. There is some sense that a middle ground exists, but as long as the polar division is maintained, no terminology develops to deal adequately with it. This historically assumed, exclusive relationship between folklore and illiteracy is not only too limiting to be useful but also pejorative in as much as the concept of illiteracy often rests on a "devolutionary premise,"⁶² which posits a golden age of folklore existing in the time before the development of print and other technologies.

Some commentators who have attempted to deal with the oral/written, illiterate/literate dichotomy have, by adopting an equally extremist "evolutionary premise," fallen into similar pitfalls. Thus Eckstrom and Barry, writing with reference to the differences in quality between ballad texts collected in Maine and those from the American southern highlands, point out that "the favorable results of tradition are in direct ratio to the intelligence and literacy of the singers." They go on to maintain that "no greater mistake was ever made than to suppose that ballads survive best among the most illiterate and ignorant."⁶³ The intention here is not to call into question the significant contributions of Barry, especially to ballad scholarship,⁶⁴ yet one cannot help

but note the unfortunate linking of illiteracy with ignorance and literacy with intelligence. In adopting this position, of course, the writers are situating themselves squarely within the Western intellectual tradition. The defense of the "literacy thesis"⁶⁵ in Western cultures can be traced back at least to Plato's attack on the "oral state of mind."⁶⁶ What has to be kept in mind as well, if one is to grasp the ramifications and subtleties of the literacy bias, is that "reflections on literacy and nonliteracy were from the outset made exclusively by *litterati* [sic]."⁶⁷ Added to this is the fact that, for centuries in the West, literacy actually meant Latinate literacy, the preserve of small, select groups within the societies. This "Learned Latin" was a sex-linked language "written and spoken only by males" which had "no direct connection with anyone's unconscious of the sort that mother tongues, learned in infancy, always have."⁶⁸ Over time more general literacy in the vernacular languages became "identified with the progress of a beneficent rationality,"⁶⁹ and the benchmark for certain elitist theories of cultural evolution. Eventually, literacy and civilization became irrevocably linked.

The overall presumption is that civilizations to be worth the name have to be based on writing of some sort, have to be in some degree literate ones. Probably a majority of specialists who have considered these matters still share this view, including classicists. It is certainly true of the layman. When some advanced cultures like those of the Incas of Peru are observed to be wholly nonliterate, the lesson that might be drawn, namely that a civilized society with its own art, architecture, and political institutions need not depend on writing for its existence, is quietly passed over.⁷⁰

To some degree, early folklorists, by designating as worthy of study the "popular antiquities" of the nonliterate state, represented a challenge to the prevailing intellectual

tradition. The challenge was muted, however, by the notion that the objects of such study were the "survivals" of former societal stages to be found only among the peasants in advanced societies or among the still-uncivilized races.

A more recent and major challenge to the "literacy thesis" is represented by the "Orality Problem" which gained scholarly prominence when "within the span of twelve months or less, from some time in 1962 to the spring of 1963, in three different countries—France, Britain, and the United States—there issued from the printing presses five publications by five authors who at the time when they wrote could not have been aware of any mutual relationship."⁷¹ This "orality problem" is more usually referred to by folklorists as the Parry/Lord thesis or the theory of oral composition. A detailed analysis of the complexities of the "orality problem" is neither possible within, nor germane to, the present context.⁷² It is pertinent to consider, however, that while scholarship in the area has demonstrated beyond doubt that oral (and verbal) art is a legitimate art form in the most complex sense of the term, the modern rediscovery of orality has created its own sets of terminological, definitional, and methodological problems. A fundamental problem is the apparent entrenchment of the chasm between the oral and the written—albeit in a new guise—so that while "most critics now admit that literary and oral artistry overlap . . . there are many who hold that oral and written *art* are so fundamentally different that no individual can possibly master both forms of expression."⁷³ An examination of this overlapping and the development of a

terminology which recognizes and accounts for the complexities of the imbrication is essential to an understanding of the oral/literate continuum.

Most major studies which have been undertaken since the modern rediscovery of orality have responded to the interrelation between orality and literacy, but often in different ways. Lord's fieldwork among, and his study of, the Yugoslav oral epic singers forced him to confront this question. He concluded that:

Once the oral technique is lost, it is never regained. The written technique . . . is not compatible with the oral technique, and the two could not possibly combine, so form another, a third, a 'transitional' technique. It is conceivable that a man might be an oral poet in his younger years and a written poet later in life, but it is not possible that he be *both* an oral and a written poet at any given time in his career. The two by their very nature are mutually exclusive.⁷⁴

Dégh, on the other hand, in her study of Hungarian tales and tellers, noted that in the tale corpus "the influence of storybooks, secular narratives from chapbooks, and church literature and *exempla*" was to be found. When the tales were recorded from oral tradition, however:

Most of them . . . were changed so drastically that we can be certain that their adaptation was not an act of conscious re-creation. The raw material stays alive for some time in the consciousness of the people; it receives its form from the storyteller and the folk tradition.⁷⁵

Furthermore, one of her best informants was not only a great oral narrator, but also a man who "read everything that came under his eyes."⁷⁶ Similarly, Buchan, in his study of the traditional Scottish ballads, notes the following paradox: "the woman [Anna Brown of Falkland] who preserved the finest representatives of the old oral tradition, the

tradition of the nonliterate rural folk, was herself an educated woman, daughter of a Professor and wife of a minister."⁷⁷ Bell Robertson, who contributed so extensively to the collection of Gavin Greig, "besides being a reciter of folksong, was also a poetess in a minor way."⁷⁸ These examples suggest that the interrelationships between the oral and literate spheres, in terms of both "tradition in time" and "tradition in space," to use Barry's terms, are more complex than the polar separation of the two indicates.

Lord suggests that "while the presence of writing in a society *can* have an effect on oral tradition, it does not *necessarily* have an effect at all."⁷⁹ On the other hand, it has been argued that:

People presumably read much more in earlier ages, at least in our cultural sphere, than is generally believed. What the collectors of the nineteenth century recorded of oral tradition, the father or grandfather of the person being interviewed may have found in one of these booklets [exempla, farce books, collections of anecdotes] or perhaps heard from a traveler who had such a booklet in his pocket.⁸⁰

What begins to be suggested from an examination of these points is that the oral and literate states can merge, historically have merged, and, in contemporary cultures, continue to merge into a third stage, a stage which is fluid in both time and space. The consensus among scholars today is that "literate tradition does not replace oral. Rather, when literacy is introduced, the two are superimposed upon and intertwined with each other. Similarly, no individual is either 'oral' or 'literate.' Rather, people use devices associated with both traditions in various settings."⁸¹ Specific terminologies have been developed to deal with the various states which result from this superimposing and

intertwining, but they are not always in evidence in scholarship, especially folkloristic scholarship, dealing with the interrelationships between the oral and the literate spheres. The result is that one is often left in a position of having to presume intent and infer meaning on the part of the writers; this is an exercise which is fraught with interpretational dangers.

The concept of literacy presents similar problems. Buchan notes that "there still exists considerable variation in ideas on what is meant by literacy and how it should be measured."⁸² In fact, the modern rediscovery of orality makes a re-evaluation of the traditional notions of literacy necessary as well. As has been noted above, the term illiterate tends to carry a pejorative connotation in the Western cultural sphere and is best replaced, in contexts dealing with the differences between the oral or verbal and the literate, by the word nonliterate. Preliterate is sometimes used, but, as Havelock explains, it is best reserved for reference to primary oral cultures only.⁸³ One notes in recent years as well a tendency to apply an oversimplified historical lineality to the concept of literacy, depicting "societies existing along a continuum of development from oral tradition to a literate one, with some societies having a restricted literacy, and others having reached a full development of literacy."⁸⁴ Recent studies demonstrate that with regard to literacy, as with other social phenomena, the social processes are never quite so tidy as the researcher might wish.⁸⁵ Ong offers a convenient summary of the complexity which marks the contemporary situation:

I style the orality of a culture totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print, 'primary orality.' It is 'primary' by contrast with the 'secondary orality' of present-day high-technology cultures, in which a new orality is sustained by telephone, radio, television, and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and print. Today primary oral culture in the strict sense hardly exists, since every culture knows of writing and has some experience of its effects. Still, to varying degrees many cultures and subcultures, even in a high-technology ambience, preserve much of the mind-set of primary orality.⁸⁶

In the light of this complexity, one would do well to recall Buchan's apt statement on literacy: "By literacy I mean—and this is not so simpleminded as it sounds—the ability both to read and to write."⁸⁷ Precise distinctions such as these are necessary not only for determining the interrelationships between "written and oral artistry"⁸⁸ but the interrelationships between literature and folklore *per se*.

Lindahl notes that "there is one aspect of the written word which has a tremendous altering influence on oral tradition: fixity. Once printed, a written work never changes."⁸⁹ Few would dispute this point, but it is worth noting that writing and print are not necessarily interchangeable in this context, for "it was print, not writing, that effectively reified the word."⁹⁰ Herein lies the problem. The concept of fixity associated with print becomes troublesome when it is accepted as part of the "literacy thesis" noted above. Once this happens a qualitative polarity sets in—a qualitative polarity fostered by a literate bias which accepts the fixity associated with print as superior to the fluidity associated with oral tradition, and which opts for "scientific rationalism" and sees it as inherently superior to "the Homeric state of mind."⁹¹

Historically, in the Western cultural sphere at least, print "created a new sense of the private ownership of words," it fostered "a sense of closure,"⁹² and encouraged a fixed point of view.⁹³ Print, and the notion of fixity associated with it, becomes part of a value judgement.

Research has demonstrated, however, that "the *idea* of fixity, and even the *attempt* at it"⁹⁴ are not unique to written literature. Lord notes that "the oral poet has no idea of a fixed model text to serve as his guide." Nevertheless, one of his informants boasts: "'I would sing [a song] just as I heard it. . . . It isn't good to change or add.'" Another—thirty-eight-year-old Đemo Zogić—claims: "'If I were to live for twenty years, I would sing the song which I sang for you here today just the same twenty years from now, word for word.'"⁹⁵ Similarly, Azadovskii writes of "the seventy-five-year-old Medvedev," a tale teller "for whom the exact reproduction of the tale and every detail of the same is of importance."⁹⁶ Dégh, in her discussion of memory as "an essential factor of folk culture based mainly on oral education and the transmission of oral tradition," points out that among the narrators themselves "it was believed that the narrator's greatest virtue lay in his faithful adherence to the text," and that they felt "that nothing must be changed in a tale."⁹⁷ Problems arise when the "idea" of fixity becomes the "reality" of fixity,⁹⁸ when only the printed text is held to be valid. "This attitude to the printed word is not uncommon in newly literate societies, and neither is the state of mind it denotes."⁹⁹ That state of mind has had a lasting effect on much folklore

research and is still in evidence in the attitude of many literary scholars towards folklore's contributions to literature.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the attitude of the literate society toward complexity. The assumption is that oral and verbal forms are too simple, naive, unsophisticated, and lacking in artifice to bear comparison with the complex, profound, refined, and intricate qualities which supposedly mark the literary work. Here again the devolutionary/evolutionary premises are brought to bear, for "depending on the biases and preconceptions of the critic, the alleged simplicity of oral art can be a virtue or a vice."¹⁰⁰ Those who insist that folklore is a survival of an uncorrupted human period, and who study it out of a sense of "nostalgia for the so-called Golden Age of the patriarchal state of mankind,"¹⁰¹ equate this alleged simplicity with a higher form of art than that which has been produced by fallen and industrially jaded man. This view is not to be seen as being limited to Rousseau, Grimm and Herder. It can also be traced through the writers of English Romanticism;¹⁰² it is a theme which can be traced through much of American literature;¹⁰³ and, it can be seen as manifesting itself in relation to several of the nativistic and revivalist movements of recent times.¹⁰⁴

At the opposite end of the spectrum are those elitist critics who equate the alleged simplicity of oral forms with simplemindedness, retarded social development, or childish fantasy. One Arthurian scholar, accepting as his definition of folklore "the culture and narratives of unsophisticated and usually unlettered folk, people of humble station," reacts with dismay against what he perceives to be suggestions by other Arthurians "that

certain of the great stories of the Matter of Britain originated in the fancies of plowmen, goose-girls, blacksmiths, midwives, or yokels of any kind," and concludes that "that is what the terms 'folklore' and 'folktale' will connote to many people."¹⁰⁵ In another comment on a similar topic he states:

A gross misconception, frequently expressed by both pro-Celts and anti-Celts, is to regard the traditional elements in Arthurian romance as derived from folklore, from folktales, and by implication picked up from the lips of swineherds, clodhoppers, fishermen, etc. The Irish sagas, the Welsh *mabinogion*, and the Breton *lais* doubtless contain many motifs and plot elements which are common in modern folklore and in primitive beliefs the world over, but Celtic narratives from which the Arthurian romances drew much of their material were not the pastime of peasants but formed the repertoire of professionals.¹⁰⁶

It is worth noting the easy linkage of "modern folklore" and "primitive beliefs the world over" in this passage, and the implicit suggestion throughout the article that the relationship of the "professionals" to oral tradition is to be considered only in terms of the degree to which they improved upon it.

A middle road is followed by those of an evolutionary persuasion, who see oral forms as simpler, primitive forerunners of more intricate written genres. Jolles's *Einfache Formen* (1929) has come to be regarded as the canonization of this view, although it has been suggested that this is a too facile reading of his work.¹⁰⁷ Utley appears to be espousing this position when, commenting on teaching literature to recalcitrant undergraduates, he maintains that "the great simplicities which are so hard to control in the sprawling drama are easily retained in the folk ballad," and goes on to suggest that we need "the simpler forms of folk art as a prelude and touchstone for the

literary masterwork."¹⁰⁸ He maintains that his "purpose is not theory but the humbler one of classroom relevance,"¹⁰⁹ but Coffin's comments on a similar theme ten years earlier provide an interesting balance to Utley's view and address questions of perception as well:

In spite of all that folklorists can do, most people teaching traditional songs in schools and colleges are teaching them as folk *poems*, not as folk *songs*. Such folk poems are then evaluated alongside the carefully construed masterpieces of first-rate authors. Their obvious poetic weaknesses are excused and their charming freshness is explained by the sentimental misconception that the folk are different from other civilized groups—sort of 'whimsically dumber, yet somehow closer to the realities of existence.'¹¹⁰

A cursory perusal of anthologies aimed at the "schools and colleges" market causes one to wonder whether much has changed.

Lindahll notes that "there is an almost universal agreement that oral art differs greatly from written art in matters of structure and style."¹¹¹ He proceeds to demonstrate convincingly that, for the most part, this is an agreement based on misconceptions and misunderstandings. Many literary scholars, because of their unfamiliarity with the realities of oral tradition and with actual field collections, draw their conclusions from examinations of "semiliterary" collections which follow "the pseudo-oral style of Wilhelm Grimm," and which are found in many libraries and in "bedtime storybooks throughout the world."¹¹² It will be recalled that this point was raised by Dorson in 1958 (see note 38, chap. 1). Earlier, Taylor noted that the imitation of folk genres by the literati "implies a recognition of a difference between folklore and

literature," and concluded that many of the attempts which had been made exhibited "a curious unawareness of the commonplaces of folklore style."¹¹³ It might be added that an awareness of the complexities of folklore style is necessary as well. Too often literary critics, in their easy dismissals of folk genres as simple and simpleminded, engage in a kind of critical shadowboxing. What they are attacking are often their own presumptions about, and preconceptions of, folklore and folklore style. This situation is obfuscated further by a tendency to compare the best examples from one area with the worst from the other. The characteristics which literary critics most often associate with oral style, namely, repetition, stock epithets, stock characters, a preference for fantasy over reality, and an emphasis on action, are best regarded as "tendencies," according to Lindahl, "for the use of such techniques varies greatly according to the tastes of the teller."¹¹⁴ Furthermore, it can be demonstrated that these same characteristics are to be found in various forms of written literature as well, especially popular literature, where they are also used according to the tastes and talents of the authors. Little is accomplished by comparing "the cream of written artistry" with "the dregs of pseudo-oral art" except to establish a polarity "between written and oral art that is grossly unrepresentative."¹¹⁵ Instead, scholars must recognize that a qualitative spectrum exists in both the literate and nonliterate spheres. In addition, aesthetic considerations must not be seen as being limited to the former. An awareness of folk aesthetics (of which more will be said later) as well as literate aesthetics is essential for an understanding of the relationships of folk artists and literary artists to their art forms and to their respective traditions.

The question of the role of tradition and the relationship of the individual artist to it has long been debated by folklorists and literary critics alike. No consensus of opinions exists within either group, and when the question is addressed across the disciplines a curious double standard is discernible. The tendency of some literary critics to see tradition, as it operates in oral or verbal cultures at least, "as a negative force signifying the monotonous, insensitive, *verbatim* repetition of stories and songs for generation after generation,"¹¹⁶ has done much to foster the notion that tradition and creativity are antithetical. Such a view reduces oral artists to parrot-like, faceless, indistinct, tradition-bound reciters and makes comparison of their art forms with those of gifted writers—the greatness of whose works is, the argument goes, commensurate with the degree to which they transcend tradition—virtually unthinkable. The dichotomy suggested by this way of thinking results from an unfamiliarity with, and a misunderstanding of, the complexities and performance contexts of folk tradition, combined with a baffling disregard for the fact that written literature, like folklore, is bound by its own complex of traditions.¹¹⁷ This last point is most surprising although perhaps explainable in the light of the fact that literary criticism has taken many anti-traditionalist turns since Pope's definition of true wit. At the risk of stating the obvious, therefore, it is worth noting the following comment by two contemporary literary critics:

All art is traditional in that artists learn their craft from their predecessors to a great extent. They begin by conceiving of the possibilities open to them in terms of the achievements they are acquainted with. They may add to the tradition, opening up new possibilities for their successors, but they begin, inevitably, with a tradition. The more aware we are—as

readers, critics, or artists—of this fullness and breadth of the narrative tradition, the freer and the sounder will be the critical or artistic choices we make.¹¹⁸

These comments might profitably be compared with Lord's remarks on the "three distinct stages" through which the oral poet moves in his progress from apprenticeship to mastery. At first the oral artist "sits aside while others sing." During this period he becomes familiar with the stories and with the artistic parameters of the tradition. Eventually, "the singer opens his mouth to sing, either with or without instrumental accompaniment." This is the second stage. During this period the artist learns the technical aspects of the form, acquires competence in the use of "the formulas of which Parry wrote," and draws inspiration from observing and imitating master performers. At the end of this period, which may last some years, "the singer is competent to sing one song all the way through for a critical audience." During the third stage, which is marked by an "increase in repertory and growth in competence," the oral artist "never stops in the process of accumulating, recombining, and remodeling formulas and themes, thus perfecting his singing and enriching his art."¹¹⁹

Tradition, of course, exerts an influence on both the form and the content of folklore and literature. The rules, laws, and conventions which govern oral and written narrative share many common elements. Propp's findings regarding the *Zaubermärchen* "can be generalized to written literature," suggesting that the structural properties he uncovered are not simply a folklore phenomenon but "important for all types of narrative."¹²⁰ Similarly, Olrik's "epic laws" should be studied in conjunction with, and

not in opposition to, many of the principles enunciated by Aristotle in his *Poetics*.¹²¹ Written literature of the modern era may appear, on the face of it, to be less tradition-bound and less convention-oriented than folk literature; however, "what we find in written literature is not an absence of conventions, but a greater diversity of conventions since, because of writing, earlier techniques are preserved alongside modern innovations."¹²² This diversity cloaks the reality behind the modern preference for that which is supposedly original, unique, and unconventional, which, in turn, obscures the relationship of the individual to the conventions of tradition.¹²³ Many great writers of the past "borrowed from folktales openly and consciously, as they borrowed from the classics, or from history or mythology,"¹²⁴ as the number of studies of sources and analogues—a mainstay of graduate studies in English departments—illustrate. Chaucer, for example, "may never have invented a plot of his own,"¹²⁵ and Spenser obviously expected readers of his *Faerie Queene* "to take pleasure in identifying the various sources."¹²⁶ Thematic borrowings from oral sources were common as well, and their identification provides a broad area for research.¹²⁷ In the modern era, however, partly as an aesthetic demand and partly as the result of copyright and attendant lawsuits, originality of plot and theme has become a paramount concern. The contemporary author, "in pursuit of this impossible goal, . . . must conceal his sources not only from his readers but also from himself."¹²⁸ This is a rhetorical overstatement of the point, but no oral artist would feel the need to split hairs so finely. The oral artist preserves tradition by constantly re-creating it;¹²⁹ in truth, the literary artist does much the same

thing, for it is the tension between the tradition and the individual talent which fosters creativity.

A key concept here is that of the individuality of artistry, especially with regard to authorship and ownership, and the way it has been viewed differently as it pertains to the oral and literate spheres. "A longstanding and influential critical fallacy holds that true literature is the creation of a single individual, while true folklore is a communal composition, arising as if by magic from the collective throat of the masses."¹³⁰ The communal theory has little currency in contemporary folkloristics, and commentaries on singing, dancing throngs of *das Volk* have given way to studies of individuals and repertoires. The emphasis on tradition, however, can have the unfortunate effect of obscuring the role of those gifted individuals who operate within it, or of causing them to be overlooked completely. When this happens the oral artist, as an individual creative force, disappears. The following comments illustrate how even usually perceptive critics can argue in support of this view:

The greatness of Homer is the greatness of his tradition. The breadth of his knowledge and sympathy, the objectivity and accuracy of his representation of actual men and events, the sureness of both his piety and his satire are the achievements of an ancient Greek tradition named 'Homer,' not of a single poet limited to his own observation and memory. The oral poet's rapport with his literary culture is total. Opportunities for the kind of originality and individual expression sought in written literature are minimal. The oral singer illustrates the extremest form of the individual talent at the service of the tradition, also perhaps the extremest form of the tradition at the service of the individual talent. The two are simply aspects of the same entity. Without songs the tradition would die; without the tradition there would be no songs.¹³¹

There is, of course, much truth in these observations for the oral artist is indeed supported by the tradition in which he operates, but it is a gross oversimplification to state that any artist, oral or written, is great simply because his tradition is great. "No literary critic would seriously maintain that Shakespeare was great *only* because his tradition was."¹³² A balance must needs be maintained. Some folkloristic scholarship, in attempting to apply the Parry/Lord thesis in too tidy a fashion, has created its own imbalances; the "formula" is overemphasized and misapplied until it comes to be seen as a pre-cast, stultifying force which traps the individual artist within its confines.¹³³ The historical tendency "toward cultural objectivations" in folklore research has resulted in a "conceptualization of 'tradition'" which has "avoided difficult questions about real cultural configurations and about the relationship between function and value."¹³⁴ Certainly the "lore-in-lit approach" has paid very little attention to function and value, either as they obtain in the oral tradition or as they pertain to manifestations of that tradition in written literature.

It is in this context that the concept of folk aesthetics, mentioned above, becomes vitally important. Dundes pointed out as early as 1964 that "if there is an oral literature, there is also an oral or native literary criticism."¹³⁵ While the literate society's concept of authorship does not form part of folk aesthetics, it should be understood that the notion of authorship as we have it today is a relatively recent phenomenon. Like their oral predecessors, "few medieval authors signed their works because they also viewed themselves as perpetuators rather than originators."¹³⁶ Furthermore, once studies move

beyond the mere quantitative enumeration of folklore phenomena, it becomes clear that oral and verbal artists have definite aesthetic norms which they apply to their own repertoires and to those of others,¹³⁷ and that "there is a vital concept of *ownership* in folk art."¹³⁸ The folk artist is an artist, and although not an author in the sense in which the term is applied in the literate sphere, the folk artist is an individual who, like the literate author, must learn the techniques, structures, and formulas of his craft as he progresses from apprenticeship to mastery. In the process he must constantly struggle with the demands of his tradition while continually re-creating it. The critic, in his examination of this process, must not be so narrow in his focus as to equate authorship with artistry.

Much of the responsibility for, and the determination, of what Dundes calls "an oral or native literary criticism" rests with the audience, and "it is to the *audience* that we must turn to find the most significant boundary between the printed and the spoken work of art."¹³⁹ Furthermore, when we turn our attention to the role of the audience in both spheres we are not dealing with perceived differences which depend more on shifting tastes over time than on fundamental distinctions, but with "a difference which is truly enormous and which is true, not simply for one period of history or one given location, but for all times and places,"¹⁴⁰ since the introduction of print. The most obvious difference—although not the most easily understood—is that the oral artist's audience is physically present. It determines many of the choices—of content, form, and performance strategies—which the artist makes, and its aesthetic evaluations of the artist

and his work are immediate. The writer's audience, on the other hand, is not only not present, it is a fiction.¹⁴¹

The various differences between oral and written literature which have been considered here, with the exception of the fixity associated with print and the role of the audience, are "more quantitative than qualitative."¹⁴² This fact, however, has not prevented scholars, both folklorists and literary critics, from erecting imaginary barriers between them. Furthermore, the modern rediscovery of orality has added an entirely new dimension to theories of literature which had prevailed for at least three hundred years, and to perceptions about, and conceptions of, folklore processes which had barely evolved into theories. In fact, a significant body of contemporary folkloristic and literary scholarship attempts to grapple with questions which "not long ago . . . would have been effectively unanswerable, and not long before that . . . could not have been posed, much less answered."¹⁴³ This new dimension is both a boon and a bane for the study of the interrelationships between folklore and literature. On the positive side, it has precipitated a re-examination of the epic and heroic traditions—long the coveted domains of classicists and medievalists—and sparked renewed interest in the potential contributions of folkloristics to these areas. It has demonstrated that oral artistry in its various forms is not simply a phenomenon of the preliterate past, but part of a process whose legacy is the verbal artistry which is still very much part of many contemporary cultures.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, it has fostered a renewed emphasis on "folklore expressed in words" (see note 56, chap. 1) which has tended to overshadow and obscure the potential of the

"expanded view" of the folklore and literature continuum—the most promising direction suggested in the research of the past twenty-five years.¹⁴⁵ It remains, therefore, to reconsider the parameters of this "expanded view" and relate them to the significant research which has been undertaken.

The roots of this approach, in terms of folkloristic theory, can be traced to Dundes's "Texture, Text, and Context" in 1964 (see note 135, chap. 1), and, a year later, his "The Study of Folklore in Literature and Culture: Identification and Interpretation."¹⁴⁶ Prior to this, however, a seminal study which illustrated the potential of this comparative approach had already appeared. Barber's *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (1959) demonstrated, through an examination of the social forms of Elizabethan holiday and festive folk customs as compared to the form and meaning of Shakespeare's early (pre-*Hamlet*) comedies, "how art develops underlying configurations in the social life of a culture." Barber explains Shakespeare's methodology, and, by inference, his own approach to his subject as follows:

This process of translation from social into artistic form has great historical as well as literary interest. Shakespeare's theater was taking over on a professional and everyday basis functions which until his time had largely been performed by amateurs on holiday. And he wrote at a moment when the educated part of society was modifying a ceremonial, ritualistic conception of human life to create a historical, psychological conception. His drama, indeed, was an important agency in this transformation: it provided a 'theater' where the failures of ceremony could be looked at in a place apart and understood as history; it provided new ways of representing relations between language and action so as to express personality. In making drama out of rituals of state, Shakespeare makes clear their meaning as social and psychological conflict, as history. So too with rituals of pleasure, of misrule, as against rule: his comedy

presents holiday magic as imagination, games as expressive gestures. At high moments it brings into focus, as part of the play, the significance of the saturnalian form itself as a paradoxical human need, problem and resource.¹⁴⁷

This is a clear statement of the identification and interpretation processes which Dundes outlined some years later, and it is instructive to place Dundes's theoretical statement of the comparative approach in the same context as Barber's conceptualization of the study he undertakes. The often quoted passage from the essay by Dundes states:

There are only two basic steps in the study of folklore in literature and in culture. The first step is objective and empirical; the second is subjective and speculative. The first might be termed identification and the second interpretation. Identification essentially consists of a search for similarities; interpretation depends upon the delineation of differences. The first task in studying an item is to show how it is like previously reported items, whereas the second is to show how it differs from previously reported items—and, hopefully, why it differs.¹⁴⁸

Despite Dundes's high-handed and impressionistic definition of interpretation—one would prefer to see "subjective" and "speculative" replaced with references to form, function, or value—his instincts here are correct. Correct also are his remarks on the identification of folklore in context, but, almost predictably, the folklore he seeks to identify—a riddle in Joyce's *Ulysses* and a European tale collected from a North American Indian—is "folklore expressed in words," presented, his emphasis on context notwithstanding, through an item-centered approach.

Almost fifteen years later Barnes was still able to point out that "this approach continues to dominate the scholarship concerned with the relationship of folklore to literature—largely, I suspect, because both folklorists and literary scholars assent to the

notion that each in his chosen field is dealing finally with 'texts' and that such texts may legitimately be compared *qua* texts."¹⁴⁹ It was with these restricted and restricting notions in mind that Lewis set out the parameters of the "expanded method" she advocated:

Folklore can no longer be limited to oral literature nor the study of folklore in literature to discovery of source, identification of textual parallels, or critical analysis of the use of a given text. Folklore is broader than oral literature: it includes traditional manifestations of culture, those repeated, communicative behavior patterns, themselves initiated by culturally determined cognitive patterns, which result in a product, a thing, or text—written or oral. . . . This definition, or suggestion of one, does three important things: 1) it shifts the focus of folklore from the text, item, thing to the process and force which produces them without in any way denying the centrality of the text; 2) it also enlarges the scope of folklore to include more than oral literature or the verbal arts; and 3) it denies the suggestions so frequently made that folklore is either quaint or false or both.¹⁵⁰

In order to expand Dundes's tripartite definitional paradigm of "texture, text, and context," she suggests that it is profitable to read medium for texture, product for text, and situation for context,¹⁵¹ which terms, she suggests further, might also be seen as analogous to the "expressive," "cognitive," and "social" (respectively) aspects which Ben-Amos designates in his discussion of African folklore.¹⁵²

The effect of this "expanded view" is not simply to replace one terminological framework with another, or to allow the researcher to avoid confronting the fact "that to argue *the direct influence of oral tradition on literature* is to engage in one of the most taxing of all scholarly activities."¹⁵³ What is gained from such an approach is a degree of freedom: freedom from "the habit of speaking of the literate author's 'use' of folklore,

as though that body of material were something apart from him, existing autonomously and separately,"¹⁵⁴ which the writer assiduously collects, selects, and, through a certain deliberate gamesmanship, consciously incorporates into his work; freedom, for the literate author, from the demands of having to be a trained folklorist first before he can legitimately 'use' folklore in his work; freedom to take cognisance of the fact that a given author may not even be conscious of the influence of the folk tradition on his work or that the traditional material may be so much part of the warp and woof of his worldview that he perceives no need to designate it as a separate sphere of influence;¹⁵⁵ freedom to broaden the definition of folklore to include not only themes and motifs from folk narrative, but the elements of folk speech, aspects of folklife, belief and custom, and folk philosophy.¹⁵⁶ What must be accepted, as a consequence of this freedom, is responsibility: the researcher's responsibility for accepting the fact that the study of the interrelationships between folklore and literature "is not an impressionistic, new critical study though it may and probably often begins from impressionistic hunches," and that the desired end is to proceed "to thorough corroboration and the ultimate interpretation"¹⁵⁷ of the manifestations of folk culture in the literate work; responsibility for accepting the fact that the researcher is often dealing with perceptions, with certain predilections for the pastoral, and for confronting the fact that "the gravitation of the creative artist to folkloric material commonly reflects much the same motive as that of the folklorist; both see in the life of the folk, the peasant, an image of life which is familiar and comfortable, static and uncomplicated, and which represents an attractive

alternative to modernity and its attendant complexity."¹⁵⁸ The researcher must be aware of, and be responsive to, the fact that, if "literature nourishes folklore and folklore nourishes literature," then, in the case of a regional literature such as is the focus of the current study, the possibility exists that the presumptions of the literate author about what he deems to be the legitimate aspects of folk tradition, once they are recorded in print and promulgated, will find their way back into the folk culture and be granted a degree of legitimacy which will have a direct bearing on concepts of regional identity.¹⁵⁹ In other words, part of the researcher's corroborative and interpretative responsibility is to distinguish between literature's debt to folklore and folklore's debt to literature.

The potential of this approach has already been amply demonstrated. Brief reference has already been made to the importance of Barber's pioneering study. Significantly, only six years separate the publication of *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* and the publication, in Russian, of Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World* (1965), although another three years were to elapse before an English translation became available in the West. One takes considerable risk in making passing reference to a work which appears destined to be appropriated by every conceivable academic discipline, but it seems fair to suggest that Bakhtin's work—coming as it does out of the same scholarly tradition that produced Jakobson, Bogatyrev, and Propp, and because his "ideas concerning folk culture, with carnival as its indispensable component, are integral to his theory of art"—is, among other things, a confirmation of Barber's thesis.¹⁶⁰ Lewis's own work on Burns, "an ethnographer, describing the life he knew best as an integral part of his

own artistry," has demonstrated that "the relationships of Burns to tradition are many and reciprocal."¹⁶¹ Lindahl, whose earlier work has proven so helpful in providing insights and a framework for this discussion, has, in the tradition of Barber and Bakhtin, explored "Chaucer's debt to the forms and techniques of folk performance."¹⁶² These are the major and most significant studies, but they are indicative of a trend which is evident in the best scholarship on the interrelationships between folklore and literature¹⁶³ in all quarters, a trend which appears destined to restore the balance between the Lore and the Literature of which Thoms spoke in 1846.

Notes

¹William Thoms, Letter to *The Athenaeum*, No. 982 (22 August 1846), pp. 862-863, in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 4-5.

²Alan Dundes, ed., *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 4.

³Thoms, Letter, p. 5.

⁴Georgina Smith, "Literary Sources and Folklore Studies in the Nineteenth Century: A Re-assessment of Armchair Scholarship," *Lore and Language*, 2:9 (1978), 26.

⁵See: Steven Swann Jones, *Folklore and Literature in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography of Studies of Folklore in American Literature* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984); and, Florence E. Baer, *Folklore and Literature of the British Isles* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986).

⁶Baer, *Folklore*, p. xv.

⁷Jones, *Folklore*, p. xi.

⁸Examinations of these issues are provided by: Simon J. Bronner, "The Professionalization of Time and Space," in his *American Folklore Studies: An Intellectual History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), pp. 54-93; and, Rosemary Levy Zumwalt, "Approaches to Folklore: The Literary and the Anthropological," in her *American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 99-123.

⁹Tristram Potter Coffin, "Preface," to *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore*, ed. Tristram Potter Coffin (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. v. Richard Bauman suggests that while Coffin's comment "has a certain rhetorical zip to it," and is partially accurate "insofar as it suggests that academic compartmentalization and the stress on disciplinary integrity it engenders have compromised the legitimacy of folklore in some quarters," the quip is "slanderosly misleading as intellectual history" and obscures "the unified vision of literature as cultural production that was folklore's birthright" [*Story, Performance and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 1]. That the attitude is shared by others, however, is illustrated by Hermann Bausinger's comment that "folklore, one might state rather maliciously, prepares its most opulent meals from the handouts of other disciplines" ["A Critique of Tradition: Observations on the Situation of

Volkskunde" (1969), in *German Volkskunde: A Decade of Theoretical Confrontation, Debate, and Reorientation (1967-1977)*, ed. and trans. James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 31].

¹⁰Roger D. Abrahams, "Folklore and Literature as Performance," *JFI*, 9 (1972), 82-85.

¹¹*JAF*, 70 (1957), 1-24. This symposium, which took place at the 1954 combined meetings of the MLA-AFS, was chaired by Daniel G. Hoffman; the presenters were Richard M. Dorson, Carvel Collins, John W. Ashton, and Nellie Schargo Hoyt. Because of space limitations, and because it was less immediately concerned with literary-folklore relations, Hoyt's paper was not included in the published proceedings. Hoffman's paper, in addition to attempting a synthesis of the other presentations, records several comments made by members of the audience.

¹²Richard M. Dorson, "The Identification of Folklore in American Literature," *JAF*, 70 (1957), 1-8.

¹³Dorson, "The Identification," pp. 2-4.

¹⁴Dorson, "The Identification," p. 4.

¹⁵Richard M. Dorson, "Folklore and Fake Lore," *American Mercury*, 70 (1950), 335-343.

¹⁶According to Stanley Edgar Hyman, when she died in 1941 "she had only begun to find her direction" [*The Armed Vision: A Study in the Methods of Modern Literary Criticism* (1947; rev. ed., New York: Vintage Press, 1955), p. 114]. This contention is supported by Rourke's own "A Note on Folklore," in the posthumously published *The Roots of American Culture and Other Essays*, ed. Van Wyck Brooks (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1942), pp. 238-250. This essay is confused on the subject of folklore, but argues for "the recognition of American folklore as an entire subject" (p. 240) in the universities.

¹⁷Hyman, *The Armed*, p. 130. Hyman's evaluation of Rourke is essentially sympathetic, but he faults her for not conforming more closely to the dictates of the myth/ritual school of criticism. A more recent evaluation, and partial application, of the Rourke thesis is Gene Bluestein, *The Voice of the Folk: Folklore and American Literary Criticism* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1972); see, especially, pp. 66-90. This book is not, however, a satisfying work from a folkloristic point of view.

¹⁸Bluestein, *The Voice*, p. 66.

¹⁹Constance Rourke, *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931), pp. 297.

²⁰Rourke, *American Humor*, pp. 157-158.

²¹Rourke, *American Humor*, p. 159.

²²Rourke, *American Humor*, p. 161.

²³Archer Taylor, "Folklore and the Student of Literature" (1948), in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 34-42.

²⁴Taylor, "Folklore," p. 37.

²⁵Taylor, "Folklore," p. 42.

²⁶Taylor, "Folklore," p. 41.

²⁷Neil R. Grobman, "A Schema for the Study of the Sources and Literary Simulations of Folkloric Phenomena," *SFQ*, 43 (1979), 18, 19.

²⁸Margaret Dean-Smith, "The Pre-Disposition to Folkery," *Folklore*, 79 (1968), 161-175.

²⁹Stanley Edgar Hyman, "The American Folksy," *Theatre Arts*, 33 (1949), 42-45.

³⁰Elliott Oring, "On the Concepts of Folklore," in *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: An Introduction*, ed. Elliott Oring (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1986), pp. 17-18.

³¹Arthur Palmer Hudson, "The Impact of Folklore on American Poetry," in *A Tribute to George Coffin Taylor*, ed. Arnold Williams (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 132.

³²Dorson, "The Identification," pp. 5-7.

³³Richard M. Dorson, "Africa and the Folklorist," in *African Folklore*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (New York: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 26-27.

³⁴Richard M. Dorson, "Five Directions in American Folklore," *Midwest Folklore*, 1 (1951), 149.

³⁵Richard M. Dorson, "Print and American Folk Tales," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 4 (1945), 207.

³⁶Dorson, "Print," p. 208.

³⁷Dorson, "Five Directions," p. 154.

³⁸Richard M. Dorson, "Folklore in American Literature: A Postscript," *JAF*, 71 (1958), 157.

³⁹Richard M. Dorson, "Editor's Comment: Folklore in Literature," *JFI*, 13 (1976), 327, 329.

⁴⁰Robert Hemenway, "Folklore and Literature: A Comment," *JFI*, 14 (1977), 199.

⁴¹John Holloway, "Folklore, Fakelore and Literature," *The Cambridge Review* (26 November 1976), p. 52.

⁴²Richard M. Dorson, "Folklore and Literature: A Further Comment," *JFI*, 14 (1977), 201-202.

⁴³Dorson's contributions to folkloristics are evaluated in seven recent essays: Robert A. Georges, ed., "Richard M. Dorson's Views and Works: An Assessment," a "Special Issue" of *JFR* [26:1 (1989)]. Several points raised therein are pertinent to the present discussion. Jay Mechling points out (p. 13) that Dorson's was the fifth doctorate granted under the interdisciplinary programme in the History of American Civilization, founded at Harvard in 1936. The preceding four were granted to Henry Nash Smith, Daniel Aaron, Frederick B. Tolles, and Edmund S. Morgan, the "audience of peers to whom Dorson addressed his scholarship." He notes further (p. 25) that to the New Class rhetoric of science Dorson added "a rhetoric of professionalism." Roger Abrahams links Dorson the "Americanist" with Rourke (p. 33), and William Wilson sees him as a romantic-nationalist whose approach can be linked to that of Herder. According to Marsha Siefert (p. 61), Dorson "was a born-again American."

⁴⁴See Ellen J. Stekert, "The Autobiography of a Woman Folklorist," *JAF*, 100 (1987), 579-585.

⁴⁵Carvel Collins, "Folklore and Literary Criticism," *JAF*, 70 (1957), 10.

⁴⁶John W. Ashton, "Folklore in the Literature of Elizabethan England," *JAF*, 70 (1957), 12.

⁴⁷Daniel G. Hoffman, "Folklore in Literature: Notes Toward a Theory of Interpretation," *JAF*, 70 (1957), 15.

⁴⁸Carl Lindahl, "On the Borders of Oral and Written Art," *Folklore Forum*, 11 (1978), 94.

⁴⁹David Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 1.

⁵⁰Buchan, *The Ballad*, p. 2. Walter J. Ong suggests "primary orality" for "cultures untouched by literacy," and insists on the importance of continuing "a practice common among informed persons [of resorting], as necessary, to self-explanatory circumlocutions—'purely oral art forms,' 'verbal art forms' (which would include both oral forms and those composed in writing, and everything in between), and the like" [*Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 6, 14]. See also David Henige, "Oral, but Oral What? The Nomenclatures of Orality and Their Implications," *Oral Tradition*, 3 (1988), 229-238; he approaches the problem from the historian's point of view and touches on "the disparity of attitudes towards oral materials" (p. 232) as well as "the effects that the mere passing of time might have on terminology" (p. 234).

⁵¹Lindahl, "On the Borders," pp. 98, 99. This is the one quibble I have with this otherwise excellent article to which I am indebted for many of the points raised here.

⁵²Sandra K. D. Stahl, "Style in Oral and Written Narratives," *SFQ*, 43 (1979), 40.

⁵³Lindahl, "On the Borders," pp. 95-96.

⁵⁴A detailed examination of these debates is not germane to the present discussion, although they will be considered in more depth as they pertain to various aspects of the folklore/literature complex. The scholarship which deals with them illustrates, however, that the chasm which appears to separate oral and written art is not an isolated concept, but very much in keeping with the trend toward oppositional positions which marks much folkloristic scholarship.

The attempt to define "the folk"—as a distinct social entity, or as a particular group in time and space—is a recurring issue. See: B. A. Botkin, "The Folkness of the Folk," *English Journal* (College Edition), 26 (1937), 461-469; Charles Seeger, "The Folkness of the Non-Folk vs. The Non-Folkness of the Folk," in *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benjamin A. Botkin*, ed. Bruce Jackson (Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1966), pp. 1-19; R. Serge Denisoff, "The Proletarian Renaissance: The Folkness of the Ideological Folk," *JAF*, 82 (1969), 51-65; Richard M. Dorson, "We All Need The Folk," *JFI*, 15 (1978), 267-269; Alan Dundes, "Who Are The Folk?" in his *Essays in Folkloristics* (Meerut: Folklore Institute, 1978), pp. 1-21; Charles Keil, "Who Needs 'the Folk'?" *JFI*, 15 (1978), 263-265; and, Charles Keil, "The Concept of 'the Folk,'" *JFI* 16 (1979), 209-210.

Similar attempts have been made to define the folk society and to delineate specific aspects of the folk culture. See: Lord Raglan, "The Origin of Folk Culture," *Folklore*, 58 (1947), 250-260; Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (1947), 293-308; Horace Miner, "The Folk-Urban Continuum," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (1952), 529-537; George M. Foster, "What Is Folk Culture?" *American Anthropologist*, 55 (1953), 159-173; Sidney W. Mintz, "The Folk-Urban Continuum and the Rural Proletarian Community," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (1953), 136-143; and, Robert Paine, "A Critique of the Methodology of Robert Redfield: 'Folk Culture' and Other Concepts," *Ethnos*, 31 (1966), 161-172.

Perhaps no concept has been more widely used or more often debated in folkloristics than that of tradition, and its relationship to individuality, to innovation, to creativity, and to revival. See: Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements" (1943), in Adelin Linton and Charles Waggle, *Ralph Linton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 112-124; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), 264-281. Ellen J. Stekert, "Cents and Nonsense in the Urban Folksong Movement: 1930-1966," in *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benjamin A. Botkin*, ed. Bruce Jackson (Hartford: Folklore Associates, 1966), pp. 153-168; Roger D. Abrahams, "Creativity, Individuality, and the Traditional Singer," *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 3 (1970), 5-24; Kenneth S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concept of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory" (1971), in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, American Folklore Society Bibliographical and Special Series, Vol. 23 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 62-67; Edward Shils, "Tradition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (1971), 122-159; Paul Smith, "Tradition—A Perspective," *Lore and Language*, 2:1 (1974), 15-17, 2:3 (1975), 5-13, 2:8 (1978), 1-10; Elli Köngäs Maranda, "Individual and Tradition," *Studia Fennica*, 20 (1976), 252-261; Eugenia Shanklin, "Two Meanings and Uses of Tradition," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 37 (1981), 71-89; Dan Ben-Amos, "The Seven Strands of Tradition: Varieties in Its Meaning in American Folklore Research," *JFR*, 21 (1984), 97-129; Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious," *JAF*, 97 (1984), 273-290; Tamás Hofer, "The Perception of Tradition in European Ethnology," *JFR*, 21 (1984), 13-147; and, Bruce Jackson, "The Folksong Revival," *New York Folklore*, 11 (1985), 195-203.

In more recent times attempts have been made to draw finer distinctions among folklore, fakelore, folk culture, popular culture, and elite culture. See: Dwight MacDonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," *Diogenes*, No. 3 (1953), pp. 1-17; Joseph J. Arpad, "Between Folklore and Literature: Popular Culture as Anomaly," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 9 (1975), 403-422; Donald Allport Bird, "A Theory for Folklore in Mass Media: Traditional Patterns in the Mass Media," *SFQ*, 40 (1976), 285-305; Richard M. Dorson, *Folklore and Fakelore: Essays toward a Discipline of Folk Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); William S. Fox, "Folklore and Fakelore: Some Sociological Considerations," *JFI* 17 (1980), 244-261; Richard Bauman, "Folklore

and the Forces of Modernity," *Folklore Forum*, 16 (1983), 153-158; and, Peter Narváez and Martin Laba, eds., *Media Sense: The Folklore-Popular Culture Continuum* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, [1986]).

Even a cursory glance over this scholarship reveals the extent to which problems of nomenclature and definition have contributed to these debates. Similarly, the penchant for polarities found therein often has the unfortunate result of isolating the discipline for which the critics are apologists, and of seeming to create dichotomous positions where only differences in emphasis exist.

⁵⁵Lindahl, "On the Borders," pp. 94, 97.

⁵⁶Folklore encompasses more than "folklore expressed in words," of course, and, even in this area, finer distinctions can, and will, be drawn. For an earlier exchange on the verbal, as opposed to the other aspects of folklore, see: William R. Bascom's definition of folklore in Maria Leach, ed., *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend* (1949; rev. ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 393; Samuel P. Bayard, "The Materials of Folklore," *JAF*, 66 (1953), 1-17; William R. Bascom, "Verbal Art," *JAF*, 68 (1955), 245-252; and, William R. Bascom, "Folklore, Verbal Art, and Culture," *JAF*, 86 (1973), 374-381.

⁵⁷Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 97.

⁵⁸Kaarle Krohn, *Folklore Methodology* (1926), trans. Roger L. Welsch (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 46-49 (emphasis in the original).

⁵⁹Hennig Cohen, "American Literature and American Folklore," in *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore*, ed. Tristram P. Coffin (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 238. This is also an example of the confusion of "folk" and "folklore" of which Dorson complains.

⁶⁰Francis Lee Utley, "Folk Literature: An Operational Definition" (1961), in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 17.

⁶¹Albert B. Friedman, "Folklore and Medieval Literature: A Look at Mythological Considerations," *SFQ*, 43 (1979), 146.

⁶²See Alan Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory," *JFI*, 6 (1969), 5-19. See also: Elliott Oring, "The Devolutionary Premise: A Definitional Delusion?" *Western Folklore*, 34 (1975), 36-44; and, William A. Wilson, "The Evolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory and the 'Finnish Method,'" *Western Folklore*, 35 (1976), 241-249.

⁶³Fanny Hardy Eckstrom and Phillips Barry, "What is Tradition?" *Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the Northeast*, 1 (1930), 2.

⁶⁴A convenient summary of Barry's contributions to folkloristics is provided by R. Gerald Alvey, "Phillips Barry and Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship, *JFI*, 10 (1973), 67-95.

⁶⁵Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 59.

⁶⁶Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 47.

⁶⁷Brian Stock, "Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory, and Social Organization," *New Literary History*, 26 (1984), 16.

⁶⁸Ong, *Orality*, p. 113.

⁶⁹Stock, "Medieval," p. 16.

⁷⁰Eric A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 56.

⁷¹Havelock, *The Muse*, p. 25. The works referred to by Havelock are: Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée Sauvage*; Goody and Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy"; McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*; Mayr, *Animal Species and Evolution*; and Havelock, *Preface to Plato*. It is worth noting that Havelock does not include Lord's *The Singer of Tales* in this list. It was published prior to the twelve-month span he designates, of course, but he notes later that, while Parry's later writings "indicate that given time he might have gone beyond the acoustic mechanics of oral verse-making to consider what might be an oral state of mind and an oral condition of culture," Lord has "remained content to supplement the Parry analysis of verbal formulas by noting the formulaic character of Homeric (and Yugoslav) content, tracing the control over the narrative exercised by typical themes and episodes" (p. 52).

⁷²Despite the fact that scholarship on various aspects of the problem "has erupted during the last two decades within the Western intellectual community with astonishing suddenness and surprising intensity" (Havelock, *The Muse*, p. 24), one is well advised to recall the caution that "study of the contrast between orality and literacy is largely unfinished business" (Ong, *Orality*, p. 156). The works by Ong, Goody, and Havelock, as well as John Miles Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985) and, John Miles Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), provide an overview of the scope of research in the area.

⁷³Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 98.

⁷⁴Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 129.

⁷⁵Linda Dégh, *Folktales and Society: Story-Telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community*, trans. Emily M. Schossberger (1969; expanded ed., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 153-154. Dégh notes in the "Afterword" to this edition that by publishing the tales collected from her informants she "inadvertently contributed to the reinforcement of story tradition" (p. 290).

⁷⁶Dégh, *Folktales*, p. 236.

⁷⁷Buchan, *The Ballad*, p. 64.

⁷⁸Buchan, *The Ballad*, p. 249.

⁷⁹Lord, *The Singer*, pp. 134-135.

⁸⁰Elfriede Moser-Rath, "Literature and Folk Tradition: Sources for Folk Narrative of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *JFI*, 5 (1968), 183-184.

⁸¹Deborah Tannen, "The Oral/Literate Continuum in Discourse," in *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*, ed. Deborah Tannen (Norwood, N. J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1982), p. 3.

⁸²Buchan, *The Ballad*, p. 190.

⁸³Eric A. Havelock, "The Preliteracy of the Greeks," *New Literary History*, 8 (1977), 369-391.

⁸⁴Shirley Brice Heath, "Protean Shapes in Literacy Events: Ever-shifting Oral and Literate Traditions," in *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*, ed. Deborah Tannen (Norwood, N. J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1982), p. 92.

⁸⁵See, in addition to the studies of literacy cited above: Merald E. Wrolstad and Dennis F. Fisher, eds., *Toward a New Understanding of Literacy* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986).

⁸⁶Ong, *Orality*, p. 11.

⁸⁷Buchan, *The Ballad*, p. 190.

⁸⁸Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 99.

⁸⁹Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 99.

⁹⁰Ong, *Orality*, p. 119. An opposing view is that "in the history of English literature, the introduction of writing has had even more profound an effect than the introduction of printing. Printing merely facilitates the dissemination of literary works, whereas writing initiates a change in attitude among audience and artists alike that is revolutionary" [Jeff Opland, "From Horseback to Monastic Cell: The Impact on English Literature of the Introduction of Writing," in *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, ed. John D. Niles (Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980), p. 30].

⁹¹Havelock, *Preface*, pp. 47, 134-144.

⁹²Ong, *Orality*, pp. 131-132.

⁹³Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 126-127.

⁹⁴Lindah, "On the Borders," p. 99.

⁹⁵Lord, *The Singer*, pp. 22, 27.

⁹⁶Marc Azadovskii, *A Siberian Tale Teller* (1926), trans. James R. Dow, Centre for Intercultural Studies in Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Monograph Series, No. 2 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1974), p. 23.

⁹⁷Dégh, *Folktales*, p. 166.

⁹⁸Lindah, "On the Borders," p. 99.

⁹⁹Buchan, *The Ballad*, p. 192.

¹⁰⁰Lindah, "On the Borders," p. 100.

¹⁰¹Eugene E. Reed, "Herder, Primitivism and the Age of Poetry," *Modern Language Review*, 60 (1965), 553.

¹⁰²Eugene Goodhart, "The Romantic Critique of Industrial Civilization," *Alternative Futures*, 3 (1980), 126-138.

¹⁰³Leo Marx, "American Literary Culture and the Fatalistic View of Technology," *Alternative Futures*, 3 (1980), 45-70.

¹⁰⁴On these points, see: David E. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press,

1983); and, Neil V. Rosenberg, ed., *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1993).

¹⁰⁵Roger S. Loomis, "Arthurian Tradition and Folklore," *Folklore*, 69 (1958), 1.

¹⁰⁶Roger S. Loomis, "Objections to the Celtic Origin of the '*Matière de Bretagne*,'" *Romania*, 79 (1958), 63, note 2.

¹⁰⁷See Kurt Ranke, "*Einfache Formen*," trans. William Templer and Eberhard Alsen, *JFI*, 4 (1976), 17-31.

¹⁰⁸Francis Lee Utley, "Oral Genres as Bridge to Written Literature," *Genre*, 2 (1969), 98, 102.

¹⁰⁹Utley, "Oral Genres," p. 94.

¹¹⁰Tristram P. Coffin, "The Folk Ballad and the Literary Ballad: An Essay in Classification" (1959), in *Folklore in Action: Essays for Discussion in Honor of MacEdward Leach*, ed. Horace P. Beck, Publications of the American Folklore Society, Bibliographical and Special Series, Vol. 14 (Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1962), p. 69, note 1.

¹¹¹Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 102.

¹¹²Lindahl, "On the Borders," pp. 103-107. On the Grimms see: Alfred and Mary Elizabeth David, "A Literary Approach to the Brothers Grimm," *JFI*, 1 (1964), 180-196; Heinz Rölleke, ed., *Die Älteste Märchensammlung der Brüder Grimm: Synopse der Handschriftlichen Urfassung von 1810 und der Erstdrucke von 1812* (Cologne-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975); Heinz Rölleke, ed., *Märchen aus dem Nachlaß der Brüder Grimm* (1977; Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1983); Linda Dégh, "Grimm's Household Tales and Its Place in the Household: The Social Relevance of a Controversial Classic," *Western Folklore*, 38 (1979), 83-103; Gerd Hoffmann and Heinz Rölleke, *Der unbekannte Brüder Grimm: Deutsche Sagen von Ferdinand Philipp Grimm* (Düsseldorf: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1979); John M. Ellis, *One Fairy Story too Many: The Brothers Grimm and Their Tales* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983); Heinz Rölleke, *Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm*, Artemis Einführungen, 18 (München: Artemis Verlag, 1985); James M. McGlathery, et al., eds., *The Brothers Grimm and Folktales* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1988); Jeannine Blackwell, "The Many Names of Rumpelstiltskin: Recent Research on the Grimms' *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*," *The German Quarterly*, 63 (1990), 107-122; and Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm and Their Critics: Folktales and the Quest for Meaning* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992).

¹¹³Taylor, "Folklore," pp. 41, 42.

¹¹⁴Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 104.

¹¹⁵Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 107.

¹¹⁶Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 108.

¹¹⁷The folklore collectors of the past must share part of the blame for the unfamiliarity with the performance contexts of the folk tradition. Maranda has noted that the "urgency and complexity of the collector's task" resulted in an emphasis being placed on the traditions and not on the tradition-bearers. "One could not rescue the storyteller, so one fought to rescue the stories." The result is that "the experience of the reader of folk narratives is one of impersonality" ("Individual," p. 252). Most literary critics—and many folklorists—are readers of, not hearers of folk narratives. Lindahl notes that "literature is as tradition-bound as folklore" ("On the Borders," p. 109). Those who, in the wake of the various critical trends of recent years, might be inclined to lose sight of this fact would do well to reacquaint themselves with T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," in his *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (1920; London: Methuen, 1960) and Harold Rosenberg, *The Tradition of the New* (1959; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965).

¹¹⁸Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 4.

¹¹⁹Lord, *The Singer*, pp. 21-29.

¹²⁰William O. Hendricks, "Folklore and the Structural Analysis of Literary Texts," in his *Essays in Semiolinguistics and Verbal Art* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), pp. 101, 105.

¹²¹See, in addition to Hendricks: George S. Peek, "Folklore Concepts and Popular Literature: A Strategy for Combining Folklore and Literary Studies," *Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin*, 44 (1978), 25-29; and, Bruce A. Rosenberg, "Olrik's Laws: A Judicial Review," *Folklore Forum*, 11 (1978), 152-162.

¹²²Hendricks, "Folklore," p. 124.

¹²³Ironically, this stated preference for the original seems to co-exist happily with an unabashed faith in formula. Numerous studies of popular culture illustrate this point. See, for example: Edward W. White, ed., *The Pop Culture Tradition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972); Michael R. Real, *Mass-Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1977); and, Christopher D. Geist and Jack Nachbar, eds. *The Popular*

Culture Reader, 3rd ed. (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983).

¹²⁴G. F. Dalton, "Unconscious Literary Use of Traditional Material," *Folklore*, 85 (1974), 268.

¹²⁵Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 110.

¹²⁶Dalton, "Unconscious," p. 268.

¹²⁷See Max Lüthi, "Parallel Themes in Folk Narrative and in Art Literature," *JFI*, 4 (1967), 3-16.

¹²⁸Dalton, "Unconscious," p. 268. Lindahl mentions the court case which determined that the novel *Fail-Safe* and the motion picture *Dr. Strangelove* were essentially the same story ("On the Borders," p. 123, note 40). The recent court battles over who may claim credit for inventing the terms "Ewoks" and "Star Wars" are other examples.

¹²⁹Lord, *The Singer*, p. 29.

¹³⁰Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 111.

¹³¹Scholes and Kellogg, *The Nature*, pp. 23-24.

¹³²Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 112.

¹³³See, for examples of this: James H. Jones, "Commonplace and Memorization in the Oral Tradition of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads," *JAF*, 74 (1961), 97-112; and, John Quincy Wolf, "Folksingers and the Re-Creation of Folksong," *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967), 101-111.

¹³⁴Bausinger, "A Critique," pp. 28, 29.

¹³⁵Alan Dundes, "Texture, Text, and Context" (1964), in his *Essays in Folkloristics* (Meerut: Folklore Institute, 1978), p. 35. Considerable work remains to be done in the area of folk aesthetics. Valuable comments are to be found in some recent ethnographies and in the various contextual folkloristic studies, but aesthetic considerations are often couched simply in terms of "likes," "dislikes," and the emotional predilections of artists and audiences. Among studies which address the question more substantially are: Robert Jerome Smith, "The Structure of Esthetic Response" (1971), in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, American Folklore Bibliographical and Special Series, Vol. 23 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 68-79; Bruce A. Rosenberg, "The Aesthetics of Traditional Narrative," in

Directions in Literary Criticism: Contemporary Approaches to Literature, ed. Stanley Weintraub and Philip Young (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), pp. 7-22; Richard S. Tallman, "'You Can Almost Picture It': The Aesthetic of a Nova Scotia Storyteller," *Folklore Forum*, 7 (1974), 121-130; Robert Plant Armstrong, "Anthropology, Aesthetics, and the Affecting Presence," in his *Wellspring: On the Myth and Source of Culture* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1975), pp. 11-41; Ladislav Holy and Milan Stuchlik, "The Structure of Folk Models," in *The Structure of Folk Models*, ed. Ladislav Holy and Milan Stuchlik, A.S.A. Monograph 20 (London: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 1-34; Anna Caraveli, "The Song Beyond the Song: Aesthetics and Social Interaction in Greek Folksong," *JAF*, 95 (1982), 129-158; and, Kenneth S. Goldstein, "Notes toward a European-American Folk Aesthetic: Lessons Learned from Singers and Storytellers I Have Known," *JAF*, 104 (1991), 164-179.

¹³⁶Bruce A. Rosenberg, "Medieval Popular Literature: Folkloric Sources," in *Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985), p. 63.

¹³⁷See, for example: Avdo Međedović's comments on a particular song and the singing of it by another singer, and his claim that he could sing the same song better [Lord, *The Singer* (1960), p. 78]; Goldstein's comments on active and inactive repertoire, in his "On the Application of the Concept of Active and Inactive Traditions" (1971); and, George J. Casey, Neil V. Rosenberg and Wilfred W. Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Examples," *Ethnomusicology*, 16 (1972), 397-403.

¹³⁸Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 112. Lindahl cites Dégh who notes that a certain folktale "can be the property of an established storyteller" (*Folktales*, 88). Dégh, in turn, cites several other scholars—including Malinowski, von Sydow, and Thompson—who have written on the same point.

¹³⁹Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 117.

¹⁴⁰Lindahl, "On the Borders," p. 117. Some significant studies of the importance of artist/audience interactions are: Clinton R. Sanders, "Psyching Out the Crowd: Folk Performers and their Audiences," *Urban Life and Culture*, 3 (1974), 264-282; İlhan Başgöz, "The Tale-Singer and His Audience," in *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), pp. 143-203; John Miles Foley, "The Traditional Oral Audience," *Balkan Studies*, 18 (1977), 145-153; Caraveli, "The Song Beyond the Song" (1982); and, Edgar M. Slotkin, "Legend Genre as a Function of Audience," in *Monsters with Iron Teeth: Perspectives on Contemporary Legend*, Vol. 3, ed. Gillian Bennett and Paul Smith (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), pp. 89-111.

¹⁴¹See Walter J. Ong, "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction" (1975), in his *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 53-81. Ong points out that: "First . . . the writer must construct in his imagination, clearly or vaguely, an audience cast in some sort of role. . . . Second . . . the audience must correspondingly fictionalize itself" (pp. 60-61).

¹⁴²Hendricks, "Folklore," p. 124.

¹⁴³John Miles Foley, "Introduction," to *Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context*, ed. John Miles Foley (Columbia: The University of Missouri Press, 1986), p. 1.

¹⁴⁴See, for example: Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research* (1985), for an indication of the highly specialized and esoteric nature, as well as the interdisciplinary diversity, of research in this area: the journal *Oral Tradition*, which first appeared in 1986, and which illustrates the range of contemporary cross-cultural research in the field; and, Bruce A. Rosenberg, *Can These Bones Live? The Art of the American Folk Preacher*, rev. ed. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1988) which is an attempt to apply the principles of oral-formulaic theory in verbal/literate contexts.

¹⁴⁵The phrase "expanded view" is appropriated from Mary Ellen B. Lewis, "The Study of Folklore in Literature: An Expanded View," *SFQ*, 40 (1976), 343-351.

¹⁴⁶Alan Dundes, "The Study of Folklore in Literature and Culture: Identification and Interpretation" (1965), in *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: A Reader*, ed. Elliott Oring (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), pp. 350-357.

¹⁴⁷C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 4-5, 15. An interesting counterbalance to Barber's approach is a volume which appeared a year earlier. The editors were aware of "collections of raw folklore," but noted that the material in them lacked "artistry and often subtlety" and was, therefore, "less important as literature than as the revelation of popular mores at an untutored level." As a result, they resolved to compile a collection "to illustrate by representative selections of prose and verse the artistic use of folklore by American authors" [John T. Flanagan and Arthur Palmer Hudson, eds., *Folklore in American Literature* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1958), p. xiii].

¹⁴⁸Dundes, "The Study," p. 351.

¹⁴⁹Daniel R. Barnes, "Toward the Establishment of Principles for the Study of Folklore and Literature," *SFQ*, 43 (1979), 7-8. Barnes has made a significant

contribution to scholarship in this area and is currently the driving force behind *Motif: International Newsletter of Research in Folklore and Literature*.

¹⁵⁰Lewis, "The Study," p. 344.

¹⁵¹Lewis, "The Study," p. 345, note 6.

¹⁵²See Dan Ben-Amos, "Folklore in African Society," *Research in African Literatures*, 6 (1975), 165-198.

¹⁵³Barnes, "Toward," p. 14 (emphasis added).

¹⁵⁴Bruce A. Rosenberg, "Folklore Methodology and Medieval Literature," *JFI*, 13 (1976), 313.

¹⁵⁵See Dalton, "Unconscious," and Donald R. Petesch, "The Role of Folklore in the Modern Black Novel," *Kansas Quarterly*, 7 (1975), 99-110.

¹⁵⁶Kevin Danaher, "Folk Tradition and Literature," *The Journal of Irish Literature*, 1 (1972), 63-76.

¹⁵⁷Lewis, "The Study," p. 349.

¹⁵⁸Abrahams, "Folklore," p. 85.

¹⁵⁹See J. D. A. Widdowson, "Folklore and Regional Identity," in *Folklore Studies in the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Folklore Society*, ed. Venetia J. Newall (Suffolk and Totowa: D. S. Brewer and Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), p. 443-453.

¹⁶⁰Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (1968), trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). The references are to Krystyna Pomorska's "Foreword" to this edition, pp. ix, x. According to Michael Holquist's "Prologue" to this edition, Bakhtin began work in 1934 "on the series of studies that culminated in *Rabelais and His World*." He "brought together the many notebooks he had filled on Rabelais throughout the late thirties into a single text in 1940 and submitted it as a thesis to the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow." Due to the political climate, the "more coveted title of Doctor" was not granted, and the lower degree of *kandidat* was not conferred until 1951. The book's original Russian title was *François Rabelais and the Folk Culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*.

¹⁶¹Mary Ellen Brown, *Burns and Tradition* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 17, xiii.

¹⁶²Carl Lindahl, *Earnest Games: Folklore Patterns in the Canterbury Tales* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

¹⁶³See, in addition to the studies already noted: Susan Stewart, *Nonsense: Aspects of Intertextuality in Folklore and Literature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Sandra Dolby Stahl, *Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Bruce A. Rosenberg, *Folklore and Literature: Rival Siblings* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991); and, Sandra Dolby Stahl and Danielle Roemer, eds., "Special Issue: The Personal Narrative in Literature," *Western Folklore*, 51:1 (1992). A recent publication which provides convenient access and excellent bibliographic aids to the ever-expanding and increasingly complex field of literary theory is: Irena R. Makaryk, ed., *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1993).

CHAPTER TWO: APPROACHES TO FOLK CULTURE

FOLKLORISTICS

One who wished to attempt to write an essay "On Folk Culture" might well begin with a paraphrase of the first sentence of Francis Bacon's essay "On Truth" (1597),¹ for, despite the fact that many commentators, unlike "jesting Pilate," have attempted an answer, no universally applicable definition of the concept has emerged. This, for the folklorist, is as it should be. The studies which have attempted to deal with the concept in theoretically absolute terms, in the modern period at least, have been undertaken by anthropologists and sociologists, and have, for the most part, proposed ideal types and intellectual constructs which are deemed useful as frameworks within and against which the study of actual cultures may be approached. Contemporary folklorists, opting for an orientation over a restrictive definition, have tended to treat the concept *quantum satis* when dealing with various folklore forms, behaviours, and events.² Thus Nicolaisen, for example, can state, in an essay on Sir Walter Scott's relationship to the folk tradition, that "the notion of 'folk' as a separate and identifiable stratum of society would have been as puzzling to the age of Scott as it is to modern folklore scholarship,"³ and expect to be understood—at least by folklorists. In order to account for the changes in perceptions and apprehensions which separate this view from the earlier notions of the folk and folk culture usually associated with "National Romantic thinking" and the "paradigms of evolution and devolution,"⁴ a brief survey of the concepts is necessary. Such a survey will also go some distance toward illustrating how folkloristic concepts of

folk culture often differ significantly from the notions which obtain in the popular cultural sphere and from those held by popular and belletristic writers past and present. This last point is especially pertinent to the present study because writers' perceptions about, and presentations of, the folk and folk culture may differ substantially from the ethnographic reality. Yet these literary perceptions and presentations often attain a wide currency and exert a lasting influence—an influence to which the ethnographic reality is not immune.

The modern, post-Herderian concept of the folk and folk culture was introduced by Sumner in 1906,⁵ but "it was Redfield who made it the organizing concept of a full-scale anthropological field study and analysis."⁶ Redfield's *magnum opus* appeared in 1941;⁷ "his subsequent publications, sometimes of a more purely expository kind, either elaborate or qualify this book."⁸ Foster provides a convenient summary of the main points of Redfield's thesis:

In a descriptive sense he finds folk societies to be small, isolated, nearly self-sufficient groups homogeneous in race and custom. Their component parts are closely interdependent, personal relationships are face-to-face, technology is simple and division of labor is slight. The family plays a large part in societal institutions, the sanctions which govern conduct are predominately sacred, piety is emphasized, and ritual is highly developed and expresses vividly the wishes and fears of the people. Such a society is relatively immobile, change is slow, the ways of life form a single web of interrelated meanings, and habits of members tend to correspond to custom.⁹

Lest one be tempted to treat such a description as an ironclad, universally applicable definition, Redfield, in *The Little Community* (1955), offers the following caution:

One will take, for instance, the conception of a complete folk society, stated abstractly as a society small, homogeneous, impersonal, sacred, and so forth, and try it on the community that one is interested in understanding. One will try it on, not so much to see where the conception fits, but to see where it does not fit. No society can exactly fit, for the mental form we are now using is an invention, a construction of our own.¹⁰

This "mental form" of the folk society is most often understood in terms of a comparison with urban society, its polar opposite, which is equally a mental form. This penchant for polar thinking gives rise to "the folk-urban continuum" referred to by other commentators. Paine notes that Redfield did not include a theoretical analysis of the concept of polarity in his work,¹¹ but he did relate his studies conceptually to the earlier distinctions which Maine had drawn between familial and political societies, to the oppositions which Morgan had posited as the distinguishing features of *societas* and *civitas*, to the antitheses which Tönnies developed in his notions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, and to the divisions which Durkheim proposed as separating the sacred and the profane.¹² Lewis's restudy of the same cultural area which Redfield had studied earlier resulted in a re-evaluation of many of Redfield's postulates, and Redfield, himself, in his later research and writing, did not feel bound by all of his earlier formulations.¹³ A detailed examination of these revisions, however, is not germane to the present discussion.¹⁴

A related point which needs to be examined is that, until relatively recent times, most anthropological and much folkloristic research and scholarship concentrated on the folk end of the folk-urban continuum. This emphasis resulted in the persistence of notions of the folk as the other, regardless of whether an alien or a familiar culture was

the subject of investigation.¹⁵ This viewpoint may be explained in part by the fact that these efforts were undertaken at first by genteel antiquarians and "armchair scholars" and later largely by urban academics, but cognisance must also be taken of certain Western-oriented, culture-bound notions of civilization and progress which influenced the scholarship. According to these views, the folk were remote either in time or in space. The folk of the folklorists, on the one hand, were seen either as happy peasants or rustics cavorting in pre-industrial, sylvan glades in the dim past of some golden age, or as the remnants of the same, designated as marginal entities or "submerged population groups" existing on the fringes of the larger society, or, in Redfieldian terms, as representatives of a "little tradition" existing within the "great tradition." On the other hand, the folk of the anthropologists were seen as primitives who were still in the infant stages of civilization—reminiscent of Othello's references to the "cannibals that each other eat," and men whose heads "do grow beneath their shoulders."¹⁶ They, never we, were always the folk, and, depending on the predilections of the observer, the same group might serve as the subject for utopian ruminations, as a convenient sounding board for working out the tenets of a there-but-for-the-grace-of-progress philosophy, or, conversely, as the basis of a lament for the passing of a golden age of which only vestigial remnants remained. The result of this esoteric, ethnocentric, culturally inductive approach to all that was not of itself was a paradoxical double standard in Western thinking. Familiar or alien cultures, past or present, could be exalted or denigrated at whim so that they might be located at appropriate points on a yardstick of

civilization, the essential quality of which was elasticity. This somewhat curious, although eminently convenient, stance toward both historical and present reality was not limited to the social sciences. Williams has identified it as a recurring theme in much of English literature, especially in his analyses of the dual uses of the pastoral and the dual attitudes toward the city. The culturally attitudinal ramifications of "the fascination of the abomination," which, in part, was the lure that drew Kurtz ("an emissary of pity, and science, and progress") and Marlow (one "of the new gang—the gang of virtue") to the Congo, have been documented by Achebe.¹⁷ Similar commentaries have reassessed early ethnographic sojourns in "darkest Africa" and other non-Western regions.¹⁸

An inevitable consequence of this concentration on temporal and spatial otherness was the separation of folk and lore, and the relegation of both to a sort of marginal limbo. This was followed, as modern folkloristics developed as a discipline and began to map out its field of interest, by the need to redefine and reunite the two. Investigations in these areas took different forms in Europe and America. In Europe, because of its long history of peasant society, the emphasis was on accounting for the survival and transmission of the lore; in America, which had "no peasant society to regard as the physical and spiritual embodiment of the ancestral folk,"¹⁹ the emphasis was on reformulating the conceptualizations of both the folk and the lore. It would be an oversimplification to suggest that European folkloristics looked to the past while North American folkloristics, for lack of an ancestral past to which to turn, was forced to concentrate on the present; this would be to ignore the fact that European theories and

methodologies strongly influenced the direction of the developing discipline in America. It has been suggested, however, "that any consideration of the genesis of folklore studies ought to begin with a consideration of antiquarianism."²⁰ It is difficult to conceive of a true antiquarian interest in a society which lacked antiquity. This, in part, explains the preoccupation of early American folklorists with native Indian cultures and transplanted European survivals in the new world. Nevertheless, the antiquarian interest in "popular antiquities" and "survivals" out of which folkloristics developed provided a focus for the discipline for a considerable period. Dundes overstates the case when he maintains that a "devolutionary premise" provided the basis for "the majority of folklore theories," but the various earlier theories of "the presumed downward transmission of culture" which he considers continued to be echoed in Europe and the Americas well into the present century.²¹ The concept of folklore as the meaningless detritus of high culture forms lingered as well.²²

Charles Lewis, in a paper read before the Folklore Society in 1934, set out to demonstrate that folklore, "far from being the creation of the folk, is often nothing else than rites and customs of learned or of religious origin which, after having been handed down through centuries, have finally become the property of the people." He limited himself to examples drawn from folksong and "the customs connected with May-Day," but these were sufficient to allow him to conclude that "the folk has neither part nor lot in the making of folklore."²³ A dozen years later, in his presidential address delivered before the same society, Lord Raglan "thought it worth while [sic] to extend a little the

range of attack on the superstition that the folk are the creators of folk-culture." In order to extend the range, he drew several examples from various folklore and folklife forms and concluded: "So far as I can learn, no evidence has ever been produced that any group or member of the folk has produced anything more than insignificant variations on old themes."²⁴ In America, Botkin, while still not altogether abandoning the concepts of survivals and "the downward process of transmission," argued that "folklore is no longer limited to the archaic and anachronistic," pleaded for the study of "its living and dynamic phases," and concluded that "for every form of folk fantasy that dies a new one is being created, as culture in decay is balanced by folklore in the making."²⁵ The study of the "living and dynamic phases" of folklore is directly linked to the establishment of folkloristics as a recognized discipline in American universities. Considerable theoretical debate occurred during the period between Botkin's comments in 1937 and the awarding of the first Ph.D. degree in folklore by an American university in 1953.²⁶ It was, however, but the beginning of a larger debate that was to continue for another thirty years, and which, under different guises and with different emphases, continues to the present day.

Oring, having surveyed briefly the definitional and theoretical issues in contemporary folkloristics, concludes:

At this point, a definition [of fo:klóre] is not really necessary. The field is still being mapped and any hard and fast definition is likely to prove partial, idiosyncratic, or inconsistent. What is necessary is an orientation, however, and this orientation should be based upon those concepts that

seem to regularly inform the perspectives of folklorists in their research."²⁷

All of this is well and good for the professional folklorist perhaps, but one who subscribes too literally to such a position runs the risk of inviting the same criticism that Holloway rightly levelled at Dorson in 1976 (see note 41, chap. 1). It is necessary, therefore, to examine the heuristic processes which have resulted in this orientation, at least insofar as they have been brought to bear on fundamental questions about the nature of the discipline. In other words, some agreement among folklorists regarding who (folk) and what (lore) they studied had to emerge before recognizable concepts could regularly inform the perspectives guiding their research.

The distance which folklorists had put between themselves and the Herderian or Redfieldian concepts of the folk society may be measured by the fact that, by 1965, Dundes, in the opening chapter of a collection designed for introductory folklore courses, was prepared to state that the folk are "*any group of people whatsoever* who share at least one common factor."²⁸ Three years later, Brunvand, in another introductory text, offered the following description of folklore and the folkloristic process: "Folklore comprises the unrecorded traditions of a people. The study of folklore records and analyzes these traditions because they reveal the common life of the mind below the level of 'high' or formal culture, which is recorded by civilizations as the learned heritage of their times."²⁹ Both authors echo the broader conceptualizations which were developing as folkloristics became an established academic discipline and began to adapt a wide

range of theoretical perspectives to its specific focus. These developments are to be traced in the reflective, stocktaking tone of a number of articles published in the 1950s.³⁰ The catholicity of the conceptualizations and orientations which were emerging might well have obviated the obsessive need to justify its own existence which marks so much folkloristic scholarship. However, certain social developments and intellectual reorientations occurring outside and within the academy, and, ironically, certain new areas of exploration within the discipline itself precipitated anew the need to pose and attempt answers to such questions as: "Who are the folk?" "What is folklore?" "What is a folklorist?" Significant factors which contributed to this renewed round of self-examination in folkloristics were the debates surrounding the so-called folk revival, especially the exchanges among "purists" and "popularizers," the attendant debates over the ideological uses and misuses of folklore, and the questions raised by studies of urban, occupational, and public sector folklore. The paramount factor, however, was the emergence of the "young Turks among the folklorists" of whom Dorson wrote in 1972. Although several of them had made significant contributions to the scholarship of the 1960s, they spearheaded this re-examination of the discipline which was to mark the 1970s and the early 1980s.

Dorson designated the group contextualists and noted among their shared characteristics "doctoral training in folklore at the universities of Indiana and Pennsylvania in the 1960s; . . . a strong preoccupation with the environment in which the folklore text is embedded"; and a predilection for "an emphasis on theory" manifested

by their willingness to adapt hypotheses and methodologies which were developed by other disciplines to the uses of folkloristics.³¹ Dorson's points were substantiated by the publication of *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*³² and *Folklore: Performance and Communication*,³³ two collections which had their genesis in the 1960s but which were published in 1971 and 1975, respectively. Both collections are eclectic; most of the essays had been presented at conferences and meetings prior to their being brought together by the editors. Paredes notes that "with few exceptions," the authors of the essays in the first collection were "less interested in defining a general concept of folklore than in delineating folklore in specific situations."³⁴ The editors of the second collection accepted Dorson's "contextualist" designation, and selected "essays which concentrate upon primary ethnographic observation" and "combine the description of folkloric behavior with methodological analysis."³⁵ Both collections provide apt commentaries on research trends in American folkloristics which had emerged during the 1960s; more importantly, they provide an indication of the perceptions and conceptualizations which would form part of the legacy that the "young Turks" would pass on to the next generation of folklorists. Since most of these scholars are still active, the full measure of their contributions has yet to be realized. What needs to be assessed in the present context are the ways in which their ideas have coloured current notions of folklore and folkloristics, and consequently what is meant by the folk, by folk society and folk culture.

Toward New Perspectives in Folklore was conceived partly in response to perceptions held by Latin American folklorists who saw their North American colleagues "as pragmatists who work without any adequate theoretical base."³⁶ Paredes had previously addressed this issue, demonstrated that North American folklorists were not theoretically bankrupt, and pointed out that, "if we really care to, we can arrange all the different theories of folklorists in the United States into not more than four groups." He added, however, that the definitions of "folklore" and "folk" were the "two major areas of disagreement" between the folklorists in the two Americas.³⁷ At least one commentator in the United States appeared to side with his Latin American colleagues when he declared that "folklore theory (what there is of it) has like aesthetics been plagued by tautology and debatable—and debated—ostensive lists."³⁸ Nevertheless, the editors, guided by the belief that considerable theoretical activity was in fact taking place, set one stipulation for the contributors: "that theoretical or methodological considerations should be given prominence."³⁹

Theories, not theory, became the watchword. Dorson had established this approach in 1963 when he enumerated and discussed the contributions of comparative, national, anthropological, psychoanalytical, and structural theories to folkloristics. Later, as noted above, when he came to rework the earlier essay as part of the introduction to *Folklore and Folklife* (1972), he employed a different nomenclature and added the contextual approach. Prior to the publication of the two collections being discussed here, Abrahams, drawing on theories advanced by Kenneth Burke, had argued for a rhetorical

theory of folklore which stressed the "need to develop a methodology which will focus on the movement of items as constructed and performed, as used by people in a living situation."⁴⁰ Later, in 1977, he proposed an enactment-centered approach which would expand the notion of performance to include any community cultural event.⁴¹ That same year Burns published a "theory sketch" of the "theories informing the work of the traditional arts folklorists" which summarized and updated aspects of Dorson's earlier surveys.⁴²

As new theories were advanced and others adapted and adopted,⁴³ the search for definitions and classifications continued apace. Two of the "few exceptions" to the general focus of *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* were the essays by Ben-Amos and Abrahams. Having critically examined a number of earlier definitions of folklore, Ben-Amos proceeded to define both folklore and the folk when he declared that: "In sum, folklore is artistic communication in small groups."⁴⁴ Abrahams begins by defining folklore as "all traditional expressions and implementations of knowledge operating within a community," but, having argued that performance is the *sine qua non* of folklore, he recasts his definition as follows: "Folklore is all conventional expressive devices available for performance and the achievement of performer status within a socially bounded group."⁴⁵ Neither definition escaped criticism; both generated considerable debate. Indeed, an earlier draft of Ben-Amos's paper, read at the American Folklore Society meetings in 1967, caused one commentator to complain that "folklorists seem to be possessed by some definitional demon" and to issue a call for "folklorists to

start using definitions and stop being used by them."⁴⁶ Ben-Amos's definition appeared to question the role of tradition as central for an understanding of folklore;⁴⁷ Abrahams retained the concept of tradition as a benchmark element, but Ben-Amos and Goldstein objected to what they perceived to be his contention that folklore is no more "than the possession of a store of traditional items which can be retrieved from memory whenever a situation calls for them."⁴⁸

One effect of the folk revival and the professionalization of folklorists was a renewed interest in defining the "legitimate" folk. Denisoff maintained that "critical observers of the so-called urban folk movement such as Wilgus and Stekert" still adhered "to the traditional criteria of Redfield," but concluded an examination of one aspect of the revival by declaring that "political folk are not very folk, but quite political."⁴⁹ Dorson demonstrated that, at least in terms of ethnic and racial groups, the folk were to be found in urban settings.⁵⁰ Dundes expanded on his own definition (see note 28, chap. 2) and concluded: "Who Are the Folk? Among others, we are!"⁵¹ Keil, on the other hand, declared that "there never were any 'folk,' except in the minds of the bourgeois," and suggested that "a way must be found to turn folklorists and folk back into people," since, he concluded, "about the only people who still need the 'folk' these days are the ruling classes . . . and professing folklorists."⁵² Dorson countered by reminding Keil that "the field and the folk are both mystical concepts, but the folklorist knows they are real enough."⁵³ Keil dismissed this as "an academic imperialist tendency" and called for folklorists to be attentive to "those processes that preserve the

common humanity of the exploited against both bourgeois definitions and mass media manipulation of their worlds,"⁵⁴ thereby situating the notion of folk culture within the framework of the class culture dialectic.

That the "definitional demon" continues to be active is easily demonstrated; however, that a *definable* orientation has slowly, and sometimes haltingly, emerged is demonstrable as well. Richmond, writing of the evolution of folklore—the word and the concept—from Thoms, through the oft-cited "twenty-one definitions," to the present day, notes:

In this evolutionary process two fundamental elements of the definition developed by Thoms and his descendants have been severely modified: tradition and a restricted concept of the word *folk*. No longer do folklorists confine their studies to those things which are perpetuated orally or by precept; no longer do folklorists concern themselves only with backward classes or the less cultured classes of more advanced peoples. They are, instead, concerned with those things which appear and, most importantly, reappear in varied forms whenever and wherever human beings interact.⁵⁵

This, among other things, appears to answer Keil's objections, but, more importantly, it suggests that folklore and the folk have come to be seen as universals. Folklore is a process, not a thing, and the folk are those who are, at one time or another, involved in that process. Folklore, as Dorson stated in 1982, "is omnipresent, a natural byproduct of the human condition generated by the tensions, pressure points, anxieties, and fantasies of every society."⁵⁶ These notions have evolved slowly over the period just discussed.

One is continually made aware, as one reflects on a scholarly debate which has occurred over a given period of time, of how certain ideas which are proposed early on by one scholar will lie dormant until they are presented anew, freshly articulated, by another. In 1966, in the midst of the debate surrounding the revival, Seeger, in an essay he described as a "jaunty little piece of home-learning," made the following points in relation to the tensions within the folk-urban continuum:

Since each has now exploited the other for a couple of decades in the large frame of the United States, there must exist few, if any, persons left ratable as 100% either folk or non-folk. The vast population lies between these limits, each individual made up of varying proportions of inhibited or released folkness or non-folkness. Perhaps we could venture some definitions now, as, for example, 'non-folkness is that which tries not to be folkness'; 'folkness is that which knows of no more non-folkness that it can try to be.' The possibility cannot but occur to one that perhaps the two are not mutually exclusive opposites but overlapping complements or, perhaps, two aspects of one and the same entity.⁵⁷

In 1980, with the benefit of more than a decade of scholarly debate and the perspectives of another discipline at his disposal, Nicolaisen proposed replacing the terms folklore and folklife with folk culture, and articulated both folk culture and the folk in terms of the concept of a "folk cultural register." The term register, borrowed from sociology by way of linguistics, embraces "that desirable triad of text, texture, and context [and] emphasizes use rather than trait, object, mode of communication, level and size of social aggregation, or a demand for artistry." In his explanation of the concept we hear echoes of Seeger's points—freshly, and readably, articulated:

The concept of *register* also acknowledges rightly the absence of that scholarly fiction—at least in contemporary terms although probably also

in historical perspective—of the homogeneous folk society and ultimately of isolatable 'folk persons' who in their individual lives act and communicate always in the folk manner. As I see it . . . we all share various peculiar folk cultural characteristics and items which we use in selective situations whenever the folk cultural register makes it appropriate to do so. We are not folk all the time, nor are we never folk, although the importance of the folk cultural register in our lives varies considerably, ranging from near-complete domination to minor significance on rare occasions.⁵⁸

As we turn from considerations of the general concept of folk culture to a more specific examination of the folk culture of Newfoundland, and an assessment of how that folk culture has informed a large portion of its literature, this notion of the folk cultural register will prove invaluable.

NEWFOUNDLAND

The researcher who chooses to write about "the Tenth Island"⁵⁹ elects to confront unique and peculiar problems. Two recent works which deal with Newfoundland may be used to illustrate the point. The first, the work of two photojournalists, is titled *This Marvellous Terrible Place*;⁶⁰ the second, a scholarly treatise, offers the following caution:

Constructing a historical anthropology from Newfoundland data is not like writing about Europe, America, or even Africa—when it can be assumed that most of the readers have in mind the broad outlines of the history and some data-organizing images of social-organizational patterns. In such circumstances one can jump right into the special argument. Here, to the contrary and by way of a start, it is necessary to sketch a silhouette and to show this silhouette moving through a few temporal frames.⁶¹

The title of the former points to the fact that the study of Newfoundland is the study of incongruities, contraries, and paradoxes, qualities which are to be found both in the actual history of the Island⁶² and in the historical and other scholarship dealing with it.⁶³ Sider's methodological suggestions illustrate that, despite its geographical proximity to the North American mainland and the ethnic links of the majority of its population to Western Europe, Newfoundland remains, in many respects, a place apart, when it is considered in the larger framework of the North American context. Various arguments, ranging from the mundane to the fantastic, have been advanced to account for this, and to deal with the perception that "the Newfoundland identity, however difficult to define, is a very real fact."⁶⁴ Among the reasons most commonly given are climate, topography, insularity, isolation, ocean dependency, and the unusual and atypical

nature of Newfoundland's social and political development. All of these forces have been shaping influences on Newfoundland; none of them, considered in isolation, accounts for the complexities of life on the Island, complexities which are masked by a deceptive surface simplicity. The failure on the part of many popular writers and some academic researchers to recognize these anomalies has resulted in facile commentaries on, and skewed analyses of, many aspects of Newfoundland, the nature of the folk culture among them. At their most extreme, such approaches have tended to describe Newfoundland society and culture in terms that suggest a sort of northern utopia, on the one hand, or as a state approximating hell on earth ("the land God gave to Cain," in Jacques Cartier's phrase for Labrador), on the other.⁶⁵

Even the bald facts of Newfoundland's history have been radically reinterpreted in the past fifty years or so. The following comment from a recent history is a too easy dismissal of much that is worthwhile in earlier works, but it comes close to the point: "To the historian of fifty years ago, the early history of Newfoundland was a fairly simple matter. The Island had been discovered by Europeans when John Cabot, sailing for the King of England, reached it in June, 1497."⁶⁶ It is now clear, however, as Prowse⁶⁷ and others demonstrated, that Cabot was preceded by Portuguese fishermen and/or Basque whalers, and that the Norsemen, according to the Sagas and recent archaeological evidence, were familiar with the Island (Vinland) as early as the year 1000, if not before.⁶⁸ Inconclusive evidence has long been used to advance the suggestion that ships from Bristol, which may have been fishing close to Newfoundland

waters for some time prior to 1497, reached Newfoundland (the "Brasil" on late medieval maps) as early as 1481; some argue, based on descriptions and other details in the *Navigatio* and other sources, that the Island was reached by St. Brendan as early as the 6th century.⁶⁹ Be that as it may, eighty-six years after John Cabot's voyage, on 5 August 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed into the harbour at St. John's and, despite the fact that between thirty and forty ships from various European countries were already at anchor there, claimed the Island in Elizabeth's name, thereby conferring on Newfoundland the fictive moniker of "Britain's Oldest Colony." In fact, despite the presence of settlers as early as 1610 and the historical use of the term "colony" with reference to the Island, Newfoundland was not officially granted crown colony status until 1824.

Politically, at least, the "silhouette" moved through the following "temporal frames." For more than two hundred years after discovery what government existed was limited to the seasonal rule of the fishing admirals and naval governors. Representative Government, with an appointed governor, appointed legislative and executive councils, and an elected representative assembly was established in 1832. This was replaced, in 1855, by Responsible Government, with a Prime Minister and an executive council chosen from the elected assembly and responsible to it. In the throne speech of 23 April 1918, the government of W. F. Lloyd officially dropped the title "Colony" and self-styled Newfoundland a "Dominion," although no change in constitutional status accompanied the change in nomenclature. In 1934, the government of F. C. Alderdice,

forbidden by Britain to declare bankruptcy, legislated itself out of existence, and was replaced by a six-man, appointed Commission of Government which governed Newfoundland until 1949. In that year, after two referenda, the people opted, by the slimmest of majorities, to become a province of Canada, thereby accepting an alternative which had been roundly rejected 80 years earlier in the election of 1869.

This is the first paradox: Newfoundland the geographical entity, whose ocean resources were exploited in turn by Portugal, France, Spain, and England, is not to be confused with Newfoundland the social and political entity which developed slowly, once England became the dominant power among the four, as part of the British Empire. Even this is not as simple or as self-evident as it appears; contemporary research has demonstrated the importance of Newfoundland as a raw material resource base and has highlighted the strategic significance of its location,⁷⁰ but there is little agreement among scholars regarding the forces which have shaped Newfoundland society and culture.

One fact is incontestable. The history of Newfoundland is inextricably interwoven with the history of a single commodity, cod, "the fish that launched thousands of ships from the North Sea to the Mediterranean."⁷¹ For long, to the European mind, Newfoundland was little more than *Baccalaos*, *Terra Baccalao*, *Tulanah an Eisc*, or "simply the English fishing fleet moving west across the ocean in the spring, and returning back home to England again each autumn."⁷² In 1793, William Knox, an Under-Secretary of State, noted in the House of Commons: "The island of Newfoundland

has been considered, in all former times, as a great ship moored near the [Grand] Banks during the fishing season, for the convenience of English fishermen."⁷³ At various times during the early period of the Island's history, the same statement might have been uttered by a Portuguese, a Frenchman, or a Spaniard. Even the class-conscious "Caesar," who was "nane o' Scotland's dogs," was denied a pedigree by his creator and referred to simply as having been "whalpet some place far abroad, / Where sailors gang to fish for Cod."⁷⁴

The fact of the relationship between Newfoundland and the codfish may be incontestable; the interpretation of the fact is quite another matter. Because Britain eventually emerged from its protracted struggle with France as the dominant power in Newfoundland, questions have long been raised concerning the reasons why Newfoundland society did not develop along the same lines, and within the same time frame, as those of the other British colonies in the New World. These questions, given the turbulent fluctuations in Newfoundland's relationship with Britain, not only during its early history but especially between 1824 and 1949, are not simply academic. They are fundamental to an understanding of the changes in "imperial sentiment"⁷⁵ expressed in the following: "Her face turns to Britain, her back to the Gulf, / Come near at your peril, Canadian Wolf!" And, some eighty years later: "Pledges made were soon discarded and at Canada's command / Britain set the seal for ever on an independent land."⁷⁶ The fact that to this day—despite its status as a Canadian province and despite the Irish ancestry of a large percentage of its population—the Union Jack still flies side

by side with, or to the exclusion of, the Maple Leaf in Newfoundland is an indication that an understanding of the relationship of the Island to Britain is essential to an understanding of "the Newfoundland identity."⁷⁷

In 1793, in his *History of the Government of the Island of Newfoundland*, John Reeves "addressed himself to a question that has been central to the writing of Newfoundland history ever since, namely, the relationship between the ancient transatlantic fishery of the West Country of England and the colonization of Newfoundland."⁷⁸ According to Reeves, and a number of later historians who accepted his thesis uncritically, the migratory nature of the early fishery and the unfettered greed of the English West Country merchants who controlled it were the sole and simple causes for the long delay between discovery and settlement, for the failure of the early attempts at formal colonization, and for the retardation of normal colonial development for centuries to follow. These historians argue further that successive British governments saw fit to support the West Country merchants and to oppose all those who favoured settlement because the migratory fishery provided a convenient "nursery for seamen" to supply the ranks of the Royal Navy, and because it ensured that all profits and other benefits accrued directly to "the Mother Country." The late Keith Matthews, in an excellent critical examination of this aspect of Newfoundland history, traces the development of the theory from Reeves in 1793 to Innis in 1940.⁷⁹ Matthews argues here and elsewhere⁸⁰ that such a reading is a gross oversimplification of the historical record which fails to address the complexities behind the slow and erratic social and

political development of Newfoundland, and other researchers support his thesis.⁸¹ This oversimplified reading, which developed partly because, until recently, "Newfoundland was worthy of study only insofar as it threw light upon something else,"⁸² also went unchallenged because it was appropriated at various times by political and other ideologues. The result, as Matthews also notes, was that the theory became "buried deeply in the historical mythology of Newfoundland."⁸³

It is necessary, therefore, in order to advance beyond what Matthews calls the "impression that the only life in [Newfoundland's] history consisted of words scrawled on fading documents by long dead polemicists,"⁸⁴ to examine the complex truth—as far as that truth is known—behind the oversimplification. A second paradox, or an extension of the first, frustrates such an examination; settlement in Newfoundland, in theory and in fact, is a post-1610 phenomenon. This leaves one to wonder about the state of affairs between 1497 and that date. Prowse divided Newfoundland history "into four great epochs," designated the first "the early or chaotic era, from 1497 to 1610, when the Island was a kind of no man's land, without law, religion, or government, frequented alike by English and foreign fishermen," and cautioned that "for the early part of the sixteenth century our sources of information are meagre and often misleading."⁸⁵ He then proceeded to sift these same sources in an attempt to establish the supremacy of the English during the period. Later researchers have corrected this emphasis,⁸⁶ but it appears that his overall assessment of the period, for the most part, is correct.

The century following Cabot's rediscovery of the Island, during which time Newfoundland essentially remained a summer fishing station for European crews,⁸⁷ saw customs and attitudes develop *vis-à-vis* the conduct of the migratory fishery. Given that these customs and attitudes had such a long period of time and a free hand to become entrenched, it is not surprising that any government-imposed change would be viewed with suspicion and alarm by those involved in the migratory fishery; neither is it surprising that such "laws" and regulations as were eventually enacted and promulgated perforce had to take cognizance of these customary practices. Effective control of, and jurisdiction over, the fishery and the fishermen in each Newfoundland harbour rested with the "fishing admiral," the master of the first vessel to arrive in the harbour each spring.⁸⁸ The charter granted to the London and Bristol Company by James I in 1610, which approved the company's colonization efforts under the leadership of John Guy, "saved and reserved" the traditional fishing rights and practices not only of the English migratory fishermen but also of "all manner of persons of what nation soever."⁸⁹ After the collapse of the early "proprietary" colonies—those founded by Guy (1610), William Vaughan (1617), and George Calvert (1621)—the Western Charter of 1634, which was granted "unto ye Merchants and Traders of Newfoundland," while it recognized the existence of "planters," reaffirmed support for the migratory fishery and restricted those not so engaged. Furthermore, the Charter "confirmed long-existing custom" by giving "jurisdiction over the fishermen in Newfoundland to the mayors of the principal West Country ports and to the 'fishing admirals.'"⁹⁰ During the brief period between 1637

and 1651, Sir David Kirke was, theoretically at least, the resident governor of the whole Island, but his presence did not significantly affect the traditional authority of the "fishing admirals" in the various harbours. The rule of these "fishing admirals," which has been characterized as being notable for "the rough, customary justice of the fishing smack and the rum-keg court,"⁹¹ was supreme in Newfoundland during each fishing season. Seasonal naval governors (convoy commanders) and their "floating surrogates" (the captains of the other naval vessels under their command) were appointed after 1729, but not until 1781, when a regular judiciary was established, did the system of control by the "fishing admirals" come to an end. Almost ninety years passed between Kirke's departure and the appointment of the next resident governor,⁹² and more than a century elapsed before anything which could even loosely be called constitutional government appeared.

Matthews demonstrates that the reality of these various arrangements, *vis-à-vis* their effects on the lives of ordinary individuals, was much more complicated than the oversimplified and generalized theory of retarded settlement suggests. The theory was based largely on a concept of intergroup rivalries among the different groups involved in the various forms of the fishery (migratory, sedentary, bye-boat), and between London or Bristol "sack ship" merchants and the West Country "fishing" merchants, who, according to the theory, enjoyed the support of successive English governments. He demonstrates further that the oversimplification rested on certain unfounded and/or unsubstantiated assumptions. He notes that "to show that [the British] government

enacted legislation inimical to the growth of population, culture or government [in Newfoundland] does not measure its effect upon that growth for the legislation must be shown to have been effective." Furthermore, Reeves, and the historians who followed his lead, "assumed that settlement and government were synonymous, and thus that everyone who opposed government must have opposed settlement and vice versa."⁹³ Mathews suggests that an unbiased review of the existing records reveals that governmental opposition to settlement hinged on the belief that a migratory rather than a settled fishery was in Britain's best national interest. The merchants, on the other hand, opposed the creation of government in Newfoundland (at least in any form which they felt they could not readily control) more vehemently than they opposed settlement; this opposition rested on the belief that government would interfere with and limit the customary freedom they had enjoyed to conduct the fishery as they saw fit. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that, for the most part, the anti-settlement legislation which was enacted proved to be unenforceable and ineffective and settlement took place in spite of it, often with the blessing of the controlling merchants.⁹⁴

Mathews's analysis introduces a skein of complexities which had formerly been overlooked or ignored. Indeed, his approach not only calls into question the treatment of the settlement issue but also casts doubt on the entire canon of Newfoundland historiography. His research clearly demonstrates that successive British governments and the West Country merchants were more often at odds than in league concerning affairs in Newfoundland. He criticizes those historians who "treated Newfoundland

history as timeless," and who assumed that "although groups changed in characteristics and importance, nevertheless eternal and unchanging conflict between them raged for more than 200 years." The emphasis on group conflicts meant that the roles and personalities of individuals, and the support they enjoyed or the opposition they had to face, were often overlooked. Often "the hostility [of the merchants] was directed towards the organizers of the colonies, and even then was not directed towards all of them." He points out as well that "most of the 'history of Newfoundland' as written is little more than a history of St. John's and of the official and literate classes who lived there," and even that tends to be limited to "constitutional" history which assumes that "only the political is important, and that only the political 'evolved.'"⁹⁵ In effect, therefore, Matthews argues that a large portion of Newfoundland's "history" has been misinterpreted, and an even larger portion has been ignored. That which has been ignored is the history of the majority, the fishermen and women who came (willingly, under duress, or out of dire necessity) and stayed to make a life, if not a textbook colony or society—governments, merchants, and the habits of the codfish notwithstanding.

This is the third paradox; viewed simply from the "constitutionalist" perspective, what is surprising is not that a society took so long to become established, but that it became established at all. Rogers noted that fact in 1911:

For three hundred years, that is to say, during the whole of its colonial life, the colony has been menaced with complete or partial extinction; not by force but by incessantly reiterated arguments. From the beginning . . . clever people proved over and over again almost to demonstration that the colony ought not to exist.⁹⁶

But exist it did, even though these same fishermen and women were caught up in power struggles they were powerless to escape or to change; even though settlement was tentative and haphazard at its best, furtive and technically illegal at its worst; and even though government, when it existed at all, meant rule by whim and *ad hoc* arrangement. "Until late in the eighteenth century, Newfoundland remained suspended and wavering between a frontier of exploitation and one of settlement."⁹⁷ Over time, as it moved from being "a fishery dependent upon an island [to] a colony dependent upon a fishery,"⁹⁸ the lives of those who had defied the odds, the laws, the naysayers, and the North Atlantic remained virtually unchanged. Life in the outposts, "shaped by the traditional fishing economy, remained . . . remote and undisturbed until the fourth decade of the twentieth century."⁹⁹ It was, of course, the daily life as it was lived in these settlements that was overlooked in official histories, and, with the exception of one or two particulars—the availability of credit, the price of fish, the infrequent visit of a clergyman, a politician, or some other dignitary—the lives of the inhabitants were little touched by outside affairs. They, in turn, were more concerned with winds, tides, sun, and fog than with the goings-on in St. John's or Westminster.

The convulsive transition which had its beginning in the 1930s—the transition which saw Newfoundland "dragged kicking and screaming into the twentieth century"¹⁰⁰—resulted in a breach in the Newfoundland gestalt, as it were. Every attempt—artistic, philosophical, even the political—to articulate the transition and comprehend the nature of the breach tends to be predicated on a re-articulation of the

past, a past that is at one and the same time hazily remote and tantalizingly present. This penchant for reexamining (and, in some cases, for reinventing) the past illustrates that the story of the Island's struggle to establish and maintain itself is not only "buried deeply in the historical mythology of Newfoundland" but also has been etched into the psyche of the "Newfoundland identity." This fixation on the past manifests itself in various ways.

The theme is commonly expressed in sentiments which are a commingling of despair and awe. There is a sense that the conditions of the past have hopelessly marred the present and blighted future promise; but the despair is mitigated somewhat by the awe which is inspired by those who initially endured and by their descendants who continue to survive. The following passage not only illustrates this notion but provides a convenient example of the rhetoric in which it is frequently couched:

The first lesson to be learned about Newfoundland history, then, begins at the very beginning. It is that it is a history of raw exploitation of the great resources of the Grand Banks, and in such a manner as to be deliberately inimical to the development, much less to the prosperity, of any local population. This remains the essential paradigm even today. In this respect, Newfoundland's career did not follow the same path as did other parts of North America. Elsewhere, in Nova Scotia, along the banks of the St. Lawrence, in New England and Virginia, colonization began in a positive, energetic way after the voyages of Columbus and Cartier. Here, on the contrary, for two centuries and more, a mere handful of renegade fisherfolk managed to eke out a miserable existence in Newfoundland either in the service of Britain-based summer fishing masters or else in defiance of them. And all the while, thousands of thousands of people with the same ancestry and intent, sailed past Cape Race on their way to more opportune areas—the colonies at Halifax, Montreal, Boston or Maryland—where they founded what has since

become the most powerful and abundant civilization the world has ever known.

But as nothing more than an outpost for European fishing monopolies, Newfoundland was prevented from establishing itself as a legitimate colony until the early 19th century. Before that, literally burned and shelled off the rocks, legally disallowed the ownership of facilities or land, forced to inhabit the most temporary dwellings in what were essentially seasonal settlements, these renegades somehow managed to survive under a succession of indifferent admirals and governors, under whose repressive regimes no economic foundation was laid, no society developed, no institutions of education, fiscal management, general welfare or public law and order took root. The few who settled remained locked in a losing struggle to gain the barest requirements of subsistence. Existence was, as the philosopher Hobbes describes life in the stateless society, mean, nasty, brutish and short.¹⁰¹

Conversely, there are those who, motivated perhaps by a desire to bring Newfoundland's history more in line with what is perceived to be the North American norm, prefer to dismiss these issues completely. For example, eighty-five years after Prowse's schizophrenic glorification and damnation of "the Mother Country," and despite the research which appeared in the interim, Rowe refers to "the mythology about the authorities," the "legend" surrounding the prohibitions against settlement, and concludes:

The truth is that, from 1497 until 1610, there were no laws whatsoever prohibiting or restricting settlement in Newfoundland. Yet there is not a shred of evidence that any permanent settlement or colonization took place. In other words, for a period of 113 years following Cabot's voyage, settlement could have taken place but did not. For the next 50 years, from 1610 to 1661, no fewer than seven colonies were founded, all with the blessing of the English Government. Thus, apart from a two-year ban imposed in 1675 and rescinded in 1677, there was no legal obstacle to settlement in Newfoundland from 1497 to 1699, a period of more than two hundred years. And in 1699, when the Newfoundland Act was passed, the need for settlement was recognized.¹⁰²

Both passages are more concerned with what failed to happen than with what actually took place; to arrive at some sense of the latter it is necessary to look beyond the fictions of history and explore the truths of fiction.

In this regard it is interesting to note that, while there are several earlier works of literary merit which were produced in Newfoundland, it was not until well into the present century that a truly indigenous Newfoundland literature emerged. That literature is also firmly grounded in a reevaluation and re-articulation of the past. Indeed, the aspects of Newfoundland history outlined above are so deeply ingrained they provide a sort of fixed *mise-en-scène* against which much of the Island's contemporary literature is cast. One critic has aptly characterized this preoccupation in Newfoundland literature with life as it was lived in the past as "a roundabout return to elemental matters."¹⁰³ In the process of the return those who created the literature did not escape being influenced by the "words scrawled on fading documents by long dead polemicists," but they also turned, in their efforts to reclaim the lost past, to the verbal traditions which flourished in the numerous isolated outposts of this "island-arrested society" that had become over time "a rich repository of European customs and folkways on the very threshold of the New World."¹⁰⁴ The voice of the past is the dominant narrative voice in most contemporary Newfoundland literature, and, at its most articulate, it is the voice of the folk that is evoked. But, in the light of what has been said above, questions arise concerning the reality of that past and the authenticity of that voice.

Wallace Stevens once declared that "a mythology reflects its region" and suggested further that in its creation "the image must be of the nature of the creator."¹⁰⁵ This folkloristically imprecise connotation of mythology nevertheless provides a convenient nomenclature for an examination of the folklore-literature continuum in the Newfoundland context. Since so much of contemporary Newfoundland literature is "concerned with building, or rebuilding, a bridge to the past,"¹⁰⁶ it must, because of the sense of dislocation and discontinuity caused by the upheavals which have occurred since the 1930s, reconstruct a past to which the bridge can be attached; in part at least the building blocks for such a reconstruction are provided by a longstanding Newfoundland regional mythology. This is the final paradox. Both the actual folk culture and literate perceptions of the folk culture have been shaping influences on the literature of Newfoundland; however, one must also attempt to determine the extent to which the folk culture itself was influenced by this regional mythology which was promulgated earlier through print and popular culture forms. The intention here is not to introduce circuitry merely in an attempt to obfuscate the interrelationships between literature and folk culture; it is to suggest, rather, that what is a taxing activity at best (see note 153, chap. 1) is rendered all the more difficult by the peculiarities of the Newfoundland situation.

The majority of the earlier attempts to delineate the nature of Newfoundland society and culture and to describe the characteristics of its people must be seen against the background of this developing regional mythology. In turn, its pervasiveness caused

some later accounts of the folk culture to be flawed by a too easy application of a Sumnerian or Redfieldian model. There are several reasons which account for this. Given the exclusive involvement of most Newfoundlanders (until relatively recent times) in a family-based fishery, the limited source areas from which the population originally came, the small and isolated character of the communities which developed, and the relatively late emergence of the usual "social-organizational patterns" it is not difficult to see how the notions of primitive simplicity, homogeneity, and unsophisticated group dynamics which are central to these earlier notions of the folk culture might be presumed for the Newfoundland context. Furthermore, much of the regional mythology which "passed into school textbooks and the popular imagination"¹⁰⁷—and, it should be noted here, into the imaginations of the writers discussed below—was based in part on the particular reading of the Island's history assessed earlier. This reading was adapted and given a sentimental twist by early nineteenth-century political pamphleteers to serve their nationalist agendas. A more romantic approach was adopted by later propagandists intent, according to Prowse, on "booming Newfoundland and making her attractions known."¹⁰⁸ Finally, these images were more widely disseminated by the writings of visitors and travellers who wrote works of "the type in which the country was seen essentially as entertainment for an outside audience."¹⁰⁹ Story notes that the most difficult problem in assessing much of the early writing about Newfoundland "is to discover the point of view of the commentator: to determine whether he is a naval officer upholding the official anti-colonial policy of his government, a clergyman seeking

missionary funds from home by lurid tales of the ungodly, or a traveller of taste who would have drawn the same irrelevant contrasts with life in London after a journey through rural Ireland, Northumberland, or the Scottish islands."¹¹⁰ Similar problems are encountered in the assessment of much of the later writing as well; only the points of view changed. This diversity of authorial motive and intent resulted in a bewildering admixture of contradictory images and descriptions being applied to both the place and the people, and created a legacy of paradox with which every contemporary Newfoundland writer has had to contend.

This regional mythology may be seen as developing over the century between 1811 and 1911, although it drew on pre-1811 sources and continues, in different guises, to the present day. It may be conveniently traced, however, from the political tracts of William Carson and Patrick Morris in the early nineteenth century through the progressivist propaganda of Moses Harvey, P. T. McGrath and others in the latter decades of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries.

Carson and Morris, having found in the views expressed earlier by Reeves "a convenient explanation for the lack of progress in the colony and for its failure to attract a large population,"¹¹¹ applied their best rhetoric to it with a vengeance. That strong rhetoric was deemed necessary is indicated by the fact that the major challenge facing them "was to overcome the apathy and indifference to reform which pervaded Newfoundland society, even in St. John's, until the late 1820s."¹¹² Indeed, the first call for the institution of representative government came not from the fishermen or even

the merchants but from Lord Gambier, the naval governor, who, in a letter to his superior in 1803, stated: "I therefore feel it incumbent on me to propose to your Lordship's consideration the establishment of a legislative power in Newfoundland, similar to that which has been found necessary to the prosperity and good government of other parts of H.M. foreign dominions."¹¹³ That his suggestion was ignored by the British government for almost another thirty years only added to the reformers' zeal, and that zeal often blurred the images they presented.

O'Flaherty notes that in Carson's writings "we can, perhaps, see the beginning of that perennial, sturdy myth, the 'hardy Newfoundlander.'"¹¹⁴ According to Carson, "the inhabitants of Newfoundland may be characterized as a hardy race, fearless of danger, and capable of undergoing the greatest corporeal exertion. They have no strong antipathies, violent prejudices, or unjust prepossessions; they have a fondness for liberty which all men possess, that are not subdued by fear, or unseduced by the illusions of vice. Their love of liberty is chastened by a sentiment of just subordination, and a respectful demeanour towards those in superior situations."¹¹⁵ Other adjectives—handy, kind, hospitable, heroic—were added to the image over time. Anspach noted the people's "courage, perseverance, and industry" and concluded that "no where can a stronger and more hardy race be found than in Newfoundland."¹¹⁶ Jukes advised those who would travel to the Island to "get rid of all delicate and fastidious notions of comfort, convenience, and accommodation," but declared that "under a rough exterior" the Newfoundlander was a person of "sterling kindness and hospitality."¹¹⁷ Examples

from the literature could be multiplied, but the works of Moyles and O'Flaherty make such an exercise unnecessary; however, by the turn of the century the image of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders as "a region unique, with a people still more so" was complete. Newfoundlanders were now seen as "a people who for sheer daring and absolute endurance" had "no equal in the world to-day." Yet, they remained "as simple as children and as guileless." They were "daring, courageous, keen-witted in their industry but otherwise innocent as infants." They were "self-reliant and adaptable," willing to risk "their own lives to rescue an endangered colleague," and accustomed to "sharing their last crust with a poorer neighbor." The Newfoundland fisherman was "his own shipwright, blacksmith and sailmaker," and, as a race, they rated "fishing above all callings, for the love of it is implanted in them."¹¹⁸ These attributes, combined with the perceptions of extramural recognition which had resulted from the involvement of Newfoundlanders in the Great War and in international seafaring circles, were brought together by P. C. Mars, who, like Carson, was a transplanted Scot, in his poem, "The All 'Round Newfoundlander," published in 1924. This piece is worth quoting in full not only because it provides a convenient summary of the evolved image at the end of the first quarter of the present century but because it found its way into the verbal tradition where it circulates as a recitation:

Come! list to me, whilst I relate a tale that's ne'er been told
About the Viking of the North—the Newfoundlander bold;
And search ye all the world around from Zanzibar to Flanders,
Ye ne'er can find the equal of the all 'round Newfoundlanders.

I'm told our Navy's famous for its hardy, handy men
 Who are ready, aye! and willing to perform the work of ten;
 But the man who hails from 'way up North, ah! who can tell his worth?
 He's a natural Empire builder from the first day of his birth.

He tills the ground, erects his home, and fells the mighty tree
 From which he builds his sturdy boat that rides the raging sea;
 He's a miner, sailor, farmer and mechanic all in one,
 And although his deeds are legion, yet to him they're merely fun.

As a logger, he's a princeling; he can drive a stream as well,
 And often when he "Blasts the Jamb," he takes a chance on hell;
 He's a devil in white water, when the logs go racing by,
 And revels in the danger for he's not afraid to die.

He'll build a road, construct a dam, or drill down deep for ore;
 He'll sail his schooner thro' dense fogs, e'en though the growlers roar;
 God gave to him a wondrous skill, a fearless heart and brave,
 And many a Northland sailor now fills a hero's grave.

He's a trapper and a hunter and a sportsman all combined;
 He's a marvel with sly foxes and furred game of any kind,
 With a dog and gun he'll trail for miles and his bag he'll always fill,
 Whilst he'll coax out "speckled beauties" with an angler's deadly skill.

He's a tireless packer through the woods, and on unbroken trails
 He makes the stars his compass and his judgement never fails,
 And if perchance a storm arise, he never shows alarm
 For his trusty axe is all he needs to shelter him from harm.

He smells the storm signs in the wind, e'en like the "canny moose,"
 With sweeping strokes he'll quickly lop huge branches from the spruce,
 Then come ye torrents from the clouds and let the tempest roar,
 He's safe beneath the shelter, and his camp fire's by the door.

He'll mush a dog team through the snow with the best Alaskan breeds;
 As a sealer or a whaler, they must follow where he leads;
 He's a genius with a motor boat, his engine always pulls,
 And a piece of rusty wire does the work of twenty tools.

He's a sailor of the old school and a soldier of the new,

The Navy pays him tribute for his work upon the blue;
 From sunny Egypt to the Somme he nobly played the game,
 And his deeds of reckless daring brought to him undying fame.

When Sir Douglas, his Commander, came to bid a last farewell
 To the gallant Newfoundlander who had been with him through hell,
 The great tribute that he uttered bore no idle thought or jest:
 "Newfoundlanders! I salute you, you are 'Better than the Best.'"

When Banking Schooners put to sea and nose out through the fog,
 You'll find he knows his business e'en to writing up the Log;
 And with hand upon the tiller he will watch the bellowing sails,
 As he drives her through the smother of the snorting Western gales.
 When the International Contest was sailed to test the pace
 Of the pride of Nova Scotia and the famous Yankee race;
 Lo, the skipper of the Yankee hailed from North of Baccalieu
 Whilst the "Bluenose" beat to win'ard with a Terra Novian crew.

He's a serious politician, and when 'lection time comes 'round
 As a thinker and a speaker, he can cover lots of ground;
 And as for his religion, it's the essence of his life
 So he prays that God will guard him against turmoil, care and strife.

I have known him now for many years—he's a white man thro' and thro';
 He's a specialist in forty ways, and he'll always stick by you;
 No duplicate of him exists; he's a specimen "most rare,"
 As an all-round man and worker none can with him compare.

And here's a toast I'll gladly drink to him, my trusty friend,
 God grant that he will never change e'en to his journey's end;
 And I'll raise my old Scotch Bonnet and proudly grip the hand
 Of the best all-round man on earth, the man from Newfoundland.¹¹⁹

Since, as Brown and others have demonstrated, material from the literate sphere enters the verbal tradition "because it reflects the shared values and perceptions of a group of persons,"¹²⁰ the acceptance of this piece into the tradition as a recitation suggests that

the evolved image, despite the penchant for hyperbole and idealization, is not simply a construct of the literate imagination.

This argument is strengthened by the fact that, running parallel to this image was its diametrical opposite, almost always externally imposed, the image of the Newfoundlander as a species of northern Caliban, a barely civilized half-brute who had been beaten into submission and stupefaction not by magic but by centuries of neglect, oppression, and ceaseless, grinding poverty—conditions which were exacerbated by the capricious sea, the unproductive soil, and the intolerable climate. Paradoxically, both images are traceable to many of the same sources; the latter, however, is not as easily found in the verbal tradition, except in a transformed state.

Carson and Morris, when it suited their purposes, developed negative images of Newfoundlanders and the conditions in which they lived as arguments to support their calls for political, economic, and social reforms. Carson noted that the Newfoundland fisherman, because he had no attachment to the soil, was decidedly lacking in patriotism. He stressed that the seasonal nature of the fishery allowed for much idle time in the winter months, time which was spent in "nocturnal dissipation" and the consumption of "ardent spirits." This, he argued, combined with a dietary dependence on salt and "dry provisions," meant that the "span of human existence is considerably shortened, and it but seldom happens, that a native obtains a large size, or arrives at an advanced age."¹²¹ Morris, dubbed the Daniel O'Connell of Newfoundland, took the argument further; he blamed the reduced state of Newfoundlanders on the greed and tyranny of the

merchants and politicians—foreign and local. For Morris, "the history of despotism [did] not afford a parallel" to the Newfoundland situation; the result was that Newfoundlanders found themselves in a "state of degradation and inferiority."¹²²

Jukes, a geologist by profession, was not motivated by the reformist instincts of Carson and Morris; his observations were, therefore, somewhat more objective. He was disturbed, however, by the fondness for exaggeration and gossip among the inhabitants: "Malicious sayings, and tale-bearings, reports of private conversations, and remarks with ill-natured emphasis or additions, and all the petty malice of scandal, are rife in all the settlements I visited, often introducing the most bitter private dissensions into communities that might otherwise be happy and united." He remarked that "the point most deficient" to be noted in "the character of most of the lower classes" was "a want of manly independence and self-reliance," a deficiency which resulted in their being "easily led" and "being ready to follow any one who will take the trouble of thinking for them." This, combined with the people's "propensity to take advantage of the calamities of their neighbours during fires and shipwrecks," presented a less than flattering picture.¹²³

Other visitors noted that Newfoundlanders were "an exceedingly poor and improvident people," that in "the more remote bays," especially, "the ignorance of some of these people is hardly to be credited," and that they were the "most abominable wreckers."¹²⁴ The "simple-minded fishermen" considered making and mending nets, building boats and catching fish as "all the little arts that in their opinion, made up the

sum of earthly knowledge." Their total dependence on the merchants was due to "their own improvidence and want of self-reliance," and, furthermore, they did not possess "the energy, the self-reliance, nor the economy" to improve their lot.¹²⁵ St. John's was described as "a queer place," full of dogs, "shock-headed children and dirty-faced women." The outports presented a picture of "great squalor and poverty," suggesting that "a half-civilized white man is a more degraded being than a downright savage."¹²⁶ These attitudes were summed up by Lady Edith Blake, the wife of Henry Blake who was governor from 1887 to 1889. The fact that the Blakes came to the Island from a posting in the Bahamas may account for her assessment of the Newfoundland spring as "the most forbidding of seasons." She declared that Newfoundland fishermen, and the sealers, especially, were "ignorant of all the refinements of life," and she noted that "their countenances are, as a general rule, heavy, and, as usually in fishing populations [sic], the intellectual faculties are decidedly lacking."¹²⁷

This image of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders has continued to survive alongside the romanticized, heroic image of the hardy, handy, hospitable one. In its current manifestations it is to be found, usually exoterically imposed, in the numskull figure of the "Newfie" joke cycles and in the popular media image of the shiftless, welfare-dependant Newfoundlander.¹²⁸ The traditional verbal culture recognized, and recognizes, the existence of this image, but, instead of appropriating it as it has done with the other, it deals with it esoterically by developing various strategies designed to turn the image back upon itself and its perpetrators, thereby transforming it to function

as a defense mechanism against the threat to personal and regional identity and dignity; the characteristics of traditional Newfoundland humour and the peculiarities of Newfoundland English usage provide an inexhaustible source of raw material for the development of these strategies.¹²⁹

The colloquial connotation of myth embodied in the concept of a regional mythology shares one common feature with the more exacting definition of myth preferred by the folklorist; both are grounded in an assumption of historical factuality. In the case of Newfoundland it is possible to relate the positive and negative images just discussed to disparate interpretations of the same historical record; yet, both interpretations assume a factual base. That assumption provides the kernel of truth which validates the mythology. A sense of the historical reality, however, begins to emerge only when an objective balance between these disparate views is attempted. This balance, in turn, becomes possible only if the mitigating effects of the particulars and peculiarities of the various Newfoundland contexts are taken into account and brought to bear on the interpretations. The immediate benefit which accrues from this approach is the freedom from repeating the clichés and generalizations noted above; the difficulty it presents is that the reinterpretation of a longstanding regional mythology can never, in retrospect, be totally objectified or totally freed from the historical flotsam which has become attached to it. The result is that one is restricted to proposing alternative interpretations which are based on tentative conclusions and partial hypotheses. This, however, is not as limited or as limiting as it first appears. Indeed, it is a necessary first

step toward the recognition, and the redress, of the reductionist fallacy of a too easily presumed homogeneity which flaws much of the popular and scholarly writing about Newfoundland, and it provides the necessary base from which to consider "the enormous internal variety and diversity in which Newfoundland [has] always rejoiced,"¹³⁰ but which has seldom been explored.

This reductionist fallacy, considered in relation to culture, is easily demonstrated. Harold Horwood, writing in 1952, declared that "the truth is that Newfoundland has no literature, no music, no art, little philosophy and less science." The only culture Newfoundlanders could claim was "the culture of the fish flake, though even that isn't our own, having come with our peasant ancestors from England and the Channel Islands." He was reluctant to grant a legitimacy even to the "thousands of folk songs" to which Newfoundlanders have laid claim, noting that the majority of them are no more than "slightly garbled versions of traditional Irish and English tunes." He concluded by speculating that "perhaps four hundred years of drudgery and barter have not been conducive to the flight of the imagination."¹³¹ More than twenty years later, Patrick O'Sherty, substituting "burdensomeness" for "drudgery," reached much the same conclusions. He declared that, tried by the definition of culture as "the sum total of a people's achievements in the arts and sciences," one was forced to admit that "Newfoundland does not appear to have much to show for its four hundred years of settlement." He rejected as well the claims of those who would argue "that pre-confederation Newfoundland should properly be regarded as a 'pre-literate' or 'folk'

civilization and that we are to look for the people's cultural achievement in areas like folk-song, folk-tale, proverb, and a distinctive speech and vocabulary." Furthermore, he maintained that "to suggest that volumes of folk-tales and folk-songs will tell our story will satisfy few who know in their bones the nature of life on the island." That life he characterized in terms of "endless, repetitive labour," which was carried out "under primitive conditions," and which was unrelieved by the "few amenities" which did exist. It was, in sum, a "doggedly materialistic" life, marked by "an ignominious dependence upon fickle nature and merchant's credit."¹³²

Horwood and O'Flaherty were both politically motivated in these pieces; Horwood was pleading for the preservation of the cultures of the indigenous peoples, and O'Flaherty was lauding the benefits of Confederation. Nevertheless, their rhetoric essentially supports the Hobbesian paradigm which Jackson prefers (see note 101, chap. 2). More recently these notions have been articulated in terms which can be traced from Vico, through Marx and Gramsci. According to this interpretation, folk culture in Newfoundland is reduced to all that is not capital but which is dominated by capital. In his earlier work Sider divided Newfoundland history "into three basic historical periods" and named them according to "the dominant mode of labouring" which prevailed in each, that is, "the servant fishery, from 1600 to 1840; family production from 1840 to the Second World War; and most recently, factory wage-labour."¹³³ In his more recent work he argues, in terms similar to those used by McCann, that what is regarded as

traditional Newfoundland folk culture is an invented phenomenon which developed during the second period, the period of the family fishery:

It was *not* in the context of this struggle to create and manage a *servant* labor force that the 'traditional' and distinctive Newfoundland folk culture was born. Rather, it was after the servant fishery had collapsed, and the village and family-based fishery had developed, that Newfoundland folk culture became increasingly distinct from the dominant cultural forms. In some ways Newfoundlanders, having killed the Indians—the 'other'—became them, at least temporarily. In more enduring ways, Newfoundlanders became and remained like peasants confronting their masters in the domain of culture, but in confrontations in which it became increasingly clear—except for a moment or two—that the fisherfolk would lose.¹³⁴

Here is the old argument dressed in hegemonic garments. The history, life, and culture of Newfoundland are reduced to the story of "the common yoke of servitude and the sporadic savagery which comes from having to bear it endlessly."¹³⁵ And yet, as Bell notes, "they always sing" (see note 65, chap. 2), suggesting, if we accept this reading of Newfoundland culture, a Lear-like singing "like birds i' th' cage," but a singing—or mummering, scoffing, and cuffing, to use Sider's examples—unrelieved even by the modicum of dearly bought insight, self-possession and personal determination implied in Lear's "Come, let's away to prison."¹³⁶ For the Newfoundlander, presumably, the prison of servitude was a matter of inheritance; no choices were involved.

This presumption is usually drawn from arguments based on the fact that every aspect of life in Newfoundland was dependent, directly or indirectly, on fishing; that in all its aspects the fishery was controlled by the merchants; and, that the control exercised by the merchants was guaranteed by the truck credit system. No one who is familiar

with even the bold outlines of Newfoundland history would wish to refute these facts; the extrapolations which have been drawn from them, however, are quite another matter. There is a tendency, because of the exclusive involvement of almost all Newfoundlanders in a single commodity enterprise, to conclude that life in one settlement was a carbon copy of life in the next and, by inference, such was life in Newfoundland as a whole. The nineteenth-century portrayal of ordinary Newfoundlanders as being at the mercy of a "fishocracy," a small coterie of unscrupulous, gouging "merchant princes," who, by means of the "truck" credit system, ensured their own wealth, guaranteed that everyone else remained poor, and maintained absolute control over every aspect of life on the Island has remained a favoured point of reference for reformers and rhetoricians and provided a convenient platform for Marxist interpretations of Newfoundland history and culture.¹³⁷ These three points—exclusive involvement in one industry, the control exercised by the merchants, and the truck credit system—have been parleyed into an image of a slave-like monoculture (or non-culture) unique in the North American context, even when the antebellum South is taken into account. Those who would suggest otherwise—that under the conditions which prevailed, or, indeed, in spite of them, Newfoundlanders managed to forge and maintain a vigorous folk culture and a specific identity—run the risk of being dismissed as "sentimentalists" blinded by "moneyed ignorance,"¹³⁸ or as "culture vultures" motivated by no more than "a fit of culture-nostalgia."¹³⁹ And this despite the fact that a noted folklorist could state, as late as 1969, that:

In Newfoundland we have a unique opportunity and challenge. The island originally had 1300 separate communities set off from each other by geography, ethnic origin, occupation, religion, and education level. Any one of these characteristics would set off a folk group: here we had an unusual intensification. Each of the communities had its own rich traditions, chiefly derived from England, Ireland, Scotland or even France, but in most cases thoroughly adapted and changed to the Newfoundland situation. Furthermore, because of this intensification the folklore found in these communities was not merely a survival, but a vigorous and integral part of the life of the community. Thus, as in nowhere else in the English-speaking world, all folk customs can still be studied as a vital part of the community's everyday living pattern.¹⁴⁰

One is forced to ponder how such a situation might have developed in a society deemed to have been leisureless, stagnant, and thoroughly dominated.

In order to arrive at a more balanced view of the whole one must first identify at least three different community structures on the Island—St. John's, a scattering of larger towns, and a wide selection of smaller outports—and consider these in relation to fishing, merchants, the credit system, and each other, as well as in terms of the political and religious realities. By the 1790s, St. John's had already emerged as "the administrative centre, the hub of a growing trade, and the financial pivot of the Island's fishing and export trade."¹⁴¹ The ascendancy of St. John's directly affected the relationships between fishermen and merchants. During the period of the migratory fishery, the period from discovery to the end of the Napoleonic War, the merchants who controlled the Newfoundland fishery were European-based (mostly British) firms who maintained local branches and/or agents in some of the larger outport towns—Carbonear, Catalina, Harbour Grace, Twillingate, and Trinity, for example. With the development

of a resident fishery, "havern owners, clerks, and shopkeepers became buyers and exporters of saltfish [and] formed the basis of a class of local entrepreneurs with no direct connections to British firms."¹⁴² Eventually, St. John's replaced Europe, financially and metaphorically, as the power base *vis-à-vis* the individual fishermen and the merchants in the smaller outports:

Major developments occurred in the structure of the fish trade during the [nineteenth] century. The traditional relationship between the supplier and the supplied changed as business became more uncertain and a colonial government became more willing to provide poor relief. At the same time the outport firms experienced difficulties, and during periods of depression, bankruptcies among these firms were much more common than in St. John's. Out of these developments, a new arrangement grew, based on the St. John's merchant, who supplied the small outport merchants who, in turn, supplied the fishermen; this replaced the old, direct merchant-fisherman relationship¹⁴³ which disappeared with the decline of the outport firms.

This situation prevails to the present day in many respects, although since 1949 St. John's has had to share the power base with Ottawa instead of London.

One result of the change in the fortunes of St. John's was that, in the popular culture sphere at least, it came to be identified as separate from what was deemed to be the more genuine—read rural—Newfoundland way of life. It came to be characterized as the one urban enclave in an otherwise rural society, and the symbol of all that rural Newfoundland was not.¹⁴⁴ As the seat of political and economic power it had an exploitive character ascribed to it, and was said to thrive by drawing on the lifeblood of the outports. There was a certain historical validity to this because, "as the importance and wealth of St. John's grew, it gradually acquired social and cultural advantages. St.

John's had newspapers, health services, superior educational and charitable facilities and—as the only town in Newfoundland with a large, educated and moderately wealthy middle class—it increasingly attracted the outport middle classes, who found life more varied and exciting there."¹⁴⁵ The problem was that St. John's tended to be described totally in terms of the "colonial elite" and the "moderately wealthy middle class." Little or no attention was paid to the lives of the ordinary people who inhabited the town. The other side of the oversimplification was to see St. John's simply as "the biggest outport of them all."¹⁴⁶ The reality is somewhere in between, but that has not prevented the use of the stereotyped image by politicians, writers, and others. During the campaign for Confederation, for instance, J. R. Smallwood found it convenient, in order to woo the rural vote, to refer to the "Water Street Millionaires,"¹⁴⁷ and "almost from the day he was called to office, [he] began referring to 'His Majesty's outport government,' implying that for the first time the outports, not the St. John's merchants, were ruling Newfoundland."¹⁴⁸ Fowler provides a convenient summary of these points which is particularly relevant to the present discussion:

St. John's is a distinctive town but it has not been well-served by Newfoundland writers, who have almost without exception chosen to represent it again and again by its stereotyped colonial elite, ignoring the mass of people who have laboured, and suffered poverty and oppression, and have a language and lore all their own. However unfair it may be, though, these people and their way of life have been ignored because they are not perceived to be important to Newfoundland's sense of itself. Thus, even the would-be 'townie' writer—perhaps especially the townie writer—has felt the need to come to terms with outport life.¹⁴⁹

Even in the explosion of writing dealing with Newfoundland, both creative and scholarly, by Newfoundlanders and others, which has appeared since the 1960s, St. John's has been virtually ignored. A more balanced view of the role of the capital *vis-à-vis* the history of Newfoundland as a whole is slowly emerging, but considerable work remains to be done to overcome the historical stereotype.¹⁵⁰

The corollary of this view is the equally narrow perception that everything "beyond the overpass" or "around the bay"¹⁵¹ was and is of the same stripe. This view holds that an outport is an outport, that fishing is fishing, that there is a *Newfoundland* dialect or accent, and so on. This is to carry forward into the present the earlier problem pointed out by Matthews (see note 95, chap. 2) of treating Newfoundland history as timeless. Until the twentieth century, which saw the development of inland towns and some diversification of industry on the Island, "all the communities of Newfoundland were alike in their dependence, direct or indirect, on the fisheries: fisherman and merchant were equally involved in a single, dominant industry. But it would be misleading to suggest that the larger communities of the Avalon Peninsula . . . were typical of the Newfoundland communities elsewhere on the Island and along the Labrador coast, or of the smaller settlements of the Avalon Peninsula itself."¹⁵² The nature of the fishery in the post-migratory period, as it pertained to different parts of the Island, must also be clearly defined. Small boat fishermen, single-handedly (the esoteric term is "crosshanded") or in small crews, prosecuted an inshore fishery virtually Island-wide, but this is the only near-universal. It is misleading and incorrect, despite common

practice, to refer to a *Newfoundland* seal fishery as if it had been a pan-Island activity. The harvesting of seals was carried out "principally by the inhabitants of the east, northeast, and Labrador coasts."¹⁵³ Similarly, the Labrador fishery, a practice whereby large numbers of Island fishermen moved to the Labrador coast each year to undertake an inshore fishery there, was carried out almost exclusively by east and northeast coast residents.¹⁵⁴ Only on the south and southwest coasts did ice conditions permit a winter fishery; and it was schooners from these same coasts which carried on the Bank fishery.¹⁵⁵ Each method of fishing fostered its own traditions and led to the development of different community structures, but it is also a mistake to see these different communities as simply a collection of isolates:

Joint participation in the Labrador seal and bank fisheries (and later in logging [and mining] operations) gives the lie to the conventional picture of the Newfoundland communities as populated by people entirely isolated and cut off from one another. Despite the almost complete absence of roads until the twentieth century, the population had a quite remarkable degree of mobility. Men travelled by sea. Nor was this mobility exercised only within Newfoundland waters. South coast Newfoundlanders both commanded and manned a substantial part of the Nova Scotian and New England deep-sea fleets. And the great fleet of locally built 'foreign-going' schooners which, from the early nineteenth century to the second decade of the twentieth, carried Newfoundland salt-fish to the West Indies, the 'Brazils,' and the countries of the Mediterranean, brought together Newfoundlanders from all parts of the Island, and made them familiar with the ports of three continents.¹⁵⁶

It is difficult, given this diversity, to comprehend the ease with which writers, both popular and scholarly, arrive at facile generalizations about so many aspects of Newfoundland society and culture.

Qualifications of these generalizations—generalizations about gouging merchants and a Draconian credit system, self-serving politicians, dictatorial religious leaders, local quislings and absentee exploiters, all as they related to the poor, benighted, downtrodden Newfoundland fisherfolk—could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Such an undertaking would not be without value and would go some distance towards the putting of a somewhat different and more recognizable face on the dislocated past.¹⁵⁷ But, for the purposes of the present study, the crux of the problem is the perception of dislocation itself; by the time traditional (however one wishes to define the word) Newfoundland society and culture came to be written about and seriously studied the informing perception was that the past which had defined and lent continuity to the tradition had been lost. This is a perception which informs much of the literature discussed below, and it is a perception which remains current to the present day.¹⁵⁸ The past, however, is a fluid concept and, like the speaker in Hardy's "A Plaint to Man," is as "thin as a phasm on a lantern-slide / Shown forth in the dark upon some dim sheet, / And by none but its showman vivified."¹⁵⁹ The author of a recent study of a contemporary Newfoundland community has succinctly summarized this phenomenon as it applies to Newfoundland:

What is perceived as Newfoundland's traditional way of life is believed to have existed just a step or two back: perhaps in the 1960s, before the road network on the island expanded; the 1950s, before the government's resettlement program forced many residents to abandon the more inaccessible communities all over the island; the 1940s, before Newfoundland joined Canada; the 1920s, before electricity and radios; the turn of the century, before the opening of a railway link between the west and east coasts of the island; the 1870s, before a major economic expansion program led to the development of a series of factories in St.

John's; or the 1830s, with an elected assembly and quasi independence from England.¹⁶⁰

Pocius points to the futility of such a search for the shifting past by raising the question: "How far must one go back in time before the nebulous period of 'traditional culture' is found?" The answer to that question is perhaps best approached through the concept of the folk cultural register already discussed (see note 58, chap. 2). Obviously, the folk culture, like the folk, is best understood in terms of *register* as well. A recasting of Nicolaisen's comments with that in mind allows the conclusion that a culture is not traditional all the time, nor is it never traditional, although the importance of traditionality varies considerably, depending on a variety of esoteric and exoteric forces, and influenced most pointedly by whether the culture feels itself threatened by tensions within it or by pressures from without. An objective examination of Newfoundland society and culture reveals that the "scholarly fiction" of a "homogeneous folk society" can no more be applied to the local context than it can be applied universally. This is not to deny, however, the validity of Halpert's claim (see note 140, chap. 2) that folklore in Newfoundland was, and is, "not merely a survival, but a vigorous and integral part of the life of the community." Many of the popular and literary connotations of folklore in Newfoundland may be vitiated by an easy reliance on an uncritical view of the past linked to perceptions of a golden age of traditionality; the fact remains, however, that the literary portrayal of life as lived in Newfoundland tends to situate it at the folk cultural end of the register. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated, ethnographic

evidence supports this interpretation. The remainder of this study will attempt to adjudicate among these views through an examination of the manifestations of the folk tradition as they appear in the literature produced during the most recent transitional period of the Island's turbulent history. It is necessary first, however, to examine briefly the socio-political tensions and pressures which characterized the evolving society out of which the indigenous literature emerged.

Notes

¹Bacon, with reference to John 18:38, writes: "What is truth; said jesting Pilate; And would not stay for an Answer" [*The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 7].

²Oring, "On the Concepts," pp. 17-18.

³W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Scott and the Folk Tradition," in *Sir Walter Scott: The Long-Forgotten Melody*, ed. Alan Bold (London: Vision Press, 1983), p. 127.

⁴Reimund Kvideland, "Folk Ballad and Folk Song," and Lauri Honko, "Methods in Folk Narrative Research," in *Nordic Folklore: Recent Studies*, ed. Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 167, 26-27, respectively.

⁵William Graham Sumner, *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals* (1906; Boston: Ginn and Company, 1934). Sumner points out that he "turned aside [from writing a sociology textbook] to write a treatise on 'Folkways'" (p. iii). His notion of folkways is derived from "all that we have learned from anthropology and ethnography about primitive men and primitive society," and is predicated on the argument that in all groups "all at last adopted the same way for the same purpose; hence the ways turned into customs and became mass phenomena. Instincts were developed in connection with them. In this way folkways arise. The young learn them by tradition, imitation, and authority" (p. 2).

⁶Paine, "A Critique," p. 162.

⁷Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941); see, especially, pp. 338-369.

⁸Paine, "A Critique," p. 161.

⁹Foster, "What is Folk Culture?" p. 160. See also Redfield, "The Folk Society," p. 294.

¹⁰Robert Redfield, *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture* (1955 and 1956; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 144.

¹¹Paine, "A Critique," p. 165.

¹²Redfield, *Yucatan*, p. x, and "The Folk Society," p. 293, note 2. Redfield cites, among others: Maine, *Ancient Law* (1861); Morgan, *Ancient Society* (1877); Tönnies, *Community and Association* (1887); and, Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915).

¹²See: Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (1951; Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1963); and, Robert Redfield, *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950).

¹⁴The intention here is not to suggest a too easy dismissal of Redfield's significant contributions. Paine notes that during the 1940s and 1950s every anthropologist "found it necessary to read Redfield and to take up a position in respect of his work," but by the mid-sixties he was "not even required reading for students," a reversal which he describes as "almost an exceptional change of fortune in an anthropological mode of inquiry" ("Critique," p. 161). Despite the fact that a more balanced view is held by most folklorists today, Redfield receives only brief mention in two recent studies of the history of American folkloristics. See: Bronner, *American Folklore Studies*, p. 107; and, Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship*, p. 7. In addition to Paine's "Critique," Miner's "The Folk-Urban Continuum," and Mintz's "The Folk-Urban Continuum and the Rural Proletarian Community" offer convenient summaries of the discussions surrounding the Redfieldian typology.

¹⁵Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship*, p. 100.

¹⁶The phrase "submerged population groups" is appropriated from Frank O'Connor; see his *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story* (1963; New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1985), pp. 17-20. Redfield, *The Little Community*, pp. 42ff. Othello's comments are found in I.iii.66-68.

¹⁷Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Joseph Conrad, "Heart of Darkness" (1899), in *The Harper Anthology of Fiction*, ed. Sylvan Barnet (New York: Harper-Collins, 1991), pp. 383, 397; Chinua Achebe, "An Image of Africa," *The Massachusetts Review*, 18 (1977), 782-794.

¹⁸Pertinent assessments of these attitudes, described by Hsu as a form of "psychocultural bondage" (p. 7), are: Chinua Achebe, "Colonialist Criticism," in his *Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays* (London: Heinemann, 1975), pp. 3-18; Jerome Rothenberg, "Pre-Face to a Symposium on Ethnopoetics," *Alcheringa Ethnopoetics*, N.S., 2:2 (1976), 6-12; Francis L. K. Hsu, "Prejudice and Its Intellectual Effect in American Anthropology: An Ethnographic Report," *American Anthropologist*, 75 (1978), 1-19; and, Maxwell Owusu, "Ethnography of Africa: The Usefulness of the Useless," *American Anthropologist*, 80 (1978), 310-334. For more recent, broader studies of these issues, see: James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); and, Melford E. Spiro, *Anthropological Other or Burmese Brother?: Studies in Cultural Analysis* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1992).

¹⁹Oring, "On the Concepts," p. 10.

²⁰Francis A. de Caro, "Concepts of the Past in Folkloristics," *Western Folklore*, 35 (1976), 7.

²¹Dundes, "The Devolutionary Premise," p. 5. The Oring and Wilson articles cited in note 62, chap. 1, present a more balanced view of the role of devolutionary considerations in folkloristic theory.

²²Dundes refers to Muller's theory of the disease of language, the theory of *gesunkenes Kulturgut* advanced by Naumann and others, and the concept of *zersingen* as applied to folksong to support his arguments. Brief summaries of various European theories are provided by Åke Hultkrantz, *General Ethnological Concepts: International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore*, Vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960).

²³Charles B. Lewis, "The Part of the Folk in the Making of Folklore," *Folklore*, 46 (1935), 39, 53, 74.

²⁴Raglan, "The Origin of Folk-Culture," pp. 250, 259.

²⁵Botkin, "The Folkness of the Folk," pp. 462, 464, 469. For an assessment of Botkin's contributions to folkloristics see Jerrold Hirsch, "Folklore in the Making: B. A. Botkin," *JAF*, 100 (1987), 3-38. Hirsch argues that Botkin "was one of the first American folklorists who did not view the modern world as a threat to the existence of folklore" (p. 3).

²⁶See, for example, the condensed proceedings of the "Conference on the Character and State of Studies in Folklore," *JAF*, 59 (1946), 495-527. This conference, which was held in Washington, D.C., on 11 April 1942, was sponsored by the Committee on Studies in American Culture of the American Council of Learned Societies. See also Stith Thompson, ed., *Four Symposia on Folklore*, Indiana University Publications, Folklore Series No. 8 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953). This publication grew out of the Midcentury International Folklore Conference at Indiana University in the summer of 1950. The first Ph.D. in folklore granted by an American university was awarded to Warren Roberts by Indiana University (Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship*, p. 7). An indication of folklore's place in academia at that time is given by the fact that "for the degree, Roberts was required to take separate examinations in the Departments of English and Anthropology" (Bronner, *American Folklore Studies*, p. 88).

²⁷Oring, "On the Concepts," p. 17.

²⁸Alan Dundes, "What Is Folklore?" in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 2.

²⁹Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), p. 1. In the second edition (1978) Brunvand wrote: "Folklore comprises the unrecorded traditions of a people; it includes both the form and content of these traditions and their style or technique of communication from person to person. The study of folklore (or 'folkloristics') attempts to analyze these traditions (both content and process) so as to reveal the common life of the human mind apart from what is contained in the formal records of culture that compose the heritage of a people" (p. 1).

³⁰The penchant for evaluative stocktaking in the decade between 1950 and 1960 is evident in the following selection of articles: Richard M. Dorson, "Folklore Studies in the United States Today," *Folklore*, 62 (1951), 353-366; Stith Thompson, "Folklore at Midcentury," *Midwest Folklore*, 1 (1951), 5-12; Herbert Halpert, "Some Undeveloped Areas in American Folklore," *JAF*, 70 (1957), 299-305; Herbert Halpert, "Folklore: Breadth Versus Depth," *JAF*, 71 (1958), 97-103; Richard M. Dorson, "A Theory for American Folklore," *JAF*, 72 (1959), 197-215; and, Wayland D. Hand, "American Folklore After Seventy Years: Survey and Prospect," *JAF*, 73 (1960), 1-11.

Bronner, *American Folklore Studies*, pp. 89-93 and Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship*, pp. 6-12 sketch the development of folklore studies in American universities. Carole Henderson Carpenter, *Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture*, CCFCS Mercury Series, No. 26 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), pp. 21-87, provides a summary of the development of folkloristics in Canada.

³¹Richard M. Dorson, "Concepts of Folklore and Folklife Studies," in *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 45-47. This essay, which serves as an introduction to the collection, is a reworked, updated version of an article which Dorson had first published nine years earlier; see *Current Anthropology*, 4 (1963), 93-112. The "young Turks" he names are Roger Abrahams, Dan Ben-Amos, Alan Dundes, Robert Georges, and Kenneth Goldstein.

³²Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, eds., *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* [Originally published as a Special Issue of *JAF*, 84:331 (1971)], American Folklore Society Bibliographical and Special Series, Vol. 23 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1972).

³³Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein, eds., *Folklore: Performance and Communication* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

³⁴Paredes and Bauman, eds., *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, p. x.

³⁵Ben-Amos and Goldstein, eds., *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, p. 4.

³⁶Paredes and Bauman, eds., *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, p. ix. The Latin and North American folklorists had come together at the 37th International Congress of Americanists, held in Argentina in 1966.

³⁷Américo Paredes, "Concepts about Folklore in Latin America and the United States," *JFI*, 6 (1969), 23, 25. The four groups designated by Paredes (pp. 23-24) were: those who still treat folklore as survivals among peasants; those who follow the Finnish school; those of an anthropological orientation who would limit folklore to the literary; and those for whom folklore embraces the primitive, the material, and the urban.

³⁸John Wilson Foster, "The Plight of Current Folklore Theory," *SFQ*, 32 (1968), 237.

³⁹Paredes and Bauman, eds., *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, p. xi.

⁴⁰Roger D. Abrahams, "Introductory Remarks to a Rhetorical Theory of Folklore," *JAF*, 81 (1968), 143-158.

⁴¹Roger D. Abrahams, "Toward an Enactment-Centered Theory of Folklore," in *Frontiers of Folklore*, ed. William R. Bascom, AAAS Selected Symposium No. 5 (Boulder: Westview Press for the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1977), pp. 79-120.

⁴²Thomas A. Burns, "Folkloristics: A Conception of Theory" (1977), in *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: A Reader*, ed. Elliott Oring (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), pp. 1-20.

⁴³Burns notes that "besides the emergence of new interests within the foundation disciplines of anthropology and English literature, major perspectives of the disciplines of linguistics, sociology, psychology, history, and communications have been incorporated into the study of folklore" ("Folkloristics," p. 2).

⁴⁴Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed., Paredes and Bauman, p. 13.

⁴⁵Roger D. Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore," in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed., Paredes and Bauman, pp. 17, 28.

⁴⁶Roger L. Welsch, "A Note on Definitions," *JAF*, 81 (1968), 262. Richard Bauman defended such definitional exercises on the basis that "we now have before us a conceptualization of folklore that makes a difference, one giving us an analytic perspective that has proved to be of the greatest heuristic value in related disciplines, and which will allow us to draw upon these other fields and integrate our work with theirs while it enables us to generate and organize hypotheses and build theories in our own particular field of interest" ["Towards a Behavioral Theory of Folklore: A Reply to Roger Welsch," *JAF*, 82 (1969), 170]. It is worth noting that Kenneth S. Goldstein, in his earlier ground-breaking book on fieldwork methods, eschewed the definitional wrangle. Having referred his readers to "the twenty-one definitions of folklore" in the *Standard Dictionary*, he, rather optimistically, notes: "I see no point in getting involved further in the problem of definitions. Enough, perhaps too much, already has been written on the subject and folklorists are still no closer to agreement than they were when the term folklore was coined in 1846. Interestingly enough, though they rarely agree, they also rarely have any difficulty in comprehending each other" [*A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore*, *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, Vol. 42 (Hatboro: Folklore Associates for the American Folklore Society, 1964), p. 1, note 1].

⁴⁷Bronner, *American Folklore Studies*, p. 120.

⁴⁸Ben-Amos and Goldstein, eds., *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, p. 3.

⁴⁹Denisoff, "The Proletarian Renaissance," pp. 51, 64.

⁵⁰Richard M. Dorson, "Is There a Folk in the City?" *JAF*, 83 (1970), 185-216.

⁵¹Dundes, "Who Are the Folk?" p. 20.

⁵²Keil, "Who Needs 'the Folk'?" pp. 263-265.

⁵³Dorson, "We All Need the Folk," p. 269. This is a surprisingly romantic summation coming from one who had earlier argued that folklore could be judged a legitimate discipline on both "pragmatic" and "philosophical" grounds. See Richard M. Dorson, "Is Folklore a Discipline," *Folklore*, 84 (1973), 177-205.

⁵⁴Keil, "The Concept of 'the Folk,'" pp. 209-210. For an analysis of "folklore, understood as the folk culture of classes socially, economically, and therefore culturally depressed," see Luigi Lombardi-Satriani, "Folklore as Culture of Contestation," *JFI*, 11 (1974), 99-121.

⁵⁵W. Edson Richmond, "Introduction," *Handbook of American Folklore*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. xi-xii. See the comments on the definitions of folklore in the same *Handbook* by Dundes, Abrahams, and Bauman,

pp. 115, 345, 362, and 115, respectively. See also Robert A. Georges, "Folklore," in *Sound Archives: A Guide to their Establishment and Development*, ed. David Lance, International Association of Sound Archives, Special Publication, No. 4 (1983), p. 135.

⁵⁶Richard M. Dorson, "The State of Folkloristics from an American Perspective," *JFI*, 19 (1982), 72.

⁵⁷Seeger, "The Folkness," p. 5.

⁵⁸W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Variant, Dialect, and Region: An Exploration in the Geography of Tradition," *New York Folklore*, 6 (1980), 136-137.

⁵⁹Beckles Willson, *The Tenth Island: Being Some Account of Newfoundland, Its People, Its Politics, Its Problems, and Its Peculiarities* (London: Grant Richards, 1897).

⁶⁰Yva Momatiuk and John Eastcott, *This Marvellous Terrible Place: Images of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Camden East, Ontario: Camden House Publishing, 1988). The phrase is adapted from that used by the Sturges, fishermen from Valleyfield, who refer to the Funk Islands—a seabird sanctuary best known as the last home of the now extinct Great Auk—as "this marvellously terrible place" (p. 36).

⁶¹Gerald M. Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 12.

⁶²My emphasis throughout will be on the Island; references to Labrador will be made only insofar as they illuminate that emphasis. Two factors determine this: Labrador is, in many ways, a distinct entity which requires a separate study; and, the literature which will be considered is largely an Island phenomenon.

⁶³Despite a veritable explosion in the scholarship dealing with Newfoundland in recent years, a scholarly, unbiased, comprehensive history has yet to appear. In this section I have been guided by, and am much indebted to, two brief, but substantial and balanced, introductory essays: G. M. Story, "Newfoundland: Fishermen, Hunters, Planters, and Merchants," in *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History*, ed. Herbert Halpert and G. M. Story (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 7-33; and, Shannon Ryan, "Newfoundland: Fishery to Canadian Province," in E. Boyde Beck, et al., *Atlantic Canada: At the Dawn of a New Nation* (Burlington: Windsor Publications, 1990), pp. 7-43.

⁶⁴Keith Matthews, *Lectures on the History of Newfoundland 1500-1883*, Newfoundland History Series, No. 4 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1988), p. 170.

⁶⁵A qualification needs to be added to the utopian notion; it is usually grounded in

imagery suggesting guilelessness and a lack of worldliness, combined with a dose of misapplied condescension. See: P. T. McGrath, "The Fisherfolk of Newfoundland," *Outing*, 44 (1904), 306-321; and, J. L. Paton, "Newfoundland: Present and Future," *International Affairs*, 13 (1934), 394-409. A recent comment by Peter Bell, the former Artist in Ordinary at Memorial University's art gallery, at one and the same time reiterates Cartier's sentiment and highlights, unconsciously perhaps, the paradoxes noted above: "Newfoundland—I hate the place. . . . They [Newfoundlanders] don't like this place; they hate this place. But they always sing. They are such dishonest people" (Momatiuk and Eastcott, p. 106).

⁶⁶Frederick W. Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), p. 23.

⁶⁷D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (1895), Canadiana Reprint Series, No. 33 (Belville: Mika Studio, 1972), pp. 1-3.

⁶⁸See: James A. Tuck and Robert Grenier, *Red Bay, Labrador: World Whale Capital, A.D. 1550-1600* (St. John's: Atlantic Archaeology, Ltd., 1989); and, Anne Stine Ingstad and Helge Ingstad, *The Norse Discovery of North America*, 2 vols. (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1985).

⁶⁹See: G. O. Rothney, *Newfoundland: A History* (1964), Historical Booklet No. 10 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1973), p. 3; David Beers Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1480-1631* (1973; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974); Geoffrey Ashe, *Land to the West: St. Brendan's Voyage to America* (London: Collins, 1962); and, Tim Severin, *The Brendan Voyage* (London: Hutchinson, 1978).

⁷⁰See Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), pp. 109-182.

⁷¹Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*, Newfoundland History Series, No. 2 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1986), p. 29.

⁷²Rothney, *Newfoundland*, p. 11. See also: D. B. Quinn, "Newfoundland in the Consciousness of Europe in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in *Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada: Selected Papers*, ed. G. M. Story (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), pp. 9-29.

⁷³This notion, expressed in various ways, became a hackneyed old saw among politicians in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The specific form cited here is found in Prowse, *A History*, p. xix.

⁷⁴Robert Burns, "The Two Dogs" (1786), in *A Choice of Burns's Poems and Songs* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 32.

⁷⁵Phillip McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland 1832-1855," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23 (1988), 87. McCann argues that, between the granting of Representative Government in 1832 and the establishment of Responsible Government in 1855, "the British government intervened, not only instituting constitutional reform but also 'inventing tradition' by sponsoring and encouraging organizations and rituals which attempted to inculcate imperial sentiment on the basis of a 'patriotic' and nativist outlook" (87). He concludes that, as a result of this intervention, "much of what today is regarded as immemorial Newfoundland tradition, enshrined in institutions, rituals and attitudes, can be dated to [that] period" (100). McCann's comments are related more to the traditions of popular culture than to folk tradition, but they are worth noting in relation to the concept of a Newfoundland regional mythology discussed below.

⁷⁶The first is from "An Anti-Confederation Song," popular in Newfoundland during the period of the original Canadian confederation debate in the 1860s; in *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs*, comp. Edith Fowke (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 28-29, 193-194. The second is from a "Wayfarer" column by Albert B. Perlin, which appeared on 31 March 1949, one month after Confederation; rpt. in *A Clear Head in Tempestuous Times*, ed. Francis Hollohan and Melvin Baker (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1986), pp. 157-160.

⁷⁷Flags have always had a particular semiotic significance for Newfoundlanders. Bonnycastle noted in 1842: "One of the prevailing signs of the place, at least in St. John's, is a mighty fondness for flags, and instead of 'where holy bells should knoll [sic] to church,' the periods of the services are usually designated by the warlike accompaniment of a standard, raised on a staff in the yard, on which is emblazoned the mitre or the cross." Richard Henry Bonnycastle, *Newfoundland in 1842: A Sequel to "The Canadas in 1841"* (London: Henry Colburn, 1842), II, 141.

⁷⁸Peter Neary, "The Writing of Newfoundland History: An Introductory Survey," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 3.

⁷⁹Keith Matthews, "Historical Fence Building: A Critique of Newfoundland Historiography," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 74:1 (1978), 21-30. See also Harold A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The Study of an International Economy* (1940; 2nd ed., Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1954).

⁸⁰Keith Matthews, "A History of the West of England-Newfoundland Fishery,"

Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford University, 1968, pp. 99-120, especially; Matthews, *Lectures*, pp. 175-180.

⁸¹See: Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1969); John J. Mannion, ed., *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, Social and Economic Papers, No. 8 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1977); Gillian T. Cell, "Introduction," *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630*, ed. Gillian T. Cell (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982), pp. 1-59; and, W. Gordon Handcock, *Soe Longe as There Comes Noe Women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland*, Newfoundland History Series, No. 6 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989).

⁸²Matthews, "Historical," p. 28.

⁸³Matthews, "Historical," p. 22.

⁸⁴Matthews, "Historical," p. 29.

⁸⁵Prowse, *A History*, pp. xv-xvi.

⁸⁶Cell notes that "from the beginning the Englishmen had participated in the cod fishery and yet, almost a century after [Newfoundland's] discovery, the English industry was not large, its value to the national economy not fully realized" (*English Enterprise*, p. ix). Ryan states that "at first, the new fishing industry was carried out by migratory fishermen from Spain, Portugal, France, and England. . . . Of the four, England had the smallest home market (and consequently the smallest fleet), partly, no doubt, because of its extensive coastline, its own coastal fisheries, and fewer obstacles to overcome in its internal trade" (*Fish Out*, p. 31). Handcock points out that "it was not until 1575, when ousted from Icelandic waters where they had fished since the 1420s, that English fishermen bothered to send out more than four or five ships annually to Newfoundland, compared to over one hundred vessels normally sent to Iceland" (*Soe Longe*, p. 24).

⁸⁷At some time during this period the practice of leaving "winter crews" behind developed. Prowse notes that "from scattered information contained in the records, and narratives of voyages, it is clear that, from a very early period, a few crews were left behind every winter to cut timber for building cook rooms, stages, train vats, wharves, and for the construction of boats" (*A History*, p. 59). According to Ryan, however, while 28 harbours were occupied by 1677 they contained a total population of only 1,863 residents ("Newfoundland," p. 13). As late as 1684, Captain Francis Wheeler of H.M.S. *Tiger*, "to dispel official concerns about the future of winter populations in Newfoundland, consisting mostly of single male servants, . . . astutely commented that 'soe longe as there comes noe women they are not fixed'" (Handcock, *Soe Longe*, p. 32).

⁸⁸It is not possible to fix a date for the beginning of this practice. Furthermore, despite Prowse's claims and those of the sources he cites, it is difficult to believe, given the limited role played by England in the early fishery, that the "admirals" were, from the beginning, the captains of English vessels only. Innis says that "the English seem to have conferred upon themselves in some manner a sort of general overlordship" (*The Cod*, p. 35).

⁸⁹Prowse, *A History*, p. 123. Prowse's work provides convenient access to many of these early documents. See: the London and Bristol Company's Charter, pp. 122-125; Guy's Laws, p. 99; excerpts from the Western Charters of 1634 and 1661, pp. 154-155; excerpts from the Newfoundland Act (King William's Act) of 1699, pp. 233-234; and, excerpts from Palliser's Act of 1775, p. 344.

⁹⁰Story, "Newfoundland," p. 12. The Charter ordered that "no person set up any taverne for selling wine, beere, strong waters, cider or tobacco" which would cause "fishermen [to] neglect their labours." Ship owners were "forbidden to carry any person not of ships Company or such as are to plant or do intend to settle there," and "admirals" were ordered to proclaim publicly the provisions of the Charter "this next season ensuing." In 1661 Charles II proclaimed a second Western Charter which confirmed the provisions of the first, and stipulated that "no planter cut down any wood, or plant within six miles of a sea shore." It further stipulated that "no inhabitant or planter take up best stages before arrival of fishermen." In order to foster the notion of the Newfoundland fishery as a "nursery for seamen," it was ordered that "every fifth man be a green man." Captains were required to give bond to carry only fishermen and return them to England at the end of the fishing season. On early settlement in general and the "proprietary" colonies specifically, see: Michael Hugo-Brunt, "Two Worlds Meet: A Survey of Newfoundland Settlement. Part 1--The Great Fishery and Early Settlement," *Plan*, 5 (1964), 22-36; and, Peter Pope, "The South Avalon Planters, 1630 to 1700: Residence, Labour, Demand and Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1992.

⁹¹Story, "Newfoundland," p. 13.

⁹²Sir Francis Pickmore was ordered to remain in Newfoundland during the winter of 1817-18 (referred to as "The Winter of the Rals" because of rioting by starving residents). He died on 24 February 1818, "the victim . . . of the harshest winter ever recorded in Newfoundland" (Rowe, *A History*, p. 232).

⁹³Matthews, "Historical," pp. 26, 27.

⁹⁴See: Matthews, "A History," pp. 254-264, 451-454, for the examples of the ineffectiveness of the anti-settlement provisions of the Newfoundland Act and Palliser's

Act, respectively; and, Harold Horwood, "The Masterless Men of the Butter Pot Barrens" (1966), *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 78:4 (1983), 13-15, which deals with Peter Kerrivan and his "resourceful band of outlaws which successfully defied the laws of England for more than a generation in the latter half of the 18th century."

⁹⁵Matthews, "Historical," pp. 26, 22, 27, 29.

⁹⁶J. D. Rogers, *Newfoundland* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911). pp. iv-v. Proponents of the thesis that Newfoundland is incapable of supporting anything more than a specialized, limited, "optimum population" have continued to argue the case well into the present century. These arguments usually recommend some form of government sponsored out-migration as the solution to the Island's problems. See, for example: The land settlement programme undertaken by the Commission of Government (note 117, p. 199); H. B. May-J., "Is the Island Overpopulated?" *Atlantic Guardian*, 8:3 (1951), 14-19; and, Parzival Copes, *Resettlement of Fishing Communities in Newfoundland* ([Ottawa]: Canadian Council on Rural Development, 1972), pp. 11-25.

⁹⁷Handcock, *See Longe*, p. 277.

⁹⁸Ryan, "Newfoundland," p. 27.

⁹⁹Story, "Newfoundland," p. 12.

¹⁰⁰This is one of several catch phrases attributed to J. R. Smallwood. Two others, his cry that Newfoundland must "develop or perish" and his advice to Newfoundland fishermen to "haul up your boats and burn them," bear on the present discussion. Smallwood denies having uttered the last. See J. R. Smallwood, *The Time Has Come to Tell* (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1979), pp. 53-78. This denial, however, has not prevented its continued association with him and his policies. In this regard see, for example: Farley Mowat, *A Whale for the Killing* (1972; Toronto: McClelland-Bantam, 1978), p. 16; Al Pittman, "Death of an Outport," in *Baffles of Wind and Tide*, 2nd ed., ed. Clyde Rose (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1974), p. 46; Ralph Matthews, "The Pursuit of Progress: Newfoundland's Social and Economic Development in the Smallwood Era," in *Social Science Monograph Series*, vol. 2, ed. Neil B. Ridler (Saint John: The University of New Brunswick, 1977), pp. 27-49; Desmond McGrath, et al., "Now that we've burned our boats . . .": *The Report of the People's Commission on Unemployment, Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, 1978); and, Gerhard P. Bassler, "'Develop or Perish': Joseph R. Smallwood and Newfoundland's Quest for German Industry, 1949-1953," *Acadiensis*, 15 (1986), 93-119.

¹⁰¹F. L. Jackson, *Surviving Confederation* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1986), pp. 65-66.

¹⁰²Rowe, *A History*, pp. 106-107. It is interesting to compare these remarks with Rowe's comments on the "Fisheries Household Resettlement Programme" (Centralization) undertaken by the Newfoundland Government, of which he was a part, in the 1960s, pp. 520-521.

¹⁰³Adrian Fowler, "The Literature of Newfoundland: A Roundabout Return to Elemental Matters," *Essays on Canadian Writing*, No. 31 (1985), pp. 118-141.

¹⁰⁴Story, "Newfoundland," p. 12.

¹⁰⁵Wallace Stevens, "A Mythology Reflects Its Region," in his *Opus Posthumous*, ed. Samuel French Morse (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 118. I am indebted to G. M. Story, "Notes from a Berry Patch" (1972), in *The Blasty Bough*, ed. Clyde Rose (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1976), pp. 183-184, which drew my attention to the aptness of this last poem by Stevens to the present context.

¹⁰⁶Fowler, "The Literature," p. 120.

¹⁰⁷Patrick O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed: Studies in the Literature of Newfoundland* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 54. This work, aptly described by one reviewer as "a work of love, piety, and meticulous scholarship" [Gilda Roberts, *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 75:4 (1980), 13], is an excellent summary of the "literary responses to Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders over the centuries" and a perceptive analysis of the ways in which "the written word" has influenced "Newfoundlanders' conceptions of their own history and character" (p. ix). I am especially indebted in this section to O'Flaherty's chapters 4 and 5, "The Triumph of Sentiment: History and Commentary, 1793-1895," and "The Lure of the North: Fiction and Travel Literature, 1850-1905," respectively; I am indebted to his excellent notes throughout. I am also indebted here to an earlier work: R. G. Moyles, *Complaints is many and various, but the odd Devil likes it: Nineteenth Century Views of Newfoundland* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1975).

¹⁰⁸D. W. Prowse, in a letter to Sir William Morris in 1911; cited in G. M. Story, "Judge Prowse: Historian and Publicist," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 68:4 (1972), 23.

¹⁰⁹O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 60.

¹¹⁰Story, "Newfoundland," p. 16.

¹¹¹O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 54.

¹¹²Keith Matthews, "The Class of '32: St. John's Reformers on the Eve of Representative Government," *Acadiensis*, 6 (1977), 82.

¹¹³Cited in Prowse, *A History*, pp. 376-377.

¹¹⁴O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 57.

¹¹⁵William Carson, *Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland, in a Letter Addressed to the Inhabitants* (Greenock: William Scott, 1813), p. 9.

¹¹⁶Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland: Containing a Description of the Island, the Banks, the Fisheries, and Trade of Newfoundland, and the Coast of Labrador* (London: Printed for the author by T. and J. Allman, 1819), pp. 463, 464.

¹¹⁷J. B. Jukes, *Excursions in and about Newfoundland, during the Years 1839 and 1840*, 2 vols. (1842; Toronto: Canadiana House, 1969), II, 173.

¹¹⁸McGrath, "The Fisherfolk," pp. 306, 316-317, 321.

¹¹⁹P. C. Mars, "The All 'Round Newfoundlander," in his *The Call of Terra Nova* (London: Whitehead Morris, 1924), pp. 28-34. For an oral version of this poem, described by the informant as "a real old one" among his other recitations, see that collected by Wilfred Wareham from Tom Linehan of Colinet, St. Mary's Bay on 5 September 1975. MUNFLA: tape no. C-4012; accession no. 79-54. A transcription of Linehan's version appears in *ENL*, II (1984), 261-262.

¹²⁰Brown, *Burns and Tradition*, p. 71.

¹²¹Carson, *Reasons*, pp. 9, 19-20. Anspach, *History*, p. 469, noted, on the other hand, that "the natives generally attain a good old age."

¹²²Patrick Morris, *A Short Review of the History, Government, Constitution, Fishery, and Agriculture of Newfoundland: In a Series of Letters Addressed to the Right Honourable Earl Gray, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies* (St. John's: J. Woods, 1847), pp. 5, 48.

¹²³Jukes, *Excursions*, I, pp. 240-243.

¹²⁴Richard L. Dashwood, *Chiploquorgan; or, Life by the Camp Fire in Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland* (1871; Fredericton: Saint Annes Point Press, 1979), pp. 246-249. The reputation Newfoundlanders gained as wreckers provides an interesting contrast to the image of the hospitable, neighbourly island-dweller. See, in addition to

Moyles, *Complaints*, pp. 54-59; D. W. Prowse, "Old-time Newfoundland," *Cornhill Magazine*, N.S., 18 (February 1905), 208-213; Bartley Higgins, "The Rackers of Newfoundland," *Maclean's Magazine* (January 1973), pp. 16-17; Wayfarer, "Time of the Wreckers," *The Daily News Magazine* (30 May 1975), p. 30; and G. M. Story, "'A tune beyond us as we are': Reflections on Newfoundland Community Song and Ballad," *Newfoundland Studies*, 4 (1988), 129-144.

¹²⁵John Mullaly, *A Trip to Newfoundland; Its Scenery and Fisheries; with an Account of the Laying of the Submarine Telegraph Cable* (New York: T. W. Strong, 1855), pp. 30, 48.

¹²⁶David Kenneedy, *Kennedy's Colonial Travel: A Narrative of a Four Years' Tour through Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, Etc.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Publishing Co., [1876]), pp. 426, 427, 428, 437.

¹²⁷Lady Blake, "On Seals and Savages," *The Nineteenth Century*, 25 (1889), 513, 515. Lady Blake was more tolerant in some of her other writings. In her "A Chat about Newfoundland," *The North American Review*, 152 (1891), 714-722, she adopted an antiquarian approach, noted how the Newfoundlanders of Irish descent treasured "the traditions and many of the customs of their motherland," and commented on several of them.

¹²⁸See: Gerald Thomas, "Newfie Jokes," in *Folklore of Canada*, ed. Edith Fowke (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 142-153; and, James Overton, "The Myth of the Reluctant Worker: Attitudes to Work and Unemployment in Newfoundland," in *Social Science Monograph Series*, vol. 4, ed. Robert Chanteloupe (Saint John: The University of New Brunswick, 1981), pp. 117-143.

¹²⁹Herbert Lench Pottle notes that "of all that we know about the main purposes served by humour on Newfoundland soil, the fact that it enables the Newfoundlander to maintain his individuality is one of the most persistent and most persuasive," and adds that "the force of humour is called in to garrison the defenses of the person and his society against the shock and upset of a thoroughly altered set of conditions" [*Fun on the Rock: Toward a Theory of Newfoundland Humour* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1983), pp. 15, 19]. See also James G. Calder, "Humor and Misunderstanding in Newfoundland Culture," *Culture & Tradition*, 4 (1979), 49-66.

On the esoteric and regional functions of folklore see: William Hugh Jansen, "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore" (1959), in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 44-51; J. D. A. Widdowson, "Folklore and Regional Identity" (1978); and, J. D. A. Widdowson, "Language, Tradition and Regional Identity: Blason Populaire and Social Control," in *Language, Culture and Tradition: Papers on Language and Folklore Presented at the Annual Conference of the British*

Sociological Association, April 1978, CECTAL Conference Papers Series, No. 2, ed. A. E. Green and J. D. A. Widdowson (Sheffield: The University of Sheffield, 1981), pp. 33-46.

The peculiarities of Newfoundland English usage have attracted the attention of practically every writer who has written about the Island. I will deal with questions of language as they arise below *vis-à-vis* the use of dialect by various writers. The following, however, give an indication of the interest and research in the area: George Patterson, "Notes on the Dialect of the People of Newfoundland," *JAF*, 8 (1895), 27-40, 9 (1896), 19-37, 10 (1897), 203-213; P. K. Devine, an untitled article in the *Trade Review* for 6 November 1915, rpt. under the title "The Newfoundland Language," in P. K. Devine, *In the Good Old Days!: Fishery Customs of the Past* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1990), pp. 79-100; Grace Tomkinson, "Shakespeare in Newfoundland," *Dalhousie Review*, 20 (1940), 60-70; J. D. A. Widdowson, "Some Items of a Central Newfoundland Dialect," *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 10 (1964), 37-46; G. M. Story, "Newfoundland Dialect: An Historical Review," *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 70 (1965), 127-131; John Jordan, "An Introduction to Dialect," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 53:3 (1967), 23-26; E. R. Seary, G. M. Story, and W. J. Kirwin, *The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland: An Ethno-Linguistic Study*, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 19, Anthropological Series No. 81 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1968); Harold Paddock, "The Destruction of Language in Newfoundland," *The Morning Watch*, 2:2 (1975), 1-3; Lawrence G. Small, "Traditional Expressions in a Newfoundland Community: Genre Change and Functional Variability," *Lore and Language*, 2:3 (1975), 15-18; and, Harold Paddock, ed., *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*, second version (St. John's: Linguistics Department, Memorial University, 1982). The masterwork in the area is: *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, 2nd ed., with supplement, ed. G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin, and J. D. A. Widdowson (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1990).

¹³⁰Anthony P. Cohen, "The Anthropology of Proximate Cultures: The Newfoundland School, and Scotland," *The Scottish Journal of Sociology*, 4 (1980), 221.

¹³¹Harold Horwood, "Political Notebook," *The Evening Telegram* (11 September 1952), p. 4.

¹³²Patrick O'Flaherty, "Looking Backwards: the Milieu of the Old Newfoundland Outposts" (1975), in *The Blasty Bough*, ed. Clyde Rose (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1976), pp. 145-150.

Writing in the thirties, J. R. Smallwood articulated a rather more chilling explanation for Newfoundland's lack of cultural achievement: "It would be unmanly and untruthful . . . to place all the blame for our backwardness upon others. . . . Perhaps the very nature of our struggle, or our methods of wresting a living from Nature, has helped to unfit us for creative and constructive effort. It is a fact that for centuries we

have lived by *killing* cod and other fish; by *killing* seals in the water and on the ice, and animals on land; by *killing* birds, and *cutting down* trees. Has all this developed in us a trait of destructiveness, or narcotised what ought naturally to be an instinct of creativeness?" ["Newfoundland To-day," *BN*, 1 (1937), 1-2, emphasis in original].

¹³³Gerald M. Sider, "Christmas Mummings and the New Year in Outport Newfoundland," *Past and Present*, 71 (1976), 104.

¹³⁴Sider, *Culture and Class*, p. 32. Sider's passing reference to the Indians draws attention to an intriguing aspect of Newfoundland history and culture. The fate of the Beothuk Indians has been widely written about, but the controversy surrounding their extinction still rages. What has not been explored, and begs to be examined, is the prominent position the story of the Beothuks has come to occupy in the literature and other arts of contemporary Newfoundland. This preoccupation suggests that, despite the contemporary reassessment of the facts surrounding the extinction of the Beothuks, there is an artistic need to confront, expiate, and exorcise the sense of communal guilt associated with their disappearance—an expiation and exorcism which are fundamentally related to the contemporary Newfoundland identity. The investigation of this phenomenon is outside the scope of the present study, but, as the following selected sample suggests, it is a fertile area for future study. Scholarly and popular treatments of the Beothuk question include: James Patrick Howley, *The Beothuks or Red Indians: The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland* (1915; Toronto: Coles, 1974); Harold Horwood, "The People Who Were Murdered for Fun," *Maclean's Magazine* (10 October 1959), pp. 27, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44; Otto Kelland, "The First Newfoundlanders and the Tragic Mistake," in his *Anchor Watch: Newfoundland Stories in Verse* (St. John's: Dicks and Co./Otto Kelland, 1960), pp. 2-4; E. J. Devereux, "The Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland in Fact and Fiction," *Dalhousie Review*, 50 (1970), 350-362; Pierre Berton, "The Last of the Red Indians," in his *My Country: The Remarkable Past* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 122-137; Frederick W. Rowe, *Extinction: The Beothuks of Newfoundland* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1977); Ralph T. Pastore, "Fishermen, Furriers and Beothuks: The Economy of Extinction," *Man in the Northeast*, No. 33 (1987), pp. 47-62; Ingeborg C. L. Marshall, *Reports and Letters of George Christopher Pulling Relating to the Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1989); Ralph Pastore, "The Collapse of the Beothuk World," *Acadiensis*, 19 (1989), 52-71; Richard Budgel, "The Beothuks and the Newfoundland Mind," *Newfoundland Studies*, 8 (1992), 15-33; and Mary Dalton, "Shadow Indians: The Beothuk Motif in Newfoundland Literature," *Newfoundland Studies*, 8 (1992), 135-146. References to the Beothuk story are scattered throughout the works of many contemporary Newfoundland writers and other artists. Among the works which contain a Beothuk theme as a major focus are: Paul O'Neill, *Legends of a Lost Tribe: Folk Tales of the Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); Michael Cook, *On the Rim of the Curve*, in his *Three Plays* (Portugal Cove: Breakwater

Books, 1976); Al Pittman, "Shanadithit," in his *Once When I Was Drowning* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1978), pp. 43-46; Michael Cook, "Apostles for the Burning" (Unpublished Radio Play Script, [1982]); Kevin Major, *Blood Red Ochre* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1989); and *Finding Mary March*, a film written and directed by Ken Pittman (Red Ochre Productions, 1990).

¹³⁵O'Flaherty, "Looking Backwards," p. 151.

¹³⁶*King Lear*, V.iii.8-10.

¹³⁷See the entries for "fishocracy," "merchant princes," and "truck" in the *DNE*, pp. 185, 327, and 585, respectively. See also: James Hiller, Peter Narváez, and Daniel Vickers, "Review Panel: Newfoundland's Past as Marxist Illustration," *Newfoundland Studies*, 3 (1987), 265-278; and, F. L. Jackson, "Review Article: The Marxist Mystification of Newfoundland History," *Newfoundland Studies*, 6 (1990), 267-281.

¹³⁸O'Flaherty, "Looking Backwards," pp. 149, 150.

¹³⁹Jackson, *Surviving*, pp. 1, 7.

¹⁴⁰Herbert Halpert, "Folklore and Newfoundland: An Informal Introduction to the Materials and Methods of Folklore," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 8 (1969), 19.

¹⁴¹Story, "Newfoundland," p. 24.

¹⁴²Ryan, *Fish Out*, p. 37.

¹⁴³Ryan, *Fish Out*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁴⁴One folklorist, commenting on the rural/urban dichotomy and rivalry in Newfoundland, notes: "Clearly, it can be argued that St. John's, the largest centre on the island, does not constitute a truly urban environment. However, the rules of good ethnography demand that the researcher employ the native categories of reality to achieve an authentic encounter with a given culture group. Accordingly, Newfoundland society will be examined on its own terms—Newfoundlanders both in town and 'around the bay' regard and refer to St. John's as 'urban'" [Martin Laba, "'The Bayman Food Market Is in the Townie Dump': Identity and the Townie Newfoundlander," *Culture and Tradition*, 3 (1978), 7, note 3]. James Overton, a sociologist, has published several studies which examine the popularization of the idyllic, romanticized outport stereotype in contradistinction to St. John's. See his: "Promoting 'The Real Newfoundland': Culture as Tourist Commodity," *Studies in Political Economy*, No. 4 (1980), pp. 115-137; "Coming Home: Nostalgia and Tourism in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis*, 14 (1984), 84-

97; and "Tourism and 'The Taste of Newfoundland,'" *New Maritimes* (July-August 1987), 12-14.

¹⁴⁵Matthews, *Lectures*, p. 169.

¹⁴⁶Harold Horwood, *Newfoundland* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), p. 96.

¹⁴⁷Comment made by Harold Horwood during a discussion among Peter Cashin, Harold Horwood, and Leslie Harris, "Newfoundland and Confederation, 1948," in *Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1867-1967*, ed. Mason Wade (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 247. Water Street was, until recent times, the major business district in St. John's.

¹⁴⁸Harold Horwood, *Joey* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1989), p. 146. Horwood points out that "it is worth noting that only three members of the government were from outside St. John's."

¹⁴⁹Fowler, "The Literature," p. 128.

¹⁵⁰See Paul O'Neill, *The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Erin: Press Porcupine, 1975, 1976). This work, which the author describes as "the first history of St. John's ever to be compiled," is a painstakingly researched, highly readable labour of love by a native son, which concentrates on "the numerous small details, events, dates, and human interest happenings that tell the story of entertainment, education, sport, religion, and other facets of life in the development of St. John's." The emphasis, however, is decidedly official. Still an invaluable source is: P. K. Devine, *Ye Olde St. John's, 1705-1936* (St. John's: Newfoundland Directories, 1936). See also: Margaret Duley, *The Caribou Hut: The Story of a Newfoundland Hostel* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949); Helen Porter, *Below the Bridge: Memories of the South Side of St. John's*, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 2 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1979); Melvin Baker, *Aspects of Nineteenth Century St. John's Municipal History* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1982); Melvin Baker, Robert Cuff, and Bill Gillespie, *Workingmen's St. John's: Aspects of Social History in the Early 1900s* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1982); and, Sandra Clarke, "Sampling Attitudes to Dialect Varieties in St. John's," in *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*, second version, ed. Harold Paddock (St. John's: Linguistics Department, Memorial University, 1982), pp. 90-105.

¹⁵¹Both terms are in common usage to describe all that which is not in and of St. John's.

¹⁵²Story, "Newfoundland," p. 29.

¹⁵³Story, "Newfoundland," p. 22. The seal hunt or harvest has customarily been termed a "fishery" in Newfoundland. On the history of the seal hunt and the controversy which led to its demise see: Cassie Brown, with Harold Horwood, *Death on the Ice: The Great Newfoundland Sealing Disaster of 1914* (1972; Toronto: Doubleday Canada, Ltd., 1974); Shannon Ryan and Larry Small, eds., *Haulin' Rope and Gaff: Songs and Poetry in the History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery*, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 1 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1978); E. Calvin Coish, *Season of the Seal: The International Storm Over Canada's Seal Hunt* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1979); Cynthia Lamson, *'Bloody Decks and a Bumper Crop': The Rhetoric of Sealing Counter-Protest*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 24 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1979); Guy Wright, *Sons and Seals: A Voyage to the Ice*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 29 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1984); Briton Cooper Busch, "Seals and Sealing in the Traditional Culture of Newfoundland," *Journal of Canadian Culture*, 2 (1985), 69-78; Janice Scott Henke, *Seal Wars! An American Viewpoint* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1985); Michael Harrington, *Goin' to the Ice: Offbear History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1986); Shannon Ryan, assisted by Martha Drake, *Seals and Sealers: A Pictorial History of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery*, Based on the Cater Andrews Collection (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1987); James E. Candow, *Of Men and Seals: A History of the Newfoundland Seal Hunt*, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture, and History (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, 1989); John Alan Lee, "Waging the Seal Wars in the Media: Toward a Content Analysis of Meral Communication," *The Canadian Journal of Communication*, 14 (1989), 37-56; Shannon Ryan, ed., *Chafe's Sealing Book: A Statistical Record of the Newfoundland Steamer Seal Fishery, 1864-1941*, A Publication of the Cater Andrews Project (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1990).

¹⁵⁴On the Labrador fishery see: Nicholas Smith, *Fifty-two Years at the Labrador Fishery* (London: A. H. Stockwell, 1936); W. A. Black, "The Labrador Floater Codfishery," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 50 (1960), 267-295; William H. Whiteley, "Governor Hugh Palliser and the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery, 1764-1768," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 50 (1969), 141-163; Greta Hussey, *Our Life on Lear's Room, Labrador*, ed. Susan Shiner (St. John's: Robinson-Blackmore, 1981); Benjamin W. Powell, *The Letter That Was Never Read: A History of the Labrador Fishery* (St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1987).

¹⁵⁵On the Bank fishery see: Bern Keating, *The Grand Banks* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1968); Charlene Sheppard, "Fishing on the Grand Banks, 1915-1945," Unpublished Manuscript, 1972, MUNFLA, Accession No. 72-123; Raoul Andersen, "Social Organisation of the Newfoundland Banking Schooner Cod Fishery circa. 1900-1948," Paper Submitted to the International Commission for Maritime History Meeting, Bucharest, August 1980, Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1980; Otto Kelland, *Dories and Dorymen* (St. John's: Robinson-Blackmore, 1984); Garfield Fizzard. *Unto*

the Sea: A History of Grand Bank (Grand Bank: Grand Bank Heritage Society, 1987); Raoul Andersen, "'Chance' and Contract: Lessons From a Newfoundland Banks Fisherman's Anecdote," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), pp. 167-182.

¹⁵⁶Story, "Newfoundland," p. 24.

¹⁵⁷A considerable body of scholarship has appeared since the 1970s which addresses many of the issues in Newfoundland history, society and culture, and sheds new light on some areas which had received little attention previously. Among the areas which have received particular attention are the traditional economy, including the credit system, and development issues, the Confederation and Resettlement issues, the outport family and the role of women, questions concerning literacy and the system of denominational education, and the impact of technological change, especially as it relates to the fishery. In addition to the relevant sources cited earlier in this chapter, see: Stratford Canning, "Outport Newfoundland: The Potential for Development Planning," Unpublished Thesis for the Diploma of Town and Regional Planning, University of Glasgow, 1971; Ottar Brox, *Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry: A Sociology of Economic Dualism*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 9 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1972); David G. Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland, 1880-1970" (1974), in his *Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy*, comp. Eric W. Sager, Lewis R. Fischer, and Stuart O. Pierson (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 3-31; Paul Bridle, ed., *Documents on Relations between Canada and Newfoundland*, two volumes (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974); Stuart A. Queen and Robert W. Habenstein, "The Newfoundland Outport Family," in their *The Family in Various Cultures*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1974), pp. 379-399; David G. Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934" (1976), in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 17-39; David G. Alexander, "The Political Economy of Fishing in Newfoundland" (1976), in *Atlantic Canada and Confederation*, pp. 32-43; David G. Alexander, *The Decay of Trade: An Economic History of the Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1935-1965*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 19 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1977); Ellen Antler, "Women's Work in Newfoundland Fishing Families," *Atlantis*, 2 (1977), 106-113; Michael E. Gaffney, "Crosshanded Work Organization and the Developmental Cycle of the South Coast Newfoundland Domestic Group," in *Papers from the Fourth Annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society*, ed. Richard J. Preston (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1978), pp. 1-18; David G. Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland" (1980), in *Atlantic Canada and Confederation*, pp. 110-143; Donna Lee Davis, "The Family and Social Change in the Newfoundland Outport," *Culture*, 3 (1983), 19-32; Marilyn Porter, "'She Was Skipper of the Shore-

Crew': Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland," *Labour/Le Travail*, No. 15 (1985), pp. 105-123; Bren Walsh, *More Than a Poor Majority: The Story of Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1985); Rex Clark, ed., *Contrary Winds: Essays on Newfoundland Society in Crisis* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1986); Donna Lee Davis, "Occupational Community and Fishermen's Wives in a Newfoundland Fishing Village," *Anthropological Quarterly*, 59 (1986), 129-142; David MacKenzie, *Inside the Atlantic Triangle: Canada and the Entrance of Newfoundland into Confederation, 1939-1949* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1986); Peter Sinclair, *State Intervention and the Newfoundland Fisheries: Essays on Fisheries Policy and Social Structure* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1987); Michael Staveley, "Newfoundland: Economy and Society at the Margin," in *Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada*, 2nd ed., ed. L. D. McCann (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1987), 247-285; Donna Lee Davis, "'Shore Skippers' and 'Grass Widows': Active and Passive Women's Roles in a Newfoundland Fishery," in *To Work and to Weep: Women in Fishing Economies*, ed. Jane Nadel-Klein and Donna Lee Davis, *Social and Economic Papers*, No. 8 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1988), pp. 211-229; William A. McKim, ed. *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1988); Marilyn Porter, "'Women and Old Boats': The Sexual Division of Labour in a Newfoundland Outport," in *Gender and Society: Creating a Canadian Women's Sociology*, ed. Arlene Tigar McLean (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), pp. 169-183; John E. Crowley, "Empire versus Truck: The Official Interpretation of Debt and Labour in the Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland Fishery," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 70 (1989), 311-336; James Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation," in *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, ed. Rosemary E. Ommer (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 86-101; Robert M. Lewis, "The Survival of the Planters' Fishery in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Newfoundland," in *Merchant Credit* (1990), ed. Ommer, pp. 102-113; David A. MacDonald, "They Cannot Pay Us in Money: Newman and Company and the Supplying System in the Newfoundland Fishery, 1850-1884," *Acadiensis*, 19 (1990), 142-156.

¹⁵⁸One is struck by the similarity of the sentiment expressed in the last verse of the song "Come By The Hills," written by Scottish television producer Gordon Smith and set to a traditional Irish air, "Buchal an Eire." The last verse of the song, currently a popular favourite in Newfoundland, reads: "Oh, come by the hills to the land where legend remains. / The stories of old fill the heart and may yet come again, / Where the past has been lost, and the future is still to be won; / Ah, the cares of tomorrow can wait till this day is done" [Gordon Bok, *Bay of Fundy* (Sharon, Connecticut: Folk-Legacy Records, 1975)].

¹⁵⁹*The Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy* (London: Macmillan, 1930), p. 306.

¹⁶⁰Gerald L. Pocius, *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland* (Athens and Montreal: The University of Georgia Press and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), p. 287.

CHAPTER THREE: TRADITION AND IDENTITY IN A COLONIAL CONTEXT

THE EVOLVING SOCIETY

Newfoundland, during the forty-year period between 1930 and 1970, witnessed a number of events which, with their attendant changes, directly challenged and called into question many aspects of the traditional way of life on the Island, a way of life which, with the exception of one or two particulars, had changed little in two hundred years. These four decades are to be viewed as comprising, especially for those in the more remote outports, Newfoundland's displaced and belated nineteenth century; many Newfoundlanders found that from the beginning to the end of the period they had made a dizzying leap from a way of life which was reminiscent of that lived by their forefathers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and Ireland to that which was a reflection of sorts of twentieth-century North America. What emerged at various times during the period was a sense of disorientation as the society came to be made up of those who were unable or unwilling to abandon the old ways and others who, despite a desire to do so, were unprepared and ill-equipped to embrace the new. The relative speed, therefore, with which these changes occurred or were imposed assumes an importance coequal with the changes themselves because it precipitated the need for an almost continuous reevaluation of the Newfoundland character, identity, and worldview.

Among the more important of these events were the loss of Responsible Government in 1934, the influx of foreign troops and capital brought about by World

War II, and Confederation with Canada in 1949. To these must be added the effects of the economic and developmental policies pursued by the Smallwood administration which determined the fate of the Province for the next twenty-three years, especially its commitment to large-scale industrialization and its policy of community resettlement. Almost all the literature produced during the period, both descriptive and imaginative, can be read as an attempt to frame a response to the changes brought about by one or more of these events or policies; the same impulse can be seen as informing many other forms of artistic expression during the period as well. Indeed, it can be argued that the sense of disorientation and the anxiety characteristic of the period were the catalysts which motivated much of this artistic expression. In this regard it is instructive to recall Abrahams's comments on the role of aesthetic creativity during periods of transition:

Underlying the activities of all groups is the constant potential of communicative ordering, and performer and performance depend upon this latent order. As a latency, order permits a certain freedom of action, an experimentation that makes the final sense of order more complex and at the same time buried more deeply in the operating mind. Though it is relied upon in daily performances, this deep sense of order must be dramatically and overtly demonstrated from time to time in some highly self-conscious, ritualistic manner. Most commonly this demonstration will occur at times when the group needs to draw upon its most potent resources because of a shared feeling of anxiety, an intuition of chaos. This will, of course, happen most commonly during a time of transition. It is at such times that performance energies must be highly coordinated and strictly focused, and it is then that esthetic creativity comes into greatest play.¹

The "intuition of chaos" which marked the period under consideration had been building for most of the present century as Newfoundlanders became accustomed, if not resigned,

to the seesaw nature of their fate which fluctuated every few years from the crest of hope to the trough of despair, and to the ever-changing position of the Island in terms of the world context as it swung precariously between the glare of recognition and the shadow of obscurity. It is necessary, therefore, to examine this process briefly in order to gain an understanding of the impact of the changes which began in the 1930s.

The institution of Responsible Government in 1855, "while it placed Newfoundland legally on an equal footing with the other colonies of British North America,"² was but the beginning of Newfoundland's coming of age. Two longstanding Anglo-French and Anglo-American agreements—dating to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, respectively—gave French and American fishermen extensive fishing rights on and around vast stretches of the Newfoundland coast. These external agreements, therefore, limited the fledgling colonial government's power, and prevented it from exercising full and effective control over the most essential resource within its jurisdiction. Diplomatic disputes over these agreements persisted into the first decade of the present century and, while the settlements eventually reached (in 1904 and 1910, respectively) were in Newfoundland's favour, they had serious and lasting consequences for the Island's internal politics and for its relationships with Britain, Canada, and the United States.³ The more immediate concern, however, was the impact of these treaty arrangements on the Island's economy. As the population increased and the demand for a broad range of social services grew, the belief that the fishery alone could no longer be relied upon to support "the increasingly visible North American

standard of material success"⁴ to which, it was argued, the Island was entitled became a political truism. In the political climate of the period it was more expedient for local merchants and politicians to exaggerate the threat represented by French and American competition and use it as an argument for the need to develop other resources than it was to confront the internal problems in the Newfoundland fishery, such as the uneven quality of the product and the bickering among local exporters, or to recognize such external problems as those caused by the growth of the fishing industry in Norway and other countries, and the fluctuations in international markets. Small-scale undertakings in agriculture, mining, and lumbering in the 1860s and 1870s had provided for some diversification of the Newfoundland economy, but the fishery was still the major source of employment and fish products still made up the largest percentage of the Island's total exports. The need for a trans-Island railway became the rallying cry among those who felt that only major industrial development would bring the country into line with its North American neighbours; the pursuit of this notion of progress "gave rise to the tradition in Newfoundland politics of the charismatic leader-developer, a tradition that begins with William Whiteway and extends through Edward P. Morris, Richard Squires, and Joseph Roberts Smallwood, its most notable exemplar."⁵ The financing of the trans-Island railway was the first instance of what was to become an entrenched economic policy in Newfoundland of undertaking major industrial developments with the aid of outside capital. Invariably, because of the guarantees and concessions which were given and granted in order to attract outside capital, the end results in almost every case were

the same: high profits for the outside investors; negligible benefits for the Island; and an inevitable increase in the public debt.⁶

The consideration of these events, however, should not be interpreted to suggest that nineteenth-century Newfoundland, as a whole, was a hotbed of political ferment or a major player in international diplomatic circles. In fact, it must be stressed that politics, and indeed government, in Newfoundland had evolved into essentially a St. John's-based phenomenon. There were several reasons for this:

[The] peculiar distribution of population was responsible in no small measure for the emergence during the course of the nineteenth century of a highly centralized system of administration, and not, as might *prima facie* be supposed, a decentralized one. For instead of encouraging the growth of local government, the inescapable isolation of the great majority of 'outports' militated strongly against it. The country did not divide easily into natural regions, and outside St. John's there were few communities of sufficient size to support any form of local government. Those that were large enough were faced with other formidable handicaps, not least of which was a scarcity of hard currency caused by the ubiquity of the truck system of credit trading. Direct taxation as a means of financing local government was therefore out of the question. Nor was there any deeply rooted tradition of locally managed institutions which might have helped to overcome these handicaps, for the early settlers were for the most part Irish peasants or English west countrymen who had emigrated to Newfoundland before the movement in Britain towards modern municipal organization had made much progress. Consequently, with the single exception of St. John's, which because of its size must be regarded as a case apart, local government existed, if at all, only in embryo.⁷

Only the economic consequences of the political decisions taken in St. John's were directly felt by the people of the outports. Successive governments found, however, that decisions were more easily taken than enforced. For example, Newfoundland fishermen

continued to supply French and American fishermen with bait throughout the period that the treaty rights of the latter were being debated in political and diplomatic circles, despite the fact that laws were passed by the British and Newfoundland Parliaments forbidding them to do so. Nevertheless, the fate of all who lived on the Island was determined, in absolute terms, by the political manoeuvrings of a relatively small merchant and professional power elite in St. John's—a power elite that was also sharply divided along religious and class lines—and, as the twentieth century progressed, these manoeuvrings became so unsavoury and corrupt that the system could no longer support them and it eventually destroyed itself from within.⁸

The last fifteen years of the nineteenth century were particularly unkind to Newfoundland; natural, constitutional, and economic misfortunes followed one upon the other with numbing regularity.⁹ After the turn of the century, however, the Island enjoyed a brief period of stability and prosperity; a certain guarded optimism seemed to be justified. "The eight years of the Bond administration, with which the century began, may be seen in retrospect as Newfoundland's 'gilded age,' not only for the substantial economic progress made, but because in these years . . . it also played a role on the world stage and in the councils of Empire,"¹⁰ due, in large measure, to Bond's diplomatic expertise and his charismatic character. Ironically, in Bond's early successes are to be found the seeds of his defeat; his administration's "new standards of probity and effectiveness"¹¹ were liabilities where graft and patronage had become customary, and in his attempts to settle the American Shore question he pitted Newfoundland's

interests against those of Britain and Canada. Representatives of both countries were soon actively working against him behind the scenes in support of Edward Morris, who broke with Bond and formed a rival party.¹² The election of 1908, contested by the Liberal party led by Bond and the People's party led by Morris, not only had all the classic markings of Newfoundland politics—sectarianism, corruption, the spectre of confederation, and a large dose of outside meddling—but it also ended in a deadlock which plunged the Island into yet another bizarre constitutional wrangle which lasted for almost a year before a second election in May 1909 saw Morris and his party, "as rapacious a group of ministers as the country had ever known,"¹³ gain control.

At the same time as these events were unfolding a new political force was gathering momentum on the Island. During the first week of November 1908 meetings were held at the Orange Hall in the small Notre Dame Bay community of Herring Neck. The speaker at these meetings was one William Coaker, most recently a farmer on a small island in Dildo Run, and the handful of men who remained behind out of those who had attended formed the first local of the Fishermen's Protective Union, an organization which, for the first time, promised to politicize the fishermen in the numerous outports scattered around the coast and give them a voice equal to that of the St. John's elite.¹⁴ As Coaker envisioned it, the organization was intended to function as a co-operative in order to counterbalance the hold the merchant credit system had over the fishermen; it was to provide an informational service so that fishermen who worked in isolation would be kept informed of the problems facing them as a group—a function

fulfilled by the Union's newspaper, the *Fishermen's Advocate*; and it was to become politically active with a view to ensuring that fishermen would have their own voice in government. In the period between 1909 and the general election of 1913 the Union, which had taken on quasi-religious characteristics and adopted many of the trappings of a fraternal order, experienced phenomenal growth in the northeast region of the Island. At its convention in 1912 it produced a policy document containing thirty-one reformist demands; these demands, had they ever been implemented, would have radically changed social and economic conditions in Newfoundland, but, as Coaker was to learn, in Newfoundland the gulf separating short-term gains from long-range solutions is not easily navigated. In preparation for the 1913 general election the Union negotiated an uneasy alliance with Bond and the Liberals. Bond was prepared to accept the support of the Union, but he remained opposed to the idea of a distinct Union party with its own representatives in the House. The finer details of the Liberal-Union alliance were never fully negotiated, however, and the results were that the Liberals elected seven candidates while the Union elected eight, thereby forming the largest opposition party.¹⁵ Before the newly elected government ever met, Bond resigned as leader of the party, resigned his seat in the House, and retired completely from public life.¹⁶ The Unionists and the Liberals retained their separate identities in the House, but, through mutual agreement, J. M. Kent, who had replaced Bond as Liberal leader, served as the official spokesman for the opposition as well. The Liberal party was severely handicapped by the sudden resignation of Bond, Morris's majority had been trimmed from sixteen to six, and it

appeared that Coaker and the Union were in a position to fulfil their promise to become the Island's next government. That promise, however, due in large measure to the advent of the Great War, was never realized.¹⁷

In the winter of 1914 neither the politicians nor Newfoundlanders in general anticipated the effects that a war in Europe would eventually have on their remote Island home. Tragic events at home during the spring overshadowed developments in Europe.¹⁸ By August of that year, however, as a loyal colony of Britain, Newfoundland was drawn into the conflict. The government, in the first flush of imperial and patriotic fervour, pledged to raise five hundred troops for the cause.¹⁹ Coaker argued against the setting up of a separate Newfoundland force and suggested instead that men should be recruited and trained to enter the Royal Navy, or, in the case of those who preferred land service, the Canadian or British armies. This suggestion was ignored by the Morris government, as was his suggestion that a coalition government be formed for the duration of the war. The Newfoundland Regiment was created, and the government, in a shrewd move which appears to have been calculated to deflect from itself any adverse political consequences which might arise as a result of the war, promptly passed responsibility for the Regiment in particular and the war effort in general over to the Newfoundland Patriotic Committee. The Committee, which later changed its name to the Newfoundland Patriotic Association, consisted of fifty appointees, drawn exclusively from the ranks of the St. John's elite, and was chaired by Governor William Davidson. Nicholson, in a work of otherwise unrelenting hyperbole, shows uncharacteristic restraint by describing

the Association as "an organization surely unique in the history of military administration."²⁰

The role played by the Regiment and the increased involvement of the civilian population in the war effort led to a renewed sense of importance and self-esteem among Newfoundlanders. The Patriotic Association of the Women of Newfoundland was formed by Lady Davidson, the wife of the Governor, and made a contribution "of almost incalculable value" to the overseas cause. The first group of recruits to arrive in England, proud Newfoundlanders all, found that they were "repeatedly taken for Canadians—an identification that they did not greatly relish." However, following "the splendid performance of the men of Newfoundland in the Ypres and Cambrai battles," the Regiment was granted the title "Royal," becoming only the third regiment "in the whole history of British arms," to receive such a distinction "while the nation was still at war." Newfoundland, it is said, contributed "a greater enlistment per capita of population than any other country in the British Empire, excluding only the United Kingdom," although this dubious distinction is claimed by Australia as well. One of these recruits, Thomas Ricketts, became the "the youngest winner of the Victoria Cross in the British Army." Amidst the propaganda and bombast of wartime the people preferred to take pride in these distinctions rather than dwell on the escalating cost of the war, or the stupidity and ineptitude at the command level which led to the slaughters at Gallipoli and Beaumont Hamel. At the end "one in every five, or 20 percent, of those who joined the Regiment" were numbered among the "total fatal casualties [of] 1305 all

ranks,"²¹ for the Regiment alone. Many of those who had joined the Royal Navy or other branches of the British and Canadian forces were also killed; scores more were seriously wounded. The statistics are staggering when Newfoundland's relatively small population is taken into account, but these facts were overlooked in the euphoria of victory. Once again, as in Robert Bond's heyday, it was felt that Newfoundland was being recognized and was taking its rightful place in international circles. As a confirmation of this sentiment the government, in 1918, appropriated the designation "Dominion" to replace that of "Colony," an act intended to assert the Island's newly bolstered sense of nationhood; in the North American context, Newfoundland was proclaiming its equality with Canada as a member nation of the British Empire.²²

This feeling of independence was also fostered by the prosperity brought about by the war. The Island's economy had historically been influenced in positive ways by European wars, especially those involving England and France. This war had been no different:

The economic effect of the war . . . was to stimulate trade and industry, thus bringing about a few years of exceptional prosperity. . . . Newfoundland's competitors in the dried-fish industry were unable to maintain production at pre-war levels, whereas Newfoundland's were the biggest in her history. Money was plentiful, the demand for fish rose rapidly, and prices soared to heights never attained before. The shortage of shipping was met by pressing Newfoundland sailing vessels into service. Fisherman and merchant prospered. . . . [And those] Newfoundlanders who found conditions unsatisfactory at home had only to cross the Cabot Strait to obtain ready employment at good wages.²³

Economic influences from across the Cabot Strait were felt in Newfoundland during the war years as well. This is illustrated by the fact that by the end of the war Newfoundland's imports from Britain had fallen from 24.5 percent to 10.5 percent, while imports from the United States and Canada had risen from 36.9 percent to 44.7 percent and 33.5 percent to 40 percent, respectively, as compared to pre-war figures.²⁴ The influx of American and Canadian goods exposed Newfoundlanders to the North American model of the consumer society to a degree that they had not experienced before, but the flirtation with plenty was short-lived and partly illusory. "Wartime prosperity was accompanied by a standard of living, or, more accurately, by a standard of spending, far above that to which the people had been accustomed, and far above what could be maintained in times of peace."²⁵ This was not only true of the people, but also, and with much more serious consequences, true of their government as well. "The war years slowed down but did not staunch the flood of industrial promotions,"²⁶ and, as usual, these promotions were financed by heavy public borrowing; in addition the government had borrowed heavily in London and New York to finance the war effort. The result was that "the economy emerged from the war without a sharply diversified structure or increased capacity, with a casualty-ridden labour force, and an increased external debt."²⁷ Therefore, the superficial solvency suggested by a "surplus on current account for the financial years 1915-17 of \$901,553.76," must be balanced by the fact that the public debt for 1918-19 stood at \$42,032,785.60.²⁸ The people, however, having tasted

prosperity, even a partly illusory prosperity, were not sanguine about the prospects of a return to pre-war conditions. Their expectations had been permanently changed.

Among the things which the war did not change were the antics of Newfoundland's elected representatives. In 1917 Edward Morris, in an effort to avoid an election in which conscription would have been the main issue, revived Coaker's earlier suggestion of a coalition government. At this late date, however, Coaker and the Unionists refused to cooperate. Morris countered by announcing an all-party National government, and shortly thereafter left Newfoundland for England where he was to spend the remainder of his life. W. F. Lloyd, who had replaced J. M. Kent as the leader of the Liberals, became acting prime minister.²⁹ At this point a movement to reestablish pre-war party loyalties and to regain party powers began. The Liberals and their supporters engaged in a frantic campaign to entice Bond to return to lead the party. In the meantime, while they were preoccupied with these efforts, Richard Squires, who had entered politics in 1908 as a member of the People's party, began to emerge as the leading candidate for the position. Morris resigned as premier, by telegraph, on 31 December 1917, and was named Baron Morris of Waterford the next day; Michael Cashin became the nominal leader of the People's party, and Lloyd became prime minister of a second National government. Bond remained inscrutable, but Squires continued to lay the groundwork necessary to seize the leadership of the Liberal party and the premiership. In November 1918, after the Armistice had been signed, Bond made his intentions clear: "I have had a surfeit of Newfoundland politics lately, and I

turn from the dirty business with contempt and loathing."³⁰ The last stumbling block in Squires's path disappeared in May 1919 when Lloyd's National government met an ignominious end:

The exact manner of its end constitutes an episode unique in the history of parliamentary government. There were no resignations. The National government met the House in April and duly made provision for a November general election—thereby removing the last remaining reason for its existence. Not surprisingly, the coup de grâce came from the People's party which, though leaderless after the departure of Morris, still controlled a majority of seats. That they should allow Lloyd, supported by the Unionists, to obtain a dissolution in office was unthinkable: it would have been tantamount to voluntarily surrendering the spoils of office—always a valuable asset, but never more so than in an election year. Still, there were no resignations. Instead, on 20 May, without warning, the minister of finance, Sir Michael Cashin, rose from his place on the front bench and moved a vote of no confidence in the government. In the confusing scene that followed Lloyd rose to reply but was halted by the Speaker who pointed out that in the absence of a seconder there was no motion before the House. Whereupon Lloyd formally seconded the motion himself. When put to a vote the motion was unanimously carried!³¹

Cashin and the People's party formed a new government and the Liberals and Unionists temporarily reverted to their roles in opposition. This arrangement lasted seven months.

In August, following the precedent set by Morris in 1908, Squires satisfied his leadership aspirations by announcing the formation of the Liberal Reform party. This move not only provided a refuge for the disaffected members of the existing parties, thereby weakening their power bases, but it also ensured that Squires would be the chief power broker in the coming election. Two weeks later, Squires announced that the Liberal Reform party and the Union party would contest the election as one, under his

leadership; this alliance between a classic political opportunist and a reformer of near messianic proportions is yet another of the unsolved mysteries of Newfoundland politics. The People's party, in desperation, changed its name to the Liberal-Progressive party, but elected only twelve members as against twenty-four for the Squires-Coaker coalition. Cashin resigned before the House opened.

Squires was the prime minister, but in the early days of his new government it was Coaker, as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who devised the programme the government attempted to implement. Coaker's main concern was to enact legislation which would fulfil the Union's mandate for control of the fisheries.³² His timing and his methods backfired, however. In his zeal to bring about a state-regulated fishery he adopted high-handed methods which alienated the merchants and exporters whose cooperation he needed, and the time was not ripe for reform because the economic boom precipitated by the war years was over. Once again Newfoundland found itself at the mercy of international forces it could neither ignore nor influence:

The ink had scarcely dried on the Treaty of Versailles before economic nationalism had reasserted itself. Discriminatory trade agreements became more common, tariff barriers were raised, and nearly every country endeavoured to become more self-sufficient. France and Portugal resumed their policies of assisting their respective domestic fisheries. Italy and Spain endeavoured to lessen their dependence upon outside sources for their supplies of foodstuffs. The United States, as an integral part of her protectionist policy, restricted immigration, thereby limiting one important outlet for the surplus population of Newfoundland. The production of foodstuffs in many countries had been greatly expanded during the war, and as production in European countries recovered, competition became exceptionally severe. Advances in refrigeration and

in the canning industry were narrowing the markets for dried salt fish at a time when production was on the increase.³³

Coaker's regulations were introduced in the House in the spring of 1920, but they failed to receive even approval in principle; by the winter of 1921—in the interval the value of fish exports had dropped by nearly ten million dollars—they were withdrawn by proclamation. The failure to have the regulations enacted had a devastating effect on Coaker, and, although he remained associated with Squires, he no longer took a leading role in politics; "thereafter [he] devoted himself primarily to the management of the Union's extensive commercial operations, which he ran autocratically and increasingly in accordance with traditional mercantile principles."³⁴ Ironically, while Newfoundland under Squires's leadership was caught up in another push toward industrialization, Norway, Iceland, and its other competitors were implementing reforms very similar to those which Coaker had proposed.³⁵

Throughout the early twenties Newfoundland's economy continued on its downward spiral and the political situation came to resemble a house of mirrors with many revolving doors. The fishery was virtually ignored. Each year the budget deficit grew, and each deficit was covered by yet another loan. Between 1919 and 1923 Squires entered into several murky and costly arrangements with the Reid Company, and reached an agreement with a consortium, the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, to build a paper mill on the Humber River at an estimated cost of twenty million dollars. At a time when economic restraint and fiscal responsibility were required, the government

continued to spend with lavish abandon; to make matters worse, this spending was "accompanied in certain of the key departments of state by what can only be described as at best culpable incompetence and at worst graft and corruption of unparalleled magnitude."³⁶ On the basis of the proposed Humber River development Squires called an election for May 1923. John R. Bennett had replaced Michael Cashin as the leader of the Liberal-Progressive party, which, in preparation for the election changed its name to the Liberal-Labour-Progressive party. Squires and the Liberal Reform party were returned with a majority of ten on 3 May; on 23 July a cabinet revolt led by William Warren, the minister of justice, caused Squires to resign. From that point until the end of Responsible Government in 1934 Newfoundland politics became a surrealist, even dadaistic, spectacle.

Between July 1923 and July 1924 the Island witnessed five separate administrations. After Squires's resignation Warren was called upon to form a government. Squires continued to sit in opposition as an independent. Warren immediately announced that he would appoint a commission to investigate abuses.³⁷ By 24 April 1924, there had been sufficient defections from Warren's government to split the House evenly, and most of the eighteen members on the opposition side supported Squires. An election was called for 2 June 1924. In the interim, Warren engineered a coalition with some members of the opposition and a new government was sworn in on 3 May 1924. This move antagonized the Unionists and several of Warren's supporters among the Liberals. The resignation of one more cabinet minister, on 7 May 1924,

caused the government to fall. Warren recommended that first Robert Bond and then William Coaker be invited to form a government; both men refused. Albert E. Hickman became the leader of the newly-formed Liberal-Progressive party, which included several early Warren supporters, and formed a government on 10 May 1924. The Liberal-Labour-Progressive party chose Walter S. Monroe as its leader and contested the election of 2 June 1924 as the Liberal-Conservative party. Monroe's party won twenty-five seats and Hickman's party won ten. Warren ran and won as an independent. Monroe formed a government which managed to cling to power—sometimes, after a series of defections and by-elections, with a majority of one—until 1928.

Monroe pledged to follow the recommendations of the Hollis Walker Report, but his government, dominated as it was by merchants and hacks who had prospered under the old system, did little more than pay lip service to reform, and even its successes have been dismissed as "largely irrelevant to the problems at hand."³⁸ The degree to which things remained unchanged under Monroe is indicated by the fact that when he no longer wished to remain as Prime Minister he simply passed the reins of office along to a relative and business associate, and so "when Monroe relinquished the Prime Minister's office on 27 August 1928, [Frederick Charles] Alderdice received his cousin's mantle with the party blessing."³⁹ Under Alderdice's leadership the party prepared to do battle with a rejuvenated Liberal party in the fall election of 1928. The Liberal party, which now included Coaker and his followers, Peter Cashin (who had left Monroe's government because of disagreements over tax policy), and the remaining followers of

Bond, was led by Richard Squires, who, since his arrest in 1924, had remained outside the House, but not far removed from politics.⁴⁰ He resurrected the familiar chant linking prosperity with industrialization, and, because there were some indications that the Island's economic fortunes might be taking a turn for the better, he was swept into power with a sixteen-seat majority. "Squires, however, was destined to have the misfortune of again assuming office at a time of impending economic crisis. For just as in 1919 his government had soon to face the post-war collapse of Newfoundland's vital European markets, so in 1928 his new government was soon to suffer the repercussions of a world depression."⁴¹ The country continued to operate on borrowed capital, and when the Great Depression came Newfoundland found that it had few options remaining and little freedom to pursue those it did have.

The simplest solution to the stranglehold the national debt had on the country might well have been to default, a course of action which was being followed by an increasing number of countries and governments at the time. Conventional hindsight suggests that had Newfoundland done so it would have been able to survive the depression unaided. The Island soon found, however, that it was not free to act independently of the British and, to a lesser degree, the Canadian governments in this regard, and outside political pressure soon caused this option to be put aside. Once again Newfoundland's destiny was being decided by forces it was powerless to control. Furthermore, from that point until Newfoundland entered the Canadian confederation in 1949, it became increasingly clear that, within the decision-making context of Empire

and Commonwealth, the Island's interests were always a distant third behind those of Britain and Canada.⁴²

The economic hardships being experienced by the people and the chicanery and ineptitude of their political leaders combined to cause an atmosphere of crisis to develop between February and April 1932. Cashin resigned as minister of finance three days before the House opened, and when it did open, on 4 February, he rose on the opposition side to accuse various members of the cabinet of corrupt and criminal practices and to accuse Squires specifically of falsifying the minutes of the Executive Council in order to cover up payments of \$5,000 a year to himself out of the War Reparations Fund. There were immediate demands for an inquiry, but Squires was successful in having the Assembly ask the governor, rather than a select committee of the House, to investigate the allegations, and in having the request worded in such a way that it appeared to be asking the governor if he had, in fact, been duped by his own ministers. Governor Sir John Middleton could hardly have been expected to admit as much, and in his reply to the Assembly he was very careful to preserve the trappings of parliamentary decorum, but there was little doubt in anybody's mind that Cashin's charges were generally valid. In the meantime the economic crisis was worsening, and when the House met in March it had to raise taxes and tariffs to meet its revenue needs. When it met again on 5 April the unemployed and destitute of St. John's, who could no longer reconcile their own hardships with graft on a grand scale in government, took matters into their own hands, and an angry mob attacked the building in which the House was sitting. It did not reach

the Assembly but offices were looted and records destroyed. Squires barely escaped with his life, but he refused to resign even though most of his ministers abandoned him; instead, he sought a dissolution, and an election was called for 11 June 1932.

Squires was opposed by Alderdice who had surrounded himself with merchants like himself and changed the name of his party from the Liberal-Conservative party to the United Newfoundland party. Squires continued to promise new industrial developments and claimed that prosperity was within reach, but the hard times and the recent charges against him caused the promises to ring hollow. Alderdice, refusing "to make any promise impossible of fulfilment," put one issue only before the electorate, and that was the promise to appoint a committee to examine the prospect of "placing the country under a form of commission government for a period of years."⁴³ Alderdice won a landslide victory, taking all but two of the twenty-seven seats (recently reduced from forty as an economic measure) in the House. It was an empty victory, however, for the country was hovering on the brink of economic collapse, and it was to be Alderdice's destiny "to preside at the demise of [Newfoundland] as a self-governing, independent Dominion of [the British] Empire."⁴⁴ It could be argued, given his earlier election promise, that Alderdice saw this as not altogether an unwelcome destiny, and it is also clear that others shared the view that the country had reached a stage which rendered it, in the usual democratic sense, ungovernable.⁴⁵

Various options were explored by the Alderdice government, including the possible sale of Labrador (an option Squires had explored earlier), the revival of the

perennial prospect of confederation with Canada, and, once again, the possibility of defaulting on major loans, but by the end of 1932 it was becoming very clear that any financial help which might be forthcoming from Britain or Canada would be tied to the imposition of strict limitations on democratic processes and parliamentary institutions in Newfoundland. A loan of \$1,250,000, equally funded by Britain and Canada, was offered to the Alderdice government in December 1932 on the condition that it would approve the setting up of a Royal Commission to investigate the situation in Newfoundland and to make recommendations on the Island's future. In the circumstances Alderdice could do little but accept.⁴⁶ By the following summer Canada refused any further financial assistance and, publicly at least, it appeared that resolution of Newfoundland's problems was to be worked out with Britain alone.

The Royal Commission was created on 17 February 1933, and included Lord Amulree (William Warrender Mackenzie), a Scottish lawyer and Labour peer, who acted as its chairman, Charles Alexander Magrath and Sir William Stavert, both of whom were Canadian bankers. It held closed hearings in Newfoundland over the next several months, and submitted its report on 4 October 1933. It recommended that elected government on the Island be set aside and replaced by an appointed commission, and that Newfoundland be made, in effect, a ward of His Majesty's Government.⁴⁷ The circumstances surrounding the creation, the deliberations, and the report of the Amulree Commission are among the most controversial issues in Newfoundland history and are much too involved to be discussed fully here.⁴⁸ It must be noted, however, that the

commission and its report have to be considered less in terms of what Newfoundland desired or needed than in terms of the larger framework of British and Canadian self-interest. "Ideally, the United Kingdom wanted Newfoundland to become part of Canada. This was a longstanding wish and would have removed the burden from her entirely. Barring this, she wanted Canada to share with her the cost of carrying the bankrupt."⁴⁹ The United Kingdom would eventually get its wish, and Canada would get Labrador, without the \$110 million price tag that Squires had attached to it, but both would have to wait until 1949.

In the meantime, Newfoundlanders, in the person of Alderdice, "swallowed the bitter medicine served up by the Amulree commission."⁵⁰ For Alderdice, the sweetener was to be a seat on the new Commission of Government; for the more than thirty thousand people who were on the dole, there was no sweetener, and, since Alderdice's promise that no constitutional changes would be made that did not "first have the consent of the people" had not been kept, many among them simply assumed that one "parcel of rogues" had been replaced by another. Others, however, saw the Commission as heaven-sent and looked to it to provide miraculous solutions to all the Island's ills. The first group were, perhaps, pleasantly surprised; the second group stood to be sorely disappointed.⁵¹

In addition to Alderdice, the other two Newfoundland members of the Commission were William R. Howley and John C. Puddester. The first three English appointees were Thomas Lodge, John Hope Simpson, and Everhard Trentham.⁵² In

accepting their appointments to the Commission they were agreeing to undertake an impossible task. The tone of the Amulree Report was not only sanctimonious and condescending, it was also naive. It concluded that Newfoundlanders were too corrupt or too stupid or too jaded to govern themselves, that they needed "a rest from politics," and it assumed this could be accomplished by simply replacing elected politicians with appointed bureaucrats. The royal warrant which created the Amulree Commission had charged it "to examine into the future of Newfoundland and in particular to report on the financial situation and the prospects therein,"³³ but the tone of the Commission's report suggested that the six commissioners "were to be responsible for bringing about the financial, and indeed even the moral and political, rehabilitation of Newfoundland."³⁴ This, a daunting order at the best of times, was made ludicrous by the fact that the country's economic problems were shared at the time by most other countries of the world. Furthermore, despite the apparent tidiness of the report's recommendations, there was a wide range of opinion as to just how the Commission should operate in practice.³⁵ The usual differences in personalities, abilities, and opinions among the commissioners were not subject to the usual checks and balances of the parliamentary system. Neither was there a clearly defined precedent or *modus operandi* covering how the members of the Commission were to act, at one and the same time, as both the civil servants which they were, and, because of how they were perceived by people generally, as the politicians which they—the English members at least—were not. These complications, combined with the resentment of the displaced local politicians and the conflicting claims

of local interest groups, added to the difficulties faced by the Commission. Despite these constraints and restraints, however, the Commission approached the problems facing Newfoundland in a variety of ways, and achieved a measure of success in several areas.

In an attempt to establish a presence outside the capital, and to maintain effective communication with the rural areas, the Commission reorganized the Island's magistracy and created the Newfoundland Ranger Force. These became the chief agents of public administration in the outports.⁵⁶ It improved the Island's health-care system by building cottage hospitals in the larger outports, by providing a district nursing service, and by supporting the training of midwives. In its handling of the dole "the Commission may have been bureaucratically more efficient" than its predecessors, but it adhered to the standard philosophy that "virtue lay in paring costs and keeping the able-bodied on relief below the standard of living that work could provide."⁵⁷ In addition to promoting increased production, improved product quality, and more effective marketing in the fishing industry, the Commission sought to diversify and improve the economy through a land resettlement programme, an extensive road building programme, and by the encouragement of the mining and forestry industries.⁵⁸

The extent to which the Commission succeeded or failed in many of these endeavours was determined to a large extent by fluctuations in international trade and commerce similar to those which had plagued previous elected governments in Newfoundland. In other areas, however, entrenched local practices proved to be just as effective as external forces in working against reform. For instance, despite the fact that

it improved teacher training and salaries, and introduced some positive curriculum changes, the Commission had little real success in improving the education system because it was powerless to combat the control exercised by the various religious denominations in this area. Similarly, in its dealings with the local mercantile power elite and the foreign companies which operated on the Island the Commission was usually less successful than it might have wished.⁵⁹

The Commission practised frugality in the extreme and, eventually, in 1940-41, it produced its first balanced budget.⁶⁰ Prior to that time deficits which it incurred had been made up by grants-in-aid from the British treasury—a luxury which no elected government in Newfoundland had enjoyed. In return, between 1941 and 1945, the Commission granted interest-free loans to Britain totalling more than twelve million dollars! The explanation for the change in fortunes which made this largesse possible is simply that "what the Commission could not accomplish was brought about by war and the accident of geography."⁶¹ The war not only deflected attention away from the domestic problems which had been confounding the Commission's efforts to bring about reforms but also, in the longer term, it saved the Commission of Government from ever having to render a full account of its work, either financially, politically, or socially, because the processes which would eventually conclude with Newfoundland becoming a Canadian province were set in motion by the time the war was over. Ironically, neither the Commission nor the people generally exercised much direct control over the way the Island's geographical position was exploited during the war for, in Churchill's

words to the people of Newfoundland, "the sake of the Empire, of liberty and of the welfare of mankind."⁶²

Newfoundland had no defenses of its own when the war started so preliminary arrangements were worked out with Canada to include the Island in its defense plans. Canada sent some troops to guard strategic areas such as Gander and Bell Island, took command of the local militia, and entered into agreements to develop a number of bases and other military sites.⁶³ Newfoundland's reduced diplomatic status in the international arena was demonstrated by the fact that its delegates did not play a significant role in the negotiations leading to the "Leased Bases Agreement" between the British and American governments which was signed on 27 March 1941. This agreement gave the Americans absolute control over substantial areas of the Island for ninety-nine years; in return, Britain received fifty over-age American warships.⁶⁴ As a result of these arrangements, thousands of Canadian and American troops began to arrive in Newfoundland and it soon found itself in the midst of "a boom resembling frontier days on the American continent."⁶⁵ The Island felt the impact of this "friendly invasion," which amounted to a virtual occupation, in other ways as well:

At first the Newfoundland civilian was stunned. He had always had his country and his roads to himself. He could dawdle, and enjoy both in the spirit of undisturbed ownership. Now he felt dispossessed, crowded on his own streets, mowed down by the ever-increasing numbers of dun-coloured, army-vehicles. The strangers were strutting, becoming the 'big shots.' They looked down their noses at the natives. They were disdainful of a hard old heritage. They began to call the townsfolk 'the Newfies' and like Queen Victoria, the Newfoundlanders were not amused.⁶⁶

When it was all over and done the war had "left Newfoundland with only minor additions to her traditional sources of livelihood in the form of new industries with an assured future,"⁶⁷ but it had also exposed the people to the lifestyle and the economy of North America to a degree that they had not before known.

The boom ended almost as quickly as it had begun, however, and Britain, facing massive reconstruction on the home front, was no longer favourably disposed to make up shortfalls in Newfoundland. On 11 December 1945, therefore, Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced in the British Parliament that a decision had been reached to set up an elected National Convention of Newfoundlanders which would be charged with recommending possible future forms of government from which the people could choose in a national referendum.⁶⁸ What neither the delegates who would be elected to the National Convention nor the people who would eventually vote in the referendum could have known was that before the announcement had even been made it had already been decided that Newfoundland's "natural destiny" was union with Canada.⁶⁹

Newfoundlanders voted for the delegates to attend the National Convention on 21 June 1946. It was the first time they had voted in fourteen years, and this in part may have accounted for the fact that the turnout was less than fifty per cent. The Convention first met in September 1946 and held its last meeting sixteen months later. The forty-five elected delegates loosely divided into three groups, representing three different options. One group favoured a return to Responsible Government as it had existed prior to 1934; a second group was undecided, but less hostile to the Commission than the first;

and a third group, the smallest and most vocal, supported Confederation and was led by J. R. Smallwood.

On 28 October 1948, Smallwood proposed to the Convention that the Canadian Government be approached and sounded regarding its position on the prospect of union between the two countries. After considerable debate the motion was defeated on 5 November, but from that point onwards the delegates divided into pro- and anti-confederates. The latter group were poorly organized and later subdivided into those who favoured Responsible Government and those who sought economic union with the United States. When, on 28 February 1947, Smallwood proposed his motion a second time it was passed by the Convention. A delegation from the Convention made a fruitless visit to London between 24 April and 9 May 1947, but the delegation which visited Ottawa between 19 June and 30 September 1947 came back with proposals for union. Ironically, Smallwood's motion to have the Confederation option placed on the referendum ballot was defeated three days before the Convention disbanded on 30 January 1948. Even more ironic, or so it must have appeared at the time, was the notice given to the Governor on 2 March 1948, to the effect that His Majesty's Government had decided that Confederation should appear on the referendum ballot after all.

The first vote was held on 3 June 1948, with the following results: for Responsible Government 44.5%; for Confederation 41.1%, and for Commission of Government 14.3%; slightly more than 86% of the electorate voted. The Commission of Government option was removed from the second ballot, which was held on 22 July

1948. This time close to 85% of the electorate voted, with 52.34% opting for Confederation with Canada and 47.66% opting for a return to Responsible Government. The Terms of Union were signed in Ottawa on 11 December 1948, and a bill to approve them was introduced in the Canadian Parliament on 7 February 1949. It was passed on 16 February 1949. "The agreement was scheduled to come into effect on 31 March 1949. It had originally been scheduled for 1 April, the beginning of the Canadian fiscal year, but was changed to avoid holding the anniversary of confederation on April Fool's Day."⁷⁰

A considerable body of material, of varying quality, has been produced dealing with the 1946-1949, National Convention to Confederation period.⁷¹ Only in recent years, however, have the facts behind the public statements begun to emerge. In 1971 scholars had to be content that "until the public records in both London and Ottawa are opened, the nature of the correspondence between the two capitals on the question of Newfoundland's future must remain a subject for conjecture."⁷² The information which has come to light in the intervening years has removed the need for conjecture on this and several other points. What is important to keep in mind in retrospect, however, is that—for the purposes of the present study especially—conjectures, perceptions, feelings, and attitudes are equally as important as documented historical facts. Those who recall 1 April 1949 remember that: "Even the sky was Canadian now. And this ground I stood upon, this brown slope at the edge of the woods, this was Canada. Yesterday I had stood on this very spot and I was only in Newfoundland. Today I was in Canada."⁷³

*In retrospect it is also important to recall "that Newfoundland was a country before it became a province and that therefore its history is more than a mere record of those events . . . which led to Confederation."*⁷⁴ Indeed in the imaginative responses to the "mere record of those events" leading up to and following Confederation is to be found another history altogether, a history whose truth is more dependent, in the final analysis, on word than on event.

THE LITERATURE TO 1920

Commentaries on the literary history of Newfoundland are usually predicated on one or the other of two extreme, and diametrically opposed, approaches to the subject. The more optimistic approach begins with the accounts of the earliest European visitors, proceeds through an assessment of the considerable body of documentary and descriptive material written about Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders over the centuries, highlights the works of imaginative literature written by the earliest native-born writers, and concludes with an examination of what has been termed the "Newfoundland Renaissance" of the 1970s, and its aftermath.⁷⁵ The opposite approach is considerably more simple and decidedly less flattering; it takes the position that any reference to a Newfoundland literary history is a contradiction in terms. Ellsworth Huntington, the American geographer and environmental determinist, advanced this view in the course of a wide-ranging comparison between Iceland and Newfoundland in 1945, a comparison in which, on every count, Newfoundland fell short. On literature and literary output he stated:

No official list of writings in Newfoundland is available, but three hundred books and articles in comparison with Iceland's three thousand is somewhere near the truth. The literary output is almost negligible. Until recently, more than a quarter of a million Newfoundlanders had only a single public library. In Iceland, the capital alone has long had four. There are also four main regional libraries and scores of local ones, some of which are centuries old. In the past the contrast has been as great as the present. Newfoundland has practically no literature of its own. Iceland's superb early literature was merely a prelude to high literary achievement from that day to this.⁷⁶

Similarly, in a more recent comparison between the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, Fred Cogswell states that, while the development of literature in the former "followed a coherent pattern," in Newfoundland it was "tragically different." Here, "as a result of exploitation and neglect," the settlers "sank into illiteracy and barbarism." He notes, in passing, that "two striking effects" of this situation were that the people were compelled "to preserve and add to the vigorous popular ballad tradition which they had brought with them from the British Isles," and that in Newfoundland the English language "proliferated into new vocabulary and phraseology extremely interesting to the linguist,"⁷⁷ but he does not relate these phenomena to his comments on the Island's literature.

This has been the basic fault with too many such assessments. It is not because scholars "have failed to read the important printed sources; it is because they have confined themselves exclusively to those printed sources."⁷⁸ This is an example of the "literacy thesis" discussed above (pp. 20-21) applied to the Newfoundland context. Few modern studies on the effect of literacy are free of the qualitative bias which links literacy to specific notions of development and progress and the attendant connotations of civilized, modern, and advanced—as opposed to savage, traditional, and primitive—which are so often associated with these notions. Cipolla points out, for example, that "it is not easy to analyse in detail the motivations that prompt a society to train its members adequately [in literacy], but it is easy to prove that failure to do so is always a sinister omen of impending disaster for a country."⁷⁹ Alexander, in his study

of literacy in Newfoundland, considers that the illiteracy rate of 32 percent in 1891 must have meant that "its people were massively disadvantaged," but he highlights the difficulties associated with too easy generalizations by concluding that "it cannot be shown that higher levels of literacy and education would have made Newfoundlanders more productive fishermen, loggers, and miners than they were." He is also careful to point out that questions of literacy must be considered in relation to "a much wider issue of intellectual history, about which we know almost nothing for Newfoundland."⁸⁰ It has been suggested that a higher literacy rate would have enabled more Newfoundlanders to move beyond the fishing boat, the logging camp, and the mine, and the argument might well be extended to suggest that since literacy is "an increasingly essential tool in the modern world for fashioning a better personal and national life,"⁸¹ that the lot of Newfoundlanders would have improved accordingly. The finer points of this qualitatively loaded issue are beyond the scope of the present study, but what can be argued is that the rich verbal tradition must be seen as an integral part of the intellectual history of the place, not as some sort of insular aberration, and as the natural antecedent to the development of an indigenous written literature. Indeed, the products of the verbal tradition are every bit as important to an assessment of the quality of life as lived in Newfoundland as are the works of imaginative literature which have been produced. This is a point which imaginative writers seem to have accepted almost instinctively, but which critics and commentators have chosen to denigrate or ignore. It is necessary, therefore, before turning to the literature of the period with which the present study is

concerned—the period since the publication of E. J. Prall's *Newfoundland Verse* in 1923—to examine briefly the literary history of Newfoundland with a view to suggesting a direction for a redress of this imbalance. In the process it is important to be mindful of Goody's caution: "We have to be careful not to set up oral [read verbal] cultures as a more satisfying version of our own, corrupted civilization, and on the other hand not to see that civilization, the culture of cities, a written culture, as the cure for all barbarisms."⁸²

It is an easy task to dismiss Newfoundland's contributions to the world's literature if these contributions are judged on the basis of comparisons with the Eddic, the Skaldic and similar traditions. Perhaps, had the colonizers of the Vinland sagas maintained a permanent foothold at L'Anse aux Meadows, their adventures might well have amounted to more than "one of the more fascinating footnotes to the long history of the western world,"⁸³ and bestowed on Newfoundland's literary history a considerable antiquity. As events unfolded, however, there was no known literary activity taking place in Newfoundland when Snorri Sturluson compiled the *Prose Edda* around the year 1220; another four centuries would have to elapse before the opportunity for such activity would present itself. Furthermore, had Newfoundland produced a Sturluson early on in its history more of the verbal tradition of which Cogswell speaks might have been recorded and preserved; this, however, was not to be. Newfoundland, unlike Iceland and other countries of the Old World, did not produce saga or an oral epic tradition which eventually found its way into print; neither did the written tradition in Newfoundland

develop apace with the other areas of the New World. The customary overview has, in consequence, largely ignored or dismissed as irrelevant the verbal tradition, and reduced the written tradition to an undeserved sparseness.

The beginning of imaginative written literature in Newfoundland is usually traced to two fantastic works published in the early seventeenth century: William Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece* (1626), and Robert Hayman's *Quodlibets* (1628). The former is an extravagantly written prose work, and the latter is a collection of poems, somewhat aptly described by its author in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" as "these few bad unripe Rimes of mine."⁸⁴ Both include pleas for the colonization of the Island and spare no metaphor in extolling the advantages to be derived from such schemes. Hayman wrote his poems while he was governor of Bristol's Hope in Conception Bay, probably in 1618, which gives the work the distinction of being "the first book of English poetry to be written in what is now Canada."⁸⁵ There is no firm evidence to suggest that Vaughan ever visited Newfoundland, even though, in a dedicatory poem of his which appears in Hayman's book, he refers to Hayman as his "deare Friend and Fellow-Planter."⁸⁶ It appears he was content, despite the fact that he "saw that God had reserved the *Newfound-land* for us *Britaines*, as the next land beyond *Ireland*,"⁸⁷ to remain at home and encourage his countrymen in the setting up of colonies.⁸⁸

The failure of Bristol's Hope and the other early colonies, and the nature of the early migratory fishery, meant that life in Newfoundland remained transient, and the society lacked the sense of settled permanence conducive to the production of a written

literature. "To look, therefore, for [a written] Newfoundland literature in the period between 1660-1800 is a melancholy task."⁸⁹ Indeed, much of what survives was written by transients, such as the Irishmen Butler Lacy and Donnachadh Ruadh MacConmara (variously spelled).⁹⁰ Lacy, an Anglo-Irishman, visited Newfoundland in 1729 as chaplain of the *Kinsale*. He was not overly impressed with the place and referred to it as a "worthless Isle" which "lies from the *British* shore / North-west six hundred forty leagues and more."⁹¹ All that he saw and experienced in the course of his visit he described with a mixture of sarcasm and satire. On the other hand, MacConmara, a Gael who wrote in his native tongue as well as in English, and who may have spent as much as a decade in Newfoundland (1745-1755), appears to have enjoyed his visit, much of which he spent "by being freakish, / Drinking, raking and playing cards." He declared: "Newfoundland is a fine plantation," and resolved: "It shall be my station till I die."⁹² He returned, however, to his native Ireland and established there a reputation as a distinguished poet, but retained as well his reputation as a rogue until his death near Kilmacthomas in 1810. Neither of these collections can be claimed as Newfoundland literature in the fullest sense. While Lacy's poems may have been composed in Newfoundland, only the first, and longest, in the collection deals with his experiences here. MacConmara may have written two other poems while he was in Newfoundland in addition to the one cited, "As I Was Walking One Evening Fair," but only one of the two relates to Newfoundland directly.

Many of the writings dealing with Newfoundland in the eighteenth century came from the pens of missionaries. These are valuable not so much for their literary merit as for the information they provide on life as it was lived in various communities on the Island—mainly those of the northeast coast—at that time. These accounts, however, must be read cautiously. They tend to describe the place and the people, *vis-à-vis* the role of the missionary, in extreme and unaccommodating terms. For example, James Balfour, reporting to his superiors a month after his arrival in Trinity in 1764, states: "To be sure nothing can be more laudable, than to instruct the ignorant, more especially the poor creatures here: who are in a manner in an original state of nature, or if you please, little better than savages." By 1768 he concluded that he was "settled at present in the most uncomfortable mission, that can be."⁹³ Others were rather more tolerant, although few of the accounts written by missionaries are free of the sectarian bigotry and class consciousness which were the inevitable legacy of Newfoundland immigrant origins, and most of them fail to overcome "the difficulty of accommodating settled attitudes and expressive modes from a stable, imperial culture to the realities of life in a new and unfamiliar physical circumstance where society was rough and transient."⁹⁴ Newfoundland society and culture tended to be described in terms of what it was not rather than in terms of what it was. These attitudes lingered well beyond the eighteenth century and are still discernible in many writings of more recent vintage.

Laurence Coughlan, an Irish Roman Catholic who converted to Wesleyan Methodism, became the first Methodist preacher in Newfoundland, working in Harbour

Grace between 1767 and 1773. His account consists mainly of pious commentaries on the missionary's work and letters received from followers and converts, but it also contains perceptive comments, touched with compassion and slight good humour, on the place and the people.⁹⁵ William Thoresby, who carried on Coughlan's work in Conception Bay after the people rejected Balfour as a replacement, echoed many of the same sentiments.⁹⁶ Coughlan drew an interesting distinction between the local residents and "the Europeans, who came annually to fish," and who, by bad example, taught the former to engage in "drinking, and dancing and gaming." He concluded, however, as the result of the speed with which a church was built for his use with the aid of only the most rudimentary tools, that his charges were "people of a very bright genius."⁹⁷ Thoresby noted that, despite hardship, poverty, and the presence of the ungodly, "wherever I go I meet with kind friends [who] endeavour to make me as comfortable as the nature of things will allow."⁹⁸ Both remarked on the severity of the Newfoundland winter and the fact that many of the houses were ill-equipped to withstand its rigors, as evidenced by their waking on winter mornings to find their bedclothes dusted with a covering of snow.⁹⁹ Thoresby may have echoed the sentiments of many a worker in the Newfoundland vineyard when he declared on his return home: "I thanked God in my heart when I set my foot on English ground."¹⁰⁰ The problem with these and other such accounts is that the real life of the people remains in the background and is glimpsed only dimly through the screen of piety and the highlighting of the divine imperative which is the missionary's primary concern.

Two exceptions to the accounts of missionaries were the journals of James Yonge and George Cartwright. Yonge was a ship's surgeon from Plymouth who made four trips to Newfoundland between 1663 and 1670. He kept copious and detailed notes on these and his other journeys. In 1667, while he was a prisoner of the Dutch in Rotterdam, he began to compile a journal from these notes; the complete text, however, was not published until 1963. His detailed accounts of the methods and procedures necessary to prosecute the fishery provide invaluable insights into the realities of the lives of the ordinary fisherfolk of the period.¹⁰¹ Cartwright was a captain in the British Army who first came to Newfoundland in 1766. By 1775 he had established a trading post in Labrador, and during the course of his time there he kept a detailed record of his observations and experiences. He also published a poetic tribute to his "lov'd Labrador" which describes the yearly round there, presented with the naturalist's eye for detail combined with the outdoorsman's love of sport.¹⁰² These works are refreshing for their realism and concern for the ordinary, and provide a welcome contrast to the turgid moralizations of the missionaries and the romantic flights of fancy penned by the promoters of utopian colonization schemes.

Reference has already been made to the political writings of William Carson and Patrick Morris early in the nineteenth century, and to the comments of visitors to the Island, such as Jukes, Mullaly, and Kennedy. Indeed, it is difficult to comment on the literary history of Newfoundland in the nineteenth century apart from political and economic questions, because so much of what was written was directly related to, and

motivated by, the struggles which marked the Island's political, economic, and social coming of age—struggles which were made all the more difficult by sectarian, racial, and colonial vs. nativist issues.¹⁰³ Visitors to the Island, whether they stayed for extended periods of time or formed their impressions in the course of fleeting visits, continued and continue to have an impact on its literature in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although politics and travel provided the foci for much of what was written, there were other developments in the nineteenth century which resulted in the rise of a definable literary culture in Newfoundland. Three developments in particular can be highlighted as having been instrumental, in different ways, for this. First, there was a marked increase in journalism on the Island; second, the last half of the century, especially, witnessed the production of a considerable body of periodical literature; and third, the emphasis shifted somewhat from visitors to native-born writers. Unfortunately, neither the history of journalism nor the corpus of periodical literature has been systematically studied to date, but sufficient evidence exists to challenge the depiction of universal "illiteracy and barbarism" in Newfoundland.¹⁰⁴ In this regard, the situation in Newfoundland may not have been as unique or as unusual as it is usually portrayed. A recent study of popular literature in Victorian Scotland concludes: "In the second half of the nineteenth century Scotland experienced a communications revolution which led to the creation of a new popular press owned, written and distributed within the country. The new press became the main vehicle of popular culture during the period and the major locus of the imaginative life of the nation."¹⁰⁵ Indications are, suggested by the

scholarship which is currently available, that more complete investigations will lead to similar conclusions for Newfoundland.

Several other trappings of settled permanence began to appear early in the nineteenth century, and various cultural institutions continued to appear throughout the century. The first grammar school, with Lewis Anspach as headmaster, was established in 1799. A post office was opened in 1805. In 1807 a group of actors applied for permission to open a theatre, and in August of that year John Ryan's *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser*, the Island's first newspaper, appeared. Seven years later the *Newfoundland Mercantile Journal* began publication. The Newfoundland School Society and the St. John's Library Society were both founded in 1823. A Mechanics' Society was founded in 1827 and a Mechanics' Institute appeared in 1849; both had similar objectives and aims and the apparent duplication appears to be traceable to questions of religious denomination. Moses Harvey launched his Young Men's Literary and Scientific Institute in 1858. The St. John's Athenaeum, which absorbed the Library Society, the Mechanics' Institute, and the Young Men's Institute, was founded in 1861. Its aims were "the cultivation and diffusion of knowledge by the establishment and maintenance of a Library and Reading Room, providing for the delivery of popular lectures on Literary and Scientific subjects, organizing Classes for the instruction of young men, the collection of Books of reference of Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus, and of a Museum of Natural History, Models, Drafts, Specimens etc."¹⁰⁶ These developments must be assessed in perspective, however. They are hardly indicative of an Island-wide

phenomenon, since most such organizations as those just noted operated almost exclusively in St. John's. Furthermore, a closer look reveals that many of the same individuals were involved in several of them, so it would be a mistake to imagine that their activities touched a wide spectrum of the population at large. Nevertheless, they did provide a focus for the intellectual activities of a segment of the educated middle class.

On the other hand, the lives of the ordinary folk were perhaps more affected by the litany of calamities which marks nineteenth-century Newfoundland history. The peace which followed the war of 1812 between England and America played havoc with Newfoundland's fish markets and caused much hardship in the smaller fishing communities. Three major fires occurred in St. John's in the second decade of the century: 1816, 1817, and 1819. Rowe summarizes this period as follows:

The price of fish fell by one half, and went still lower. Merchants who had contracted with suppliers and labourers when prices were highest found themselves saddled with obligations they could not discharge. Firm after firm went bankrupt; those that remained had little credit. Soon there was a shortage of food so serious that people began to starve. Thousands of Irish immigrants who had arrived during the good years now found themselves without work and without resources. But the suffering was only beginning. In the winter of 1816 a serious fire destroyed part of the overcrowded city. In the fall of 1817 there were two more fires, which burnt three hundred houses and left more than two thousand people homeless. The coldest winter ever known in Newfoundland was setting in; the seal fishery in 1817 was the smallest recorded in the entire century. The food shortage was severe; in the absence of help from outside Newfoundland, [principally from Boston and Nova Scotia] the bulk of the population would have died. The horrors of cold, hunger and fire were aggravated by the hundreds of starving men in St. John's and other towns, who were looting and pillaging at will.¹⁰⁷

This, one of the lowest points in the history of the Island, became known as "The Winter of the Rals," and total anarchy appears to have been prevented only by the administrative ability, coolheadedness, and humanity of the naval commander, Captain David Buchan, who managed the Island in the absence of Governor Keats.¹⁰⁸ But there were other disasters in the offing. Harbour Grace was visited by a major fire in 1832; in 1854 there was a major outbreak of cholera in St. John's. The fishery failed again in 1852 and 1869. From 1832, the year that Representative Government was granted, until 1894, when nine petitions against seventeen members of Whiteway's party were filed under the Election Act, political life in the colony was in a constant state of flux. Finally, in 1892, St. John's was almost totally destroyed in what has come to be called the Great Fire. Against this background it is not so much surprising that literary and cultural activities were minimal as it is incredible that any such activity occurred at all. These events also account for the fact that much of what was written was of a practical, topical, even mundane nature.

William Epps Cormack, Robert John Parsons, and William Charles St. John made significant contributions to Newfoundland writing in the early nineteenth century, but Philip Tocque is usually proposed as the first Newfoundland-born person to have established a reputation as an author. Cormack, who was born in St. John's in 1796, moved to Scotland as a young boy, but returned to Newfoundland around 1822 determined to make contact with the remaining Beothuck Indians. His journey across the Island in that year did not result in contact with the Newfoundland aborigines, but he did

find considerable artifactual evidence of their way of life. His account of the journey provided the first topographical description of the interior of the Island and a valuable source of information on the flora and fauna. It remains, according to the editor of the Centenary Issue, "one of the classics of the literature of Newfoundland."¹⁰⁹ Cormack continued to be fascinated by the Beothucks and founded the Beothuck Institution in 1827. Ironically, the last known Beothuck (Shawnadithit) died two years later, and the Institution ceased its activities. Shortly thereafter Cormack left Newfoundland, never to return. He died in British Columbia in 1868.

Parsons, born in Harbour Grace around 1802, divided his time equally between journalism and politics, although it is difficult to separate the two in his case. He was a founding member of the *Newfoundland Patriot* and became its sole proprietor and editor after 1840. He was in the forefront of the Newfoundland Natives' Society, and served as an MHA from 1843 to 1878. His writing in the *Patriot* in defense of his political philosophy and nativist issues took Newfoundland political rhetoric to new heights.¹¹⁰

The activities of the organizations and societies noted above were limited mainly to St. John's, but there were exceptions. John Elson of Exmouth, the manager of Slade, Elson and Co. in Carbonear, established a book club, a debating society, and a lending library in that community. William Charles St. John, the English naturalist Philip Henry Gosse, and Philip Tocque all began their careers as clerks with the firm and became members of Elson's intellectual circle. St. John was born in Harbour Grace in 1806.

After his tenure with the Elson firm he spent some time as a teacher. Out of this experience came his history of Newfoundland for young people in the "catechetical form" (1835), to the revised edition of which he added a speculative chapter on the Norse discovery of America. He edited the Conception Bay *Weekly Herald* from 1845 to 1854, in which year he emigrated to Boston, thereby becoming one of the nearly three thousand middle-class Newfoundlanders who left the Island for Massachusetts between 1840 and 1860.¹¹¹ He published a volume of poetry there in 1859. Gosse, in his "Anecdotes and Reminiscences" of his years in Newfoundland (1827-1835), gives us an intimate portrait of St. John and outlines in considerable detail the workaday world and the cultural milieu they shared.¹¹²

Tocque, a native of Carbonear, clerked at the Slade, Elson firm as well. Surprisingly, Gosse mentions him only once and the reference is to their attending religious services together and not to any literary or cultural interests they may have had in common. Tocque's first book, *Wandering Thoughts*, was begun between 1842 and 1844, during which time he also operated a peddler's shop at Elliston. It is, like his other books, an eclectic collection of essays; it deals with natural history, Newfoundland history, and personal experiences, all aimed at the young, especially "those classes whose means of information are somewhat limited, viz. the young fisherman and mechanic." Tocque also taught school, at St. Phillips, and spent 1845 as a clerk of the peace in Harbour Breton. His letters to the St. John's papers during that year give us valuable insights into the hardships of life on the remote southwest coast of the Island. In 1849

he emigrated, like St. John, to Boston where he began theological studies. In 1854 he returned to Canada and was ordained to the Anglican priesthood. He spent the remainder of his life at various parishes in Eastern Canada, although he did return to Newfoundland on several occasions. Tocque published ten separate titles on a variety of topics and published numerous articles in periodicals and newspapers. His first public lecture was delivered before the Natives' Society in Carbonear in 1845 and his concern with nativist issues was a persistent theme in many of his writings.¹¹³

Another clergyman, Robert Lowell of Boston, the brother of James Russell Lowell, published *The New Priest in Conception Bay* in 1858. This novel, based on Lowell's experiences as a missionary in Bay Roberts from 1843 to 1847, is usually described as the first fully novelistic treatment of life in Newfoundland. The novel is marred by the same religious bigotry noted above, but it is accurate, for the most part, in its portrayal of character—although some of the characters are contrived and rather farfetched—and in its handling of the dialect of ordinary Newfoundlanders. The novel also exhibits Lowell's comprehension of the hardships, dangers and drama associated with making a living from the sea.¹¹⁴ Other writers who followed Lowell were drawn to write of life in Newfoundland and to see in it something more than the mundane. Among the local writers who produced fictional works of note were Moses Harvey, George Bond, W. B. Stabb. Harvey, born in Armagh, emigrated to Newfoundland in 1852 and became the minister of St. Andrew's Free Presbyterian Church in St. John's. From that time until his death in 1901 he established a reputation as one of

Newfoundland's most prolific writers, producing works which ranged from commentaries on the giant squid to scriptural exegesis. Of particular interest here are his short stories, which, while they are rudimentary examples of the genre, are accurate and realistic treatments of character, situation and setting, and his semi-fictionalized accounts of historical events.¹¹⁵ Bond, born at St. John's, was the older brother of politician and Prime Minister (1900-1908) Robert Bond, and a Methodist minister. In addition to a number of articles on missionary work, he wrote two short stories and a novella which deal with religious themes, and which capture the flavour of Newfoundland speech and present authentic, memorable characters.¹¹⁶ Stabb, who wrote under the pen name "T. U.," is generally considered to be the first native-born Newfoundland writer to write a novel, but his rendering of character and dialect is artificial and the plots of his novels lack substance.¹¹⁷ Newfoundland also provided the setting for a range of adventure and juvenile literature of the period written by such foreign authors as R. M. Ballantyne of Scotland, Rudyard Kipling, T. G. Roberts of New Brunswick, and J. B. Connolly of Boston.¹¹⁸ One work which stands apart from these is a collection of stories by the Canadian journalist Norman Duncan, a collection which sprang from direct observation of the daily lives of people in the smaller fishing communities. Duncan writes of life on the Newfoundland coast with a mixture of awe and insight which, despite a leaning toward sentimentality and a flair for the melodramatic, captures the reality of the "grey, solemn waste-place: a land of artificial graveyards."¹¹⁹

Despite the calamities noted above, and others both natural and manmade, a sense of guarded optimism prevailed as Newfoundland moved toward the twentieth century. Various schemes were promoted to diversify the economy: increased involvement in agriculture was encouraged; several mining ventures were started; and a trans-island railway, with various branch lines, was completed by 1897. All of these undertakings, however, were subject to political expediency and flights of fancy and were seldom in tune with the realities of Newfoundland's traditional economy.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, "the period 1875-1915 was possibly the most fertile in the colony's literary history until the 1960s, although, as in earlier decades, the bulk of the writing was descriptive and topical rather than imaginative."¹²¹ Several works already noted, such as Prowse's history and Howley's book on the Beothucks, fall within this period. Both Prowse and Howley published other important works, and two of Howley's brothers, Michael F. and Richard V., both clergymen, also contributed to local letters.¹²² Three local periodicals were founded—*Century Magazine* (1896), *Newfoundland Magazine* (1900), and *The Newfoundland Quarterly* (1901), but only the last continues to be published. The journalist P. T. McGrath, second only to Harvey as a propagandist, continued to advertise Newfoundland's "attractions as a sporting and health resort," and claimed in 1911 that "it is doubtful if any possession of the British Empire has made more real progress, comparatively, the last decade than has Newfoundland."¹²³ Foreign writers as well wrote about the sporting potential and the rugged beauty of the Island.¹²⁴ Of more particular interest here, however, is the fact that a recognition of the verbal culture

began to emerge at this time, and the trumpeting of progress, or booming Newfoundland, which characterized the work of several writers during the period, appears to have caused others to pause and reflect on the past—an early manifestation of the nostalgic strain which finds expression in so much of more recent Newfoundland writing. An example is P. K. Devine's *In the Good Old Days!*, which has only recently been published but which originally appeared as a series of articles in 1915.¹²⁵

George Patterson's ground-breaking articles on Newfoundland language and folklore appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore* between 1895 and 1897.¹²⁶ At about the same time James Murphy, who was later to become the collaborator of the indefatigable Johnny Burke, was compiling what was to become the first published collection of Newfoundland folksongs.¹²⁷ The original compositions of Burke and Murphy came towards the end of what has been called "the golden age of . . . the St. John's ballads and composed songs . . . the decades between 1850 and 1914."¹²⁸ It is now clear, however, that singing and song-making were not activities which were confined to St. John's, but were very much a part of the life of the outports as well.¹²⁹ Indeed, in the poetry of Donnachadh Ruadh MacConmara, as opposed to the detached, "observer poetry" of Butler Lacy and others, can be found the beginning of "the vernacular tradition in which countless poets wrote from the eighteenth century forward to the present century in Newfoundland."¹³⁰ Countless other poets did not *write* at all, of course, but made poems, songs, and recitations which commented on local people and events and served both as news service and historical record. These poets, song-makers,

and other men and women of words "will never gain an entry in a dictionary of national biography [or literary history] because the details of their lives (and sometimes even their names) have long been forgotten, and [their] work has become part of a folk poetry in which it is now almost inextricably bound up with the anonymous inheritance of traditional ballad and song."¹³¹ It is to this anonymous inheritance that many Newfoundland writers turn when searching for a voice to articulate genuine character, an authentic sense of place, and the articles of worldview.

We are not surprised, therefore, when the erudite Bishop Howley, in his eclectic collection comprised of sonnets, translations, an operetta, and other fare, includes a song in the folk idiom about the "Dear Old South-Side Hill."¹³² The last verse and chorus illustrate the point:

I've seen the hills that proudly stand
 And stretch from shore to shore,
 In many a bright and favoured land
 Far-famed in song and lore;
 But oh, there's none so dear as thou,
 Old, shaggy, South-Side Hill,
 Thy iron front and beetling brow
 My soul with rapture fill.

Oh, dear old South-Side Hill,
 Old, rugged, scraggy hill,
 I look with pride on thy sun-brown side,
 Oh, dear old South-Side Hill.

Even E. J. Pratt, at a time when he was writing in a Hardy-esque manner, could submit the following lines to *The Canadian Forum* in 1924:

The sea was as grey as a wild goose wing,

And the wind like the sea was grey,
When the bell at the Cape was heard to ring
At the fog-blown hour of the dusk of the day.
A wave was seen to rise in a shroud,
A token had passed by the window in white,
A voice in her room had called aloud,
A robin had pecked at the fan-light. . . .¹³³

It is significant that he did not retrieve the poem for later book publication. Unlike Pratt, however, who found meatier themes to pursue in Upper Canadian and supernatural mythologies and a new voice in which to express them, later Newfoundland writers, in the aftermath of the transitions which marked the next three decades, would find it more appropriate to return for their themes to the verbal wellsprings of poetry, song, and story which had for centuries sustained life and community on the Island.

Notes

¹Abrahams, "Folklore and Literature as Performance," pp. 76-77.

²S. J. R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 11. This is an excellent survey of twentieth-century Newfoundland politics; I am much indebted to it in this section. On the earlier political history of Newfoundland, see: Alexander H. McLintock, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1941); Gertrude E. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland, 1832-1846* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1966); and James Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1971. A convenient statistical breakdown of the thirty-eight general elections held in Newfoundland between the granting of Representative Government in 1832 and the election of 18 June 1979, as well as the same for Newfoundland's participation in Canadian federal elections between 27 June 1949 and 19 February 1980, is provided in "Elections," *ENL*, I (1981), 679-749. See also "Government," *ENL*, II (1984), 580-660.

³For an excellent survey of these two issues, see Peter Neary, "The French and American Shore Questions as Factors in Newfoundland History," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 95-122. See also: A. M. Fraser, "The French Shore," and "Fisheries Negotiations with the United States," in *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies*, ed. R. A. MacKay (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 275-332 and 333-410, respectively; Frederic F. Thompson, *The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland: An Imperial Study* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1961); and, Peter F. Neary and Sidney J. R. Noel, "Newfoundland's Quest for Reciprocity, 1890-1910," in *Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1867-1967*, ed. Mason Wade (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 210-226.

These two issues shed light on a much broader area of international relations which had a direct bearing on Newfoundland's history. The Island's proximity to the Grand Banks determined its fate in diplomatic as well as in economic terms, although it seldom had direct control over its own affairs at the diplomatic level. During the early years of settlement it was merely a pawn in the power struggle between England and France; once France dropped out of the picture and government of sorts was established on the Island it still found itself dependent on, and at the mercy of, the shaping forces in the North Atlantic Triangle—Britain, the United States, and Canada. Newfoundland invariably found that, despite its recurrent attempts to assert its independence and secure a measure of self-determination, whenever its demands or aspirations were at variance with the desires of these major powers it was relegated to the position of the poor, persistent relative who could be unscrupulously manipulated at will, seldom accommodated, but never totally ignored. This situation is clearly demonstrated by the

negotiations surrounding the French and American fishing rights, but it is the machinations behind the confederation option which illustrates it most forcefully; from the 1860s to 1940s the prospect of political union with Canada was a perennial issue which was never far below the surface of the Island's internal politics, and was alternately revived as threat or promise, stick or carrot, in its dealings with Britain and Canada. On these points see: John Bartlett Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); A. M. Fraser, "Relations with Canada," in *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies*, ed. R. A. MacKay (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 411-483; H. B. Mayo, "Newfoundland and Confederation in the Eighteen-Sixties," G. F. G. Staley, "Sir Stephen Hill's Observations on the Election of 1869 in Newfoundland," and "Further Documents Relating to the Union of Newfoundland and Canada, 1886-1895," *Canadian Historical Review*, 29 (1948), 125-142, 278-285, 370-386, respectively; Harvey Mitchell, "Canada's Negotiations with Newfoundland, 1887-1895," *Canadian Historical Review*, 40 (1959), 277-293; and, James Hiller, "Confederation Defeated: The Newfoundland Election of 1869," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 67-94.

⁴Neary, "The French and American Shore," p. 105.

⁵Neary, "The French and American Shore," p. 105. For brief biographical sketches of the prime ministers and premiers see Michael Harrington, *Prime Ministers of Newfoundland* (1962; rev. ed., St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1991).

⁶The railway had been hailed by its supporters as the panacea for all of Newfoundland's economic problems, but it was the first in a long line of dubious financial arrangements which would eventually bring the colony to its knees. The original contractor went bankrupt in 1884, shortly after the line from St. John's to Harbour Grace was completed. The second contract, negotiated between the government of William Whiteway and Montreal financier Robert G. Reid, contained so many concessions that one commentator declared that "although all men agreed that the essence of the contract was to convert the State into a Man, they differed as to whether the Man should be looked on as an incarnate Atlas or Leviathan" (Rogers, *Newfoundland*, p. 178). Even when the contract was renegotiated in 1901 by the government of Robert Bond "it cost the colony some \$2.5 million to repurchase assets which, in the opinion of the vast majority of its citizens, should never have been surrendered in the first place" (Noel, *Politics*, p. 34). The Reid Company continued to operate the railway until 1923 when it sold it back to the Squires government for another \$2 million, although it retained many of its original land concessions. See, in addition to Noel, *Politics*, pp. 26-35: Anonymous, "The Newfoundland Railway," *BN*, II (1937), 406-415; Frank Cramm, "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway, 1894-1898," Unpublished M.A.

Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961; Alfred C. Penney, "The Newfoundland Railway: Newfoundland Epic," *BN*, III (1967), 473-502; and, James Hiller, "The Railway and Local Politics in Newfoundland, 1870-1901," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 123-147. See also A. B. Morine, *The Railway Contract, 1898, and Afterwards* (St. John's: Robinson and Co., 1933). This work provides considerable information, but it must be read cautiously since Morine was on retainer as Reid's solicitor at the same time as he was negotiating the contract as Newfoundland's Minister of Finance.

⁷Noel, *Politics*, 5p. 17-18. See also: D. W. Prowse, "Local Government in Newfoundland," *University of Toronto Studies, History and Government*, 2 (1907), 271-278; H. B. Mayo, "Municipal Government in Newfoundland," *Public Affairs*, 4:3 (1941), 136-139; and, J. C. Crosbie, "Local Government in Newfoundland," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 22 (1956), 332-346. See also *ENL*, II (1984), 644-661. Typically, the treatment of "local government" here is devoted mainly to St. John's, but there are brief comments on the remainder of the Province and an alphabetical listing of incorporated municipalities is included.

⁸Divisions based on social class and religious affiliation which initially resulted from the accidents of early settlement patterns became the bane of Newfoundland's existence because they were enshrined in its political, economic, and educational institutions as a structured society took shape on the Island. "Inevitably, the nature of that society was largely determined by the cultural norms and patterns of social organization and behaviour of the two founding groups, the Irish and the English. Their cultural backgrounds in large measure shaped their responses to their new environment—and to each other. The latter is particularly significant. For the Irish brought with them a national heritage of poverty, Roman Catholicism, and hatred of their English oppressors; while the English brought with them from the west country a heritage of puritanical Protestantism, social deference, and semi-feudal economic relationships. Thus the constituent elements of the new community from the very beginning contained in their respective traditions and memories from the old world the seeds of social conflict in the new" (Noel, *Politics*, pp. 4-5). A detailed examination of this aspect of Newfoundland society and culture is beyond the scope of the present study, but it is necessary to be mindful of the fact that this legacy of sectarian and class tensions is an integral part of the backdrop against which all aspects of life on the Island must be examined. See: G. O. Rothney, "The Denominational Basis of Representation in the Newfoundland Assembly, 1919-1962," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 4 (1962), 557-570; John P. Greene, "The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970; John Williams, "Religion in Newfoundland: The Churches and Social Ethics," in *Religion and Culture in Canada/Religion et Culture au Canada*, ed. Peter Slater

(Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1977), pp. 95-116; Mary E. Zamparo, "The Economic Elite of Newfoundland," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1977; Mark W. Graesser, "Partisanship, Social Structure, and Political Culture in Newfoundland," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1981; Rex Clark, "Romancing the Harlequins: A Note on Class Struggle in the Newfoundland Village," and Frederick Johnstone, "Bones and Bare Cupboards: Dependency, Class and Crisis in the 'New Newfoundland,'" in *Contrary Winds: Essays on Newfoundland Society in Crisis*, ed. Rex Clark (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1986), pp. 7-20 and 176-186, respectively; Ronald G. Penney, "The Constitutional Status of Denominational Education in Newfoundland," in *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age*, ed. William A. McKim (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1988), pp. 80-101; Phillip McCann, "Class, Gender and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836-1901," *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (1989), 179-200; and Mark W. Graesser, "Church, State, and Public Policy in Newfoundland: The Question of Denominational Education," A paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Victoria, 1990 [I want to thank Prof. Graesser for kindly providing me with a copy of this paper]. See also E. P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," *Journal of Social History*, 7 (1974), 382-405.

⁹Several major fires which occurred in St. John's and in other towns during this period are discussed below. In 1885 major storms on the Island and on the coast of Labrador accounted for the loss of eighty schooners. In 1892 twenty-four landsmen sealers in Trinity Bay were driven off from the land and lost; the sealing ship *Greenland* lost forty-eight members of its crew in 1898. See: Prowse, *A History* (1895), pp. 520-521; Wilfred Grenfell, "The Perils of the Frozen Sea: The Disaster to the *Greenland*," *Leisure Hour*, NS 23 (September 1898), 737-740; H. M. S. Cotter, "The Great Labrador Gale, 1885," *The Beaver*, 263 (1932), 81-84; Gerald Jones, "The 'Greenland' Disaster," *Atlantic Advocate*, 65:5 (1975), 47-49; Ryan and Small, eds., *Haulin' Rope and Gaff* (1978), pp. 46-58; "Labrador Gale of '85," *Them Days*, 11:1 (1985), 3-27; and, Frank Galgay and Michael McCarthy, *Shipwrecks of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1987), pp. 37-43.

In the halls of government disasters of another kind were unfolding. A constitutional crisis developed in 1889 when the defeated government of Robert Thorburn refused to resign. William Whiteway had come out of retirement to oppose Thorburn and the impasse was caused by little more than the usual squabble over who would dispense the spoils of office. It developed into a constitutional issue only as a result of the inept way it was handled by Governor Terence O'Brien, a military man who had only recently been appointed. It was a prime example of problems which continued to arise, according to Mitchell, "so long as injudicious men were appointed to positions of great responsibility"—a perennial problem in Newfoundland's case. See Harvey Mitchell,

"The Constitutional Crisis of 1889 in Newfoundland," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 24 (1958) 323-331.

A much more serious situation developed in 1894, when the two commercial banks in Newfoundland closed their doors and brought the Island to the brink of bankruptcy. The causes and consequences of this event are much too involved and far-reaching to be dealt with adequately here. It is important to note for present purposes, however, that the crash illustrated the weaknesses inherent in an economy dependent on a single commodity and demonstrated the fragile foundation upon which the economy rested—the truck credit system. The Commercial and Union banks had overextended their credit with foreign lenders; in turn the local merchants and exporters had overextended their credit with them; at the bottom of the structure were the fishermen who were overextended in their credit with the merchants. Any unforeseen demand could cause the whole web of credit to unravel. An often cited telegram to *The Times* on 14 December 1894, outlines the specific sequence of events: "The immediate cause of the financial crisis which has overwhelmed Newfoundland was the death of Mr. Hall, a partner in the firm of Messrs. Prowse, Hall & Morris, the London agents of the firms exporting fish to European markets. On his death the firm declined to meet further exchanges until an investigation of their affairs had been made. Their bills were protested, and the banks made demands on the Commercial Bank of St. John's, which was the drawer of the bills, and which, being unable to meet the demands made upon it, fell back upon its mercantile customers. These could not respond, and the bank had to suspend operations. The customers were compelled to make assignments, and nearly every business house in the colony was crippled, so interwoven are the affairs of one establishment with those of another." Events during the period were an ominous rehearsal for the situation which developed in the early 1930s. Newfoundland changed prime ministers three times during the crisis; it will be recalled that 1894 was the same year that petitions were filed against nine members of Whiteway's government under the Corrupt Practices Act. Newfoundland requested that the Imperial Government advance a loan and appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the financial affairs of the colony. When these efforts failed, a delegation was sent to Ottawa to explore the confederation option yet again. These negotiations failed as well because Canada was ill-disposed at the time to assume Newfoundland's public debt, which, both funded and floating, was computed at the time at \$15,829,834. Robert Bond, then Colonial Secretary, was eventually successful in obtaining the necessary loans in Montreal and London, although he had to pledge part of his personal resources as security in order to do so. See: James Murray, *The Commercial Crisis in Newfoundland: Cause, Consequence and Cure* (St. John's: Queen's Printer, 1895); A. R. Whiteway, "The Commercial Collapse of Newfoundland," *National Review*, 24 (February 1895), 823-827; and, "Bank Crash," *ENL*, I (1981), 120-123.

¹⁰Noel, *Politics*, p. 215. On Bond see: Edward B. Foran, "Battle of the Giants: Bond and Morris," *BN*, III (1967), 153-170; *ENL*, I (1981), 218-222; and, Geoff Budden, "The Power Behind the Throne: The Political Career of Robert Bond, 1882-1900," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1982.

¹¹Noel, *Politics*, p. 216.

¹²Despite the fact that its request for confederation during the financial crisis a few years before had been refused, British and Canadian officials, (specifically Lord Elgin, the British Colonial Secretary and Lord Grey, the Governor General of Canada) now determined "that Newfoundland might be less troublesome if less independent" (Noel, *Politics*, p. 41). On 16 August 1906, Grey wrote to Elgin suggesting that this might be accomplished "by persuading Sir E. Morris to break with Bond and to place himself at the head of the Confederationists. Morris is R. C., much liked and respected, and I believe at heart a confederationist. Whether he has the little bit of courage required to break with Bond, of whom he, and I believe all his colleagues are to some extent afraid, I know not, but that he has the power of knocking out Bond and winning the Island to confederation if Bond remains obdurate, I feel pretty certain" (as cited in Noel, *Politics*, p. 42).

¹³Noel, *Politics*, p. 216. Governor William MacGregor handled this constitutional debacle no better than Governor O'Brien had handled the one in 1889. The Bond and Morris parties were tied with eighteen seats apiece. MacGregor refused to grant Bond a dissolution and invited Morris to form a government. The Morris government was defeated on the day the House opened; not even a speaker could be elected. At this point MacGregor granted to Morris the dissolution he had refused Bond. See S. J. R. Noel, "Politics and the Crown: The Case of the 1908 Tie Election in Newfoundland," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 33 (1967), 285-291.

¹⁴On Coaker and the Union see: W. F. Coaker, ed., *The History of the Fishermen's Protective Union of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Union Publishing Co., 1920); W. F. Coaker, ed., *Twenty Years of the Fishermen's Protective Union of Newfoundland, from 1909-1929: Containing the Records of the Supreme Council since the Union's Inception, and Other Matter of Interest to Members of this Great Organization* (1930; St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1984); J. R. Smallwood, *Coaker of Newfoundland: The Man Who Led the Deep-Sea Fishermen to Political Power* (London: Labour Publishing Co., 1927); John Feltham, "The Development of the F.P.U. in Newfoundland (1908-1923)," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959; Ian D. H. McDonald, "To Each His Own": *William Coaker and the Fishermen's Protective Union in Newfoundland Politics, 1908-1925*, ed. James Hiller, Social and Economic Studies, No. 33 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1987); and, Robert H. Cuff, ed., *A Coaker Anthology* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1986).

¹⁵In addition to Coaker, there were three fishermen, a boat-builder, a tinsmith, a clerk, and a schoolmaster elected under the Union banner. For the first time in the history of Newfoundland politics the supremacy of the St. John's elite had been challenged.

¹⁶In retirement Bond attained a sort of Arthurian stature; whenever a crisis loomed rumours quickly circulated that Bond would return to the lead the country. On at least two occasions, in 1917 and 1924, considerable pressure was brought to bear on him by Coaker and others to return to active politics, but Bond remained steadfast in his resolve. For a reassessment of Bond and the "received wisdom" concerning his career, see: James Hiller, "The Political Career of Robert Bond," in *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary, Newfoundland History Series, No. 7 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1994), pp. 11-45. Hiller concludes that "Bond possessed real and acknowledged talents, genuine patriotism, and a clear vision of what his country might be. What he lacked was the detached objectivity that would have allowed him to see his country for what it was in the larger scheme of things, and act accordingly; and which would have caused him to avoid the curious 'fads' which gave such ammunition to his critics" (p. 38).

¹⁷Coaker and the Unionists dominated the first session of the House in the winter of 1914. They proposed legislation to regulate the fishing, logging, and sealing industries, and they introduced proposals for electoral and civil service reforms. In the end, however, little significant Union-sponsored legislation was passed. What did get approval in the House was usually changed so drastically by the appointed Legislative Council that it was rendered ineffective. As the war dragged on Coaker's own popularity was severely damaged among different groups both within and outside the Union, and for different reasons. His enthusiastic support of prohibition in 1915 confirmed the fear among Catholics that the F.P.U. was a Protestant Union. His reluctant support of conscription in 1918 alienated many of his most loyal supporters, because it appeared to many to be a political about-face on Coaker's part; ironically, hostilities had ceased before any of the conscripted men ever saw action in the field, but the damage to Coaker's reputation had been done.

¹⁸During the last week of March two major sealing tragedies occurred. The *Newfoundland* lost seventy-eight crew members, and the *Southern Cross* disappeared completely with a crew of one hundred and seventy-three. See: Alex A. Parsons, "The 'Newfoundland' Tragedy and the Loss of the 'Southern Cross,' with Passing Reference to Other Notable Sealing Disasters," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 14:1 (1914), 1-6; *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Sealing Disasters of 1914*. St. John's: Government of Newfoundland, 1915; Brown, with Horwood, *Death on the Ice* (1972); Ryan and Small, eds., *Haulin' Rope and Gaff* (1978), pp. 94-100; T. B. Rogers, "The Last Voyage of the *Southern Cross*," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 76:3 (1980), 21-30;

Malcolm MacLeod, "Disaster Documents 1914: The Official Canadian Response to Newfoundland's Sealing Tragedies," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 77:2-3 (1981), 11-12; T. B. Rogers, "'The Southern Cross': A Case Study in the Ballad as History," *Canadian Folk Music Journal*, 10 (1982), 12-22; and, Galgay and McCarthy, *Shipwrecks* (1987), pp. 45-50. For a study of "the extent to which the spring seal fishery was subject to hazards above and beyond those normally associated with the sea" from its beginnings in the 1790s to 1914, see: Shannon Ryan, "Newfoundland Spring Sealing Disasters to 1914," *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord*, 3:3 (1993), 15-48.

¹⁹G. W. L. Nicholson, *The Fighting Newfoundlander: A History of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment* (St. John's: The Government of Newfoundland, 1964), pp. 102-103.

²⁰Nicholson, p. 103. See also Patricia R. O'Brien, "The Newfoundland Patriotic Association: The Administration of the War Effort, 1914-1918," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982.

²¹Nicholson, pp. 113, 123, 423, 439, 492, 504.

²²This change in nomenclature was not as innocuous as it might appear. Even though Newfoundland appropriated the title, and was called such in the Statute of Westminster of 1931, it did not always act with the same degree of independence as the other self-governing Dominions. For example, it was not a separate signatory of the Paris Peace Treaty, and it never attained membership in the League of Nations. This resulted in complicated constitutional issues being raised when it surrendered self-government in 1934 (see note 55, chap. 3), and has, since 1949, bedeviled its relations with the Canadian federal government. See: K. C. Wheare, *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 4th. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1949); and, William C. Gilmore, *Newfoundland and Dominion Status: The External Affairs Competence and International Law Status of Newfoundland, 1855-1934* (Toronto: Carswell, 1988).

²³R. A. MacKay and S. A. Saunders, "The Economy of Newfoundland," in *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies*, ed. R. A. MacKay (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 65.

²⁴R. A. MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), Appendix A, Table 13.

²⁵MacKay and Saunders, "The Economy," p. 65.

²⁶Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy," p. 30.

²⁷Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy," p. 35.

²⁸McDonald, *"To Each His Own"*, p. 60, and Appendix II. Almost half of this amount was due to the financing of the railway.

²⁹Kent, an anti-confederate, had been appointed to the Supreme Court, so that he would be less of a hindrance to the negotiations on the confederation option which had continued between Morris and Robert Borden, the Canadian prime minister, throughout the war years. Other, behind-the-scenes, players in this round of confederation negotiations included A. B. Morine, E. M. Jackman, a former Newfoundland finance minister, the Reids, and H. J. Crowe, a lumber merchant from Nova Scotia who had acquired extensive holdings in Newfoundland. Their chief opponent was William Coaker. See McDonald, *"To Each His Own"*, pp. 54-68.

³⁰As cited in Noel, *Politics*, p. 140.

³¹Noel, *Politics*, p. 128.

³²"Basically, the objects of the new scheme, which Coaker explained at length to the House, were fivefold, and may be summarized as follows: first, to modernize the fishery by government sponsorship of new methods of catching and curing; second, to standardize and place under government control the grading of fish, thus taking this vital function out of the hands of the buyers and exporters; third, to appoint trade agents in those countries where Newfoundland produce was mainly sold; fourth, to establish a government information service for fishermen and a bureau to undertake scientific research; and fifth, to put an end to the laissez-faire conditions that had always prevailed in the marketing of fish by requiring exporters to obtain licences from a government-appointed Exportation Board, which, through negotiation with the exporters, would also fix the prices and conditions of sale to apply to the various foreign markets" (Noel, *Politics*, p. 145).

³³MacKay and Saunders, "The Economy," p. 67.

³⁴Noel, *Politics*, 148.

³⁵Innis, *The Cod Fisheries*, pp. 468-469.

³⁶Noel, *Politics*, p. 152.

³⁷Warren made the announcement on 28 July 1923, and indicated that the commission would investigate all allegations of wrongdoing in government. When the three local men he approached as prospective commissioners all refused to serve, he requested that the Colonial Office appoint one. Thomas Hollis Walker was selected. Warren did not issue the commission's terms of reference until 22 December 1923, however, and by then they were much narrower in scope than his original announcement had indicated. They

limited the commission to investigating five specific allegations regarding the Squires administration. In this way Warren managed to deflect the enquiry away from himself and his role in the overthrow of the Squires administration, and from prominent opposition members who were also guilty of corrupt practices but who had helped him gain power. Hollis Walker, who proved to be extraordinarily capable, conducted hearings between 7 January and 14 March 1924; he submitted his report seven days later and immediately returned to England. The report, couched in a highly moral tone, was an absolute condemnation of both the individuals and the processes which Hollis Walker's limited terms of reference had permitted him to investigate; the implication was that, had the terms of reference been as broad as originally indicated, practically the entire Newfoundland government and civil service would have been similarly condemned. By limiting the terms of reference so severely, however, Warren had mired the inquiry in the very political corruption it had been appointed to investigate. *The Times* of 22 March 1924 noted: "That it should have been possible to level such accusations against the Prime Minister of a great Dominion of the Crown seems incredible; that it should have been possible to prove them is nothing short of a tragedy" (as cited in Noel, *Politics*, p. 170). The greater tragedy is that, beyond a certain amount of breast-beating and posturing, no effective action was ever taken to address the abuses outlined in the report. As a result, still another commission, meeting nine years later under similarly dire but equally contrived circumstances, would reach similar conclusions based on similarly plausible half-truths [Thomas Lodge, *Dictatorship in Newfoundland* (London: Cassell, 1939), pp. 5-14]. In addition to Noel, *Politics*, pp. 152-179, see: R. M. Elliott, "Newfoundland Politics in the 1920s: The Genesis and Significance of the Hollis Walker Enquiry," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 181-204; and Ray W. Guy, "The Hollis Walker Enquiry 1924," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 82:2 (1986), 29-38.

"Curiously, the *original* of the report is not to be found in the public records, nor in the Warren Papers. . . . Though the disappearance of the original is to be regretted, there is absolutely no doubt that it was published accurately and in its entirety [in the St. John's press of 22-23 March 1923]. It was divided into five sections, corresponding to the stated allegations" (Noel, *Politics*, p. 163, note 35).

³⁸Noel, *Politics*, p. 180. Rowe (*A History*, p. 381f) points out that the record of the Monroe administration "has received mixed reviews." It has been credited "with the opening of the Buchans mine, the re-railing of the railway, the building of the dry-dock, the establishment of a tourist industry and the building of the first [modern] gravel highways," but criticized for increasing the national debt to \$87 million in order to do so. It increased the number of seats in the legislature to forty, which reflected more accurately the population distribution, granted the franchise to women over twenty-five, and repealed prohibition. It has been argued, however, that these, like the settlement of the Labrador boundary question in 1927, resulted from longstanding negotiations and/or

agitations and can hardly be specifically credited to Monroe's government. On the these issues see: William G. Bartlett, "Prohibition Era in Newfoundland, 1915-1924," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1971; Margot Iris Duley, "'The Radius of Her Influence for Good': The Rise and Triumph of the Women's Suffrage Movement in Newfoundland, 1909-1925," in *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Linda Kealey (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1993), pp. 14-65; Peter Neary, "Newfoundland and Quebec: Provincial Neighbours across an Uneasy Frontier," *Bulletin of Canadian Studies*, 2 (1978), 35-51; and, Leslie Harris, "Labrador Boundary Dispute," *ENL*, III (1991), 216-220.

³⁹Harrington, *Prime Ministers*, p. 84.

⁴⁰Squires never did stand trial on the charges arising out of the Hollis Walker Report because a grand jury refused to indict him for larceny on the grounds of insufficient evidence. This decision was later upheld by the Supreme Court, and Squires was merely fined for income tax evasion.

⁴¹Noel, *Politics*, 187.

⁴²By the spring of 1931 most of the government's energies were being expended in a frantic scramble to avoid default. Squires asked the Canadian prime minister, R. B. Bennett, to bring pressure to bear on the four major Canadian banks to loan the government enough money to meet the impending interest payments on its existing loans. Bennett intervened, but the conditions of the loan, which simply gave Newfoundland a six-month respite, included the appointment of a financial advisor, Sir Percy Thompson, by the British government, and the appointment of Montreal businessman Robert J. Magor to advise on ways to make public utilities more economical. Both found much that was wrong with the economic and political systems in Newfoundland, but neither could suggest the miracle required to solve the immediate problems. Bennett intervened with the Canadian banking syndicate again in December 1931 to secure yet another stopgap loan to meet interest payments, but this time the attached conditions were such that they gave the bankers full and stringent control of Newfoundland's finances. The government had no choice but accept the loan and the conditions, even though with each new loan it reduced rather than increased the possibility of finding a permanent solution to its problems, and, since each new set of conditions invariably meant the imposition of additional restraints, it was the people who felt the consequences most directly.

⁴³Alderdice's promise was contained in the "Manifesto of F. C. Alderdice," published in *The Evening Telegram* of 23 May 1932: "Let me repeat the pledge recently made through the daily press that one of my first acts will be the appointment of a committee, the members of which will serve without remuneration, to enquire into the desirability and feasibility of placing the country under a form of commission government for a

period of years. In case the proposal is favourably reported upon, it will be submitted to the electorate for their approval. No action will be taken that does not first have the consent of the people" (as cited in Noel, *Politics*, p. 203).

⁴⁵Harrington, *Prime Ministers*, p. 83. Ironically, the ceremony marking the change of governments took place in a ballroom at the Newfoundland Hotel.

⁴⁶Sir Percy Thompson stated in September 1932, shortly before he returned to England: "I believe that the Alderdice Government is as honest and well-intentioned as any Government which is likely to be returned to Power in this Dominion, but I am rapidly reaching the conclusion that no elected Government can really govern successfully; it is much too closely in touch with the governed, is constantly amenable to irresistible pressure from vested interests and moreover politics here has reached such a state of degradation that most decent people refuse to take a hand in the game" (as cited in Noel, *Politics*, pp. 205-206).

⁴⁷The offer was accompanied by the following threat suggesting what would be the consequence of Newfoundland's refusal to comply: "You will recognize that in the event of your being unable to give assurance in the above sense and default occurring at once we should have no alternative but to make our position clear by public statement to the effect that financial assistance had been offered to Newfoundland by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on these conditions and had been refused by Newfoundland" (as cited in Noel, *Politics*, p. 210).

⁴⁸*Newfoundland Royal Commission, 1933: Report*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933). The Amulree Commission summarized its own recommendations as follows: "(1) The suspension of the existing form of government until such time as the Island may become self-supporting again. (2) The creation of a special Commission of Government, which would be presided over by the Governor, would be vested with full legislative and executive authority, and would take the place of the existing Legislature and Executive Council. (3) The Commission of Government would be composed of six members, exclusive of the Governor, three of whom would be drawn from Newfoundland and three from the United Kingdom. (4) The Government Departments in the Island would be divided into six groups. Each group would be placed in the charge of a Member of the Commission of Government, who would be responsible for the efficient working of the Departments in the group, and the Commission would be collectively responsible for the several Departments. (5) The proceedings of the Commission of Government would be subject to supervisory control by Your Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and the Governor-in-Commission would be responsible to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in the United Kingdom for the good government of the Island. (6) Your Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would, for their part, assume general responsibility for the finances of the Island until

such time as it may become self-supporting again, and would, in particular, make such arrangements as may be deemed just and practicable with a view to securing to Newfoundland a reduction in the present burden of the public debt" (pp. 201-202).

⁴⁸The report was, in some ways, a document of the times, coloured by the notions that democracy and good (to be understood as economically stable) government did not always mix, and that politics, especially in the colonies, was inherently corrupt. In other ways it was no more than a self-fulfilling prophecy which described the situation in Newfoundland in such a way as to make it appear so utterly unique and extreme that it permitted Britain to take whatever action it wanted without raising too many troublesome questions. In fact, Magrath stated publicly shortly after the release of the Commission's report that "the plan promulgated for Newfoundland had been hatched entirely in London" (Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. 35). This appears, in retrospect, to be very close to the truth, and the Report's conclusions that Newfoundland's problems were caused by "political corruption, financial irresponsibility, incompetence, neglect and persistent extravagance" (Rowe, *A History*, p. 392), appear to be little more than "an attempt to justify, to rationalize, measures that had already been decided upon" (Elliott, "Newfoundland Politics," p. 198). For contemporary assessments of the Amulree Report see: Berriedale Keith, "Report of the Newfoundland Royal Commission," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, 16 (1934), 25-39; and, A. F. W. Plumptre, "The Amulree Report (1933): A Review," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 3 (1937), 58-71.

⁴⁹Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. 41.

⁵⁰Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. 42.

⁵¹The more difficult question which arises in this context has to do with why Newfoundlanders were willing to accept without protest the totally negative image of themselves presented in the Amulree Report. The truth of the matter is that the largest percentage neither accepted nor rejected the report, either politically or intellectually, because the opportunity to do so never arose. Rowe maintains that "there is no doubt in anyone's mind that the Newfoundland people, had they been asked their opinion, would have voted overwhelmingly for acceptance of the Report" (*A History*, p. 392). This, however, needs to be qualified. While many may well have supported the proposals for a more efficient and equitable bureaucracy, few individuals would have accepted, as being applicable to themselves, the pejorative labels scattered through the report. A closer look reveals, however, that these labels were of different types and were applied in different ways. As they were applied to the people in general they were couched in such a way as to make them almost excusable, in a certain, condescending way, because the conditions they described had resulted from a long process of victimization; as they were applied to merchants, politicians, and institutions there was

no mitigating tone because these were seen as the victimizers. On the one hand, therefore, the *Report* maintained that "there is no doubt that the people of Newfoundland are potentially fine material of which any country in the world would be proud" (p. 78); on the other, the reason why that potential had remained unrealized was due to the fact that "the present generation of Newfoundlanders have never known enlightened government" (p. 82), and the "continuous process of misgovernment has increased the burden on the fisherman and on the poorer members of the community until it is now insupportable" (p. 89). In this way the Amulree Report, like the Hollis Walker Report before it, confirmed and reinforced the conventional wisdom that politicians are a breed apart and politics innately corrupt. More seriously, because of the narrow focus both reports adopted, they were successful in seeming to separate the people from, and excuse them responsibility for, their own political, economic, and social institutions. Newfoundlanders appeared to be incapable of devising a system which offered anything more than a choice between two equally unsavoury options, the "wholesale unadulterated venality on the part of the many" or "the equally repulsive one of wholesale unadulterated greed and exploitation on the part of the few" (Elliott, "Newfoundland Politics," p. 199). The majority, with the appropriate coaching, appeared to prefer the second alternative.

⁵²Howley was the son of James Patrick Howley and a lawyer. He had been elected to the House in 1900, defended Squires in 1924, and was justice minister in Alderdice's 1928 administration. His appointment to the Commission was due more to the fact that he was a Roman Catholic than to any other consideration, since it was felt that, because Archbishop Roche had supported the call for government by commission, at least one of the Newfoundland Commissioners should be of that faith. Puddester was a teacher and an accountant with the Reid Newfoundland Company before he became business manager of the St. John's *Daily News* in 1916. He was elected to the House in 1924 as a member of the Monroe government and also held a cabinet post in the Alderdice government of 1932. He remained on the Commission until his death in 1947, thereby becoming its longest-serving member. Lodge was a thirty-year veteran of the British civil service when he was appointed to the Commission. Highly intelligent and opinionated, he soon found himself in conflict with his colleagues on the Commission and his superiors in the Dominions Office. His *Diciatorship in Newfoundland* is a scathing account of his Newfoundland experience. Hope Simpson, like Lodge, was from Liverpool. He was in the Indian civil service from 1889-1916, was a Liberal MP for a term, and had filled various posts in Palestine and China. Trentham was a career civil servant and an official with the Treasury Office in London. He had been sent to Newfoundland two years earlier to advise the government on financial matters. See Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, Appendix One, pp. 361-362 for a list of the governors and members of the Commission between 1934 and 1949. On the Commission in general, in addition to Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, see Richard L. Clark,

"Newfoundland 1934-1949: A Study of the Commission of Government and Confederation with Canada," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1951.

⁵³*Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933: Report*, p. ii.

⁵⁴Noel, *Politics*, p. 229.

⁵⁵There was considerable confusion about the role of the Governor and his constitutional relationship with regard to the Commission and vice versa. The relationship of the Commission with the British Parliament had not been clearly specified, and the exact constitutional status of the Commission itself was also the subject of much debate. See, for example: R. A. MacKay, "Newfoundland Reverts to the Status of a Colony," *American Political Science Review*, 28 (1934), 895-800; R. A. Parsons, "Our Former Constitution," and J. B. McEvoy, "Our New Constitution," *BN*, I (1937), 32-37 and 43-46, respectively.

⁵⁶See: Susan McCorquodale, "Public Administration in Newfoundland During the Period of the Commission of Government: A Question of Political Development." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1973; J. A. White, "Our Newfoundland Magistracy," *BN*, VI (1975), 575-588; and, Harold Horwood, *A History of the Newfoundland Ranger Force* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1986).

⁵⁷Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, pp. 53-54. This bleak philosophy is illustrated by the following note (cited by Neary, p. 55) taken at a meeting held in the Dominions Office in April 1939, describing the views held by the Newfoundland representatives: "The dole rations, though admittedly meagre, were yet sufficient to provide a bare subsistence for those concerned. Account had also to be taken of the natural resources available to the people in most parts of the Island. The standard of dietary would better be described as rough rather than low, and people on the dole, even if having no other resources, could manage to keep going without impairment to their health, provided they did not undertake any hard work or expose themselves to severe winter conditions. The margin between the value of the dole rations received by the average family on relief and the value of the earnings of the average fisherman not on relief was, in fact, very small; and if in present circumstances the dole rations were to be increased, this . . . would inevitably mean that many thousands of fishermen who are courageously struggling to maintain themselves without recourse to public relief would give up the struggle and flock on to the dole."

Early in its tenure its adherence to this philosophy almost caused the Commission to suffer the same fate as the Squires government in 1932. In May 1935 a mob of the unemployed rioted in St. John's. The Commission survived and order was restored, but its members learned that Whitehall efficiency alone was not enough to protect it from harsh political reality. This was a lesson that would be repeated as the Commission

expanded its influence into other areas where the peculiarities of Newfoundland politics were even more entrenched.

⁵⁸The Commission subsidized a boat building programme, built bait depots, inaugurated an education campaign to teach both the fishermen and the merchants to improve the quality of saltfish, and created a regulatory body—the Newfoundland Fisheries Board—to oversee all aspects of the industry. A great deal of road construction was undertaken with the help of loans from the Colonial Development Fund. The Commission attempted to stimulate agricultural diversity and development by putting experts in the field to help prospective farmers and by setting up an experimental farm to encourage livestock production. The most ambitious of these schemes, spearheaded by Commissioner Lodge, was a land settlement programme which was designed to relocate that part of the population considered surplus to the fishery to model farming communities. The scheme, because of friction among the Commissioners, and for a variety of other reasons, was not a success. On the land settlement issue see: Lodge, *Dictatorship*, pp. 172-203; J. H. Gorvin, *Report on Land Settlements in Newfoundland* (St. John's: Robinson and Co., 1938); and, W. Gordon Handcock, "The Origin and Development of Commission of Government Land Settlements in Newfoundland 1934-1969," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970. See also: R. B. Ewbank, *Public Affairs in Newfoundland* (Cardiff: William Lewis, Ltd., 1939); and, Thomas K. Liddell, *Industrial Survey of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Robinson and Co., 1940). Ewbank replaced John Hope Simpson on the Commission in 1936 and Gorvin replaced Ewbank in 1939. Liddell, the chief conciliation officer in Manchester for the Department of Labour, was appointed by the Dominions Office at the request of the Commission "to make a survey of labour conditions in Newfoundland and of the problems ancillary thereto."

⁵⁹On the denominational issue and other aspects of education, see: Ralph L. Andrews, *Integration and Other Developments in Newfoundland Education, 1915-1949*, ed. Alice E. Wareham (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1985); Phillip McCann, "The Educational Policy of the Commission of Government," *Newfoundland Studies*, 3 (1987) 201-215. The merchants were as protective of their area as the clergy were of theirs. The Newfoundland Fisheries Board may well have been "relative to its size and resources, the best fisheries service in North America," but this did not seem to be the opinion of the local fish merchants, who, more often than not, saw it as government meddling in their affairs (Alexander, *The Decay of Trade*, pp. 29-37). When the Commission tried to improve the working conditions of the loggers, it quickly found that the paper companies were neither quick to implement suggested reforms nor easily intimidated. See Peter Neary, ed., "The Bradley Report on Logging Operations in Newfoundland, 1934: A Suppressed Document," *Labour/Le Travail*, No. 16 (1985), pp. 193-232. When the Commission dismissed Capt. Westbury Kean, a scion of Newfoundland's foremost sealing dynasty, as skipper of the *Portia*, for smuggling beaver

skins out of the country, it incurred the wrath of the local merchant elite, received a lesson in the role played by sectarianism in Newfoundland public life, and discovered that it could not automatically count on the backing of Dominions Office when it got itself embroiled in sensitive political issues (Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, pp. 66-71).

⁶⁰Noel states that this a rather forced balance: "By 1939 Britain was at war, and so, automatically, was Newfoundland. The first impact upon the island, however, was to further impoverish the people. In 1940 the finance commissioner again raised taxes and announced a drastic retrenchment in public expenditure. Whatever the social cost, Newfoundland was once more 'self-supporting'" (*Politics*, p. 242).

⁶¹O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 144.

⁶²As cited in Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. 144.

⁶³A. R. M. Lower, "Transition to Atlantic Bastion," in *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies*, ed. R. A. MacKay (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 492-495. See also James Gerard Lynch, "Negotiations Leading up to the Establishment of Canadian Bases in Newfoundland, 1936-1942," Unpublished B.A. Honours Dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980.

⁶⁴Substantial extracts from the "Leased Bases Agreement" are reprinted as Appendix C in MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland*. pp. 534-550, and in Malcolm MacLeod, *Peace of the Continent: The Impact of Second World War Canadian and American Bases in Newfoundland* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1986), pp. 58-68. For many letters, other diplomatic exchanges, and documents pertaining to these negotiations, specifically as they involved Canada and Newfoundland, see Bridle, ed., *Documents*, I, 81-238.

⁶⁵G. S. Watts, "The Impact of the War," in *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies*, ed. R. A. MacKay (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 221. The social and economic effects of the boom were immediate and profound. Less than two years after the war started "six large military bases were either under construction or in the planning stage—a land base at Pleasantville (Fort Pepperell) outside St. John's; a naval-cum-airbase at Argentia on the southern shore; further airfields at Stephenville (Harmon) on the west coast; at Torbay (St. John's) and Goose Bay in Labrador; and the naval base at the capital. Unemployment, which had already declined following Newfoundland enlistment in the rapidly formed Forestry Unit and in the British and Canadian Forces, now dwindled to vanishing point as more and more men were taken on by American and Canadian contractors. . . . The effect on the economy was to prove remarkable. Whereas at the end of the first year of Government by Commission revenue had amounted to \$9.6 million and expenditure to \$11.6 million, leaving a deficit

of \$2 million to be found by Britain, the comparative figures for the year ending 1942 were \$23.5 million and \$16.1 million, providing a surplus of over \$7 million, a figure itself running close to the total annual revenues of the early 1930s. Put briefly, the cumulative deficit for the six years ending 30 June 1940 was \$18 million. The cumulative surplus resulting from the war years was \$32.5 million" (Chadwick, *Newfoundland*, p. 181).

⁶⁶Duley, *The Caribou Hut*, p. 11. For a popular history of the American presence in Newfoundland see John N. Cardouils, *A Friendly Invasion: The American Military in Newfoundland, 1940-1990* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1990).

⁶⁷Watts, "The Impact," p. 228.

⁶⁸The job of the members of the National Convention, as announced in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, would be: "To consider and discuss amongst themselves, as elected representatives of the Newfoundland people, the changes that have taken place in the financial and economic situation of the Island since 1934, and bearing in mind the extent to which the high revenues of recent years have been due to wartime condition, to examine the position of the country and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government as to possible forms of future government to be put before the people at a national referendum" (as cited in Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. 234).

⁶⁹Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. 231. Attlee had visited Newfoundland in 1942 at which time he was deputy prime minister and secretary of state for dominion affairs. [See Peter Neary, "Clement Attlee's Visit to Newfoundland, September 1942," *Acadiensis*, 13 (1984), 101-109.] He concluded at that time that Confederation had to be ruled out because public opinion in both Newfoundland and Canada was against it. The Commission of Government asked for another royal commission to report on Newfoundland's future prospects, but instead Attlee dispatched three members of the British parliament (Charles G. Ammon, Derek Gunston, and A. P. Herbert, along with G. W. St. John Chadwick of the Dominions Office as secretary) to Newfoundland [See "Goodwill Mission," *ENL*, II (1984), 562-562] to "form some idea both of the potentialities of the country and of the capacity of Newfoundlanders to take charge of their own affairs" (as cited in Neary, p. 216). The three spent June, July, and August of 1943 travelling throughout Newfoundland and Labrador, and submitted separate and divergent reports. The reports as written were not published at the time, but subsequent publications give a fairly complete overview of their findings and conclusions. See: *Newfoundland, Present and Future: Addresses by the Members of the Parliamentary Mission to Newfoundland* (London: Empire Parliamentary Association, 1943); Charles George Ammon, *Newfoundland: The Forgotten Island*, Fabian Research Series, No. 86 (London: Fabian Publications and Victor Gollancz, 1944); A. P. Herbert,

Independent Member (London: Methuen, 1950); and, Chadwick, *Newfoundland*. By 1945, because Britain no longer wished to make further financial commitments to Newfoundland, and because Canada, as a result of events during the war, was beginning to see more than disadvantages in "the rounding off of the Confederation," Prime Minister Mackenzie King was prepared to admit that union was "natural, desirable and inevitable." All that remained to bring it about was that "the initiative had to come from Newfoundlanders themselves, and the United Kingdom and Canada had to avoid any suspicion that they were conspiring to achieve [it]" (Neary, p. 232).

⁷⁰Noel, *Politics*, p. 261.

⁷¹For a list of the delegates to the National Convention, see *BN*, III (1967), 171. This same volume contains several other items of interest. See, especially: J. R. Smallwood, "The Story of Confederation," pp. 4-32; J. R. Smallwood, "Let Us Draw Close to Canada," pp. 35-37; J. R. Smallwood, "The Gospel of Confederation: Book One," pp. 38-62; Peter J. Cashin, "My Fight for Responsible Government," pp. 105-118; W. J. Browne, "The Case for the Restoration of Responsible Government," pp. 119-130; and Alec G. Stacey, "1000 Days That Changed Our Destiny," pp. 132-139. The complete proceedings of the Convention have recently been newly edited; see *The Newfoundland National Convention Debates and Reports*, ed. Michael Harrington and James Hiller (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1990).

In addition to Noel, *Politics* (1971), Bridle, ed., *Documents* (1974), Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World* (1988), see: Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood, The Unlikely Revolutionary* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968); George C. Perlin, "The Constitutional Referendum of 1948 and the Revival of Sectarianism in Newfoundland Politics," *Queen's Quarterly*, 75 (1968), 155-160; J. R. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973); Wilfrid Eggleston, *Newfoundland: The Road to Confederation* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974); Walsh, *More Than a Poo: Majority* (1985); Hollohan and Baker, eds., *A Clear Head in Tempestuous Times* (1986); MacKenzie, *Inside the Atlantic Triangle* (1986); and, Horwood, *Joey* (1989).

⁷²Noel, *Politics*, p. 245.

⁷³Al Pittman, "The Day I Became a Canadian," *Weekend Magazine* (31 March 1979), p. 4.

⁷⁴Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, p. ix.

⁷⁵A considerable body of scholarship has appeared in recent years related to the earliest accounts by European visitors. Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589; 1599/1600) contains the accounts of Jacques Cartier (1534), Anthony Parkhurst (1578), Edward Hayes (1583), Stephen Parmenius (1583), and others. The 1965 AMS Press

reprint edition, in twelve volumes, contains a valuable and convenient index (vol. 12). See also: David Beers Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds. and trans., *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1972); Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty, eds., *By Great Waters: A Newfoundland and Labrador Anthology* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1974); Sandra Djwa, "Early Explorations: New Founde Landys (1496-1729)," *Studies in Canadian Literature*, 4:2 (1979), 7-21; O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed* (1979), pp. 3-15; David Beers Quinn, ed., *Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony and Northwest Passage Searches—New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, Vol. 4 (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979), 1-178; and, Cell, ed., *Newfoundland Discovered* (1982).

In contrast, there is surprisingly little published scholarship dealing with the literature of the modern period. The studies, published and unpublished, which have been undertaken will be cited in due course, but, specific to the present context, see: Sandra Gwyn, "The Newfoundland Renaissance," *Saturday Night* (April 1976), pp. 38-45; and, Elizabeth Miller, "Newfoundland Literature since 1949," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1977.

⁷⁶Ellsworth Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945), pp. 128-129.

⁷⁷Fred Cogswell, "Newfoundland 1715-1880," in *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, 2nd ed., ed. Carl F. Klinck et al. (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1976), I, 82.

⁷⁸Story, "Notes from a Berry Patch," p. 175.

⁷⁹Carlo M. Cipolla, *Literacy and Development in the West* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 22.

⁸⁰Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development," pp. 115, 136, 115.

⁸¹Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development," p. 113.

⁸²Goody, *The Interface*, p. 293.

⁸³Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, trans., *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 43. On Icelandic Literature see: Richard Beck, "Icelandic Literature," in *The History of Scandinavian Literatures* (1938), ed. Frederika Blankner (New York: Kennikat Press, 1966), pp. 233-280; Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature* (New York: The Johns Hopkins Press, for The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1957); and, Theodore M. Andersson,

"The Icelandic Sagas," in *Heroic Epic and Saga: An Introduction to the World's Great Folk Epics*, ed. Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. 144-171.

⁸⁴Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets, Lately Come Over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland* (London: Roger Mitchell, 1628), p. A2. See also: G. C. Moore Smith, "Robert Hayman and the Plantation of Newfoundland," *English Historical Review*, 33 (1918), 21-36; *DCB*, I (1966), 365-366; and, *ENL*, II (1984), 861.

⁸⁵Patrick O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," *ENL*, III (1991), 320. This article, to which I am much indebted in this section, provides an excellent summary of the written tradition.

⁸⁶Hayman, *Quodlibets*, p. A4.

⁸⁷William Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece, Divided into Three Parts, Under which are Discovered the Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome, and Lastly the Ways to Get Wealth, and to Restore Trading so Much Complayned of* (London: Francis Williams, 1626), part 3, p. 5. See also *DCB*, I (1966), 654-657.

⁸⁸Cell, ed., *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 15-26. See also: Allan Pritchard, "From These Uncouth Shores: Seventeenth-Century Literature of Newfoundland," *Canadian Literature*, No. 14 (1962), pp. 5-20.

⁸⁹O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 321.

⁹⁰See Cyril Byrne, "Two Irish Poets in 'The Wild Plantation,'" *Essays on Canadian Writing*, No. 31 (1985), pp. 35-50, which compares the poetry and the attitudes of the two with regard to Newfoundland.

⁹¹Butler Lacy, *Miscellaneous Poems Compos'd at Newfoundland on Board of His Majesty's Ship Kinsale* (London: n.p., 1729), p. 2. Very little is known of Lacy beyond this collection. "Indeed, following the publication of the poems Lacy appears to have dropped out of the navy, out of the public record, one might indeed say, out of life. Searches in various naval archives, in county record offices, and in the wills of various probate jurisdictions in Lancashire, London, and the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury and York have turned up no trace of him" (Byrne, "Two Irish Poets," pp. 36-37).

⁹²Donnachadh Ruadh MacConnmara, *Eachtra Ghiolla an Amaraín, and Other Poems, by Red Donough Macnamara, with a Life of Donnachadh Ruadh MacConnmara by John Fleming*, ed. Tomás O'Flannghaile (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, [1897]), p. 98. See also: S. Hayes [Standish Hayes O'Grady], *Adventures of Donnachadh Ruadh Mac Con-Mara, a Slave of Adversity* (Dublin: John Mullany, 1853); and, Richard Foley,

"Notes on the Life of Donnchadh Ruadh Macnamara," *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 10 (1907), 214-245.

⁹³As cited in O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, pp. 20-21. On Balfour, see: *DCB*, V (1983), 52-53; and, *ENL*, I (1981), 118.

⁹⁴Byrne, "Two Irish Poets," p. 48.

⁹⁵Laurence Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland, North-America, In a Series of Letters, To which are Prefixed a Few Choice Experiences, Some of which are Taken from the Lips of Persons, who Died Triumphantly in the Faith* (London: W. Gilbert, 1776). See also: Jacob Parsons, "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1964; Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," in *The Contributions of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, ed. Charles H. H. Scobie and John Webster Grant (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), pp. 53-76; *DCB*, IV (1979), 175-177; and, *ENL*, I (1981), 548-549.

⁹⁶William Thoresby, *A Narrative of God's Love to William Thoresby* (Redruth: J. Bennett, 1801).

⁹⁷Coughlan, *An Account*, pp. 13, 18-19.

⁹⁸Thoresby, *A Narrative*, p. 77.

⁹⁹Coughlan, *An Account*, p. 17; Thoresby, *A Narrative*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰Thoresby, *A Narrative*, p. 116.

¹⁰¹James Yonge, *The Journal of James Yonge (1647-1721): Plymouth Surgeon*, ed. F. N. L. Poynter (London: Longmans, 1963); see, especially, pp. 56-60, 112-121; 124-138. See also *DCB*, II (1969), 670-672.

¹⁰²George Cartwright, *A Journal of Transactions and Events, During a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador: Containing Many Interesting Particulars, Both of the Country and Its Inhabitants, Not Hitherto Known, Illustrated with Proper Charts*, Three Volumes (Newark: Allin and Ridge, 1792); and, *Labrador: A Poetical Epistle; with Explanatory Notes: Addressed to a Friend* (Newark: Allin and Ridge, 1792). The poem was published under separate cover and as part of the journal. On this point see Ronald Rompkey, "The Canadian Imprint of George Cartwright's 'Labrador'—a Bibliographical Ghost," *Canadian Poetry*, No. 21 (1987), pp. 42-51. See also: Charles Wendell Townsend, ed., *Captain Cartwright and His Labrador Journal* (Boston: Dana Estes and Co., 1911), a selective, interpretive abridgement; G. M. Story, "Old

Labrador': George Cartwright 1738-1819," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 77:1 (1981-82), 23-31, 35; *DCB*, V (1983), 165-167; and, *ENL*, I (1981), 377-378. Recently Cartwright's life and work have provided the inspiration for a novel; see John Steffler, *The Afterlife of George Cartwright* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992).

¹⁰³On political and economic questions in nineteenth-century Newfoundland see: MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies* (1946); Frederick W. Rowe, *The Development of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964); St. John Chadwick, *Newfoundland: Island into Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Ian D. H. McDonald, ed., *Newfoundland Since 1815: Selected Readings* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976); Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development" (1980); James Hiller and Peter Neary, eds., *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1980); and, Phillip McCann, "The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland," in *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1988), pp. 30-59.

¹⁰⁴On journalism see: T. D. Carew, "Journalism in Newfoundland," *BN*, I (1937), 157-161; E. J. Devereux, "Early Printing in Newfoundland," *Dalhousie Review*, 43 (1963), 57-60; and, "Journalism," and "Magazines," *ENL*, III (1991), 125-135, 426-429, respectively.

The most comprehensive bibliography on Newfoundland currently in print unfortunately "excludes periodical articles, periodicals and newspapers" [Agnes O'Dea, comp., and Anne Alexander, ed., *Bibliography of Newfoundland* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1986), I, ix]. Happily, Ms. Joan Ritcey of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies has prepared a "Newfoundland Periodical Article Bibliography" on all aspects of Newfoundland and Labrador, which is currently available on telnet. As of November 1992 a search of the database revealed 38,000 article citations; for the years 1850-1900, there are more than 600 citations in a variety of international publications. These articles cover a wide range of topics—history, industry, literature, the natural and social sciences, and travel—and appear in such journals as: *Canadian Methodist Magazine*; *Forest and Stream*; *Irish Monthly*; *MacMillan's Magazine*; *Maritime Monthly*; *New Dominion Monthly*; *Nineteenth Century*; *Stewart's Literary Quarterly*; *Wide World Magazine*; and, *Youth's Companion*. Writers represented include Robert Bell, Edith Blake, G. J. Bond, Moses Harvey, J. P. Howley, H. W. Lemessurier, Charles Lench, W. W. Percival, D. W. Prowse, Philip Tocque, and C. H. Turner. I am indebted to Ms. Ritcey who kindly allowed me access to her database before it became generally available on the electronic network.

¹⁰⁵William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), p. 148.

¹⁰⁶As cited in Louise Whiteway, "The Athenaeum Movement: The St. John's Athenaeum (1961-1898)," *Dalhousie Review*, 50 (Winter 1970-71), 542. See also: Arthur Fox, "The Athenaeum and the Museum," *BN*, IV (1967), 190-193; "Athenaeum, The St. John's," *ENL*, I (1981), 85-86; and, "Mechanics Institute," and "Mechanics Society," *ENL*, III (1991), 489-490.

¹⁰⁷Rowe, *A History*, p. 245.

¹⁰⁸See Bernard D. Fardy, *Captain David Buchan in Newfoundland* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1983).

¹⁰⁹William Epps Cormack, *A Narrative of a Journey across Newfoundland in 1822* (1856), Centenary Issue, ed. F. A. Bruton (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), p. vii. An abridged version appeared in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* in 1824. Prowse notes an 1836 Edinburgh edition, but highlights it as one of the titles in his bibliography which was not traced in the British Museum (*A History*, p. 673); no copies of such an edition appear to be extant. Howley includes the text (*The Beothucks*, pp. 138-186) and several other references to Cormack's involvement in the Beothuck story. On Cormack, in addition to Howley, see: James R. Thoms, "Cormack's Great Walk Across Newfoundland," *BN*, III (1967), 411-413; Michael Harrington, "The Trailblazer," *Atlantic Advocate*, 56 (September 1965), 105-108; *DCB*, IX (1976), 158-162; and, *ENL*, I (1981), 536.

¹¹⁰On Parsons, and the relationship between journalism and politics during the period, see: Leslie Harris, "The First Nine Years of Representative Government in Newfoundland," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959, pp. 112ff, 138-142, especially; *DCB*, XI (1982), 673-674; and, *ENL*, IV (1993), 224-225; On the Natives' Society and similar organizations see: Geoff Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society in the Political Crisis of 1840-42," Unpublished Honours Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983; Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, "The Impact of Fraternalism on the Landscape of Newfoundland," *Canadian Geographer*, 29 (1985), 59-65; McCann, "Culture, State Formation, and the Invention of Tradition" (1988); and Patrick O'Flaherty, "Newfoundland Natives' Society," *ENL*, IV (1993), 21-27.

One study of contemporary Newfoundland political rhetoric suggests that there is a direct relationship between the traditional verbal culture and recent successes which Newfoundlanders have enjoyed at a national level: "Newfoundland still has a strong oral culture. On the national scene, it is not simply Newfoundland politicians . . . who distinguish themselves on account of their rhetorical flair, but also actors and broadcasters. As for the rhetoric on the provincial scene, it sometimes seems the *island is afloat in a sea of words*" [Robert Paine, with Cynthia Lamson, *Ayatollahs and Turkey*

Trots: Political Rhetoric in the New Newfoundland (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1981), p. 2, emphasis added].

¹¹¹On this significant out-migration of mainly middle-class Newfoundlanders, an early example of the brain drain which has remained a phenomenon in Newfoundland history, see Edward-Vincent Chafe, "A New Life on 'Uncle Sam's Farm': Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1846-1859," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983.

¹¹²William Charles St. John, *Catechism of the History of Newfoundland, with an Introductory Chapter on the Discovery of America by the Ancient Scandinavians*, rev. ed. (Boston: George C. Rand, 1855); and, *Poems* (Boston: A Williams and Co., 1859). A notable feature of this collection, which is inscribed to Gosse, is the sense of nostalgia for his native land felt by the *émigré*; see, for example, "Farewell to Terra Nova," "To Terra Nova," and "The Last of the Red Indian Warriors," pp. 46, 49, 97-98, respectively. Gosse's reminiscences on his Newfoundland sojourn form part of an intended autobiography which he began forty years later but eventually abandoned; for the most part it remains unpublished. See Ronald Rompkey, "Document: Philip Henry Gosse's account of his years in Newfoundland, 1827-35," *Newfoundland Studies*, 6 (1990), 210-266. The document is interesting as much for its tone as for its content. It is decidedly self-serving and self-justificatory, and brimming over with a hatred of "the papist Irish . . . whose rancour & insolence were soon to grow, under priestly teaching," which hatred and the unease it caused "impelled [him] to forsake Newfoundland, as a residence" (222). There is a note of intellectual snobbery in his remark that the clerks in the other mercantile houses, unlike St. John and himself, "had little pretensions to a literary character" (220). Nevertheless, the distinguished naturalist which Gosse was to become is already in evidence. Unfortunately, his entomological work on Newfoundland, "*Entomologica Terra Novae*," completed after he moved to Quebec, remains unpublished as well. On Gosse see: *DCB*, XI (1982), 363-384; and, *ENL*, II (1984), 575-576.

¹¹³Tocque's major publications were: *Wandering Thoughts: or, Solitary Hours* (Dublin: Thomas Richardson and Sons, 1846); *Newfoundland: As It Was, and As It Is in 1877* (Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1878); and, *Kaleidoscope Echoes*, ed., Annie S. W. Tocque (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1895). On Tocque see Marjorie Doyle, "A Biography of Philip Tocque (1814-1899)," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987, to which I am indebted for the biographical information given here; and, *DCB*, XII (1990), 1060-1062.

¹¹⁴Robert Traill Spence Lowell, *The New Priest in Conception Bay* (1858; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974). See also his short story, "A Raft that No Man Made," *Atlantic Monthly*, 9 (1862), 365-372, and poems dealing with Newfoundland in his *Fresh*

Hearts that Failed Three Thousand Years Ago; with Other Things (Boston: Tricknor and Fields, 1860), pp. 96-100, and *Poems* (Boston: E. P. Dutton, 1864), pp. 72-73. On the novel and Lowell see: Thomas Dunbabin, "The First Newfoundland Novel," *Dalhousie Review*, 40 (1960-61), 462-469; O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed* (1979), pp. 92-95, and O'Flaherty's introduction to the edition cited above; Philip Hiscock, "Dialect Representation in R. T. S. Lowell's Novel, *The New Priest in Conception Bay*," in *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Harold Paddock, second version (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), pp. 114-123; *DCB*, XII (1990), 574-575; and, *ENL*, III (1991), 378.

¹¹⁵See, especially: Moses Harvey, "The Gale on Labrador: The Story of an Unknown Hero of 14 Years" (1868), Typescript, MUN/CNS; "The New School Master of Punch Bowl," *The Maritime Monthly*, 1 (February 1873), 159-165; "The Castaways of Gull Island," *The Maritime Monthly*, 1 (April 1873), 435-447; "The Chronicles of Punch Bowl, No. II," *The Maritime Monthly*, 3 (June 1874), 541-556; and, *How the Fish Came to Hant's Harbour* (c.1888), ed. Charles Lench (St. John's: Robinson and Co., 1926).

Harvey's output was truly prodigious. He wrote over nine hundred columns for the *Montreal Gazette* alone, many of them under his pen name "Delta," and he published widely in a variety of international journals. He was instrumental in founding the *Evening Mercury*, a St. John's daily newspaper, and served as its first editor. Among his best-known books dealing with Newfoundland are: with Joseph Hatton, *Newfoundland, the Oldest British Colony: Its History, Its Present Condition, and Its Prospects in the Future* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883); *Handbook of Newfoundland: Containing an Account of Its Agriculture and Mineral Lands, Its Forests, and Other Natural Resources* (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1886); *A Text-Book of Newfoundland History for the Use of Schools and Academies*, 2nd ed. (London: William Collins, Sons, and Co., 1890); and, *Newfoundland at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: A Treatise of History and Development* (New York: The South Publishing Co., 1902).

On Harvey see: Bob Osmond, "Nineteenth Century Newfoundland's Most Important Man of Letters: A Biographical, Bibliographical, and Critical Study of Rev. Dr. Moses Harvey, LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.S.," Unpublished Manuscript, Memorial University Maritime History Archive, 1974; Alison Earle, "From Natural Philosophy to Natural Science: A Case-Study of the Giant Squid," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978, pp. 55ff, especially; O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed* (1979), pp. 73-76; and, *ENL*, II (1984), 849-850.

¹¹⁶See: George J. Bond, *Skipper George Netman: A Story of Outport Methodism in Newfoundland* (1885; London: T. Woolmer, 1887); "The Castaway of Fish Rock," *Methodist Monthly Greeting*, 3 (1891), 286, and 3 (July 1891), 302-304; and, "Uncle Joe Burton's Strange Christmas Box" (1887), in *A Christmas Box: Holiday Stories from Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Frank Galgay and Michael McCarthy (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1988), pp. 68-73. See also *ENL*, I (1981), 218.

¹¹⁷W. B. Stabb, *Florimel Jones* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876), and *Hard Hit: A Newfoundland Story* (London: Printed for the author by Gilbert and Rivington, 1880). Stabb remains a biographical and bibliographical mystery. There is no reference to him in any of the standard biographical dictionaries. I have also been unable to locate a third novel, *Wreaths of Smoke* (1880), which the O'Dea/Alexander bibliography cites but lists as missing from the Newfoundland Public Library. The staff at MUN/CNS informs me that the British Library copy is missing as well.

¹¹⁸See: R. M. Ballantyne, *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimaux Land* (1857; London: T. Nelson, 1893), and *The Crew of the Water Wagtail: A Story of Newfoundland* (London: J. Nesbet, 1889); Rudyard Kipling, "Captains Courageous": *A Story of the Grand Banks* (1896; New York: The Century Co., 1911); T. G. Roberts, *Brothers of Peril: A Story of Old Newfoundland* (Boston: L. C. Page and Co., 1905), *The Red Feathers* (1907), New Canadian Library, No. 127 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), *A Captain of Raleigh's: A Romance* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1911), and *The Harbor Master* (Chicago: M. A. Donohue and Co., 1913); and, J. B. Connolly, *The Deep Sea's Toll* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), and *The Crested Seas* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907).

Kipling and his novel are familiar enough to require no further comment here. On Ballantyne, see: Eric Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave: A Victorian Writer and His Family* (Chester Springs, Pa.: Dufour Editions, 1967); and, Eric Quayle, R. M. Ballantyne: *A Bibliography of First Editions* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1968). On Roberts, see: Goodridge MacDonald, "Theodore Goodridge Roberts: Poet and Novelist," *Canadian Author And Bookman*, 29:1 (1953), 9-12; Martin Ware, "Theodore Goodridge Roberts, Poet: A Neglected Voice," *Essays on Canadian Writing*, No. 31 (1985), pp. 75-92; and, Ware's introduction to the edition of *The Red Feathers* cited above. On Connolly, once described by Joseph Conrad as the best sea-story writer in America, see: E. K. T. [Mrs. J. H. Temple], "James Brendan Connolly," in Blanche Colton Williams, *Our Short Story Writers* (1922; Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 85-104; and, Ernest Cummings Marriner, *Jim Connolly and the Fishermen of Gloucester: An Appreciation of James Brendan Connolly at Eighty* (Waterville, Me.: Colby College Press, 1949).

¹¹⁹Norman Duncan, *The Way of the Sea* (1903; Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1982), p. 3. On Duncan see: Virginia Ryan, "Outport and Cosmos: Meaning in *The Way of the Sea*," *Newfoundland Studies*, 5 (1989), 177-202; John Kivlichan, "Theme and Image in Norman Duncan's 'A Beat t' Harbour,'" *Newfoundland Studies*, 7 (1991), 40-47; and, Elizabeth Miller, *The Frayed Edge: Norman Duncan's Newfoundland* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1992).

Duncan was originally drawn to Newfoundland by the presence of Wilfred Grenfell, and in that regard he was like many others of his time who were attracted to

the remote parts of the Island and to Labrador. See, for example: Dillon Wallace, *The Lure of the Labrador Wild* (1905; Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1981), the story of American adventurer Leonidas Hubbard's ill-fated attempt to explore the Labrador interior. Hubbard's widow eventually completed the journey in a race against Wallace, at whose feet she laid the responsibility for her husband's death. See Mina Hubbard, *A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador* (1908; St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1981). The controversy surrounding the Hubbard-Wallace-Hubbard expeditions has recently been examined. See James West Davidson and John Ruge, *Great Heart: The History of a Labrador Adventure* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988).

¹²⁰See Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy."

¹²¹O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 324.

¹²²Prowse, in addition to his articles on a variety of topics in various local and foreign magazines and journals, also published a *Manual for Magistrates in Newfoundland* (St. John's: J. C. Withers, Queen's Printer, 1877), which was reprinted in a second, enlarged edition as a *Justices' Manual* in 1898, and edited *The Newfoundland Guide Book* (London: Bradbury, Agnew and Co., 1905). On Prowse see: G. M. Story, "Judge Prowse: 1834-1914," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 68:1 (1971), 16-25; Story, "Judge Prowse: Historian and Publicist" (1972); and *ENL*, IV (1993), 464-467.

Howley was appointed assistant to Alexander Murray on the Geological and Topographical Survey of Newfoundland at the age of twenty and became Director of the Survey after Murray's death. He published widely in local and foreign newspapers, magazines, and scientific journals, and published a short *Geography of Newfoundland, for the Use of the Schools* (London: Edward Stanford, 1877). His *Geological Map of Newfoundland* was first printed in 1882 (rpt., Westminster: Whitehead Morris, 1925). On Howley see *ENL*, II (1984), 1093-1095.

Michael Francis Howley was the first native-born Newfoundlander to become a Bishop, and in 1904, he was elevated to the position of Archbishop. In addition to his ecclesiastical duties, he published widely on a variety of topics. He contributed, from 1901 to 1914, a series of articles on "Newfoundland Name-Lore" to *The Newfoundland Quarterly*; these articles have been excerpted, bound and indexed by Joanna Sergeant, and are available in the MUN/CNS. His major publications are: *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (1888), Canadiana Reprint Series, No. 71 (Belville: Mika Publishing Co., 1979), and *Poems and Other Verses* (New York: T. Fischer & Bro., 1903). See *ENL*, II (1984), 1095-1096.

The writing of Richard V. Howley, "a brilliant but aberrant Roman Catholic priest," (O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 324) is scattered throughout a number of newspapers and journals and has, until recently, been virtually ignored. See

Paula Hayden, "In Search of Richard Howley: A Preliminary Bibliography," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1989.

¹²³P. T. McGrath, *Newfoundland in 1911* (London: Whitehead, Morris, 1911), pp. 6, 242. McGrath established an international reputation as a correspondent to the *New York Times*, Reuters, the Associated Press, and the *London Times*. See: Melvin Baker, "Sir Patrick Thomas McGrath: A Brief Bibliography of His Writings," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1974; and, *ENL*, III (1991), 410.

¹²⁴See, for example: Capt. William R. Kennedy, *Sport, Travel, and Adventure in Newfoundland and the West Indies* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885); Samuel T. Davis, *Caribou Shooting in Newfoundland* (Lancaster: The New Era Printing House, 1895); and, J. G. Millais, *Newfoundland and Its Untrodden Ways* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907). This last is a most interesting, readable work, which is superbly illustrated (Millais was the son of John Everett Millais of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood) with sketches and photographs. It goes beyond the usual sporting book and becomes an ethnography of sorts. Note the opening paragraph of the introduction: "This volume is a hunter's book dealing mainly with the natural history and the chase of the wild animals and birds of Newfoundland; but in addition to this I have endeavoured to set forth all that goes to make up the daily life of the people of that island and the Micmac Indians, purposely refraining from saying much on social life or of the various phases of Newfoundland politics. Rather have I tried to enter into the life of the true Newfoundlander—the man of the outports—who throughout the year follows a variety of dangerous callings which build up characters of remarkable strength. Of the Micmacs I have made a special study, for their numbers, distribution, mode of life, trapping areas, and characteristics seem to be as little known as when Cormack wrote in 1822. The stories and conversations in this book are genuine, and not worked into the narrative for the sake of padding. I have only added such words and local phrases as served to make the tales consecutive and easily understood."

On the turn-of-the-century promotion of Newfoundland as a sort of last frontier and haven for tourists and sportsmen, and the roles played by business and government in that promotion, see: G. M. Story, "Guides to Newfoundland," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 75:4 (1980), 17-23; Susan T. Williams, "Images of Newfoundland in Promotional Literature, 1890-1914," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1980; and, Gerald L. Pocius, "Tourists, Health Seekers and Sportsmen: Luring Americans to Newfoundland in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary, Newfoundland History Series, No. 7 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1994), pp. 44-77.

¹²⁵P. K. Devine, *In the Good Old Days!: Fishery Customs of the Past* (1915; St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1990).

¹²⁶See Patterson, "Notes on the Dialect" (1895-1897), and George Patterson "Notes on the Folk-Lore of Newfoundland," *JAF*, 8 (1895), 285-290. Patterson acknowledges the assistance of Judge Thomas R. Bennett of Harbour Grace [see *ENL*, I (1981), 177-178], a fellow Nova Scotian, and Rev. William Pilot, the principal of Queen's College, in the preparation of his essays. Pilot's interest in the Newfoundland dialect is indicated by his "Newfoundland Folk Talk," Unpublished Manuscript, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, [c1894]. See *ENL*, IV (1993), 299-300.

¹²⁷James Murphy, *Songs and Ballads of Newfoundland, Ancient and Modern* (St. John's: J. Murphy, 1902).

¹²⁸G. M. Story, "The St. John's Balladeers" (1971), in Clyde Rose, ed., *The Blasty Bough* (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1976), p. 163.

John Burke (1851-1930), "the bard of Prescott Street," wrote numerous topical songs which have since found their way into the verbal tradition. He published several collections and compilations during his lifetime and a number of collections of his songs have been gathered together in recent years. See: George T. Oliver and John Burke, eds., *The People's Songster, Buyer's Guide, and Gems of Poetry and Prose, Containing Some of the Most Recent Songs of the Day* (St. John's: Oliver and Burke, 1900); John Burke, *Burke's Ballads* (St. John's: [Burke], 1912); John Burke, comp., *The Allies' Patriotic Songster* (St. John's: [Burke], 1917); *The Irish Songster* (St. John's: [Burke], 1922); *Burke's Popular Songs* (St. John's: Long Brothers, 1929); John White, comp. *Burke's Ballads* (St. John's: n.p., 1960); Paul Mercer, ed., *The Ballads of Johnny Burke: A Short Anthology* (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1974); and, William J. Kirwin, ed., *John White's Collection of Johnny Burke Songs* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1982).

James Murphy (1868-1931), "the sealers' poet," was a Carbonear native who moved to St. John's and worked as a cabinet maker. He contributed numerous articles and poems to the local papers, many under the pen name "Scaliger," and published several pamphlets and booklets on various aspects of Newfoundland history (see the O'Dea/Alexander *Bibliography* for a fairly complete list) in addition to his song collections. See: James Murphy, comp., *Songs of Our Land: "Old Home Week" Souvenir* (St. John's: Telegram Print, 1904); *Murphy's Sealers' Song Book* (St. John's: Murphy/Telegram Print, 1905); *Coronation Song Book of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Murphy, 1911); *Old Songs of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Murphy/Chronicle Job Print, 1912); *Songs Their Fathers Sung for Fishermen: Old Time Ditties* (St. John's: Murphy, 1923); *Songs Sung by Old-Time Sealers of Many Years Ago* (St. John's: Murphy, 1925); and, *Newfoundland Poems by Writers of the Past and Present* (St. John's: Murphy, 1926).

On Burke, Murphy, and their contemporaries see: Michael P. Murphy, "The Balladeers of Newfoundland," *Atlantic Guardian*, 13:9 (1956), 15-23; Michael P. Murphy, "The Balladeers of Newfoundland," *The Daily News*, part 1 (27 July 1966), p.

8; part 2 (18 October 1966), p. 9; part 3 (16 November 1966), p. 8; *ENL*, I (1981), 295; Robert Cuff, "'Scaliger': The Poetry of James Murphy," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 84:1 (1988), 12-15; Michael Taft, "The Bard of Prescott Street meets Tin Pan Alley: The Vanity Press Sheet Music of John Burke," *Newfoundland Studies*, 6 (1990), 56-73; and *ENL* III (1991), 652-653.

¹²⁹Songsters, containing both traditional and popular material, continued to be published throughout the period under discussion, and these, along with a number of collections drawn directly from the verbal tradition by amateur and professional collectors, provided evidence of the rich folksong tradition in Newfoundland. The relationship of the folksong tradition to the literary tradition will be considered in more detail below, but it is appropriate to mention the more important collections and a selection of scholarship in the present context.

The most popular—because most widely distributed—songster, containing both folk and popular songs, was that edited and distributed by Gerald S. Doyle, a native of King's Cove, Bonavista Bay, who operated a drug firm in St. John's. The collection, *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Gerald S. Doyle, Ltd., 1927, 1940, 1955, 1966, 1978), was distributed to numerous Newfoundland households because it also served as an advertising organ for Doyle's company. In addition to distributing the song book, Doyle published a monthly newsletter, *The Family Fireside*, from 1924 to 1958, which often carried songs and other items of folklore, and sponsored on local radio the "Gerald S. Doyle News Bulletin," which broadcast local news as well as personal messages across the Island. See: Philip Hiscock, "Folk Programming Versus Elite Information: The *Doyle News* and the *Public Dispatch*," *Culture & Tradition*, 12 (1988), 41-49; and Neil V. Rosenberg, "The Gerald S. Doyle Songsters and the Politics of Newfoundland Folksong," *Canadian Folklore canadien* 13:1 (1991), 45-57.

Several major collections of Newfoundland folksongs were published by visiting collectors between 1930 and 1970. See: Elizabeth Bristol Greenleaf and Grace Yarrow Mansfield, eds., *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland* (1933; Hatboro: Folklore Associates, 1968); MacEdward Leach, ed., *Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast*, Bulletin, No. 201, Anthropological Series, No. 68 (Ottawa: The National Museum of Canada, 1965); Kenneth Peacock, ed., *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, Three Volumes, Bulletin, No. 197, Anthropological Series, No. 65 (Ottawa: The National Museum of Canada, 1965); and, Maud Karpeles, ed., *Folk Songs from Newfoundland* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1970). See also: Ryan and Small, eds., *Haulin' Rope and Gaff* (1978); and, Genevieve Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You: A Newfoundland Songbook*, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 11 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1985). What promises to be the most complete collection of Newfoundland folksongs is currently being prepared for publication by Kenneth S. Goldstein of the University of Pennsylvania. The collection, the result of Goldstein's many collecting trips around the Island in recent years, contains over 4000 songs and variants and over 2000 separate titles.

A selection of the scholarship on Newfoundland folksong includes: Phyllis Axford, "Ballads of Newfoundland Give Clues to Its Life," *Saturday Night* (12 April 1949), p. 22; Paul West, "The Unwitting Elegiac: Newfoundland Folk-Song," *Canadian Literature*, No. 7 (1961), pp. 34-44; Wilfred W. Wareham, "Social Change and Music Traditions: The Role of Singing in the Life of a Newfoundland Singer," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972; Gerald L. Pocius, "'The First Day I Thought of It Since I Got Wed': Role Expectations and Singer Status in a Newfoundland Community," *Western Folklore*, 35 (1976), 109-122; Paul Mercer, *Newfoundland Songs and Ballads in Print, 1842-1974: A Title and First Line Index*, Folklore and Language Publications, Bibliographical and Special Series, No. 6 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979); Gordon S. A. Cox, *Folk Music in a Newfoundland Outport*, CCFCS Mercury Series, No. 32 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980); Colin Quigley, *Close to the Floor: Folk Dance in Newfoundland*, Folklore and Language Publications, Monograph Series, No. 3 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1984); John Ashton, "A Study of the Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985; Kenneth S. Goldstein, "Faith and Fate in Sea Disaster Ballads of Newfoundland Fishermen," in *By Land and By Sea. Studies in the Folklore of Work and Leisure Honoring Horace P. Beck on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Roger D. Abrahams, Kenneth S. Goldstein, and Wayland D. Hand (Hatboro: Legac y Books, 1985), pp. 84-94; Gerald L. Pocius, "The Mummers Song in Newfoundland: Intellectuals, Revivalists and Cultural Nativism," *Newfoundland Studies*, 4 (1988), 57-85; Story, "A tune beyond us as we are" (1988); and, Neil V. Rosenberg, "Folksong in Newfoundland: A Research History," in *Ballads et Chansons Folkloriques*, ed., Conrad Laforte (Québec, P.Q.: CÉLAT/Université Laval, 1989), pp. 45-52.

¹³⁰Byrne, "Two Irish Poets," p. 35.

¹³¹Story, "The St. John's Balladeers," p. 160.

¹³²M. F. Howley, *Poems*, p. 84.

¹³³From the poem, "Tokens," cited in D. G. Pitt, *E. J. Pratt: The Truant Years, 1882-1927* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 265.

CHAPTER FOUR: INTERPRETING THE TRADITION, 1920-1960

It might appear, even to the casual observer of political and economic conditions in Newfoundland during the second quarter of the present century, that the average literate citizen must have been left with very little time to devote to bookish pursuits. While one could be forgiven for reaching such a conclusion, a closer look reveals that, even though the productivity which marked the decades around the turn of the century was not matched again until the late sixties and the seventies, a considerable body of material was published during the intervening period, and, far from dampening the *insanabile cacoëthes scribendi*, politics and economics often provided the impetus for much of what was written. Indeed, many who contributed to the literature of Newfoundland between 1920 and 1965 were directly involved in public life and others were indirectly involved because they worked at some point in their careers in journalism or in other related fields. During this same period there were some individuals who, not otherwise involved in public life, established modest literary reputations locally; others who had emigrated to Canada or the United States created a literature of nostalgia in their writing on Newfoundland topics from afar; and, as in earlier times, foreign writers continued to produce works dealing with Newfoundland.

These writers produced a diverse body of writing of uneven quality, but their works, whether they are good or bad, positive or negative, original or derivative, imaginative or descriptive, tend to share one common element: almost without exception they are marked by the attempt to describe, and to come to terms with, what is deemed

to be a distinctive and relatively unique Newfoundland character and worldview, and in so doing to delineate what is perceived to be the traditional way of life of the outports. This not only attests to the pervasiveness of the regional mythology discussed above but also highlights how perceptions about the folk culture and elements borrowed from it become fashioning instruments in the creation, dissemination, and perpetuation of this same regional mythology in the popular and high cultural spheres. In this regard it is worth recalling that *authorial perceptions assume an importance equal to the ethnographic reality* because writers' perceptions about the folk tradition, combined with their authorial agendas, in large measure determine how valid their depictions of the traditional way of life are likely to be and also determine the tone in which they are couched. Depictions vary according to the degree of the writers' familiarity with, and understanding of, esoteric factors, and according to whether they view tradition as predominantly a positive or a negative influence. It is necessary, therefore, when evaluating one of these depictions to determine whether it is the work of a knowledgeable or uninformed native, an habituated or uninitiated outlander, a nostalgic expatriate or a returned *émigré*. It is also important to be aware, as far as is possible, of the author's political and philosophical agendas, because the artistic use of elements borrowed from one cultural sphere by members of another is seldom a neutral exercise. A brief comparison of the responses of E. J. Pratt and George Allan England to the folk tradition will serve to illustrate several of these points, and provide a methodological framework for the consideration of other writers as well.

Pratt and England were contemporaries, at least in terms of age. Pratt was born on 4 February 1872, in Western Bay, Newfoundland, and England was born on 9 February 1887, in Fort McPherson, Nebraska. Pratt was twenty-five when he left Newfoundland in 1907 to study in Toronto, a city where he was to remain for the rest of his life. He was a forty-one-year-old scholar and teacher at the University of Toronto by the time his first collection of poetry was published,¹ but he was soon to go on to establish a reputation as a leading Canadian poet. England would eventually make two brief visits to Newfoundland, and, as a result, produce a commentary on the folk culture which is a minor classic.

It is ironic that "by the end of the 1930's," at a time when Newfoundland was caught between the rock of faltering nationhood and the hard place of Confederation with Canada, "no one doubted that E. J. Pratt was the greatest of living Canadian poets."² This may partially account for the fact that post-Confederation attempts by Newfoundland teachers and scholars to reclaim him as one of their own have been less than successful; however, the main reason why Pratt must always be read as a Canadian poet who happened to be born in Newfoundland lies in the poetry itself. All of Pratt's so-called Newfoundland poems were written retrospectively, after he had established himself in Toronto, and despite his later claim that his childhood years, as "the son of a clergyman whose mission it was to migrate every three years," provided him with the "opportunity of getting acquainted with the heart of the country, which is essentially the outport life," and his declaration that "so distinctive is the Newfoundland type that it is only with the

greatest difficulty that one may translate it in foreign terms,"³ there is little evidence of any attempt to plumb that heart or translate that type in Pratt's early poetry and none in his later work. Contemporary critical discussion of this point has sometimes tended to confuse several separate issues, and questions about Pratt's inclusion or not of Newfoundland material in his poetry are sometimes used to argue for or against the quality of the poetry itself, or, conversely, the poetry is overlooked completely in favour of jingoistic or xenophobic considerations. It is not the intention here to engage in that debate, or to be concerned with Pratt's reputation as a poet.⁴ My purpose is to show that references to things Newfoundland are only incidental in most of the early work, that where depictions of the traditional culture are more substantial the presentation is often unauthentic, and to discuss why this is so.

Two of Pratt's major Newfoundland pieces predate the publication of *Newfoundland Verse*. "Rachel: A Sea Story of Newfoundland in Verse" was privately printed in limited quantity in 1917 but was not formally published until it appeared in *Here the Tides Flow* in 1962. "The Ice-Floes" appeared in *Canadian Forum* in 1922 and was reprinted in *Newfoundland Verse*. "Rachel,"⁵ Pratt's first narrative poem, is a bleak, turgid, highly romanticized evocation of inevitable death orchestrated by a personified, lurking, and doggedly determined and deterministic sea. While it hardly resembles the more familiar Newfoundland salt water, Pratt's sea, "imperious to exercise / Its right to nourish or to slay," co-equal with a personified Nature throughout, is the only entity in the poem which approaches realization as a character; the humans,

Rachel Lee, "orphaned in maidenhood" by the sea and eventually driven to madness and death by its domination of her life, her drowned husband, and their soon-to-be-drowned son remain stock, fate-determined victims of forces which they are equally powerless to resist, control, or avoid.

The son, like the father in name (Henry) and looks, as well as in his desire to satisfy the "impetuous cravings for the restless sea," cavorts with the fateful temptress in decidedly non-fisherman-like fashion:

First in skill
 Amongst a score of swimmers, Henry Lee
 Knit with his father's sinews ventured far
 Into the deeper channels, tried the stress
 Of surface current and of undertow
 With lusty breast or side-stroke, or in view
 Of gazing mariners on a schooner's deck,
 He sprang from boom or bowsprit, diving full
 Into the azure bay with agile curve,
 As some lithe salmon leaping from a pool
 Hangs, instant poised, then arches for the plunge,
 Cutting with dexterous fin a speedy path
 Down to his haunts, and leaves a lustrous trail
 Of garnet sunbeams chasing amethysts.⁶

Similarly, when Pratt tells us that Rachel prefers the rains of fall and the winds and frosts of winter to the fine weather of summer because "they also filled / The living room with comfort, gathering all / Around the hearthstone where the rosy gleams / Leaped laughing from the pine-knot and the birch," we may sympathize with Rachel's perspective, but we are hard pressed to recognize the typical outport kitchen—the one heated refuge in a fisherman's home, if not in the clergyman's. A description that does

have the ring of accuracy to it, because it depicts a scene with which Pratt as both schoolboy and outport teacher would have been personally familiar, is that of the young Henry doing his lessons with Rachel's help:

Then after dusk throughout the calmer hour
That intervened 'twixt supper time and sleep,
With slate and pencil in his hand, the boy
Would hurry through the sums the teacher set,
Write out his copy for the morning class,
While Rachel, with her knitting placed aside,
Would make him read his lessons, hear him spell
The words that at the bottom of the page
Were grouped in lists according to their length.

The question remains, of course, whether an orphaned girl would herself have received the schooling necessary to be of much use as a tutor for her son. Be that as it may, later, when news is brought to the harbour that wreckage from the ship on which Henry had signed has been found "thrown high upon the reef," we know that Pratt is once again navigating unfamiliar waters.

Pratt mentions two vivid boyhood memories of Newfoundland, one happy and one tragic. The first was of being taken, along with the other members of his physics class, to the Newfoundland House of Assembly to see the famous Guglielmo Marconi in person. The second was of the *Greenland* disaster and the scene "when the ship came to St. John's with her freight of frozen bodies."⁷ This and all other Newfoundland sealing tragedies he attempts to bring together in "The Ice-Floes."⁸ He employs a first-person narrator which, for the first part of the poem, gives it an energy, an immediacy,

and an intimacy not found in "Rachel." The narrative opens with the blood of the sealers
up for a kill:

Dawn from the Foretop! Dawn from the Barrell!
A scurry of feet with a roar overhead;
The master-watch wildly pointing to Northward,
Where the herd in front of *The Eagle* was spread!

Pratt uses an unfortunate image to get the sealers over the side, "with the speed of
hounds on a caribou's track," but then he recovers, and:

With the rise of the sun we started to kill,
A seal for each blow from the iron bill
Of our gaffs. From the nose to the tail we ripped them,
And laid their quivering carcasses flat
On the ice; then with our knives we stripped them
For the sake of the pelt and its lining of fat.
With three fathoms of rope we laced them fast,
With their skins to the ice to be easy to drag,
With our shoulders galled we drew them, and cast
Them in thousands around the watch's flag.⁹

The relative accuracy of both language and process in this description changes, however,
once the storm sets in and cuts the hunting parties off from their ship. At that point
Pratt's personified Nature takes control of the poem, and the incidentals of person and
place are all subjugated to it and become its hapless playthings.

The relationship of many of Pratt's other supposed Newfoundland poems to any
definable Newfoundland reality is a tenuous one at best. "Newfoundland"¹⁰ threatens
much with "Here the tides flow, / And here they ebb," and with "Here the winds blow, /
And here they die," but we are left to conclude in the end that so it is with any and all
other places where "the crags / Meet the winds and tides," despite the poem's triple

denial of that fact. "The Secret of the Sea"¹¹ apostrophizes the sea in typical landlubber fashion: "Tell me thy secret, O Sea, / The mystery sealed in thy breast; / Come, breathe it in whispers to me, / A child of thy fevered unrest." The initiated feel no need to pose such questions, and any hypothetical answer which might be offered to the uninitiated is bound to prove unsatisfactory. Two of Pratt's finest brief lyrics, "Sea-Gulls" and "Erosion,"¹² although often quoted as if they were spun from the thread of uniquely Newfoundland-dyed imagery, need not be seen as such in order to be fully appreciated. The gulls of Lake Ontario, for example, would put the same demands on the language to supply a simile, and the seas around the ancestral Devon coast possess the same powers metaphorically to line the face.

Pratt's liking for, and ability to tell, a good story as well as his emphasis on the ironic and the hyperbolic in his writing have often been attributed to his early familiarity with the verbal culture of the Newfoundland outport, but it must be noted that all of Pratt's published works were written at a time when he was already an established academic; none are the efforts of an untutored young lad trying his hand at making verses. Nevertheless, in poems such as "Carlo" and "The Passing of Jerry Moore,"¹³ there are qualities which, in the verbal culture, would recommend them as recitations. The opening of "Carlo," a tribute to a dog celebrated for effecting a daring rescue during a shipwreck, will suffice to make the point:

I see not use in not confessing—
To trace your breed would keep me guessing;
It would indeed an expert puzzle

To match such legs with a jet-black muzzle,
 To make a mongrel, as you know,
 It takes some fifty types or so,
 And nothing in your height or length
 In stand or colour, speed or strength,
 Could make me see how any strain
 Could come from mastiff, bull, or Dane.
 But, were I given to speculating
 On pedigrees in canine rating,
 I'd wager this—not from your size,
 Not merely from your human eyes,
 But from the way you held that cable
 Within those gleaming jaws of sable,
 Leaped from the laffrail of the wreck
 With ninety souls upon its deck,
 And with your cunning dog-stroke tore
 Your path unerring to the shore—
 Yes, stake my life, the way you swam,
 That somewhere in your line a dam,
 Shaped to this hour by God's own hand,
 Had mated with a Newfoundland.

Prait put a stamp uniquely his own on this form in the later and longer poems he termed "extravaganzas," but to see in them a direct link, consciously attempted, with the Newfoundland tall tale tradition¹⁵ is to force the point.

Finally, there is "Newfoundland Seamen,"¹⁶ Prait's flagship Newfoundland piece, usually offered in tandem with "Newfoundland" as positive proof that he did not forget about his roots when he became a Canadian literary celebrity. It is worth quoting in full for several reasons, not the least of which, in the present context, is the fact that it was written on 31 March 1949:

This is their culture, this—their master passion
 Of giving shelter and of sharing bread,
 Of answering rocket signals in the fashion

Of losing life to save it. In the spread
 Of time—the Gilbert-Grenfell-Bartlett span—
 The headlines cannot dim their daily story,
 Nor calls like London! Gander! Teheran!
 Outplay the drama of the sled and dory.

The wonders fade. There overhead a mile,
 Planes bank like gulls: like curlews scream the jets.
 The caravans move on in radar file
 Scarce noticed by the sailors at their nets,
 Bracing their bodies to their tasks, as when,
 Centuries before Argentina's smoking funnels,
 That small ancestral band of Devon men
 Red-boned their knuckles on the *Squirrel* gunwales.

As old as it is new, as new as old,
 Enduring as a cape, as fresh as dulse,
 This is the Terra Nova record told
 Of uncontractual blood behind the pulse
 On sea or land. Was it but yesterday
 That without terms and without drill commands,
 A rescue squad found Banting where he lay
 With the torn tissues of his healing hands?

Here is the unofficial Canadian laureate, writing on demand as it were, tracing the lineage of the oldest-colony-cum-newest-province for his adopted country, and proclaiming once again, *de rigueur*, the popular notions of the sturdy breed and the hard won heritage. Yet, if one wished to quibble, one might point out that it is fishermen, not sailors, who usually tend nets and that the "drama of sled and dory" is dramatic only for those who have the luxury, or the poetic detachment, reminiscent of Crane's detached narrator in "The Open Boat," to view the scene from the relative safety of a balcony. Indeed, detachment is the operative word when the relationship between E. J. Pratt and Newfoundland is being assessed.

As the less than robust son of an immigrant Methodist minister with a penchant for hellfire and brimstone evangelism, Pratt was, despite living in at least eight different settlements, "never really more than a peripheral outporter."¹⁶ His father, the Reverend John Pratt, with the profound detachment that accompanies the certainty of righteousness, attempted to protect his offspring from the world of the unsaved, and his mother, because she considered him delicate, attempted to protect him equally from germs and rough play. From his maternal grandfather, a sealing captain and mariner who turned romantic sketcher of icebergs, he may have heard stories of the sea, but these, one suspects, were simply mingled with the imaginative world of his reading, "his chief diversion and escape both as a child and an adolescent."¹⁷ Pratt lived in, but was not of, the Newfoundland outport in the usual sense; he was more a detached observer than an active participant in the daily life of the settlements and towns in which he lived during his early years, and once he was removed from the physical setting the observed reality did not remain sharply focused in his memory. The best demonstration of this is the fact that Pratt shows no real interest in the Newfoundland language in his poetry. This is a fundamental point because the language, in all its manifestations and particulars, is, as George Allan England and others discovered and demonstrated, the key to worldview.

England, having received his undergraduate and master's degrees from Harvard University, became a journalist and science fiction writer. He is remembered now, if at all, as the writer who at one time was Edgar Rice Burroughs's chief rival in the early science fiction pulp magazines. His travel pieces regularly appeared in *The Saturday*

Evening Post and in *Travel Magazine*, but are now largely forgotten, and his writing as a whole has attracted little critical attention. It was in the process of writing a series of articles on little known places of the world that he discovered Newfoundland. He made a trip along the southwest coast in the summer of 1920 and then he sought and received permission from Eric Bowring to accompany one of his firm's sealing ships to the hunt. He was forty-five when he made his six-week sojourn to the icefields aboard the *Terra Nova*, under the command of the legendary highliner Abram Kean, in the spring of 1922. Out of that experience came *Vikings of the Ice* and *The White Wilderness*, the first a journalistic/ethnographic account of his trip and the second a novel based on the same excursion.¹⁸

Vikings of the Ice is subtitled in part "the log of a tenderfoot" and this is most appropriate because England's account throughout is a mixture of naive awe and bewilderment which one associates with the uninitiated, combined with the careful record of events and experiences we expect from a good journalist. It is this balanced combination which gives the work its very special quality, and keeps it from being a sensational exposé on the one hand or a dry statistical account on the other. In this regard it is important to keep in mind that England's book predates by many years the sensational negative publicity of recent times which led to the closure of the vessel seal hunt. It is equally important to see England as a man of his time. He states in his prefatory note that he has "minimized a good deal of the hunt to make it at all acceptable to the reading public," but this concern for the sensibilities of his readers must be

tempered by his unqualified comments that the sealers cut tobacco "from plugs harder than a nigger's head," and that in the dirty and dismal quarters 'tween-decks the sealers "looked like so many niggers, with eyes and mouth alone distinctly visible."¹⁹ Obviously his desire to understand the cultures of other countries did not free him from the prejudices of his own.

The fact that England's book is "admirably dedicated" to the sealers, whom he calls "the strongest, hardiest and bravest men I have ever known," could be used to suggest that he is merely adding another chapter to the story of the hearty, all 'round Newfoundlander. His references to local sources suggest that he certainly would have been aware of the image,²⁰ but it must be remembered that England supplemented his reading and research with direct participant observation, and it is as a result of this that language assumes such an important role in his book. Early on in his narrative he cautions his readers that "it will be necessary to dip heavily into dialect" because "the Newfoundland language is one unique and apart from any other," but he assures them that "without using it no adequate picture of the seal hunt can be painted."²¹ He realized as well that understanding the language was the key to understanding much more, that it would provide him with access to the thought processes behind the particular Newfoundland way of looking at the world fostered by history, heritage, occupation and climate. He illustrates this by reporting a conversation he had prior to his own trip to the ice with a Newfoundland carpenter who had been there many times:

'Goin' swilin', is ye, sir?' he asked. 'Me dear man! Ye'll be rale hearty. If y'r luck's in, ye'll take no harm. I was on de *Florizel*, time she an' ninety-four men was lost. 'Tis a wonnerful fine racket. I'd like to be goin' in collar meself, agin, wid me rope an' gaff an' scuplin' knife! I'd like to year de ole cry: "Starburd over!" an' year them whitecoats bawlin'. I would, so.'²²

Before long, England not only develops an ear for the dialect, but picks up some of the tone as well as is evident from his own description of the daily round on a sealing vessel: "As for the common hands, they have nothing much to do except steer, shift ballast and coal, hunt seals, kill them, skin them and drag the sculps aboard."²³ There are, however, subtleties of dialect and viewpoint which do escape him.

At one point, early on in the voyage, when he hears the captain command the scunner to "'go aloft, skipper, . . . an' see how the leads are,'" England notes in an aside that "everyone aboard a sealing vessel is 'skipper.'²⁴ This is a minor example of his missing the levels of esoteric meaning, which he clarifies somewhat in his *Dialect Notes* article where "skipper" is glossed as "a courtesy title to any one." More telling is his failure to understand the Newfoundland penchant for understatement, which he notes in the following comment:

Some odd turn of thought makes many of the Newfoundlanders use diminutives. A gale becomes a 'breeze,' oars are 'paddles,' an axe is a 'hatchet,' and a schooner is sometimes a 'skiff.' A two-masted vessel may be called a 'punt,' a cable is a 'string,' and a heavy steel hawser is a 'wire.' The wickedest kind of weather is often only 'dirt,' while the finest is but 'civil.' A man sick abed is merely 'puckerin'' or 'turned over.'²⁵

It is surprising, given that he recognizes the "shrewd native wisdom" embodied in the folk beliefs and proverbs which he records,²⁶ that he does not recognize a similar native wisdom in this habit of speech. There is room for considerable comment on this aspect of the Newfoundland language, but, basically, although it may also function as a means of keeping the outsider at bay, it is a way of taking verbal control of situations over which the exercise of physical and emotional control is either difficult or impossible. It is a way of cutting powerful forces—natural, supranatural, and unnatural—down to linguistically manageable size. It is part of the same "odd turn of thought" which recognizes that "luck is everywhere, and it is mostly bad,"²⁷ which constantly recalls that "Noftly was forty when he lost the pork,"²⁸ but which also takes uneasy solace, as Placentia Bay fishermen do when they unconsciously paraphrase Shakespeare's Gonzalo, in the belief that "if you are born to be hung you won't be drowned." It is the verbal rendering of the philosophy of the "optimistic fatalist: one who believes that what will be will be, but acts in the hope that it will be better."²⁹ Put another way, it holds that it is always wise to prepare for the worst, even while hoping for the best. Had England grasped the finer points of this turn of mind, he would have been less bewildered on occasion by the actions of his sealing comrades.

In delineating the particulars of character and event, however, England's aim is true and his narrative never loses its captivating focus on the individual.³⁰ His description of Sunday service aboard the ship and his excellent account of a song session, complete with contextual notes and transcriptions, are made all the more worthwhile

because we see them unfold through the involvement of individual participants.³¹ The result is that the sealers, despite the cold, the blood, the dirt, and the other hardships of sealing, never lose their humanity, and, indeed, despite their foolhardy daring and sometime heroism, they retain their ordinary human frailty and vulnerability. What emerges, finally, is a sympathetic, but unromanticized, picture of "the obscure, patient, tireless ones who live and labour by the chill and fog-bound northern waters; the poverty-bitten, humble, heroic, cheerful, truly pious, and indomitable men who gamble with death, and who all too often lose,"³² and it is, within its limitations, a truer picture than that painted by Pratt, the native son.

The different responses of Pratt and England to "the Newfoundland type" raise a number of points worth considering, not only in terms of their specific approaches to the subject but also because an examination of these specific approaches illuminates other areas for investigation as well. Pratt's comment that "when a half-dozen of us Newfoundlanders gather together in Toronto to smoke and yarn, the foreign born, if he happen to be invited to the company, finds himself only on the fringe of a charmed circle,"³³ suggests that he was familiar with a Newfoundland dialect. His decision, therefore, not to use it, or to use it only sparingly, in his early poetry was a deliberate one. No doubt this is related to his upbringing, his early education, and his desire to be a truly Canadian poet. The attitude toward dialect in educated circles in Newfoundland has historically been negative and laden with class prejudice.³⁴ Therefore, while dialect might be used with approval when smoking and yarning, it was not considered

appropriate for poetry. The same might be said with regard to the subject matter that dialect could be expected to treat and the themes that it could be expected to convey adequately, and Pratt, having commented on what he considered to be the essential aspects of Newfoundland culture—hardship, suffering, heroism and death—found little else therein of poetic interest. Commentators on Pratt usually point out that "he would have been a very different poet had he not been born and grown up mainly in the sea-girt outport world of Newfoundland,"³⁵ or pose hypothetical questions concerning what he might have produced "had he, like W. B. Yeats, turned his great talents upon the materials supplied by his own people."³⁶ One suspects that the accident of Pratt's birthplace remains more important for those who would reclaim him to the fold of Newfoundland writers than it ever was for Pratt, and that had he been forced by circumstances to write exclusively on materials about which he cared only superficially he would have remained a second-rate poet.

England stumbled upon and celebrated the same culture that Pratt had not been disappointed to leave behind him, but "de quare 'Merikin," as the sealers called him, when his adventure was complete, could also leave the extremities and paradoxes of Newfoundland behind him and return to the more familiar surroundings of his New Hampshire home. And he, like Pratt, made other choices. He was aware that "Newfoundland has its rich folk and its cultured ones aplenty,"³⁷ but he deliberately chose not to focus on that segment of the population. He was probably less aware, despite his earlier trip to the southwest coast, that the seal hunt was very much its own

reality and not typical, and that the men who shared his adventure, being all northeast coast men, were not necessarily representative of the whole Island in language or viewpoint. This does not prevent him, however, from drawing generalized conclusions and from extrapolating about shore life from his experience at sea.

In Pratt and England, therefore, we have two exceptions who help to illuminate the spectrum, if not to prove the rule, for against their responses it is possible to measure the responses of those who were born, raised, lived and wrote in Newfoundland, and those who were born elsewhere but came and made the place their home and their subject. Against the same yardstick may be measured the responses of those writers who left, eventually to return, and those who left permanently but continued to deal with Newfoundland materials in their writing. Out of the combined visions of all of these writers there began to emerge a distinctive Newfoundland literature, a literature which is responsive and reactive to the radical social changes which marked the second quarter of the century, and which either draws heavily, both for form and content, on the verbal culture which predated it and which continues to survive alongside it, or ignores that in favour of emulating more cosmopolitan trends and themes. Most of these writers, however, share a marked predilection for examining the nature of life on the Island and for pronouncing on what are deemed to be its essential qualities. This, in turn, has given rise to a protracted debate in the literature over the relative merits of what is perceived to be the traditional culture and its role *vis-à-vis* life on the Island as a whole. Even those writers who are the most self-consciously cosmopolitan in outlook and literary

taste, and with little or no firsthand experience with, or understanding of, the traditional culture seem unable to avoid dealing with it, despite the fact that the only basis for this attraction seems to be loathing overlaid with condescension, and a belief that any influence attributable to the traditional culture is by that fact alone a negative one. On the other hand, the less self-consciously literary, practically-minded writers have tended toward an idealization and romanticization of the traditional culture in their writings, despite, in many cases, firsthand experience with the realities of the life they choose to so depict. It is obvious, therefore, that, because so much of the literature being examined here was responsive and reactive to social and political issues and events, conventional literary aesthetics alone do not provide a sufficiently broad basis for an examination of it.

The usual approach among literary commentators on the Newfoundland scene is to point out that "the 1920s were not rich in imaginative literature,"³⁸ and that "when one considers Newfoundland in the 1930s, one does not readily think of the literary arts."³⁹ It is then customary, by way of demonstrating that the intellectual faculties were not completely dormant during these decades, to single out writers whose work is notable because it is conspicuously different from that of their contemporaries, such as Florence Miller, who wrote "a kind of poetry much different from folk-wailing,"⁴⁰ or Irving Fogwill, who "was producing free verse on themes of disillusionment and anger."⁴¹ Passing reference is usually made to other writers, and to the various collections of folksongs and popular poetry which were published during the period, but

these are not seen as being significant to the literary tradition. This approach, which is the commonly accepted methodology of traditional literary history, unfortunately creates the usual imbalances and accepts the usual restrictive definitions associated with the literacy bias discussed above. The result is that much which is worthwhile and significant is devalued and discarded because it cannot be accommodated within literary history so defined. A more profitable approach, especially in the present context where it is a transitional literature which is being discussed, is to consider the various writers and their works in terms of points along the verbal/literate continuum. In this way the interrelationships among the expressive forms of the folk, popular, and high cultural registers can be more easily traced and more completely understood.

Considered in this light, it is significant that in the same year as Pratt's *Newfoundland Verse* there also appeared a slim volume of songs, compiled by the indefatigable James Murphy.⁴² Of the fourteen titles in the collection, the oldest is "Wadham's Song," a practical navigational aid supposedly named after its composer in 1756. It is now largely forgotten, but two other titles in the collection, John Grace's "The Petty Harbour Bait Skiff" and H. W. LeMessurier's "The Ryans and the Pittmans," have attained perennial status in the popular culture repertoire and still enjoy a wide currency. A couple of the other titles included, "Around Green Island Shore," and "The Maid of Newfoundland," are less well-known but can still be heard on occasion at a kitchen time. Murphy followed this with two other collections, in 1925 and 1926,⁴³ the first edition of the Doyle songbook appeared in 1927,⁴⁴ and a collection of Johnny

Burke's songs appeared in 1929.⁴⁵ The Doyle collection contained forty-three titles, some of which had appeared in earlier compilations by Burke and/or Murphy, and, because it was distributed free, it had the widest circulation.⁴⁶ One should not assume that these publications were the result of a sort of St. John's cottage industry dedicated to song publication. It is true that publication was centered in St. John's, and the extent of the distribution of each collection is difficult to assess, but, as the collecting efforts of Greenleaf and Mansfield in the summer of 1929 and those of Karpeles in the fall of 1929 and the summer of 1930 were to demonstrate, the singing of songs was a much more widely dispersed activity than the writing or the printing of them.⁴⁷ Also, as subsequent fieldwork and research has demonstrated, song making had been, was, and continued to be a widespread activity within the traditional culture, and, as an examination of the corpus of collected songs demonstrates, a local folk aesthetic had evolved and had been operative for a considerable period of time. This, therefore, was the milieu which also saw the publication of the poetry of Florence Miller and Irving Fogwill, and it is within that context that it can most profitably be evaluated.

Florence Miller (1889-1979) was born in Topsail and lived her entire life there, serving the community as postmistress and wireless operator. She frequently contributed verse to local periodicals, and her poems appeared in school texts, but only one collection of her works was published.⁴⁸ The thirty-nine poems in this collection are arranged under four headings—Rhymes Out of Doors, At Topsail Bay, Rhymes by the Sea, and Indoor Rhymes—and the effect achieved, as Pratt points out in his "Foreword,"

is "a rich sense of local colour."⁴⁹ Miller's deliberate use of dialect is usually noted by commentators, but, as one of her most frequently cited poems, "The Wopses' Nest," illustrates, the dialect as she presents it is contrived and imprecise; it partly suggests the dialect of the outharbour juvenile, and is partly reminiscent of Huck Finn:

Yest'y in our garden, we foun' a wopses' nest—
 Pruttiest-lookin' thing you ever see!
 Every little groove of it smooove an' silver-dressed,
 An' it hung on our syringa-tree.

Wunder ef the wopses happened to be out?
 Jerry thought there wuz no sign o' life;
 Never seed none, neether, then Jim got his knife,
 Said he'd soon make certain-sure, no doubt.

So he cut the thread that tied it to the tree—
 Gee! But this ol' poultice's awful wet!
 Jerry's face is tied up, too. That sort o' comforts me. . .
 But 'tis a wunder *Jim's* not runnin' yet!⁵⁰

Much more than a little of this soon grows tiresome, and, unfortunately, there is a great deal more of it in the collection. It is unfortunate because it can prevent the reader who does not have the patience and tolerance to get beyond it from appreciating the other merits of the poetry.

The first poem in the collection, "Simple Things," is not written in dialect but it sets the tone, a remembrance of things past and recollections of the joys of childhood, for the collection. The first stanza illustrates the whole:

Come wander back with me along a glade
 Where childish footsteps happily have strayed;
 Peer into little nests among the trees,
 And bare your head to meet the vagrant breeze;

And find again, betwixt the Iris dank,
 White fragrant violets on a pale moss-bank,
 And see a youngster peeping from the shade—
 Were you that little child? Was this your glade?⁵¹

The title poem, "In Caribou Land," is somewhat generous in ascribing four distinct and definable seasons to Newfoundland, to each of which she devotes one stanza, but it is also worth noting that a full musical accompaniment is provided for this poem. Obviously, Miller was listening to all that was going on around her.

The most fascinating aspect of the collection is that the persona in many of the poems is a young boy, and the author is mostly successful in having him communicate to us an unusually wide range of emotion and a degree of sensitivity not ordinarily associated with the type. In the opening stanza of "Off to the Wood" he tells us: "Fellers goes up to the haylof', but I goes off to the wood / When I wanten think out sumpin', 'er I'm not a-feelin' good; / Cos the wood jes' takes a feller into its great green lap / An' smooovens his ruffled fur down, an' takes out all the yap."⁵² He is a very normal boy inasmuch as he longs for school to be over and for the holidays to arrive, and he likes berry-picking, fishing, and getting into mischief. But he also enjoys an especial relationship with Big Davey, a fisherman from whom he learns much. All the boys like Davey, in fact, because: "Big Davey says he thinks that boys / Would be no good without their noise; / An' so us fellers likes him more / Than any yuther man 'long shore!"⁵³ Big Davey, although he is "always jawin' an' scoldin'" the boy himself, is the first to protect him when he gets in the way and tries the patience of the other men,

and sometimes the boy is treated to "pork-fat cakes" in Davey's stage. In Davey's company he learns to put cobwebs on cuts, is introduced to the salt water, learns tales about the Woolly Man who lives underground, and hears songs which include "The Loss of the *Blue Jacket*," "The Foot o' the Mountain Brow," and "A Summer in Bonay I Spent."⁵⁴ The last, by the way, is included in the first Doyle songster.

"Big Davey's Maxims" is worth quoting in full not only because it illustrates well the relationship between the boy and his mentor, but also because it is such a good example of the folk tradition operating in the literate realm:

Big Dave, he knows such a lot o' things,
 An' tells me them ef I be's good,
 Down in his stage, er by his door
 When he's choppin' turkumtimy wood.
 Big Dave, he says ef you eat yer crusts
 You'll grow to be a great big man
 As tall—as tall as a house is, mos'!
 So I'm eatin' all the crusts I can.

An' Big Dave says ef you screw yer face
 An' make it a shockin' sight to see,
 May be, sometime the wind'll change
 An' tha's the way it'll always be!
 An' Big Dave says ef you touch a bird
 That's new in the nest, all bill an' craw,
 The mother-bird when she flies back home
 May hang it up to a bough with straw!

I whizzed a stone at a wizzel wunst,
 An' Big Dave saw me from his boat—
 'Son, never do that no more,' he said,
 'Er the wizzel may come and cut yer throat.
 I knows a feller as hurt one, too,
 An', though he wuz tucked up safe in bed,
 That wizzel gnawed clear through the wall,

An' only his grandpa sove' his head!'

An' Big Dave says never lie an' kick
 In a rage, some time, on yer kitchen-floor,
 Cos ef somebody steps over you,
 Why, then you never'll grow no more!
 There's a whole lot more that is wonderful
 That I jes' loves to be listenin' to;
 Cos Big Dave knows such a heap o' things—
 Though ma says half of 'em isn't true!⁵⁵

All that remains is for the boy to come of age and pass on Davey's lore to some other little fellow, and one gets the impression that Miller feels that he should and will do exactly that, despite his mother's misgivings.

It is difficult to imagine poetry more unlike Miller's than that written by Irving Fogwill (1901-1984). Fogwill was born in St. John's and lived his life there, working as a labour leader, political activist, and civil servant. Paradoxically, although he was actively involved in local social and political issues, his first published collection of poems⁵⁶ makes little reference to Newfoundland subjects or themes, and there is no significant change in emphasis in his subsequent work.⁵⁷ This may be explained in part by the fact that Fogwill was largely self-educated, and his intellectual development was influenced significantly by his wide reading in the British and American periodicals of the 1920s. As a result, despite the fact that he came from a conservative Presbyterian family, "by the age of twenty-four Fogwill had become a staunch socialist and a confirmed agnostic."⁵⁸ His literary tastes were similarly influenced by cosmopolitan forces, and "as a poet, he turned for his inspiration to the giants of the contemporary

literary scene, notably T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound.⁵⁹ In his own poetry he adopts a global rather than a parochial stance.

In his "Appeal to Parnassus" he issues a challenge to poets to rediscover the social relevance of their calling. The opening stanza, in Prufrockian fashion, demands: "Sing us a song! Poets, of dirty streets / In little towns . . . / Where fœtid things have their foul hour; / And rain is streaming." He goes on to suggest that contemporary poets should not attempt to emulate "sweet-voiced Shelley" and "sad-eyed Keats"; instead they should "come down from the heights to the dirty town: / To the muddy streets; to the unwashed men. . . ." There, he pleads with the poet, is the place to "tune your lyre and sing your songs again."⁶⁰ In a similar vein, in "To Several Modern Poets," he castigates those who "build a dozen stanzas to describe one flower" and "use a thousand magic words on love's short hour" when "men are starving and a million children cower."⁶¹ There is no indication that Fogwill is here thinking about, or speaking specifically to, other Newfoundland poets, but there is also no indication that they are being exempted. In fact, it has been argued that Fogwill stood as a lone rebel fighting against what he considered to be the hackneyed and restrictive forms which had come to characterize the work of Newfoundland poets, and insisting that poetry's prime role was to comment on social issues.⁶²

None would fault Fogwill for casting his poetic lot with Eliot and Pound, nor, given the period in which he was writing, would any condemn him for suggesting that poetry might serve a utilitarian function, but one cannot help wondering how it was,

since he chose to portray the poet in the classic role of a singer of tales, that he heard none of the themes he deemed important voiced by the singers around him and discovered none of the stanzaic and verbal economy he espoused in the songs they sang. It appears that Fogwill was either unfamiliar with that aspect of the tradition or simply rejected it as poetically irrelevant; the former is the more likely, but the second is not beyond the realm of possibility. He may well have been aware of the published collections noted above, but, as a glance through the rather generous sample of local poetic fare in *The Book of Newfoundland* illustrates,⁶³ the indiscriminate mixing of songs—usually the most accessible texts, printed, more often than not, without musical accompaniment—with other forms of verse, literary and popular, was not likely to stimulate a positive aesthetic or critical response from anyone not acquainted with the wellspring of song behind the texts and unfamiliar with the performance contexts out of which they came.

One is left to wonder whether Fogwill was familiar or not with this wellspring. For instance, social commentary, of a rather strong nature, is to be found in many locally made songs. Consider, for example, the last verse of "The Garland Field" (also known as "The Garfield" and, sometimes as "Paddy Dover," which may, in fact, have been the name of the songmaker who made it up), a locally made Placentia Bay song in the repertoire of the writer's uncle, Dan Lake, originally from Darby's Harbour, and in the repertoire of the late Mac Masters, originally from Harbour Buffett. It sets up a contrast between the people who live on land in the relative safety and comfort of their "houses

warm" and those who bring them their supplies, "the lads who plough the storm." The former, foul weather friends of sorts, do not fully appreciate the extent of their dependence on the latter when times are good: "You slight us and rebuke us and give us half our due." However, in a final line of consummate vindication it is strikingly stated: "But in stormy winter weather you're not fit to wipe our shoes."⁶⁴ Social commentary aplenty, sometimes of a less than delicate nature, is also to be found in the more private treason song tradition.⁶⁵

Songs of the folk tradition often exhibit a Spartan economy in stanza and line, and often prefer the pithy phrase or pointed image to the extended metaphor. Another locally made Placentia Bay song, "The August Gale,"⁶⁶ deals with one of a number of late summer gales the bay experienced during this period, and contains the following two verses:

Danny Cheeseman from Rushoon also went down that day.
The boat was passed with her two spars gone about halfway in the Bay.
To think of what they suffered, a stone would heave a sigh;
There were two men clinging to the wreck when Harris passed her by.

Three times he brought her to the wind, but her foresail did give way;
And with aching hearts they were forced to part, and run before the sea.
He tried his best to save them, 'twas all that he could do.
May the Lord have mercy on the souls of Dan Cheeseman and his crew.⁶⁷

One commentator has recently noted: "With typical economy of language the writer compresses into a couple of lines the act of consummate seamanship and heroism of three times heaving to in that howling hurricane in the futile effort to save the two men whose

apparently lifeless bodies lay on the overturned wreck."⁶⁸ Note also the line which describes a vessel under full sail in "Jim Harris," a song made up by the illiterate Peter Leonard: "She was like some frightened animal with the white foam across her face."⁶⁹ Consider as well the ending of "The Hole in the Wall," also made by Leonard: "And if you're offended, your temper I'll mend it; / I might find a three-leg someday I gets time!"⁷⁰ The penultimate verse of a song which describes the loss of a ship with all hands maintains an economy that is chilling: "She is the *Union* from St. John's / How well I knows her name. / And every night as I lie on my bed / I can hear the young widows complain."⁷¹ Examples could be multiplied, but these should be sufficient to illustrate that all the poetry of the period did not deal solely in "fragrant depths of fir and pine," cabins built on "a little bit of Heaven / In the wilds of Newfoundland," "the twilight's fading gleam," "the glorious ardour of the sun," "simple joys and guileless mirth," and hidden spots "where the Speckled Beauties lie."⁷² Fogwill, therefore, like others before and after him, may well have been rejecting the whole of Newfoundland's poetic tradition on the basis of his familiarity with only one segment of it.

Furthermore, it is too facile a response to reject that segment out of hand simply because it is adjudged, according to some highly subjective measurements of literary trends and tastes, to have been out of step with what was happening elsewhere. Derivative poetry is still derivative whether it follows the orthodox or the odd, the traditional or the avant-garde, but the best of the considerable body of poetry written locally during this period avoids the pitfalls of either category because it presents fresh

interpretations of traditional themes or draws on traditional forms to express fresh ideas. Consider, for example, the simple but canny and effective twist on an overused and tired theme in "Who Wouldn't Be A Seaman?" by Mina Brown:

Who wouldn't be a seaman on a night like this,
 With silver moonlight stealing, like a lover's kiss,
 Down across the wheel-house door? Who would give a Rap
 For crowded streets and houses when the lap, lap, lap
 Of dancing waves comes softly up from either side
 Like little voices telling that the sea is wide.

Who wouldn't be a seaman when a cutting wind
 Is tearing at one's oilskins with a touch unkind?
 Who wouldn't be a seaman when the waves leap high
 And frozen rain beats downwards from a stormy sky,
 And canvas flapping madly? God, I'd love to go!
 But daughters of a seaman sit at home and sew.⁷³

Note also Art Scammell's refreshing twist on the-sea-as-enemy notion in these lines from the last stanza of his "The Old Captain," otherwise a rather conventional piece: "I hate the land, / The cruel land that tore my ship from me, / And keeps me from her."⁷⁴ The apt turn of thought and the quick turn of phrase that are so much part of the verbal culture work equally as well in the literary sphere.

A major problem in evaluating the corpus of Newfoundland poetry written during the second quarter of the century is that little of it was published in book form. Most of it appeared in local newspapers and periodicals, or in ephemeral chapbooks, and it is only in more recent years that any of it has been published in collections. Unfortunately, useful as these publications are, they are often more encomiastic than scholarly, and this makes it difficult to evaluate poetic developments in Newfoundland in historical

perspective.⁷⁵ It is useful, therefore, to take a brief look at the work of representative poets who produced some of their best work during this period, poets who were neither songwriters or topical versifiers, and to examine the ways in which perceptions of the traditional culture are presented in their poetry.

Georgiana Cooper (1885-1980) was born at Inglewood (Maggoty Cove), Northwest Arm, Trinity Bay, was educated privately, attended the Mercy Convent School in St. John's, and studied at the General Hospital School of Nursing, from which she graduated as a registered nurse in 1920. In addition to her writing, she also produced a large number of water colours. She wrote more than 400 poems, many of them during a period of confinement and convalescence in the 1920s and 1930s brought on by her having contracted tuberculosis, but the first collection of her work did not appear until 1971.⁷⁶ Her poems, which deal mainly with faith, nature, and quotidian matters, have a wonderfully deceptive simplicity about them that invariably disappoints those who prefer "high sentence . . . a bit obtuse." They give the reader, however, a sense of the Newfoundland reality best summed up in the lines: "Such is the home my heart is most desiring / Humble but beautiful as lowly things are wont to be."⁷⁷ This is not sentimentalism. Lowly here means ordinary, as the house described in "The Deserted Island" is ordinary, with its "brightly coloured rugs / Spread o'er the well-scrubbed floors. / And restful beds of softest feathers / Plucked from the breasts of seabirds caught for food."⁷⁸ She uses dialect sparingly, but when she does her ear is true, as in "The Boy and the Piggin": "When I goes out in de Bullie wid Da, / I wants a line an' a

jigger. / But Da says 'You jus' do as you'm tole / An' wait till you'm grow'd up bigger.'⁷⁹ This poem is also very perceptive in dealing with the traditional learning processes involved in a young boy's coming of age as a fisherman.

Her descriptions of nature are equally "lowly" and apt. In her best poems there is no gushing language, no overstated sentiment. Here are some seasonal images. Fall: "Long mown the hay from fields / Now yellow'd and sere; / The cabbage, and potato patch, / Lies brown and drear." Winter: "The crunch of homing feet upon the snow, / And rhythmic singing of a lantern's glow, / Tells me the busy woodman's day is o'er, / The horses fed and barred the stable door." Typically, however, although men and horses turn to rest, inside the house: "Odour of turpentine and bough pervades, / While work aplenty 'waits mistress and maids." Spring: a poem titled "A May Snow-Storm" speaks volumes about that most elusive of Newfoundland seasons. Summer: "A galvanized bucket hanging from her arm, / Catches a glitter from the sunshine warm. / Her two blue eyed boys run along ahead, / Each with a piper to hold berries red." She describes a pond as "a blue cup of water," winter as "a fierce old man," and, as if to protect herself forever from charges of Romanticism, declares: "I have not seen the daffodils, / As Wordsworth saw them growing, / But thank my God for buttercups, / Among the clover g'owing."⁸⁰ There is more here, however, than mere restrained description. There is to be found running through all of her poetry a sense of reverent awe combined with an unassuming practicality, which results from what Harold Paddock has aptly described as Cooper's poetic rendering of the traditional "Paganized

Christianity"⁸¹ of Newfoundlanders. This allows her to recognize and appreciate the ability inherent in the traditional Newfoundland worldview to accommodate and manage extreme tensions, tensions between the "dreary days and desolation" caused by winter ice blockades and May snowstorms on the one hand and the "Small miracles of life" suggested by goldenrod growing in a rock wall and spring violets with "Their purple and white sails / Unfurled so coyly" on the other. Cooper understands that the ability to reconcile these tensions by being able to move with sanity and grace, "Submissive and assured,"⁸² between them is what, traditionally, made life in Newfoundland possible for some and preferable for many.

Gregory Power (1909-), like Cooper, was a victim of tuberculosis, and, also like Cooper, wrote his best poetry while he was recuperating from the disease. Power was born on his parents' small farm in Dunville, Placentia Bay, educated in St. John's, and, prior to contracting tuberculosis, was an outstanding athlete who represented Newfoundland at the British Empire Games in 1930.⁸³ Harold Horwood maintains that "except that rhyme and regular metre had begun to go out of fashion by the time he wrote his first verses, Gregory J. Power would be recognised as Newfoundland's finest lyric poet," and he also describes Power as "the most devastating political satirist in Newfoundland history."⁸⁴ The fact is that Power's early lyric poetry shows great promise but, sadly, there is hardly enough of it to allow one to make any generalizations about it. The sadder fact appears to be that once he devoted his writing talents to the

Confederation cause and began writing prose and doggerel on demand his early command of the lyric dissipated.⁸⁵

Although Power spent his childhood in an outport, neither his family nor he had any direct involvement with the traditional outport occupation of fishing. There is, however, a sense of the outport's relationship with the salt water running through his early poetry, commingled at times with more soil-bound imagery, referring, for example, to the joy to be found "When you have warmed your heart beside a row / Of crocus blooms half-buried in the snow." The traditional seasonal round is noted in "Bogwood": "Around the coast, old custom sets a time / For certain work, and in our neighbourhood, / When April comes we tidy up and lime; / December is the month for getting wood." "A Legend" tells of a shipwreck which takes place on "a blustery night late in the year," but fails to satisfy our expectations of a good story promised in the first stanza "when suddenly near, / Where only the gulls or the gannets may go, / The sails of a big vessel loomed through the snow." "Schoonerman" works much better, and proves that a keen ear and a sharp eye can be fair substitutes for firsthand experience:

Come! Schoonerman, we'll talk of stormy weather;
Of cold seas, and the lore of little ships;
Of lines and twines, and ways with wood and leather
This land has bred into your fingertips.
We'll work the wind and tide without misgiving;
We'll ride the dories over and away,
And listen to the seabird's wild thanksgiving
Above the trap-birth at the break of day.⁸⁶

More recently Power, having decided that he had "lost the gift" for lyric, turned "toward the end of the 1970s" to narrative and produced "The Price of Bread." It describes the building of a schooner by men whose "axe was their magician's wand; / The eye was their precision tool." Their activity is closely observed by youths whose "truant souls did not belong / In the prosaic world of books," one of whom, now grown, recounts the story for us. When the craft is complete, the men of the cove "came as custom said they should, / The young and strong, the old and wise, / To give whatever help they could, / To heave, or haul, or criticize." Launched she is a "handsome thing" and her builders are "justified in walking tall." However, while all the boats are fishing the grounds, the "sullen East wind went berserk," took the lives of the men, and "erased their handiwork." The wreck, tossed high in a cliff, becomes a place for the young boys to play and dream and wonder "why the gods agree / On such a dreadful price for bread."⁸⁷ The reader is left to wonder about the price, in Power's case at least, of Confederation.

Michael Harrington (1916-), who was born and raised in St. John's where he still lives, won first prize in a juvenile poetry contest when he was sixteen and is still, at this writing, producing a weekly newspaper column which deals with Newfoundland popular history. In 1943 he replaced J. R. Smallwood as "The Barrelman" on the popular local radio programme of that name, and continued in that position until 1955.⁸⁸ From 1959-1982 he was editor of the St. John's newspaper *The Evening Telegram*. He has written a considerable amount of prose dealing with Newfoundland history, in recognition of

which he received, in 1979, an award from Heritage Canada for his part in promoting and preserving Canada's heritage.⁸⁹ My concern here is with his early poetry.⁹⁰

Harrington's poetry, when it comes to dealing with things Newfoundland, has a detachment about it reminiscent of that found in the poetry of Pratt. This is surprising when one considers his wide familiarity with the geography of the Island and of Labrador, his knowledge of local history, and, based on the frequency with which they appear in his work, the fact that he seems to be fascinated with the sea and with outports as subjects. But very little of Newfoundland's non-standard language appears in his poetry, and his descriptions are learned, careful, crafted, distant, and general. It is a poetic rather than a real Newfoundland that emerges as one reads though his poems. Consider these lines from the poem "Newfoundland Tapestry" as an example:

Thus to the strangers who come as friends,
This hacked and sea-rent fortress, by oceans long-beleaguered,
This Newfoundland, this brine-steeped, foam-bearded Island
Offers its largesse and its proud delights;
Whose people can never shut the sound of the sea
From out their ears, nor travel five-score leagues
And see not pale, green water, seaweed-trailing,
Trembling shapeless down to the chasmed ocean floors,
And salmon flashing their bronze bellies in the cool,
Dark vaults of the river mouths, and the caplin
Turning up their twitching, nickel flanks under
The cloud-shaped hulls of the schooners, the bait-bins
Quicksilver-bright with cod; the burnt spars rolling
Through sultry arcs, the bobstays bowed in flame.⁹¹

It is worth noting that Pratt, in commenting on the original collection, stated: "I am delighted with your 'Newfoundland Tapestry', particularly with the rich-clothed title

poem. You have brought in all the grand shapes, sounds and smells."⁹² It is, however, the grand quality that fails to ring true here, at least to some eyes, ears, and noses.

The same sea, omnipresent in sight and sound, is described in other poems in the collection as "The insatiable, the implacable enemy," as "Life's arch-enemy," as "the vast arbiter, uncompromising," and as "lean wavemonsters [which] crouch and snarl and spring."⁹³ In the process the sea, the more familiar salt water, is transmogrified; it becomes an image only and loses its reality. The result is that, when we come across a poem like "Fisher Wives," at least in context with the others, we are distracted by this sea which has been made into an abstraction, and our attention is deflected to a degree that we wonder, despite the revenant motif and the other possibilities suggested, what the fuss is about:

Some women lie awake and weep all night,
When the intolerable wind is blowing
Its north-east anger, and the land is bright,
With spray-blooms from the labored ocean's sowing.

Some women sleep and in their brains they feel
The hands of drowned men plucking at their hair,
And others madly dream and waken by
The patter of sea-water on the stair.

Some women neither sleep nor wake nor dream,
In unresponsive earth their bed is lain;
For the sea took their men and left them mad,
And after, living was not worth the pain.⁹⁴

We are left unsatisfied here, perhaps even unmoved, because most people are not driven to madness by tidy images alone and most traditional Newfoundland outport women,

Rachel excepted, were not driven to madness by death or by the salt water, because they were on too close terms with both and knew full well the consequences of that forced intimacy.

This is not to say, however, that Harrington's images are always inappropriate. In "St. John's, The City Maritime" he captures the charm of the old port and its promise of rest for the weary wanderer by taking the stock notion about the sailor having a girl in every port and recasting it so that the port and the girl become one: "I am kind mistress to the prodigal / Ships that whimpering and beaten creep / To my warm arms, my waterfront's brown breast, / The hills, my easeful loins, their tender rest." And, indeed, she has many who seek her comforts: "The fog is like a lover when he comes / And draws the blanket close; and veil-like clings / Unto my face and throat, my throbbing limbs; / The sweat drips from my forehead when I dream."⁹⁵ It appears that Harrington has a natural affinity for the city that has been and is his home which is more profound than his intellectual interest in the outport. Nevertheless, and this is the point to be noted and pondered, it is the image of the outport as he perceives it that holds pride of place in his poetry and supplies the Newfoundland part of his poetic tapestry. In "The Sea is Our Doorway," he declares: "Our blood is salt, our breath is east and cold, / Our hearts beat in the tide against our wharves, / Our nameplate states us hardy folk and plain."⁹⁶ Other city dwellers would cast their eyes in the same direction but they would not be as admiring or as tolerant of what they believed they saw.

If it can be said that poetry did not bloom in Newfoundland in the second quarter of the present century then it must be maintained that prose fiction barely put forth shoots at all. Here again, however, it is helpful to avoid being overly restrictive in prescribing borders because there was prose aplenty written and much of it that is clearly not factual can not, on the basis of that evidence alone, be classified as fiction in the usual sense of the term. Similarly, works that appear at first blush to be essays sometimes come close to being short stories, works that begin as biographies or documentaries sometimes become fabulations, and strictly fictional accounts are sometimes so closely tied to the historical record that the line between the two virtually disappears. One discovers, therefore, that in terms of both form and content there is a considerable blurring of genres in the prose of the period. This, of course, is the natural process for all developing literatures, as theorists from Aristotle to Olrik have demonstrated; the work of art is anterior to the critical paradigm. It is best, therefore, unless one wishes to follow the example of Polonius in his attempt to delineate the various forms of drama, to adopt an eclectic position with regard to the traditional literary genres and to recognize that in a transitional period a blurring of genres across the verbal/literate spectrum is also likely to occur. The present study is primarily concerned with the attitude of Newfoundland writers toward what they considered to be the traditional culture and the degree to which they drew upon that culture in their works. A brief examination of some of the works of prose fiction written during the period being discussed illustrates that local production in this area tended to be even more derivative than the local poetry.

The rich folk narrative tradition did not begin to be reflected in strictly fictional works until much later in the century, although it did begin to appear in other forms of writing in the 1940s.

Margaret Duley, writing fourteen years after she had published her last novel, noted that, compared to local writers who made their mark in other genres, "Newfoundland novelists show the smallest output of all."⁹⁷ She did, however, make brief mention of the work of Erle Spencer from Fortune. Ironically, Spencer (1897-1937) was "Newfoundland's most prolific (if not most novelistic) writer of fiction"⁹⁸ during the twenties and thirties, but he was and is virtually unknown in his own country. Spencer contracted tuberculosis at fourteen and suffered from the effects of the disease for the rest of his relatively short life, but in 1922 he made his way to London and eventually became a journalist with the *Daily Express*. In addition to fulfilling the obligations of his career Spencer wrote two works dealing with the world of the journalist, an adventure tale set in Athens,⁹⁹ and a group of sea adventure novels aimed at juvenile readers, somewhat in the tradition of James B. Connolly.¹⁰⁰ These last use Newfoundland as a background or backdrop more than as an actual setting and, as in Connolly, most of Spencer's heroes are schooner men; but, whereas Connolly's schooners and men come from Gloucester, Spencer's come from the southwest coast of Newfoundland. Having said that, however, it must be pointed out that Spencer's settings, with the exception of his descriptions of the schooners, are highly stereotyped and his characters are the salts, tars, and swashbucklers that one associates with

nineteenth-century sea fiction. The stories deal with Newfoundland fishermen-cum-rumrunners, opportunists who rose up in response to the lure of easy money created by the prohibition era in the United States. Spencer, however, is more concerned with adventure than with social commentary so he ignores the broader ramifications of this period in Newfoundland's history.¹⁰¹ In this regard his writing was typical of the period, and the interest in adventure was shared by others among his contemporaries.

Charles Johnson, writing in 1934, described Arthur English as "the author of several novels dealing with varied phases of the life and history of the country."¹⁰² English (1878-1940) was born in St. John's and was, like Spencer, a journalist. He pursued that career in the United States for a time, but he eventually returned to Newfoundland and settled at South Branch in the Codroy Valley where he farmed and prospected; English had considerable skill as a geologist, and accompanied a Canadian Government expedition to the Arctic in 1910 in that capacity. In addition to writing frequent articles on natural history and other subjects he produced two novels. There is, however, very little that is recognizable about "the country," except in a geographical and geological sense, in either of these works.¹⁰³ English was fascinated by the stories and legends about the Beothucks and wove these into his books. *The Vanished Race* follows the accepted notions about the extermination of the Beothucks, but English has the last remnants of the race flee to Labrador where they mingled with the Montagnais, taking with them one Rosaleen O'Connor who has been shipwrecked off Cape Ray and become their captive, and whose rescue provides the impetus for much of the action of

the novel. *Ogygia* is a fantastic tale relating the exploits of Gustave Lalonde (also known as Alone), philosopher, archaeologist, geologist, veterinarian, husband, father, friend and woodsman who is searching, with the aid of two young geology student adventurers from Nova Scotia, for the treasure of the Sons of Ogygia. These, it turns out, are not the inhabitants of Calypso's isle but a pre-Beothuck race who inhabited Newfoundland more than fifteen hundred years ago. They were, so the story has it, probably Irish Celts who made their way to Newfoundland via Scandinavia. In the end Lalonde, with the help of an Eskimo shaman named Iglolioti, finds the treasure, and even the villains repent and live happily ever after.

As long as writers were content to produce such escapist and phantasmagoric stories there was little need to confront the Newfoundland reality. The demands of naturalistic fiction would prove to be quite different, however, for no writer wishing to write fiction about the real world could ignore the traditional life of the outports, even when, ironically, the writer was an educated and cultured woman from the upper class of St. John's.

Margaret Duley (1894-1968) dedicated *Highway to Valour*, her third novel, "to Newfoundland, a country which the author loves and hates."¹⁰⁴ Judging by the local reception her novels received during her lifetime and by the subsequent critical reaction to her work, it appears that, as far as Newfoundlanders are concerned, the ambivalent feelings are mutual. "Newfoundland of the 1930's and 1940's was alternately bemused, slightly shocked, and finally unappreciative of her."¹⁰⁵ Subsequent critical opinion has

been more positive, but it has been forced to attempt to strike a balance between lauding her as the first native-born Newfoundland novelist to achieve an international reputation and admitting that "she did not publish enough writings to enable one to find any great development in her work."¹⁰⁶ Literary and popular assessments of her work have also had to strike a balance between recognizing her achievement and rejecting her depiction of life on the Island as too narrow in its scope and too skewed in its focus. The main interest here is with her authorial choices regarding subject matter, setting and character rather than with the reception her novels received, or with her stature as a novelist *per se*, because this daughter of a well-to-do St. John's family, almost a merchant princess, turned for the main characters in three of her four published novels, not to her own milieu, "the curious little mercantile and colonial world of St. John's,"¹⁰⁷ but to the outports, the part of Newfoundland about which, from the point of view of personal experience, she knew almost nothing.

That Duley should turn to the outports for her main characters, who are, significantly, all women, and give each of them an ambivalent attitude toward her own society and other societies she encounters, is perhaps best understood in terms of the biographical parallels between Duley and her creations. All her main characters are social misfits who long to escape from real or imagined confinements at the same time as their actions, or their inability to act, ensure that they will forever remain imprisoned by them. Her biographer has noted the similarities with Duley's own life:

In addition to men, Margaret also had ambivalent attitudes towards many other things: she both loved and hated Newfoundland; she made fun of the select group to which she belonged but from which she could not divorce herself; she often did not respect Newfoundland's English rulers but liked to associate with them; she believed that her writing was the most important thing in her life yet relinquished it very quickly; she hated being 'stripped naked' by publishers, but wanted to charm them; and finally, she was repelled by blood but could not resist writing about it.¹⁰⁸

Strikingly similar attitudes and characteristics are to be found, to a greater or a lesser degree, in Isabel Pyke in *The Eyes of the Gull*,¹⁰⁹ in Mary Immaculate Keilly in *Cold Pastoral*,¹¹⁰ and in Mageila Michelet in *Highway to Valour*. Sara Colville, the main character in *Novelty on Earth*,¹¹¹ "thirty-one, beautiful, brainy, twice-widowed, and a successful writer,"¹¹² is even closer to Duley in many ways but of little interest here because in this novel the outports are absent and Newfoundland becomes "any British colony."

The fact that the outport in Duley's slim first novel, *The Eyes of the Gull*, is not given a name may suggest that she considered one settlement to be much the same as the next. Settlement, however, is hardly the appropriate word to describe what Duley gives us. There is a great deal of barren rock, lashing wind and spitting sea in the novel, but there is no sense of place, no sense of people, and no sense of a community created by the novelist. This is due, in part, to the singular focus of the novel, which causes everything and everybody to take a subordinate place to the author's concentration on Isabel Pyke, but it is also due to the vision of Isabel's hell on earth which Duley wishes to create. Isabel is thirty years old and intellectually, emotionally, socially, and sexually

starved in "the stark outport of painted houses, straggling at haphazard spots and angles, on a zigzag road and many lanes." In the fashion of some heroine of popular romance, she has, from the age of ten, made "the rock on the bare headland her lonely sanctuary," a place to which she can retire for a short time each day to escape from the demands of her dominating mother, who "rolls over [her] like the sea rolls over the beach," and dream of Andalusia in Spain, her imaginative contrast to "Helluland or the Land of the Naked Rocks," the name for her country she has approvingly borrowed from Eric the Red. Into this scene comes Peter Keen, a self-styled artist and philosopher who has sufficient wealth to allow him to play at being anything he wishes, and insufficient depth of character to do much more than dabble in art and spend liberally money which he has not had to earn. He and his manservant move into Head House, built years before in a fit of rage by one Josiah Pyke when he returned home "from a long foreign voyage" to find, according to Isabel's mother, "his worthless bride-to-be dead in a new grave, of another man's] still-born child."¹¹³ Abandoned for many years it has become both a focal point for local superstition and a constant reminder to the righteous of the fate awaiting the ungodly. Isabel and Peter soon become friends and lovers and spend an idyllic summer in what is presented to the reader as cultural and sexual fulfilment, but when he leaves, despite the fact that he has given her, in addition to a large helping of his sophomoric *carpe diem* philosophy, enough money to make the trip to her longed-for Andalusia, she dies from a combination of grief, despair, lunacy, and exposure.

Isabel's outport home is summed up early in the novel as being "savage, bitter and chill." The author makes no attempt to give the reader any sense of what goes on there on a daily basis, except to indicate that the people are narrow-minded, superstitious, and dominated by religious and other forms of bigotry and blindness. Most of the minor characters are unattractive. Her mother is a glutton to whom time is "stomach time," but who, nevertheless, possesses delusions of grandeur and an acid tongue. She eventually eats herself into a catatonic stupor, but still manages to control her daughter. Only Isabel's Aunt Dorcas is portrayed sympathetically, but she, too, despite her great heart and her willingness to act instead of endure, is obedient to confining, mind-numbing religious doctrine. Even her Aunt Mary Ann, visiting from Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, is presented as being more cosmopolitan and cultured than the denizens of the outport. Mary Ann takes "brief sips of tea with her little finger stuck out from the cup," as opposed to Isabel's mother who drinks tea with an abandon which suggests she might devour the cup along with its contents, and she reminds Isabel's mother that her home is "too cut off from the world." Isabel anoints her face and neck with olive oil each night because she does not want to have "the leathery skin of outport Helluland," she shuns the local men because they "don't wash enough," and she rejects marriage and pregnancy because "it means having false teeth, and being fat and ugly and working from daylight to dark." She wants to leave all this behind her, "to see places and people, and live where there's sun and warmth and beauty, and in houses with bathrooms and silver taps." Despite the desire, however, she is unable to take control

of her own life, and tells Peter that her inability to act is due to "the place, the wind, and the sea. They do what they like and we accept it."¹¹⁴ Peter, one suspects, remains as unconvinced as the reader. In the end she remains pathetic, despite Duley's attempt to give her life a tragically romantic dimension, because she is neither able to identify the real causes of her problems nor take the necessary steps to free herself from them. The novel, as O'Flaherty has noted, "expresses perfectly the disdainful attitude towards the outports that we would expect from a coddled sophisticate in St. John's East,"¹¹⁵ and this would be enough to dismiss it, and Duley, if it were not for the fact that she returned to an outport setting for her main characters in two more novels.

Only the first four chapters of *Cold Pastoral* are set in "the Cove," the rather nondescript name given to the heroine's community, but these are enough to allow Duley to provide an even more devastating picture than that presented in *The Eyes of the Gull*. "The sea was different from the land!" This is the third sentence of the novel, and Duley loses little time in pointing out that the difference makes the sea the enemy. Sheer cliffs form a demarcation line between the two, but when some animal falls from these heights it remains "impaled on jagged rocks until the sea suck[s] it strongly to itself." The people fare little better than their animals, because whenever they allow themselves to feel too secure "the sea [rises] and [spits] at the land." In its fury it mocks them and takes their "puny buildings, sucking their foundations, lifting them high and battering them back to floating timber."¹¹⁶ Other forces which are almost as powerful as the sea in the lives of the people are the numbing drudgery which is necessary for their mere

survival, their abysmal ignorance of everything beyond that drudgery, and their primordial fear of all which their ignorance prevents them from comprehending.

The community which Duley creates here is like no other; it is outharbour and Catholic as seen through eyes which are upper-class St. John's and Protestant. Since a refusal to conceive is considered to be "the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah," the Cove is a community "of continual pregnancy"; and so, despite the fact that "death was often untimely," there are always "many mouths to feed." The houses cling "to the sides of the ravine" and they are "square like anyhow boxes." The smell of rotting fish pervades the air and the drone of buzzing flies is everywhere. In this subsistence world of unending toil a woman can "make or break a man" depending on whether or not she can match "the toil of his hands." In addition, the people have "inherited from their ancestry the dim twilight fear of the Celts," and the priests have been unsuccessful in eradicating "the Celtic folk-lore" which they ignorantly and superstitiously mix "so strangely with religion."¹¹⁷ According to Duley they believe with equal conviction in a bewildering admixture of little people, fairies, changelings, superstitions, omens, angelic interventions, iconographic talismans, and the overriding will of God!¹¹⁸

Into this community is born Mary Immaculate Keilly, daughter of Benedict and Josephine, sister to Dalmatius, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Benedict the Second, Pius and Leopold. She is born aboard a skiff while Benedict and Josephine are returning from a trip to the shop in an neighbouring settlement, and soon the local legend grows "that Mary Immaculate was delivered by the Blessed Mother herself." Her beauty, sensitivity,

and intelligence cause her mother not only to wonder if, somehow, the fairies had "come out to the skiff to leave [her] a changeling," but also to have grave misgivings about her daughter's suitability for life in the Cove. It appears rather surprising, since she was, in the words of the parish priest, Father Melchior, "like Venus, born from the sea," that she should become a confirmed creature of the land:

When Mary Immaculate was big enough Dalmatius was allowed to carry her down to the sea. In sight of the beach her nostrils expanded and contracted with the smell of fish and offal. There was a definite expression of disdain on her face. When the wind lifted her hair she crowded into her brother's shoulder. Carrying her inland she lifted her head and nearly danced out of his arms, straining towards the new green of the junipers and the white pear-blossom drifting uphill.¹¹⁹

Ironically and ambivalently, it is the land rather than the sea which at first threatens to rob her of life and then becomes the agent of her deliverance from the narrow confines of continued existence in the Cove. When she is twelve years old Mary Immaculate becomes lost, or fairy-led as the people believe, because she ventures into the woods during a March silver thaw.¹²⁰ She has deliberately courted disaster by leaving the house without performing "the ceremony of the door," an elaborate ritual devised by Josephine to ward off fairies and other evils. A three-day search proves fruitless, but then the searchers are led to her by the deaf mute Molly Conway, who according to local belief is herself a changeling, but to whom Mary Immaculate had earlier given flowers in a gesture of friendship. When she is found Mary Immaculate declares that, throughout her ordeal: "The Little People stayed with me."¹²¹

Mary Immaculate is taken to hospital in St. John's where, as a result of international media attention, she becomes something of a celebrity. The doctor who treats her, Philip Fitz Henry, determines that she has unique gifts and unusual potential and arranges for her adoption into his upper-class St. John's family. The Fitz Henrys were once very wealthy fish merchants, but the family's star has been in decline since the death of the father and the loss of the older, more business-minded sons in the war. The memories and the trappings of former glory still surround the family seat, the Place, however, and it provides a marked contrast with the barren poverty of the Cove. Exactly how Philip concludes that Mary Immaculate is extraordinary or what motivates his magnanimous gesture towards her are not examined in any depth by Duley, but it appears that from that point onwards she is to be granted, *gratis*, everything that Isabel Pyke ever wished for and could not have. As Mary Immaculate matures she learns to be the perfect St. John's gentlewoman. She soon comes to define her world in the following terms: "Scales, lessons, voice, dancing, elocution; and reminders of her hair, nails, manners and mien!"¹²² She easily rejects the outport and her old way of life. She never returns there, and only once does Josephine visit her daughter in her new Cinderella-like surroundings in the town. Eventually, after too many melodramatic complications and enough "conventions of the 'silver fork' school of fiction"¹²³ to try the patience of even the most tolerant reader, her relationship with Philip ceases to be that of guardian and ward and the novel ends with an understanding of marriage between them.

It has recently been argued that Duley, in order to establish and maintain Mary Immaculate's feminist integrity in a male-dominated world, constructs the novel as she does in order to show her character moving from being in conflict with "the reality of social necessity" (the Cove), to being in conflict with "the reality of social convention" (St. John's). In the end, it is argued, by going to London she manages to distance herself "from the two conflicting experiences," and, despite the fact that she "gradually learns to temper her spontaneity with discipline,"¹²⁴ Mary Immaculate never surrenders her individuality. It is tempting to accept this evaluation of the novel, but, even though Duley's depictions of St. John's and London are apt and believable, her depiction of the Cove does not approach any recognizable reality to which one might wish to conform or from which one might wish to escape. Mary Immaculate's reality, as Duley presents it to us, begins when she awakens in the hospital bed in St. John's. The Cove is a totally contrived, imaginative construct made all the more outlandish by Duley's lack of familiarity with, and lack of understanding of, the folklore, the belief systems, and the worldview she ascribes to its inhabitants.

Early in *Cold Pastoral* Philip Fitz Henry's mother reacts to his claim that Mary Immaculate has special qualities by noting: "Perhaps she bears out your father's theory that the best blood in this country is in the Bays. Many old families came out in the early days, and there's that odd tale of the line from the Irish Princess."¹²⁵ This not only illustrates Lady Fitz Henry's colonialist notions but also suggests that Duley was already thinking about what was to become the plot of *Highway to Valour*, her best

novel. The heroine of that novel is Mageila Michelet, the daughter of Sheila Mageila Dilke, a Methodist, and Pierre Michelet, a Catholic from St. Pierre; she is the seventh daughter of a seventh daughter with the power to heal, and, supposedly, through her mother's family line, a direct descendant of the Irish Princess.¹²⁶ The Michelets are the merchants in Feather-the-Nest, but Duley dispenses with family and community by the end of her first chapter when both are destroyed in a tidal wave.¹²⁷ Only Mageila is spared. She is visiting a house on high ground to cure a young boy's toothache when the tidal wave strikes. The sensitive young healer is devastated by the enormity of the tragedy in general and by the totality of her own loss in particular. She slips into a somnambulant state and remains so even when she is rescued by her grandfather, Capt. Dilke, who comes to take her to live with him and her mother's in-laws in Ship-Haven.¹²⁸ Mageila's recovery is protracted and she does not fully come to terms with her loss until the old captain decides to take her with him on a steamer trip he must make to Labrador to tend to his business affairs there. On the trip she meets and falls in love with Trevor Morgan, a married British civil servant working with the Commission of Government. After the voyage she remains in St. John's where she takes a position as a French teacher/governess in the upper-class Kirke household. She continues her love affair with Morgan, but, because he is unsuccessful in his attempts to obtain a divorce from his wife in England, as the novel ends it appears that he will return to England to take part in the war, while Mageila will return to Labrador to put her healing gifts to use there.

Highway to Valour bears out the dedication cited above and fully illustrates Duley's ambivalent attitudes toward her country and its people. The same narrow views of the outharbours and their inhabitants as those which are expressed in her earlier novels are to be found here as well, but here they are occasionally counterbalanced by expressions which suggest new insight, comprehension, and tolerance. Similarly, although upper-class St. John's society and the British colonial system are not rejected outright, they are subjected to a level of critical comment not found in her earlier works. Much of this is made possible by the character of Mageila which Duley convincingly manages to make mysterious and ordinary, vulnerable and self-possessed all at the same time.

Feather-the-Nest, like the Cove in *Cold Pastoral*, is "pinched between rock and sea," and caught between the "blind murdering forces of nature" and the lifelessness of mechanical religious observance. Life in the place is a struggle which, at times, such as when one of the inhabitants takes an axe to his wife and children, seems to defeat the logic of continuing the fight; "there was a war between people and place, with the strength of both contending forever."¹²⁹ Mageila, as a result of her mixed parentage and an intuitive quality beyond her years, is more sensitive than most to the paradoxes of such an existence, but she is also able to contain and see beyond them. The feelings she experiences as she makes her way to cure the boy's toothache, shortly before the tidal wave strikes, not only provide an insight into her character but also give an indication of Duley's changing attitudes toward the outharbours. Mageila notes that the

"first snow is delicate," and "white as a duck on a pond." Because of the unusual stillness she enjoys "the relaxation of a Newfoundlander perpetually tightened from the torment of wind," even while she attempts to comprehend or dispel the premonition of the coming disaster. The setting sun makes her pause, "knowing she [is] seeing stark beauty bathed in red." The red glow of the sun reminds her of "blood on a white fleece," because "her narrow world had brought her close to the slaying-knife, the axe and the barbed hook." Unlike Mary Immaculate, however, "she bade herself look at them, firmly knowing such things must be."¹³⁰ When she arrives at the house of the ill boy she is reminded that "prosperity was relative. Her family would be considered poverty-stricken according to some standards of living, but to this they represented wealth." She is quick to remark, however, that the kitchen is "scrubbed and warm."¹³¹

Ship-Haven, a larger and more prosperous outpost, is cursed with the worst of both worlds; it has the narrow-mindedness and pinched quality of Feather-the-Nest and the pomposity and pretentiousness of St. John's. Mageila's aunts are "big frogs in little pools—despising everything beyond their range, criticizing what they [do] not understand." They consider Hitler no more than "a very bad man who might have been saved through church-work," and decide, on Mageila's behalf, that "no place of display [is] better than the middle aisle of the biggest church." This causes Mageila, no doubt echoing Duley's own sentiments, to declare that "denominationalism is the curse of the country."¹³² Among these women, "all house-proud and marriage-proud,"¹³³ and without her father's wit and humour to sustain her, Mageila begins to suffocate. It is not

surprising, therefore, that she leaps at the chance to accompany her grandfather on his Labrador trip. Unfortunately, as with the outposts in her earlier novels, neither Feather-the-Nest nor Ship-Haven is portrayed in sufficient detail to allow the reader to get beyond the stereotypes. Duley's narrow focus, on Mageila's mother's circle in the former and that of her aunts in the latter, denies the reader access to any sense of community in the larger sense. It seems that Duley's lack of personal knowledge of the other layers of society prevented her from being able to write about them.

Beginning with the Labrador portion of the novel, however, Duley attempts to establish a link between the people and their natural surroundings in a way that she had not done before. She accomplishes this by allowing the sentiments to be expressed through Trevor Morgan, one of her most sympathetically drawn male characters. As a member of the Commission of Government, he conveniently provides her with a means for criticizing the system. "A mighty poor system it is," a fellow passenger complains, to have a fishing country run by people who "don't know a fish-tail from a turnip," and even Mageila reminds him that "they say the Englishman governs like the cock who thinks the sun rises to hear him crow." Morgan, however, is more than a symbol of the Commission; he is also a mouthpiece for Duley, allowing her to express ideas that would sound out of place in the mouth of a native. He declares that the Newfoundlanders are "strong, individualistic, quick to resent patronage and equally quick to open their doors in hospitality." The sight of recently jigged, drably dying codfish "repulsed him, making him see it as a symbol of his surroundings. Acceptance? Inertia? It was the quality he

had seen in the patients waiting to enter the mission-hospitals. . . . It was in Mageila." Later, he declares: "Newfoundland is a martyred country."¹³⁴

Mrs. Kirke is Duley's most severe critic of colonial mores and St. John's society, but a very likeable character who becomes a sort of second mother to Mageila. She takes her sons out of English schools because she sees them "being educated in unreality." She tells Mageila: "My friends are absurd. Like most Newfoundlanders, their forebears came from England with *all* their possessions tied up in a red pocket handkerchief; but now their descendants have a tremendous sense of property."¹³⁵ Mrs. Kirke is the exception who makes the majority seem all the more ridiculous. In this way she shares a quality with Mrs. Slater of Feather-the-Nest who, as her name suggests, becomes Mageila's rock in her time of need by quietly acting on her convictions while others are singing hymns, causing Mageila to conclude that "she had found God and the others had not." There is a similar quality in Capt. Dilke, who, in contrast to his daughters, "would invite the King of England to eat salt fish with him and expect him to like it."¹³⁶ Mary Immaculate's mother, Josephine, and Moira Brophy, Mrs. Kirke's maid, are other examples of individuals who challenge the stereotypes.

Commentators have noted that in *Highway to Valour* Duley "is asserting the value of the traditional way of life in Newfoundland,"¹³⁷ and that in her work generally she attempts to de-colonize Newfoundland literature in social, sexual, and literary terms.¹³⁸ There is merit in these claims; Duley enjoyed a measure of success in her attempts to establish a feminist voice in a male-dominated world on both the social and literary

levels, and she was beginning to cause a Newfoundland voice to be heard amidst colonial clamour. Nevertheless, despite the fact that she continued to be drawn to the traditional way of life of the outports, it is evident that she was not equipped to render that reality authentically. She seemed to have an intuitive sense that there was a worthwhile quality to be found there if only she could manage to identify exactly what it was. The Fitz Henry notion that "the best blood in this country is in the Bays" is repeated enough times in *Highway to Valour* to suggest that Duley sensed that there was truth in it. Trevor says: "Your country is in you, Mageila." The practically philosophical Moira Brophy declares: "I'm an outport girl myself and I know the best people don't live in the town." Very late in the novel Trevor again declares that "the people in the town . . . never represent a country,"¹³⁹ and, as if to prove the truth of these comments, Mageila decides, unlike Isabel and Mary Immaculate, to return to that world.

Duley closed *The Caribou Hut* with the observation that "whatever Newfoundland has been she was never trivial. Nature could not permit it. She was too rooted in the sea, and the sea came before the dry land."¹⁴⁰ Ironically, there is an inescapable element of the trivial in her own novels, and, while there are indications in *Highway to Valour* that she was capable of seeing more than the mundane in the lives of the ordinary people of the sea and the dry land, it may have been that she was too much the product of her own upbringing and milieu to be able to render such lives faithfully. How much this may have contributed to her decision to discontinue writing remains a matter for speculation, but there is certainly room to criticize the accuracy of her depictions of the

way of life of the outports, a way of life which obviously fascinated and attracted her imagination at the same time as it repelled her. Her novels, however, remain important because they suggested the potential which a naturalistic approach offered and they provided a marked contrast to the escapist adventure tales of writers such as Spencer and English who preceded her. This same naturalistic strain, however, which would not surface in Newfoundland writing again until the middle sixties, militated against her work gaining acceptance locally.

A number of reasons have been advanced to explain the less than enthusiastic reception which Duley's novels received in Newfoundland. Morrow points out that "Newfoundland was still an underdeveloped colonial society with a small merchant and professional elite largely unappreciative of literature."¹⁴¹ O'Flaherty argues that the combination of colonialist thinking and attitudes, dormant local intellectualism, and harsh economic conditions contributed to Duley's achievements being unrecognized.¹⁴² To these very valid reasons, however, must be added the fact that in her fictional rendering of the Newfoundlander and the Newfoundland way of life Duley paid no attention to the tenets of the regional mythology delineated above. Indeed, her depictions of the people and the place are diametrically opposed to it. It is not surprising, therefore, that her novels were unsympathetically received. They did not reflect to Newfoundlanders the characteristics of themselves and the qualities of their society which they had come to believe were the true and accurate ones, characteristics and qualities which were corroborated by both folk and popular cultural imagery. The romantic realists, however,

whose work began to appear in the early forties, revived the tenets of this mythology and incorporated them into their writing in a way that had not been done since the days of the boomers at the beginning of the century. There were other parallels with that period as well. O'Flaherty points out that the "the economic and social changes which the war brought to Newfoundland were reflected in the island's literary life," which witnessed a period of renewed activity during the 1940s similar to that which "characterized the first decade of the century, and the cause of this renewal was the same as in the earlier period: nationalism."¹⁴³ The work of the romantic realists may be seen as part of that revival.

Romantic realism seems an appropriate label to describe the work of Art Scammell (1913-), Ron Pollett (1900-1955), and Ted Russell (1904-1977) because, even though they elected to present a rather idealized picture of the traditional outport culture in their writings, they had experienced the realities of that culture firsthand and were products of it. Each of them pursued a teaching career, one of the few occupations besides fishing open to outport males of their time, early in his life. Two of them, Pollett and Russell, turned to writing relatively late in life, but Scammell began writing as a young man and has written very little in his later years. Scammell wrote both within and from outside the culture, Pollett wrote exclusively from the outside, and Russell exclusively within it, but each of them elected a subjective, semi-autobiographical narrative stance and adopted and adapted forms from the verbal tradition to serve their literate purposes.

Scammell, who was born in Change Islands, Notre Dame Bay, developed an interest in writing while still a teenager. The song for which he is best known, "The Squid Jiggin' Ground," was written in 1929, in his sixteenth year. Scammell completed teacher training at Memorial College and taught school in a number of outports during the 1930s. In 1939 he moved to Montreal to attend McGill University. After his graduation from McGill he remained in Montreal to teach and did not return permanently to Newfoundland until 1970. In 1940 he published *Songs of a Newfoundlander*, a slim and uneven collection containing twenty-one songs and poems, written, for the most part, during his teaching years in Newfoundland.¹⁴⁴ The songs in the collection, "The Squid Jiggin' Ground," "Squarin' Up," "The Six Horse-Power Coaker,"¹⁴⁵ and "The Shooting of the Bawks,"¹⁴⁶ outshine the poems. The poems are self-conscious and derivative, and there are a number of student pieces obviously inspired by Scammell's college reading and his enjoyment at being exposed to the English literary tradition. The songs, however, are the typical products of a songwriter who is familiar and comfortable with the aesthetic and other demands of the folk tradition in which he is participating.

The fifth stanza of "The Squid Jiggin' Ground," not only illustrates a sense of place and topicality, but demonstrates a masterful command of vernacular speech in a poetic context:

God bless me sou'wester, there's skipper John Chaffey,
He's the best hand at squid-jiggin' here, I'll be bound,
Hello! what's the row? Why, he's jiggin' one now,
The very first squid on the squid-jiggin' ground.

In "The Six Horse-Power Coaker," he eulogizes, in the mock-heroic fashion so commonly found in the Newfoundland verbal tradition, the temperamental marine engine named for Sir William Coaker, and compliments the savvy of the young lad who manages to keep it running. First the engine is knowingly, familiarly described with a mixture of awe and contempt, and its refusal to perform duly noted:

She was tied up with twine, there were bits of tarred line
Round the timer to keep it in place.
Her compression was weak and the air used to leak
Where the packing was blown from the base.

She was easy on fuel, but she kicked like a mule,
For the screws on the beddin' were slack,
And we all of us swore, when she'd rise from the floor
We all feared that she'd never come back. . . .

Tom hove up the wheel, and he cursed a good deal,
He cranked till he found of his heart,
He tested the oil, examined the coil,
But the devil a bit would she start.

At the point when all seems hopeless a small skiff comes on the scene, "And a bedlamer boy with a cast in his eye" offers his assistance:

The kid stepped aboard, with the air of a lord,
His movements unhurried and slow;
He noted the string and the window-blind spring,
But he got that old Coaker to go. . . .

Just a poor homeless lad, he hadn't a dad
And his name you may never have heard;
But the boat swung about, as he opened her out,
And she rose to the waves like a bird.

The fact that the boy "hadn't a dad" not only records the well-established fact of outport life that many a father was lost before a son came into his own—recall Pratt's Henry Lee in "Rachel"—but it goes some distance toward explaining that the lad's mechanical expertise may well be a carefully cultivated survival strategy developed in response to necessity:

So we shipped on that kid, and we're sure glad we did,
Now 'tis seldom we ask for a tow;
And he gets a full share, which I think only fair
For getting that Coaker to go.

"Squarin' Up" presents, in comical terms, a knowledgeable description of the effects of the ubiquitous truck credit system, and suggests, in a tone of mock resignation which echoes the well-known "Hard, Hard Times,"¹⁴⁷ that in the likely event that there will be nothing left over once the fish is sold and the bills paid at the end of the season: "If you must have enough to keep body and soul, / The only thing left is to go on the dole."

As mentioned, the poems in the collection are not as well wrought as the songs in most cases, but the first and last stanzas of "Sea Pictures," the opening piece in the book, set the retrospective tone that would come to characterize much that Scammell was to write during his time in Montreal. The first stanza states:

When work is ended and the sea is calling
With loud insistent voice, I shall go back
To boyhood scenes, their glamour still enthralling,
Where brown-sailed schooners dip and weave and tack.

The body of the poem describes the cries of sea-gulls, the smells of freshly tarred nets and seaweed, shanties sung and yarns spun, and concludes:

I will go back and look on wind-tanned faces,
 Hear once again the old familiar cheer,
 Revisit once again old friends and places,
 More deeply loved with every passing year.¹⁴⁸

This theme of recollected boyhood memories, sustained and revived by occasional visits to the source, significantly "when work is ended," became a recurring motif in the writing of Scammell and others during the period.

In 1945 Scammell published *Mirrored Moments*, another collection of twenty-one titles,¹⁴⁹ all but nine of which had appeared in the previous volume, but in January of that year there also appeared the first number of *Atlantic Guardian*, subtitled "The Magazine of Newfoundland," the brainchild of Ewart Young, Brian Cahill and Scammell.

This slim monthly adopted the following platform:

To make Newfoundland better known at home and abroad; To promote trade and travel in the Island; To encourage development of Newfoundland's natural resources; To foster good relationships between Newfoundland and her neighbours.¹⁵⁰

Each issue was a less than critical celebration of things Newfoundland, and the magazine provided Scammell and others who followed his lead with a forum for the dissemination of an idealized picture of life in the outports.

The first issue of the magazine carried two pieces by Scammell. The first, "Fishing at Fogo Islands," is an account of his trip home the previous summer. The piece itself is not noteworthy and has not been reprinted in his later collections, but the magazine's introduction to it describes the dual existence led not only by Scammell but

by many other Newfoundlanders who were living in various parts of Canada and the United States during the period:

The moment school closed last June, Associate Editor Art Scammell hopped a plane for Newfoundland, eventually reaching Change Islands. . . . Changing his 'white-collar' teaching togs for fisherman's overalls and oilskins, Art went with his father and other Change Islands crews to Fogo Islands for the summer's cod-fishing.¹⁵¹

The second offering, "Sea Fever,"¹⁵² is a short story which describes an old man passing on his knowledge of fishing and his addiction to the salt water to his young grandson in the same way as he had done with the boy's recently drowned father thirty years before. The February number of the magazine carried Scammell's "Pride an' Flustration," an account of the technophobia experienced by Luke Bolton on his first encounter with an outboard motor, and the March number carried his "Night School Rivals," the story of Tom Dowell's and Henry Parker's attempts to further their education under the tutelage of a new, and pretty, young teacher, and their loss of interest in school when she becomes engaged to the local ranger.¹⁵³ These pieces are interesting because of their apt use of dialect and because of the ease with which Scammell communicates his esoteric knowledge of outport life in general and fishing practices in particular. In addition, through his use of Neddie, the narrator who relates the latter two stories, and other stylistic devices, Scammell presents his stories as if he were simply repeating yarns told to him in the familiar manner of the verbal tradition.

What was to become perhaps Scammell's most important prose piece, almost a manifesto, and which has been reprinted and anthologized several times, appeared in the

May 1945 issue of *Atlantic Guardian*, and was titled "Outport Heritage." It is worth citing at length because it embodies so much of what was to become the fixed literate image of the traditional culture during the late 1940s and the 1950s:

I have read some stories about Newfoundland outport life, written by visitors from other countries, and most of them played up the pathos of the hard, unrelenting struggle for existence. It made the reader feel as if he should do something for these poor, benighted people. Knowing something of the social picture both in Canada and in the United States, I can assure these writers that their well-meaning sympathy could be far better spent on their own regions.

Newfoundlanders in their little communities have built up something worthwhile, something not measured by the size of the churches or the material beauty of the homes. Those of us who are fortunate enough to be able to claim one of these little communities as our birthplace look back with humble gratitude to what we owe them. Daily lessons in cooperation and kindness, taught by simple folk who wouldn't know a vitamin if they met one, but who did know that 'man does not live by bread alone.' Studies in industry and hard work, presented by example more powerfully than by precept. A delightful sense of humour, real humour of character and situation, that bubbled in the darkest days. . . .

Environment and circumstance provided many thrilling and satisfying experiences, which developed in the young outport lad initiative and a sense of responsibility early in life. He knew how to row and handle a boat at an age when city-bred boys were still hanging on to their mothers' hands when they crossed the street. His urge for adventure and action was satisfied . . . by the exciting details of his daily life and the myriad skills and lore he had to master to keep his end up in the struggle of wrestling a living from the sea and land.

Above all, as one looks back, from an apartment house, maybe, where the tenants know one another only from the names on the letter boxes in the hall, one remembers more keenly than anything else the way in which everybody in the village shared joys and sorrows. . . .

Our outports have their unsung heroes, modest people, who perform heroic deeds of rescue as they go about their daily work, but who, perhaps, don't even 'make' the local papers. . . .

And we had a lot of fun. Maybe we didn't get our quota of orange juice. Perhaps our food was a bit short sometimes on calcium or phosphorous. We were so busy catching tomcods, copying pans of ice in

the spring, doing chores, sailing boats, etc., that we didn't have time to chase all our vitamins. No doubt we'll suffer for it some day. But we learned many important lessons of life from the humble folk around us, that all the inventions and discoveries of modern civilization cannot lessen or cheapen.

A little incident comes to mind which dramatizes this point. I was fishing at the time with my father and brothers at Change Islands, a Newfoundland outport on the northeast coast. A neighbour ran in to see if we would take a man and his wife visiting from the city down to the pier where the steamer on which they were leaving was awaiting them. We agreed at once and father and I jumped in the motorboat and took them to their destination. Just a routine neighbourly act. When we got there the man asked what the charge was and father said 'Nothing.' The man pulled out some bills and insisted on paying. 'You outport people,' he said, 'have to learn to move with the times. You'll never get anywhere unless you forget this business of giving your time and effort without getting paid.' My father was now getting nettled. This insensitive hangashore not only did not have the grace to accept our hospitality, he was pitting the fledgling philosophy of a pioneer industrial town against the centuries-old tradition of the Newfoundland outport, a tradition of hospitality and kindness to friend and stranger alike. 'Put your money in your pocket, young man,' said my father. 'This place wasn't built on them ideas of yours.'

Outport life of course did not always satisfy human needs. The chances of employment were few, apart from the fishery, and those striving for a career and wider horizons had to leave home. But it did clarify and define worthwhile patterns of behaviour which made outport life rewarding and valuable.

If you were born in a Newfoundland outport, be proud of it, as I am. When summer holidays come around I want to spend them in one of those little villages.

Above the deep boom of the sea you can hear the melody of human hearts—and the music is sweet.¹⁵⁴

Here again we have all the images of the hearty, handy, all 'round Newfoundlander, but with the added twist that deprivation, isolation, and poverty are treated as relative terms, able to sustain a certain utopian coloration and emphasis, and capable, ironically and in contradistinction to the debilitating effects of the way of life associated with more affluent

and cosmopolitan places, of being credited with producing the most amazingly positive results.

Scammell's third published collection, *My Newfoundland*,¹⁵⁵ contains most of the poems and songs published in the two earlier volumes and most of the prose pieces he had written for *Atlantic Guardian*. "Outport Heritage" is given pride of place as the opening selection. In her introduction to the collection, Ella Manuel noted:

His memory has weeded out the ugly and painful and cultivated the lovable in his people. One *could* say that his compassion overrides his critical judgement, that he sees us all through a rosy mist, (for not all Newfoundlanders are simple and honest and we have our share of rogues) but in this book, he is concerned not with our deplorable human condition which is so fashionable a topic today but with recalling some of the finest men salt water ever wet.¹⁵⁶

This is not an inappropriate general assessment, but it is perhaps a little too tidy. There are to be found, especially in the tone of some of the prose pieces, wry comments which alert the careful reader to the fact that, even though they are not explored in detail, there were tensions beneath the surface calm in Scammell's outport world. Consider, for example, the less than subtle comment on the need to remind the Church of its priorities in "Render Unto Caesar . . .," the potential for conflict in the scramble for the favoured fishing grounds in "Trap Berth," and the violence which does erupt over the grading of the cured fish in "The Culler."¹⁵⁷ This last piece is also an excellent comment on the relationship between the merchant and the fishermen. In the main, however, Scammell preferred to highlight what he considered to be the positive aspects of outport life, and this is especially true of the autobiographical reminiscences—"Hard Cash," and

"Confirmation Prelude," for example—which are lumped in among the stories in this collection. That they are not separated from the more strictly fictional narratives is significant; obviously Scammell sees himself as part of the same storytelling tradition as Neddie and his other narrators. It should also be noted that Scammell's predilection for the positive does not diminish the accuracy of his use of dialect or the veracity of his descriptions of folkways and customs.

Manuel's assessment of Scammell could be applied equally, but with similar cautions, to the writer who supplanted him as the favourite columnist among the growing readership of *Atlantic Guardian*, Ron Pollett. Pollett was born in New Harbour, Trinity Bay. Although he received no formal training, beyond serving a sort of apprenticeship under one of his own teachers, he taught school for three years in Trinity Bay before going to work, in the early summer of 1919, as a clerk in the offices of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. at Grand Falls. From there he moved, late in 1923, to Montreal where he apprenticed as a linotype operator. In February of 1924 he moved to Brooklyn, New York. There he began work as a printer, got married (to a Placentia Bay woman), raised a family, became a master craftsman in his trade, and remained for the rest of his life.¹⁵⁸ The concerns of job and family occupied most of Pollett's time for the first twenty years he was in New York, but the last decade of his life was different:

Ron Pollett's life between 1945 and 1955 was characterized by disease and a longing for a return to his homeland. In mid-1945 he became seriously ill with heart disease, and there followed a ten-year struggle against

chronic pain, financial pressures, and confinements to hospitals and home. Pollett took up the avocation of writing in 1946, his pieces focusing for the most part on aspects of his outport inheritance. . . . A visit to Newfoundland in the summer of 1947 provided new insights and materials for his imagination and provoked a desire to retire there eventually. With this goal before him he kept himself informed of changes occurring on the island as a result of Confederation with Canada in March, 1949. But on observing these changes during a summer visit to New Harbour in 1951, Pollett realized that he could no longer dream of returning to the pleasures of his boyhood, and that the familiar outport way of life he had loved was vanishing.¹⁵⁹

Most of his readers of the time were undoubtedly unaware of the crises in Pollett's personal life, however, and responded only to the pieces he wrote and to the images and memories these evoked.

Pollett established a unique publishing relationship with Ewart Young and *Atlantic Guardian*,¹⁶⁰ which, given his brief writing career and his limited output, partly accounts for the enormous popularity he enjoyed in Newfoundland.¹⁶¹ *Atlantic Guardian* tended to refer to all of Pollett's pieces simply as stories, but it is possible to divide his works into at least three types: descriptive essays; short stories; and, autobiographical or semi-autobiographical reminiscences which tend to cut across both genres and tend to mix fact and/or memory with fiction. Each type served a different function and recorded Pollett's changing attitude toward his principal subject, the traditional way of life in Newfoundland.

"The Outport Millionaire," which appeared in the July 1946 issue of *Atlantic Guardian*, was Pollett's first piece for the magazine and explored a theme which was to surface many times in his later writings, the contrast between the frenzied pace of life

in the city and the natural flow of life in the outport. This central character of this piece is not typical, however, even for the outport. He is a hangashore, a loafer, and an opportunist, but Pollett seems to suggest that his mere existence is a testament to the special qualities of outport life:

This millionaire has no money to speak of; he is endowed with the special gift of being able to get along without it. He lives and dies in the village where he was born, and from the start is as firmly rooted as if his mother had actually found him under a stump. He has never punched a time clock in his life or said 'Yes, sir' to a boss. For almost one hundred years he sees the sun rise out of the same forest or the same sea and set into the sea or behind the mountains on the far side of the Bay. and when he lies down to die he has had a happier life than the hundreds born with him who have spent their years worrying about little things and roving around the world.¹⁶²

In contrast, those who leave the outport, as Pollett did himself, embrace a very different fate:

After twenty or thirty years you return. Maybe your pockets are lined with money and you have thousands more in the bank. But you have worked hard and have never had much fun; your lungs are wheezy from too many cigarettes and city fumes, and your stomach is soggy from over-eating rich foods (half of what you eat keeps you alive, the other half kills you), and you feel just about ready for the ragbag. You meet the millionaire. He is sitting on the same rock by the roadside. He is still going strong for all his eighty-odd years and looks a better insurance risk for the next twenty than you feel for ten.¹⁶³

All of this seems just too facile, pat, and tidy until we realize that Peter the Grate, the subject of Pollett's most sustained piece of work, which appeared six years later, is, in essence, an expanded study of a similar character. Obviously, the relationship of this particular character type to the world of the Newfoundland outport, especially in terms

of Pollett's own perception of, and preoccupation with, that world, was a subject of more than passing interest for him. In this work Pollett explores his own attitudes and those of the community toward the eccentric Peter, attitudes which change and become increasingly ambivalent as Pollett and the community move through time and space, while Peter stays essentially the same. This results in the conclusion of the second piece being much less certain than the conclusion of the first.

Peter was "middle-aged when [Pollett] was a schoolboy in the 1910's" [sic], and "it is because he was so odd in so many different ways"¹⁶⁴ that his story is worth telling. It was also his oddity which attracted Pollett, as a boy and as a man. Peter was illiterate, but he was also a good singer and songmaker, with "a feeling for word-blending" and he had a good "sense of rhythm when he clapped out a jig with his long, bony hands." The trouting pole and the gun were his constant companions, and he was quick to share anything they provided; he preferred the company of the boys of the village even as an adult, despite the fact that he was often the butt of their stories, practical jokes and pranks. Peter was the exception to the outport norm, and his refusal to conform or adhere to the conservative demands of tradition caused some to dismiss him in order to defend tradition and their own obedience to it:

He was lackadaisical without being wholly shiftless. He was stupid without being lack-brained. He was naïve and childlike, if you will. In short he was eccentric in that he never shouldered responsibility, never carried the care-laden world on his back as sensible men are supposed to. And because he was that way, some people said he wasn't all there.¹⁶⁵

Some people dismissed Peter, excused or justified his eccentricity on the grounds that he was not normal, or exploited his simplicity in petty and mean-spirited ways, but Pollett says:

I was one of the few who shielded him from the barbs as much as I was able to—took his part against all comers—and I think he liked me a lot for that. At any rate, he singled me out to whisper to me the choice places for trout and for setting muskrat and weasel traps and tailing rabbit slips. And I was always one of the select group he took with him partridge shooting on the barrens.¹⁶⁶

Peter is tolerated by the community to a degree, but as a *puer eternis*, he not only calls into question the attitudes of "sensible men," but also becomes a tangible link to the boyhood world of memory which Pollett attempts to recreate here and in much of his work, a world characterized by fun, freedom, and individuality.

This relationship between Peter's story and Pollett's story raises certain technical questions for the literary critic. "It can be argued that the main flaw in the piece is an uncertain narrative point of view."¹⁶⁷ This, however, may not be the serious flaw it appears to be. It depends on whether one wishes to regard the piece strictly as fiction and to condemn Pollett on traditional literary grounds as an intrusive narrator, or whether we accept Pollett at his word when he insists that he is telling a true story and commend him for attempting to write a biography (of Peter), a social history (of New Harbour),¹⁶⁸ and an autobiography all at the same time, in effect for attempting to render a multifaceted verbal yarn in literate prose. In his attempt to mediate among these three competing demands Pollett's uncertainty goes beyond literary point of view to

encompass uncertainties about accepted values, priorities, and choices—Peter's, the community's, and his own. The meaning of the stor(y)ies resides as much in the telling as in the tale, confirming that *Peter the Grate* "is a piece of literature with strong connections to the oral tradition which Pollett knew in his childhood."¹⁶⁹ The certainties of literary fiction require a detachment which Pollett either could not or would not allow himself to assume.

Peter is a permanent fixture in the community throughout Pollett's boyhood, and, as a boy, Pollett defines one in terms of the other. Eventually, however, Pollett moves away and loses contact with Peter and the community. Each time he returns he notes, usually not with approval, certain changes. Peter "was always there, the same old Peter," but he is becoming more isolated, and a burden to the community. His situation worsens until "the relieving officer finally suggested the almshouse, painting a pretty picture of how warm it was there with plenty of wood and a big stove," but Peter refuses this last indignity. In the end, Peter's death and Confederation, and event which Pollett considered a direct threat to the traditional way of life, converge in a final irony, and a final uncertainty for Pollett:

He struggled along like that until Confederation, in the spring of 1949. Now he was entitled to thirty dollars monthly pension (later upped to forty) under the social security. But the pension money had to be left to pile up until the red tape was untangled, so when it finally did come in the fall Peter got a cheque for \$180.

He spent eighty dollars for wood and coal and changed the rest into dollar bills which he carried in a big lump in his back pocket. He sat on it by day and slept on it at night, waiting for the first of next month to get another thirty dollars which he intended to spend for food. He asked

every other person he met what date it was and how many more days till December.

The cheque came the day after his funeral.

So now he lies on a hillside facing the salt water with the woods in back. The salmon and herring breach in front of him and the gulls fly over him and the rabbits tramp on his grave. A 'cow's tobacco' plant waves tall at his head, and a small spruce full of buds spreads at his feet, and the long weeds lie flat in winter to keep him warm.

Maybe Peter the Grate didn't do much good in the world. Then again, he did no great harm. The cemeteries everywhere are full of people about whom can be said the same thing.¹⁷⁰

Peter is a creature of the past—Pollett's actual outport past and the past of Pollett's memory as much as his own—who is ill-equipped to contend with the present. Pollett's "outport millionaire" can not survive in a world where comfort and security have become purely monetary considerations.

On the back cover of *Peter the Grate*, Pollett, in an author's note, describes the booklet as "a contribution to our Island's folklore." We may wish to quibble, in retrospect, with his phrasing, but it is fair to say that not just in *Peter the Grate* but scattered throughout Pollett's work taken as a whole is sufficient information to reconstruct a sort of unselfconscious ethnography of life in a Newfoundland outport during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In almost every piece, descriptive, fictional, or recollective, he describes some customary practice or comments on some item of traditional lore. In "The Outport Millionaire," for example, he notes that his subject "thrives on sociability" and his door is always open. He is a master home-brewer and visitors can expect to be treated with "a pitcher of spruce beer, a glass of blueberry or dogberry wine and, for special occasions like Christmas, a good black-currant brew."

While he is playing the host, he "likes to regale the gatherings with tall tales of local happenings, handed down from his grandfather. In jannying (mumming) time his home is the main port of call, and the rafters ring with carols or 'come all ye's.'" Mumming is treated in more detail in "Where Christmas is Christmas," a piece in which he also catalogues a range of other holiday practices covering foodways, community entertainments, religious traditions, and other seasonal customs. Pollett maintains, in "A Born Trout," that at fifteen he had "only to glance at the makings or build of a trout to tell what pond or gully it was fished from." In "The Manly Sport of Handlining" he applies the same esoteric knowledge to handlining for codfish, chastises his aged father for being too eager when he loses a big one, and remarks that "a brand-new codfish always looks good to an ex-outporter, like meeting a long-lost friend." In this piece he also describes in detail the fisherman's customary method of cooking and eating fish while on the water. Fish could also serve less obvious functions. The squid, for instance, was a favourite bait fish in Newfoundland, but, as Pollett points out in "Let's Look at the Squid," it also served a social function. "The slogan of the squidder is 'The more of us, the merrier.' The camaraderie of the jigging ground, where punts from several communities gather at evening in a favored spot, is the squid's valuable contribution to robust social life among fishermen."¹⁷¹ Pollett enjoyed describing and cataloguing events, procedures, items, kinds, and ways; he seldom mentioned anything simply in passing. It is a relatively simple matter to leaf through *The Ocean at My Door* (1956) and compile lists of children's games and other pastimes, the names and kinds of

fish, the names and types of boats and gear, gardening methods and products, animals and animal lore, weather lore, and hunting practices.

In his short stories, however, especially the ones told from the perspective of a young boy, the traditions, worldview, folkways and customs are more subtly evoked than in the essays. It is in the stories as well that Pollett displays an easy mastery of dialect. In "The Cat with the Yeller Face," one of his earliest stories, the boy's world is all the more intimately glimpsed because it is presented to us incidentally as the young narrator recounts the exploits of his unusual pet:

After a year or so the cat got so smart with her fore paws that she was openin' the door to the back porch like the rest of us. That was a string latch and she pulled on the string and pushed quick. But the kitchen door inside had a knob and all she could do was jiggle the knob until somebody let her in. The knob started jigglin' right on the dot as soon as we set down to supper every night. If we had meat, specially fresh meat like when we killed the pig and had livers and lites or if we had rabbits for supper, the cat stayed and stayed until she got some of the meat; but most often she just set on the floor and screwed up her face and meowed the same as to say, 'What—herrin' and pradies? Again? and went back outdoors because she didn't [sic] like fish at all which is funny for a cat. One time when Da got me three young gulls just out of the nest in the pond and I made a pen for them out of starrigan sticks and strung a piece of herrin' net over the top I thought the cat would go crazy creepin' and watchin' and lickin' her chops. That evening she went into the woods and brought back three dead sparrers the same as she done it for spile.

In "Epitaph for Downey" it is a faithful working dog which is eulogized and an accurate picture of a boy's chores and his less than enthusiastic reaction to them is gleaned through his recounting of the dog's, rather than his own, mildly truant nature. In "Ship Ahoy!" Emie, yet another fatherless boy, learns from observing his Uncle Bill that "it

did take a bit of reckoning to get on the heads of [codfish] when they moved into twenty fathoms to feed around the ledges after the caplin glut was over. Now, in the middle of August, with the squids in, you had to know more than your left foot from your right to get a good catch every day." Ernie also learns that there is such a thing as justifiable pride when his Uncle Bill seizes an opportunity to put a braggart in his place by beating him unmercifully in a sailing race, and then driving the point home by waiting on the laggard's own wharf to meet him when he finally does make land.¹⁷²

There is little doubt, and letters to *Atlantic Guardian* confirm this, that part of the explanation for Pollett's popularity was that in his attempt to rediscover and reconstruct the world of his own childhood from afar, he stirred in his readers nostalgic recollections of an outport way of life which, because of the changes that occurred between 1945 and 1955 in the aftermath of the war and with the advent of Confederation, many who had never left the Island felt was becoming equally as remote for them as it was for Pollett. It has already been noted that one of Pollett's favourite ways of highlighting the positive qualities of the outport way of life was to contrast it with the negative qualities of big city living. Ironically, on his last visit to the Island, in 1951, he was forced to admit that many of the big city's ways had already crossed the Gulf. In his later writings, therefore, he struggled with a number of ambivalent reactions to the changes which he was forced to admit, albeit grudgingly, appeared to be inevitable, and his uncertainty also struck a sympathetic chord among those who had, on 31 March 1949, gone to bed Newfoundlanders and woken up, on 1 April, Canadians. Ted Russell shared many of

Pollett's misgivings about the changes which he saw taking place in the years just following Confederation and through his characters he created a voice which was recognizably that of outport Newfoundland where many people were equally as uncertain about how to react to these changes and deal with the speed with which they were occurring.

Russell, who was born in Coley's Point, Conception Bay, also began his working life as a teacher. Unlike Pollett, however, he did undertake formal teacher training, at Bishop Feild College, at the Normal School which was opened in 1921 specifically to train teachers, and at Memorial College. He taught school in Pass Island, Harbour Breton, Fogo and in other outports, and at Bishop Feild in St. John's between 1920 and 1935. In June of that year he was appointed to the magistracy of the Commission of Government, and in 1943 was appointed the Commission's Director of Cooperation in the Department of Natural Resources, a position he held until 1949 when he was elected as the Liberal member for Bonavista South in the first post-Confederation government. He resigned his cabinet position as Minister of Natural Resources in 1951 because of philosophical and policy differences with J. R. Smallwood.¹⁷³ He sold insurance until 1957, and then returned to teaching. At the age of fifty-nine he went back to Memorial University as a student and completed his B.A. (Hons.) degree in 1965. Later he became a member of the faculty in the English Department.

"Ted Russell turned his attention to imaginative writing late in 1953, spurred on by a combination of financial necessity and a realization that selling life insurance left

certain of his talents unused."¹⁷⁴ Russell's writing, however, must be looked at in a different context from that of Scammell or Pollett, because it reached its intended audience in a very different manner. Although Russell had published three stories prior to 1953, no other imaginative work of his was published until 1972. Yet, at the same time as Scammell and Pollett were being read by large numbers of Newfoundlanders, Russell's work was reaching an even larger audience via the radio through the words of his persona, Uncle Mose Mitchell:

The *Chronicles of Uncle Mose* appeared as a regular feature on C.B.C. radio in late 1953. . . . Uncle Mose's monologues, written and read by Ted, became an integral part of the Fishermen's Broadcast originating from St. John's. Later, the broadcasts reached a larger audience through a Sunday afternoon network program, "Come All Ye Round." In all, Uncle Mose appeared regularly for nine years, during which time Ted Russell wrote over six hundred radio scripts, each approximately six minutes in length. The early scripts were designed to fit in with particular concerns of the Fishermen's Broadcast: current fish prices, new regulations, fishery policy, and local problems of fishermen. But as the series advanced, anecdotes were integrated with the commentary and a whole new group of people found their way into homes of thousands of Newfoundlanders.¹⁷⁵

During the same period Russell wrote a number of radio plays which were broadcast in Newfoundland and elsewhere. These featured, for the most part, the same settings and characters found in the *Chronicles* and dealt with many of the same concerns and issues.¹⁷⁶

Russell had gained experience as a radio commentator during his time as Director of Cooperation, and in turning to radio he was making use of a medium that had become an essential part of Newfoundland's social, political, and cultural life since 1932 when

VONF and VOGY became the first stations to provide intermittent Island-wide broadcasts.¹⁷⁷ Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the medium drew heavily on the folk culture for much of its programming and attempted to be cognizant of, and attune itself to, the verbal tradition of the Island.¹⁷⁸ J. R. Smallwood had made extensive use of the medium, first as the folksy commentator of *The Barrelman* series and then as a propagandist for Confederation during the National Convention and the referendum debates. Smallwood once declared that "God had Newfoundland particularly and specifically in mind when he brought about the invention of the radio,"¹⁷⁹ and Russell, who, because of his civil servant status remained on the sidelines during the National Convention, but who remained a supporter of the Commission until the end, is quoted as saying, in recognition of Smallwood's oratorical skills and his command of the medium, that "the day the microphones went in—that's the day we got Confederation."¹⁸⁰

There are other differences which separate Russell's work from that of Scammell and Pollett. Their work was mainly focused on the past, but Russell's focus was on the contemporary outport of the immediate post-Confederation era. His time as a civil servant in the Commission of Government "was marked by a prolonged and intense involvement with rural Newfoundland, and by a desire to renovate it."¹⁸¹ This reformist attitude is evident in "The Builder," which is "little more than a propagandist tract for the co-operative movement,"¹⁸² and in other publications from his civil servant period.¹⁸³ Russell's sketches, unlike those of Scammell and Pollett, are not overtly

autobiographical, even though Pigeon Inlet is obviously a composite of some of the outports in which he lived and worked and there are certain parallels which can be drawn between Russell and Mose. His approach is comparable to that of Scammell and Pollett, however, insofar as he elected to highlight what he saw as the positive aspects of outport life and ignore the negative side, and, while there is no nostalgic longing for the good old days in his writing, there is a decidedly sentimental flavour to be found there. Furthermore, even though the focus is present-day, the perspective is often backward-glancing because it is that of Grampa Walcott, the octogenarian patriarch and master storyteller of Pigeon Inlet. As a result it is still largely a traditional worldview and a time-tested value system which informs the commentaries on present-day life in the community.

Criticism and satire are to be found in the *Chronicles*, but they are usually mild and gentle and generally reserved for those who either do not conform to community standards or expectations and those who put on airs, or they are directed toward inept or insincere politicians and condescending outsiders. There are shades of Peter the Grate in Grampa Walcott's description of Solomon Noddy, for example, the culprit who steals Lige Bartle's two holes in the ice: "Uncle Solomon Noddy was a hangashore if ever there was one. By that I mean he was too bad to be called a good-for-nothin' and not bad enough to be called a sleeveen. He was just . . . a hangashore."¹⁸⁴ Solomon and his like are tolerated by the residents of Pigeon Inlet and the neighbouring communities because, in most cases, their sins are sins of omission; they fail to carry their fair share

or support the general community will with sufficient commitment because they are lazy or do not know any better. But they are also seen as a threat to the idealized world of the outport which Russell wished to establish. Peter the Grate would have had just as hard a time of it in post-Confederation Pigeon Inlet as, had he lived, he would have had in New Harbour.

Like Pollett, Russell was concerned about the changes he saw taking place in the outports, not so much because he opposed technology and development *per se*, but because he was suspicious of change for its own sake and disagreed fundamentally with the "develop or perish" approach to industrialization adopted by the Smallwood regime.¹⁸⁵ The vehicle which Russell found most useful for exploring the tensions in Newfoundland society in the immediate post-Confederation era was the tall tale. By means of this genre Russell explored the tensions which had their origin in conflicting views about the relative merits of past values and present aspirations, about the value of tradition and the lure of modernity, about the need for legitimate development as opposed to vulgarized progress, and about pride in what was a country now become a mere province. The tall tale had a respectable lineage in the verbal tradition of the Island and his listeners were still thoroughly familiar with its forms and the functions it served in the local context. "The hyperbole, irony and understatement characteristic of the tall tale made it an eminently suitable form"¹⁸⁶ for dealing with these tensions and for promulgating the central tenets of Russell's philosophy of outport life. In addition, the tall tale was also perfectly suited for delivery via radio, a medium which allowed its

dramatic characteristics to be exploited to the fullest. Furthermore, although there are a few exceptions, the tales are most often delivered by Grampa Walcott, who, Uncle Mose never tires of telling us, is the oldest, wisest, and most truthful man in Pigeon Inlet. As a result, the tales, even though they are told in the present, carry the weight of, and are sanctioned by, tradition. Russell presents the tall tale in all its varied forms and, within the context of the *Chronicles*, it is used: to cure the swelled head, curb the rash tongue, or chasten the haughty; to gull the greenhorn and the outsider; to question outlandish ways or values; to make manageable bureaucracies and institutions; and, naturally, to amuse.

Tales are often precipitated by the need to defend the honour of one's natal ground, and even Uncle Mose, because he was originally a Fortune Bayman and is only an adopted Pigeon Inlet, is sometimes subjected to good natured ribbing about his place of birth. Winters, for instance, are considered to be much colder in Pigeon Inlet than in Fortune Bay, at least by Pigeon Inletters. Mose challenges this contention with the following example from Fortune Bay:

Aunt Becky used to always board the clergyman when he'd come on his rounds—and she kept this parlour specially for him with the keyhole stogged up all the rest of the year to keep out the flies, with the fire laid in the little stove but never lighted until the day the clergyman was due. He was the same clergyman that give Aunt Cassie Tacker the big tea-pot cozy for a weddin' prescent that she wore on her head to carry service in church next mornin'. "I was after that he give out photographs of himself insteada and Aunt Becky had one of 'em hung on the parlour wall right over the mantelpiece and Queen Victoria shifted over to the opposite side. Well this bitter cold winter's mornin' Aunt Becky got a message the clergyman was comin', so Uncle Bill unstogged the keyhole and open'd

up the parlour and put a match to the fire he'd laid 3 months before. Then he straightened up, looked around and got the surprise of his life. The clergyman's hands in the photograph instead of bein' folded across his weskit like they'd always been was up over his ears—and they bided there till after that stove'd been blood red for a good ten minutes and even then Uncle Bill always figgered he'd have kept 'em there longer only for the look Queen Victoria was givin' him from the opposite wall.

Grampa agrees that "that was a kind of nippy sure enough," but decides to counter with the story of what happened when Uncle Joby Noddy ran out of molasses in the winter of 1914 and was forced to steal some from the puncheon that Old Josiah Bartle, the merchant, kept in his store:

'Uncle Joby was desperate, so one dark night with his auger and a water bucket he groped his way in the landwash among the ballycadgers under Josiah's store and bored a hole right up through floor, puncheon and all. Then he stood to the side and put the bucket on the ice under the hole. Nothin' happened and he figgered he'd have to bore again, when he looked up and seen this thing like a eel squirmen' down towards him. He tried to quile it into the bucket but that was too slow so he grabbed bucket and auger in one hand and the end of the long thing in the other and made for home—all the way across the harbour ice to his own stagehead. Then he hauled it in hand over hand and piled it up in his net loft.

'And all that winter,' said Grampa, 'Uncle Joby lived like a lord and when he wanted molasses he'd take his hatchet and go down to his net loft and chop off a fathom. And when there was visitors in his net loft as sometimes is bound to happen they noticed that Uncle Joby had a favourite seat on this special pile of rope. And he'd never have been found out if I hadn't happened to have been there with him the day the spring thaw come, and I had to help him up and get him down off his net loft and into his house out of sight.

'And I wouldn't have told it now,' said Grampa, 'only he's gone to his reward—poor old fellow, and I know he'd sooner have it told than have anyone come around her tryin' to make out they have colder winters in Fortune Bay than down here in Pigeon Inlet.'¹⁸⁷

Community loyalty is not to be taken lightly, and even the quietest and most unassuming man may be forced to protect the good name and reputation of his home place.

Even Uncle Paddy Muldoon, "as modest a man as you'd meet in a day's walk," when aggravated by two young Hartley's Harbour upstarts who brag about the size of the potatoes grown in their community, is forced to tell of the "the fall of '22 . . . or maybe the fall of '23" when, on his return from the Labrador fishery, he was told by his wife that all but one potato has been dug and stored:

'So, after we'd had a mugup, me and the crew took a flake lounge each and went up the side of the hill to where this potato was lyin'. We surveyed the situation, and four of us prized it out with the loungers while the other two went off aboard the schooner for a quile of rope.'

Well, by this time, the two Hartley's Hr. fellows were tryin' to sneak towards the door, but a bunch of us leaned up against it, so they had to stay and listen. Uncle Paddy went on with his yarn.

'It didn't take us long,' said Uncle Paddy, 'to pry the potato out with the loungers. Then we got the rope around it and eased it down the hill towards the cellar door. Of course, when we got it down to the door, we could see he'd never go in through. So we left it there. Like I told Biddy—the crew'd be around with us for three or four days and, if she kept cuttin' pieces off it every day for dinner, we'd make a good dent in it before the crew was finished taking' out our fish.'

A "good dent," however, is not enough to save the pig who, on a rainy night, drowns in the eye of the potato. "'A heavy loss,' said Uncle Paddy, 'a pig that would've dressed 200 pounds by Christmas.'"¹⁸⁸

Uncle Paddy was also "the tallest man in these parts and the thinnest," but nobody was ever sure just how much strength there was in his unusually large hands:

They tell a story in Hartley's Hr. about how a steel drum of Acto gas had been left lying on Elijah Grimes' wharf out in the weather all the winter

and the nuts on the drum got rusty. They tried every size wrench in Hartley's Hr. but couldn't loosen 'em. . . . Uncle Pad, not knowin' about this, come to Hartley's Hr. and Lige Grimes, the merchant, for a bit of a joke asked him to slacken the nut. Uncle Pad took a hold to it with his fingers and twisted. No, he didn't slacken it. 'Twas too rusty. But—he broke it off!

The first time Uncle Mose met Paddy was when Paddy was in Pigeon Inlet one day and looking to secure passage to Hartley's Harbour. "The Mountie come in about that time in his Patrol Boat," asking questions about illegal moonshine making in Hartley's Harbour. Uncle Paddy, in what appears to be a direct contravention of community custom, offers to tell the policeman what he wishes to know in exchange for passage to the place. "They landed on Grimes' Wharf in Hartley's Hr. and the Mountie said, 'Now, then, sir, who makes the moonshine in Hartley's Hr.?' " Mose takes great delight in reporting Uncle Paddy's response:

Uncle Pad removed his cap with his left hand, and with a forefinger the size of a banana, he pointed his right hand straight up towards the sky. Then he said, as reverent as if he was in church, 'My son,' he said to the Mountie, 'a young man with your learnin' ought to know it's the same Being makes the moonshine in Hartley's Hr. as makes the sunshine in Pigeon Inlet.' Uncle Pad went on about his business then, but not forgettin' to thank the Mountie for the trip down to Hartley's Hr. And all that without crackin' a smile and the Mountie watched him go and never said a word.¹⁸⁹

In Uncle Paddy's encounter with a bull moose, the representative of the law fares no better than the mountie does here. The poor moose fares even worse.

The story of Paddy and the moose is a classic tale of the narrow escape, and as it is presented by Russell, with Mose recounting for his listeners the tale as he heard it

firsthand from Paddy, the full dramatic potential is exploited. Paddy tells of how, while partridge hunting, he comes "face to face with the biggest thing he'd ever seen on four legs," and, in his excitement, discharged his load of birdshot in the moose's face. This simply enraged the animal which charged Paddy and chased him across the frozen marsh toward "the edge of the cliff with a 200 foot drop." Fortunately, there was an old pine tree at the edge, with one branch 20 feet off the ground, overhanging the cliff. Paddy, tall and skinny we are reminded, jumped for the branch:

The limb was 15 or 20 feet off the ground, but 'twas his only chance, so he jumped and prayed that he might grab it.

'And you grabbed it all right?' said I.

'No, Mose, me boy,' said Uncle Paddy, 'I missed it.'

'Missed it?' said I. 'How could you have missed it? You're here alive.'

'Well, me boy,' said Uncle Paddy, 'what I mean to say is that I missed it on me way up, but I grabbed it on me way down. But,' said he, 'let me go on with the story.'

The rest of the story relates how the bull moose plunged over the cliff. He was not killed by the fall, but Paddy "had to kill him to save his life," and the animal "dressed over 900 pounds." Uncle Paddy, "bein' a law abidin' man," wired the ranger (which means the story took place "just before the Mounties come into bein'") for instructions on how to dispose of the meat, and was informed that, while he could not sell any of it, he could distribute it equally among the needy of Muldoon's Cove:

'He was a new Ranger,' explained Uncle Paddy, 'and perhaps he wasn't up to date on the Muldoon's Cove census.' Anyhow Uncle Paddy contacted all the people of Muldoon's Cove. 'Twas only the two of them—him and Aunt Bridget—and they were both needy as far as a bit of moose meat was concerned. 'So,' said Uncle Paddy, 'I distributed it

fairly and honestly like the Ranger told me—among meself and Biddy—about 480 pounds apiece.¹⁹⁰

This is but one of several tales which deal with man's encounter with nature and wildlife.

Grampa Walcott enjoyed ice fishing in years gone by. His "favourite outfit for troutin' through the ice," he tells Mose, "used to be a piece of red flannelette and a copy of the *Family Herald and Weekly Star*." He would cut a hole in the ice, dangle the piece of red flannelette above it, "and the trout were so plentiful that they'd jump right up in the air after it." But this does not explain the need for the newspaper to Mose's satisfaction. Grampa explains that he had it "rolled up in a tight roll and used to bat the trout to one side before they could fall back into the hole." Lately, however, things have changed. Grampa explains to Mose that on his last trip he "only batted about five dozen, so I figgered they were gettin' pretty well caught out, and I took no further interest in it."¹⁹¹ Rabbits were once almost as plentiful as trout, according to Grampa. That is the gist of the conversation which Grampa has with "that fisheries man [who] was here from the mainland." When the visitor tells how a rabbit, which he pinned to a tree with an arrow, "had been goin' so fast that it jumped right out of its skin," Grampa rises to the challenge:

One solitary rabbit, he said, wasn't worth the time a man'd waste crouchin' down with a bow and arrow waitin' for him to come along. 'Bill,' he said, 'I had a *better* plan years ago. I'd find an old tree stump in the woods, with a crank in it, stick a head of cabbage down in the crank, then scatter a handful of pepper over the stump and go home and go to bed. A rabbit'd come along, tug at the cabbage, stir up the pepper, start to sneeze, and he'd sneeze so much he'd beat his brains out agen the

stump. Next mornin', ' said Grampa, 'you'd hardly see the stump for the dead rabbits piled around it.'¹⁹²

Grampa has similar adventures with a flock of geese, and Joby Noddy has a Jonah-like encounter with a whale.¹⁹³

Quite often Russell imbedded a tall tale motif in a longer piece simply to make a point, and sometimes he subjected the simplest, most mundane affairs and things, such as Grampa's attempt at babysitting or Uncle Matty Rumble's attempt to turn eelskins to economic advantage,¹⁹⁴ to quixotic treatment in order to enhance the humour, but it was in his "Smokeroom on the *Kyle*" that he made the most imaginative, and most sustained, use of the form:

Tall are the tales that fishermen tell when summer's work is done,
Of fish they've caught and birds they've shot, and crazy risks they've run.
But never did fishermen tell a tale so tall by half a mile,
As Grampa Walcott told last fall, in the smokeroom, on the *Kyle*,

With 'baccy smoke from twenty pipes, the atmosphere was blue,
There was many a 'Have another, boy' and 'Don't mind if I do.'
When somebody suggested that each in turn should spin
A yarn about some circumstances he'd personally been in.

Then tales were told of gun barrels bent to shoot around the cliff,
Of men thawed out and brought to life who had been frozen stiff,
Of barkboats carried off by flies, of pathways chopped through fog,
Of Uncle Bill, who barefoot, kicked the knots out of a twelve inch log.

The loud applause grew louder when Uncle Mickey Shea,
Told of the big potatie he'd grown in Gander Bay,
Too big to go through the cellar door, it lay at rest near by,
Until one rainy night last fall, the pig drowned in its eye.

But meanwhile in the corner, his grey head slightly bowed,
Sat Grampa Walcott, eighty-four, the oldest of the crowd.

Upon his weather beaten face there beamed a quiet grin,
When some shouted 'Grampa . . . 'tis your turn to chip in.'

'Boys, leave me out,' said Grampa. 'Thanks, don't mind if I do.
Well, all right, boys, if you insist, I'll tell you one that's true.
It's a story about jiggin' squids I'm going to relate,
It happened in Pigeon Inlet, in eighteen eighty-eight.

'Me, I was just a bedlammer, afishing with me Dad,
And prospects for the summer were lookin' awful bad.
The caplin scull was over . . . it hadn't been too bright
And here was August come and gone, and nar a squid in sight.

'Day after day we searched for squids till dark from crack o'dawn.
We dug up clams and cocks and hens till even they were gone.
But still no squids, so in despair we give it up for good
And took our gear ashore, and went a-cuttin' firewood.

'One mornin' we were in the woods with all the other men,
And wonderin' if we'd ever see another squid again.
Father broke his axe that day, so we were first ones out,
And as we neared the landwash, we heard the women shout.

"Come hurry, boys, the squids are in." We jumped aboard our boat,
And started out the harbour, the only crew afloat,
But soon our keel begun to scrunch, like scrapin' over skids.
"Father," says I, "we've run aground." "No, son," says he, "that's
squid."

'Said he, "The jigger—heave it out," and quick as a flash I did,
And soon's it struck the water 'twas grabbed up by a squid.
I hauled it in, and what do you think . . . just as it crossed the rail
Blest if there wasn't another squid, clung to the first one's tail.

'And another clung to that one . . . and so on in a string.
I tried to shake 'em loose, but father said, "You foolish thing.
You've got something was never seen afore in Newfoundland,
So, drop the jigger, grab the string, and pull hand over hand."

'I pulled that string of squids aboard till we could hold no more
Then hitched it in the risins and rowed the boat ashore.

The crews were comin' from the woods, they'd heard the women bawl,
But father said, "Don't hurry, boys, there's squid enough for all."

'So Uncle Jimmy took the string until he had enough,
Then, neighbour like, he handed it to Skipper Levi Duff,
From stage to stage that string was passed throughout the whole night
long,
Till daylight found it on Eastern Point with Uncle Billy Strong.

Now Uncle Bill, quite thoughtfully, before he went to bed,
Took two half hitches on the string round the grump of his stagehead.
Next mornin' Hartley's Harbour heard the news and up they come,
In trap-skiff with three pair of oars to tow the string down home.

'When Hartley's Harbour had enough the follwin' afternoon,
That string went on from place to place until it reached Quairpon.
What happened to it after that I don't exactly know,
But people say it crossed the Straits, and ended in Forteau.'

Tall are the tales that fishermen tell when summer's work is done,
Of fish they've caught, of birds they've shot and crazy risks they've run.
But never did fishermen tell a tale so tall by half a mile
As Grampa Walcott told last fall in the smokeroom on the *Kyle*.¹⁹⁵

Russell has created here a classic liars' contest. The opening stanzas describe the typical performance context, and, prior to Grampa's tale, we are treated to a catalogue of tale motifs, which, if expanded to full tale length, would make for a sizeable volume and obviously, we are meant to assume, in the telling did make for a long and enjoyable night in the smokeroom. Grampa's tale, a true story of course, begins on an ordinary, routine note, and even when it moves into the realm of the miraculous the ordinary habits and customs of outport living remain recognizable. Here, as in the other tales cited above, Russell uses the genre to highlight the simple, hardworking, industrious,

neighbourly characteristics of outport life. Significantly, he used this piece to conclude the last broadcast of the *Chronicles*.

The outport world that was described by Scammell and Pollett, although based primarily on life in the actual communities of Change Islands and New Harbour, was obviously universal enough to be recognized by Newfoundlanders as being generic. Russell, on the other hand, drew on his general familiarity with a number of Newfoundland outports to create such fictional communities as Pigeon Inlet, Hartley's Harbour, and Muldoon's Cove, which, for many Newfoundlanders, were as real as any place noted on the map of the Island. In his characters as well—Uncle Mose, Grampa and Grandma Walcott, Paddy Muldoon, Jethro Noddy, Levi Bartle, Aunt Sophy, and many more—Russell was successful in creating a mirror in which outport people saw themselves and their neighbours reflected.

The world of the *Chronicles* is a traditional, conservative world, cautious, but not totally antagonistic to new ideas or change. It is a world which professes a strong belief in simplicity and adheres to a well-defined work ethic. But it is also a world of sport and fun and humour and pleasures, albeit simple ones. It is a world firmly committed to the golden mean, but there is always a tinge of irony in the way it is revealed to the listener or the reader by Mose:

'Twould be a pity if Pigeon Inlet had to die out. With all its shortcomings, it's got its good points. A hundred or so families—God fearing, hard working neighbourly people. Not much money, but plenty of fun for all that. Not much book learning but plenty of common sense. Not much luxury but a lot of good solid comfort.¹⁹⁶

Indeed, Russell took the positive twist that Scammell and Pollett had put on isolation and deprivation and made it a central plank in his platform. Mose remarks, in the midst of a discussion about pre-measured, pre-cut, and pre-packaged labour saving devices: "The only thing that saves us down here is that we're so far behind the times."¹⁹⁷

In fact in a piece titled "Isolation," broadcast in 1960, Russell developed the notion into an extended list of tongue-in-cheek examples leading to an inevitable conclusion. It is worth quoting in full because it illustrates, in terms of form and content, many of the qualities and the essential tone of one of Mose's typical offerings:

People often write in and ask me don't we feel awful bad in Pigeon Inlet over bein' so far away from the bigger places where there's so much goin' on that we poor mortals in an out of the way place like this can't take any part in. And if I must tell the truth—which I always try to do—the answer is yes. We do feel bad sometimes. Take Uncle Joe Rumble from up in the Cove. He had a poor fishery last summer and was about the only one in these parts that didn't qualify for a bit of unemployment benefit. And so early this winter he had to do without his radio cause he couldn't afford a new battery—and he had to put on his boots and go over next door to hear the Doyle Bulletin.

Then later in the winter, things got worse and poor old Uncle Joe had to go on the dole. The neighbours were nice about it and pretended not to notice and Uncle Joe wasn't feelin' too bad about it until he got this letter from his sister in St. John's. It seems that she and her family are on the dole too—and they wrote this letter to Uncle Joe to tell him how they pitied him down in Pigeon Inlet havin' to spend his dole order with the local merchant whereas they had a better chance to shop around with their order and get the best bargains. Not only that, but on television nearly every night you'd see special advertisin' by shopkeepers urg'in' you to bring your relief orders to their particular shops for the very best prices. In fact Uncle Joe's sister said on her letter 'twas got so up around there that you couldn't afford to be on dole unless you had a television set. Poor Uncle Joe—it made him feel awful.

And even Grandma Walcott—the last one in the place you'd expect. There are times when even she feels like she's been left out of

big things she'd like to take part in. There over the radio for two or three weeks was all this talk about tryin' to find the Queen of Newfoundland Cooks—and poor Grandma was actually thinkin' she'd get a chance to win it. But nobody from the radio even come down to watch her cook—and she says 'tis a good thing we all got a chance for a crown in the next world 'cause she got poor hopes of gettin' one in this one. Not even a chance. Out of the world.

And she did feel bad about it. Until one night last week when I carried the St. John's newspaper over to her and showed her the picture of the queen of cooks with the crown on her head and all the other women that'd been almost as good as the queen—and told her she ought to read the whole story. She said no—she didn't have time, but would I look at the paper and answer her one question. These cooks—the queen and the rest of 'em—did they use a hot poker or did they use scaldin' water? 'What for?' said I. 'Why,' she said, 'they must've used one or the other—either a poker or else hot water.' 'No' said I, 'They didn't.' 'Well then,' said Grandma, 'how did they swinge 'em?' 'Swinge who?' said I. 'The turrs' said she. 'There was no turrs,' said I. 'Nor ducks?' said she. 'Nor ducks,' said I.

That puzzled her. 'What was the crown for then?' said she. 'For bakin' bread' said I. 'And do they call that cookin'?' said she. 'Yes,' said I, 'up around St. John's they do, by the looks of it.' 'Well, I never' said she. 'What's the world comin' to? To get a crown—just for bakin' a batch of bread—without havin' to pick a turr—swinge un, clean and stuff and bake un.' 'I allow,' she said, 'if I lived up in St. John's there wouldn't be room in the house to sit down without scratchin' yourself on the sharp edge of a crown.' But she cheered up. Somehow or other we always cheer up down in Pigeon Inlet. What cheered Grandma up this time was the thought that after all perhaps if she got too many crowns—she mighten't value 'em.

You see there's always a brighter side to everything if you've got to look fo. it—like Uncle Joe Rumble—after hearin' about the wonderful bargains a man on dole missed by not bein' where he could have a T.V. set—he said, yes, 'twas wonderful for the lucky people who got all this stuff at the 'greatly reduced prices,' but then on the other hand how must it feel to be one of the poor angishores who bought some of the stuff before the price was reduced.

But 'tis a good thing we do find ways to cheer ourselves up over the things we miss by bein' so far away from the center of things. Young Mimi Grimes from Hartley's Hr. is up in St. John's all the winter and wrote home to her girl friends about the wonderful time she had one night

at what they called a 'beatnik dance.' She told them they should get one up for before Lent in Hartley's Hr. and even described on the letter how to do it, but these girls couldn't seem to work up any interest in it or even understand what 'twas all about—and they had just a ordinary dance instead—poor things.

And I daresay there are young people in Rumble Cove who don't know yet that that fellow Presley is back from the war—while in Wigwam Tickle I don't say that they even know he's gone. Pete Briggs's missus was so long savin' money to buy a sack dress that they went off the market and she used the money to buy a sewin' machine—she's more than paid for the machine already makin's over the sack dresses of the women who did buy 'em.

Yes, there's a lot of things we miss down here, but the bright side is—there's a lot of foolish things that lose their way before they can get down to us. And the few good things that do get to us—well, they seem to take root here and bide longer. Perhaps we're not too bad off—after all.¹⁹⁸

Here, and in the tall tale examples cited above, we see the turn of mind and qualities of speech which were recognizable as those of the storeloft, the stagehead, and the kitchen table. They are the same characteristics which George Allan England had noted in the twenties, but they had not, before Russell, been heard outside of these contexts and they soon caused Uncle Mose Mitchell to become the voice of outport Newfoundland. Russell's "authentic linguistic and paralinguistic patterns contrasted with the earlier, original 'Barrelman,' Joseph R. Smallwood, and other Newfoundland radio commentators who displayed fluent, 'townie' (St. John's) announcing styles and accents."¹⁹⁹ Mose's own surprise and delight, when he says "I can hardly believe that I'm talking over the radio and that people away down in Pigeon Inlet and all along the Coast can hear every word I'm saying,"²⁰⁰ was obviously shared by his listeners. Here was someone who

had found a way to talk to the fisherman without talking down to him and the fisherman obviously welcomed the change.

The depiction of the outport way of life contained in the writings of the romantic realists was obviously "a mythic, selective, and generalized version of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders,"²⁰¹ but, coming as it did at a time of social and cultural transition, it provided people, for a time, with a benchmark, or a "holdin' ground," to use Russell's term, against which to measure and evaluate the changes. Scammell, Pollett and Russell delineated, without apology, the worthwhile qualities which they perceived as being the essential characteristics of life in the outports, qualities which Duley had suspected were there but which she was at a loss to identify or define. O'Flaherty notes that they "celebrated the outport, giving the first authentic literary expression—in formal as opposed to folk literature—to the peculiar outharbour way of viewing the world: a way that combines shrewd understatement, funmaking, homely wisdom, acceptance, and stubborn pride."²⁰² This is indeed true, but the authenticity which characterizes their work depends to a great extent on their familiarity with, and their debt to, the folk literature tradition.

Because theirs was essentially a romanticized and uncritical interpretation of the outport way of life, however, it could not compete with the strident rhetoric of those who saw 1 April 1949 as the first day of a new era, an era which owed nothing to the past beyond eternal gratitude at having escaped from it. Expressions of this philosophy were usually couched in terms such as: "The cruel legacy of [Newfoundland] history

effectively prevented intellectual development" and: "Confederation is the great watershed in Newfoundland's intellectual history."²⁰³ Given the temper of the immediate post-Confederation period, a period marked by the denigration of the past and the neglect of the traditional economy, by a blinding rush toward unrealized industrialization, by a shameless materialism fostered by a governmental policy which confused welfare with well-being and economic progress with the development of underdevelopment and dependency,²⁰⁴ it is not surprising that the view of the romantic realists should become trivialized until, by the mid-1960s, it had been transformed into a mockery of itself. This transformation was most crassly expressed in the popular depiction of Newfoundland as "Canada's Happy Province" peopled, naturally, by "the happiest Canadians," a *blason* which was both imposed from within and applied from without.²⁰⁵ It was usually stated in terms such as the following: "To hustling mainlanders, Newfoundlanders should be miserable. But in spite of poverty, isolation, harsh climate, obstinate land and cruel sea, these surprising islanders have found what more favored outsiders haven't—contentment."²⁰⁶ There was none of the subtlety of Russell's "Isolation" here, however. Rather, the reason advanced for the Newfoundlanders' contentment was simple; they were too stupid and too backward to realize just how badly off they really were!

Obviously, the gentle, sentimentalist approach to the traditional culture which had served the romantic realists was inappropriate to deal with this and other bastardizations of reality which occurred as Newfoundland was "dragged kicking and screaming" toward

what was supposed to be full participation in mainstream North American culture.²⁰⁷ But a new group of writers—some who were late bloomers and others who were fledglings—were waiting in the wings. They were more critical in outlook and satirical in bent. Cut off from the past and intolerant of the present, they were quick to challenge messianic claims and simplistic paradigms. They soon discovered, however, that, if facile depictions and stereotypical superficialities were to be replaced with worthwhile interpretations of the Newfoundland reality, the traditional way of life could not be ignored. Similarly, they, like those who had preceded them, found that the expressive forms of the verbal culture were still valuable and validating structures when appropriated to serve literary ends.

Notes

¹E. J. Pratt, *Newfoundland Verse* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1923).

²Munro Beattie, "Poetry 1935-1950," in *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, 2nd ed., ed. Carl F. Klinck et al. (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1976), II, 259.

³E. J. Pratt, "Memories of Newfoundland," *BN*, II (1937), 56.

⁴On these points see: D. G. Pitt, "Introduction," to E. J. Pratt, *Here the Tides Flow*, ed. D. G. Pitt (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1962), p. 10; Clyde Rose, "Foreword," to *Baffles of Wind and Tide: An Anthology of Newfoundland Poetry, Prose and Drama*, ed. Clyde Rose (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, [1973]), p. ix; Peter Buitenhuis, "E. J. Pratt: Poet of the Sea," in *The E. J. Pratt Symposium*, ed. Glenn Clever (Ottawa: The University of Ottawa Press, 1977), pp. 43-53; George Whalley, *Birthright to the Sea: Some Poems of E. J. Pratt* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978); O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed* (1979), pp. 117-127; D. G. Pitt, *E. J. Pratt: The Truant Years 1882-1927* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 14-82; Susan Gingell, "The Newfoundland Context of the Poetry of E. J. Pratt," *Essays on Canadian Writing*, No. 31 (1985), pp. 93-105; and, D. G. Pitt, "The Challenged Heritage: The Sea as Myth and Milieu in the Poetry of E. J. Pratt," in *Myth and Milieu: Atlantic Literature and Culture, 1918-1939* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), pp. 160-174.

⁵E. J. Pratt, *Complete Poems*, two volumes, ed. Sandra Djwa and R. G. Moyles (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1989), I, 20-37.

⁶Pratt appears to have been so pleased, and justly pleased I think, with the last image that he recast it in a lyric and incorporated it in *Newfoundland Verse* as "The Morning Plunge": "Clean-limbed and arrowy he shot his way / Into the crystal waters of the bay; / Full thirty-feet below the derrick's beam, / As a lithe salmon, leaping from a stream / Hangs, instant-poised, then arches for the plunge, / Driving with lightning fin a dexterous lunge / Down to his haunts, and trails, enwreathed in mists, / A flock of garnets chasing amethysts" (*Complete Poems*, I, 71).

⁷Pratt, "Memories," p. 57.

⁸Pratt, *Complete Poems*, I, 58-63.

⁹Gingell, in a forced effort to link Pratt with his Newfoundland roots, suggests that he "was too close to Newfoundland reality to make the poem an expression of moral outrage at the violence of the seal hunt" ("The Newfoundland Context," p. 100), thereby cutting poet and poem adrift from time and milieu.

¹⁰Pratt, *Complete Poems*, I, 99-101.

¹¹Pratt, *Complete Poems*, I, 8-9.

¹²Pratt, *Complete Poems*, I, 218 and 254, respectively.

¹³Pratt, *Complete Poems*, I, 49-52 and 84-90, respectively.

¹⁴Gingell, "The Newfoundland Context," p. 98.

¹⁵Pratt, *Complete Poems*, II, 188-189.

¹⁶Pitt, *The Truant Years*, p. 18.

¹⁷Pitt, *The Truant Years*, p. 28.

¹⁸George Allan England, *Vikings of the Ice: Being the Log of a Tenderfoot on the Great Newfoundland Seal Hunt* [Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1924; rpt. as *The Greatest Hunt in the World* (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1969)]. References are to the reprint. George Allan England, *The White Wilderness: A Story of the Great Newfoundland Seal-Hunt; of Arctic Floes; of Perils and Adventures Manifold* (London: Cassell and Co., 1924).

¹⁹England, *The Greatest Hunt*, pp. 23, 73, 193.

²⁰England's few footnotes are annoyingly imprecise, but he acknowledges or cites Johnny Burke, Levi Chafe, P. K. Devine, Wilfred Grenfell, Moses Harvey, J. P. Kinsella, Isaac C. Morris (to whom he mistakenly refers as an ex-premier), James Murphy, Alex Parsons, E. J. Penney, and H. F. Shortis.

²¹England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 30. In addition to glossing many words directly in his text, England includes a "Glossary of Commonly Used Newfoundland Words and Phrases," pp. 369-379. See also his "Newfoundland Dialect Items," *Dialect Notes*, 5 (1925), 322-346.

²²England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 27.

²³England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 76.

²⁴England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 70.

²⁵England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 190.

²⁶England, *The Greatest Hunt*, pp. 266-280 and 310-312.

²⁷England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 268.

²⁸England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 312.

²⁹Pitt, *The Truant Years*, p. 17.

³⁰Indeed, England's fictionalized treatment does not stand up well when it is compared with his documentary account, even though most of the action and the characters in *The White Wilderness* are drawn from thinly disguised reworkings of England's own experience on the ice, and much of the dialogue retains the Newfoundland dialect. Romantic interest is added in the person of Blanche Cameron, a Grenfell nurse, who, along with Spenser Harrod, a rich Bostonian and the hero, becomes marooned on the ice when their small plane crashes. Once they are rescued by Captain Azariah Stabb and the crew of the *Vigilant* (read Captain Kean and the crew of the *Terra Nova*) much of the action is taken directly from *Vikings*, with the added adventures and complications of a pirate sealing captain who, unbeknownst to the hero, is in league with his father, a mutiny (based on the actual mutiny aboard the *Diana* in 1922), a disastrous fire and the captain going down with his ship. The novel fails, however, because once the sealers are relegated to secondary, supporting roles they, and the main characters as well, become caricatures without a reason for being where they are.

³¹England, *The Greatest Hunt*, pp. 96-101 and pp. 180-190. England, somewhat in the manner of the antiquarian, notes: "Native genius for narrative poems the Newfoundlanders indubitably possess. And nowhere can it be better studied than among sealers. Lacking a written literature, they have innumerable chanteys, 'come-all-ye's' and longer poems—regular sagas. Many must have perished, these latter years; but others still survive, *chansons de geste* that should be garnered into literary treasure houses before it be too late" (pp. 188-189).

³²England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 325.

³³Pratt, "Memories," p. 56.

³⁴Paddock, "The Destruction of Language."

³⁵Pitt, "The Challenged Heritage," p. 174.

³⁶O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 126.

³⁷England, *The Greatest Hunt*, p. 325.

³⁸O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 326.

³⁹Elizabeth Miller, "Newfoundland Literature in the 'Dirty Thirties,'" in *Myth and Milieu: Atlantic Literature and Culture, 1918-1939*, ed. Gwendolyn Davies (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), p. 71.

⁴⁰O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 327.

⁴¹Miller, "Newfoundland Literature in the 'Dirty Thirties,'" p. 72.

⁴²Murphy, comp., *Songs Their Fathers Sung*.

⁴³Murphy, comp., *Songs Sung by Old-Time Sealers*, and Murphy, comp., *Newfoundland Poems*.

⁴⁴Doyle, ed., *Old-Time Songs and Poetry*.

⁴⁵Burke, *Burke's Popular Songs*.

⁴⁶See Rosenberg, "The Gerald S. Doyle Songsters."

⁴⁷Greenleaf and Mansfield, eds., *Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland*, and Karpeles, ed., *Folk Songs from Newfoundland*. The Greenleaf and Mansfield collection contains 185 titles with variants. Karpeles collected 191 titles. Only 30, with piano accompaniments, were published in the two volume edition of 1934; the 1970 edition contains 150 titles, or tunes, as she calls them.

⁴⁸Florence Miller, *In Caribou Land* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1929).

⁴⁹In Miller, *In Caribou Land*, p. 5. It is interesting to note that Pratt refers to himself here "as a Newfoundlander abroad, subject to frequent spells of homesickness."

⁵⁰Miller, *In Caribou Land*, p. 24.

⁵¹Miller, *In Caribou Land*, p. 9.

⁵²Miller, *In Caribou Land*, p. 15.

⁵³Miller, *In Caribou Land*, p. 42.

⁵⁴Miller, *In Caribou Land*, pp. 45, 46, 50, 51, 52.

⁵⁵Miller, *In Caribou Land*, p. 48.

⁵⁶Irving Fogwill, *Prelude to Doom and Other Poems* (London: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1931).

⁵⁷Irving Fogwill, *A Short Distance Only: Prose and Poetry* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1981).

⁵⁸Daphne L. Benson, "Introduction," to *A Short Distance Only*, p. vii.

⁵⁹Miller, "Newfoundland Literature in the 'Dirty Thirties,'" p. 72.

⁶⁰Fogwill, *Prelude*, pp. 5-6.

⁶¹Fogwill, *Prelude*, p. 16.

⁶²Benson, "Introduction," pp. vii, ix.

⁶³See: "Poetry and Ballads of Newfoundland," *BN*, I (1937), 456-486; and, Charles H. Johnson, comp., "Songs and Sagas of Newfoundland," *BN*, II (1937), 219-273.

⁶⁴The words given here are those sung by Dan Lake on a tape in my personal collection. See also Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Tradition," pp. 215-216, for a slightly different text as sung by the late Mac Masters, and a commentary. MUNFLA 88-257 gives a text by Dan Farrell of Marystown.

⁶⁵See Kenneth S. Goldstein, "A Report On Continuing Research Into 'Treason Songs': A Private Newfoundland Folksong Tradition," in *Studies in Newfoundland Folklore: Community and Process*, ed. Gerald Thomas and J. D. A. Widdowson, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 14. (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1991), pp. 126-153.

⁶⁶The song, which is also in the repertoire of Dan Lake, has been attributed to Billy Wilson of Merasheen Island, Placentia Bay, but there are several songs with similar titles dealing with summer gales, and others with very different titles which deal with similar events. See, for instance, "Tobias Murphy and Tom Hann," in Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You*, pp. 187-188.

⁶⁷A version, with slightly different wording, appears in Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You*, p. 9.

⁶⁸Leslie Harris, "Placentia Bay," *ENL*, IV (1993), 327.

⁶⁹Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You*, p. 107.

⁷⁰Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You*, p. 94. The full economy of this is only appreciated when one understands that a "three-leg" is an "uncompleted mesh of a fish-

net, having three corner knots and one loose strand of twine" (DNE, 563). The loose strand is "picked up" when the net is to be mended.

⁷¹Lehr, ed., *Come and I Will Sing You*, p. 191.

⁷²Selected at random from "Poetry and Ballads of Newfoundland," pp. 458-465.

⁷³"Poetry and Ballads of Newfoundland," p. 486.

⁷⁴Johnson, comp., "Songs and Sagas of Newfoundland," p. 269. (It is worth noting that another of Scammell's early efforts, "The Squid Jiggin' Ground," is included among the selections in "Poetry and Ballads of Newfoundland," pp. 478-479, but no author is given. This is probably a simple editorial oversight.)

⁷⁵What is sorely needed is a substantial anthology of poetry, covering the first fifty years of the present century, catholic and eclectic in its purview, chronologically arranged by poet and poem, and supported by the appropriate bibliographical and biographical critical apparatus. Three collections that give a limited overview of the field are: Michael Harrington, ed., *Poems of Newfoundland* [=The prize-winning poems in the O'Leary Newfoundland Poetry Award, 1944-1952] (St. John's: F. M. O'Leary, Ltd., 1953); Adrian Fowler and Al Pittman, eds., *31 Newfoundland Poets* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1979); and, Tom Dawe and Elizabeth Miller, eds., *Banked Fires: An Anthology of Newfoundland Poetry* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1989).

⁷⁶Georgiana Cooper, *Down Aroun' Shore and Other Newfoundland Poems* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1971). See also: Georgiana Cooper, *The Deserted Island: Newfoundland Verse and Paintings*, ed. Harry A. Cuff and Everard H. King (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1979); and, Harry Cuff, ed., *The Coopers of Inglewood* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1990).

⁷⁷Cooper, in Cuff, ed., *The Coopers*, p. 73.

⁷⁸Cooper, in Cuff, ed., *The Coopers*, p. 68.

⁷⁹Cooper, in Cuff, ed., *The Coopers*, p. 89.

⁸⁰Cooper, in Cuff, ed., *The Coopers*, pp. 93, 97, 101, 87, 85, 95, 108.

⁸¹Harold Paddock, "Georgiana Cooper: Poet of Epiphanies" (1980), in Cuff, ed., *The Coopers*, pp. 51-59.

⁸²Cooper, in Cuff, ed., *The Coopers*, pp. 81, 115, 102, 117.

⁸⁷Power's parents were well-educated for the time. His father, a school inspector, held "a degree from a London university" and his mother had a "convent education." Power himself had completed one year at Memorial College when he was diagnosed as having tuberculosis, so the disease put an end to his formal education as well as his athletic prospects. See: Daphne L. Benson, "Power, Politics, and Poetry: An Unlikely Alliance," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 74:4 (1979), 26-31. Benson includes twelve poems by Power along with her biographical profile.

⁸⁸Gregory J. Power, *The Power of the Pen: Writings of Gregory J. Power*, ed. Harold Horwood (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1989) pp. 2, 20.

⁸⁹This raises interesting questions about reactive and topical writing which will be considered more fully below. To illustrate the point, however, consider the opening stanza of Power's "The Ballad of Oleo Margarine," written under his pen name "Housewife." Margarine, it should be recalled, was, as the results of efforts by the Canadian dairy lobby, an illegal product in Canada at the time of the Confederation debates, and Albert Perlin had warned Newfoundlanders that union with Canada would also make it illegal in Newfoundland; Power responds as follows: "I pray that I shall never know / A future without oleo, / Or live to see my little sons / Turn up their noses at my buns; / But there is one with soul so dead, / Who'd sacrifice our spread for bread, / And ban from every Newfie table / Our wholesome, rich, improved Green Label" (*The Power of the Pen*, p. 22).

⁹⁰Power, *The Power of the Pen*, pp. 7, 3, 5, 9.

⁹¹Power, *The Power of the Pen*, pp. 133-138.

⁹²See Michael Harrington, "My Twelve Years in the 'Barrel,'" *Atlantic Guardian*, 13:10 (1956), 22-29.

⁹³See, for example, Michael Harrington, *Sea Stories from Newfoundland* (1958; St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1986); and, Michael Harrington, *Offbeat Mystery of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1988).

⁹⁴Five of Harrington's poems are included among those in *The Book of Newfoundland* in 1937, cited above. His collections *Newfoundland Tapestry* and *The Sea is Our Doorway* which appeared in 1943 and 1947, respectively, have been combined and published as *Newfoundland Tapestry* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1984). See also Michael Harrington, *The Modern Magi* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1985). Many of his poems which were published in newspapers and periodicals have not been collected.

⁹⁵Harrington, *Newfoundland Tapestry*, p. 10.

⁹²As cited on the back cover of the 1984 edition of *Newfoundland Tapestry*.

⁹³Harrington, *Newfoundland Tapestry*, pp. 12, 14, 25, 14.

⁹⁴Harrington, *Newfoundland Tapestry*, p. 17.

⁹⁵Harrington, *Newfoundland Tapestry*, pp. 28-30.

⁹⁶Harrington, *Newfoundland Tapestry*, pp. 51-53.

⁹⁷Margaret Duley, "Glimpses into Local Literature," *Atlantic Guardian*, 13:7 (1956), 25.

⁹⁸Ronald Rompkey, "Erle Spencer and the Newfoundland Romance" (1985), *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 81:4 (1986), 29. See also Rompkey's introduction to the edition of *Yo-Ho-Ho* listed below.

⁹⁹Erle Spencer, *The Piccadilly Ghost* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929); Erle Spencer, *Stop Press!* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932); and, Erle Spencer, *Or Give Me Death!* (London: G. G. Harrap, 1936).

¹⁰⁰Erle Spencer, *Yo-Ho-Ho! A Story of Piracy and Smuggling* (1924; St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1986); Erle Spencer, *A Young Sea Rover* (London: Cassell and Co., 1925); Erle Spencer, *Contraband: A Tale of Modern Smugglers* (London: Cassell and Co., 1926); Erle Spencer, *The Death of Captain Shand* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930); Erle Spencer, *The Four Lost Ships* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931); and, Erle Spencer, *The King of Spain's Daughter* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934).

¹⁰¹A much more realistic account of the rumrunner's life is provided by Jack Randell, *I'm Alone* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930). Randell was a native of Port Rexton who served in the British Army during the Boer War, took part in the Labrador fishery, and served in the British Navy during World War I. After the war he became a rumrunner in his ship the *I'm Alone*, which had a capacity of 6000 cases. The vessel was sunk by the U. S. Coast Guard off the Louisiana coast in 1929. Chapters 13-21 of *I'm Alone* deal with Randell's rumrunning exploits. See also: Otto Kelland, "Captain Jack Randell, and the 'I'm Alone,'" in his *Anchor Watch: Newfoundland Stories in Verse* (St. John's: Dicks and Co./Otto Kelland, 1960), pp. 51-53.

A number of autobiographies and similar works from the same period are worth noting for the esoteric information they provide on fishing and the seafaring life in general. I have chosen not to deal with them in detail because they were either intended for a very limited audience, or, although they deal with the period in question, because they were not published until relatively recently. See, for example: Robert Abram Bartlett, *The Log of Bob Bartlett: The True Story of Forty Years of Seafaring and*

Exploration (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928); Job Barbour, *Forty-Eight Days Adrift: The Voyage of the "Neptune II" from Newfoundland to Scotland* (1932), Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 8 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1981); Smith, *Fifty-two Years at the Labrador Fishery* (1936); Joshua Stansford, *Fifty Years of My Life* (Ilfracombe: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1952); John Marshall Fudge, *The Late Capt. J. M. Fudge: His Life Story as a Fisherman and Businessman* (Moncton: Atlas Press, [1963?]); Victor Butler, *The Little Nord Easter: Reminiscences of a Placentia Bayman* (1975), ed. Wilfred W. Wareham, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 4 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1980); John W. Froude, *On the High Seas: The Diary of Capt. John W. Froude, Twillingate—1863-1936* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1983); Garfield Fizzard, *Master of His Craft: Captain Frank Thornhill* (Grand Bank Heritage Society, 1988). Also of interest, although not concerned primarily with seafaring are: Aubrey M. Tizzard, *On Sloping Ground: Reminiscences of Outport Life In Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland* (1979), ed. J. D. A. Widdowson, Folklore and Folklife Series, [No. 9] (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1984); Hussey, *Our Life on Lear's Room* (1981); and, R. F. Sparkes, *The Winds Softly Sigh*, ed. R. E. Buehler, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 6 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1981). See also: Martin Lovelace, "Literary and Oral Styles in Newfoundland Autobiographies," *Newfoundland Studies*, 5 (1989), 53-60.

¹⁰²Charles H. Johnson, "The Literature of Newfoundland," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 33:4 (1934), 9.

¹⁰³Arthur English, *The Vanished Race* (Montreal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1927), and Arthur English, *Ogygia: A Tale of Old Newfoundland* (Ottawa: Ru-Mi-Lou Books, 1930).

¹⁰⁴Margaret Duley, *Highway to Valour* (1941; Toronto: Griffin House, 1977).

¹⁰⁵Margot Duley Morrow, biographical note, *Highway to Valour*.

¹⁰⁶Alison Feder, *Margaret Duley: Newfoundland Novelist—A Biographical and Critical Study* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1983), p. 101.

¹⁰⁷G. M. Story, "Margaret Duley, 1894-1968," in *The Blasty Bough*, ed. Clyde Rose (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1976), p. 195.

¹⁰⁸Feder, *Margaret Duley*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹Margaret Duley, *The Eyes of the Gull* (1936; Toronto: Griffin House, 1976).

¹¹⁰Margaret Duley, *Cold Pastoral* (1939; Toronto: Griffin House, 1977).

¹¹¹Margaret Duley, *Novelty on Earth* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1942).

¹¹²Feder, *Margaret Duley*, p. 91.

¹¹³Duley, *The Eyes*, pp. 9, 30, 103, 18, 19.

¹¹⁴Duley, *The Eyes*, pp. 10, 12, 14, 22, 25, 50, 81, 103.

¹¹⁵O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 132.

¹¹⁶Duley, *Cold Pastoral*, pp. 7, 9.

¹¹⁷Duley, *Cold Pastoral*, pp. 10, 9, 15, 16, 21.

¹¹⁸For a perceptive comment on Duley's "tunnel vision view of fairy belief" see: Clara J. Murphy, "The Use of Fairy Lore in Margaret Duley's *Cold Pastoral*," *Culture & Tradition*, 7 (1983), 106-119.

¹¹⁹Duley, *Cold Pastoral*, pp. 13, 14, 19, 16.

¹²⁰For this episode in the novel Duley drew on the actual events surrounding the experience of Lucy Harris of New Melbourne, Trinity Bay who survived being lost in the woods for twelve nights and eleven days in March 1936, when she was nine years old. See: Harrington, *Offbeat Mystery*, pp. 48-51; and, Barbara Rieti, *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland* (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1991), pp. 171-180.

¹²¹Duley, *Cold Pastoral*, p. 50.

¹²²Duley, *Cold Pastoral*, p. 105.

¹²³Feder, *Margaret Duley*, p. 57.

¹²⁴John Kivlichan, "The Art of Duley's *Cold Pastoral*," *Newfoundland Studies*, 6 (1990), 186, 187.

¹²⁵Duley, *Cold Pastoral*, p. 75.

¹²⁶The legendary Irish Princess is "Sheila NaGeira, the so-called 'Princess Sheila,' daughter of John NaGeira, King of County Down, who was captured by pirates on the way to France and married one of them. She and her husband, Gilbert Pike, moved to Bristol's Hope, Newfoundland, and then to Carbonear, and her baby is supposed to have been the first white child born in Newfoundland. Sheila NaGeira, it is said, lived to be one hundred and five years old, and there was a tombstone to her memory in Carbonear." Herbert Halpert, "Ireland, Sheila and Newfoundland," in *Literature and Folk Culture: Ireland and Newfoundland*, ed. Alison Feder and Bernice Schrank,

Folklore and Language Publications, Bibliographical and Special Series, No. 2 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), p. 147. For a fictional treatment of the legend see: P. J. Wakeham, *The Legend of Princess Sheila* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1987).

¹²⁷Duley, as she had done earlier with the story of Lucy Harris, here makes use of an historical fact, "the actual earthquake and tidal wave that occurred on the Burin Peninsula on the South Coast of Newfoundland in November 1929" (Feder, *Margaret Duley*, p. 63). See *The Evening Telegram*, from 23 November to 30 November 1929, for coverage of the disaster. Contemporary scientific accounts of the earthquake, which was centered on the Grand Banks, and the resultant tidal wave include: D. S. McIntosh, "The Acadian-Newfoundland Earthquake," and J. H. L. Johnstone, "The Acadian-Newfoundland Earthquake of November 18, 1929," *The Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science*, 17 (1929/30), 213-222 and 223-237, respectively; and, J. W. Gregory, "The Earthquake off the Newfoundland Banks of November 19, 1929," *The Geographical Journal*, 77 (1931), 123-139. See also: Gerald Jones, "The South Coast Disaster of 1929," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 71:2 (1975), 35-40; and, Michael Harrington, "The Great Tidal Wave at Burin," *Atlantic Advocate*, 60:11 (1979), 48-50.

¹²⁸Duley opens *Highway to Valour* with the comment that "the names of Newfoundland settlements are like trivial labels on primal places." The fact that she selected names with the preciosity of Feather-the-Nest and the prosaic ring of Ship-Haven for her imaginary communities suggests that she was determined to prove her point.

¹²⁹Duley, *Highway*, p. 1, 2.

¹³⁰Duley, *Highway*, pp. 26-27. Mageila is a much more finely realized character than Mary Immaculate who never manages to move beyond being a contrived child-woman.

¹³¹Duley, *Highway*, p. 29.

¹³²Duley, *Highway*, pp. 80, 99, 84.

¹³³Feder, *Margaret Duley*, p. 66.

¹³⁴Duley, *Highway*, pp. 112, 130, 110, 174, 199.

¹³⁵Duley, *Highway*, pp. 213, 238.

¹³⁶Duley, *Highway*, pp. 16, 145.

¹³⁷O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 138.

¹³⁸Joan Penney, "'The Literature of the Colonized': Feminist Perspective in the Novels of Margaret Duley," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1986.

¹³⁹Duley, *Highway*, pp. 127, 210, 306.

¹⁴⁰Duley, *The Caribou Hut*, p. 82.

¹⁴¹Morrow, biographical note, *Highway to Valour*.

¹⁴²O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, pp. 141-143.

¹⁴³O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 149.

¹⁴⁴A. R. Scammell, *Songs of a Newfoundlander* (St. Jerome: J. H. Labelle, 1940).

¹⁴⁵A. R. Scammell, *Collected Works* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1990), pp. 231-238.

¹⁴⁶This political piece, protesting the Commission of Government's game laws, was written in 1938 while Scammell was still living in Newfoundland. It has not been included in his later collections, but it does appear, with some minor changes in wording, in the 1966 and 1978 editions of the Doyle songbook. See also: James Overton, "Art Scammell's 'The Shooting of the Bawks': Songs and Resources in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis*, 13 (1983), 126-132.

¹⁴⁷See Fowke, comp., *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁴⁸Scammell, *Collected Works*, pp. 216-217.

¹⁴⁹A. R. Scammell, *Mirrored Moments* (Montreal: [private printing], 1945).

¹⁵⁰*Atlantic Guardian*, 1:4 (1945), p. 1.

¹⁵¹*Atlantic Guardian*, 1:1 (1945), 9.

¹⁵²Scammell, *Collected Works*, pp. 141-144.

¹⁵³"Pride an' Flusteration" appears as "The Outdoor Motor" and "Night School Rivals," simply as "Night School," in Scammell, *Collected Works*, pp. 113-115 and 107-112, respectively.

¹⁵⁴Scammell, *Collected Works*, pp. 3-5.

¹⁵⁵A. R. Scammell, *My Newfoundland* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1966; rpt. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1988).

¹⁵⁶Ella Manuel, "Introduction" to Scammell, *My Newfoundland* (1966), p. 12. [This introduction has, unfortunately, been omitted from the Cuff reprint.]

¹⁵⁷Scammell, *Collected Works*, pp. 121-125, 71-80, and 145-153, respectively.

¹⁵⁸These biographical facts are taken from Audrey Deena Schultz, "A Biography of Newfoundland-Born Author Ron Pollett (1900-55)," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985. This is a well-researched biography of Pollett, and the last chapter, "Pollett's Works: Recapturing an Outport Heritage," pp. 91-120, is a solid literary assessment of Pollett's work. Schultz argues that "his careful focus on the *émigré* experience is perhaps Pollett's most significant contribution to the island's literature" (p. 119).

¹⁵⁹Schultz, *A Biography*, p. 63.

¹⁶⁰Between July 1946 and September 1955 thirty-four pieces by Pollett appeared in the magazine. The first five of these were brought together, Pollett wrote an introductory, autobiographical piece called "The Ocean at my Door," and the collection was published as *The Ocean at My Door and other Newfoundland Outport Stories* (Montreal: Guardian Associates, 1947). Next he published *Peter the Grate: An Outport Character Study* (St. John's: Guardian Associates, 1952). A story called "The Matchmaker" appeared posthumously in *Atlantic Guardian*, 12:9 (1955), 5-11, 29-32. What was, in effect, his collected works were published as *The Ocean at My Door and Other Newfoundland Stories* (St. John's: Guardian Associates, 1956).

¹⁶¹Accurate circulation figures for *Atlantic Guardian* are difficult to obtain, but the editor claimed [6:1 (1949), 3] that 250,00 copies had been printed since 1945 and a readership of 1,000,000 was estimated. Others put readership estimates considerably higher (see Schultz, *A Biography*, p. 79).

¹⁶²Pollett, *The Ocean at My Door* (1956), p. 21.

¹⁶³Pollett, *The Ocean at My Door* (1956), p. 24.

¹⁶⁴Pollett, *Peter the Grate*, pp. 4, 5. Pollett accounts for Peter's name as follows: "How he earned such an odd nickname was never quite clear. But everyone called him that. The story handed down to us young fellows was as good as any—that the minister 'christened' him that when Peter worked as a handyman at the parsonage at the turn of

the century. He kept such a roaring fire in the grate in the study, the parson told him that no mistake he was one fine hand on the grate—something silly like that—and Peter in his simple way made such a mountain of it around the village, the name stuck. I once asked him if that was how it happened and he never said yes or no, only grinned" (p. 4).

¹⁶⁵Pollett, *Peter the Grate*, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶Pollett, *Peter the Grate*, p. 34.

¹⁶⁷Schultz, *A Biography*, p. 101.

¹⁶⁸On the community see: Garry Cranford, with Raymond Hillier, *Potheads and Drumhoops: The Story of a Trinity Bay Village* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1983).

¹⁶⁹Schultz, *A Biography*, p. 102.

¹⁷⁰Pollett, *Peter the Grate*, pp. 61, 63-64.

¹⁷¹Pollett, *The Ocean at My Door* (1956), pp. 22, 23, 38-44, 35, 45-55, 26.

¹⁷²Pollett, *The Ocean at My Door* (1956), pp. 30, 65-75, 150, 162.

¹⁷³Ted Russell, "My Political Memoirs," *The Evening Telegram* (28 October and 4, 11, 18 November 1966).

¹⁷⁴Elizabeth Russell Miller, *The Life and Times of Ted Russell* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1981), p. 147. The biographical information in the preceding paragraph is gleaned from this source as well.

¹⁷⁵Miller, *The Life and Times*, p. 153.

¹⁷⁶Russell's early stories were: "The Builder," *The Islander*, 1:2 (1946), 7-25; "D-Day on Quidi Vidi," *Newfoundland Story*, 1:4 (1947), 12-19; and, "The Grub Box," *Atlantic Guardian*, 9:6 (1952), 32-35. This last marks the first appearance of Uncle Mose. Subsequent publications of works written between 1953 and 1963 include: *The Holdin' Ground* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); *The Hangashore*, in *Baffles of Wind and Tide: An Anthology of Newfoundland Poetry, Prose and Drama*, ed. Clyde Rose (Portugal Cove: Breakwater Books, 1974), pp. 70-85; *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, ed. Elizabeth Russell Miller (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1975); *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, ed. Elizabeth Russell Miller (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1977); *The Best of Ted Russell, No. 1* and *Stories from Uncle Mose: The Best of Ted Russell, No. 2*, ed. Elizabeth Russell Miller (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1984); and, *A Fresh*

Breeze from Pigeon Inlet: The Best of Ted Russell, No. 3, ed. Elizabeth Russell Miller (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1988). For a complete list of extant scripts and tapes of *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose* see Miller, *The Life and Times*, pp. 223-232.

¹⁷⁷"Radio Programming," *ENL*, IV (1994), 505-507.

¹⁷⁸On these points see: Philip Hiscock, "Folklore and Popular Culture in Early Newfoundland Radio Broadcasting: An analysis of Occupational Narrative, Oral History, and Song Repertoire," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1986.

¹⁷⁹Cited in Peter Narváez, "Joseph R. Smallwood, 'The Barrelman': The Broadcaster as Folklorist" (1983), in *Media Sense: The Folklore-Popular Culture Continuum*, ed. Peter Narváez and Martin Laba (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Press, [1986]), p. 48. See also: Leo Moakler, "The Barrelman: Making Newfoundland Better Known to Newfoundlanders," in *Call Me Joey*, ed. James R. Thoms (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1990), pp. 19-29.

¹⁸⁰Cited in Miller, *The Life and Times*, p. 108.

¹⁸¹O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 158.

¹⁸²Miller, *The Life and Times*, p. 150.

¹⁸³See, for example, his: *All About Credit Unions* (St. John's: Co-operative Division, Department of Natural Resources, 1945); "What Can the Co-ops Do?" *Atlantic Guardian*, 2:6 (1946), 20-37; *Credit Committees* (St. John's: Co-operative Division, Department of Natural Resources, 1947); *Buying Clubs* (St. John's: Co-operative Division, Department of Natural Resources, 1948); and, *Regional Credit Societies* (St. John's: Co-operative Division, Department of Natural Resources, 1948).

¹⁸⁴Russell, *The Hangashore*, p. 70. See also "The Show Off" and "Outports," in *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, pp. 48-51 and 146-148, respectively.

¹⁸⁵See: Matthews, "The Pursuit of Progress" (1977); and, Bassler, "Develop or Perish" (1986).

Early in the post-Confederation period a considerable propaganda effort was mounted, provincially and nationally, to prove that the fortunes of the island had been irrevocably changed for the better as a result of its union with Canada. See, for example: Alfred A. Valdmanis, "Give the Island a Chance!" *Atlantic Guardian*, 8:4 (1951), 11-17; D. J. H., "Newfoundland in 1953 is Prosperity Land," *The Monetary Times* (August 1953), pp. 57-66; and E. M. Howse, "Newfoundland: Past and Present," *The Canadian Banker*, 61 (1954), 102-112. [Valdmanis was Director General of

Economic Development for Newfoundland in 1951. In 1954 he was sentenced to four years imprisonment for fraud, which established him as the first in a long list of shady characters to attach themselves to the Smallwood regime.]

¹⁸⁶Pat Byrne, "'Tall Are The Tales That Fishermen Tell': Manifestations of the Tall Tale Impulse in Selected Examples of Contemporary Newfoundland Writing," in *Studies in Newfoundland Folklore: Community and Process*, ed. Gerald Thomas and J. D. A. Widdowson, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 16 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1991), p. 317.

¹⁸⁷Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 87-89.

¹⁸⁸Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 18-21.

¹⁸⁹Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁹⁰Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 103-107.

¹⁹¹Russell, *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, p. 75.

¹⁹²Russell, *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, p. 141.

¹⁹³In "Geese" (Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 110-112), Grampa tells how he once fired his $\frac{7}{8}$ " muzzle loader into a thundercloud-size flock of geese. He stunned a large number and managed to secure twenty-five with fishing line around their necks before they regained consciousness, but, once they did revive, they took him for his first flight. In "The Cynic" (Russell, *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, pp. 95-98), Grampa tells of how his sharemen, Uncle Joby Noddy and his son, Sol, were grinding an axe on the deck of his schooner, the *Anti-Confederate*, on the trip home from the Labrador fishery, when they were washed overboard. Joby, Sol and the grindstone were swallowed by a whale which was presently taken by a Norwegian whaling ship. The whalers were amazed by the strange sounds emanating from inside the whale, until Grampa and Lige Bartle boarded the whaler and determined that it was "Uncle Joby cussin' at young Sol to turn the handle faster so as he could finish sharpenin' the axe and copy his way out." This piece also contains the story of Phineas Prior, who, following the custom of naming children after biblical characters, decided to call his son "Pism Civ" until "the clergyman explained to him that Pism Civ was only the Latin way of saying Psalm 104," whereupon Skipper Phineas "called the young fellow Zephaniah and let it go at that."

¹⁹⁴See Russell, "Babysittin'," and "Eelskins," *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 83-86 and 90-92, respectively.

¹⁹⁵Russell, *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, pp. 172-175.

¹⁹⁶Cited in Miller, *The Life and Times*, p. 182.

¹⁹⁷Russell, *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, p. 117.

¹⁹⁸Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, pp. 93-95.

¹⁹⁹Peter Narváez, "Folk Talk and Hard Facts: The Role of Ted Russell's 'Uncle Mose' on CBC's 'Fishermen's Broadcast,'" in *Studies in Newfoundland Folklore: Community and Process*, ed. Gerald Thomas and J. D. A. Widdowson, Folklore and Folklife Series, No. 16 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1991), p. 201.

²⁰⁰Russell, *The Chronicles of Uncle Mose*, p. 1.

²⁰¹Narváez, "Folk Talk," p. 205.

²⁰²O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 328.

²⁰³Edward M. Roberts, "New Ideas in the New Newfoundland," *BN*, IV (1967), 102, 103.

²⁰⁴On these points see, for example: Alexander, *The Decay of Trade*, pp. 128ff; Gwyn, *Smallwood*, pp. 153-169; Herbert Lench Pottle, *Newfoundland, Dawn Without Light: Politics, Power and People in the Smallwood Era* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1979), pp. 76-91; and, Matthews, "The Pursuit of Progress," respectively.

²⁰⁵See: Richard J. Needham, "The Happiest Canadians," *Maclean's Magazine* (2 November 1964), pp. 15-17, 35-39; *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province; The remarkable story of Newfoundland's progress since she joined the Canadian Federation* (St. John's: The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1966; and, Joseph R. Smallwood, "Happy Province," *BN*, III (1967), 1-3. By 1968, the phrase "Canada's Happy Province" was even emblazoned on Newfoundland motor vehicle license plates.

²⁰⁶Needham, "The Happiest Canadians," p. 15.

²⁰⁷A rash of promotional and self-congratulatory publications of the "bigger and better" school appeared during the early sixties. See, for example: J. Wentworth Day, *Newfoundland: "The Fortress Isle"* (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1960); and, R. I. McAllister, ed., *Newfoundland and Labrador: The First Fifteen Years of Confederation* (St. John's: Dicks and Company, [1966]).

CHAPTER FIVE: RE(DE)FINING A REGIONAL MYTHOLOGY, 1960-1970

Confederation, industrialization, centralization: no complete assessment of Newfoundland history or of life as lived on the Island in the second half of the twentieth century is possible without a detailed examination, in both discrete and relational terms, of these three phenomena. On the surface this would appear to be a rather uncomplicated undertaking, albeit a monumental and laborious task, because each has caused an extraordinarily large amount of writing—imaginative, scholarly, and popular—to be produced, and there is also an extensive amount of extant material dealing with them available in other media forms. The problem here, however, as with so much else which has been considered in this study, is that between "the reality" of the empirical, documental, and quantifiable facts surrounding these phenomena and "the response" to them in psychological, spiritual, and qualitative terms there "falls the shadow" of what amounts to an almost unbridgeable chasm. Furthermore, in each case the anticipated results have been manifested "not with a bang" which satisfied people's original expectations, "but [with] a whimper" which fostered a sense of resignation, acceptance, and defeat in the population. This is a crucial point. Had any or all of these undertakings been unqualified successes, the responses to them would undoubtedly have been quite different and there would be a correspondingly different assessment of their respective impacts on the history of the Island. The fact that they were at best marginal successes and at worst dismal failures has given rise to an almost obsessive preoccupation with reexamining, reevaluating, redefining and reclaiming what is presumed to have been

lost as a result of these processes—the traditional culture, variously understood and defined. The immediate concern in this chapter is to examine the ways in which this preoccupation is exhibited in imaginative literature, but it can as readily be traced in other artistic and popular culture forms.

Confederation and Smallwood were for long almost synonyms in the Newfoundland vocabulary, due largely to the popular and mistaken perception that Smallwood had, independently and innocent of the international intrigue discussed above, singlehandedly led Newfoundland into the Canadian fold. Even today, forty-five years after the union, in most of what is written—political propaganda and second-rate journalism excepted—the emphasis is on how Newfoundland entered Confederation rather than on how it has fared since. The tangible and superficial benefits of Confederation are obvious, but even these are no longer considered as striking as they once appeared. There have been, of course, dissenting, questioning voices raised during the forty-five years. Even as early as the tenth anniversary of the union, one commentator was moved to note: "The balance sheet is lopsided. Whatever the gains to Newfoundland, they have been far outweighed by the advantages that have accrued to Canada. Moreover there has been keen and even bitter disappointment in the complacency of the Dominion Government and its lack of sympathetic interest, understanding and generosity towards its tenth province."¹ This belief that through their participation in the Canadian Confederation Newfoundlanders have shared in the fruits but lost their ownership of the tree has come to be more widely held with the passage of time. "In Confederation we

are not even in the position of a kept woman, which might have its own lugubrious pleasure; we are the poor cousin seated below the salt. . . . It is difficult for a Newfoundlander to speak without ambiguity and irony, if he is not to speak in anger, about the experience of Confederation."² A report which was presented to the Task Force on Canadian Unity in 1978 concluded that "since 1949, the Newfoundland perception of Ottawa has gradually altered. At first it was characterized by a feeling of benevolence, then by apprehension and misgiving, and finally by growing animosity and distrust."³ There are many who see the time since 1949 as little more than a period of potential unrealized: "In 1949 Newfoundland had before it the opportunity to reconstruct the society that had emerged over the centuries but which had collapsed so tragically in 1934. That opportunity was not grasped and instead history was made to repeat itself in a new context. The orphan Dominion of the British Commonwealth became the orphan Province of Canada."⁴ It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt here a history of Newfoundland's fortunes as a member of the Canadian Confederation. It is necessary, however, to consider the Smallwood era—the two decades from 1950 to 1970 when the policies and the personality of the man who was dubbed the Only Living Father of Confederation dominated public life in Newfoundland—as distinct, and to examine certain aspects of the time in sufficient detail not only to account for the apparent rejection of the traditional culture in the immediate post-Confederation period, but also to help explain the subsequent, often purely symbolic or semiotic, attempts to revive or restore it.

A fundamental characteristic which marked the Smallwood regime was irony, an irony which, even its most sympathetic supporters have been forced to admit in retrospect, at times bordered on the surreal. For example, from the beginning of his involvement in the Confederation cause until long after he had retired as premier, Smallwood apparently saw no contradiction in enumerating the chief benefits of Confederation in terms that portrayed Newfoundlanders, and encouraged them to see themselves, as little more than grateful wards of the Canadian welfare state, on the one hand, while he could still proclaim that "we all admire [the Newfoundland people's] strength, their skill, their adaptability, their resourcefulness, their industry, their frugality, their sobriety, and their warm-hearted, simple generosity,"⁵ on the other. One of Smallwood's stock images was the personification of Ottawa as a rich, benevolent uncle who graciously provided for Newfoundland, the poor but deferent and ever grateful relative. It might be a simple matter to dismiss this as so much empty political rhetoric were it not for the fact that the same something-for-nothing, fairy-godmother-like thinking also informed government policy:

...in the fall of 1949 while the Cabinet was assessing Newfoundland's economic position, a federal civil servant pointed out that as Canadians, Newfoundlanders were under a great disadvantage in regards to unemployment insurance. As Newfoundlanders at that time had no books for stamps and had thus made no contributions, not one was able to qualify for benefits. Then it was learned that special provision would be made for Newfoundlanders to the effect that anyone with three months' stamps by March 31, 1950 would become eligible if then unemployed.

Immediately, thousands were put to work—in January and February—at such jobs as repairing roads (under four feet of snow) and mending cemetery fences. On March 31, having supplied these men with

stamps, the government fired them, thus qualifying them for benefits. Many men forgot all about fishing that spring. For many, it was their first experience with legal cheating; thousands have never recovered from it.⁶

The Minister of Public Welfare in Smallwood's first cabinet confirms that this attitude permeated Smallwood's thinking about social welfare programmes generally:

In the Premier's reckoning [public welfare] was a handout, a kind of pacifier. Public welfare was something you could count, like the number of jobs. It was the number of children in a family multiplied by the family allowances: a product and therefore another industry—this time, the relief industry.⁷

One legacy of this way of thinking, provincially and nationally promulgated to this day by certain politicians, economists, and journalists, is the notion that Newfoundlanders are inherently lazy, unproductive, and chronically dependent on government assistance programmes.⁸

While the Newfoundland fisherman provided Smallwood with an inexhaustible source of rhetorical fodder, his approach to the fishing industry was not dissimilar to that which he applied to public welfare—the infusion of large sums of money with little or no regard for long-range planning. Rowe maintains that "largely because of pressure from the Newfoundland government, Ottawa spent \$110 million directly on the Newfoundland fisheries and, indirectly, another \$200 million for a total of over \$300 million, a figure which excludes the significantly large amounts spent by the province itself."⁹ Matthews points out, however, that "to be successful the Newfoundland fishery needed planning as well as money . . . [although] the extent of comprehensive planning

which took place appears to have been minimal,"¹⁰ and Alexander comments on the consequences of this when he says that "the fishery resource was abandoned to other countries; the economic development of the province was seriously weakened; and a modest little trade with the United States was substituted for the restoration of Newfoundland's historic role as a major world fishing nation."¹¹ Furthermore, whatever the rhetoric, Smallwood directed most of his energy, in the early years of Confederation especially, toward attracting new industries to Newfoundland, but "most were poorly conceived, unrelated to Newfoundland's resources, and unrelated to one another."¹² All of these new industries failed at once or eventually. A few which did survive for a time did so only as the result of large government subsidies or other concessions and some were so ill-conceived or poorly negotiated as to end up costing the Province millions of dollars even while they generated enormous profits for other investors and backers. Over \$30 million had been spent on the new industries programme by 1957, and the received wisdom is that "had Smallwood literally taken \$10-15 million and burnt it in a bonfire atop Signal Hill, the end result, in terms of Newfoundland's progress, would not have been greatly different."¹³ A study conducted in the mid-1960s stated:

The most striking feature of Newfoundland's economy, as seen from the other side of the Atlantic, is the dualistic nature of its development. On the one hand, there are modern, sophisticated, technologically up-to-date industries. On the other, economic practices and techniques exist that appear to be almost medieval, such as inshore fishing and especially the processing of salt fish, where no innovation whatsoever seems to have taken place, either in tools, or in work methods. . . . In many ways,

Newfoundland remains one of the truly underdeveloped or dualistic countries, such as are found in the Middle East, where the Arab herdsman tends his goats in the same way as in biblical times, within view of electronically controlled oil wells.¹⁴

In retrospect even this assessment appears to have been rather optimistic, because the premiers who followed Smallwood did little to alter his policies. Today the industries have mostly vanished and even the goats (or the fish in Newfoundland's case) have gone as well.

A major and striking irony of the Smallwood era was that, despite the fact that the Premier liked to refer to his administration as "His [later Her] Majesty's Outport Government," he gave every indication of wishing to eliminate outports from the Newfoundland landscape. The prime indicators of this were a Provincial relocation programme which operated between 1954 and 1965 under the auspices of the Department of Welfare, and a joint Federal/Provincial programme which operated between 1965 and 1975—managed, strangely enough, not by the welfare or social services ministries but by the respective fisheries ministries, although active government support for this programme virtually ceased after the defeat of the Smallwood government in October 1971. Under the former programme 115 communities were abandoned and 8,000 people relocated; 148 communities were abandoned and 20,000 people were relocated under the second.¹⁵ Unlike Confederation this phenomenon did not directly touch the lives of all Newfoundlanders, but, when one considers that the total population of the Province did not pass the half-million mark until 1970, and that close to half that population resided

in St. John's and the few other larger towns around the Island, the 28,000 people who were directly affected represented a sizeable percentage of the rural population of Newfoundland.

The stated purposes of centralization were to relocate the dispersed coastal population into larger communities so that government services could be more readily and equitably provided to the population as a whole, so that a rationalization of the fishery might be more easily accomplished,¹⁶ and so that workers would be closer to the sites of the new industries, because "industrialization required sizeable pools of labour, and the government, with characteristic optimism, foresaw the possibility of shortages."¹⁷ One of the early, commissioned reports on centralization summarized the thinking behind the programme:

In its most idealistic terms, resettlement is aimed at providing a better life and a better future for more Newfoundlanders. It is designed to move people from the isolation and privation which they now experience, into larger centres where they may enjoy the advantages of twentieth century life. Its long term economic goal is to turn a peasant, subsistence-level society into a market-oriented, industrial one.

It view of this, it is not surprising that almost no one disagreed with the idea of resettlement per se, though admittedly there were some who disagreed with certain aspects of the program. In many respects, resettlement is an absolute necessity if future generations of Newfoundlanders are to keep pace with the changing employment requirements of the province. Unless their parents move to larger centres, many children will, one day, find it difficult to earn a living for they will almost certainly lack the necessary education and skills.¹⁸

The translation of these theoretical concepts into practical applications, however, proved to be fraught with difficulties, and a myriad of problems which apparently had not been

anticipated by the planners soon became evident. Most of these were never satisfactorily addressed.

From the beginning centralization appears to have been ill-conceived, based on half-truths and misconceptions, poorly planned, and ineptly executed. Supporters of the scheme are usually quick to point out that resettlement was already under way before government became involved, that many communities were situated on remote and inaccessible islands, that it was impossible to recruit teachers, clergy, and medical practitioners to serve in such isolated places, and that the cost of providing even the most basic public services to such places was prohibitive. Government's involvement in centralization is often justified on the basis of the fact that "resettlement began as a people's movement,"¹⁹ that "between 1946 and 1954, forty communities disappeared simply as a result of the families deciding to move to larger more centralized places,"²⁰ and that in some cases residents had applied to government for assistance to move. Those who argue these points, however, usually fail to dwell on the fact that in most cases these communities were little more than fishing stations with fewer than ten families, that movement was voluntary and haphazard rather than policy driven and institutionalized, and that in most instances the move was occupation specific: fishermen turning to small-scale woods or mining operations, for instance. It is difficult to see how a government could extrapolate from this the need to undertake the wholesale redistribution of thousands of people and to make disappear hundreds of communities. Furthermore, once full-scale centralization began, it appears to have acquired its own

inherent justification within the government bureaucracy so that moving people became an end in itself.²¹ An obvious extension of this was that, although considerable funds and energy were committed to relocating people, no organized attempt was made to ease the trauma of their readjustment or facilitate their acclimatization after they had moved to the new communities.²² In addition, in what could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to intimidate, or, at best, excused as bureaucratic bungling, an air of uncertainty prevailed throughout the proceedings, exacerbated by propaganda and rumour which both overstated the advantages of moving and the disadvantages of staying put. "Isolated island communities," "lack of modern conveniences," and "lack of educational opportunities," became unquestioned catch phrases, even though many of the relocated communities, and others presumed to be on the government's rumoured blacklist of communities slated for relocation, were not located on islands at all, and the universal refusal by clergy, teachers and medical people to serve in isolated communities, as well as the impossibilities of providing services were simply promulgated as truisms.²³

As has been noted, the envisioned industrial transformation of Newfoundland failed to materialize, and because centralization was a concomitant process the failure of one seriously undermined the other. Not only, therefore, was government's concern about labour shortages unfounded, but it soon found itself dealing with an extraordinarily high unemployment rate.²⁴ Relocated inshore fishermen went from earning low incomes to earning none at all, and were forced in increasing numbers to turn to unemployment or, more often, welfare benefits. The communities which had received the relocated

families were soon more economically depressed than the ones which had been abandoned, and, in what came to be seen as an act of consummate irony, many fishermen managed to avoid the welfare roles only by returning to the abandoned communities in the summer months to fish. Others were forced to seek employment outside the Province; indeed, "in the later years of Smallwood's premiership, the rate of emigration from Newfoundland was higher than it had been in forty years."²⁵ Those transplanted outporters who remained behind found themselves living in a transformed world which was hardly of their making and not much to their liking.

What the final assessment of Confederation may be remains to be seen,²⁶ but to say that by the end of Smallwood's premiership "the image of an industrialized Newfoundland had become tarnished"²⁷ and that "possibly the most regrettable aspect of organized resettlement was its insensitivity to the constraints of provincial economic and social systems,"²⁸ is to take understatement into the realm of the ridiculous. In fact, the two decades between 1950 and 1970 must be seen as one of the most schizophrenic periods in the history of the Island. Newfoundlanders found themselves strapped to a socio-political roller-coaster which alternately peaked atop promises and pledges of formerly unimagined prosperity and security, hovered for a brief and desperate interval, and then plunged wildly to nadirs of unfulfilled expectations, bare subsistence, and unrelenting uncertainty. It is a marvel that anything resembling a coherent society managed to survive at all. Indeed, by the end of the Smallwood regime questions were being raised not only about the viability and value of the traditional

outport way of life, but, yet again, about the economic sustainability of society *per se* on the Island. This is the final irony of the Smallwood era. In his attempt to transform the way of life in Newfoundland for the better, Smallwood inadvertently called into question its very *raison d'être*. Despite this, however, by the time Smallwood was ousted from power the country *cum* province, had, "kicking and screaming" or no, entered the twentieth century, and the modern, post-traditional period in Newfoundland had begun.

It would not be surprising to find that imaginative literature might languish during such turbulent times, and, if one were to judge literary output solely on the basis of books published by Newfoundland writers between 1950 and 1970,²⁹ one might be led to draw such an incorrect conclusion about this period. Other considerations besides publishers' imprints, however, must be taken into account. On the purely practical side, it will be recalled that much of what was published during this period was actually written earlier, and some of what was written in this period was either published for the first time, or published again in a different medium, after 1970.³⁰ More importantly, however, throughout this period the Island's literary culture was still developing, still struggling to define its own unique character, and still attempting to establish a position for itself *vis-à-vis* the older and more firmly established verbal culture. A great deal of what was written, whether by established or new writers, continued to be influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the other tradition.

Once the works of Scammell, Pollett, and Russell are excepted, the remaining literary production in the 1950s was slight. No doubt this was due in part to the fact that a period of adjustment to the initial changes brought about by Confederation was required, and most people, writers included, adopted a wait-and-see attitude.³¹ It has already been pointed out that the romantic realists were not as critical of the society they described as they might have been, and it has been noted that "criticism was muted" during the first decade of union, and "docility and optimism prevailed."³² This was perhaps the result of people's unwillingness to run the risk of jinxing the possible change in fortunes which appeared to be in the offing, an attitude summed up by Harrington in mid-decade when he wrote: "Newfoundlanders are a young people. . . . Newfoundlanders are confident. Despite the Cassandras in their midst, they have a healthy, robust outlook, are determined to put their best foot forward and fight for their place in the Canadian sun."³³ But, unlike in ancient Troy, in modern Newfoundland the Cassandras would eventually come to represent the majority opinion.

In the meantime, however, despite the fact that outports were vanishing at an alarming rate, despite the fact that factory work and urban living based on the North American model were being heralded as the way of Newfoundland's future, and despite the fact that those who could find no meaningful work of any kind were being encouraged to be content to live at Uncle Ottawa's expense, much of the popular writing, most of the imaginative literature, and almost all of the poetry, that was published during the 1950s and the early 1960s still focused on the outport, was still backward-glancing,

recollective, and reminiscent, and still evoked the time-tested image of the hardy, handy, hard-working, and independent Newfoundlander. It appears that, even while Newfoundland was being "dragged kicking and screaming into the twentieth century," the imaginative evocation of the past and the worldview and the value system associated with the outport way of life provided a sense of continuity in the midst of flux. In many of these literary evocations, however, both the outport and the outporter are so hazy and remote, so lacking the immediacy and vibrancy one associates with the romantic realists, that the works become, to use Ferlinghetti's image, "a picture of shrinking reality itself."³⁴ The avocational, occasional poems of R. A. Parsons, A. C. Wornell, and Otto Kelland illustrate, in different ways, this view of the receding past. Parsons (1893-1981), a prolific St. John's lawyer, who was born in Bay Roberts, published the first two of his many collections of poetry in the 1950s,³⁵ Wornell (1914-), a businessman and politician who was originally from Greenspond, published two slim volumes of rhymes in the same decade,³⁶ and Kelland (1904-), a policeman and prison superintendent who was born in Lamaline, published his first collection of songs and poems in 1960.³⁷

Among these three writers, the sense of the real is most elusive in the poetry of Parsons. One might, given that he was 61 years old when he published his first poems in 1954, describe his poetry as mature. Studied and derivative, formally and structurally conventional also come to mind, but the dominant impression one receives is that one is reading proper, decent, crafted, but detached poetry. There is a mixture of the homely and the idyllic, the elegiac and the philosophical in his work which led both A. C.

Hunter and G. M. Story to link his poetry to the tradition of Crabbe, Cowper and Goldsmith.³⁸ The narrative, sonnet, ode, eulogy and ballad are all represented in his collections, but his subject matter is decidedly regional, focusing on the ordinary, even the mundane, details of local life. As a result, his work is exemplary of a writer struggling with the verbal and literary traditions, drawing on one for matter and the other for form, but unable to achieve a workable blend of the two. A few examples from the 1954 collection will suffice to illustrate this tension. In "North River," a narrative describing the Conception Bay community of that name, we get the following sketch of a hangashore of sorts:

And here is Dick, a happy vagabond,
 Who knows the mood of every stream and pond
 For miles about and far as in him lies
 To speak in truth, will tell you where trout rise
 On every wind. By awful wagers bound,
 He'll hazard too in weights that would astound
 Himself, could he accept a standard pound
 In case of fish. And he is not unsound
 In judgement too of game. Ah Dick, old man,
 How many Falls, we've hunted ptarmigan
 Together, on the barrens and the hills
 Around. I'm minded now of lovely rills
 In covert of bronzed leaves, just Autumn chilled,
 That we have come in thirst upon and filled
 Our kettle of, as presently your health
 We drink this flagon from. As for your wealth—
 Sufficient boy! You ask no more of gain,
 Content as you are now of your domain.

"Simon," a narrative of more than 160 lines, describes the local character who is the exception to the rule of the community, but still an asset and a likeable fellow, especially as far as the children are concerned:

And Simon too, was of an ancient school,
Whose craft was not enslaved or irked by rule
Of tariff or by scale. To cut our hair
And patch the shoes, that seemed beyond repair
To busy men, he gave great time and care
And took what we could give by way of fare:
The medium approved was wide in range
Though plug tobacco stood in prime exchange.

Simon earns the title "Uncle" from the children, and his kitchen, where he and his wife carry out many of the usual chores, becomes one of the youngsters' favourite haunts. The description of the kitchen is apt, but forced in places: "Beside a bench, to knit or to repair / A seine, were rands of twine. To eke their fare, / Her spinning wheel hummed by his cobbler's chair, / As Simon switched his skill to trimming hair. / A stove was there, a Waterloo, complete / With barrel oven, famous for its heat." Typically, what Simon lacks in wealth is more than compensated for by his generosity, "for honour saves the poor." In "The Northeasterly," another long narrative, and one of the best in the collection, he tells how a stormy night entices an old man to retell his stories of wooden ships and iron men. The last stanza is an apt description of the old storyteller's performance:

He makes no show of words. In language spare
Of ornament he speaks; for to compare
The grace of earth or sky with polished stones,
Or translate seas in sense of organ tones,

Is not his way; but he has haunting charms
 Of voice and glance that keep the peace of psalms
 And to his hearth the North East wind hath blown
 My soul tonight to lodge amongst mine own.³⁹

Here, at one and the same time, Parsons not only explains the old man's art but provides a critique, perhaps unconsciously, of his own and much of the poetry that was popular in elite circles in Newfoundland at the time.⁴⁰

The poetry of Wornell and Kelland, on the other hand, is clearly of and for the people. Renwick delineates "three distinct kinds of 'folk' poetry," two of which are "local songs" and "local poetry for recitation or reading."⁴¹ Most of Wornell's and Kelland's pieces fall into one or the other of these two categories. For the most part Wornell's poems are simple and unassuming. He recounts the pleasures of hunting and fishing in such pieces as "On Trouters," "Song of the Angler," and "Out-Door Pleasures," but adds a touch of ironic humour to the sporting life in "The Badly-Bitten Trout Receives His Wife's Sympathy," the first stanza of which reads:

Yes, the flash and the splash of a trout
 Is something worth talking about;
 And the song of a reel spinning line
 Is a pleasure you cannot define.
 But I don't hear you mention those flies, dear,
 Which made such a mess of your eyes, dear!⁴²

He is most comfortable, however, with the historical ballad, except when he tries too hard to achieve an artificially poetic effect, or forgets the song tradition he is attempting to emulate. In this regard, witness his "The Ballad of the *Freda M*" and "Ballad of the U. S. Destroyers *Truxton* [sic] and *Pollux*," both of which comment on local events, or

his celebratory ballad honouring Bob Bartlett. Two stanzas from the latter will illustrate these points. The opening stanza is apt and functional enough, as it introduces Bartlett and notes the main reason for his fame:

Bob Bartlett, born in Brigus, of a bold sea-faring breed,
Became a master-mariner as destiny decreed:
He won renown by practising the brave explorer's role
When Peary used his services to reach the Northern Pole.

Half-way through the piece, however, we are subjected to the following:

The gulls which hovered over him in whistling Autumn gales,
The bull-birds, turrs, and kittiwakes—the porpoises and whales;
The bosun, bawk and curlew—the phalarope and plover
Were frolicsome companions of this North Atlantic rover.⁴³

Similarly, his use of dialect is mostly apt, but his lapses are glaring: "Yes sir we sartney 'ad some fun / In dem election days / When Halderdice an' Squireses men / Wus canvassin' th' bays!" But: "Den out we'd get our swilin' guns / An' bang um off once more / Wid powder gladly furnished / By Coaker's Hunion Store!" In several offerings built around the character of Uncle Jarge, he captures something of the type identified with the outport millionaire, Paddy Muldoon, and others, but even in the best of these, "The Monarch of the Grump," there is a forced poeticizing which detracts from the effect. It is instructive, however, to see the treatment by a lesser talent of a character that had become a perennial type:

In days when independent men
Had minds to call their own,
Old Uncle Jarge sat on a grump,
A king upon a throne.

With jack-knife in his calloused hand
 He whittled down a spruce;
 He chewed a quid of Richmond's Best
 And squirted 'baccy juice.

His guernsey, shrink with briny spray,
 Had shinnied up his spine
 And showed his homespun woollen drawers
 Hitched up with fishin'-line.

His skinny-wobbles, trimmed with red,
 Were tied with bows just right;
 He kept them shined with tar-and-oil
 To make them water-tight.

His elsinore was on a-slew;
 His hair hung down his back,
 His teeth were strong and chisel-sharp
 From chawing on hard tack.

A prophet's whisker hid his chin;
 His face was weather-lined;
 And shaggy brows adorned his eyes
 Which like two beacons shined.

He'd never tried on 'morning clothes,'
 Nor known affairs of state
 But still he had a mystic sense
 Which stems from spirits great.

He didn't fret about the past,
 Nor crave for things unseen;
 Nor wish to change his present state,
 For that which might have been.

Contentment twinkled in his eyes,
 Engendered not by wealth
 But rather by his faith in God
 And spiritual health.

And when at last the dead shall rise

At Gabriel's blaring trump,
 There's be a seat for Uncle Jarge
 On Heaven's golden grump!⁴⁴

Here the character and the setting are recognizable—once one situates the poem within one's personal experience of the scene it attempts to evoke, and provided one has the experience to make this possible—but for all that they remain more poetically contrived than real.

Kelland states that "between 1945 and 1955," at a time when he was superintendent of H. M. Penitentiary in St. John's, he "wrote one hundred and thirty poems," mainly because "in the forties and fifties one could hardly turn on a radio or television without hearing songs praising American heroes" and he "wanted to write songs praising our heroes, like Captain William Jackman and Captain Bob Bartlett."⁴⁵ These comments, and the declaration which serves as the frontpiece to both of his collections, say much about both the content and the form of his poems:

In every sentence uttered
 There's material for a poem.
 Some drunk's remark that's muttered
 Or a phrase within your home.
 A lisping, small child's pleasantry
 Or a preacher's stern rebuke,
 From out the ranks of peasantry
 Or from a lordly duke.

So let each bard
 Be on his guard,
 And every sentence comb.
 For in every sentence uttered
 There's material for a poem.

This not only illustrates his penchant for rhyme but also provides insight into his verse-making aesthetic.

Many of his short poems present a defiant, tongue-in-cheek analysis of his craft, and others offer homely or proverbial advice on everything from boating to spiritual matters. In "A Challenge" he invites those who would criticize his writing to teach by example: "I will concede when you, my son, / Have gone and writ a better one." In "Of Real Poets," however, he takes a rather jaundiced view of his own offerings: "I'm respectful, but not nervous / Of great poets and their service, / Nor am I ever 'shamed of what I write. / And I want to make it plain / What I'm pushing through the drain, / Won't tax the human brain / By a damn site [*sic.*]." There are other pieces which contain practical, rhymed advice on recreational and daily activities, as in "Safe Boating," "Safe Swimming," and "On Driving," and rhymed spiritual tidbits are offered in "Constructing a Mansion" and "Fear of Self."⁴⁶

In his narrative poems, which form the majority in both collections, he uses similar rhyme schemes in four-line, ballad-like stanzas, which at times modulate into six or eight-line stanzas with varying rhyme schemes, or become stanzas of varying line counts comprised of rhyming couplets. Almost without exception, these poems are rhymed and lined in such a way as to suggest their potential as recitations⁴⁷ or as songs.⁴⁸ Note, for example, the opening of "Crossing the Seas," a poetic treatment of the ubiquitous Placentia Bay August gale:

People still talk of that August blow

Which ravaged along our shore,
 That gathered spoils like a sinister foe,
 In the year nineteen hundred and four.
 We were caught in the teeth of that terrible storm,
 While crossing Placentia Bay,
 And we with its fury were forced to conform,
 As its couriers led the fray.

Kipling's barrack-room ballads and the Service's Yukon ballads were/are popular in the local tradition, and their influence is discernable in some of Kelland's pieces. There are shades of Kipling in "How Could You?" This is the tale of a faithful servant man who, with his trusty axe, defends his merchant master against a bear attack, but the last two stanzas are given a particularly local, tall tale twist:

Up from the ground the merchant got
 And at once did rant and rave,
 'You idiot! You dumbbell! Sot!'
 He named his faithful slave.

'But, master dear, I broke no rule,
 For sure I've done so sin.'
 And then the merchant shrieked out 'Fool!'
 'You went and spoiled the skin!'

In "No Bearskin Rug For Me," one hears echoes of Service, not only in the use of internal and end rhyme but also in the sentimentality and the contrast between the wild and the domestic:

'Neath Aurora's flame, I made the claim
 That I'd shoot me a Polar Bear,
 As I thought 'twould be nice for this king of the ice
 To recline by my rocking chair.
 And to say of him, when my eyes grew dim,
 To my favorite grandchild tot,
 Right here by my chair is the Polar bear

That your sturdy grandpa shot.

Fifty lines later, the enemy becomes the protector when the bear saves the narrator, perhaps unintentionally, from a pack of hungry wolves, but it is enough to set up the predictable ending:

Now he ambled off with a husky cough,
While I gasped out a thankful prayer,
He'd come in on my side and saved my hide
That blessed long-sought bear.
And now I would well have a tale to tell
To my little grandchild fair,
But no rug will he see, while he sits on my knee
From the skin of a Polar bear.⁴⁹

This form tends to be consistent throughout Kelland's work, and consistent, too, is the content. He writes of famous captains and their schooners, of local ghosts and unusual characters, of childhood games and daily routines, and catalogues, in Hardy's phrase, many of life's little ironies.

An irony which bears directly on Kelland's creative output is the fact that, despite the 150 titles in his two published collections, had he composed only "Let Me Fish Off Cape St. Mary's," he would have been assured of a place in Newfoundland's literary history. This is the one piece on which his reputation mainly rests:

Take me back to my western boat,
Let me fish off Cape St. Mary's.
Where the hagdowns sail and the foghorns wail,
With my friends, the Browns and the Clearys.
Let me fish off Cape St. Mary's.

Let me feel my dory lift,
To the broad Atlantic combers.

Where the tide rips swirl and the wild ducks whirl,
 Where old Neptune calls the numbers
 'Neath the broad Atlantic combers.

Let me sail up Golden Bay,
 With my oilskins all a-streamin'.
 From the thunder squall when I hauled my trawl,
 And my old Cape Ann a-gleamin',
 With my oilskins all a-streamin'.

Let me view that rugged shore,
 Where the beach is all a-glisten,
 With the caplin spawn, where from dusk to dawn,
 You bait your trawl and listen,
 To the undertow a-hissin'.

When I reach that last big shoal
 Where the ground swells break asunder.
 Where the wild sands roll to the surges toll,
 Let me be a man and take it,
 When my dory fails to make it.

Take me back to the snug green cove,
 Where the seas roll up their thunder,
 There let me rest in the earth's cool breast,
 Where the stars shine out their wonder,
 And the seas roll up their thunder.

That this particular song has enjoyed an enormous popularity and become a kind of unofficial anthem is due in part to a collection of happy accidents, and in part to the particular images it evokes.

The primary reason for its familiarity is the fact that it was included in the third edition of the Doyle songster in 1955, and from there it was included in other collections and recorded by local singers.⁵⁰ The tune is by far the best of those composed by Kelland, and, even though the stanza form and rhyme scheme are typical, it relies less

on narrative than most of his other songs. This has caused professional musicians, popular and classical, to take an interest in it as well. It is, however, in its romantically nostalgic depiction of a number of easily recognizable images of the traditional fishery, and its evocation of attitudes usually associated with it, combined with the overtly religious imagery of the last two stanzas, that one begins to see the reasons for its popularity. When the repeated appeal to return in order to reexperience these images and attitudes is noted, it becomes clear that Kelland has managed to include in six stanzas many of the motifs which appear again and again in a great deal of post-Confederation popular and imaginative literature.

The sentiments suggested by Kelland's "take me back" became a familiar thematic focus in popular poetry and song, in print and electronic journalism, in advertising and promotional copy, as well as in other media and popular culture forms during the last decade of the Smallwood era. People seemed, at one and the same time, economically motivated to embrace the Smallwoodian vision of the "new Newfoundland"³¹ while emotionally they clung to an increasingly romanticized view of the old one. "Past" and "outport" came to be used by many almost as synonyms in depicting this essentially utopian image of Newfoundland, but, ironically, a return to the outport, except by way of the imagination, was fast becoming equally as impossible as a return to the past. Not surprisingly, in the face of this quandary, imagination prevailed. By the mid-sixties the notion that the outports had been forever relegated to a twilight zone hospitable to the play of rosy memory only was becoming a common one. In the intervening years this

cult of the outport utopia has become an indispensable part of the Province's regional mythology, and the weapon of choice in its political and ideo-cultural propaganda arsenal.⁵² Of course, there were those who simply maintained that the past in general and the outport way of life in particular represented all that was benighted and negative in Newfoundland and should be exorcised thoroughly and immediately. They would have preferred, presumably, to realign the Newfoundland calendar in order to designate 1949 as the year one, while creating on the Island a North American theme-park culture falling somewhere between Disneyland and Yellowstone.

Fortunately, there were other responses and approaches to the past and to the outport way of life during the period, and more thoughtful writers, artists, and scholars⁵³ were much more circumspect in their treatment of the traditional culture as well. The result is that the attitudes toward, and the uses of, the traditional culture in much of the best imaginative literature, and some popular writing, which appeared after the mid-sixties was much more complex and ambivalent than anything which came before, and the reactions to the literature by readers and critics has been equally so. This ambivalence is most obvious in the two major works of fiction which appeared between 1965 and 1970, Horwood's *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday*⁵⁴ and Janes's *House of Hate*,⁵⁵ and in the journalistic writing of Guy.⁵⁶

Horwood (1923-), a native of St. John's, having parted company with Smallwood and relinquished his position with *The Evening Telegram*, turned to writing full time. He supported himself by writing television scripts and magazine articles—many of the

latter were collected and published in his *Newfoundland* (1969)—while he was working on his first novel. *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday* begs comparison with Lowell's *The New Priest in Conception Bay* and Duley's *The Eyes of the Gull*, in certain particulars; it has the religious fanaticism and bigotry of one and the idealistic romanticism of the other. The novel tells the story of Eli Pallisher, a precocious young lad growing up in the 1930s in Caplin Bight, an isolated outport of forty-six families. With the exception of a number of agnostics—Josuha Markady, a retired, foreign-going captain, and his wife, Anne, Peter Simms, a retired magistrate, and his son, Christopher, and Virginia Marks, the city-educated daughter of the local merchant—the entire population of the settlement belongs to a fanatically fundamentalist religious sect called the Church of the Firstborn. Eli's intelligence and inquisitive nature cause him to be marked as odd by the members of the church and recognized as a prodigy by the others. When Christopher Simms returns to become the teacher in the place the two soon become fast friends as well as master and student. Christopher and Virginia also become lovers. The arrival of Pastor John McKim, a hell-fire and brimstone preacher and self-proclaimed mystagogic doomsayer, drives the people to new heights of fanaticism and puts the unsaved further beyond the pale. McKim, however, is a wolf in sheep's clothing, with a twist; the blindness induced by religion prevents him from recognizing his own dual nature. He seduces Eli into a homosexual relationship, and is successful, in collusion with Solomon Marks, the father of Virginia, in having Christopher Simms charged and imprisoned for the crimes of which he is guilty, but his fanaticism protects his conscience and renders

him incapable of seeing either mote or beam in his own eye. "Unable, consciously, to admit sin in himself, he transferred it to others, and specifically to Christopher, with whom Eli continued to spend even more time than he did with Brother John."⁵⁷ These events cause Eli to break with his parents, who, forced to side with their son or McKim, are unable to find it in their hearts to doubt the pastor. He moves in with the Markadys, attains the status of hero and mentor among those few younger children not totally corrupted by religion, and becomes, with Christopher's blessing, Virginia's lover—all while he is completing, with flying colours, the last two grades of high school in a single year. John McKim eventually discovers guilt, repents, seeks Eli's forgiveness, and, in the face of imminent dismissal by his flock, disappears from the harbour and the novel. Christopher is released early from prison and returns to marry Virginia, who is now carrying Eli's child. As the novel ends, Eli is about to leave to attend university, after which, presumably, he will go on to accomplish great things in the world.

The novel's main flaw is Horwood's unending editorializing, which, ironically, at times becomes unabashed preaching.⁵⁸ His attitude toward religion and most traditional social institutions is so thoroughly negative that he is virtually incapable of objectivity when it comes to depicting characters or actions. We are told, for instance, that Leah McKim, wife of the pastor, hated those not of her own persuasion "with the sort of bitter, unforgiving hatred that is reserved for the deeply religious, and that, in other ages, launched massacres and civil wars." On the other hand, the irreligious, travel-wise Joshua Markady, and the book-educated Peter Simms are kind, liberal-

minded, and generous, and it is they who come to the aid of Caplin Bight's tiny children by providing them with milk during one particularly harsh and meagre winter. "The thought must have occurred to more than one that there was something very odd about two of the unsaved . . . coming to the rescue of Christian children whom the Lord had promised to feed, but so far as Eli was aware he was the only one who said anything about it. . . ." Christopher Simms, Horwood's mouthpiece in the novel, is much more a product of the American counterculture of the 1960s than of Newfoundland society in the 1920s and 1930s, and strikes the reader as one who might be more at home at Woodstock or in a California commune than in Caplin Bight. The relationship between Eli and Christopher reminds one of the relationship between Isabel Pyke and Peter Keen, except that Horwood gives his character the social conscience which Duley's lacks. Indeed, Christopher—child-man, polymath, athlete, teacher, and philosopher—is Horwood's vision of an ideal human being, but even Virginia feels that he is "just too bloody good . . . naturally gentle, and . . . confoundedly perfect. . . ."⁵⁹ The reader soon comes to agree fully with her assessment.

Horwood, speaking about *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday*, stated: "I think I managed to capture the essential nature of Newfoundland outports in the book." He also noted that the "book does celebrate the land in a very big way."⁶⁰ Few have disagreed with the second statement; almost no one has agreed with the first. O'Flaherty calls the novel "a libel upon outport people,"⁶¹ Fowler says that, "in the opening chapters of the novel," Horwood paints an "overwhelmingly negative picture of the outport,"⁶² and

Buchanan argues that one of Horwood's methods is to use certain items of folklore "to reinforce the didactic message of the novel,"⁶³ and to enhance the negative image of the outport. There is truth in all of these statements, but there is also much that is positive about the outport in the novel as well, albeit expressed in rather ambivalent terms. That the negative holds sway is due to Horwood's total lack of empathy for organized religion, to his unfamiliarity with, and lack of esoteric knowledge about, the world he is attempting to portray and, even more so, to the limitations of his naive revolutionary vision.

Horwood tries hard to get beyond his own lack of tolerance for what he judges to be blind and obstinate obedience to outmoded religious beliefs and practices which has been nurtured to fully blown fanaticism by what he sees as a numbing ignorance caused by isolation and privation. As he presents them to us, the men of Caplin Bight are tireless workers, superb boat builders, expert sailors, and outstanding fishermen; and their labour is matched by that of their frugal and provident wives. The people are neighbourly almost to a fault, even in the hardest times; "in Caplin Bight no one refused a neighbor who came to borrow, and so privation spread from door to door." The men in the harbour do not hesitate to rush to the aid of a foundering ship in the middle of a February gale, even though "every man knew that he was taking his life in his hands, on no more than the off chance that another man's life might be saved." But their best innate qualities and most praiseworthy characteristics are not enough to protect the people against the web of historical, social and environmental determinism bred and bolstered

by isolation and ignorance. Of this fact John McKim is living proof. On the first evening of Eli's hunting trip with the pastor, when the two are tired but well-fed and comfortable in their tilt, Horwood attempts to show his reader what might have been McKim's lot had fate dealt with him differently:

As the evening wore on, Eli began to feel himself deeply attracted to this formerly remote, dark, and powerful man, even though he feared him at the same time. There could be no doubt, he thought, about the truth of Peter Simms's assessment of the man: Brother John had been born with the seeds of greatness; only the invisible walls of the little fishing settlement where he had grown to manhood had turned him inward until he became the leader of a small, fundamentalist congregation in one of the backwaters of civilization.

It is during this trip, however, that the pastor makes his first homosexual advances toward Eli, and by the end of it Eli sees him as no more than "the Prophet Elijah with a hard-on" and "he laughed aloud in the winter silence as he thought of the irreverent phrase."⁶⁴

The inference here, of course, is that unless Eli escapes the narrow confines of Caplin Bight, as he is preparing to do as the novel closes, his "seeds of greatness" will also wither and die. The question which Horwood seems unable to answer to his own or the reader's satisfaction, however, is just exactly what it is—beyond some vague notions about a university education,⁶⁵ free love, and freedom from guilt—that Eli is supposed to be escaping to. Big cities and far-away places are spoken of in the novel in glowing terms as long as the talk is general, but specific references are usually less flattering. Broadport, the nearest large community to Caplin Bight, is referred as "one

of the few Newfoundland fishing settlements with the dubious blessing of a courthouse," and St. John's is described as "the grimy old capital." Furthermore, the most positively portrayed characters in the novel, having absorbed the knowledge provided by travel, cities, colleges, and books, all choose to return. Joshua Markady, "retired to his big house on the Point, for with all his wandering, he had found no place he loved as he loved Caplin Bight, in spite of all its faults." Peter Simms, the retired magistrate, returned to live "on the nearest thing to a real farm" in Caplin Bight. Virginia Marks returns to clerk in her father's store, and Christopher, "seemingly with the magic world of the cities open before him," comes back, twice, "to the dying village where he was born, to the people whose minds, beside his, set them almost in a lower species," to teach in a one-room school. And lest one might be led to believe that, as his name suggests, Christopher is simply being sacrificed for the good of the many, he also tells Eli that, eventually, he too will come to realize that "life is better and fuller here than in any city," and assures him that even though he "may become a professor at a great university, or a research scientist," he will "be a Newfoundlander, and a bayman, to the end of [his] days." This, in essence, illustrates Horwood's dilemma and suggests the limitations of his vision. Were he able to transfer the knowledge and wisdom of the ages into Caplin Bight in an instant, or transport all the inhabitants temporarily to some mystic realm of immediate enlightenment, all would be well. This is supported by Eli's claim that the main cause of all that is wrong in the place is, as he explains past events to Miss Marian Parslip, the teacher who temporarily replaces Christopher, "not evil so much as

ignorance."⁶⁶ In the final analysis, however, Horwood's own intolerance with regard to what he considers ignorance is just as narrow as the bigotry of those he and his enlightened characters despise, and it is in this light that his depiction of the folklore of the outport in the novel must be seen.

Simply put, he is incapable of portraying many of the customs and folk beliefs which exist in Caplin Bight in anything but a negative light, because they exist side-by-side with the sexual puritanism and religious fundamentalism which he feels duty-bound to excoriate. His use of certain items of folklore which he chooses to highlight is, therefore, decidedly selective and designed to serve ulterior purposes. One of the more blatant examples of this is the recurring reference to eagles throughout the novel. The following exchange between Eli and his father, Elias, is revealing, not only because it summarizes the local lore regarding eagles, called grepes, but also because it demonstrates how Horwood manipulates the different responses to the birds to illustrate the gulf which separates the enlightened few from the unenlightened, tradition-bound majority, and to symbolize the necessity of escape by the former from the world of the latter. When Eli calls his father's attention to the birds, the father responds predictably:

'Ay, lad! Birds of ill omen they be! . . . Seed 'em more'n once when death was nigh. Cot one on a baited hook, I did, when ye was a babe in arms, but 'tweren't possible to tame the craiture. Jabez Pike's dog fought it to the death. 'Twas some sight, I'll tell'e. The dog were tore somethin' pitiful, an' 'e warn't no use after, but 'e killed the eagle fair an' square.'

'I think that 's terrible!' Eli exclaimed. Why didn't somebody stop it?

'An' why should they?' Elias asked. 'What good be an eagle, boy?—one o' the devil's birds, I'll be bound. Even hissed like a snake, it did, till the dog tore out its windpipe.'

'I don't know,' Eli said doubtfully. He looked at the great birds soaring above the storm and his heart lifted a little. To him they were not birds of ill omen, but free spirits, full of power and glory. The thought of one of them being worried to death by a dog made him shudder.

Christopher, naturally, waxes eloquent about the birds, suggesting "how much grander the world would be if we had evolved from the eagle instead of the ape," and Joshua Markady, commenting on the fact that "there's been a pair of 'em comin' here since before I built this house," suggests that it is "as though they'd found that immortality ye was told so much about up in the church." Later, Eli, as if he were stating some profound truth, informs Virginia that "Chris and Mr. Markady and I are all eagle lovers."⁶⁷ There are, as Buchanan has illustrated, several other examples of folklore being used in the same way in the novel.⁶⁸

On the other hand, there are many instances in the novel, when Horwood chooses to ignore, or is unaware of, the folklore inherent in the actions or items he is describing. A couple of examples will suffice to illustrate the point. Markady and Eli are both outstanding hunters and crack shots, but Horwood makes no mention of the rich store of lore surrounding gunning in Newfoundland, except in one passing reference to tall tales when Eli, having killed fourteen partridge with two shots, muses that this is "not even close to the records you heard talked about in the net lofts." The same is true of the following description of berrypicking:

They gathered the kinds of berries that you eat straight from the bush, as well as the kinds that you take home in buckets. Among the former were the purple chuckly pears . . . , fat red crackerberries, which snapped and cracked between your teeth, and delicate little maidner teaberries, greenish-white and hidden securely from prying eyes by glossy leaves tasting faintly of wintergreen.

It is apparently not to his purpose here, despite the references to folk medicine and folk belief noted above, to point out that chuckly pears were used as a cure for eczema, that eating crackerberries was said in some places to make one lousy, and that maidner teaberries, or maiden-hairs, were said by some to be fairy bait and by others to cause temporary insanity or lightheadedness.

Also, despite Christopher's disparaging remarks about "conventional stupidity" and "all the other lumber" that Eli's "ignorant parents piled on [his] young back," Horwood places great store in traditional knowledge which does not, apparently, get in the way of his political agenda, and which can be traced back to a time "when Caplin Bight was in its prime, a century earlier." He points out that in the past the local boatbuilders did not work from blueprints or plans, and "knew nothing about the laws that naval architects profess to follow," rather they worked "from knowledge passed down to them, and the boats that they built were most seaworthy." He notes with regret that Jabez Pike, the last wheelwright on that part of the coast, "left no son or nephew to carry on the mysteries of his art, and with his death all the great water-wheels along the coast began to fall into disrepair." Joshua Markady bemoans the fact that "another generation, give or take a few years, an' not a man on this coast'll know a sail from a

mainsheet. 'Tis a bloody shame, the way seamanship be dyin' out." The same sense of the value of the life of the past is to be found in Horwood's description an old woman with whom Eli is particularly close:

Eli was Aunt Esther's favorite 'nephew.' The wizened old woman with the sharp nose, sunken mouth, and pale blue eyes made a strange companion for the warm, dark, vital looking youth. They would often sit together on the settle in the evening, she wrapped in a large shawl of purple wool, he with his lesson books laid aside while she told about her childhood, and the memories of times even farther back, when her mother was a girl. It pleased her greatly to find someone really interested in stories out of her forgotten past. She seemed to feel that she was handing on some precious tradition, weaving together the separate generations, helping to make Eli's world a part of her own, the fruit of a people who were not just a haphazard collection of individuals.⁶⁹

Esther, it seems, represents for Horwood all that was best in Caplin Bight's past, a past from which it is now permanently dislocated, although for whatever reasons this is so, beyond the stranglehold of religious fanaticism, he is unable to make clear. In fact, the continual references throughout the novel to the disappearance of the way of life it is describing—Christopher does, after all, come back "to the dying village where he was born"—raises serious doubts about the future of the outport way of life and suggests a certain historical telescoping on Horwood's part, to the degree that these concerns seem to be more reflective of what was taking place in the 1960s, when the novel was written, rather than 1930s, the time in which the action of the novel supposedly takes place.

O'Flaherty says of *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday* that when it appeared it "was by far the most impressive imaginative recreation of Newfoundland outport life to be written since confederation,"⁷⁰ and there is no doubt that this is a valid assessment of the novel.

The picture of the outport which emerges, however, is a highly ambivalent one. Horwood's outport, while it retains many of the negative qualities which Duley emphasized, is more than rotting teeth, unwashed bodies, and the stink of fish, and he manages, when he is able to keep his didacticism under control, to provide a fairly accurate account of several aspects of the traditional outport way of life. On the other hand, the picture of the outport which the book presents is decidedly unlike the utopian stereotype noted above, except, perhaps, in its unreserved celebration of nature.⁷¹

House of Hate, by way of providing a striking contrast, celebrates nothing except, perhaps, mere dogged survival, and even that is brought into doubt by the end of the novel. In fact, Janes (1922-), who was also born in St. John's but who spent his early, formative years in Corner Brook,⁷² creates such a claustrophobic, singleminded novel that it may seem surprising to include it in the present context at all. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a more accurate title than the one the book bears; most of the action of the novel takes place within the walls of the house in which the members of the Stone family live, "a one-storey frame house of matchless ugliness," and the single thematic thread which runs through the novel is the unbounded hate, "the child of fear,"⁷³ which flourishes among these same family members. One might be inclined to believe that the lives of these characters would have unfolded in exactly the same way had they lived in any town in any country of the known world, but, as Janes subtly suggests throughout the novel and then forcefully proclaims at the end, the Stones are victims of historical, social, and environmental forces which are unique to

Newfoundland. Saul Stone, the father and primary victim, is so warped by these forces that he becomes their agent and, in turn, the victimizer of his own family.

The novel covers a period from the last decade of the nineteenth century to 1963, the year of Saul's death. It tells the story of Saul, Gertrude, his wife, and their six children: Henry, nicknamed Ank; Hilda, nicknamed Flinksy; Raymond, nicknamed Racer; Crawford, nicknamed Crawfie; the narrator, whose nickname is Juju, but whose given name we are not told; and, Frederick, nicknamed Fudge. The first link between Saul and Newfoundland is his last name, Stone, which Janes relates to the rock of his Island home. A descendant of a family from "a remote corner of county Wexford," who saw themselves as "a stubbornly indestructible island of Protestantism in an ever-pressing Roman Catholic ocean," Saul comes to Newfoundland in the womb on his shipwrecked mother. Even before his birth, therefore, destiny decrees that, "while millions of emigrants went on safely to the waiting riches of the United States and thousands to the fertile plains of Canada, a dark and vicious fate brought this woman and her child to the shores of this great wedge of *rock*." Saul was born in Raggedy Cove, "a ragged V cut into the coastline of solid *rock*,"⁷⁴ in Conception Bay, in 1892. From earliest childhood "bodily labour was the condition and the law of his existence," whether it was at the Labrador fishery, on a sealing vessel, "in the Sydney coal mines," or in St. John's, where "the only job he could find was driving a baker's cart." Having been refused for service during World War I "on the technical grounds that his mother was dependent on him for support," he found his way to Milltown, the paper town on the west coast of the

Island, where he secured work as a blacksmith's helper. There he met and married Gertrude Yeovil, a descendant of West Country migrant fishermen, and formerly of the Placentia Bay outpost with the inexplicable name of Haystack. It was "inexplicable because in the course of an entire summer hardly enough grass grew there to feed a few goats, and there was never any hay at all."⁷⁵ Like Saul's early life in Raggedy Cove, Gertrude's in Haystack is described as one of unending labour, grinding poverty, ceaseless hunger, and numbing want.

Saul and Gertrude are married by the time the reader reaches page thirty-one of the novel and from then until the time that Saul dies on page three hundred and thirteen the action of the novel is devoted entirely to the devastation which Saul Stone perpetrates on his own family, all narrated by Juju, the second-youngest son and the one member of the family with intellectual proclivities. The narrator is also the one family member who manages to escape physically from Milltown for extended periods of time, although he is unable to escape the emotional and psychological scars which are Saul's legacy, a point made clear by the fact that at the end of the novel he "[strikes] out blindly across the world in [his] urgent and frantic and hopeless hunt for love."⁷⁶ All the other children, "had clustered around the Old Man—satellites around a darkening sun—in setting up house on their own."⁷⁷ The novel is divided into two parts, and both parts have a chapter devoted to each character. The first part follows the characters to adulthood, and the second part chronicles their decline—with Hilda's qualified success being the one exception—through disastrous marriages, soul-destroying jobs, and

debilitating alcoholism, as the sons become mirror-images of the father. All of this is described in excruciating detail, delineating the physical and emotional violence, the beatings, the fights, the punishments, the vulgarity, the gossip, the pettiness, the grovelling, and, above all, the seething hatred that governs every thought, word, and action that makes up the life of the Stone family. In addition, all of this is served up with a generous helping of religious bigotry and racial prejudice, and a sense of social inferiority that is at once revolting and pathetic.

Scant attention is paid to anything outside the immediate purview of the family, but any place or event which is singled out is tarred with the same verbal brush. Crawfie gets a teaching job "in a rocky little hamlet away up on the north shore of Newfoundland grotesquely called Flowery Cove," and ends up marrying a dowdy girl from there since "there had been no element of choice in his courtship and marriage, once he took the first fatal step of paying any marked attention to a girl within the narrow and barbarous confines of such a place." Later he gets a short-lived position in "Isle-au-Mort" [sic], described as "a few frame houses huddled together on kelpy boulders near the town of Port-aux-Basques." By the time he has completed high school the narrator "could not remember a time when [his] foremost and altogether obsessive desire was anything but escape" from Milltown, which by then he had "definitively christened the Hell-Hole." The relative prosperity occasioned by the war years causes the narrator, on one of his visits home, to describe Milltown as "an industrialized village mushrooming into a small town and masquerading as a city," and even potential benefits

of Confederation are brushed aside with the caustic comment that "Acts of Parliament bear no reference to insularity and the village virus."⁷⁸

There are one or two particulars which might be highlighted as examples of folklore in the novel, such as the passing references to foodways in Gertrude's memory of "bread-and-lassie" from her childhood, and the family's penchant for "a good feed of pork and boiled cabbage after a riotous card game." Juju links the Stones with a perennial favourite among traditional Newfoundland pastimes when he says that "like most Newfoundland children, we could all play cards before we could read." Folk belief and superstition are mentioned in reference to Crawfie's holding on to his fear of "Jackie-the-Lantern" until late adolescence, and the narrator's professed lack of concern about the devil and "that kind of superstition."⁷⁹ The main element of folklore in the book, however, is folk speech, and the most striking aspect of the novel which ties it irrevocably to the Newfoundland context is Janes's deft use of dialect throughout the work. A recent study has demonstrated

that the chief functions of the dialect in *House of Hate* are as follows: (1) It provides a geographical, chronological and social setting for the novel that is highly realistic. (2) It is essential to the characterization of Saul Stone. (3) It reveals the characters of the other members of the Stone household—particularly how they relate psychologically to Saul and his 'chilling' influence. (4) It helps to create vivid, spontaneous, highly realistic dialogue that gives the novel a decidedly dramatic quality at times.⁸⁰

Even this, however, within the context of the novel itself, is disparaged by the narrator as "the local *patois* which our family speech had hammered down from the Irish and

West Country of our heritage and the gobbled syntax of unlettered Newfoundlanders."⁸¹ The dialect which they use is neither the cause of, nor an explanation for, the degradation experienced by the members of the Stone family; it is merely a symptom. The cause runs much deeper than speech.

Juju, in an attempt to account for the failures in his own life, concludes that he and his siblings were "chilled in childhood," a condition brought about by "the arctic exhalations of the Old Man when we were quite young."⁸² Later, after Saul's death, and as the one charged with composing a suitable inscription for the tombstone, Juju attempts to account for this chilling effect:

I concluded that no explanation would ever come to satisfy my mind, and yet in the course of my searching I did seem to find one clue that made the mystery less deep, if no less terrible, than when I had begun to consider it. This clue I found after many more hours of reflection on the palpable blight that Dad had cast over the lives of all his sons. Might it not reasonably be, I asked myself, that he in turn had been blighted and desiccated and warped by the conditions of his own early years?

From there my mind travelled back to all I had heard of the horror of his ancestry in Ireland and his own childhood and youth in Raggedy Cove, Conception Bay. I thought of the frightful circumstances under which he had been born a semi-orphan, and of how harsh and bitter must have been his fight for the right just to go on living. Many grim tales I had heard and read of life in our island home over those years. Our father's daily companions and his great unrelenting enemies had been hunger and insecurity, which perhaps had left neither to him nor those close to him any inclination or indeed any strength for the indulgence of the softer emotions; it was grimness and battle all the way through his early life on the east coast of this island and Labrador, where each day's food must be won from a capricious ocean or a niggardly cold and rocky soil. It was mostly a famine and rarely a feast for anyone then living in the Raggedy Coves of our crazy coastline. Not until our father had been some years in the economic haven of Milltown was he ever liberated from this fret and fear of a screaming stomach. And then it was too late.

Was there any truth in my idea that by some strange process of diffusion this physical misery and the implacable hardness it gave him somehow passed into his moral and emotional and spiritual nature as well? Did it leave in his mind and heart a substratum of fear that made him invincibly shy of revealing himself or exposing himself so that he might receive still more hurt in the human relationships of daily life?

Poverty, and its Siamese twin ignorance, must have caused him endless humiliations of spirit long before he was a man, and bred in him that profound modesty which is such a distinguishing mark of our people as a whole that it amounts to an island-wide inferiority complex. Emotional constriction—and from such causes—has always been a well-known feature of Newfoundland life. It was as though all the hardship and hunger our fathers collectively endured had materialized in the form of a spectre which dogged them through their days and was forever warning them to put no trust in this life nor in anyone connected with it or with them for as long as life endured.⁸³

While this may be seen as no more than grasping after "a ready-made, facile solution to a problem whose roots lie closer to home," and an unfair saddling of "the distant past with our present incapacities,"⁸⁴ it is a forceful, uncompromising restatement, perhaps even a bold overstatement, of a perception which may be traced through Newfoundland letters, popular, scholarly, and imaginative, at least as far back as Reeves in 1793.⁸⁵ But only by Janes's having stated it in this way did he make it possible for the writers who came after him to get beyond it. Horwood had gone some distance in providing a counterbalance to the portrayal of the outport way of life as utopian fantasy, but his own didacticism blurred the picture; it took Janes's novel to even the scales, in the process of which it perhaps tipped them too far in the opposite direction. No doubt this was partly due to a lack of firsthand experience of outport life of the part of both novelists. But this counterbalancing, bleak vision was necessary in order for those who came later

to be able to exorcise both demons, the exclusively Rousseauvian and the exclusively Hobbesian views of life as lived in Newfoundland's outposts. Not that all subsequent writers have grasped the safe middle of the balance beam; far from it, but once both extremes had been explored writers were able to choose freely one end or the other, or etch a notch at any point in between, and expect at least to receive a hearing, if not always a sympathetic one. With the publication of these two seminal novels, appearing as they did within four years of each other, Newfoundland literature came of age. An analogy has been suggested comparing the influence of *House of Hate vis-à-vis* contemporary Newfoundland literature to that of Gogol's "Overcoat" *vis-à-vis* the Russian,⁸⁶ because the "grim realism" of Janes's novel "influenced most of the fiction and not a little of the drama that followed"⁸⁷ its publication. For the purposes of the analogy both novels might be lumped together, because Horwood and Janes both set directions which would be followed by the writers who came after them.

The final proof, however, that Newfoundland literature reached maturity during the last half of the 1960s came not with the publication of a fictional, poetic, or dramatic *magnum opus* but in the pages of a St. John's daily newspaper, *The Evening Telegram*. Ray Guy (1939-), a native of Arnold's Cove, Placentia Bay,⁸⁸ in his columns written for that paper, combined both satire and humour to, as one commentator has put it, capture "the idiom of Newfoundland more precisely than, perhaps, any writer who ever lived, and . . . drive beneath the idiom to the attitudes of the people—their delight in excess, their theatricality, their bluntness, their generosity."⁸⁹ Guy attended Memorial

University for two years after he completed high school, and later studied journalism at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.⁹⁰ He began work at *The Evening Telegram* in 1963, the same year, coincidentally, that Ted Russell stopped writing for CBC Radio. He moved from general reporting, to feature writing, to a daily column which, at first, covered the proceedings of the House of Assembly, and then became more general, although politics remained its central focus.⁹¹ At times he replaced his biting political satire with personal reminiscences on various aspects of outport life. Guy, in typical fashion and with characteristic self-mockery, says of these pieces: "I put them in because I didn't think people could swallow these fulminations against politicians day after day, and I found these nostalgia pieces easiest to write."⁹² One must be careful with terminology here, however, because Guy uses humour equally in his satiric pieces and his "nostalgia pieces," and his reminiscences of outport life usually have much more to recommend them than nostalgia.

It was not uncommon to hear during the time immediately following the ousting of the Smallwood administration in 1971 that Guy and his "fulminations" had been chiefly responsible for bringing about an end to the twenty-two year reign of the Only Living Father of Confederation. Others felt that Guy had honed his satiric skills exclusively on Smallwood and they wondered whether, once the premier and his administration were removed from the picture, Guy would fade into obscurity as a writer. Both views were oversimplified and failed not only to appreciate fully Guy's range and abilities as a writer but also to comprehend the complexity of the responses

he elicited from his readers.⁹³ There is running through much of Guy's early writing a sense of sadness, sometimes bordering on outrage, over opportunities lost and potential unrealized that makes it almost a diary of the disappointments arising out of the unfulfilled hopes of the Smallwood era, and links it with the early writings of Horwood and Janes. At the same time, however, one notes parallels with Pollett, Scammell and Russell, especially in the dogged optimism, often quietly and unspectacularly expressed, that one also finds in Guy's work, suggesting a belief in the ability of Newfoundlanders to overcome the forces and influences to which John McKim and Saul Stone succumbed. Both his satire and his humour have this as their common base, suggesting that he is not content to play the Cassandra role:

Guy is to Newfoundland what the Fool was to King Lear—a cranky, disconcerting, insistent reminder of previous dignity, now violated. Whether he is commenting acidly on outside influence or puncturing the solemnity of Newfoundland's own public figures, he remains the only author in the province to possess an intuitive grasp of what ordinary people feel. This may be the real source of his power as a writer.⁹⁴

One could also include Don Quixote among Guy's literary ancestors for he is never one to pass by a political or institutional windmill without engaging in a verbal joust.

Much of Guy's political satire is dated, as is usually the case with such writing, because it is often tied to the political antics of specific individuals or groups, or to a specific event which captured the collective public imagination at a given time. Nevertheless—and whether this is an indication of Guy's ability to universalize the particular or a comment on the unchanging nature of Newfoundland politics is, perhaps,

a debatable point—a surprising portion of it retains a striking relevance. Part of the success of such pieces is the conspiratorial, gossipy, mock-reverential tone assumed by the narrator, combined with a turn of phrase which is designed to deflate the grandiose and elevate the mundane to ridiculous levels. Consider this comment on the burdens of state:

How would you like even a brief glimpse into the eighth floor of Confederation Building? To see first hand the germination of mighty works; to observe for a moment the interchange of lofty thoughts and great ideas; to stand at the elbows of the giants who direct Newfoundland's destiny?

A group of men, thin on top, large around the middle, sit around a huge table and, if you didn't know better, you'd say by the looks on their faces they were all extremely scared but had no place to run. Not so. It is neither desperation nor indigestion that causes them to look pasty—but the affairs of state weighing heavily on them.

The Skipper is speaking and their ears must not only be cocked but appear to be cocked. This accounts for the peculiar way they are sitting, and the rather unnatural angles at which they have inclined their necks. Now and then one of them may risk uncocking for a moment to study his fingernails—but only for a moment.

As the self-appointed voice of the common man, as it were, the narrator found⁹⁵ it valuable on occasion to mingle with his constituency. "On the eve of momentous occasions such as the start of National Pickle Week, the official opening of great new orange juice factories, and Budget Day, it is my custom to go down to the public streets and feel the public pulse." On the day preceding a budget, therefore, the narrator, selecting a method of divining public opinion "more hygienic than messing around in a bunch of goat entrails," decided to eavesdrop on two citizens in a restaurant. At the end, however, having been treated to stories of horrendous medical operations, detailed

accounts of running the gauntlet in hostile shopping malls, soap operas, and bingo nights, but not a word relative to the impending budget, he was forced to conclude that "perhaps there's such a thing—when you go out into the market place seeking the reactions of the common man—as chancing upon a sample that is too damn common." On the other hand, too much public involvement in the political sphere might be equally troublesome. "There's something indecent—for want of a better word—about this new and growing interest in politics on the part of the average Newfoundlander. There's something not . . . well, not Newfoundland about it."⁵⁶ This deflationary tone is quintessential Guy, but he could also use political happenings as the springboard for serious commentary.

Indeed, comments on Guy's political satire would be extraneous to the present discussion were it not for the fact that most often, just lurking under the surface tone, is a deadly serious intent. The intention is to present a future-oriented *apologia* for life in Newfoundland, and this is bolstered, as will presently be demonstrated, by his recollective, non-satiric pieces on outport ways and times past. Guy usually adopted one of several personae he had created when he wrote, and seldom dropped it to speak in his own voice, but when he did, as in the following piece written just before the change of government in 1971, he leaves little room for misinterpretation:

The sun also rises. It already has. Is the light so bright that we are blinded and do not recognize the dawn?

What the day's weather will be remains to be seen but let's get up and get cracking. We have a busy time ahead of us. There's enough light now to see what our real work is. We're beginning to see what we

have to do. We can see what sacrifices we'll have to make while we try to repair the great damage committed. Would you be afraid to set potatoes again? Would you be ashamed of driving a three-year-old car?

Yes? Then read no more. Toronto is waiting for you. Go with our blessing. We must see what our own Country can give us without being perennial parasites on someone else. If that doesn't suit you you'll have to move on.

The work will require more energy and will become more urgent as time passes.

The goal of the work is a simple one: Newfoundland will live and we will live in Newfoundland. We are only 500,000—the population of a medium-sized city of North America.

How much would it take to force us all out of Newfoundland? How much did it take to force people off smaller islands?

The same tears, but more of them. The same heartbreak, but more of it. The same pain, deeper than words, but multiplied. To go away and not even have a place to come back to on holidays. Not the comfort of the hope of somebody being able to come back. Not even that.

It is a strange, illogical and perhaps primitive feeling to feel at home here and only here. But it is a real feeling. If it is not, then where does the pain come from?

We will work to avoid this pain because for us it is a pain too hard to bear. This work will require all our energy. Now that it is coming light and the fog of twenty-two years is lifting, we can see what our job is.

There is no time to lose and we must get busy. It will take more heads than one. We have learned that, if nothing else. We will all have to think deeper than we have thought and work harder than we have worked. It will take more than one day and it will take us all.

We have to ask questions and try to find the answers. What right has Newfoundland to exist at all? What economic basis? Are we destined to live forever off the taxes of Hamilton steelworkers? Can anyone put into plain words the difference between 'able-bodied relief' and 'regional disparity payments'?

How could we live forever like that and still retain even a shred of dignity to our backs? Hasn't it been proven that 'great new industries' will never raise us to the level of even a watered-down version of southern Ontario?

And with the price of a one-way air ticket to Toronto so low why settle for a watered-down version? Standard of living? But what about quality of living? Isn't that a point to be looked at also?

Could it be made more painful to stay than to leave? What if we can never support more than 500,000? Will the surplus always have to go? Is there really a parallel between internal centralization, the traditional exodus, and the thought that Newfoundland may be deserted altogether?

Or is it that in the first case those who moved were still in Newfoundland, and in the second case there was the hope, until death, of being able to come back one day? But what of exile without hope?

Is Newfoundland an orphan in the storm? Were we not a burden on Britain so that she was glad to unload us onto Canada? And are not the Hamilton taxpayers beginning to resent the same burden so that we get from them Newfie jokes?

If we are no longer useful to the United States even for military purposes are we then of interest only to carpetbaggers who suck the blood from us—as in earlier days?

In the light that is now rising we will struggle no longer against shadows but with substance. If there is an octopus we must see the extent of its tentacles.

In the struggles before now we were told that we were fighting for country and home. What if we sit back and fail to join in now? If, as we were told, country and home were saved in blood, are we now going to drown it in beer?

It is dawning, and what the day's weather will be like remains to be seen. But we can take a stiff breeze or two.

And one morning early, sometime soon, the sun will rise in a cloudless and deep blue sky on grass so green it seems to be afire; its heat will soon bring out the smell of the earth, there'll be hardly a breeze on the water and all the long day until nearly ten o'clock in the evening the sun will shine and it will be fresh and warm and clear.

And we will have our soul back.

What a remarkable Country is Newfoundland! A person might live to the end of his days and never cease to marvel and wonder, one way or another. There is no place else.⁹⁷

It is well to keep this piece in mind when one is considering Guy's comments on the outport way of life, because the future he envisions here is a measure of his attitude toward, and the value he places on, the past.

Many of Guy's "nostalgia pieces" were purportedly from his book of memory titled *Guy's Encyclopedia of Juvenile Outharbour Delights*. Here were to be found such entries as "Arsing Around Down in the Landwash," presented as "a definitive treatise on a mysterious world which is familiar ground to every juvenile with access to it, but which seems to have been either forgotten or dismissed by an adult population." Throughout pieces such as these there were instructive asides on language and worldview: "Funnily enough, your outharbour juvenile had no conception of tides until much later in life. This is odd as, domiciled where he was, the tide made higher—as was the saying—and the tide made lower a couple of times each twenty-four hours within half a gunshot of his house." Fine distinctions governing local practices are drawn: "Some English person wrote a phrase to the effect that 'there is nothing half so good as messing around in boats.' Everyone knows it. However, we don't mess around in this poor corner of the world. In Newfoundland we 'arse' around." Always, there was a weighted emphasis on the proper, meaning the local way of doing things: "Once, however, you know how to do it you can go on to pick up lobsters and every other thing under the sun without getting bit. If you think this is lies, Mrs. Aunt Milly Hynes out home could pick up a vicious dumbledore [bumble-bee] in her bare fingers, easy as pie, and not get stung." At times the burden of passing on these esoteric titbits caused the narrator to become testy:

I don't want to spend the rest of my life explaining what different things are. There is a limit to anyone's patience. But a tansie is a small thing

like an eel, brown on the back and yellowish sort of on the gut, and they are under rocks, too.

Also you will find your swimps. This is what is called 'shrimps' in the Boston States. To hell with that as once you cross the Gulf we have charge of naming our own neighbours and they are swimps!

Another entry in the encyclopedia dealt with the rather dangerous activity called "Foundering Cliffs":

There are two methods for the proper foundering of cliffs. One is where you get down on the beach and keep chucking up rocks at a piece of cliff that is loose and almost ready to fall. . . . The other method is to get up on top of the cliff and dislodge a loose piece either by chucking rocks at it, poking at it with a long stick, or, most intrepid of all, getting someone to hold on to your arm while you reach down and kick it with you foot.

Additional sporting activities engaged in by the outharbour juvenile included "Slinging Rocks at Bullbirds," and "Tying Cans Onto Sheeps' Tails":

This activity is carried out after nightfall and when the moon is no more than in the second quarter. Cover of darkness is necessary since this delight constitutes a serious offense punishable by threats of the Ranger being sent for.

To these were added "Randyng" and "Catching Conners."⁹⁸

Not all Guy's comments on the outharbour juvenile were concerned with leisure activity, however. There were practical comments on "Getting the Outharbour Juvenile Rigged For Winter Months":

The secret of draught-free juvenile winter wear is a good set of drawers. Encased from chin to ankle in such a garment he was ready for any climatic extreme. This homemade body stocking was constructed of wool straight from the back of the sheep with some of the twigs left in it.

There was a similar treatise on "Footwear as Regards the Outharbour Juvenile," and a guide entitled the "Outharbour Youth's Guide to Sin John's," which pointed out that "such interesting sights as the Gaol, the Lunatic Asylum and the Conglomeration Building [Parliament Building] are miles apart since somebody lacked the good sense to put them all under one roof," and concluded with the practical reminder that "if you are thinking of going to Toronto some day looking for something to do, remember that Toronto is much like Sin John's except that there's a damn sight more of it."⁹⁹

Guy did not devote all his comments on outpost life to the young. His intention and method were the same, however, when he turned to adult pursuits; local practices and esoteric insights were highlighted. He praised the ingenuity of those who cultivated gardens on "sandy necks of land which form barrisways with a brackish pond on one side and the salt water on the other." In doing so they took double advantage of the sun, "sometimes a scarce commodity here in fair Terra Nova," and gave their gardens "the benefit of four suns a day," direct and reflected. Christmas-time was a time of defiant celebration, brief license, and plenty:

The turkey wasn't invented yet but there were rabbits in the bakepot and turrs in the oven. There were fowls stewed tender with onions and stuffing and the carcass of a lamb or pig hanging down in the store over the water where it would keep.

There were ducks and geese and venison and salt water birds. There were herring and potatoes and bread. There was jam yesterday, today and tomorrow. There were candies and brew and brandy from St. Peter's.

The outharbour menu, at any time of year, was noteworthy: "What feeds we used to have . . . just before the tinned stuff and the packages and the baker's bread started to trickle into the outports." Even the lamps of childhood memory, cleaned on Saturday and filled from a "a gallon can or glass jar of kerosene with a potato for a stopper," provided Guy with an opportunity to highlight the tensions between past and present, as did memories of woodboxes, water barrels, and the sounds of wind and sea that penetrated a "house [which] was as good as living outdoors because you could hear everything that was going on out there."¹⁰⁰ All of these points were used by Guy to put his own spin on the notion, developed earlier by Russell, that Newfoundland by being behind the times was actually further ahead. This was most forcefully stated in a piece which described in fine ethnographic detail the dances, meat teas, soup suppers, and sales of work by which parish funds were raised and good works undertaken. The piece ends with the following tongue-in-cheek, but pointed comments:

By means of these affairs they built schools, churches and halls, assisted distressed persons, sent parcels overseas and helped put a stitch of clothes on the poor naked backs of heathens in other countries who, although odd looking, are created in our blessed Saviour's image just the same as you and me.

Once when I was telling a person from upalong about Soup Suppers and so forth he shook his head and became down in the mouth and said: 'You must have been very poor.'

Strange talk. If we had been poor it would have been the other way around. People in other countries would have been running off Soup Suppers to send parcels over to us

It is funny how the mainland mind functions.¹⁰¹

Were it not for the tone here, and throughout this and other pieces, one might be tempted to attempt to detect a romantic strain.

Guy, however, was always careful to guard against lapses into romanticism. In fact, he was quick to caution those who, in the face of lean times, consoled themselves with the thought that "they [could] always go back and live the way we used to." His response to such a suggestion was to point out that "even persons in the outharbours these days would be left just as helpless and floundering as town folk if the bottom dropped out." Inshore fishing, he reminded the romantically inclined, was no hobby to be undertaken by the uninitiated:

Oh, you're going fishin' like your daddy fished before, are you?

Nothing big like a longliner. Just a punt and a jigger. A few lobster pots and a salmon net.

Oh, my poor man! Have you ever got another think coming. That sort of fishing is more complicated, more demanding of skill, experience, ability, lore and luck than putting together atomic bombs in a snowstorm in the dark.

These so-called 'poor humble fishermen' had to have more knowledge tucked away in their weather-beaten skulls than a jet pilot has.

Nope, this inshore fishing racket is an exquisite art and no good for the like of you or me to think we could master it in half a lifetime.

He also exhibited a decided lack of patience with, and tolerance for, the habit of making things out to be worse than they actually had been, usually for ulterior purposes: "It has become fashionable in some quarters of late to practise a certain reverse snobbery, to make a thing out of the fact that you had it hard when you were coming up." Guy, in retaliation for having been mentioned in the House of Assembly as a merchant prince and

a less than knowledgeable opponent of centralization, was pointed but uncharacteristically subdued in his response:

Hard times? In spots, it was. If we hadn't been so isolated and there had been a few more modern facilities handy perhaps my two brothers might have lived. But I certainly didn't think they were hard times then so why should I think so now.

Freddy [F. W. Rowe] and the boys might be right when they say I talk cockeyed about outharbours but I'm constrained to add that I'm not talking altogether from hearsay.¹⁰²

It was because he was "not talking altogether from hearsay," but from a knowledge of the outports gained at a time of transition which highlighted the tensions between tradition and modernity that Guy could offer insights that were not available to writers such as Horwood and Janes. In fact, it is not difficult, in the course of a pass even through Guy's collected pieces,¹⁰³ to create a catalogue of traditional children's games and pastimes, folk speech and dialect terms, foodways, calendar customs, and traditional practices related to various kinds of work.

More importantly, however, what begins to emerge in Guy's early writing is a reinterpretation and a redefining of the regional mythology which had evolved earlier, and a reclaiming of the past, not simply for its own sake but as a means whereby a recognizable and friendly face may be put on the present. The good times and the bad, the positive and the negative, are re-examined, without the benefit of rose-coloured glasses or the handicap of blinders—even though certain longstanding but critically unexamined perceptions and misconceptions remain—along the continuum between continuity and change. Guy sums up the same history and the same forces which formed

Mars's All 'Round Newfoundlander, Pollett's Outport Millionaire, Russell's Grampa and Grandma Walcott, Scammell's Bedlamer Boy, Horwood's John McKim, and Janes's Saul Stone. As Guy presents them, however, they are seen neither as a collection of shameful episodes to be glossed over nor as a litany of glorious victories to be trumpeted to the world, but as a starting point, a foundation upon which to build:

Your average Newfoundlander is waterproof, dustproof, shock-resistant and anti-magnetic. Just as racehorses have been bred for legs and wind, he has been bred, over three or four hundred years, for durability. Your Newfoundlander will come out on top of it all. Endurance is his secret.

For centuries, back to the days of the first Elizabeth and our dread sovereign lord King James, the Newfoundlander has been taking his lumps and has learned a thing or two about hanging in there.

A long and determined assortment of harriers and exterminators, both native and imported, have struggled relentlessly through the years to rid the fair face of the world of this unlovely and irksome breed.

But there are some ugly weeds you can't root out of your pretty garden, misters, and there are some varmints you can't eradicate.

With the merry lash and the branding iron and the deportation ships they attacked this infestation of Newfoundlanders in the earliest days. With the torch and the wrecking bar they drove them to hide among two thousand holes in the rocks because they had no business to be here.

There to survive, alone amongst the fog forever, in suspicion of strange ships passing. Report the stranger at once, youngsters. It might be the pirates; it might be the French; or one of His Britannic Majesty's frigates dispatched to blast illegal settlers and their miserable heaps of sticks off the rocks.

This while the treasury of England built great mansions of stone in Virginia. All this while the ships of King Louis ferried loads of gold to establish massive citadels at Quebec and Louisbourg.

While they all sailed past to build enduring cities in Canada, the Newfoundlander was a squalid criminal not deserving the right to put a few damn sticks over his head for shelter.

While the solid colonial burghers cheered the governor's carriage as it passed through the streets of Williamsburgh and Quebec City, the

Newfoundlander was kept in slavery and considered fit only to rip the guts out of codfish.

God save our gracious queen. Madam, my lady, may sometimes hear that there is still within her realms an inconsequential and barren Island whose citizens show a curious persistence to wave the Union Jack.

Let her not think—considering the treatment of Newfoundland by her ancestors—that she is being slyly mocked by this. The Present Sovereign is held in great esteem here because without her and all the kings and queens of England right back to the issue of Ann Boleyn, Newfoundlanders would today be mere Canadians or Americans.

Without the Star Chamber and the Fishing Admirals and the French Shore you wouldn't be able to tell the difference today between a Newfoundlander and a milk-fed Iowa farm boy. There'd be more blond hair and teeth per capita and instead of being peopled by gentle barbarians the place would be overrun by folks with guns.

Madam, my lady, and her whole ancestral gang were worthy adversaries and have earned our respect. Notice that while her soldiers dashed off across the plains to rescue her loyal Canadian subjects from the savages her sailors busied themselves burning her loyal Newfoundland subjects off the rocks. So she thoughtfully provided us with the most sport.

In the end, who's left. In the end there's the Heir Apparent and there's the manicured offspring of the citizens of Kingston and Halifax, and there's the durable issue of Newfoundland.

So you're a Lower Canadian? To rear you through the ages took a bit of wear and tear, too. The bleeding disease, the pox and the axe took a considerable toll of your crowd.

But for every death in the family it took to get you where you are today, any kid among the bushes in Newfoundland can claim a thousand sacrifices through starvation, overwork, disease, forced exile and persecution that went into the making of him.

Your Newfoundlander has undergone four centuries of an extremely rigorous breeding programme. Acts of God and Royal Warrants weeded out five or six of every ten born into the world alive. This fortuitous distillation has left us an exceedingly durable race.

Who do you think is a better match for you, Charlie boy?

Or is there any contest at all?¹⁰⁴

This may be taken as a manifesto of sorts not only for modern Newfoundland but also for modern Newfoundland literature, at least insofar as the relationship of that literature

to history and the folk tradition is concerned. Not, of course, that Guy is to be seen as the leader of, or designated spokesman for, contemporary Newfoundland writers.

Nevertheless, his statement goes some distance toward summarizing the thinking behind the radical change in attitudes toward the past and the folk tradition which was adopted by the Newfoundland writers who were responsible for producing a veritable literary explosion during the 1970s and the 1980s. In addition, these attitudes were manifested in various other forms of artistic and cultural expression, making those two decades the most artistically productive in the Island's history to date. A detailed examination of this complex cultural and artistic renaissance requires a separate study, but it is necessary to comment on it in general terms here in order to show how the continued use of the folk tradition in the literature of the modern period flowed naturally from the way it informed the literature written during the transitional period which has been the focus of present investigation. In simple terms the past and the folk tradition ceased to be treated as the stuff of memory only and came to be seen instead as tools to be used in order to fashion a response to the present.

It is a relatively easy task to demonstrate, in quantifiable terms at least, that the winds of change which brought about the first exchange of political power after Confederation¹⁰⁵ in the early 1970s also precipitated changes in the artistic and cultural life of the Province. To determine exactly how these changes came about, and to discover not only the reasons why they happened, but also why they happened when they did, without indulging in the wildest form of unfounded and virtually undocumentable

speculation,¹⁰⁶ is another matter entirely. Even if one were to limit the discussion to literature alone, which would be an unwise choice because it would exclude considerations of artistic cross-fertilization raised by the fact that a large number of individuals were active in several fields,¹⁰⁷ it is still necessary to deal not only with the works written¹⁰⁸ and/or published¹⁰⁹ during the period, but also with the appearance of what were, in the local context at least, new and cross-generic forms,¹¹⁰ the appearance of a number of drama groups and theatre companies, both traditional and *avant-garde*,¹¹¹ and the appearance of a number of local, mainly literary, publishing houses.¹¹² The cultural revival which marked the beginning of the modern period in Newfoundland, which coincided with the end of the Smallwood era, and which has been justifiably compared with the cultural revivals in Québec in the early 1960s and in Ireland at the turn of the century,¹¹³ and which continues to a lesser degree to the present day, drew and draws more heavily and in much more complex ways on the folk tradition than did the literature of the transitional period which preceded it. Had it not been for the links forged with the folk tradition in the literature written during the transitional period, the confidence and surety with which those involved in the rebirth reclaimed that tradition as a defining paradigm for the present would not have been possible. Indeed, without these links the knowledge of the folk tradition would have disappeared along with the society that had supported it, and it would no longer be possible to say, as it still is, that the mythology defines the region.

Notes

¹A. B. Perlin, "A Decade of Confederation: A Newfoundland Editor's Assessment," *Atlantic Advocate*, 49:8 (1959), 25.

²G. M. Story, "A Note on Confederation from Below the Salt," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 74:1 (1978), 7-8.

³G. A. Rawlyk, ed., *The Atlantic Provinces and the Problems of Confederation* [=Report to the Task Force on Canadian Unity] (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1979), p. 332.

⁴Jackson, *Surviving Confederation*, pp. 81-82.

⁵Smallwood, "Let Us Draw Close to Canada," pp. 35-36. This piece was delivered by Smallwood to the National Convention in conjunction with the motion to send a delegation to Ottawa to investigate terms of union. See also the other items by Smallwood cited in note 130, p. 202. In his autobiography he wrote: "The case for Confederation I put broadly in these terms: 'Commission of Government means security, but no democracy; responsible government means democracy, but no security; Confederation means democracy and security, both.' We could expect a reduction in the cost of living. We would share in Canada's great social security program, with family allowances for every child under sixteen; old-age pensions at \$30 a month for the husband and an equal amount for the wife, as against \$30 a quarter for the two combined; unemployment insurance for those who had no jobs; and vastly improved allowances for our war veterans. In addition, thousands of civil servants would pass over to the Canadian Government services in Newfoundland, at substantially higher pay; and thousands of railroaders, airport employees, and lighthouse-keepers would come under federal employ at much higher pay" (Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, p. 297). A later publication, a tirade in typical Smallwoodian rhetoric, is a veritable litany of Ottawa dollars spent in Newfoundland and progress measured in nuts and bolts, bricks and mortar: "As more than one half (51½%) of all the revenue that our Newfoundland Government collected, and is still collecting each year, came and comes from Ottawa, it means that more than half of the salaries received by over 8000 civil servants is Ottawa money. Over half of the salaries received by our 9000 teachers is Ottawa money. Much more than half of the salaries received by the 2171 members of the faculty and staff of our University is Ottawa money. Much more than half of the cost of operating the College of Fisheries, the College of Technology, and the 18 trade schools is paid with Ottawa money. All of the salaries of the Lieutenant Governor, and all the salaries of the judges of our Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal, and the District Courts are paid entirely by Ottawa, and Ottawa money pays over half the additional cost of operating these and all courts in Newfoundland and Labrador." And on the fisheries: "Now we have 16 bait depots. Now we have 140 community stages. Now we have 16 marine service stations. Now we have 37 small boat slipways. Now we have 27 baited gear

holding units. Now we have 7 long-liner haul-outs. Now we have 4 gear sheds. Now we have the Fisheries Loan Board. Since Confederation it has lent \$48,035,119 to about 6749 fishermen to buy \$39,600,000 worth of boats, \$6,764,047 worth of engines, and \$1,586,000 for various pieces of fishing gear." This goes on and on for almost two hundred pages, but the central message is clear: "We don't have to worship Confederation—but we can respect it and be grateful for it. We can be glad we have it. We're better Newfoundlanders by being Canadians. Confederation makes us better Newfoundlanders. Confederation makes us prouder Newfoundlanders. Confederation makes us more confident Newfoundlanders" [J. R. Smallwood, *No Apology from Me* (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1979), pp. 15-16, 55-56, 92].

⁶Ted Russell, as cited in Miller, *The Life and Times*, pp. 108-109.

⁷Pottle, *Newfoundland*, p. 77.

⁸See Overton, "The Myth of the Reluctant Worker," for an examination of this attitude. Overton notes that some who attempt to counteract this image do so by arguing for a return to a sort of pre-Confederation, pre-industrial good old days, or by suggesting that the rural unemployed and welfare recipients are at less risk than their urban counterparts because they have other supports the urbanites lack, but he points out that "such arguments all follow the logic of a separation and opposition between culture (spiritual values) and development (materialism), a dichotomy where people choose one or the other. These arguments can provide a rationalization for existing social hierarchies and inequalities . . ." (p. 136).

⁹F. W. Rowe, *The Smallwood Era* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1985), p. 42.

¹⁰Matthews, "The Pursuit of Progress," p. 41.

¹¹Alexander, *The Decay of Trade*, p. 164. It might be added here, in Smallwood's defense, that the problems were exacerbated by Ottawa's disregard for, and mishandling of, the Newfoundland fishery. In this regard see: Raymond Blake, "The Problem of Newfoundland: the Fisheries and Newfoundland's Integration into Canada, 1948-1957," in *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary, Newfoundland History Series, No. 7 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1994), pp. 239-272.

¹²Matthews, "The Pursuit of Progress," p. 44.

¹³Gwyn, *Smallwood*, p. 168. It was after 1957, however, that the most ambitious industrial projects of the Smallwood administration—the hydro-electric development of the Churchill River in Labrador and the phosphorus plant and oil refinery at Long Harbour and Come by Chance in Placentia Bay—were to take place. Only the first of these is still operational, but with very little revenue benefit to the Province. Among

industries proposed and/or started during the early fifties were a battery plant, a rubber plant, a boot and shoe factory, a glove factory, a cotton mill, an optical instrument factory, a film and electronics company, a cement plant, a hardboard plant, a gypsum plant, a leather tannery, a textile plant, a heavy machinery plant, and a chocolate factory. Few of these ever became viable; none of them exists to day, in the original form at any rate.

¹⁴Brox, *Newfoundland Fisheries*, p. 6.

¹⁵There is a considerable body of scholarship dealing with the process of centralization [or resettlement; currently the two words tend to be used interchangeably, although Copes suggests that centralization more properly refers to the first programme, resettlement to the second one (*The Resettlement of Fishing Settlements*, p. 101)], but much of it consists of dry statistical accounts and enumerative lists of communities abandoned, numbers of families and individuals moved, and government subsidies paid out. To my knowledge, no major study has yet been undertaken which focuses on the impact of centralization in less tangible, but more fundamentally human, terms, nor, given the time which has elapsed since the major movement took place, is such a study likely ever to be undertaken. See, concerning centralization, the following selection of scholarly and popular works: Robert Wells, "Report on Resettlement in Newfoundland," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1960; C. M. Lane, "Centralizing Our Population," *BN*, III (1967), 564-567; Farley Mowat, "The People of the Coasts," *Atlantic Advocate*, 57:11 (1967), 49-56; "The Outports Debate," *Atlantic Advocate*, 58:2 (1967), 74-81; Noel Iverson and Ralph Matthews, *Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 6 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1968); Michael L. Skolnik, ed., *Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis*, Social and Economic Papers, No. 1 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1968); Robert L. DeWitt, *Public Policy and Community Protest: The Fogo Case*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 8 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1969); Andrew Leslie Robb and Roberta Edgcombe Robb, "A Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Newfoundland Resettlement Program," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, [1969]; William Rowe, "The Newfoundland Resettlement Program: A Case Study of Regional Development and Social Adjustment," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1969; Cato Wadel, *Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland: A Study of Strategies and Implications in the Resettlement of Outport Fishing Communities*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 7 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1969); Parzival Copes, "Community Resettlement and the Rationalization of the Fishing Industry in Newfoundland," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1971; Copes, *Resettlement of Fishing Communities in Newfoundland* (1972); Harold Horwood, "Holding On," *Maclean's Magazine* (February 1972), pp. 32-35, 51-52, 55; Stratford Canning, "The Economics of Resettlement," Unpublished Manuscript, MUN/CNS, 1974; Parzival Copes and Guy Steed, "Regional Policy and Settlement Strategy: Constraints and Contradictions in Newfoundland's Experience," *Regional*

Studies, 9 (1975), 93-110; Ralph Matthews, "Ethical Issues in Policy Research: The Investigation of Community Resettlement in Newfoundland," *Canadian Public Policy*, 1 (1975) 204-216; Ralph Matthews, *"There's No Better Place Than Here": Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities* (Toronto: The Book Society of Canada, 1976); Jim Lotz, "Resettlement and Social Change in Newfoundland," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 8 (1977), 48-59; K. Hoggart, "This Changing World: Resettlement in Newfoundland," *Geography*, 64 (1979), 215-218; Michael Staveley, "Resettlement and Centralisation in Newfoundland," in *Policies of Population Redistribution*, ed. John W. Webb, Arvo Naukkarinen, and Leszek A. Kosinski (Oulu: Geographical Society of Northern Finland for the International Geographical Union Commission on Population Geography, 1981), pp. 159-167; Peter Gard, "Outport Resettlement Twenty Years Later," *Canadian Geographic*, 105 (1985), 8-17; Rowe, *The Smallwood Era* (1985), pp. 107-127; and, Bonaventure Fagan, "Images of Resettlement," *Newfoundland Studies*, 6 (1990), 1-33.

¹⁶Copes suggested that a "rationalization of the Newfoundland fishing industry requires a redevelopment effort in three major areas: (a) the transfer of manpower from the inshore to the offshore and processing sectors, (b) the development of new methods of operation in the remaining inshore fishery, and (c) the movement of surplus labour out of the fishing industry" (*The Resettlement of Fishing Communities*, p. 92).

¹⁷"Resettlement," *ENL*, IV (1993), 589.

¹⁸Iverson and Matthews, *Communities in Decline*, p. 121.

¹⁹Rowe, "The Newfoundland Resettlement Program," p. 7.

²⁰Rowe, *The Smallwood Era*, p. 113.

²¹A number of analysts have pointed out that the mere existence of an official government policy of relocation meant that centralization "functioned as a self-fulfilling prophecy—its very existence created the circumstances for its success" (Staveley, "Resettlement," p. 165), provided, of course, success is measured in quantitative terms. Wadel described the evolution of this self-fulfilment as follows: "In phase one of this process the Government argues: 'We must move them because they cannot make a living (and it would be too costly to provide them with modern services)'; the outporters conceive this as 'the Government wants to move us—so it would be foolish to invest'—and the outporter doesn't invest or 'try.' As a result the outport declines even in relation to its previous standard. The Government then comes in and says: 'we told you so—now you can see for yourselves.' Resettlement takes place and the prophecy is fulfilled" (*Marginal Adaptations*, p. 116). Once certain members of a given community began to make preparations to move, a certain "moving fever" set in. This may well

account for the fact that several researchers found that the majority of those who were interviewed after the fact claimed that they did not want to move at all (Wadel, *Marginal Adaptations*, p. 120). Nevertheless, most researchers who studied the programme seemed to be more concerned with rationalizing and improving it than questioning it. This point was raised by Brox in his comment on the recommendations of Iverson and Matthews: "The problem is not only how resettlement shall be implemented in a better way. The procedure might be to ask: What superordinate value is resettlement supposed to maximize? If this is the general welfare of the outport population I am inclined to think that one could go about exploring *alternatives* to resettlement, by which the superordinate values may be maximized with less costs or without the unwanted implications of resettlement" (in Skolnik, ed., *Viewpoints*, p. 14). It appears, in retrospect, that this was a minority, unheeded view.

²²The popular notion which developed was that government paid people to move and then "washed its hands of them, and they arrived at their selected destination with a few household bits and pieces and personal effects," but they soon found that they had "no stages from which to fish, no boat with which to earn a living, and no place to house a family" ("The Outports Debate," p. 77). This summation does not conflict significantly with the conclusions drawn by the academic researchers: "Moreover, the almost total lack of preparation, on the part of government, industry, and reception communities, to receive the migrants and assist them in adjusting to their new surroundings, and help them find work, has created unnecessary hardships for migrants and threatens to create as many problems as resettlement is intended to solve. The program obviously lacks in addition planning and continuity: one gets the impression talking to householders who have resettled that they are paid to move and promptly forgotten" (Iverson and Matthews, *Communities in Decline*, p. 123).

²³Mowat, in comparing the process to the Highland Clearances, summarized this aspect of centralization: "Of course the situation on the coasts of Newfoundland is not identical with that in the Highlands more than a century ago. Nobody is physically evicted from his house if he refused to move as directed; instead he is persuaded to move 'voluntarily'. The results are the same. Abandoned houses, stages, fish-stores, graveyards, even churches stand in mute testimony to this fact. The new method is a multi-stage process. It is begun by unsettling the mind and distressing the spirit by proclaiming both the real and the supposed advantages of modern living—good communications, medical services, schooling, economic opportunity, better chances for the young; and the less valid seductions of the admass society in all its coloured TV aureole. These things are then denied the people one wishes to dispossess, except in token form—enough to whet their appetites. When the yeast has worked a while, temptation and cajolery are employed" ("The People of the Coasts," p. 50). Once the government committed itself fully to centralization it made no effort to recruit educational or medical professionals to work in communities it wished to relocate, and it appears to

have secured the support of the churches from the start. Existing public services were withdrawn or allowed to deteriorate, and those which might have been reasonably and economically provided were withheld. Wadel declared that "it would seem that most of the outports that have actually resettled in recent years have done so more often because they have lost services they have already enjoyed than because they did not get services they wanted" (*Marginal Adaptations*, p. 119).

²⁴Indeed, Wadel's report, the most thorough contemporary study of the centralization process, concluded: "The major thesis of this study has been that the basic problem in the Newfoundland economy is not lack of urbanization but unemployment and under-employment; further that jobs might be created cheaper and faster by rural redevelopment than by any other strategy. Centralisation in its present form is doomed to create more unemployment in Newfoundland, which has already one of the highest urban unemployment rates in the Western world" (*Marginal Adaptations*, p. 153). Four years later Wadel published a more complete study of this problem; see his *Now Whose Fault Is That? The Struggle for Self-Esteem In the Face of Chronic Unemployment*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 11 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1973). Since then unemployment in Newfoundland has been studied and reported on *ad nauseam*, while the rates continue to rise; see McGrath, "Now that we've burned our boats. . ." (1978); *Building on Our Strengths: Report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment* (St. John's: The Queen's Printer, 1986); and, James Overton, "Building on Our Failures," *New Maritimes* (March 1987), pp. 5-6.

²⁵Matthews, "The Pursuit of Progress," p. 34. This raised the old spectre of overpopulation and enforced out-migration, and became the greatest psychological scare associated with the centralization process. Its chief proponent was Parzival Copes. He developed a five-stage hierarchy of places from and to which the Newfoundland labour force might move, namely: (1) small and isolated outports; (2) large and central outports; (3) fishery growth centres, local trade centres and small industry centres; (4) large industrial centres in Newfoundland; and, (5) mainland centres. He then stated: "The most significant conclusion of this report is that the resettlement program is frustrated and debilitated by its incompleteness—by its confinement to migration within the Province of Newfoundland, but not beyond" (*The Resettlement of Fishing Communities*, pp. 114, 153).

²⁶Forces currently at work in the country at large may exert a much greater influence on the answer to this question than any action which might be taken by Newfoundland itself. Once again, as has been the case so often in the past, the Province's fate may well be decided by factors beyond its control.

²⁷*Building on Our Strengths*, p. 46.

²⁸"Resettlement," p. 590.

²⁹I will not consider here a number of works published during the period by non-native, non-resident writers, whether they treat life in the Province in detail, comment on it in passing, or merely use Newfoundland as a setting or backdrop. The decision to do so is not simply arbitrary, but motivated by the belief that, for reasons which will be more fully commented upon below, the literary/literate community was becoming more attuned to the emic view of Newfoundland culture and was less likely to be swayed by the etic. Nevertheless, the Province continued to attract foreign writers, and among the works which fall into the categories noted above are the following: Stanley C. Tiller, *Stormswept* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1950), a boys' adventure story of a lad who takes his father's place when the latter is killed at the ice, set in the fictitious outport of Greenville; Clare Bice, *The Great Island: A Story of Mystery in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1954), a juvenile adventure novel set in Ship Cove, and dedicated "to the boys and girls of Newfoundland who are brave and polite"; Patrick Job, *The Settlers* (London: Constable, 1957), a biographical account by an accidental traveller who came to Newfoundland in search of a schooner, the first forty-seven pages of which is a sympathetic, but none too flattering, account of Newfoundland during the period leading up to Confederation; Hammond Innes, *The Land God Gave to Cain* (London: Collins, 1958), a post-war mystery which draws for its setting on two visits the author made to Labrador; Dorothy Henderson, *The Heart of Newfoundland* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1965), a travel book with some insightful commentary; Franklin Russell, *The Secret Islands* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), a biographical travelogue of a city-weary journalist in the tradition of Norman Duncan and George Allan England; Fairly Mowat and John de Visser, *This Rock Within the Sea: A Heritage Lost* (1968; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), a timely publication, which, by means of Mowat's text and de Visser's photographs, captured the transition which post-Confederation, outport Newfoundland experienced; and, Joseph Schull, *The Jinker* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), a romance set against a backdrop of the turn-of-century seal hunt.

³⁰For example, much of Pollett's and Scammell's *Atlantic Guardian* work was published in book form only in 1956 and 1966, respectively. Harrington's edition of the winning poems from the O'Leary Poetry Contest appeared in 1953, but contains poems written as early as 1944. His own collection of sea stories, many of which had been originally prepared for broadcast on "The Barrelman" radio programme, was not published until 1958. Russell wrote for the radio in the 1950s and early 1960s, but his work did not appear in book form until the 1970s. Harold Horwood and Ray Guy, whose work will be discussed in more detail below, both wrote for *The Evening Telegram*, Horwood between 1952 and 1958, and Guy between 1963 and 1974. Horwood's newspaper writing has not been republished in book form, whereas most of Guy's has. Horwood went on to become a successful novelist, and Guy has turned to

writing for radio and television in addition to continuing to publish as a freelance columnist. These time lapses between the creation and the publication of a writer's work, or the appearance of a writer's work at different times in different media, do not simply cause problems of chronology or demarcation. They also raise questions about the influence a writer has had—on the public in general and on other writers in particular—and, conversely, about events and people who have influenced a writer. Russell's influence, for example, has been twofold. He obviously had an impact on the listening public in the 1950s, but he influenced a reading and writing public once his work was published in the 1970s. As a journalist, Horwood influenced one readership, as a novelist another. Naturally, any individual reader or writer, simultaneously or at different times, may well belong to several publics or readerships. There are no easy solutions to these problems, and where one locates a writer and his or her work remains, in many cases, a matter of subjective judgement.

³¹One should not, of course, overlook the purely practical, mundane considerations affecting publication, as an anonymous commentator noted in 1957: "There are several reasons for the paucity of books by Newfoundlanders. One of the reasons is financial—the cost of getting books published—another is that the local market for books printed on the Island is so limited that the returns are inadequate and only a person who can afford to take a loss on publication is able to have a book printed and published" ["Newfoundlandiana," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 56:4 (1957), 4]. To this must be added the colonial attitude toward local literature which remained a reality in Newfoundland long after Confederation, and the longstanding high cultural prejudice against vernacular literature which is neither unique to Newfoundland nor unheard of today. The editor of a recent collection of vernacular verse notes: "Until recently, many of the poets I have included in this anthology would have been termed 'dialect' poets—a term which works to marginalize regional speech and privilege Standard English" [Tom Paulin, "Introduction," to *The Faber Book of Vernacular Verse*, ed. Tom Paulin (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. x]. Similarly, Pauline Greenhill, in her study of traditional and popular poetry in Ontario, has shown that contemporary newspapers there—newspapers being one of the few outlets for the publication of vernacular verse—are often less than favourably disposed towards these genres: "Most editors commented that they published poems they received when there was space between ads, and otherwise they threw them away. Several said that they did not publish much verse for fear of being sent more that they would then be obliged to use" [*True Poetry: Traditional and Popular Verse in Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 42].

³²O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 329. The one critical voice which was raised against Smallwood and his policies was that of Harold Horwood, who began to write his daily "Political Notebook" column for *The Evening Telegram* in 1952. By 1958, when he left *The Telegram*, he had moved from being one of Smallwood's

strongest supporters to being, in the opinion of another columnist of the day, his "most influential and articulate opponent" (cited in O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 163). According to Richard Gwyn, the paper "was offered, but refused, \$60,000 worth of government advertising if it would drop Horwood as political columnist" (*Smallwood*, p. 237). Horwood, himself, says that Smallwood "referred my reports to a special Committee of the House on privilege, predicting darkly that I would be thrown into prison and *The Telegram* padlocked" (*Joey*, p. 158).

³³Michael Harrington, "Presenting Newfoundland," *Atlantic Advocate*, 47:1 (1956), 71.

³⁴Lawrence Ferlinghetti, "He," in his *Starting from San Francisco* (1961; New Directions, 1967), p. 24. Indeed, the full passage in which this line appears, from a poem dedicated "To Allen Ginsberg before 'The Change,'" seems a particularly appropriate comment on much that was written about the Newfoundland outpost in the fifties and sixties, and some of what has been written since: "He has a microphone around his neck / at a poetry reading / and he is more than one poet / and he is an old man perpetually writing a poem / about an old man / whose every third thought is Death / and who is writing a poem / about an old man / whose every third thought is Death / and who is writing a poem / Like the picture on a Quaker Oats box / that shows a figure holding up a box / upon which is a picture of a figure / holding up a box / and the figure smaller and smaller / and further away each time / a picture of shrinking reality itself."

The progressivist, booming attitude expressed in much of the journalism of the period provides a striking contrast to the subdued, recollective mood which marked the imaginative writing. See, for example, these three pieces selected at random from 1955: "The Commercial Year in Newfoundland: Overall Picture Shows a Steady Level of Prosperity," *Newfoundland Journal of Commerce*, 22:1 (1955), 27-43; "Newfoundland Reaches for Brighter Tomorrow," *The Financial Post* (2 July 1955), pp. 23-33; and, Eric A. Seymour, "Newfoundland Surging Ahead," *Maritime Advocate and Busy East*, 46:3 (1955), 7-10.

³⁵R. A. Parsons, *Reflections* (St. John's: Newfoundland Academy of Art, 1954); and, *Reflections, Books I and II* (Toronto: Published for the author by the Ryerson Press, 1958). Parsons, who published a dozen collections of poetry, culminating with *Curtain Call*, ed. Harry Cuff and Daphne Benson (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1980) seems to be an example of one who was prepared "to take a loss on publication" ("Newfoundlandiana," p. 4) in order to publish his work.

³⁶A. C. Wornell, *The Monarch of the Grump and Other Newfoundland Verse* (St. John's: Guardian Associates, 1951), and *Rhymes of a Newfoundlander* (St. John's:

Guardian Associates, 1958?). I am indebted to Philip Hiscock for providing me with a brief biographical sketch of Wornell.

³⁷Otto Kelland, *Anchor Watch: Newfoundland Stories in Verse* (St. John's: Dicks and Co./Otto Kelland, 1960). The majority of the titles in this collection were republished, along with a number of other poems and songs, in his *Bow Wave: Poems and Songs* (St. John's: Dicks and Co./Otto Kelland, 1988). Kelland's books, like those of Parsons, were published by the author himself.

³⁸See: A. C. Hunter, "Foreword," to R. A. Parsons, *The Village and Wayside* (Don Mills: The Ontario Publishing Company, 1967); and, G. M. Story, "Foreword," to R. A. Parsons, *The Tale of the Lonesome House* (Don Mills: The Ontario Publishing Company, 1971).

³⁹Parsons, *Reflections*, pp. 18, 22, 23, 32.

⁴⁰See Harold Horwood, "Newfoundland Literature has Vigor, Character," *Saturday Night* (15 March 1949), p. 10. Horwood is not commenting on Parsons's work here, but on the "literary movement [which] began towards the end of the war," which he describes as "distinctly urban," and as making "little use of the underlying folk culture." This flurry of St. John's-based literary activity which began in the mid-1940s and saw the birth of several short-lived literary publications—*Protocol*, *Newfoundland Companion*, *The Newfoundland Writer*, *Newfoundland Story* and *The Islander*—would not, considering the circles in which he moved, have gone unnoticed by Parsons. In this context see also: Harold Horwood, "Poetry in Newfoundland," *Northern Review*, 3 (1950), 11-18; and, Charles Granger, ed., "Recent Newfoundland Poetry," *BN*, IV (1967), 454-467.

⁴¹Roger deV. Renwick, *English Folk Poetry: Structure and Meaning*. Publications of the American Folklore Society, New Series, Volume 2 (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 2, 4.

⁴²Wornell, *Monarch*, pp. 10, 12, 13, 11.

⁴³Wornell, *Monarch*, p. 16; and, *Rhymes*, pp. 13, 11.

⁴⁴Wornell, *Rhymes*, pp. 20, 21; and, *Monarch*, p. 3.

⁴⁵Kelland, *Bow Wave*, pp. [vii], [ix]. In his later years Kelland has made much of the time "when I was going to sea" (*Bow Wave*, p. [ix]), but, given that he was born in 1904 and joined the constabulary in 1924, his time before the mast could not have been extensive.

⁴⁶Kelland, *Anchor Watch*, pp. 61, 111, 67, 66, 68, 46, 14.

⁴⁷The saying of recitations, or monologues, is a rich part of the Newfoundland folk tradition, and there appears to be little doubt that Kelland's preferred rhyme schemes are influenced by his familiarity with that aspect of the tradition. See: Wilfred W. Wareham, "The Monologue in Newfoundland," and "The Monologue in Newfoundland Folk Culture," in *The Blasty Bough*, ed. Clyde Rose (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1976), pp. 196-216, and *ENL*, II (1984), 252-262, respectively. For a broader discussion of these genres, see the eight essays in: Kenneth S. Goldstein and Robert D. Bethke, eds., "Monologues and Folk Recitation," a Special Issue of *SFQ*, 40 (1976).

⁴⁸Indeed, several pieces which appear as narratives in *Anchor Watch* are printed with musical accompaniment in *Bow Wave*. Kelland makes no hard and fast distinction between narrative poems and songs, as evidenced by his comment that at one time he "selected eleven poems which I considered were song material" and composed music for them. The link between the two is rhyme: "In order to use my method of composing original tunes, one has to be able to write verse, particularly rhymed verse" (*Bow Wave*, p. [vii]).

⁴⁹Kelland, *Anchor Watch*, pp. 40, 20, 5-6. See also: Edward Hirsch, "A Structural Analysis of Robert Service's Yukon Ballads," *SFQ*, 40 (1976), 125-140.

⁵⁰See Mercer, *Newfoundland Songs and Ballads in Print*, p. 144.

⁵¹See, for example: Ian Sclanders, "Joey Smallwood's New, New, New Newfoundland," *Maclean's Magazine* (5 June 1965), pp. 7-11, 28-30.

⁵²It is not possible in the course of the present study to explore all the ramifications of this transformation of the outport from an historical reality to a state of mind, but some examples will suffice to illustrate the complexities of the metamorphosis. One interesting variation on the theme is that expatriate Newfoundlanders tend to confer the utopian outport image on the Island as a whole. In 1966 Smallwood's government launched its "Come Home Year '66," described by O. L. Vardy, then Director of Tourism, who later fled the Province to avoid charges of fraud, bribery and breach of trust, as "the greatest promotional project ever embarked upon." It was planned to coincide with the completion of the Trans-Canada Highway across the Island, and designed to lure "Newfoundland sons and daughters and their immediate descendants who settled abroad" to return for a visit ["Come Home Year," *ENL*, I (1981), 486-487]. See also: "Come Home Year—1966," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 64:2 (1965), 15-17; and, John Braddock, "Come Home Year 1966," *Atlantic Advocate* 56:1 (1965), 115-116, 119. In more recent years Newfoundland clubs and Newfoundland food shops have sprung up in almost every major Canadian city, and a newspaper, *The Downhomer*, published in Brampton, Ontario, serves the same clientele. That the outport was out of sight but not out of mind by the mid-sixties is illustrated by the fact that in 1967—coincidentally the

centenary of Canadian Confederation—when volumes three and four of Smallwood's *The Book of Newfoundland* was published, among predictable essays on the Churchill River power project, the revolution in road building on the Island, and other Smallwoodian miracles, one also finds the following: G. H. Earle, "I Remember Life in the Outports"; Art Scammell, "Outport Memories"; and, John A. White, "Life Yesterday in the Outports," *BN*, IV (1967), 233-237, 240-244, and 245-252, respectively. The politicization of the past/outport conjunction is indicated by the fact that Brian Peckford, the second premier after Smallwood, deemed it appropriate to title his political biography, published while he was still in office, *The Past in the Present: A Personal Perspective on Newfoundland's Future* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1983). A policy paper on economic growth published by the present government of Clyde Wells very deliberately links tourism and culture (read quaint outport ways), see: *Challenge and Change: A Strategic Economic Plan for Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1992), pp. 47-51. On various aspects of this question, see also: Overton, "Promoting 'The Real Newfoundland,'" (1980); "Coming Home: Nostalgia and Tourism in Newfoundland," (1985); "Living Patriotism: Songs, Politics and Resources," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 12 (1985), 239-259; and, "Progressive Conservatism? A Critical Look at Politics, Culture and Development in Newfoundland," in *Social Science Monograph Series*, vol 5, ed. Robert Garland (Saint John: The University of New Brunswick, 1985), pp. 84-102.

⁵³Memorial University College was transformed into a degree-granting University in 1949, and, despite the fact that during the first decade of Confederation it "resembled more a sleepy English public school than a university" (O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 329), by the mid-1960s its impact on the cultural, economic and social life of the Province was beginning to be more widely felt. A number of developments at the University throughout the sixties had a direct bearing on cultural, historical, and social studies pertaining to Newfoundland. In 1961, the same year that the University moved to its new campus, the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) was established; faculty members in the Department of English Language and Literature undertook extensive research in dialect and language studies; and, the Department of Folklore was established in 1968. See: Herbert Halpert and Neil V. Rosenberg, *Folklore Studies at Memorial University: Two Reports*, Reprint Series, No. 4 (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Department of Folklore, 1978); Melvin Baker, "Memorial University of Newfoundland," *ENL*, III (1991), 503-510; and, *Special Anniversary Edition*, Research and Policy Papers, No. 15 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1992).

⁵⁴Harold Horwood, *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday* (1966; Don Mills: General Publishing/Paperjacks, 1975).

⁵⁵Percy Janes, *House of Hate* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970).

⁵⁶Ray Guy, *You May Know Them as Sea Urchins, Ma'am* (1975), rev. ed., ed. Eric Norman (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1985), and *That Far Greater Bay* (1976), rev. ed., ed. Eric Norman (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1985). Although these books were originally published in the mid-1970s, the material they contain was originally written between 1965 and 1970, and published in *The Evening Telegram*.

⁵⁷Horwood, *Tomorrow*, p. 187.

⁵⁸On this point see: Rochelle Spracklin, "Didacticism in the Fictional Works of Harold Horwood," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1990.

⁵⁹Horwood, *Tomorrow*, pp. 76, 24, 270.

⁶⁰[Harold Horwood], "Don Cameron Interviews Harold Horwood," *Quill and Quire* (August 1972), p. 3. See also: Judith Miller, "A Conversation with Harold Horwood," *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, Nos. 35-36 (1986), 56-72.

⁶¹O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 166. O'Flaherty suggests that Horwood's negative attitude toward the outports was coloured by his turning away from Smallwood, and by his belief that only by appealing to the worst in people generally and "to the ignorant, the stupid, the illiterate, and the purely selfish" in the outports could Smallwood have continued to be reelected (p. 164).

⁶²Fowler, "The Literature," p. 125.

⁶³Roberta Buchanan, "Some Aspects of the Use of Folklore in Harold Horwood's *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday*," *Culture & Tradition*, 8 (1984), 100.

⁶⁴Horwood, *Tomorrow*, pp. 20, 189, 166, 182. This "irreverent phrase" is made all the more telling by the fact that sexual puritanism and religious fanaticism are irrevocably linked in the novel. They are also equally despised and viewed as the results of ignorance and self-delusion by Horwood. "The moral code of Caplin Bight was simple and easily stated: sex was sin (except between husband and wife, in bed with their clothes on, and avoiding anything 'unnatural'). Swearing or using 'vulgar language' was sin. Sloth and sensual pleasure were sins. These were all sins against God" (p. 4). But there is another aspect to the image which this phrase suggests. There are several such incongruously comic images and scenes in the novel which capture the essentially hyperbolic/meiotic dichotomy inherent in the traditional Newfoundland worldview and language. They have the ring of authenticity about them, always involve one or more of the enlightened characters, and embody the author's essential tone, even though they were considered merely profane and blasphemous by some readers when the book was first published. Early in the novel Joshua Markady and his son fall through the harbour

ice, lose their horse, and are close to being drowned themselves. While these events are unfolding, Jehu Gilmore, one of the most fanatical souls in the harbour, is tossing biblical phrases about repentance and the day of judgement at them instead of a rope. At length, Markady, in a desperate outburst, which the reader who has explored Newfoundland literature from Lowell to Horwood is bound to find refreshing, declares: "If ye don't fetch us a rope here this instant, be the bleeding Christ when I *do* get ashore I'll ram that Goddamn Bible down yer fuckin' throat!" (p. 45). Much later, the same Markady makes the following solemn promise to Pastor John McKim, whose evil deeds have created havoc in the lives of Christopher, Eli, and Virginia: "'I never killed a man in me life, McKim,' he said, 'an' I'm old to start, but the very first time I ketches ye in the woods, or out in a boat, or any other place where it can be made to look like a huntin' accident, I am goin' to shoot ye like the dog that ye are. The first time I get the chance I'll put a bullet through ye, or a load of shot into yer guts, or ram yer skiff an' drown ye. An' in case ye think I am making an idle threat, in the heat o' the moment, I swear it to ye on the blood of the Lord Jesus—so help me God, amen!'" (p. 258).

⁶⁵The rather superficial and uncritical comments in the novel on education in general, and university education in particular, strike one as peculiar, written as they are by one who advocated an alternative school system and later claimed to be "not particularly interested" that his novels, according to him, were not taught at Memorial, because he had "never written for a university audience" (Miller, "A Conversation," p. 62). In light of the penchant among the cognoscenti in the novel to return to simpler pleasures, the following poem, published in the same year as the novel appeared, might have given Eli a point to ponder: "I've often thought / in my more sensible moments / that I'd like / to go back to Newfoundland / and fish / for a living. // And maybe I will. // But first I want / to acquire a dozen / degrees / so that I can tear / them up / right in the middle / of some sacred convocation. // Then I would be satisfied / that I'd made / my contribution / to society. // And after that / I could fish in peace" [Al Pittman, "An Honorable Ambition," in his *The Elusive Resurrection* (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1966), p. 44].

⁶⁶Horwood, *Tomorrow*, pp. 289, 306, 42, 9, 113, 206, 264.

⁶⁷Horwood, *Tomorrow*, pp. 31, 121, 252, 253, 270.

⁶⁸As a child, Eli kept a dragonfly as a pet, even though the insect was known locally as a devil's darn-needle or horse-stinger, and was reputed to have a deadly sting—a belief made all the more ridiculous by the fact that, as one of his early teachers informed him, the insect is incapable of stinging or biting. Jehu Gilmore's ability to charm warts, and the use of goose grease on the chest as a remedy for flu are similarly ridiculed, as are the taboos against women in boats, whistling women, or whistling on the water generally.

⁶⁹Horwood, *Tomorrow*, pp. 165, 19, 310, 311, 5, 6-7, 15, 85, 103-104.

⁷⁰O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 165.

⁷¹Some of the finest writing in the novel is purely descriptive. Two examples will suffice. Early in the novel Eli's salmon fishing with his father is described as follows: "The boy went to the nets with his father each day at five o'clock in the morning, when the sky was red and green and gold. Every dawn Eli saw the sun rise over the sea in a flood of splendor, while they hitched their little punt to one end of the net and hauled the other end into the big trap boat, seeing, far down in the blue-green water, the silver-blue fish, caught by the gills but struggling nobly to free themselves as they came, arching with great power in their muscular tails over the side of the skiff" (p. 51). Later, at the beginning of the ill-fated hunting trip taken by Eli and McKim, the scene of their first night's stopover on the trek into the country is presented in this paragraph: "There, stretching away into the blue January evening, with gentle hills on either side, was a placid ribbon of water, unmarred by tide or ripple. The plain of the plateau—red-brown marshes of peat moss broken by islands of spruce—stretched off on either hand. An Ancient esker, a bank of sand and rock left by the last great ice sheet, looking like a man-made dam, cut diagonally across the plain, ending at the lip of the canyon and there forming the bank of the river. On the flat top of the esker stood the little tilt, an eight-by-twelve-foot log hut with walls sloping to a high peak. A breathless, bluish peace hung over everything" (pp. 161-162). These, and numerous other passages, reflect the type of poetic prose that Horwood brought to such wonderfully evocative heights in his *The Foxes of Beachy Cove* (1967; London: Peter Davies, 1968).

⁷²Considerable comment has been made on the biographical parallels between Janes's own life and the novel, but since he notes on the dustjacket of the original edition that he "added, subtracted, altered, arranged and invented" with regard to material drawn from fact, and since Margaret Laurence took pains to point out in her introduction to the New Canadian Library reprint edition of 1976 that "a novel based on a writer's experience is no less a work of true fiction than a novel which has nothing to do with the writer's own life," I see no reason to belabour the point here.

⁷³Janes, *House*, pp. 33, 9.

⁷⁴Janes, *House*, pp. 9, 10, 11. Emphasis added. We are told later, after Saul's death, that "he had no middle name" (p. 317). Note also the common use of "the Rock" as a nickname for Newfoundland.

⁷⁵Janes, *House*, pp. 11, 12, 13, 14.

⁷⁶Janes, *House*, p. 320.

⁷⁷Janes, *House*, p. 198.

⁷⁸Janes, *House*, pp. 122, 125, 238, 151, 159, 186, 192.

⁷⁹Janes, *House*, pp. 15, 196, 49, 118, 156.

⁸⁰Graham Shorrocks and Beverly Rodgers, "Non-Standard Dialect in Percy Janes' *House of Hate*," *Canadian Literature*, No. 133 (1992), p. 131. Almost any page of the novel will provide examples of dialect usage, but one of Saul's last tirades is a particularly rich example: "There's needer one o' ye acted right! . . . Needer one o' ye. Crooks and cheaters and drunkards, the whole goddam bunch, and God knows what else besides. Ye ought to be ashamed to look me in the face. If I'd done to me own fawder the half—no, the quarter—o' what ye're after doin' to me, I'd never a lived to tell the tale. I'd a been crucified. Yes, *crucified*. I goes to work and drags me gut out fer ye a whole lifetime, and I don't get no more t'anks for it. No sir. A kick in d'arse, and a foul word behind me back. Oh, don't t'ink I don't know! I've hearrrd yer whisperin' and back-bitin'. Sure signs, ye'll get nutting more out o'me" (Janes, *House*, pp. 300-301). The irony of this is rendered all the more savage when we recall that Saul's reference to his own "fawder" is purely hypothetical, since he was dead before Saul was born, but, in the light of the narrator's summation of the conditions which formed Saul's character, it is apt. Saul's use of "sure signs" instead of the more familiar "so signs," meaning consequently (*DNE*, p. 480), is an interesting variation which is used by other family members as well.

⁸¹Janes, *House*, p. 36.

⁸²Janes, *House*, p. 249.

⁸³Janes, *House*, pp. 318-319.

⁸⁴O'Flaherty, *The Rock Observed*, p. 176.

⁸⁵The year 1793 is also the year mentioned in the opening of the well-known recitation, "The Yankee Privateer," and the sentiments expressed are similar: "'Twas in the year of seventeen hundred and ninety-three, the Yankee Privateers was raidin' the coast of Newfoundland, robbin' the Newfoundlanders of their codfish which was their only means of livelihood. And as the sayin' used to go then they used to use the Newfoundlanders' heads for cannon balls" [*ENL*, II (1984), 254].

⁸⁶The reference is to the frequently cited comment by Dostoyevsky to the effect that he and his fellow writers "all came from beneath Gogol's 'Overcoat.'"

⁸⁷O'Flaherty, "Literature in Newfoundland," p. 330. One cannot help but shudder, to extend this cross-fertilizing analogy a little further, at the thought of how the gentle Akakii Akakiievich Bashmachkin might react to being suddenly thrust into the presence of Saul Stone.

⁸⁸Guy begins one collection of his columns with the following comment: "My name is Ray David George Guy. I was born on April 23, 1939 at the Lady Walwyn Cottage Hospital at Come By Chance and I belong to Arnold's Cove [*Beneficial Vapours*, ed. Eric Norman (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1981), p. 1]. Arnold's Cove was a designated reception area, or growth centre, during the centralization process, which Guy describes here as "a nasty, criminal business that killed many of the older people and drove others mad" (pp. 1-2).

⁸⁹Donald Cameron, "Fool's Laughter: Ray Guy's Satire Turns to Sorrow," *Weekend Magazine* (1 November 1975), pp. 18-19.

⁹⁰Guy describes his experience at Memorial University as follows: "The Memorial bit was rather miserable—the two worst years of my life. It was daunting. Half of it was my fault . . . I was so introverted and shy I made myself miserable." Ryerson, however, he describes more positively, noting that his time there "was in the late fifties and early sixties, before they knew what a Newfoundlander was and before the Newfie jokes started. Some of them thought I was from Inland or Australia" {[Ray Guy], "Profile," *The Newfoundland Herald TV Week* (1 February 1978), p. 20}.

⁹¹Guy's article on the end of passenger train service in Newfoundland, "No More 'Round the Mountain': We'll be Ridin' CN Busses," *The Evening Telegram* (6 October 1967), pp. 26-27, won the National Newspaper Award for Feature Writing for that year. On 22 February 1968 his "In the House" column, which was to become a fixture on page three of *The Evening Telegram* until 1974 when he quit the paper for the fourth and last time, appeared. The second collection of Guy's articles, *That Far Greater Bay*, won the Stephen Leacock Award for Humour in 1977.

⁹²[Guy], "Profile," p. 21.

⁹³Guy tends to minimize his own impact on political events in Newfoundland in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but he is quick to credit Horwood's earlier efforts to temper the times with constructive criticism: "'Horwood was at it up to 1958—those were really the tough times to be at it, when it was like butting your head against a brick wall. By the time I got going, it was already starting to slide downhill. I was just nipping at their heels from behind for a bit. Horwood had stopped, and no one else had done anything, so that was why it made rather a splash. People forget—if you had any criticism, you whispered it in the taverns. Some people were still sucked in by it, and some people

were scared'" ([Guy], "Profile," p. 21). Subsequent political leaders and various institutions have continued to feel the full sting of Guy's satiric thrust, but, compared to the Herculean struggle "Between the pass and fell incensed points / Of mighty opposites" that marked his battle with Smallwood, few things since have occupied Guy so singlemindedly.

⁹⁴Patrick O'Flaherty, "Newfoundland Writing, 1949-74: A Comment," *The Canadian Forum* (March 1974), p. 30.

⁹⁵Even though Guy is still very much alive, physically and artistically, it is convenient here, because I am referring to what were transitory newspaper columns for a specific period, to use the past tense. References, for convenience, are to the later collections. It should be noted, however, that the titles for the pieces were provided by the editor.

⁹⁶Guy, *Urchins*, pp. 42, 52, 56, 69.

⁹⁷Guy, *That Far*, pp. 156-158. Other outstanding pieces of political satire include "A Few Passages from Unholy Writ" (*Urchins*, pp. 90-93); "March 31, 1969" (*That Far*, pp. 82-83); and "Clewing in M. Pepin" (*Beneficial*, pp. 128-131).

⁹⁸Guy, *Urchins*, pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19; and, *That Far*, pp. 84-84, 91-93, and 114-115.

⁹⁹Guy, *Urchins*, pp. 61, 140-142, 50, 52. The titles for the fictional encyclopedia entries are Guy's own, not those of his editor.

¹⁰⁰Guy, *Urchins*, pp. 8, 103; and, *That Far*, 144, 150.

¹⁰¹Guy, *Urchins*, p. 97.

¹⁰²Guy, *Urchins*, pp. 34-36; and, *That Far*, pp. 127-130.

¹⁰³The largest part of Guy's work, both that written for *The Evening Telegram* and for other publications after 1974, remains uncollected in book form.

¹⁰⁴Guy, *Urchins*, pp. 121-123.

¹⁰⁵As with so many other events in the mottled history of politics in Newfoundland, this was not a simple matter. See: Peter Neary, "Changing Government: the 1971-72 Newfoundland Example," in *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, ed. James Hillier and Peter Neary, Newfoundland History Series, No. 7 (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1994), pp. 297-320.

¹⁰⁶It is not speculative to note that many of the artists—writers, actors, directors, painters, singers, dancers, and others—and academics, who made significant contributions to the Island's cultural life during the 1970s and 1980s were young Newfoundlanders who had left during the 1950s and 1960s to pursue professional training on the Canadian mainland, in the United States, or in Europe. To this group must be added a number of foreign artists who made Newfoundland their home during the same period. Speculation enters the picture when one attempts to discover why it was that they should have all made their way to Newfoundland during the same period.

¹⁰⁷This was an important aspect of the cultural activity that characterized the 1970s, especially. The founding members of Breakwater Books, for example, were all academics, but three were also actors and members of the Open Group, and the other two were writers. Breakwater Books gave rise to the Breakwater Troupe which performed traditional music, combined with poetic and dramatic readings. Some members of CODCO were also members of the Wonderful Grand Band, a folk-rock ensemble; and some members of Figgy Duff, another folk-rock group were also actors. Visual artists doubled as set designers for theatre productions, illustrators for the books which were being published, and created posters to publicize the works of colleagues in other fields. In return, musicians entertained when these artists mounted shows of their work when new books were launched.

¹⁰⁸The bibliography contains the significant titles published to 1989. The most important publications include the plays of David French, those of the late Michael Cook, both the published stage plays and the unpublished radio plays, and the published and unpublished plays of Al Pittman. Also important is the poetry and fiction of Al Pittman and Tom Dawe, along with the fiction of Kevin Major, Gordon Pinsent, Wayne Johnston, John Steffler, William Gough, and the more recent publications of Horwood and Janes.

¹⁰⁹It will be recalled that the works of writers such as Cooper, Russell, Guy, Harrington, and Kelland, were published or republished in different formats during this period. A number of significant anthologies and critical works also appeared.

¹¹⁰The most notable works in this category are those of Cassie Brown, which are part popular history, part journalism and part ethnography. See, in addition to the previously cited *Death on the Ice*, her *A Winter's Tale: The Wreck of the 'Florizel'* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, Ltd., 1976); and, *Standing Into Danger* (1979), abridged edition (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, Ltd., 1985), which is an account of the events surrounding the loss of the American warships *Truxton* and *Pollux* near St. Lawrence in 1942.

¹¹¹The Open Group, comprised mainly of academics from Memorial and defectors from older, more established St. John's theatre groups, produced a number of original

works by Newfoundland playwrights during the early 1970s. The Mummers Troupe and CODCO, both collectives, were formed in 1972 and 1974, respectively. Both groups toured extensively within and outside the Province, as did the Rising Tide Theatre Company. The Newfoundland Travelling Theatre Company and the Resource Centre for the Arts, which operated the L.S.P.U. Hall, promoted local plays. Groups in other parts of the Province, such as the Avion Players in Gander and groups in Labrador also performed original and indigenous works. See: Janice Drodge, "A Heritage Portrayed: Nationalist Theatre in Newfoundland, 1972-1982," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983; Roberta Buchanan, "Outport Reminders," *Canadian Theatre Review*, No. 43 (1985), pp. 111-118; Terry Goldie, "Newfoundland [Theatre]," in *Contemporary Canadian Theatre: New World Visions*, ed. Anton Wagner (Toronto: Simon and Pierre, 1985), pp. 96-100; Alan Filewood, "The Political Documentary: *Buchans: A Mining Town*," in his *Collective Encounters: Documentary Theatre in English Canada* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 112-151; Alan Filewood, "The Political Dramaturgy of The Mummers Troupe," *Canadian Drama*, 13 (1987), 60-72; Chris Brookes, *A Public Nuisance: A History of the Mummers Troupe*, Social and Economic Studies, No. 36 (St. John's: MUN/ISER, 1988); Helen Peters, ed. *The Plays of CODCO* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); and, Denyse Lynde, Helen Peters, and Richard Buehler, eds., *Proceedings of the Workshop on Newfoundland Theatre Research* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993).

¹¹²"Commercial or trade book publishing in the generally accepted sense of the term did not begin in Newfoundland until 1973, with the founding of Breakwater Books." Others followed: Jespersion Press (1975); Harry Cuff Publications (1980); and, Creative Publishers (1984). All have "produced an eclectic mix of local history and literary titles" ["Printing and Publishing," *ENL*, IV (1993), 458, 459].

¹¹³Gwyn, "The Newfoundland Renaissance," p. 40.

CONCLUSION

A fundamental premise upon which the argument of this study is predicated is that the influence of the folk tradition on the indigenous literature which developed in Newfoundland in the twentieth century was made all the more profound because of the transitional nature of the period during which the literature was written. I have argued that, during this time of upheaval and uncertainty, writers' perceptions of the folk tradition provided them with various paradigms of order and structure which they embraced, or attempted to embrace, as a means of evaluating, reacting to, and commenting on the changes which were taking place. Perceptions, indeed, have been central to the discussion throughout, and, for this reason and because the study deals with a number of other areas about which there is considerable disagreement among scholars, it has not been possible to use words and phrases such as "literature," "folk culture," "Newfoundland," and even "transition" without considerable qualification.

The item-centered approach to the study of the interrelationships between folklore and literature, despite the condemnations of "the lore-in-lit" and source-hunting approaches by a number of scholars, is still a mainstay of studies in the area, although the items and the sources have assumed contemporary guises. The more expansive, contextual view, which advocates studies of the influences on processes from one cultural sphere by those of another, has benefited by the theories and methodologies developed as a result of the contemporary study of orality and literacy, but it has also been hampered by the terminological debate which has characterized this and several other

related areas of study. More recently still the ever-expanding field of contemporary literary theory has broadened the area for exploration between folklore and literature, and there are indications that both fields will benefit significantly from this expansion, although there have been some bothersome trends toward producing needlessly microscopic and obfuscatingly complex analyses.

The notion of a neatly definable, homogeneous folk society—whether the product of romantic or intellectually and culturally imperialist thinking, or merely an objectification of a mental abstraction originally intended as a scholarly convenience—has long since outlived its usefulness. The conflicting views which have been promulgated by popular writers and scholars alike dealing with the traditional culture of Newfoundland provide a striking illustration of this fact, and highlight the need for scholarly flexibility when one is dealing with considerations of folk culture in general or the folk tradition of a particular region specifically. This flexibility has been attained here by the application of the concept of a folk cultural register, broadly applied to include both people and expressive forms, and the concept of an evolving regional mythology which influences, and is influenced by, each cultural sphere. The application of these concepts makes it possible to examine the different literary views and perceptions of the folk tradition as writers reacted to the various changes during the transitional period, and it also allows for the consideration of the treatment of the folk tradition in a given work. These same concepts provide a stabilizing framework for the

coherent understanding of these shifting views and perceptions, whether they are embodied in works of imaginative literature or advanced in scholarly works.

Context is as important to this study as it would be to any study of a single folklore text or item. The difference here is that the context is the Newfoundland historical, social, and political background, and it is this context which provides the continuum along and against which the literary tradition and folk tradition interact and influence each other. It is out of the responses by the verbal and the literate cultures to this contextual mix that the tenets of a regional mythology emerge, and once this regional mythology assumes the nature of its creators it becomes self-perpetuating at the folk, popular, and high cultural levels. This regional mythology is not to be seen as static, however, except when it is considered or presented synchronically in a particular text. Considered diachronically it comes to be seen as a constantly evolving embodiment of regional identity, to be accepted or challenged depending on the forces operating within the society at certain times. Of course, not all the elements within the society view transition in the same way. This is evident from the different literary responses considered in the later chapters of this study. Much of the literature of the 1920-1960 period is exploratory and descriptive, even documentary in its approach, although from 1949 onwards it begins to be more and more reactive to unfolding events. The literature which begins to emerge during the 1960s is more questioning and ambivalent, but its debt to the folk tradition continues to reflect the verbal/literate continuum.

The concluding argument is constructed around the theory that by the early 1970s the major disruptions which had marked Newfoundland's transition from a traditional to a modern society had taken place, and that the major effects of the transition were known. Since this was the case, the writers and artists who were involved in the cultural revival which followed responded to and co-opted the folk tradition into their artistic productions in ways which were very different from their predecessors, even though the folk tradition continued to be a major influence on the literary and other arts. A detailed examination, using the same approaches developed here, of the cultural activity of the 1970s and 1980s would undoubtedly validate these points. Such a study would benefit considerably from the developing critical apparatus for the study of Newfoundland literature which is beginning to catch up with the creative output. On the literary and critical front, at least, the future looks bright. This, however, is one of only a very few bright spots on the darkened backdrop that suggests the larger prospects for the Province's future.

Newfoundland is currently experiencing what is probably the greatest crisis in its mottled history. In stating this point I am not resorting to a blatant and sensationalistic form of journalistic overstatement. It will be recalled that early in this discussion the point was made that the history of Newfoundland is inextricably tied to the codfish. At this writing, however, cod stocks have been decimated to such a degree that fishermen in the Province are entering the third year of a total ban against catching the fish, and the catching of other species has been banned or severely limited as well. What will be

the final outcome of this latest blow in a long list of misfortunes that prompted Lord Salisbury's oft-cited quip describing Newfoundlanders as the "the sport of historic errors" is yet too soon to tell. It is also too soon to say whether the same forces which were called upon in the hard times of earlier days will sustain Newfoundlanders during the present crisis. What is fairly certain is that the regional mythology which has supported our vision of ourselves for so long—the vision of the hearty, handy, frugal, resourceful and hard-working survivor against all odds—will be sorely tested. Whether we survive as a viable society or not may well depend on how well we are able to remember, how much we have chosen to forget, and whether we can still give credence to the dictum which instructs us to "never say die 'till you're dead"—a sentiment with which Grampa Walcott, Saul Stone and a number of diverse fictional characters woven in part from the fabric of the folk tradition would agree.

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