INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI[®]

**Re-Articulating Canadian Popular Music through a Local Lens:
Examining “Great Big Sea” and Issues of Locality, Regionalism and Nationalism**

by

Sarah Janette Moore

Bachelor of Music, Memorial University

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

April 5, 2002

© 2002. Sarah Janette Moore

**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**385 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**385, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-72054-3

Canada

**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis**

**“Re-Articulating Canadian Popular Music through a Local Lens:
Examining “Great Big Sea” and Issues of Locality, Regionalism and Nationalism”**

submitted by Sarah Janette Moore, B. Mus.

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

Thesis Supervisor

**Acting Director
School of Canadian Studies**

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May, 2002

ABSTRACT

Historically, the definition of English-Canadian popular culture is problematic and the concept itself paradoxical because of its physical and cultural proximity to the tremendous influence of the United States. One solution to combat this influence of American popular culture may be to embrace and encourage “local” and “regional” Canadian sounds. Through the deliberate fostering of “local” expressions, the Canadian state can still promote national popular culture, while at the same time resisting the effects of globalization. Specifically, Canadian popular culture can challenge “Americanization” by employing local and regional Canadian identities that transcend global concepts of the “popular.” The popular music band Great Big Sea will provide a case study of Newfoundland popular music for an examination of regional and local expression. Their interpretation of folk tradition and music-making creates a distinct and positive regional identity for the province of Newfoundland, and can be utilized to further the theory of “national” popular music.

IN MEMORIAM

This thesis is dedicated to Natalie Luckyj, art historian, music lover, feminist, thesis supervisor and mentor, whose profound understanding, friendship and support was inspirational.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, to Great Big Sea, for bringing Newfoundland music to the rest of the world. The challenge of getting Newfoundland music played on Canadian radio was not easy, and you did it. Thank you to Melissa Hogan for permission to use the information on her "Rant and Roar" Great Big Sea website, by far the best fan-site on the Internet. Thank you to my mentors Stan McMullin and Elaine Keillor who encouraged my study on Newfoundland popular music. Thank you to Marje and Kerry for editing suggestions and for inspiration and delightful conversation on Newfoundland. Finally, to my parents James and Angela Moore for encouraging me, my brother Adam for humouring me, and my twin sister Susan for knowing me better than I do.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter One - Canadian Identity and “The National Sound”	6
1.1 Hegemonic Nationalism and United States Influence	9
1.2 Canadian Popular Culture	15
1.3 Theories of Canadian Identity in Popular Music	22
1.4 Definition of the “Local” and the “Regional”	23
1.5 Introduction to Newfoundland Popular Music	27
Chapter Two - Cultural Protectionism and Canadian Popular Music	29
2.1 The Theory of Cultural Imperialism	30
2.2 The Effects of Globalization	33
2.3 Canada’s Centennial and Cultural Protectionism	36
2.4 The Formation of the CRTC and CanCon	42
2.5 Emergence of the Golden Age of Canadian Music 1968-72	44
2.6 Canada’s Protectionist Policies post-1980	48
2.7 The Current Canadian Recording Industry	51
Chapter Three - Newfoundland Identity and Popular Music	63
3.1 Regionalist Theories	64
3.2 The Construction of a Newfoundland National Identity	68
3.3 The Nativist Movement in Newfoundland	72
3.4 Great Big Sea: A Case Study	76
3.5 The Newfoundland Recording Industry	84
Chapter Four - Great Big Sea and Newfoundland Identity	96
4.1 Intolerance and Disrespect towards Newfoundland Culture	97
4.2 Trad-Pop as Canadian National Music	101
4.3 Newfoundland Identity and the Music of Great Big Sea	105
4.4 An Analysis of “Recruiting Sargeant” and “Lukey” by Great Big Sea	111
4.5 Traditional Music-Making Mentality of Newfoundland Folk Musicians	121
4.6 Selling Newfoundland Music to Canada and the Rest of the World	123
Conclusion	127
Appendices	137
Works Cited	187

TABLES

Table One	120
“A Comparison of Three Versions of ‘Lukey’”	

APPENDICES

Appendix One	137
“Awards won by Great Big Sea”	

Appendix Two	139
“Great Big Sea’s Albums and Labels”	

Appendix Three	140
“Timeline of Newfoundland History”	

Appendix Four	143
“A Selection of Great Big Sea Lyrics containing Newfoundland References”	

Appendix Five	181
“Articles in the Popular Press featuring Great Big Sea”	

Introduction

The question of English-Canadian popular music and whether or not it can be defined in terms of sound, theoretical contexts and conceptual issues is long-standing. The task is daunting, and in order to define an English-Canadian sound, it is imperative to address the history of the popular music industry in Canada of the past fifty years. As Anglo-American popular culture is often regarded as the popular culture of choice, Canadian musicians therefore often measure their success by their ability to break into the predominantly American music industry. Because of this much larger and powerful industry, the commercial appeal of moving to the United States is obvious, and many Canadian musicians are moving south to further their career. As an onslaught of Canadian musicians leave the country to enhance their chances of success, the Canadian music industry is faced with several problems. How can it maintain its appeal to Canadian performers? And how can it promote a distinctly national identity when it is nationally recognized that Canadian performers are readily adopting a recognized "American" ideal?

The embracing of "local" and "regional" Canadian musicians may be one solution to combat the frequent exodus of Canadian musicians bound for the States. Through the deliberate fostering of the "local," the Canadian state could promote popular music and culture, resist the effects of cultural imperialism and encourage the Canadian music industry. Local and regional musics are a challenge to the internationalization of the Canadian popular music and cultural industries by creating and employing local and regional identities that transcend global concepts of the "popular."

Using a regional framework, this thesis will examine the Newfoundland band Great Big Sea in an attempt to reiterate the idea that the Canadian music industry can be defined and fostered by the local, which can maintain the individuality of the Canadian music industry in a way that more “mainstream” Anglo-Americanized music cannot. Although it is widely accepted that the Canadian music industry hinders as much as it helps popular musicians, it is through the deliberate fostering of the “local” that Canada’s talent is supported. Many popular musicians perform in a “local” manner, and it is these musicians who are more likely to survive in the Canadian popular music industry, mostly because they are not trying to imitate an “American” sound.

In the case of perceived concepts of “regionalism” and “locality,” the province of Newfoundland and Labrador may be examined as having a significantly “unique” cultural identity. This unique identity is recognized by both native Newfoundlanders, and by non-islanders. For the purposes of this thesis, the concept of “regional” will be determined by the boundaries of provincial Newfoundland and may be further theorized as particular characteristics and attributes of Newfoundland popular music. For the purposes of this discussion “Newfoundland music” is the music created on the island portion of the province. Music created in Labrador, and non-English language popular music are beyond the scope of this work, and thus, are not included. In terms of culture, I conceptualize the “local” to mean one that has developed and will develop, regardless of state support, recognition and global influence. In this sense, the concept of “locality” can be applied to Newfoundland music. Locality can be theorized as a separate culture, and Newfoundlanders recognize that it has developed and will develop, regardless of state support, recognition and global influence.

In reference to Newfoundland musical culture, a case study of the music of the band Great Big Sea will be examined. Commonly categorized as a “trad-rock” or “trad-pop” band, these terms imply that the music of Great Big Sea, while included in the pop or rock genres, are also grounded in the traditional aspects of folk music. The band promotes their distinctive Newfoundland identity through interviews, performances, and finally through their music. Lyric familiarity (such as Newfoundland place names, phrases and words indigenous to the province, as well as dialect) and the use of popular folk instruments (such as the accordion, harmonica, fiddle, tin whistle, bodhran, mandolin, bones, and bouzouki) provide a perceptible indigenous sound. It is this sound that may be examined in light of the national music industry as a sound that has, for the most part “escaped” mass culture appropriation.

While studying aspects of the local, however, it is important to remember that music created in Newfoundland cannot be entirely immune to mass mediated Canadian and American popular culture. Local radio stations do not play exclusively Newfoundland acts, and Newfoundland musicians and bands frequently travel off the island to explore other audiences. In the age of global technology, in fact, it may be considered remarkable that any Newfoundland music can retain any aspects of traditional “island culture.” Great Big Sea, which have achieved widespread critical acclaim and commercial success, will be examined as an anomaly in the sense that they have kept many of the original aspects of their music, the characteristic that made them successful in Newfoundland in the first place.

By using specific musical examples, it can be argued that Newfoundland popular music is a separate but equal genre in the multiplicity of Canadian popular music genres. I

will present the music of Great Big Sea as a case study for my examination of the “local” and “regional” and explore what role it has in the national and global music industry. By using various codes of “regionalism” and “nationalism,” I hope to better articulate a definition of “English-Canadian popular music” and the ways in which the preferred reading of the text may be modified.

In order to better examine the roles of regionalism and cultural imperialism in the texts outlined above, I will utilize an historical framework combined with popular discourse used in cultural studies. Newfoundland popular music will be considered in the framework of a “national” popular music, and English-Canadian popular music will be examined as “other” in the context of American cultural imperialism. Ideologies of “locality,” “regionalism,” “nationalism,” and “mainstream” will be the grounds for the examination of Canadian popular music.

The first chapter will consider the issue of Canadian identity and “The National Sound,” and will introduce the concept of hegemonic nationalism. The influence of the United States on Canadian popular culture will be examined, and the terms “local” and “regional” will be defined

The second chapter will establish how Canadian popular music emerged in the international, mainly American market. In the wake of Canada’s Centennial, cultural protectionist policies and state-formed agencies such as the CRTC (The Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission) put into affect “CanCon” (Canadian content) regulations which created a large demand for Canadian music. The Canadian music industry was significantly influenced by these policies, and effects on music production were vast.

The third chapter will be an examination of the Newfoundland popular music industry. The Newfoundland band Great Big Sea will provide the framework to examine a deliberate fostering of local identity. It will be argued that the local in turn maintains a “regional” and indeed “national” ideal of Canadian popular music. Newfoundlanders have a strong sense of place and locality, and the music created by Newfoundland bands such as Great Big Sea often emphasize the rich tradition of folk music in the province. A “Newfoundland identity” is inherent in their music and is further fostered by Newfoundland audiences who can appreciate the heritage referred to by the music and lyrics of Great Big Sea songs. In this chapter I will explore how a Newfoundland connection to “locality,” and how aural texts, as portrayed by the lyrics and music-making of Great Big Sea, may be perceived.

The final chapter will conclude that a preferred reading of the “national” would include the diversity of music as represented by the “local” and the “regional.” Newfoundland music must be considered in terms of the larger music industry in Canada, as well as internationally. By listening to Newfoundland popular music, listeners may create a new code of understanding for Canadian popular music, and can assume a better understanding and acceptance of the non-mainstream. Although Great Big Sea has created a national consciousness of Newfoundland popular music and has helped to foster local and regional “identity” through their music, perhaps most importantly, they have reclaimed Newfoundland culture and heritage as a positive entity, and placed it in the mainstream of the Canadian music industry. This accomplishment has ultimately fostered the theory that Canadian popular music must rely on its local and regional in order to maintain a cultural individuality in its own right.

Chapter One: Canadian Identity and “The National Sound”

The construction of nationalism in Canada has been a prominent meta-narrative since the rise of European immigration in the 19th century. The existence of competing nationalisms within the country has shaped the way Canadians have structured the concept of national identity and national Canadian culture. Yet, because a singular concrete national identity is considered one of the most influential of characteristics of identity formation, Canadians have been lost (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 215). Instead of searching for this unified national identity which, in most cases, does not exist, Canadians should use regionalist discourse as a defining characteristic of their nationalism. In this manner, concrete, distinct and positive regional identities, such as those presented by Newfoundland, are more suitable in the conceptualization of “nation.”

Benedict Anderson argues that “[A nation] is an imagined political community... imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 1991: 6). He further asserts that an imagined community “has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being” (Anderson 1991: 12). Anderson gives value to those “cultural systems” which may clarify and further define the concept of “imagined communities.” Cultural products of nationalism prove the love of a nation by a particular group but more importantly, “nationality,” “nation-ness” and “nationalism” are cultural artefacts of their own. In this manner, the concepts of “nation” and “culture” are

inextricably linked (Anderson 1991: 141). As Canada attempts to further define its culture, whether it be in forms of music, language, art, or mass media, constructions and interpretations of national identity are increasingly sought to help define English-Canadian popular culture.

In the past several decades the duality of two different dominant groups, English-Canada and French-Canada, as well as the concerns of other various cultural groups, have created numerous perceptions of “national identity” and a diverse mosaic of Canadian culture. British culture was viewed as the “natural” historical and cultural birthright of Canadians, which meant that English-Canadian culture was viewed as the dominant, hegemonic culture (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 215).¹ More recently, the concept of Canadian identity has become more complex due to counter-hegemonic challenges presented by minority cultures and groups rightfully demanding a claim to “national identity.” These various cultural groups have striven to protect their own space by constructing barriers generally not recognized by the dominant culture (Shepherd & Giles 1989: 123).

Yet, because the English-Canadian definition of nationalism remains the dominant discourse, the English-Canadian concept of what is “national” and what is “national culture” has taken precedence in the overall recognition of Canadian identity. Prior to the 1867 Centennial, English-Canadian national identity was mainly viewed as white, Christian, and British in heritage. This idea of “Canadianness” has been described as “hegemonic nationalism”: a discourse of national belongingness according to

¹ A concept introduced into Marxist cultural theory in the 1940s by Italian theorist Gramsci, hegemony is understood as the dominant ideology of a society which is achieved when ideals and beliefs of a dominant group are no longer questioned but taken for granted and assumed as natural. This invokes the question of how dominant ideologies are maintained, which according to Gramsci, happened in two ways: through the structure of social institutions and through popular consensus (Echard 2000: 7). Language and cultural

categorical assumptions that are socially constructed as meaningful in the formation of “nation” (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 220). Local, regional and distinct marginal identities, which are most often positioned in relation to English-Canadian nationalism, are perceived as “other” and, thus inferior (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 215-222).

Musicologists Shepherd and Giles argue that the concept of the “national” is much more likely to be “a veneer of Central English-Canadian economic and cultural interests – visited on the rest of the country... much in the manner of an afterthought” (Shepherd & Giles 1989: 116). Regardless of national statistics, the political strength of Central English Canada and the historical dynamics of the country have determined the English-Canadian identity to be the majority in the national composite. All too often regional and minority cultures are not included in the perceived concept of “national,” even though their identities are considered more tangible than the ambiguous English-Canadian identity.²

This thesis will examine the naturalized hegemonic discourse of English-Canadian nationalism in light of local and regional cultural social constructions of identity. But the scope of cultural and social construction of English-Canadian identity is still a source of constant perplexity. Although a movement to claim a definitive national identity has been initiated by some citizens, defining “Canadianness” is problematic for many reasons. Non-nationalists argue that there is difficulty in determining the factors

customs of the dominant group are paramount to its hegemonic position because of the way in which they unify citizens into a common “national” consciousness (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 217).

² Canada is officially English-French bilingual, but many other citizens speak their homeland or familial languages. Consequently, over 150 languages are spoken in Canada. As Duffett notes, “Full independence from Britain was officially gained as recently as 1982 when the British North American Act was replaced by Canada’s Act of Constitution. Six years earlier the separatist *Parti Québécois* won a majority vote from electors in Quebec. When the new national constitution arrived the province refused to ratify it. Since then,

that constitute unified “national” identity and that central English-Canadian culture only represents the country in a limited manner. Furthermore, factors such as increasing globalization challenge the very existence of a unified Canadian identity. The left-wing writer and critic Rick Salutin explains:

[Canadians] lack a language that is uniquely our own, a long history, folklore, or myths... [but] one thing we have counted on in their place is a set of socially constructed institutions: the railroad, the CBC, our network of social programs, maybe the post office. These are real, not mythical entities, but they serve a reassuring function. They not only deliver TV shows, pension cheques, or the mail – they give us a sense of cohesive society (Salutin 1995: 40).

This unique dialectic has been debated in Canada for some time. There is a general acceptance of the juxtaposition of these two distinct arguments: one argument is that Canadian national identity is a construct that can be adequately defined according to concrete or abstract qualities as interpreted by citizens of the country. The other argument presented is that national identity cannot be defined by any manner.

1.1 Hegemonic Nationalism and United States Influence

One way an identity is constructed is in relation to the “other.” By defining themselves negatively in relation to other identities (most commonly British, French or American), Canadians have constructed an identity of what they are. In the opinion of Marshall McLuhan, Canada is the only country in the world that knows how to live without an identity (Kostash 2000: 323). Canadians are used to defining themselves in opposition to “other” and furthermore, are able to conceptualize a nation that relies on other identities in order to define itself. In *A Nation Unaware* economic historian Hershel

although the opinion of Quebec’s electorate has varied, provincial politicians have pressed for it to be recognized as a “distinct society” (Duffett 2000: 10-11).

Hardin argues that the development and tension of three specific identities formed a shared national identity: Canada against the United States; English-Canada as against French-Canada; and the regions as against the centre (Collins 1990: 125).³ John Ralston Saul asserts that tension has increased in reaction to the sense of powerlessness before globalization, especially in regards to the United States (US). Anglophones in particular have been required to “go on existing when there is a great empire next door using the same language” (Saul 1997: 441).

Although the absence of “American” characteristics has been widely acknowledged in the formulation of a concrete Canadian national identity, the construction of Canadian identity is also firmly rooted in two distinct cultural histories: English and French Canada. It is frequently debated that English-Canada has a distinct experience of absence because it does not have an integrating culture in the way that Quebec, or other “regional” nations have (Collins 1990: 125). In this regard, there is still the underlying message that in comparison to Quebec, understood to have a separate language and culture, English-Canada is not a distinct society. Therefore, for Canada’s majority language group, hegemonic nationalism is constructed by negation.

Identity building in Canadian culture is not only fostered through the existence of fundamental relationships between Canada and the US, and the local versus the national, but also through the deliberate promotion of specific symbols in the arts as a part of protecting Canadian culture. Literature, art, music and film frequently cite “Canadian” characteristics as furthering the sense of a national identity. A sense of moral and social superiority and justice, historically named Canadian locales, events and personalities are

³ See, for example, Hershel Hardin, *A Nation Unaware*, Vancouver: Douglas, 1974.

valued and read as national symbols because they are entities that are recognizable to the general Canadian public. Through the promotion of Canadian cultural genres, frequently utilized symbols have become valorized to represent an identity that is readily accessible and recognizable to the core of Canadian citizens, therefore becoming, in the process, part of a formed “national” identity.

As a result, the concept of a distinct Canadian popular culture is complex. Popular culture has become even more confusing by way of the two distinct “national” camps of North America: Canada and the US. While some Canadians have shown ambivalence towards the consumption of American mass media, questions abound as to whether one can even define cultural identity by concepts as simple as citizenship, or the locale of the created cultural product. The discourse of identity politics leads to the question of how national identity is perceived in relationship to popular culture in the first place.

The United States is seen as the greatest threat to the future development of Canada’s culture and distinct identity. Canada has been particularly susceptible because of the shared language and border of the two nations, and because the two nations share “the common experience of North American life” (Litt 1991: 378). With the development of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement of 1989, Canadians have been able to accept American national culture without so much as a second thought. At best, Canadians have only been timidly opposed to the intrusion of American mass media and this passive reaction has sent a signal of acceptance to the pervasive US. Canadians are typically voracious consumers of American popular culture, simply because of the overabundance of American mass media, which is quickly identifiable and largely

accessible to Canadian citizens. Because Canada has been penetrated with American mass media from all angles, Canadians continue to consume this hegemonic American popular culture without question because it is the culture that is most familiar.

Since the Canadian government became aware of the United States' increasing influence on Canadian identity, the field of popular culture has been one of its special concerns. It was politically necessary for the federal government to appear capable in the face of encroaching Americanization. Hence, the Canadian government was forced to take a stance, one of promotion and protectionism towards Canadian culture.

One method of constructing Canadian identity has been to recognize that even with a high consumption of American cultural product those same cultural products have been re-appropriated by Canadian citizens to serve a local function. As historian Frank E. Manning observed, even as Canadians widely import and consume global culture, they consume that culture in a distinct manner from their American counterparts.

Canadians import and eagerly consume American cultural products but reconstitute and recontextualize them in ways representative of what consciously, albeit ambivalently, distinguishes Canada from its powerful neighbour: state capitalism, social democracy, middle-class morality, regional identities, official multiculturalism, the True North, the parliamentary system, institutionalized compromise, international neutrality and so on. The result is a made-in-Canada popular culture, played primarily to Canadian audiences, but exported to the United States in ways that complete an ironic pattern of reciprocity (Manning 1990: 8).

Still, the ambivalence towards American popular culture is not a unified sentiment. Many Canadians feel that Canadian culture is intrinsically different, and that certain qualities are definitively "Canadian" by being "non-American." These qualities and characteristics have formed a national concept of cultural difference. Canadians are

viewed as kinder, gentler, passive and rural whereas Americans are often categorically perceived to be aggressive, racist and more industrialized. A recent survey done by Multi Health Systems Inc. of Toronto noted differences between Canadians and Americans are numerous, and confirmed that in general, Canadians are more trusting, accepting and open to change than their North American counterparts (Kostash 2000: 285).⁴

As such, Canadians have been eager to promote the moral and social superiority of Canada in contrast to the “cultural sterility and vulgarity” of the United States. Although the US is as much a multicultural nation as Canada, Canadians are quick to encourage and promote a stance of diversity and multiculturalism. Even though the majority of Canadian inhabitants are British in genealogical origin (forty percent), twenty-five percent are from French origin, and four percent are First Nation peoples. The rest of Canada is made up of citizens from numerous other countries (Duffett 2000: 10). Referred to as the Canadian “mosaic,” multiculturalism is used as a symbol of resistance against the American “melting pot” (Manning 1990: 6), and is promoted by the federal government as a positive development towards the country’s cultural growth. Multiculturalism is encouraged as a construct of Canadian identity because the pluralism of different languages and cultures solves the problem of searching for an all-encompassing “Canadian identity.” Accordingly, multiculturalism contradicts the theory of hegemonic nationalism as it defeats the premise of a unified “Canadian identity.”

⁴ Published in the National Post as “Canadians vs. Americans: One of Us is Livelier, Warmer and more Stable. Guess Which?” *National Post*, 12 April 1999.

It has been argued that Canadian identity is dependent on the existence, and indeed, difference of Canada's numerous ethnic and regional cultures.⁵ The existence and promotion of multiple cultures distinguishes and protects Canada from mass Americanization, and multiculturalism has been recognized as the key to the concept that there is not one Canadian culture, but many. Lee and Cardinal note that it may be "futile to envision a future without nationalisms or to consider shedding one's constructed national identity in order to put on a new one" (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 236). Minority cultures may have to embrace the cultural construction of national identity whilst becoming more aware of their own hegemonic aspirations, because at the core of identity construction is the acknowledgment that Canadian citizens indeed hold multiple national identities. By recognizing the multiplicity of "gendered, ethnicized, linguicized and racialized categories," the historically traditional "British identity" of Canada may be severed (Lee & Cardinal 1998: 237), and hegemonic nationalism, which is destructive for local and indigenous cultural production, can be restricted.

Because of the numerous standing arguments that both promote and deny the existence of a national identity, there is a dilemma of Canadian nationalism. Shepherd and Giles note that the formation of popular musics in the US is

...a history of the movement of the local, the rural and the ethnic to the national, the urban and the mainstream...
[Whereas] the history of the development of mass mediated Canadian popular musics has been one of articulation to the mainstream with scant references to the indigenous and the local (Shepherd and Giles 1989: 124).

⁵ See, for example, Bernard Ostry, *The Cultural Connection: an Essay on Culture and Government Policy in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland, 1978.

In *Nationalism Without Walls* (1995), Richard Gwyn maintains that instead of comparing themselves with and against Americans, Canadians should perceive themselves as the “other” North Americans (Kostash 2000: 285). By demonstrating a strident opposition toward the pervasion of American mass culture and equally, a determined protectionism of their own “national” identity, Canadians can understand themselves as completely separate in the North American cultural sphere (Manning 1990: 4).

Instead of searching to place themselves within a particular “shared” national identity, this thesis will argue in support of the position that Canadians should understand themselves as part of a larger North American discourse that includes regional and local identities. By adopting the existing construct of English-Canadian national identity as hegemonic, and definitive, and by celebrating its regional and local manifestations Canadians can adopt the concept of “other” as a positive construct in the building of national identity.

1.2 Canadian Popular Culture

The general definition of popular culture explains that a preferred culture is made popular by widespread transmission, promotion and mass consumption. The word “popular” is contestable, meaning simply “for or of the people” or, when used as an adjective, it may indicate a commonly liked product, approved of by a large audience. With respect to contemporary mass media, certain television programs, music records, books and magazines are all widely dispersed for mass consumption. Ratings, surveys and sales figures note the degrees of popularity of mass media. What is considered popular is often seen as what is commercially viable. In this manner, the concept of

popular is equated with the concept of the commercial, because the commercial market is an inescapable feature of popular culture (Shuker 1994: 3).

In the case of Canadian popular culture, the influence of state and nationalist attitudes, theories of cultural imperialism and the prevalent protectionist attitudes against American popular culture make the very concept and definition of Canadian popular culture more complicated. Because many Canadian musicians have been strongly influenced by American culture, the consequent lack of a distinctive Canadian popular culture has also been noted.

Blue Rodeo's [Greg] Keelor explained his frustration as a kid watching television's *Captain Kangaroo*, a program filled with American references. Said Keelor, 'I'd ask my mother why I didn't swear the pledge of allegiance' and she'd say 'Because you're Canadian.' 'What's that?' said Keelor, in a child's voice. 'We're not sure,' replied [Jim] Cuddy, imitating Keelor's mother (Duffett 1993: 39).⁶

It was the increasingly political atmosphere of the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, that fundamentally affected Canadian popular music. The period of 1968 to 1972, in particular, was a high point in the emergence of a distinctive Canadian popular music, most often identified by its frequent use of political commentary. It coincided with a movement of heightened Canadian nationalism, marked by the 1967 Centennial celebrations and a renewed state cultural policy that outlined culture-building initiatives. For example, prior to the formation of the CRTC (Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications) in January of 1970, the Canadian popular music industry had been virtually eclipsed by the American market and the Canadian government had barely ventured, let alone intervened into the commercial sphere. Up to this point, Canada was

typically ambivalent in its support of local popular culture because it was not recognized that local culture could be used to construct national identity.

The emergence of a distinctive “Canadianness” in popular music became increasingly evident. As underlying nationalist theories and culture-building initiatives increased in the late 60s, the emergence of a distinctive Canadianness in popular music was manifested. The “Canadian” sound that culminated was described as nationalistic, blatantly anti-American, and ambivalent towards politics and the state. Canadian popular musicians expressed relief in the “sanity” of Canada, and disgust at many of the occurrences of the United States. Patriotic songs emerged from all genres of Canadian music, and popular songs such as Neil Young’s “Helpless” and Gordon Lightfoot’s “Canadian Railroad Trilogy” (both of which express an articulate and explicit reference to “Canadianness”) closely mirrored a general appreciation of the country that continued the celebration of the Centennial. A noticeable compositional trend occurred in which the country’s natural beauty, simplicity and non-violence was exemplified.⁷

The Canadian government began to recognize that popular music could in fact support the building of a national culture, and in turn counteract the increasing Americanization of the state. As this occurred, believers of cultural imperialism suggested the deliberate promotion of national identity projects. This, combined with certain restrictions upon media imports would foster a national identity. The protectionist and nationalistic agenda of the CRTC encouraged Canadian musicians to include more “Canadian” content in their songs, instead of responding to the politics and

⁶ Greg Keelor, quoted in Nicholas Jennings, “Urban Cowboys” *Maclean’s* 102, no. 16, 17 April 1989, p. 59.

⁷ See Robert Wright “Dream, Comfort, Memory, Despair: Canadian Popular Musicians and the Dilemma

occurrences of the US. Whether or not because of the government's promotion of national identity, popular songs emerged that had a named locale or specific Canadian iconography evident in the lyrics. Features of these songs included a connection to rural life and physical space, and a resistance to the cultural noise of America. At the same time, however, themes of Canadian popular music also included specific American events, an anti-war mentality, and the position of both the insider and outsider as maintained by the Canadian musician.

Nonetheless, it is misleading to automatically assume that Canadian musicians embrace and support Canadian cultural nationalism in their work. Although Canada prides itself on its cultural and regional diversity, it is debatable by how much national cultural policy initiatives actually defined the representation of "Canadianness" in these songs. Regardless of the existence of various theories, there are some elements of Canadian popular music that indubitably embody a particular sound. The music contains components of introspection, protest, anti-Americanism, references to Canadian geography or landscape images, as well as lyrics that identify Canadian iconography, qualities, values or icons of popular culture. The popular music produced in the country has often contained elements of folk music with an emphasis on a rural, acoustic and non-synthesized sound. There is often an inherent feeling of space, and a specific sense of "place" (Keillor 1998: 325). Albeit unintentionally, these qualities created a particular compositional style of Canadian popular music that embodied nationalism. The lyrics to Murray McLauchlan's "Farmer's Song" embody this "Canadian sound" with specific references to rurality and space.

Example 1:1

Murray McLauchlan "Farmer's Song"

Dusty old farmer out working your fields
 Hanging down over your tractor wheels
 The sun beatin' down turns the red pain to orange
 And rusty old patches of steel
 There's no farmer songs on that car radio
 Just cowboys, truck drivers and pain
 Well this is my way to say thanks for the meal
 And I hope there's no shortage of rain

Straw hats and old dirty hankies
 Moppin' a face like a shoe
 Thanks for the meal here's a song that is real
 From a kid from the city to you

The combines gang up, take most of the bread
 Things just ain't like they used to be
 Though your kids are out after the American dream
 And they're workin' in big factories
 Now if I come on by, when you're out in the sun
 Can I wave at you just like a friend
 These days when everyone's taking so much
 There's somebody giving back in

Straw hats and old dirty hankies
 Moppin' a face like a shoe
 Thanks for the meal here's a song that is real
 From a kid from the city to you

One factor that helped to illustrate the feeling of Canadian space in popular music was the comparison of Canada with the United States. As Bruce Cockburn noted in

Saturday Night:

I think a lot of the songs that are being written are distinctively, if not obviously Canadian. Playing something close to American music but not of it. I think it has something to do with the space that isn't in American music... Space may be a misleading word because it is so vague in relation to music, but

maybe it has to do with Canadians being more involved with the space around them rather than trying to fill it up as Americans do. I mean physical space and how it makes you feel about yourself. Media clutter may follow. All of it a kind of greed. The more Canadians fill up their space the more they will be like the Americans. Perhaps because our urban landscapes are not yet deadly, and because they seem accidental to the whole expanse of land (Wright 1987: 35).⁸

Ironically, success in the United States was crucial for Canadian artists who felt that they were crippled by the lack of support of the Canadian music industry. The hegemonic American music industry had virtually pushed Canadian music to the commercial margins with the result that Canadian radio stations largely ignored Canadian songs and this made Canadian music production all but impossible. Most Canadian musicians felt it imperative to go south, to define their musical success by American terms.

Ultimately, the economic and commercial success of Canadian popular music in the 1970s owed much to the Canadian government's establishment of the CRTC, which ruled that thirty percent of all radio programming in Canada had to be "Canadian."⁹ The formation of these Canadian content regulations (CanCon) had an immediate impact on Canadian record companies which were formed and competed to sign new Canadian recording artists. The CanCon ruling opened the door for many Canadian musicians who

⁸ Bruce Cockburn, quoted in Myrna Kostash, "The Pure, Uncluttered Spaces of Bruce Cockburn," *Saturday Night*, (June 1972): 22.

⁹ A recording is considered to be CanCon by the CRTC if it has two of the following criteria: M (music) - the music is composed entirely by a Canadian; A (artist) - the music is, or lyrics are performed principally by a Canadian; P (production) - the musical selection is recorded wholly in Canada, or performed wholly and broadcast live in Canada; and L (lyrics) - the lyrics are written entirely by a Canadian. As of 2001, 35% of the sound recordings played on FM radio stations between 6 a.m. and midnight must qualify as "Canadian content" as defined by the MAPL system. The primary objectives of the MAPL system are both cultural and industrial: to encourage increased exposure of Canadian musical performers, lyricists and composers to Canadian audiences, and to strengthen the Canadian music industry, including both the creative and production components. *Canadian Content Rules* [essay on-line]; available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/culture/can-con/can_con.html; Internet: accessed 01 April 2001.

otherwise would have had difficulty promoting their music to radio stations who championed American-style music.¹⁰

Nationalistic themes in Canadian popular music did not stop in the early 1970s, however. Canadian aural expectations are left over from early songs of Cockburn, Lightfoot and Mitchell, which evoked a simple, rural Canadian idealism. “far removed from the problems to the south” (Rice 1995: 242). Today, many Canadian musicians often perceive themselves as more peaceful, subtle and distinctive than their American neighbours. Says Canadian rocker Donovan:

There’s something to be said for the type of people we are as Canadians. We’re more subtle. For example, I can’t imagine a band like KISS ever coming from Toronto. It just isn’t very Canadian to be that flamboyant, that bold. We don’t paint with those bright colours. Maybe sometimes that doesn’t translate. The Tragically Hip is an amazing band but their music has subtleties that pertain to us here and, as Canadians, we get them. We are a different people. Being Canadian has led to a certain autonomy because once we establish our roles we can get away with creating music that similar American artists wouldn’t be able to (Potter 1999: 176).

When the place an artist feels is “home” and that place is Canada, then the music is, by definition, Canadian. Yet “Canadianness” of any particular song is controversial because of the many inter- and intra-provincial musical differences in Canada. But because Canada embraces multiculturalism, in theory a definitive “Canadianness” is impossible.

Consequently, the definition of a national sound is still unclear. Much of the produced Canadian popular music has been based on an ultimately American model, imitated deliberately for success. The folk and folk-rock music of the late 60s and early 70s was a natural genre for the expression of Canadian nationalism and Canadian

¹⁰ See, for example, Ritchie Yorke, *Axes, Chops and Hot Licks: The Canadian Rock Music Scene*.

identity, because of the common association with rural space, wilderness and country life. The folk music genre, like the country music genre, spoke to an identity of vastness and simplicity. Much association was made in music, literature and art to the Canadian ideal of peace, of a life closely tied to nature. The folk and folk-rock song, which became increasingly popular and mainstream in Canada, represented this ideal with powerful Canadian imagery. The increased use of electric instruments, and percussion further defined some of the folk songs into more of a rock genre, which had a larger audience appeal and which was viewed as more "American." The rock genre would go on to sell more records, and unquestionably become more successful. Canadian popular music expanded to a more "global" popular sound, but lost some of its local roots in the process.

1.3 Theories of Canadian Identity in Popular Music

Some musicologists in Canada have noted with distress the lack of identity that Canadian popular music tends to exhibit. There is a widespread conception that "English-Canadian culture does not even have the advantage of being 'musically exotic.'" (Shepherd & Giles 1989: 115) and Berland points out that popular music from English-Canada cannot be immediately recognized, unless the listener already knows the source, "in which case recognition, and any emotional claim that might ensue, comes after the fact" (Berland 1988: 348). Although English-Canadian consumers may identify with local Canadian bands, it is questionable whether this identification speaks to a strong sense of locality that is national rather than urban (Shepherd & Giles 1989: 113).

However, these arguments are not conclusive. Whether Canadian culture can be identified as a unitary "national subject," and whether or not this is of any interest to

Canadian musicians and producers is a question musicologists Jody Berland and Paul Ruten have addressed in their work. Focusing on what she identifies as “the dilemma of Canadian nationalism” Berland acknowledges the tensions between regional and national identities in the context of the international music market (Berland 1988: 357). Ruten observes:

The concept of a local, popular music... refers to a dynamic cultural practice through which people living in a specific spatial context engage in the production and reproduction of popular music. This cultural practice encompasses musical composition, the playing of music and its live performance on stage, and getting music recording on phonograms [recordings], played on the radio, and finally into shops (Ruten 1991: 295).

Ruten argues that in regard to the international market, Canada is a country with a small phonogram market, with a small share of local music within the international turnover of local music (Ruten 1991: 300). Although this may be the case, the “local” of Canadian music is crucial to the survival of an indigenous sound because the “local” is what preserves Canada’s identity.

1.4 Definition of the “local” and the “regional”

Although English-Canadian culture has been plagued with a silence of frustration, absence and suppression from a formed dependency with the US, pluralism can still be identified in the Canadian popular music scene. Canadian popular music does not necessarily sound “American,” or fit into the mould of ambiguity that is so often noted. There is a multiplicity of popular sound that is not silenced or repressed by the American mass media, and which, in fact, thrives with its distinctness and difference. Shepherd and Giles argue that various cultural groups have protected their identity by constructing barriers that counters the dominant, hegemonic culture. In this way, local musical

cultures have become counter-hegemonic, and have escaped the influence of American mass media (Shepherd & Giles 1989: 123).

It is more beneficial to view Canada's popular music successes in terms of regionality as opposed to seeking a national communal sound, which is unlikely to occur. The regional performers and songwriters have more musical creativity to offer because they are more likely to focus on local, original musical resources instead of complying with international, or American, popular music standards, and deliberately imitating them for commercial success. The music created by local and regional performers rejects the banality of the commercial, American top-forty sound. In contrast, local music presents a rurality, directness and simplicity not present in the commercially-driven music destined for the American market. Qualities of the familiar and rural help Canadian artists to flourish in their prospective local markets because their predominant strength is the embracing of the "folk," or "local," which is based on the concept of rurality.¹¹ An embracing of the local and regional music scenes in Canada can be considered the answer to Northrop Frye's famous question "Where is here?"

Canadians regard their local culture as more authentic, traditional, and supportive of a distinctly "Canadian" identity, which fosters the production of local creativity and music (Shuker 1994: 60). By contrast, American popular music was founded upon the historical tradition of widespread consumption of popular songs by way of Tin Pan Alley, which promoted the emergence of a unified, commercial sound in popular music.¹² Such

¹¹ For elaboration on the concept of rurality, see Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference*. London: Routledge, 1999; and John Lehr, "As Canadian as possible... under the circumstances: regional myths, images of place and national identity in Canadian country music," *border/lines* 2 (1987): 16-19.

¹² See, for example, John Shepherd, *Tin Pan Alley*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982; and Roy Shuker, *Understanding Popular Music*. London: Routledge, 1994.

hegemony resulted in the elimination of the majority of any regional particularities in all but specialized distribution outlets (Brown 1991: 349). Canadian popular music, on the other hand, has not had an equal historical emergence in the popular music field.

Other factors are present when determining Canada's slow emergence into the popular music scene. Canada's geography has made it difficult for Canadian artists to promote and produce a profitable Canadian tour. As Duffett notes, Canada's provinces cover a collective area larger than the US, yet with only a tenth of the population. The urban centres, which would obviously sell the largest number of concert tickets, are few and far between. The benefits of touring in the US are obvious to Canadian performers, who have "historically been tempted to neglect a relatively unprofitable home audience" (Duffett 2000: 1). Since popular music is arguably one of the most marketable commodities in North America, understandably, many Canadian musicians want to break into the enterprising US commercial culture.

With many different conceptions of a "national culture," predictably, there are many concepts of "national" within the medium of Canadian popular music. Some Canadian songwriters vehemently deny the Canadian music industry by moving to the US and producing songs that have no aural representation of "Canadianness" whatsoever.

Yet other Canadian performers and songwriters disagree:

There *is* such a thing as a Canadian sound. Whether it is rock music with a folk sensibility to it or whether it be lyrics or a melody with some sort of familiarity to the feel of it...The canvas of Canadian music will get larger and more eclectic. I don't see any one single direction," notes 54-40's Brad Merritt (Potter 1999: 189).

However, as mass communications expert Martin Laba points out, theories of cultural identity must also be assessed on a global scale. Limiting a conception of culture to a particular national boundary is unreasonable because of the sheer impact of globalization. "The sheer density of transnational encounters and exchanges... has meant the emergence of global musical, and other cultural forms that defy notions of culture" (Laba 1996: 81). In the case of Canada, analysts like Laba have argued that popular culture can be understood only in global terms.

Notwithstanding Canadian-content regulations guiding production and airplay, the amount of music of Canadian origin cannot be regarded simply as a feature that sustains cultural identity. And the amount of foreign music available and sold in Canada is not automatically a demonstration of a subversion or erosion of cultural identity and values (Laba 1996: 82).

In whichever way that Canadian popular music is analysed, it is crucial to recognize that the music is inherently Canadian by virtue of its being, as defined by the MAPL system. Furthermore, to acknowledge the perception of "nationalism" within the medium, we must question whether a Canadian sound even needs to be supported by aural concepts such as a bare, acoustic sound and an inherent sense of place. Perceived national cultural identity within a medium such as popular music is controversial, because of its many different individual, local and regional faces. The "Canadian" sound cannot be defined because the only way it has been described is by comparing it to what it is not.

The Canadian music industry can be fostered and defined by "the local," which concurrently promotes a specifically Canadian identity. Instead of comparing Canadian popular music to the music of the United States, this thesis will argue that an analysis of regional sounds in the Canadian popular music sphere provides a more substantive way of

defining the concept of a “national” sound. Music created in a local sphere contributes not only to a provincial, or regional identity, but also to the national identity of the country. I will argue that the prevalence of American mass media only guarantees autonomy to local music cultures, which seem fresh, unique, non-standardized, in comparison to the commercialized American popular music that is of the present top-forty format. This will encourage Canadian audiences to identify with popular music created in Canada, regardless of the region in which it was created.

1.5 Introduction to Newfoundland Popular Music

A case study of Newfoundland popular music will employ concepts of locality and identity, and will demonstrate how applying these concepts will help to re-define the traditional boundaries that have been applied towards the concept of Canadian popular music. Local music has a large role in the national sphere, and it is the individuality of the local and regional that should be promoted in the wholeness of the national. Although musicologist Rutten states that in a global sense “the withering away of a vital cultural practice [the local] is slowly disappearing” (Rutten 1991: 301), local music produced in Canada is a different manner. The local, and thus, local identity should not be seen as a stepping ground for further success in the national scheme, but instead as a deliberate furthering of national identity.

The construction of a local or regional identity begins with an awareness of a shared past within a specific, distinctive location. Notably the sense of “local” identity in Newfoundland is increased because the feeling of individuality has been constructed in response to political and economic realities that have defined the local shared experience of its public.

Because the concept of identity is always constructed in reference to others, Newfoundland's cultural and social identity is often measured against "the rest of Canada." The province is perceived as marginalized against the relatively fixed identity of the "mainland." Therefore, Newfoundland local identity is often perceived as what it is not, resulting in a marginal status.

One ideal example of a regional band that has overcome the challenge of breaking into the Canadian music industry is the Newfoundland band Great Big Sea. Great Big Sea has become accepted in both the national and international popular music scenes and has not only promoted a local, Newfoundland identity and a regional, Atlantic Canadian identity, but also a specifically national Canadian identity. Widely recognized as the most successful band to emerge from Newfoundland's popular music scene, Great Big Sea has represented Newfoundland to the rest of the country, and their music has embraced a local identity that is recognized and celebrated by Newfoundlanders and Canadians alike.

Chapter Two: Cultural Protectionism and Canadian Popular Music

In the wake of Canada's Centennial in 1967, cultural protectionist policies and state-formed agencies such as the CRTC conceived policies that would benefit the Canadian recording industry. Canadian content regulations and broadcasting quotas created a large demand for Canadian popular music when the industry needed it most. A lack of popular music distributors and existing recordings was frustrating to the many Canadian popular musicians who remained and were affected by the increasing globalization of the American recording industry. The Canadian music industry was in need of protectionist policies that would maintain a national sense of security in the recording sector. Policy analysts and government officials pursued a "national sound," but this was unrealistic considering the geographical expanse of the country, different ethnic groups all performing and producing popular music, and the multiplicity of regional "sounds." Yet, despite these factors, it was crucial for Canada to take an active stance in protectionism towards its indigenous culture in order to negate growing Americanization.

To establish the context of how Newfoundland popular music emerged in the national recording industry, this chapter will examine the status of Canadian popular music after the Centennial. In turn, the Canadian popular music industry will be examined in terms of regional and local. The "regional" and "local" can, in fact, define and maintain the concept of the "national," and therefore combat mass-homogenization in the Canadian popular music industry. By encouraging distinct indigenous popular music and by promoting and embracing local musics, Canadian audiences will find the

elemental “Canadian sound” that they are looking for. As this case study of Great Big Sea will prove, the local can provide a definition of the national, and can counteract the perception that the global popular music industry is maintained only by the American mainstream.

2.1 The Theory of Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism has long influenced the production of popular music: its greatest perpetrator the United States has dominated and influenced consumption patterns of popular culture globally. However, before an analysis of popular music can be made, the evolution of the cultural imperialism theory must be considered. Imperialism was seen to have a cultural aspect whereby the transmission of certain products from dominant nations to a dependent market in a developing nation led to particular patterns of consumption. In this way, the local cultures of the developing nation inadvertently endorsed the cultural values and practices of the dominant nation (O’Sullivan 1983: 62).

The theory of cultural imperialism developed as a concept analogous to political and economic imperialism of the Third World by colonising powers in the 19th century, subsequently producing harmful effects on the colonised society (Shuker 1994: 62). Imported culture, mainly from the United States and Europe, developed an imperialistic role in the early 20th century because it was marketed to and consumed by smaller, poorer and less powerful nations and societies which were easily influenced and attracted to a foreign cultural product. Imported cultural product was often cheaper to buy than local product and was regarded as deleterious to the local, which often lacked insufficient funding, advertising and support.

Often because of monetary deficiencies, locally produced culture has been

regarded as being of lesser quality than the imported culture, which was, in general, lavishly packaged and generously produced. These factors led to low sales in local cultural markets and a soaring of consumption of imported culture. In particular, American media and culture has had an advantage because it has been able to generate a large income from the US domestic market to recover the costs of production, thus allowing them to sell their cultural products at enormous discounts in overseas markets (Tomlinson 1997: 129).

During a time when theoretical debates have arisen over the elemental significance of imported culture, it has been widely acknowledged that Anglo-American popular culture is the single most dominant culture in the world, ultimately affecting the production of indigenous products created in other, non-American nations. The theory of cultural imperialism has been considered a “West over the Rest” type of ideology, especially in the latter decades of the 20th century, when the malevolent effects of American cultural imports were the most obvious to non-Western nations (Tomlinson 1997: 123). There is a deeply rooted fear of “Americanization,” as a phenomenon which results in a global cultural takeover by American products. This has been recognized alongside the anxiety over globalization and the often tense relationship between “first” and “third” world nations. The cultural imperialism thesis became part of the academic vernacular in the 1960s and 1970s during a series of debates in the United Nations and its cultural affairs agency, UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Tomlinson 1997: 123).

In the context of Canadian studies, the dominance of American over Canadian culture is complex and controversial. Canadian indigenous product is inevitably affected

because of the close proximity of the two nations and the relationship of free trade between Canada and the US. The United States' position towards cultural trade is hardly one of tolerance, and their attitude towards the film and magazine publishing industries has been parsimonious. The US had achieved almost a monolithic dominance in the film industry, and did not want the competition of a Canadian film industry.¹³ In regards to the music industry, American popular music is a threat with the four dominant recording companies (AOL-Time/Warner, Universal, BMG and Sony) which are largely American based. Their popular culture continues to be a threat because it can automatically penetrate the border electronically through radio airwaves, television programs and Internet downloads, which further influence the Canadian music industry.

The widespread consumption of American culture by Canada has led to the rampant belief that American product is somehow better than the Canadian counterpart. John Tomlinson, a cultural historian and academic, argues that the increasing emergence of American product in international countries is a kind of "cultural dumping" (Tomlinson 1998: 129). Cultural dumping has widespread implications in the Canadian cultural sphere because American cultural product is easily accessible, and is so regularly consumed that it is considered the decisive popular culture of North America. Thus, local Canadian product, such as popular music produced in Newfoundland, often does not have a chance at succeeding in international markets unless it is constructed in a way that makes it less "local," and more "American."

In order to counteract American cultural penetration, opponents of cultural

¹³ For further information on this issue, see Joyce Nelson "Losing it in the Lobby: On Entertainment and Free Trade," *This Magazine* (October/November 1986): 14-23 and *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, ed. Michael Dorland, Toronto: James Lorimer and Co, 1986.

imperialism such as Shuker suggest the deliberate promotion of national identity projects with the objective of placing certain restrictions upon media imports. Upholding that local culture is more authentic, traditional and supportive of a distinctive national identity, some believe that one solution is the deliberate fostering of the local cultural identities, including popular music. In the case of Canada, the entirety of the nation's cultural products can be viewed in a "local" sphere. However, to further complicate the argument the cultural imperialism theory is formulated on the concept of "national" as a given, which is irrational. Instead, this thesis will argue that there are many perceptions of "local" and "regional" in Canada, making, therefore, numerous perceptions of the "national" (Shuker 1994: 60).

2.2 The Effects of Globalization

The theory of cultural imperialism originated in the late 1960's and was the beginning of a consciousness of globalization in the cultural sphere (Friedman 1994: 195). The main argument of cultural imperialism is that particular dominant cultures threaten the existence of more vulnerable local cultures in the global sphere. However, the theory is ambiguous because it does not always state which cultures are in question (Tomlinson 1997: 80). Can we assume that the overwhelming effects of cultural imperialism are as extensive for every local culture? Are the effects of the core "Western" culture so profound that global peripheral cultures cannot possibly maintain local culture in any cultural sphere? This seems unlikely, as cultural preservation and protectionist measures are increasingly formed. The local can never be completely extinguished because of indigenous factors such as geography, climate and social construction. Protectionist actions as taken by the government prove that the local can

survive, as is the case in Newfoundland, where the arts are supported as valid and crucial to identity formation.¹⁴

Because of its contradictory and somewhat indeterminate nature, the theory of cultural imperialism has been heavily criticized in the past decade.¹⁵ The central discourse assumes a dispersion of American cultural essence, but this is deceptive because global homogenization is not occurring. This thesis will argue that there are still local cultures that have maintained their own individuality and distinctness, as past and present Newfoundland culture demonstrates. Local culture can be maintained and can, in fact, thrive in the national scheme.

From the primary discourse of cultural imperialism evolves the theory of globalization, an increasingly relevant ideology that has become part of the standard vocabulary for cultural and other academic arenas. The undeniable diffusion of Western, particularly American cultural product and the centrality of capitalist sentiment in global cultural trade became the roots of globalization theories, and cultural imperialism became crucial in focusing the issues of global-local culture (Tomlinson 1997: 134). As Tomlinson explains, globalization may be:

the installation worldwide of Western versions of basic social-cultural reality: the West's epistemological and ontological theories, its values, ethical systems, approaches to rationality, technical-scientific worldview, political culture and so on (Tomlinson 1997: 144).

He also argues that globalization can be examined as part of a greater "core-periphery" model in which both capitalist powers and interests coincide with the concerns

¹⁴ For further information on Newfoundland's stance towards cultural industries and protectionism see John Gushue "Evaluating the Cultural Economy of Newfoundland." *Atlantic Insight* 10, no.8 (August 1988): 11. Further explanation is also given in Chapters Two and Three.

of Western nations. Non-Western states are often lumped into the “Third World nations” category, which are kept on the periphery of the central cultural production (Tomlinson 1997: 140).

The effects of globalization can be used to further examine popular music studies at the international, national, local and grassroots spheres. The interconnections between globalization, media, the local and the national have been documented by Peter Manuel in *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*. In his study, Manuel argued that the advent of the cassette made possible the break-down of the monolithic central cultural production and he has suggested that further media developments are accelerating that process (Manuel 1993: 262). Satellite dishes, the Internet and wireless communication affect nation states, and on an economic level, the Western world is especially reliant on these innovations. The overall effects of electronic media are tremendous, notably because wireless communications can penetrate any national border regardless of national protectionist measures. This makes the protection of any national culture difficult to argue as a valid endeavour and even harder to implement (Tomlinson 1997: 132-3). In the arena of popular music, wireless Internet programs such as “Napster” and “Morpheus” have allowed the piracy of music downloads, making the protection of any popular music close to impossible.

The globalization factor can lend itself to a cultural examination of Canada and the United States. Historically, Canada’s southern neighbour has overshadowed Canada, and the dominant cultural institutions have spread extensively northward. In regards to popular culture two simultaneous events are occurring: Canadians are conjointly

¹⁵ Fejes. Tomlinson and Tunstall present a criticism of cultural imperialism in multiple texts.

dependent on the United States for consumption of American cultural industries and mass media, and there is a move to protect Canada from the very culture they are consuming.

Americanization of global culture continues to be a major concern for developing or vulnerable nations, including Canada. Of grave concern is the kind of culture that is being disseminated from the United States, widely regarded as “commercialized media products containing the ethos and values of corporate capitalism and consumerism” (Tomlinson 1997: 125). As global culture becomes increasingly Americanized, the consciousness of Canadian national culture arises. Canadians who fear losing their cultural autonomy are proposing cultural protectionism as a means of cultural preservation from foreign nation influences (127).

Notably, however, globalization has, in some ways, led to a strengthening of the local within nation-states. Stuart Hall theorizes that

Paradoxically, globalization... [is] less the revival of the stable identities of ‘locally settled communities’ of the past, and more that tricky version of the ‘the local’ which operates within, and has been thoroughly reshaped by, ‘the global’ and operates largely within its logic (Hall 1999: 37).

In chapter three Newfoundland culture will be examined as a local society that, although influenced in some ways by globalization, continues to operate very much within itself as an autonomous cultural society.

2.3 Canada’s Centennial and Cultural Protectionism

As national cultural protectionism arises, the legitimacy of state intervention in cultural practices is questioned, notably because the principal concern of state intervention is how and why the government will speak for a country in specific cultural arenas. Other concerns about protectionist thought include the formulation of cultural

restriction policies and the implications of a threatened homogenous national culture by the nation-state (Tomlinson 1991: 11ff).

In order to examine interventionist approaches by the Canadian government towards the music industry, it is necessary to understand Canada's historical cultural marginality in the global sphere. Government policy reports such as the Aird (1929), the Massey-Lévesque (1949-51), and the Fowler (1956-7) Commissions cited the promotion of Canadian identity as its main goal, notably because of the increasing effects of Americanization on Canadian culture. In the years immediately preceding and following Canada's Centennial, nationalistic and protectionist thought abounded, and "solutions" to the problem of Americanization were constructed through the deliberate promotion of Canadian identity.

In the post-World War II (WWII) period Canadian nationalism was at a peak: the country was constitutionally independent, and prominent in the international sphere. Canadians saw themselves as "graduating from British tutelage and establishing an identity of their own" (Litt 1991: 376). At the same time, however, there was an elemental national fear that the weakening of the British connection would be countered by influence from the global superpower, the United States. This fear was especially prominent in Newfoundland, which was under British rule until 1949, when the island voted for responsible government. Newfoundlanders and Canadians alike were doubtful about the increasingly powerful US: on the one hand the country offered itself as a strong political ally, but on the other, the US was increasingly overshadowing all aspects of Canadian political, cultural and social life (Litt 1991: 376).

In 1949, Prime Minister Louis Saint-Laurent commissioned a general survey in

order to inform citizens of “national interest” in the cultural fields of Canada (Gasher 1997: 18). The Massey-Lévesque Commission advocated the federal government’s appropriation of the cultural sphere in the name of national interest, and made recommendations that would create a “national identity.” This identity would encounter the increasingly excessive commercialization and Americanization of the nation’s culture.

Following the Second World War, in direct relation to a blatant fear of Americanization the Massey-Lévesque Commission was central towards the development and conveyance of the nation’s desire for a unified Canadian identity. Cultural organizations that presented to the Massey Commission such as the Vancouver and Mainland Branch of the Canadian Authors’ Association constantly blamed the predominant American culture for Canada’s problems in developing its own culture:

For years we Canadians have been flooded with American moving pictures. American radio programs. American magazines. American books. Something should be done before the Canadian viewpoint is lost entirely. We have become unsure of anything Canadian in concept, just because it is Canadian and therefore unheralded and unknown (National Archives of Canada, RG 33 28, RCNDALS, Vol. 9:104, 1).¹⁶

The United States was perceived as the single greatest threat to English-Canadian national unity because of three major factors: a common language, the shared experience of North American life, and a common border near which the majority of Canada’s population lived (Litt 1991: 378).

The Massey-Lévesque recommendations were suffused with the commonly held ideas of what was not popular music. With the exception of the CBC, the government

¹⁶ As noted by Paul Litt in “The Massey Commission, Americanization, and Canadian Cultural Nationalism”. *Queen’s Quarterly* 98, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 377.

had unabashedly supported “high” culture and ignored popular or “low” culture.¹⁷ The idealist tradition of culture as a realm separate from material production was obvious: “high” culture was regarded by many as conservative, was identified with the *élite*, and was constructed and produced not for the purpose of commercial success, but for its inherent value as art. Low or popular culture was seen as commercial, inauthentic and unworthy of government support. This was consistent with the predominant governmental attitudes that usually reflected a traditionally conservative view of culture.

The cultural *élite* who created and presented to the Massey Commission identified national culture with high culture.¹⁸ Among the suggestions that were made to the federal government was the proposal to form a government subsidization of a Canadian cultural establishment, entitled the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences. This agency would subsidize projects by Canadian artists and scholars, and at the same time, would indirectly offset the market dominance of American popular culture (Litt 1991: 379-385).

Perhaps most importantly, the Massey report stressed that cultural policy be made a serious concern of the federal government (Litt 1991: 375). As Shuker explains, state cultural policies are often indicative of the various views held about the very concept of culture itself (Shuker 1994: 53). In the case of Canada, the role of the State was to foster national cultural identity while combating the commercialization of American mass culture. The Massey Commission believed that the US was “the source of all of that was

¹⁷ The CBC must be singled out for nourishing a range of musicians, not just musicians from the classical field.

¹⁸ High vs. low culture is a contentious and complex issue, related to Canada’s historical past as a colony of Europe. A distinction arose in the publishing of music in Europe around 1800 for two different markets: one was deemed popular for the masses, while the other catered to provide music for the connoisseurs. For

tasteless and vulgar in modern life – from comic books and soap operas to radio commercials that harangued the listener...” (Litt 1991: 380). The very existence of popular culture was offensive to the Commission, and as a result, popular music was not emphasized or recommended to be a recipient of government subsidy.¹⁹

Prior to this time, the federal government had not taken many policy initiatives towards the cultural industries. The Massey Commission recommended that public broadcasting be extended from radio to television, and advised that cultural institutions that were not under state control were harmful to national identity (Gasher 1997: 19). It was thought that the privatization of any “cultural institution” would have likely shaped the Canadian way of life in a negative manner. If the federal government regulated Canadian cultural institutions, then the obvious outcome would be a control over the critical threat of Americanization. The Massey-Lévesque Commission’s coherent review of Canada’s position in the cultural international sphere was a stepping stone in the government’s future role in the cultural industries, including the blossoming popular music industry in the late 50s and early 60s.

Although the Massey-Lévesque Commission recommended that cultural agencies “function at arm’s length from government and spend their money to encourage but not direct culture” there was a general public wariness of state sponsored cultural nationalism and the implicit favouring of “high” culture (Litt 1991: 379). The concern of the cultural high/low dichotomy was apparent from a complaint made by J.S. McMahon to the

further information see Timothy Jones, *Beethoven: The ‘Moonlight’ and Other Sonatas, Op. 27 and Op. 31*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 6-10.

¹⁹ The reluctant acceptance of popular music, influenced by Black music genres such as ragtime and jazz, was often the result of both conscious and unconscious racial bias. See Philip Tagg, “Open Letter: ‘Black Music,’ ‘Afro-American Music,’ and ‘European Music.’” *Popular Music* 8, no. 3 (1989): 285-298.

Massey Commission:

I am an ordinary citizen and taxpayer. I have no culture and as I seldom listen to the CBC, I am afraid I will never have any. I feel that the trouble with the intellegenzia [sic] is that they are not willing to pay for their own pleasures. If a man enjoys football (which is a form of art) he is willing to pay \$2.00 per seat to see a game and support his team, but if a man, or woman, enjoys a symphony orchestra, he thinks it should be supported by the taxpayers (NAC, RCNDALS, Vol. 21: 264, 1-2).²⁰

Because American imported media established the international acceptance of popular culture, and in fact, formed the very definition of popular culture, forms and styles of popular culture from the United States, including music, were copied and adopted throughout the world. Anglo-American popular culture quickly became the internationally preferred culture (Shuker 1994: 61).

During the late 60s, debate arose over the elemental significance of imported culture. Although Canadian popular music was secondary in consumption to American popular music the Canadian government began to recognize that local music was more likely to support the building of a national culture. Therefore, in order to counteract Americanization, the government began to promote the local culture as more "authentic" and "traditional." Believers of cultural imperialism began to suggest the deliberate promotion of national identity projects, combined with certain restrictions upon media imports (Shuker 1994: 59). The government was to directly intervene in Canadian popular music for the first time. In the wake of the Centennial celebrations, the government recognized the potential for popular music to become a propaganda vehicle for the celebration of "national identity." Up until this point, the Canadian government

²⁰ As noted by Paul Litt in "The Massey Commission, Americanization, and Canadian Cultural

had little to no intervention in the commercial music sphere. Still, it was obvious that a combination of mass media and popular culture could reach a large audience.

paradoxically, the same audience that was concurrently consuming American popular cultural product.

However, Canada's early ideals for national music as an identity builder presupposed that listeners actually recognize and identify with specifically nationally performed or produced music. For the government to have these ideals meant that popular music was becoming an expression of national cultural politics, rather than a genre of art composed for its intrinsic value (Shuker 1994: 62). What was perhaps not realized by the federal government was that local Canadian products could not be directly equated with local or national cultural identity, and by that definition, popular music written by Canadians could not foster a particular national identity (Shuker 1994: 62-4).

2.4 The Formation of the CRTC and CanCon

Even with Commission recommendations and a demand for cultural policy initiatives, many Canadians were still very much ambivalent about the onslaught of Americanization of Canadian culture. The Canadian cultural environment was perceived with denial, indifference and disdain. Canadian musicians were plagued with the implicit recognition that it was imperative to go to the US in order to be commercially successful in the recording industry. Before the federal government employed protectionist measures of any kind, popular musicians were not guaranteed artistic or financial support from the recording industry in Canada: it was difficult to secure a recording contract and even then an artist was not guaranteed airtime by local radio stations that were very much

Nationalism." *Queen's Quarterly* 98, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 380.

influenced by the American Billboard charts.

Although the Canadian government became directly involved with several cultural industries in the early 1950s, it was hesitant to support the nation's burgeoning recording industry, likely because of its perceived lack of inherent cultural value and the fact that, according to Yorke, Canadian popular music "simply did not exist" (Yorke 1971: 1). Canadian popular music had been completely eclipsed by American broadcasting. Upon recommendations from the Massey-Lévesque Commission, the government was pressured to become directly involved in the cultural industries in order to consistently follow through with the efforts to build a strong national identity whilst protecting Canada from mass absorption into American popular culture. Although cultural policy initiatives such as the Massey-Lévesque report did not directly address popular music, there was an increasing demand for attention to the popular culture commercial spheres. As a result, the creation of the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) became the most important policy development for Canadian popular music.

Albeit an indirect initiative towards supporting popular music, the formation of the CRTC by the federal government in January 1970 would combat increasing Americanization and assimilation into the mass culture of the United States. In 1968, during a time when internationally, the popular music scene was exploding, Canadian music accounted for only four to seven percent of all music being played on Canadian radio (Filion 1996: 132). The creation of quota systems and broadcasting regulations would ultimately encourage Canadian popular musicians to produce music in what they deemed a barren national recording industry.

In 1971 the CRTC established Canadian-content quotas which required radio broadcasters to program a specified amount of "Canadian" recordings during airplay (Wright 1987: 27). A response to the under-representation of Canadian musicians on Canadian radio stations, the quotas required the broadcast of a minimum number of Canadian musical selections to be played during the day. In 1998 the minimum weekly requirement of Canadian content for English-language AM and FM popular music commercial radio stations was raised from thirty to thirty-five percent. Correspondingly, the quota for French-language music stations was raised from fifty to fifty-five percent. Furthermore, the CRTC requires the level to be evenly distributed throughout specific time periods throughout the week, and that the Canadian selections be played in their entirety to qualify (Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 188).

As the CRTC's new quota system encouraged Canadian musicians, the Canadian government attempted to promote those musicians by increasing the production and distribution of Canadian popular music. It was imperative that Canadian music exports increased in order to secure a greater access to the US market (Shuker 1994: 62).

2.5 Emergence of the Golden Age of Canadian Music 1968-72

The period between 1968 to 1972 was a high point in the emergence of Canadian popular music, and it coincided with an increasingly political atmosphere of nationalism, as striven for during the Centennial. The culture-building initiatives outlined by the government would affect Canadian popular music in the decades to come, and policy-makers were mobilized to act in support of Canada's music industry. Musicologist Robert Wright noted that there was "a growing sense of embarrassment over the fact that Canadian recording artists had to exile themselves to pursue their craft" (Wright 1991:

307). These underlying theories and interventions produced an elementally “Canadian” sound that was both nationalistic and ambivalent towards politics and the State.

Because the crux of Canadian popular music in the late 1960s was crippled by the Canadian music industry’s lack of support, success in the US was critical for Canadian musicians. The hegemonic American music industry virtually pushed Canadian music to the margins of commercial radio, and most Canadian musicians determined to go south, to define their musical success by American terms (Melhuish 1983: 79).

In the medium of popular culture, Canada was already much like the United States and it was not a stretch for Canadian musicians to respond to relevant political and social occurrences in their neighbouring country. The migration of many Canadian songwriters and musicians to the United States was a blatant statement directed to the Canadian government. Canadian musicians were not satisfied to remain in Canada, because there was virtually no financial security in the Canadian music industry. There was still an implicit recognition that in order to be successful musicians had little choice but to leave the country. Having a musical career with a record contract was the ultimate goal, and the US was the country in which to do it.

As the Canadian public continued the celebration of the Centennial, much of the produced popular music was perceived as specifically patriotic and appreciative of Canada. This was not always intended, however as a lot of the music of the era was ultimately based on an American model, imitated deliberately for success. Canadian popular music was ultimately seen as secondary to American popular music during a period when forms and styles of popular culture from the US were readily copied and adopted throughout the world.

Although at times controversial, the CRTC was paramount in helping many Canadian popular musicians who may not have had a chance against the stronghold of the United States music industry. Prior to the ruling of the Commission, Canadian playlists were chosen from the American charts. Radio stations simply did not play Canadian recordings, and those few that were played were not aurally recognizable as being Canadian (Rice and Gutnik 1995: 243). There was a scramble to build Canadian record companies and to sign new Canadian artists in order to have Canadian music to actually play on the radio stations. The new quotas opened the door for many Canadian musicians who would have had much difficulty selling their music to the previously American-music defined radio stations.

The protectionist and nationalistic agenda of the CRTC convinced Canadian musicians to include more "Canadian" content in their songs, instead of responding to the politics and occurrences of the United States. The concept of "Canada" as a morally superior country was extensive and remaining ideologies from cultural policy reports such as the Massey-Lévesque Commission influenced the country in the definition of Canadian identity. Popular songs were being written to exemplify the beauty, simplicity and non-violence of Canada as compared to the perceived cultural noise of the US. Canadians loved it, having long identified themselves as polite pacifists, in opposition to the perceived American image.

In Ritchie Yorke's groundbreaking book "Axes, Chops and Hot Licks," Bruce Cockburn described the Canadian music industry as "not yet as rotten as the US scene. But it's showing signs of catching up" (Yorke 1971: 56). In this manner, the CRTC was useful in promoting local popular music within the national industry by encouraging

music that was not imitative of the American music scene.

However, the CRTC and the remnants of cultural policy reports pushed musicians to conform to the political and sociological ideals of the country's nationalism to such an extent that they were driven to reject the government's advocacy. Although some musicians were supportive of government intervention with the formation of the CRTC, because it meant equal airplay on Canadian radio stations, others disliked the quota system because it meant that the musicians were becoming successful by the fact that they were Canadian, not because they were considered talented. Singer-songwriter Gordon Lightfoot emphasized the controversy and conflicts that surrounded the CRTC:

Well, the CRTC did absolutely nothing for me. I didn't want it. I didn't need it, absolutely nothing... and I don't like it. They can ruin you, man. Canadian content is fine if you're not doing well. But I'm in the music business and I have a huge American audience. I'm going to do Carnegie Hall for the second time. I like to record down there, but I like to live up here. I really dig [Canada], but I'm not going to bring out any flags (Wright 1987: 30).

Regardless of the evolution of state support for Canadian popular music, many felt that the Canadian music industry was inferior. As Wright observed, many Canadian musicians were suspicious of the increasing Canadian nationalism and government assistance, and thus felt increasingly connected to the musical mainstream of the US. Often relocating to musical centres such as New York or Los Angeles, English-Canadian musicians of the 60s and 70s increasingly identified with "quintessentially American music styles and lyrical themes" (Wright 1988: 28). These themes expressed sentiments of the 60s counterculture: messages of anti-war, rurality, simplicity and folk tradition.

2.6 Canada's Protectionist Policies post-1980

After the formation of the CRTC and the protectionist CanCon regulations in the early 1970s, it was 1982 before the federal government again initiated protectionist measures for the sound recording industry. Sadly lagging behind its co-cultural industries such as book and film production, the sound recording industry was often deemed unworthy of financial subsidy likely because the industry was regarded as "economically marginal and culturally insignificant" (Wright 1991: 306). One of the reasons the Canadian recording industry has lacked sufficient subsidy in past decades is because of the low levels of geographic and corporate concentration in Canada which make it difficult for policy analysts and subsidy distributors to recognize overall tendencies in a national scheme (Straw 1993: 56).

Although disbelief in Canada's cultural potential continued, federal policy-makers increased their attention to the demand for government protection towards a domestic recording industry. It was crucial for the government to pay attention to broadcasting and Canada's growing cultural industries for two reasons. Not only was the continual importation of US entertainment a drain on the economy, but also, Canada was losing its highly creative, intellectual and articulate employees to cultural industries south of the border (Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 69).

Furthermore, it was crucial that the existing Canadian recording industry needed to be restructured for the success of the new CanCon regulations. This new industry would be contingent on policy initiatives that would secure and finance new Canadian music recording artists. As a result of the Canadian recording industry growing under the new CanCon regulations, the Canadian Independent Record Producers Association

(CIRPA) and the Canadian Music Publishers Association (CMPA) were established in 1982. These organizations were being pushed to increase recording, but did not have the funding to support it. The federal government finally intervened and established the Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent on Record (FACTOR), a new private-sector agency that would distribute direct subsidies to Canadian artists who qualified for the grants (Wright 1991: 308).²¹

Significantly under-financed in its primary years, FACTOR was unable to finance the production of more than two record albums with an annual budget of roughly \$200,000 (1985). However, in 1986, the federal government's Department of Communications announced the creation of the Sound Recording Development Program, with \$5 million annually for FACTOR and its French-language complement MUSICACTION, enabling musicians to produce demo tapes, promotional video clips, and national and international tours (Straw 1993: 55; Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 189). With this increased government subsidy and support from the private sector, FACTOR's annual budget was increased to over \$7 million and has been better able to follow the mandate of stimulating the growth and development of the independent sector of the Canadian recording industry.²²

With increased public and private interest in Canada's cultural industries, a turnaround in the recording sector occurred in the past two decades. Documents from Statistics Canada note that between 1987 and 1991 record sales of material that qualified as Canadian content increased from \$32 million in sales to \$53 million, an increase of 65

²¹ Designating grants and interest-free loans to Canadian musicians. FACTOR uses a jury system to evaluate applications from musicians and invites the granting of public funds.

²² FACTOR [website]; available from <http://www.factor.ca>; Internet: accessed 01 April 2001.

percent. By 1994, the Canadian Recording Industry Association (CRIA) reported a 13 percent increase in units shipped as compared with 1993 as well as an increase of sales by 16 percent (Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 68).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the federal government's Department of Heritage has made an effort to be visible in the development and promotion of cultural policy initiatives in the recording industry. Policies in 1998 and 1999 which emerged from the department embraced the cultural industries and promised a re-examination of support for Canadian sound recording (Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 69). As the promotional departmental website notes that "government programs and regulations have fostered the growth of independent Canadian music companies: they release 80.6 percent of records by Canadian artists and account for 16.4 percent of total sales revenues."²³ It goes on to promote its policy initiatives:

Canada's flourishing, diverse music industry is sustained by the artistic energies of Canadian musicians, creators and recording companies. "with a little help from" sound public policy. [During the time period of 1971-1986], the government took steps to ensure that Canadian talent had a reasonable window for exposure through Canadian radio... The recording industry also receives government support through the Sound Recording Development Program (SRDP). [which enables] the production of Canadian content recordings and the development of the Canadian industry infrastructure. The program's components are administered by the industry organization FACTOR MUSICACTION CANADA, by the Canada Council for the Arts and by the Department of Canadian Heritage.²⁴

Changes in policy-making towards Canada's cultural industries may be a result of a realization by the federal government of the economic and political, not to mention

²³ *The Department of Culture and Heritage*. The Government of Canada [website]: available from <http://www.pch.gc.ca/mindep/misc/culture/htn/4.htm>; Internet: accessed 01 April 2001.

²⁴ Ibid.

cultural advantages of having strong domestic cultural industries. By importing culture, the Canadian government is all but assuring jobs to other countries, and minimizing the need for Canadian talent and employment (Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 69). Both public and private opposition towards the lack of support for the recording industry culminated in a brief released in 1996 by the Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Music Industry. Among other specificities, the task force affirmed that flaws in the federal government's policy have compromised the effectiveness of CanCon regulations, as well as the SRDP (Lorimer and Gasher 2001: 189).²⁵

2.7 The Current Canadian Recording Industry

Although the Canadian music industry received enormous support with the creation of the CRTC and CanCon regulations in the 1970s, the overall success of the Canadian music industry was small. While a sizable Canadian recording industry was built in the late 1970s and early 1980s, popular music in Canada did not receive much public support. Between 1976 and 1985 only two Canadian albums passed one million sales in Canada: Bryan Adams' *Reckless* and Corey Hart's *Boy in the Box* (Shuker 1995: 63). In order to break into the larger, thriving American market, these albums were ultimately American in sound, imitated deliberately for success. This was a growing trend from the 1980s onward, when top-selling Canadian acts Bryan Adams, Helix, Platinum Blonde, Corey Hart and Honeymoon Suite were all signed to major multinational record deals and actually broke through the music industry first in the United States (Quill 1984: n.p.).

As these musicians discovered, Canadian artists were more likely to get signed

²⁵ See the brief of the *Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Music Industry* [on-line essay]; available

with a multinational record company if they sounded like the status quo of commercialized popular music. Sounding "American" was the best way for Canadian musicians to be accepted into the American music industry, as was obvious from the glut of Canadian popular music from the 1980s and 1990s that was indistinguishable from the American mainstream (Grant 1986: 126). This belief still exists even today, as more and more Canadian musicians are bypassing the Canadian music companies in favour of seeking a record deal with the home office of the multinationals. Alannah Myles, k.d. lang and The Jeff Healey Band all left Canada in pursuit of their music, and likely, commercial goals (Berland 1991: 323). Musicians with large multinational companies are much more likely to become successful than those with small independent companies. Large companies can afford to aggressively promote their albums with trade journals, the music press, music videos, and Internet advertising.

Yet the importance of independent labels has been underscored in many ways. For rising local Canadian musicians, independent labels are crucial for discovery and promotion. Bearing the full responsibility for seeking out and nurturing new talent, independent labels pride themselves on music that is not mainstream, and that is likely to be alternative of the Billboard Top 100. The Tragically Hip, The Rheostatics, and Sarah McLachlan are all on independent labels, although the majority of the talent on independent labels, once discovered is generally appropriated by a major label (Wright 1991: 315).

The trend of small distribution firms has been to encourage the development of small, local production and distribution operations that are regional in scope. Because of

Canada's geographical expanse, two distinct language communities, and the multiplicity of musical scenes in the country, Canadian-owned distribution firms can provide a product to a specific local market, leaving international distribution to the multinationals (Straw 1993: 58). Although the smaller independent firms can not guarantee that a major label will not re-appropriate the more distinct acts on their roster, they can be assured that they are catering to more regional and local tastes that are not considered mainstream by the multinationals.

However, there is a downside to the role of independent record companies. As Straw explains, a combination of the expense of launching new music, the growth of the CD market and continuing dominance of the retail sector in Canada have led many Canadian labels to "concentrate on the marketing of their accumulated inventories of older recordings" (Straw 1993: 62). Independent firms in Canada may be further restricting themselves by producing a veritable canon of Canadian popular music and acting as a repository of Canadian recordings, most of which are two or three decades old (Straw 1993: 63).

Independent Canadian-owned firms have had a unique relationship with multinational distributors. Although independent Canadian labels produced high-quality popular music recordings, they were reliant on multinational distributors who provided them with financial stability. Yet, although the multinationals provide this stability, the normal creative processes of an independent firm are often restricted by the standards of the distributor. Thus, the independent firms provide the multinationals with the means to establish a connection to Canada's musical culture, without investing or allocating financial resources of their own. This is paradoxical, explains Straw, because the

dependence of these firms on distribution by larger international firms has guaranteed a trans-Canadian presence for the recordings which they produce, mainly because there exists no Canadian-owned distributors operating on the same scale (Straw 1993: 60-62).

Noting the innovation of music firms transnationally, it is of particular concern that Canada's independent firms may be diminishing in their ability to discover and produce new talent (Straw 1993: 63). If this does occur, new local Canadian popular music will not likely be successful in their ability to sell a more "regional" sound to a multinational without at least, an introductory album produced by an independent firm. If independent firms are not willing or able to produce and distribute local talent then non-mainstream Canadian music has an even smaller chance of becoming successful nationally, let alone on the international scale.

Despite proposed new initiatives in the sound recording industry²⁶, the Canadian policy of cultural protectionism is still often looked upon unfavourably. In his article "'Gimme Shelter': Observations on Cultural Protectionism and the Recording Industry in Canada," Wright argues that the development of a strong indigenous recording industry in Canada is not impossible, but is being impeded by the very policies that initiated it (Wright 1991: 311). As a few multinational record labels have dominated the Canadian recording industry, Canada has played a secondary role in the international music industry, serving mainly as a market for mostly non-Canadian recordings that do not

²⁶ Notes a promotional website for the federal government's Department of Culture and Heritage, the sound recording industry will see "new developments in digital technology and the online environment [which] will likely change the way music is recorded, distributed, bought, sold and broadcast in the years to come." *Department of Culture and Heritage, Government of Canada* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.pch.gc.ca/mindep/misc/culture/html/4.htm>; Internet: accessed 13 May 2001.

include Canadian content.²⁷ Because of Canada's relatively high tariff on imported recordings, major transnational recording companies formed subsidiary branches in Canada, north of their mainly American operations.²⁸ These subsidiaries have monopolized the Canadian market, and although they do sign and promote some local talent, they mostly operate by using mainly American mastertapes to press international recordings for domestic consumption (Wright 1991: 307). Michael McCabe, the president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, questions the structure of the national music industry. "Does it make sense that 239 small companies in the Canadian music industry fight over \$200 million in business, while a handful of multinationals control \$1 billion of Canadian record sales?" (*The Ottawa Citizen*: 31 March 2001).

There are further problems with the Canadian recording industry. Because the Canadian market for records is so small, only a few Canadian recordings are able to recover the costs of production: an album has to go "Gold" in order to financially break even (Wright 1991: 311-2).²⁹ As a report to the Department of Communications notes, in order to survive Canadian-originated records must earn a more substantial portion of their revenues outside of Canada, and Canadian-based independent record companies need to find support of foreign licensees who will import directly from Canada (Leblanc 1990: 31).

Furthermore, qualifying for assistance from Canadian agencies such as FACTOR

²⁷ Multinationals control about 90 percent of sound recording distribution in English Canada and 75 percent of the market in Quebec. *Department of Culture and Heritage, Government of Canada* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.pch.gc.ca/mindep/misc/culture/htm/4.htm>; Internet: accessed 13 May 2001.

²⁸ Mergers and buy-outs have left only four major companies in the world: AOL-Time/Warner, Universal, BMG and Sony (Straw 2000: 180).

²⁹ In the year 2000, 35 Canadian artists and/or CanCon recordings achieved Gold certification (50,000 copies). *Canadian Recording Industry Association* [website]; available from http://www.cria.ca/stats_alb_can2000.htm Internet: accessed 13 May 2001.

and the SRDP is not automatic. Often, the criteria by which Canadian acts qualify for financial support is measured by their appeal to the international market. In 1990, FACTOR made the decision that support for Canadian recording projects would be “earmarked for fewer artists in order to deliver product better suited for the international market” (Bateman 1990: n.p.). Because of this principle, “distinctive Canadian recordings” (which could be read as recordings with a “regional” or non-American sound) are not likely going to qualify because it is unlikely they will be able to access the tight playlists of commercial radio, or sell well internationally (Wright 1991: 313). As one journalist commented, “No one at the centres of pop power in New York or Los Angeles gives a gilt-edged hoot about regional sound or style unless it can move 50,000 units a day” (Goddard 1980: n.p.).

Yet the issue is more complex than the suitability of Canadian popular music for transnational markets. A critic of CanCon, William Watson argues that only recordings with pertinent Canadian subject matter should be subsidized: “sound-alike recordings by such people as Corey Hart, Bryan Adams and Luba, destined for the US market have no claim to public support” (Watson 1988: 112). Instead, Canadian musicians who locate themselves nationally, even regionally or locally should be financially supported by cultural policy initiatives. This is unlikely, however, as local musicians are often viewed as marginal, and are often not successful in receiving funding.

Paradoxically, because of the dominance of the multinationals in Canada, a Canadian recording artist or Canadian record company must break into the international market in some form in order to be successful. This has been achieved by two means, either by a Canadian musician who has secured an international record contract, or by an

independent Canadian record label who has distributed foreign product in Canada, managed to access international markets with Canadian product, or has succeeded in introducing non-Canadian performers in the Canadian market (Wright 1991: 311).

Wright's main argument is that thus far, interventionist policies have been unsuccessful in enabling Canadian recording companies to compete with the multinationals in an international context (Wright 1991: 314). Although CanCon regulations have been somewhat helpful in establishing Canadian musicians, they are unsatisfactory because of the internalized notion that a lot of Canadian popular music was made because it was needed to fill the airways, not because it was "good." The poor national self-esteem of the Canadian public regarding the recording sector has constantly contributed to the perception that Canadian music is somehow inferior in a transnational context. McCabe even suggests that Canada's music industry needs to improve its "star system" to help overcome a shortage of high-quality Canadian music, further strengthening the lack of Canadian morale about the national recording industry (*The Ottawa Citizen*: 31 March 2001).

McCabe's suggestion to constitute a greater star system is oxymoronic in that a Canadian "star" is not considered so until they have obtained success in an international sense. Once this occurs, musicians are not likely to be considered "Canadian stars" but instead as the ones who "made it" in the American market. Furthermore, the independent Canadian record labels which discover and nurture new talent recognize that these same star Canadian acts will likely be appropriated by a multinational label, once "discovered" (Wright 1991: 314).

Many Canadian musicians believe it preferable to bypass the Canadian record companies entirely, instead signing record deals directly with the home offices of the multinationals, which are better equipped to promote the artist to the American commercial industries. This presents an even bigger problem in that Canadian companies are continuously devalored in terms of their musical contribution to the national recording industry (Berland 1991: 323).

With the exodus of Canadian popular musicians to multinational labels, it is questionable how many “distinctly” Canadian acts can remain so, and how they can keep their original “regional” sound without conforming to the mainstream ideal. It would seem that the structure of Canada’s recording industry would make it more difficult for regional artists to become successful in a national and international scheme, precisely because of their marginality and locality. Policy endeavors seem to suggest that the promotion of indigenous local music will fulfill Canadian quotas and build a concept of “national sound,” however, this is impossible if the more “distinct” or “regional” Canadian music does not get funding. A “catch 22” scenario, both cultural policy analysts and music industry officials have debated endlessly, and have come up with few solutions to the paradox that is the Canadian recording industry.

Berland’s study “Locating Listening: Technological Space, Popular Music, Canadian Mediations” focuses on what she identifies as the “dilemma of Canadian nationalism” and how development and dependency within the cultural industries are indisputably connected. Naturally, Canadian cultural industries are facing an identity crisis: the country has developed the most sophisticated broadcast distribution system in the world, yet it is dependent on the importation of other cultures, during a time when its

own “national” culture is recognizably marginal, if existent at all (Berland 1988: 347).

Of course, the concept of a “national music” is not always a concern to Canadian musicians who are searching for success. As Berland argues:

Whether Canadian culture can be identified or defended as a unitary ‘national subject’ is of little theoretical interest to a community of musicians and cultural producers who recognize a working oppression which affects them and which they discuss, in contexts related to music-industry issues, in terms of their nationality (Berland 1991: 324).

One solution may be to examine the Canadian recording industry in terms of regional sound, rather than through the yardstick of the perceived American mainstream. Although past trends in Canada denote a rejection of the local for more of an American sound, most Canadians still distinguish themselves from Americans, politically, socially and culturally. Berland notes that this is contradictory in the field of popular music, in which Canadians are positioned in “opposing socio-musicological-mediated spaces” (Berland 1988: 346). The space that defines the popular music industry may be defined as a landscape that is “American-mediated,” but at the same time intrinsically Canadian because of its abstract lack of a “perceptible signification of place” (Berland 1988: 346).

Because the industry forces a dependency on the American market, Canadian songwriters are identifying with and relating to American places and global themes, instead of focusing on subjects or places that are more locally identified (Berland 1988: 346). As John Lehr observes in his aptly named article “As Canadian as possible... under the circumstances,” Canadian songwriters have been more likely to write lyrics that locate them in Texas, for instance, rather than in a Canadian city that is less “coded” in musical

meaning.³⁰

With the fruition of the Canada-US free trade agreement in the early 90s, there was widespread concern that Canadian culture would become even more vulnerable. As foreign control over Canadian cultural industries increased, so did the obvious tensions between regional and national Canadian identities and the discourses of international culture (Berland 1988: 357). A promotion of the local seemed an appropriate, albeit ironic solution and "regional" sounds gained recognition in the national scheme as music that was "fresh," "original," "non-mainstream," and "intrinsically Canadian."

In fact, it is through the complexity of the Canadian music industry that local sound can be examined as a way to help define a "national" sound. The embracing of local sound would combat globalization, mass media homogenization and Americanization, and furthermore would create a Canadian autonomy in the popular music industry. If "distinctively local" music can be considered the key to defining Canadian popular music, then efforts must be made to increase subsidy and support to regional musicians. If national popular music is to be encouraged, at the same time rejecting and negating the mainstream, then popular music created with a "perceptible signification of place" can draw listeners into a culturally distinct horizon within the national landscape.

Often it is a matter of financial survival in the music industry. In order for artists and independent companies to survive, Canadian originated albums need to earn a more substantial portion of their revenues outside of Canada. Canadian-based independents need to secure foreign releases or find support of foreign licenses that will import directly

³⁰ For further study, see John Lehr, "As Canadian as possible... under the circumstances: regional myths,

from Canada (Leblanc 1990: 30). The difference between the two music industries does not go unnoticed to many Canadian musicians. Notes Toronto-based Blue Rodeo's bassist Bazil Donovan: "In Canada you'll make a living – in America you'll get rich" (Potter 1999: 175).

Berland's critical theoretical discussion on location and difference provides a critical framework for the discourse of local and national identities in popular music.³¹

As she concludes:

Few would claim that they can hear a coherent aural grammar of *musical* difference in English Canada. Here, one provides the mandatory exceptions to the absence (absence itself being a comparably hegemonic construct within theoretical discourse): Quebec, music of the Maritimes, a tradition of successful singer-songwriters, folk music of the Ottawa Valley, and so forth. But one cannot always listen to a piece of recorded music and know that it comes from (English) Canada, unless one knows it already, in which case such recognition, and any emotional claim that might ensue, comes after the fact (Berland 1988: 348).

To discover why this is the case, one example of a distinct and tangible local music industry must be analysed. This thesis focuses on Newfoundland popular music as one example of musical difference in English Canada. There is a perceptible and coherent difference in the aural sound of popular music created in Newfoundland, and that distinction articulates the distinct culture and society of the province. In the case of Newfoundland popular music, an emotional claim to the music can occur as Newfoundland listeners recognize and place the music within its distinct musical location. National listeners may respond to the familiar sounds as well as social and

images of place and national identity in Canadian country music." *border/lines* 2 (1987): 16-19.

³¹ Jody Berland, "Locating Listening: Technological Space, Popular Music, Canadian Mediations," *Cultural Studies* 2, no. 3 (1988): 343-358.

political identifiers that are presented in Newfoundland popular music, but the emotional claim by local listeners is much more prominent because Newfoundland has a soundscape that represents a unique local position in relation to other provinces in Canada.

Newfoundland listeners can usually aurally identify Newfoundland music (whether by accent of the performers, familiarity with lyric place-names, or style), but because the music has been and is still marginal in a mainstream context, not all Canadians are as familiar with its distinct sound.

Canadian listeners have been discursively shaped by the marginality of “English Canadian” performers in an American-mediated soundscape, and local musicians with a distinct sound have been largely ignored by the Canadian music industry which has focused on promoting a national “mainstream,” “Americanized” sound. The success of Bryan Adams, Shania Twain and others is largely because their sound is conventional and regionally non-perceptible.

An appeal of the local to the Canadian music industry would be an appropriate response to the perceived marginality of Canadian popular music within an international context. National popular music is often seen as marginal because it has been imitating an “American” sound, and not promoting its own existing regional distinctions. By promoting Newfoundland popular music, Canada can set an example by accepting the regional non-mainstream as a means of defining the “national sound.”

Chapter Three: Newfoundland Identity and Popular Music

Based on the understanding that Newfoundland is a distinct province and that this culture is distinct from other cultures in Canada, Newfoundland popular music can be appreciated as a form of culture that helps to define and understand the distinct heritage of the province. Because the popular music industry in Newfoundland is built around an articulation of history, and an emphasis of “true” and “real” culture, it is a prime example of the local defining the national.

Because many genres of music including traditional folk, folk-rock and Celtic music are considered “popular music” in Newfoundland, the title of “popular music” must not be limited to only top-forty radio airplay. Traditional folk music by The Irish Descendants is played regularly on popular radio stations in Newfoundland, as well as the folk-pop music of Great Big Sea. Popular radio programs in Newfoundland are not just the top-forty “pop” songs, but feature songs “from home” on programs such as “Jig’s Dinner” on CJOZ-FM.

Although the concept of Newfoundland music may be ambiguous to academia, it is a familiar one to Newfoundland listeners. Cited by musicologists as “traditional,” “Celtic,” and “folk-based,” Newfoundland’s popular music is aurally recognizable and different from standard popular music. Because of this difference, Newfoundland popular music challenges certain aspects of the hegemonic definition of pop music while at the same time, remaining within the parameters of the genre.

To discover why this is the case the distinct and tangible existence of an indigenous sound within the province’s cultural realm must be analyzed. In its simplest

terms. Newfoundland popular music sounds like a combination of country and folk, with a rock edge and newer sound, influenced by popular international musicians. But the roots of Newfoundland pop music are far from original. With its foundations rooted in traditional music and song, Newfoundland's music was created by the amalgamation of British, Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English cultures brought by settlers who moved from Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. This mixture of distinct European styles distilled into a unique culture that has evolved throughout the centuries into the well-known popular entertainment of today.

European immigrants who came to Newfoundland and settled into small fishing outports brought their own cultures into the nation. The physical isolation of these disconnected communities along the shoreline allowed the maintenance of unique dialects, customs and traditions from the settlers' land of origin. Records show that, like the citizens of developing communities across Canada, Newfoundlanders used music as a way to entertain themselves while fishing or working, but also at church, in military practice and in the home. Sea shanties and folk ballads that have been traced back to England and Ireland were performed, alongside songs that were created in Newfoundland. As the Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Department of Memorial University notes, "these songs documented the stories, tragedies, hopes, fears, personalities, idiosyncrasies and everyday experiences of their immediate communities" (Fitzpatrick 2001: n.p.). These elements remain constant in Newfoundland's contemporary popular music.

3.1 Regionalist Theories

The relationship between Canada's provinces has often been described as heartland to hinterland, national to regional, and centre to margin. Provinces on the

periphery of Ontario are considered marginal by socio-economic, political and cultural standards. As Ursula Kelly explains in *Marketing Place: Cultural Politics, Regionalism and Reading*, "a region is often defined by its difference from a place of social and cultural centrality and, as such, is defined from a position of dominance in which region is 'other'" (Kelly 1993: 12). The words "region" and "regional" are not only used to distinguish cultural products from outside provinces, but also are often used in a pejorative sense, to belittle, confine, restrict and further marginalize through difference (30).

In a cultural context, regional products have been regulated by cultural production from the centre of the Canadian nation-state. Because these products are viewed as "official" or "national," more social power is attached to them than to art produced by a province on the periphery. Thus, marginal art can be defined as all cultural forms not produced by or for the central Canadian interest. The majority of media produced for mass consumption usually, if not always, represents the cultural interests of the centre provinces, which are those provinces with the most socio-cultural power and prestige. The sheer overabundance of cultural representations from the centre, combined with the cultural under-representation of provinces from the margins results in a disturbing but veritable equation in which the peripheral is seen as inferior to the superior position of the centre. These cultural products are often only legitimized through national television, radio and other media when it meets the cultural criteria as determined by the centre (Kelly 1993: 25).

Although a province's "regionalism" often marks the difference and lack of social, cultural and economic significance in relation to the centre, the province of

Newfoundland has reclaimed its difference as a distinctive, valuable and positive way of life (Kelly 1993: 77). Often dedicated to preservation and celebration of Newfoundland culture, the expression of a local voice becomes a means through which Newfoundlanders can recognize and identify with specific social relations that they “know or fit into” (33). Thus, Newfoundland cultural products such as books, songs, magazines, and drama often explain local history, language and culture and should be promoted because it suggests an understanding of local social identity and the place that Newfoundlanders occupy in the Canadian cultural sphere (41).

Canadian literary critic and thinker Northrop Frye maintained that Canadian identity is not a national issue, but a regional issue. As Frye noted, “Identity is local and regional, rooted in the imagination and words of culture” (Widdis 1997: 52).³² Frye maintained that the imagination, shaped by personal experience, is distinctly local. In this manner, creation and expressions of Canadian culture can be aligned with local identity, perhaps expressing a visual and aural answer to Frye’s question of what is this particular space. The local and the regional provide a point of reference and structure to Canada’s many layers of economic, political and social interaction (Widdis 1997: 61) and it is through the local that discourses of Canadian identity may be studied.

Newfoundland can be viewed as a separate nation for its unique geographical, historical and cultural characteristics that have made the province socially distinct from the rest of Canada. Much of the rest of English-Canada however, has struggled to find its distinct identity within the North American sphere because of the closeness between Canadians and Americans (Widdis 1997: 57).

³² See Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*. Toronto: Anansi, 1971; and

Individual provinces such as Quebec and Newfoundland, however, brought to the country strong cultural roots. These regional cultures were developed over centuries as people adapted to the local environment and geography, maintaining a distinct ethnicity. Distinct languages and dialects, history and customs of Quebec and Newfoundland were easily recognizable and separate from the “American” mentality that consumed much of the rest of English Canada (Widdis 1997: 54-5). It can be argued that these provinces have their own distinct national identity, built on difference.

The construction of Newfoundland identity has been an ongoing process since before Newfoundland’s Confederation with Canada in 1949.³³ In response to political and economic occurrences, perceived marginality and a shared regional experience, Newfoundlanders have constructed themselves as members of a distinct community built on difference. As Lise Saugeres explains,

[T]he construction of a national identity begins indeed with an awareness of belonging to a place which is different from other places and where people are different from those in other places. This difference is the result of a shared past, and the experience of life within a particular community. Out of this sense of distinctiveness individuals ascribe values and qualities to their region or country. These values and qualities are not fixed in time but always changing (Saugeres 1991: 46).

Scholar Anthony P. Cohen points out that identity is always constructed in reference to others. If we take this theory and apply it to Newfoundland culture, there are two aspects that can be noted. The construction of a regional identity begins with “an awareness of belonging to a place which is different from other places,” and where “people are different from other people” (Cohen n.d.: 109). To be able to further

Northrop Frye, *Divisions on a Ground*. Toronto: Anansi, 1982.

³³ See Appendix Three for a Timeline of Newfoundland History.

understand this dichotomy we must realize that the regional population in question has experienced a shared past within a specific, distinctive location.

Regionalist discourse also speaks to the expression of cultural freedom, notes historian James Overton. This is done by “allowing indigenous regions to articulate their own understanding of the relationship between emotion, local and expression” (Overton 1998: 6). In this manner, Newfoundlanders can perceive themselves as culturally rich rather than culturally bereft.

3.2 The Construction of a Newfoundland National Identity

The physical isolation of the province allowed people to maintain their own dialects, customs and traditions. Some of the dialects spoken around the province include derivations of dialects from 17th century Cornwall, Devon and Southern Ireland (Calhoun 1976: 11). As inhabitants of an isolated province, families who immigrated from Ireland, England, France and Scotland developed small fishing outports along the shoreline of Newfoundland. The keeping of old traditions and customs was easier because many of the small isolated outports were impossible to reach by modern technology. Many of the communities in rural Newfoundland had very few roads and were only reachable by boat. Even now, many of these outports are still in isolation, far from the Trans-Canada highway. The isolation of these tiny communities resulted in their own individual cultures which evolved into unique Newfoundland customs, traditions and entertainment.

In the early days of settlement, most of the rural population of Newfoundland was quite poor. Except for a few rich merchants in the city of St. John's, most of the province was financially destitute. Newfoundlanders fought in World War II as part of the British forces, and after the war, were dependent on Britain. Rural Newfoundlanders were self-

sufficient for the most part, building their own houses, making their own clothes, using their gardens to grow vegetables, and depending on the fishery for survival. As a result of the credit system established by the merchants in St. John's, however, much of the population remained poor, and many did not have much cash. Social and government benefits were almost non-existent, and for these reasons, pro-Confederates such as Joseph Smallwood (prior to his position in government) urged Newfoundlanders to join with Canada.³⁴

Nationalist sentiment, however, occurred long before the Confederation referendum. Local patriotism started as early as the 1830s among those who had arrived from the British Isles. It was insisted upon that new jobs in the province be given to Newfoundlanders, and annual celebratory events were started that would promote a sense of unity (McCann 1988: 95). As Newfoundland became increasingly exposed to US influence and the political and economic occurrences in North America, a stronger emphasis was made on the uniqueness of Newfoundland culture. Folklore of the province was deliberately promoted, through radio shows, published articles, and poetry and songbooks. The Gerald S. Doyle songbook *Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* appeared for the first time in 1927, including patriotic songs of the island, songs that emphasized Newfoundland identity, landscape images, and pride and sentimentality.³⁵ The Doyle songbooks were published repeatedly, with variations on the songs included according to popularity. The songbooks noted the "enthusiastic

³⁴ See Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary* 2nd ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972 for further information on Smallwood's presence in Newfoundland politics.

³⁵ Newfoundlander and businessman Gerald S. Doyle (1892-1956) was very interested in the folklore and culture of the Newfoundland people, and collected songs, music and poetry. He subsequently published them in *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* also known as the Doyle Songbook in 1927 with later

reception” of the Newfoundland public, and the introduction to the 1927 volume stated that:

While travelling over Newfoundland we have never missed an opportunity of hearing these Old Time Songs, which are so heartily sung on occasions when our good people get together in celebration of the various festive events which in many places are still kept up in the good old fashioned way (Doyle 1955: 1).

The importance of Newfoundland values was expressed in other forms of the media as well. One particular radio show entitled “The Barrelman” was established by Joey Smallwood in 1937, and was for the express purpose of promoting Newfoundland geographic and economic facts, as well as historical information and folklore. It was dedicated to “making Newfoundland better known to Newfoundlanders,” and to rid the province of its inferiority complex. Smallwood collected and broadcast many Newfoundland oral traditions, and constantly searched for symbols of Newfoundland cultural identity (Narváez 1986: 47). Since that time the folk music of Newfoundland increasingly became the symbol of national identity and pride. Tourist brochures depicted Newfoundland as a happy place, where people were very friendly and hospitable, and romanticized the island’s natural beauty. They never spoke about the poverty or hardships of rural Newfoundlanders.³⁶

In July of 1948, Newfoundlanders held a national referendum to decide whether or not the nation would retain responsible government or join Confederation with Canada. Smallwood stressed that Confederation was the only way to improve Newfoundland’s conditions. The results of the vote indicated a majority of only nine

editions in 1940, 1955, 1966 and 1978.

³⁶ See James Overton, “Promoting the ‘Real’ Newfoundland’: Culture as Tourist Commodity,” *Studies in*

thousand more votes for Confederation. In 1949, Newfoundland joined Canada, and came to rely on its new nation instead of Britain for the improvement of its social and economic conditions.³⁷

Confederation had its benefits, such as improved conditions of living and social insurance and pension benefits. To augment this, a resettlement program was initiated by Smallwood to equal the standards of living of urban centres in Canada. During the resettlement program of 1966, over six hundred communities were evacuated, and over 70,000 people moved to growth centres. Some Newfoundlanders did not mind moving to an urban centre in order to raise their standard of living, but many people resisted as long as they could. A majority of Newfoundlanders viewed resettlement as an attack on their values and their way of life (Saugeres 1991: 56-7).

Rural life began to disintegrate. With the effects of resettlement, the decline of the inshore fishery, and the accelerated processes of urbanization and industrialization many Newfoundlanders began to question the validity of Confederation. Smallwood became quite unpopular, and economic developments in the province were seen as threatening to the way of life that Newfoundlanders had always known.

Although it might not have been spoken, Newfoundlanders were very much aware of the superior sentiment expressed by the rest of Canada and Britain. Newfoundlanders began to feel inferior because of their poverty, their lack of education and their increasing economic dependence on the country. As an isolated and economically dependent province, Newfoundland has long seen itself as marginalized. Because of the general sense of "backwardness" attributed by the British and Canadians towards

Political Economy 4 (1980): 115-37 for further information on Newfoundland's early tourism endeavors.

Newfoundlanders, the sense of nationalism and pride in the province's culture and ways became even more pronounced. This was a direct response to the inferiority complex of the people. Notably the sense of "local" Newfoundland identity was increased because it was perceived as marginalized against the relatively fixed identity of the "mainland" (Saugeres 1991: 46).

3.3 The Nativist Movement in Newfoundland

In the 1970s, a movement began in which the national identity of Newfoundland was vigorously promoted. Perhaps spurred by feelings of cultural inferiority, many Newfoundlanders felt the need to reaffirm their identity by holding on to distinct traditions of Newfoundland.³⁷ This sentiment, called nativism, was expressed by urban middle-class academics and artists who chose to preserve and revive certain traditional forms of expression they saw as relevant to their perception of the indigenous culture (Saugeres 1991: 49). The nativists vocally reacted against the increasing influence of North America on Newfoundland. There was a fear that Newfoundland culture would become assimilated, and that their unique, traditional way of life would be lost. Feelings of pride and uniqueness of the Newfoundland culture began to be emphasized by writers, politicians, and promoters of tourism. Education, the visual arts, music and literature were all becoming influenced by North American culture, and soon, there was a mass movement by activists, academics, artists and writers to preserve Newfoundland cultural heritage.

Anthropologist Ralph Linton distinguishes between two kinds of nativism.

³⁷ For further historical information see Appendix Three: A Timeline of Newfoundland History.

³⁸ As Alan Dundes argues, feelings of cultural inferiority cause the need to reaffirm distinct cultural traditions, and that groups most active in folklore research were usually the most anxious about their own

revivalistic and perpetuative nativism. Revivalistic nativism is an attempt to revive elements of culture that have ceased to exist, while perpetuative nativism preserves certain elements of an indigenous culture (Linton 1973: 233). The proponents of the nativist movement in Newfoundland in the 1970s fell into both categories by wishing to “save” outport Newfoundland culture that was about to become extinct, and by wishing to consciously select specific elements of Newfoundland folk culture to appropriate into the urban Newfoundland arts scene.

Popularly termed “Newfcult” by journalist Sandra Gwyn, this cultural renaissance of Newfoundland culture introduced traditional Newfoundland culture to audiences who had “forgotten” their past.³⁹ Most felt that mainland Canada was trying to turn Newfoundland into mainland North American, mostly because indigenous Newfoundland culture was not taken seriously. The nativists rebelled, scorning the increasing acculturation and reacting strongly against comments about their accents, and offensive Newfoundland jokes that portrayed Newfoundlanders as lazy and backwards (Saugeres 1991: 69). According to the nativists, Newfoundland culture was not only seen as inferior by outsiders, but also by Newfoundlanders, who were taught to perceive themselves this way.

An allegiance to the past, indigenous local culture from the outports of rural Newfoundland and the construction of a specific local identity occurred as a result of both the shared experiences of the residents of Newfoundland, and the deliberate promotion of Newfoundland identity by nativists (Gwyn 1976: 40). Traditional folk-rock bands such as Figgy Duff and entertainers from CODCO and the Wonderful Grand Band were

identity (Dundes 1983: 15).

adamant about interpreting the “folk culture” of Newfoundland outports, and according to the tradition of nativism, gave symbolic meaning to certain aspects of the culture that were seen as unique and distinct. The intellectual process culminated in a refusal to be acculturated into a seemingly homogenous mainland culture, and an eagerness to dispel the myths and stereotypes created over the years by people who believed in the backwardness of Newfoundlanders.

The promotion of Newfoundland identity in the arts was a way to combat false stereotypes and encourage a positive image of Newfoundland to the rest of Canada while assuring self-promotion of the province’s rich heritage. It has been necessary to fight the inferiority complex of the province, brought on by “Newfie” jokes and ethnic slurs that have damaged its reputation, with deliberate acceptance of Newfoundland culture by its artists and musicians.

It is this artistic and cultural background that sets the stage for Great Big Sea’s creative launch into the Newfoundland traditional-popular (trad-pop) and traditional-rock (trad-rock) music scene. In one way, the road had already been paved for an appreciation of Newfoundland culture, by bands such as Figgy Duff who collected songs in a folkloric fashion for preservation and recording purposes. The success of Figgy Duff in Canada and Europe was a key element towards the opening of doors to Newfoundland traditional musicians. In their prime, Figgy Duff toured Europe and opened for The Chieftains in Toronto’s Massey Hall. Although the band was much more focused on traditional music, it still presented the music in a popular setting in the format of popular musical instruments, and in the format of radio-friendly popular music songs. By playing in folk

³⁰ See Sandra Gwyn, “The Newfoundland Renaissance,” *Saturday Night* (April 1976): 38–45.

festivals throughout North America. Figgy Duff promoted Newfoundland music as unique, distinct and perhaps most importantly, as music that could be transformed into a popular medium while keeping its intrinsic traditionalism. As Pamela Morgan explained on the official Figgy Duff website:

Some of the folk purists were downright outraged that their precious folk music was being tampered with by long haired "urban intellectuals" using drums and amps. But in those years we measured our success by the joy we brought to the people from whom we learned the music - who instinctively understood that you can't cram a delicate and beautiful modal melody into a three-chord country format.⁴⁰

The emergence of newer trad-rock bands in the 1980s and early 1990s music scene also paved the way for Great Big Sea. Bands such as The Irish Descendants and musician/songwriters such as Pamela Morgan, Anita Best and Ron Hynes were instrumental in proving that Newfoundland musicians were capable of entering and succeeding in the Canadian music industry. Hynes' song "Sonny's Dream" quickly became one of the most widely recorded folk songs in North America, as well as internationally, and has been covered by such well-known artists as Emmylou Harris, Christie Moore and Mary Black. As Hynes remarked to *SoundCan* in 1993: "you learn to be poor and courageous if you want to survive in this business. There's total isolation on The Rock [a nickname for Newfoundland], but I wouldn't be half as creative if I lived in a larger centre" (Sharp 1993: 24).

The success of Newfoundland musicians both in the province and beyond the local music sphere is due in part to their retaining and promoting many aspects of the "traditional" Newfoundland folk music that is beloved to Newfoundlanders. This

⁴⁰ Figgy Duff [website]; available from <http://www.ambermusic.nfnet.com/artists/figgy.htm>; Internet:

development is concordant with the theory that the music environment shapes the sound.⁴¹ Moreover, Newfoundland popular music as a deliberate fostering of Newfoundland identity can be further examined by using Great Big Sea, a popular Newfoundland trad-rock band as a case study.

Great Big Sea maintains the ideal of a Canadian “regional” sound whilst moving into national and international realms. As they become more mainstream, they consciously and deliberately promote their music as “local,” thus defining a concept of Canadian “national” music as “regional.” In this manner, Newfoundland identity is Canadian identity, and local Newfoundland music is national music. While Great Big Sea has been conquering stereotypes and the myths surrounding “Newfoundland music,” they have discovered that Newfoundland popular music can be successful in both the national and international music scenes.

3.4 Great Big Sea: A Case Study

The Newfoundland folk-rock band Great Big Sea is an ideal case study for the examination of the success of regionalist music within the parameters of the national and international music industries. In Canada, Great Big Sea has sold nearly one million records collectively, and five of their albums have gone platinum. This is a feat for any Canadian band, especially one that fills its performances with sea shanties and traditional Newfoundland folk songs.

Great Big Sea has achieved success on many levels, not just in the commercial sphere. The quartet broke the top-forty on Toronto’s Mix 99 FM radio station with

accessed 04 March 2002.

⁴¹ For more information see John Burke, *Musical Landscapes*. Exeter, England: Webb and Bower, 1983; and Stephen L. Thirlwall, “Musical Landscape: A Definition and a Case Study of Musical Landscape in its

“Lukey,” their arrangement of the well-known folk song “Lukey’s Boat.” As lead singer Alan Doyle enthusiastically noted “This has to be the first time a Newfoundland traditional song has even broke the top-five hundred... in the history of the country” (Roberts 2000: n.p.). What is more notable is that the remix of the traditional folk song was on a popular music radio station, unaccustomed to playing traditional folk tunes. Great Big Sea’s music merges traditional folk song and popular music to become a new style of “aggressive folk.”

Great Big Sea’s groundbreaking mix of traditional folk with pop music is one of the reasons the band is ideal for a study of regional success. Great Big Sea has kept their local sound despite moving into national and international realms. By many standards, they are performing music that is not considered “pop,” yet they are breaking into the pop charts in Canada and elsewhere around the world. They have achieved critical acclaim and commercial success but have not changed their musical and compositional style to suit a genre and its parallel audience. The members did not have to emigrate from their home province of Newfoundland in order to succeed in the national music industry, unlike most Maritime performers. Great Big Sea has performed sold-out shows in stadiums across Canada, but they have also performed in the United States and many other countries, including Denmark, England, Germany, Ireland, Poland and Scotland and have record deals with various major labels including Warner Canada, Rounder Records (US) and Cooking Vinyl (UK).⁴²

Why is Great Big Sea able to fill hockey arenas with rearranged traditional songs, and original folk-pop material with the occasional pop cover song? The band tours with

contribution to the Development of Quebecois Identity”. M.A. Thesis. Ottawa: Carleton. 1992.

bouzoukis, accordions, bodhrans and tin whistles instead of electric guitars and a drum kit. Fans beg for the traditional songs, regardless of where the band is performing. The promotion of Newfoundland is part of the group's mandate, and their songs highlight the province's rich traditional history. The marriage of the traditional with the popular seems to appeal to a younger, more modern audience. And part of the appeal that the band brings to its audience is the uniqueness of their music in an industry that is generally filled with standardization.

Biography

Before forming Great Big Sea in 1991, the four members of the band often crossed paths in Memorial University where they were each completing a Bachelor of Arts degree. While playing with a comedic rock group called "Staggering Home," singer and guitarist Alan Doyle met the members of the traditional band "Rankin Street," Séan McCann, Darrell Power and Bob Hallett. They cemented their friendship while performing on the George Street pub circuit where local bands played both traditional and popular music. Great Big Sea's first performance together was March 11th, 1993. They released an independent self-titled album that same year, which Warner Canada re-released after signing the group in 1994.

The musical experience of each of the members is an important aspect of the collective musicianship of the band, Great Big Sea. In order to analyse the history of the band an examination of the early musical influences experienced by each band member is necessary.

The members of Great Big Sea were born within four years of each other, each of

⁴² Appendix Two provides a complete list of Great Big Sea's albums and recordings.

them a year less a day apart. The lead singer of Great Big Sea, Alan Doyle, was born in the small community of Petty Harbour on May 20th, 1970. Petty Harbour, now diminished in fishery importance, was a flourishing town during Doyle's adolescence, with three fish plants providing the majority of the town's population (1,500) with employment. Music was a very important part of community life, through church, school and the home. Collective singing, dancing, recitations and the playing of musical instruments were common among relatives and friends, and Doyle could call by name the majority of the town's population.

Doyle grew up in a home that cherished music. His mother was the local piano teacher, so Doyle learned the instrument, along with other local children who took weekly lessons. Doyle's home was a place where his uncles often sang the old traditional Irish songs that were passed down from generation to generation. At age fifteen, Doyle joined his Uncle Leonard's band, the "New Sandells," which had already been in existence for twenty years. The New Sandells played equal parts rockabilly, country, traditional Newfoundland and hard rock. As Doyle experimented with music in a variety of venues he taught himself to play the guitar, drums and the bouzouki. Originally a Greek instrument, the bouzouki is like a bass mandolin, and was introduced to Irish folk music in 1965 by the groups "Sweeney's Men" and the highly influential Irish folk group "Planxty." Dozens of Irish bands have since added the instrument to their cache, pleased with its ability to adapt to Irish music.⁴³

Doyle continued playing in numerous bands throughout high school, until he moved to St. John's to go to Memorial University. It was there, while completing

⁴³ For further information on the bouzouki see Kelly Russell, "Introducing the Bouzouki to Newfoundland

conjoint Bachelor of Arts (English-Religion) and Bachelor of Education degrees that he formed a duo with friend John Brenton. The band, named "Staggering Home" played a challenging schedule of seven nights a week plus matinee shows. Staggering Home had a unique approach to performing, by combining both rock music and comedy. Although influenced by the rock and roll styles that were more typical of popular music in the late 80s and early 90s, Doyle was interested in the traditional Newfoundland music that he was accustomed to hearing while growing up.

While Staggering Home was successful in different ways, including solid bookings in the core of St. John's downtown pub circuit, Doyle was open to experimenting with different sounds. In 1991, he met the members of "Rankin Street" – Séan McCann, Bob Hallett, Darrell Power and Jackie St. Croix. The traditional Newfoundland band with comic energy appealed to Doyle and the McCann, Hallett and Power of "Rankin Street" proved to be the right mix for the lead personality and singer. Both Staggering Home and Rankin Street disbanded, and within a year, Great Big Sea was formed. As Doyle explains: "...Rankin Street has a similar sound, and as an added bonus – owned their own P.A. system! As I owned a semi-operable van, it was a match made in heaven."⁴⁴ He also joked "Darrell and Bob can actually play their instruments, I had a van, and Séan is good lookin' – there you go, that's how you make a band. You need a good-lookin' guy and a van. That's it" (Crozier 1996: n.p.).

There are several popular accounts of how Great Big Sea actually met, including one that places the band's meeting at a kitchen party in Petty Harbour. On Great Big Sea's website, however, an email reply to a fan question states that the band officially

Music," *Newfoundland Musician* 1, no. 1 (1994): 27.

knew each other from university, although Séan and Bob met Darrell “when he was performing (underage) at a local folk pub for free pints, and Séan and Bob actually went to elementary school together.”⁴⁵

Darrell Power was born May 21st, 1969 in Outer Cove, a tiny community just ten minutes from St. John’s. Power went to high school in St. John’s, and later received degrees in Arts and Education from Memorial University. Although he worked as a teacher in St. John’s, Power has performed regularly in bands since he was in high school.

Power was born to a musical family and took part in the active musical community that surrounded him. His father Paddy loved traditional music, and influenced his large family (four sons and two daughters) to appreciate the traditional songs of Newfoundland. Paddy sang in a group called “The Quidi Vidi Celi Band” and it was from listening to his father that Darrell learned many of the traditional songs sung by his ancestors. Darrell also performed in the local Catholic church, where he played piano for the St. Francis youth choir.

Power gained experience in several styles by playing in a rock and roll band that performed cover songs of Pink Floyd and Bob Dylan, and by participating in musical productions with a popular traditional music group “The Concert Crowd.” By playing with these groups, Power learned how to play guitar by ear, and consequently learned other instruments including mandolin, fiddle, accordion, and harmonica. The members of Great Big Sea persuaded him to play bass and he learned the bones (a set of wooden

⁴⁴ *Great Big Sea* [website]; available from <http://www.greathigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

beaters that were traditionally made from animal bones) by trial and error.⁴⁶ Power sings an occasional bass lead for Great Big Sea, but mostly performs harmony while strumming on a bass guitar.

Séan McCann was born May 22nd, 1968 in the small fishing town of Carbonear. When McCann was five years old his family moved to St. John's where they remained, and where he completed his formal education at Memorial University. McCann received a Bachelor of Arts in English and continued his academic study towards the completion of a Masters of Arts in Folklore until the band's touring forced him to put a hold on his education.

McCann's musical education came from a variety of sources. He doesn't read music, and is mostly self-taught on the instruments he plays. McCann learned his main instrument, the bodhran (a Celtic goat-skin drum) by watching others play, and by listening carefully to records. He taught himself guitar after being shown the basic principles by fellow band member Darrell. The other main vocalist for Great Big Sea, McCann is well versed in the style of traditional songs of his ancestors, and applies his knowledge as a songwriter for the group.

Bob Hallett was born in St. John's on May 23rd, 1967. With a Bachelor of Arts in English from Memorial University, Hallett worked as a journalist for Memorial University's student run publication, the Muse, and was the managing editor for the weekly provincial magazine, the Newfoundland Herald, when he joined Great Big Sea.

Hallett grew up in a very musical environment with his family promoting and encouraging music-making. When he was an adolescent, he played the baritone

⁴⁶ Ibid.

saxophone in the school band, and taught himself to play the guitar. He learned to play the button accordion by watching his grandmother play, and consequently learned to play it left-handed, although he is naturally right-handed. When barely an adult, Hallett taught himself to play his great-grandfather's old fiddle by ear, and learned the whistle by playing along with records. He also plays the banjo, bouzouki, concertina, mandola and mandolin.⁴⁷ He sings backup vocals although he occasionally sings lead vocals when a song calls for a bass voice. Hallett doesn't read music but instead sings, performs, writes and improvises his music by ear. He wrote all of Great Big Sea's early publicity information, as well as the liner notes for their albums.

Recording Success

As Great Big Sea's career grew, the band began to tour outside of Newfoundland, in small venues in Halifax and other Atlantic Canadian cities. Consistent performances, sold-out venues and an increasingly loyal fan base enabled the band to tour for nearly a year while preparing their independent self-titled album in 1992. The recording sold over 30,000 copies before the band signed a recording deal with Warner Music in 1995.

With Great Big Sea's second album release *Up* (their label debut with Warner), the band became the first group from Newfoundland to sell over 100,000 records, a Canadian platinum certification. Warner re-released their self-titled recording, and in 1997 released Great Big Sea's third album *Play*. *Play* debuted in the top-ten nationwide and achieved gold status in only four weeks, a first for a folk-based album, and for a Newfoundland band.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 6 – January 10, 1998* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.

⁴⁸ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 3 – May 1, 1997* [essay on-line]; available from

Although the band continued an exhausting tour schedule its members continued to play in Newfoundland. These dates would include the annual Great Big Christmas concert and Great Big Picnic concerts, which started in 1993 and 1996, respectively. Great Big Sea remained loyal to their home province although they continued to seek success on the mainland, and in other countries. To examine Great Big Sea's success in the rest of Canada, however, it is necessary to examine how the band was able to promote themselves within the Newfoundland music industry.

3.5 The Newfoundland Recording Industry

In the 1980s and early 1990s the sound recording industry in Newfoundland exhibited rapid growth, and the province has seen both developments in its recording technology as well as the establishment of numerous new recording studios. As an Atlantecon brief prepared for the Music Industry Association of Newfoundland and Labrador illustrated (MIA), the rate of growth in the province was much greater than that of Canadian recorded music as a whole.⁴⁹ The recording market of the province is growing proportionately with the Canadian industry, and recent releases by Newfoundland musicians have kept up with trends in the national and international spheres (MIA 1996: 1-4).

The growing number of annual releases by Newfoundland musicians exemplifies the growth of the recording industry in the province. From 1991-2 to 1993-4 the number of recordings more than doubled in the province (thirty to forty records per year to ninety

<http://www.greathigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.

⁴⁹ *The Summary Report of the Economic Benefits, Opportunities and Potential in the Sound Recording Industry of Newfoundland and Labrador* was commissioned of the Atlantecon Consulting Economists, Ltd. by the Music Industry Association of Newfoundland and Labrador. The brief was written on March 31, 1995, and includes an overview of the music recorded by Newfoundland and Labrador musicians from 1990

or more per year). Although this growth was analogous to trends in the English-Canadian recording industry as a whole, Newfoundland has a much smaller population, and therefore, a comparably smaller body of musicians (MIA 1996: 11). By comparison with other provinces, Newfoundland musicians have also received a creditable share of FACTOR funding, although concentrated in larger projects. The seven Newfoundland projects that received a total funding of \$111,000 in 1994-5 compare with twenty-seven projects worth \$167,000 in Nova Scotia and twenty-four projects worth \$108,000 in Alberta (MIA 1996: 9).

Although the consumption of Newfoundland music has focused on traditional and folk music, a noticeable interest in Newfoundland folk and country music has occurred. Both Newfoundland folk and country music have gained a wider appreciation by younger audiences in the past ten years, which may be typical of the growing trend in appreciation of Celtic and roots-derived music by audiences internationally. During the period 1993-94, Newfoundland musician Ron Hynes, and popular trad-rock bands such as The Irish Descendants and Rawlins Cross formed alliances with major record companies. This resulted in the release of several high-profile records that promoted and encouraged the consumption of Newfoundland music in the national market. Although the recordings by these artists only account for a minor share of the total albums released in that period, they contributed significantly to the sales figures, and further documented the contribution of Newfoundland popular musicians to the national English-Canadian market. Moreover, recordings by high-profile local artists encouraged other local musicians and bands to continue to perform local popular music both in and outside the

to 1994 inclusive.

province (MIA 1996: 11). The success of a few major label releases as well as several independent recordings by Newfoundland musicians likely encouraged Great Big Sea to pursue FACTOR funding, and strive towards getting signed by a major label.

In regards to financial support, many Newfoundland musicians have been concerned that music other than traditional Newfoundland music is not well recognized or supported by audiences and radio stations in the province. However, as part of their license commitments, radio stations are required to initiate seminars, workshops and live events in order to promote regional artists under the Canadian Talent Development Initiatives. Other private support mechanisms are available through cable music channels such as MuchMusic and CMT (Country Music Television), which both provide financial assistance for the development of music videos, the showcasing of artists, and the promotion of new talent. Also available to Newfoundland musicians are local grant programs such as the Professional Publishers and Songwriters Demo Award Program and the New Talent Demo Award Program, which both award up to \$1,500 towards the production of demo tapes (MIA 1996: 8-9).

A standard conception of Newfoundland popular music is that it is largely Celtic-derived and its unique musical identity has been fostered by this perception. Although much of the Newfoundland music industry has focused on the Celtic tradition, which undeniably has a stronghold over the province, there is also an emerging body of musicians in other contemporary musical genres. Substantial sales in the alternative and rock fields are concurrent with market trends around the world (MIA 1996: 31). A more notable statistic, however, is the fact that 72% of Newfoundland musicians are recording 80% or more original work and less than 20% cover material (MIA 1996: 15).

Although at various times Great Big Sea has been labeled in the traditional, trad-pop, trad-rock, folk-rock, Celtic and country genres, they are indisputably “popular music” by virtue of their consistent airplay on Newfoundland popular radio stations. Great Big Sea has been regularly supported by CJOZ (OZFM) 94.7 FM and VOFM (Magic) 97.5 FM, as well as popular country radio station CKIX (KIXX) 99.1 FM. The band has also received airplay on Memorial University’s radio station CHMR (MUN radio) 93.5 FM, as well as community radio station VOCM 590 AM.

As the MIA brief observes, some radio stations in Newfoundland and Labrador are consistent in their support for local recordings, even giving them an advantage over other recordings. This is significant because radio stations receive thousands of new recordings per year, and cannot possibly listen to all of them. Nevertheless, most station programmers in the province insist that “Newfoundland artists must be judged on the same terms as all artists in a given genre. That means a rock/pop recording from Newfoundland is competing with internationally charting stars for airplay” (MIA 1996: 23).

Touring and Promotion

In spite of Great Big Sea’s constant touring, the band did not have much success with radio stations outside of Newfoundland. The band’s official newsletters plead with fans to request the album’s singles to radio station as well as video stations such as MuchMusic and CMT. In May of 1997, shortly after the release of the album *Play*, the band states:

If this record is going to go anywhere, we are really going to need your help. Some radio stations in Canada don’t want to play our music because it’s not commercial enough. However,

they are responsive to what their listeners want. And, judging by the hundreds of emails we get every week, and how many of you show up when we play, an awful lot of people want to hear Great Big Sea. Please, if you have five minutes, phone your radio station and request "When I'm Up I Can't Get Down." We would do it ourselves but they'll recognize our voices and think we are lame.⁵⁰

A later comment by the band about the Canadian music industry noted that "Canadian radio has very strict air-play formats, and wild bands from Newfoundland with fiddles and bodhrans don't quite fit in. Help us beat those doors down."⁵¹ It worked. Within three months *Play* achieved platinum certification, and eventually doubled to over 200,000 copies sold by February 1998.

In the earlier years of their career, Great Big Sea did receive some support from MuchMusic including a highlight on the "Clip Trip" segment of Great Big Sea's European tour of 1994. In 1997, the band was asked to perform at Snow Job '97, an annual event produced by MuchMusic that showcases the best of Canadian pop, rock and alternative music. Snow Job '97 was held at Marble Mountain, near Corner Brook, Newfoundland, and was a venue in which Great Big Sea could gain more fans on the West Coast of the island.

Fan support of Great Big Sea was remarkable. As the band's newsletter noted in October of 1997,

Many radio stations in Canada eventually played "When I'm Up..." but it was only because of the unprecedented demand they got from their listeners. We are expecting another up-hill battle for "Ordinary Day." The more requests MuchMusic and radio stations get for "Ordinary Day" the harder it is not to play the song. Everyone at our record company was amazed at the groundswell of

⁵⁰ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 3 – May 1, 1997* [essay on-line]; available from <http://www.greathigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

support we received before, and we will always be extremely grateful for it. Please help us again, especially Vancouver Z 95.⁵²

Throughout the Great Big Newsletters, the band often poked fun at themselves and at the radio stations that were recognized for not playing Great Big Sea's music. They even threatened to name on-line the stations which were not playing Great Big Sea, as they did with Vancouver Z 95. Regardless of the lack of support of some Canadian radio stations, "Ordinary Day" was well received, especially at MuchMusic, which added the song to its heavy rotation list. Consequently "Ordinary Day" entered the top-thirty countdown.

Financial Support

Great Big Sea received some support from VideoFACT and the Cultural Industries Development Initiative to go towards the extensive costs of touring the country, making videos and promoting their albums. The video for "Mari-Mac" from *Up* was partially funded through the Co-operation Agreement on Cultural Industries and VideoFACT (Stone 1996: 123). VideoFACT is a program of "non-recoupable grants set up voluntarily and funded entirely by the MuchMusic Network."⁵³ As per VideoFACT regulations, a music video can be awarded up to fifty percent of the production costs, to a maximum of \$12,500 (MIA 1996: 9). "Consequence Free" from *Turn* was also awarded money from VideoFACT.

Great Big Sea has received numerous grants from FACTOR as well. In the past five years the band has been awarded three grants for videos (1996, 1998 and 2000).

⁵² *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 5 – October 5, 1997* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

⁵³ *VideoFACT* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.muchmusic.com/videoFACT/>; Internet: accessed 28 January 2002.

support for international tours, [1998 (twice), 1999, 2000 (three times) and 2001 (twice)] and was also awarded funding for an international showcase in 2000 and radio marketing in 2001.⁵⁴

The financial support that Great Big Sea received through the grants and loans from FACTOR, VideoFACT and the Cultural Industries Development Initiative helped the band to jump-start their career in the national popular music industry. The financial support that was afforded to the band by the Newfoundland music industry was not sufficient to cover the costs of touring Canada, and select cities in the United States. Extensive touring, however, was necessary in order for the band to promote themselves in the North American folk-rock circuit. Great Big Sea's tour through Europe garnered the band loyal fans in Denmark, Germany and England, but the costs of touring overseas were enormous and financial support was imperative. Fortunately Warner Music International could afford to vigorously promote the band in cities across Canada and the United States. The deal with Cooking Vinyl, a United Kingdom based record company for Europe and Southeast Asia, enabled the group to tour and release their album *Up* in Europe in July of 1997.

In June of 1998, Great Big Sea released their first album in the United States. *Rant & Roar* on Sire Records is the first album from a Newfoundland band to be released by a major label in America.⁵⁵ A self-acknowledged "cult band" in the United States, Great Big Sea recognized that they would have to move mountains to be played on mainstream radio in America. As the band emphasized on their on-line newsletter,

⁵⁴ Karen Switzer, FACTOR representative, *Great Big Sea FACTOR Approvals*, [personal email]; 31 January 2002.

⁵⁵ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 7 – May 15, 1998* [essay on-line]; available from

Judging by the track records of Canadian bands in America, the odds are definitely against us. On the other hand, nobody gave us a snowball's chance in Canada, and we have built our careers on defying expectations. The confidence Sire has shown in the band really helps, and if there is one thing that gets a Newfoundlander going, it is a challenge. Still, we are going to need each and every one of our friends in America to help push the band.⁵⁶

Great Big Sea's fourth album *Turn* was released by Warner Music in 1999. This album deviated a bit from the band's previous two releases, which were more popular music-focused. *Turn* had an admittedly more "folk" sound, and followed more in the vein of their self-titled first album. Darrell Power described *Turn* as a departure from their earlier sound, noting that "We've been trying to update the music. On the one hand we wanted to record and perform traditional music but there's also been a lot more effort and work put into our original songs" (Ostroff 1999: n.p.). Interestingly, the group received financial assistance from MuchMusic towards the video "Consequence Free," which proved its "popular music" status to playlists around the country. MuchMusic, however, wasn't the only video station to play the video. CMT placed "Consequence Free" in high rotation upon requests from viewers, and as a result, the video received a "Number 1" award from the station.

It wasn't always easy for Great Big Sea to garner record contracts. After a dispute with Cooking Vinyl, the band was without a European record company, and consequently did not tour the United Kingdom in the winter of 2000. Ultimately, Great Big Sea continued touring Europe when Warner Music International signed the band and released *Turn*.

<http://www.greathigsea.com>: Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

The release of Great Big Sea's fifth album *Road Rage* in the fall of 2000 was met with great delight by fans across Canada and was their fifth album to achieve platinum sales in Canada. Emails and message boards begged the band to release a live album, and during their cross-country tour in 1999, the band recorded over forty performances in ten provinces, from British Columbia to Newfoundland. After the numerous recordings the band had the daunting task of choosing which performances to include on the album. As the liner notes from *Road Rage* indicate:

Listening to these tapes fills us with memories: selling out two nights at the famous Massey Hall... the volume of the singers in Moncton... the incredible energy in Saskatoon... all leading up to the overwhelming sight of what could be the largest gathering in the history of Newfoundland, some 90,000 ushering in the millennium on the St. John's waterfront. Last night of the millennium. Last night of the tour. The audiences were always amazing. Thank you for lending us your energy when we grew weary, and your voices when ours grew tired. This recording is for you.⁵⁷

Great Big Sea's latest album *Sea of No Cares* was released in February of 2002. The most "pop" of their records to date, Great Big Sea enlisted the assistance of songwriter Chris Trapper, from the Boston pop-rock band "The Push Stars," who opened for Great Big Sea on their last American tour. Trapper's understanding of pop music certainly affected the style of *Sea of No Cares*, which includes songs with more of a "pop sensibility," a sound more likely to be accepted on Canadian pop radio. As Doyle acknowledged to the Canadian Press,

I'd be lying to you if I said we didn't make efforts on this album to access the pop music market. We could have done a beautiful version of "Sea of No Cares" with fiddles and tin whistles and stuff. But to progress to the stage where more and more people are listening to Great Big Sea and traditional

⁵⁷ Great Big Sea, *Road Rage* [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada, 2000.

Newfoundland music, we thought it would be great to have an album that had such a broad range with pop songs and traditional songs to hammer home the statement that the two don't have to be on different records. One band can do both of these (Flynn 2002: n.p.).

Admittedly, the album is also stretching the familiar boundaries of traditional music in other ways. "I call it our everything-est album. Our rockiest, our popiest, our rootsiest... Our goal if nothing else on this record was to let the songs be in whatever world they wanted to be in – and unabashedly in that world too," noted Doyle (Flynn 2002: n.p.).

The sales of *Sea of No Cares* prove that the country is open to the combination of Newfoundland folk combined with a more commercial pop sound. The album debuted at number one on the national SoundScan sales chart, a first for Great Big Sea. The closest the band came to number one was with *Turn* which debuted at number six on the SoundScan chart in 1999.⁵⁸ *Sea of No Cares* is doing well with financial support as well, most recently receiving video funding from CMT's Video Assistance Program for the title-track video.

Although the new release is decidedly more pop commercial than the earlier Great Big Sea recordings, the traditional sounds of Newfoundland are still important to the group's overall presentation to the world. *Sea of No Cares* includes five traditional Newfoundland folksongs, and several other songs that include some sort of Newfoundland identity, whether by place names of Newfoundland or references to historical events of the province. In addition to the traditional songs included on the most recent album, five of Great Big Sea's songs are featured in the mainstream film "The

⁵⁸ "Great Big Sea sails to number one." *The Express*. March 6-12, 2002.

Shipping News.” an adaptation of the novel by E. Annie Proulx. From the songs featured in the film, all of the songs are folk-oriented, and only one song, “Bad as I Am,” is not a traditional song, and does not include a reference to Newfoundland identity. The rest of the songs, “Dancing with Mrs. White,” “The Jolly Butcher” and “Billy Peddle” are all traditional songs of the province, and the principle theme of the band’s original song “Goin’ Up” is the Newfoundland kitchen party. “Dancing with Mrs. White” is a reference to the late Canadian fiddler Mrs. Minnie White, whose collection of dance music included the tunes “Green Grow the Rushes ‘O’” and two dance tunes associated with Newfoundland Mi’kmaq. “Dancing with Mrs. White” is a compilation of the three tunes. Great Big Sea accredits Jeannie Hewson for her version of “The Jolly Butcher,” although the band’s version is slightly different and with an added chorus. “Billy Peddle” is another traditional song arranged by the band, and includes a preface of an Irish Jig nicknamed “The Sook.”⁵⁹

The Shipping News is receiving wide critical acclaim in the United States and Canada, and its soundtrack may increase recognition of the band. But being associated with the film is not Great Big Sea’s foremost goal. “If people in Cleveland said ‘I’m going to see a band tonight from Newfoundland’ and if people... become aware of the fact that we live on a cool remote island that has generations worth of great music, then that would be an excellent thing” (Flynn 2002: n.p.).

⁵⁹ Great Big Sea. *Up* [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada. 1995.

Chapter Four: Great Big Sea and Newfoundland Identity

The identity of Great Big Sea is very much centered on their identity as Newfoundlanders. The name of the band "Great Big Sea" is an old Newfoundland phrase meaning a sea that is rough, with heavy waves and swell.⁶⁰ The lyrics of the songs are filled with other traditional Newfoundland phrases having to do with the ocean, such as in the song "Great Big Sea/Gone By the Board" which reads "Great Big Sea hove in Long Beach," indicating the large waves that heaved on the shore of Long Beach, an outport community in Newfoundland. Other songs performed by the band such as "Jack Hinks," "Donkey Riding," "Ferryland Sealer" and "Boston and St. John's" speak of the lives of the traditional fishers and sealers of Newfoundland who made their living on the dangerous waters of the Atlantic Ocean.⁶¹ As either traditional or original material composed by the band these songs act as a form of maintenance of the traditional Newfoundland identity of old, and as a form of identity building for younger generation Newfoundlanders who have been searching for "their" history since the nativist movement of the 1970s.⁶²

The deliberate promotion of a specifically "Newfoundland" image has worked for Great Big Sea. The band promotes Newfoundland's economy by referring their fans to vacation "back home," and by using custom-made instruments from Newfoundland.⁶³

Although the members proudly speak of being first-generation Canadians because

⁶⁰ *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, ed. G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson. University of Toronto Press, 1982; *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (1940) "A great big sea hove in the Harbour. / And hove right up in Keoughs' Parlour": 63-65.

⁶¹ See Appendix Four for Great Big Sea lyrics that contain Newfoundland references.

⁶² Lise Saugeres' M.A. thesis "Figgy Duff and Newfoundland Identity" (St. John's: Memorial University, 1991) extensively covers the history of the 1970s nativist movement among urban intellectuals in St. John's.

⁶³ Darrell Power plays a set of custom-made Newfoundland white spruce bones made for him by his father. Séan McCann plays custom-made bodhran tippers, made for him by O'Grady Pipes and Bodhrans of

their parents were born in the Dominion of Newfoundland before it was a part of Canada, their Canadian nationality takes a second seat to their locality and regional identity as Newfoundland and Atlantic Canadian performers. Their Newfoundland identity is inseparable from their identity as musicians in the Canadian music scene. In interviews with reporters from all over the world, Great Big Sea is eager to promote Newfoundland and its music as distinctive and valuable.

4.1 Intolerance and Disrespect towards Newfoundland Culture

The one thing that Great Big Sea will not tolerate is disrespect for Newfoundland. In the 1960s, a popular form of the standard ethnic joke was the “Newfie” joke, an ethnic slur that poked fun at Newfoundland culture, which was largely unaccepted by the rest of Canada. Newfoundland music was also looked upon unfavourably. As Doyle noted “Newfoundland culture... was so far from cool, so far from pop, so far from being accepted, it wasn’t even funny” (Jones 2000: 14).

Great Big Sea has had numerous experiences with reporters and promoters who have viewed Newfoundlanders in a negative light. The standard stereotype of Newfoundland involves “Newfie” jokes and drinking clichés, and in the earlier years of Great Big Sea’s career, they were constantly advertised as part of a “Newfie Night” or a “Screech” Night.⁶⁴ As Hallett noted, “It was very bad when we first started out... now we have it in our contract that words like ‘Newfie’ and ‘Screech’ don’t appear in any context with us” (Sullivan 1998: D2).

But even contract agreements do not stop reporters from showing their ignorance

Carbonear, Newfoundland and Bob Hallett plays O’Grady Newfoundland whistles.

⁶⁴ Screech is an indigenous Newfoundland golden rum; the title came from the sound American soldiers apparently made when they tasted it. *The History of Screech* [on-line essay]; available from

about Newfoundland bands. "The stupidest question a journalist ever asked me was when would we be good enough to move to the mainland," said Doyle. "We want to be good enough to stay here," retorted McCann. "We're lucky to be from a place that has such a culture and such a self-deprecating sense of humour. Maybe the rest of Canada will start to look beyond the jokes and *The Shipping News* and see what it's like to live in this exotic place in the middle of the ocean... I'd be happy if we just played here, and audiences flew in to see us" (Sullivan 1998: D2).

Great Big Sea battled the "Newfie" stereotype in the national capital as well. In 1997 the band received an excellent chance to showcase their talent by performing in Ottawa for the Canada Day celebrations. Unfortunately, the promoters of the concert were influenced by the stereotyped view of Newfoundland culture that is widely known in much of mainland Canada. The organizers wanted to portray the band as a Newfoundland cliché. "There were a couple of things, like 'We'll pull you out in a dory, with a hat on'" said Doyle angrily.

Why is it we live in this excellent country where there's a real cool melting pot of cultures, and regionalism doesn't mean you're not a good nationalist – why is it that [Newfoundland] culture has got to be laughed at? Why do we have to be the gag? You wouldn't pull Susan Aglukark out on an igloo. You wouldn't say, 'Here comes the frog, Celine Dion.' You wouldn't get Van Morrison out here with a leprechaun cap on.⁶⁵

Having the band appear with sou'westers would only further the myth that all Newfoundlanders are fishermen, and are related in some intrinsic way to the sea. Although the band does sing some sea shanties, it is obvious that the members of Great

<http://www.trapperjohns.com/history.htm>; Internet: accessed 06 March 2002.

⁶⁵ "Great Big Sea singer wants respect." *The Globe and Mail*. 11 August 1997: C3.

Big Sea are not the traditional seafarers that they sing about. While the band members make it a point to self-promote Newfoundland identity to Newfoundlanders, they do not want to be recognized solely for that identity in the Canadian music scene. These experiences unfortunately only seem to happen in Canada, not while traveling elsewhere in the world, Doyle was quick to add.

The humour in Newfoundland's culture may be self-deprecating, but Great Big Sea is not about to appear onstage telling "Newfie" jokes for easy laughs. Doyle was particularly disturbed by fellow Newfoundland musician Kim Stockwood telling a "Newfie" joke onstage at the 1997 Juno Awards, even though she defended the joke by saying that it was her birthright to tell them but other Canadians shouldn't. As Doyle reasoned,

Kim is great and I really admire her and she's really ambitious, but there's a million ways for Newfoundlanders to internationally become known as being able to laugh at themselves and having a sense of humour, but the easiest way is we're all drunk dummies. Yeah, Newfoundlanders enjoy celebrating, but they work just as hard as they play. Because of 'Newfie' jokes, you have to start at minus-four instead of at zero" (Bliss 1997: 39).

The generalized "Newfie" stereotype occurs frequently in the media, such as a recent blitz of letters to the editor in *The Ottawa Citizen* reproaching a bigoted editorial about Newfoundlanders. The editorial was in defense of a column written about the CBC special *Random Passage*, and commented that the miniseries was about "the struggle of Irish migrants in Newfoundland before the invention of government handouts."⁶⁶ One angry reader replied:

If you chose to educate yourself concerning the economy, you

⁶⁶ "'Newfies' are tired of your bigotry." *The Ottawa Citizen*, 09 February 2002. B5.

would know that the money put into Newfoundland in transfer payments is far less than what the country receives in natural benefits. This is notwithstanding the contributions Newfoundlanders make to the artistic, financial and intellectual landscapes of Canada.⁶⁷

Another reader retorted “back on the Rock, we are blessed with a culture so rich that a few little racist comments from a little man such as Mr. [Bruce] Ward hardly bother us.”⁶⁸ In response to the newspaper’s editor who, in Ward’s defense, implied that Newfoundlanders lacked a sense of humour, Walsh continued:

This is not about lacking a sense of humour. I would match Newfoundland’s sense of humour with anyone else’s in a minute. We can laugh at ourselves better than anyone. The issue is the condescension and bigotry that most “Newfies” feel has grown, frankly, too old and tiring to laugh at.⁶⁹

Newfoundland musicians commonly report these stereotypes existing in the Canadian music scene as well. Whether or not it can be said that they are generally discriminated against because of their region of birth, the fact remains that some Newfoundland musicians feel that they have to work twice as hard to get half as far. The prevalent ideology is that big cities such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are the only places that will garner success in the Canadian music industry. Many Newfoundland artists feel that their efforts in the recording studios of Newfoundland will simply not get noticed, and will record their albums in a large centre on the mainland in order to avoid stereotypes about the quality of their recordings (MIA 1997: 32).

Great Big Sea is an exception to this rule. With the exception of *Road Rage*, Great Big Sea’s live album, all of the band’s recordings have been recorded in

⁶⁷ Meghan Walsh, letter to the editor. *The Ottawa Citizen*. 9 February 2002. B5.

⁶⁸ Paul Whittle, letter to the editor. *The Ottawa Citizen*. 9 February 2002. B5.

⁶⁹ Meghan Walsh, letter to the editor. *The Ottawa Citizen*. 9 February 2002. B5.

Newfoundland, with additional recordings in Vancouver and Toronto studios. *As Sea of No Cares* admits. "Recorded all over the place in St. John's, including an old paint factory on the harbour front, an old upholstery store, a creepy abandoned school and Sean's living room. Additional recording at Mushroom Studios, Vancouver and at Vespa Studios, Toronto."⁷⁰

4.2 Trad-Pop as Canadian national music

As Alan Doyle told the magazine *Words and Music*, Canadians are growing in their acceptance and pride in traditional music.

I think the reason people like rootsy traditional music is because it's sincere, it's down-to-earth and honest. And I think it has a lot to do with a renewed sense of nationalism. It's the first time I've seen people out with their flags. Canada is just getting around to the point where it's really appreciating itself (Stockwood 1996: 11).

With the success of Great Big Sea Canadians have started to look at Newfoundland music in a different light. The success of the band's version of the traditional Newfoundland folk song "Lukey's Boat" was surreal for the band, as Doyle noted.

To see a traditional song like "Lukey" at the top of the video charts was completely radical. In the 1960s that song would have been thought of as foolish, ignorant, hillbilly music. So to see it get recognition is a real coup and I'm proud of that. My grandfathers are either spinning in their graves or jumping for joy (Jones 2000: 14).

Although Great Big Sea has battled stereotypes of Newfoundlanders by other Canadians, they are fiercely loyal and proud to be from Canada. In an interview with MuchMusic, Great Big Sea spoke of nationalism and Canadian music: "as a band from

⁷⁰ Great Big Sea, *Sea of No Cares* [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada, 2002.

Newfoundland, we love to wave the Newfoundland flag, but we are the first to say we're Canadian as much as we're Newfoundlanders."⁷¹

But the group also recognized the differences between the provincial and national mentality:

Finally people are realizing what a massive land Canada actually is and how different your life is if you grow up in Regina or you grow up in St. John's... But we're still pretty young, maybe in another 100 years our Canadian culture will be a lot more coherent than it is now. We're still sort of fumbling towards it and looking to try and pick that one thing that epitomizes that Canadian culture. I think Canadians are definitely getting more interested in themselves, and that's why they're looking to Atlantic Canada, to listen to the music, insofar as we were growing up listening to Neil Young and Burton Cummings growing up in other parts of the country.⁷²

This is an indication that Canadian audiences are looking for music coming from the smaller, less well-known areas of the country, such as Atlantic Canada, and giving up on the idea of a cohesive "national" Canadian music. The regional celebrations of Canadian music that are being telecast across the country during the past few years has certainly indicated the interest that Canadians have had in North, West and East Coast musics. This year, the 2002 Juno Awards were broadcast in St. John's, only the second location outside of Toronto to hold the awards show.⁷³ Recognizing that this "national" popular music doesn't exist gives Canadian audiences from the centre a permission per se to listen to the music coming from smaller regional centres.

The success of *Great Big Sea* is one indicator that Newfoundland music is

⁷¹ *Great Big Sea Interview*: 15 June 1998 [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.muchmusic.com>; Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ *Juno Awards History* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.juno-awards.ca>; Internet: accessed 01 April 2002.

becoming more and more accepted in the national music industry.⁷⁴ The acceptance of the regional by the national is a step towards national acceptance of Newfoundland popular music despite the existing stereotypes. It still remains to be seen whether a Newfoundland popular music band can become popular without signing with a major label such as Warner. Because of distribution, promotion and studio limitations in Newfoundland, however, it is still considered preferable to be offered a contract by a major label.

Trad-rock and trad-pop are becoming national popular music in that more Canadians are identifying with grass-roots local music than they are with music that seems "Americanized" or international. Just as Cape Breton audiences support the Gaelic stronghold of the music industry in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland audiences are inclined to support music that supports the local tradition of Newfoundland. The co-existence of different styles of music in Newfoundland such as Celtic, pop, rock, folk and country was influential to the province's music audiences, who were accustomed to hearing a variety of songs in different contexts. As Darrell Power explained,

When you grow up and you hear these great songs that you'd almost forgotten about that your dad sang or your aunt sang, they become part of your repertoire, just like '80s rock tunes, and you manage to have the same appreciation for both (Ostroff 1999: n.p.).

The isolation of Newfoundland and the other Atlantic Provinces helped to breed a certain nationalism and patriotism towards local music, continued Power. "The music that survived there meant that much more to people," and Atlantic Canadians are proud of the ties that bind them to the "old times" (Ostroff 1999: n.p.).

⁷⁴ One indication of a band's success is the number of articles written about them in the popular press. For

The camaraderie that exists between the provinces of Atlantic Canada is also apparent in the music industry. As Doyle noted in an interview with WUMB 91.9 FM Boston.

We're in the kind of niche where by internationally speaking, it's everywhere that Ashley [MacIsaac] does well is good for us. And everywhere that the Rankins do well is good for Ashley, and everywhere that we do well is good for everyone else. There is that kind of fraternity internationally speaking, that however big the Atlantic Canadian movement gets, it's good for all of us.⁷⁵

Doyle noted his delight for Canadian listeners who appreciate their music and showed his humility about the band's success.

I'm not surprised that people are interested in hearing Newfoundland music. I've known for a long time that, in the right environment, this music will stand up to any music in the world... But I'm always delighted when people want to hear us sing it. If I live to be 1,000 and we play a million concerts, I'll never take that for granted (Knapp 1999: n.p.).

Great Big Sea's album *Up* is a good example of the traditional Newfoundland folk-pop music that is so beloved on the island. "Mari-Mac," "Wave over Wave" and "Rant and Roar" are all familiar favorites to Newfoundland audiences.⁷⁶ About the album, Doyle noted "It's music that we really loved... [and it's] as viable as rock 'n' roll. The part of the world we come from, traditionally-based music is more popular than contemporary" (Campbell 1995: n.p.).

Other songs such as "Nothing out of Nothing" and "Something to It" have a

a list of articles on Great Big Sea please see Appendix Five.

⁷⁵ "Interview with Alan and Séan" [on-line interview]; available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/98/10/03txt.html>; WUMB 91.9 FM Boston. 03 October 1998. Internet: accessed 15 December 2000.

⁷⁶ See Appendix Four for the lyrics of "Mari-Mac," "Wave over Wave" and "Rant and Roar."

reminiscent tone that encourages Newfoundlanders to embrace their province.⁷⁷ Bob Hallett explained.

There's almost four million Newfoundlanders alive today and only half a million who actually live on the island. The other three and a half million are out there somewhere. A lot of them would rather go home (Campbell 1995: n.p.).

The importance of local Newfoundland music to Newfoundlanders living in other parts of the world cannot be understated. Popular "Newfoundland bars" in big cities such as Toronto regularly feature musicians from "home" to audiences filled with Newfoundlanders, many of whom had to leave their home province to look for employment. Great Big Sea's album liner notes always thank the Newfoundland listeners who live and work elsewhere in Canada. *Play* cites, "To the thousands of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians and Atlantic Canadians living in economic exile far away from their homes: thank you for embracing our music, and remember that there is a place in the world where you will always belong." *Turn* thanks the audiences for "taking our music with you and for always being proud of home" and the band dedicates *Sea of No Cares* "To all those Atlantic Canadians who believe in the power and dignity of their own communities, we say sing about it, and let the rest of the world know we are here."⁷⁸

4.3 Newfoundland Identity and the Music of Great Big Sea

Great Big Sea has successfully promoted Newfoundland identity in their music by using aspects of the local that are familiar to Newfoundland audiences. An aural difference is perceptible in Great Big Sea's music, and elements of a traditional

⁷⁷ Lyrics of "Nothing out of Nothing" and "Something To It" are contained in Appendix Four.

⁷⁸ Great Big Sea, *Play* [liner notes] Warner Music Canada, 1997; *Turn* [liner notes] Warner Music Canada, 1999; *Sea of No Cares* [liner notes] Warner Music Canada, 2002.

“Newfoundland” sound are distinctly noticeable. This perceptible difference could be considered part of a “musical landscape,” which Stephen Thirlwall identifies as “a cultural landscape of musical institutions, performance locations, regional differences of sound, migration paths of cultural exchange, the social stratification of musicians and audiences and the participation of musical artists in social or political movements for cultural change” (Thirlwall 1992: iv). A case study of Great Big Sea will show the distinctive musical landscape of Newfoundland and its difference from other musical landscapes in Canada.

The integration of culture is the predominant element of a musical landscape, and in this context, Newfoundland culture can be examined as a viable and distinct entity with indigenous structures, ideals, values, attitudes, behaviours and interactions (Thirlwall 1992: 3). These, in effect, show the feelings of a people towards their region, and act as catalysts for their collective behaviour. Sociologists Terry Jordan and Lester Rowntree identify a distinct culture as:

... learned similarities in speech, behaviour, ideology, livelihood, technology, value system and society [which] bind people together in a culture. It involves a communication system of acquired beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes that serve to supplement and channel instinctive behaviour (Jordan and Rowntree 1990: 4).

This communication system is utilized in Newfoundland popular music and song, in which local folk traditions are emphasized and valued. As a study by Newfoundland folklorists Casey, Rosenberg and Wareham indicates, the criterion for categorization of a song to be a “Newfoundland song” is that it have “specific significance to Newfoundlanders and [is] believed to be about people and occurrences within the

province (Casey/Rosenberg/Wareham 1972: 398). This is important from a folklore perspective because many Newfoundland songs have been passed down from older generations and are used to give modern audiences a chance to understand the local as it existed decades ago. Also, it gives the modern pop musician a chance to interpret these songs in a new manner, saving some aspects of the song, and adding new aspects.

The local singer often has a sense of pride that his songs are “original” and distinct from the traditional Newfoundland folksongs that are well known in the province. Many of the folksongs as presented in the Doyle songbooks and the tourist booklet *Historic Newfoundland* are considered classics, and too “common” by traditional folk singers, and songs such as “I’s e the B’y” are rarely sung (Casey/Rosenberg/ Wareham 1972: 398). Much like the traditional performers, Great Big Sea has recorded very few classic Newfoundland folksongs, relying instead on their own songwriting, and lesser well-known folksongs from the outports for their performances and recordings.⁷⁹

The Newfoundland folk musician is often aware of the ownership of traditional songs, and traditional folk singers often have distinct and unique repertoires from other folk singers (Casey/Rosenberg/Wareham 1972: 401). The musicians of Great Big Sea are faithful in their credit to the appropriate song “owner,” whether or not the song was learned by a band member, or from an outside source. In the *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 4*, the band noted that Power takes a rare lead vocal on “Jakey’s Gin,” because “it was his family’s song, so it is only right that he be the one to sing it.”⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Among the songs that Great Big Sea have recorded from the Doyle Songbooks and “Songs from the Newfoundland Outports,” ed. Kenneth Peacock, are “Feller from Fortune,” “Ferryland Sealer,” “Great Big Sea Hove In Long Beach,” “I’s e the B’y,” “Jack Hinks,” “Lukey’s Boat,” and “The Ryans and the Pittmans.” See Appendix Four for lyrics to these traditional songs.

⁸⁰ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 4 – July 3, 1997* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greathigsea.com>:

Local tradition and folklore are highly regarded by Great Big Sea, and as a folk-pop band, they place importance on the aural tradition of learning songs from esteemed local and regional folk singers. Because some areas of Newfoundland are still isolated from the mass media, the tradition of Newfoundlanders singing and performing for entertainment purposes is still strong. As Doyle noted, "there are lots of old folk around who know the original versions of the old tunes. That's important because some songs go through amazing changes" (Stoute 1995: n.p.). The band has occupied a folkloric position towards much of their music, and by preserving the lyrics and sound has made a point of placing value on traditional Newfoundland songs from the outports.

Great Big Sea's stance is appropriate for the modern performer from Newfoundland, who recognizes the importance of their heritage. As Gordon Cox identified in his study *Folk Music in a Newfoundland Outport*:

Sometimes there is a compromise, with some young people looking to the past, and to the rural way of life on which it was built as providing important insights as to the way we live. They incorporate the old [songs] into their general rock style, in the hope of retaining some of these old values (Cox 1980: 170).

Although many of the Great Big Sea songs are considered popular music, the band is careful to place emphasis on the specific culture and songs from Newfoundland outports. They record the songs on traditional instruments such as the accordion, bouzouki, bodhran, bones and tin whistles, which are unlikely instruments in the pop music genre. Cox identifies the merging of traditional musical instruments alongside more modern "electric" sound as a "special sound that... establishes a direct link with tradition [especially since] the traditional tunes are still widely played" (Cox 1980: 174).

Even though Great Big Sea's vocal approach is more applicable to modern pop-rock standards, the band's use of traditional instruments, in combination with the acoustic guitar, mandolin, mandola, and banjo uphold the traditional "Newfoundland sound" that is known to folk music circles in Newfoundland.

Although keeping the tradition of Newfoundland folksongs is important to the band, complete authenticity is often impossible for the format of popular music. Instead of singing a traditional song that has twenty or more verses, often the band will edit the song for length and add a chorus to make it more suitable for a performance. The arrangement is part of the process of using traditional songs, notes Hallett, who says that they experiment with the music, using different instruments for each line until it sounds right.

Newfoundland traditionalists are often less conservative than the purist traditional folk performers from other parts of Canada. Says Hallett,

Most people in Newfoundland are so delighted that one band is making songs that last for another generation. It's less orthodox than Cape Breton and more [of] a family tradition. Every family has its own songs and instrumentals, and there's no real set way to play or perform. The fact that you're doing Newfoundland songs is what's important, not how you approach them or how you arrange them. You can even change the words, the titles, and the melodies. Things like that don't seem to rattle people in Newfoundland as much (Bliss 1997: 41).

The band further promotes the aural transmission of traditional songs in their online newsletter. They tell their fans that lyrics to the original Great Big Sea songs will be posted on their website in the future, but lyrics to the traditional songs will remain unpublished because "for the most part, these songs were transmitted orally in

Newfoundland, and we would prefer to keep it that way.” They go on to encourage the reader, saying “If you can’t figure out a particular word, sing what seems right! The spirit of these songs is more important than perfect lyrics and there’s no such thing [as] the ‘right’ words anyway!”⁸¹ In an article in *What!* magazine, McCann explained this assertion:

We didn’t learn our songs from lyric sheets. We didn’t even learn them from albums. We learned them from people singing. I think the oral tradition is what defines folk music. Listen to the songs. If you don’t get all the words, fine, change it a bit, go right ahead. That’s what it’s all about (Clarke Wawrykow 1997: 20).

Because there were so many Newfoundland outports that were completely isolated until the 1950s and 60s, it was common to have many different versions of the same song. In a way, this allows modern Newfoundland popular musicians to make changes to the traditional folk song that they have heard. Says Doyle “...there’s no real dogma of what traditional Newfoundland music is. People are not really strict about adhering to a strict tradition... it’s much more loose and alive and living” (MacIvor 1999: n.p.). This mentality is important because it shows the acceptance towards transformation of song by Newfoundland’s folk and popular circles. Great Big Sea has been careful to present a positive Newfoundland identity to their audience, although it may be one that is constructed to target mainstream Newfoundland audiences. The inclusion of “Trois Navires de Blé,” a rare folksong from Newfoundland’s French community on *Turn* and the Mi’kmaq fiddle tunes on *Up* show that Great Big Sea are not unaware of other indigenous cultures in Newfoundland. In several online newsletters, the band thanked

⁸¹ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 1 – February 5, 1997* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

French audiences for their patience, and encouraged fans to write letters in French, because they could read the language much better than they could speak it.⁸²

In the manner that the physical isolation of Newfoundland allowed its inhabitants to maintain distinct traditions and customs, the physical separation from the US and the rest of Canada encouraged the preservation of unique dialects and languages that were not retained in other parts of the country. The unique dialect of Newfoundlanders is often aurally perceptible in Great Big Sea's music, especially as the band uses unique phrases that are indigenous to the island. For instance, in the *Fire in the Kitchen* version of "Lukey," Alan Doyle proclaims "Yes, b'y, the big snap!" in response to the large guitar chord he played on the first version of the song. Although the chord was later edited out, to Paddy Maloney (of The Chieftains), the comment seemed like the perfect ending to the high spirited song.⁸³ The Newfoundland accent of the performers is aurally perceptible to the Canadian listener as well, and is obvious in Great Big Sea's version of songs like "I'se the B'y," "Jack Hinks," and "Ferryland Sealer."

4.4 An Analysis of "Recruiting Sargeant" and "Lukey" by Great Big Sea

A brief analysis of two of Great Big Sea's songs will give a sense of the type of history and folklore that the band presents as part of its style. "The Recruiting Sargeant," an original song written by Hallett shows the importance of Newfoundland history to the band. "Lukey" is a traditional Newfoundland folksong that has been widely sung in the outports and which has been recorded several different ways by Great Big Sea.

⁸² *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 10 – February 14, 2000* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

⁸³ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 12 – May 15, 2000* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Example 4:1**The Recruiting Sargeant**

(Hallett)

(Lead vocal: McCann)

Two recruiting sargeants came to the CLB.
 For the sons of the merchants, to join the Blue Puttees
 So all hands enlisted, five hundred young men...
 "Enlist you Newfoundlanders and come follow me"

They crossed the broad Atlantic in the brave Florizel.
 And on the sands of Suvla, they entered into hell
 And on those bloody beaches, the first of them fell...
 "Enlist you Newfoundlanders and come follow me"

Chorus:

And it's over the mountains, and over the sea
 Come brave Newfoundlanders, and join the Blue Puttees
 You'll fight the Hun in Flanders, and at Galipoli
 "Enlist you Newfoundlanders and come follow me"

The call came from London, for the last July drive
 To the trenches with the regiment, prepare yourselves to die
 The roll call next morning, just a handful survived...
 "Enlist you Newfoundlanders and come follow me"

Chorus

The stone men on Water Street still cry for the day
 When the pride of the city went marching away
 A thousand men slaughtered, to hear the King say
 "Enlist you Newfoundlanders and come follow me"

Chorus (2x)

Hallett, who was inspired by actual events from Newfoundland's military history, wrote "Recruiting Sargeant," on the album *Play*. The song describes the call for soldiers in St. John's, and the eventual deaths of the Newfoundlanders in two battles of World War I. The tragedy was one of the events that helped plunge Newfoundland into the depression, which ultimately led to Newfoundland joining Canada. Hallett wrote the song using part of a melody from an old Scottish war song (Bliss 1997: 41).

Like several of Great Big Sea's songs, "Recruiting Sargeant" has a sense of irony with its dark lyrics but upbeat chorus. "There's a huge tradition in Newfoundland of singing jovial-type songs about deaths," says Doyle. "They've had hard times for centuries and this is a way to shrug your shoulders and keep going" (Bliss 1997: 40). As Hallett described in *Great Big Newsletter*:

On the evening war was declared by Newfoundland, a British army official gave a recruitment speech in the old CLB [Church Lads Brigade] armoury on Harvey Road in St. John's. According to news reports from the time, all the young men present marched down to the recruiting office en masse to volunteer for the Newfoundland Regiment. Almost the entire contingent of Newfoundlanders in that war were wiped out in two disastrous battles, sent on suicidal charges by their incompetent British officers.⁸⁴

The origin of the "Blue Puttees" is given in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. A Blue Puttee was a member of the first contingent of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment to volunteer for service in 1914. Their name came from the navy blue puttees that the Newfoundland Regiment was issued when the military clothing supplier had run out of khaki clothing during World War I. Puttees were pieces of material (generally wool or leather) that went around the calves over the boot to protect the soldier's legs from wetness. "To be a 'Blue Puttee' was to be a member of the famous First Five Hundred" (Nicholson 1964: 110).⁸⁵

The music of "Recruiting Sargeant" is typical military style folksong, with the bodhran and tin whistle mimicking the military sounds of the drum and fife. The military

⁸⁴ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 7 – May 15, 1998* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com/>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

⁸⁵ *Dictionary of Newfoundland English Online* [website]; edited by G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin and J. D. A. Widdowson, 2nd ed with supplement, 1998. Available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/>; Internet: accessed 3 April 2002.

beat is also indicated by the tempo, which is roughly a quarter note = 120. A prominent beat is made by strict-time guitar strumming and tipping from the beaters of the bodhran. The beat invites the young men to the War, and the dotted rhythms made by the tin whistle and the bodhran present an aural familiarity of a typical Scottish war song. The energetic guitar strumming and beating by the bodhran quickens the chorus and the tin whistle leads into each verse and slows down the tempo to the original beat. The last verse starts unaccompanied except for the frenetic bodhran, then the guitar joins at the words "Blue Puttees." Because of the large number of instruments on the recordings, "Recruiting Sargeant" is almost impossible to reproduce live, the band tells a fan in their online newsletter. "In this case, we rearrange them to fit our live set-up."⁸⁶

The unique spelling of "Sargeant" is a very old spelling from Newfoundland that has not been seen since the 19th century. The only located reference of this spelling is in D.W. Prowse, 1834—1914, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895). Whether or not Hallett used the spelling from another notated source is unknown.⁸⁷

There are three recorded versions of "Lukey" by Great Big Sea, the first on *Up* (1995), the second on the *Fire in the Kitchen* compilation (1998), and the third on their live album *Road Rage* (2000). A comparison of the three recordings shows a variety of verses, tempo, commentary to the audience, lyric interpretation and instrumental lines. The inclusion of the beginning verse of "Great Big Sea/Gone By The Board" as verse six

⁸⁶ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 5 – October 5, 1997*. [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

⁸⁷ The spelling of "Sargeant" is inconsistent depending on country. The British use the spelling "Serjeant"; the United States and Canada favour the spelling "Sergeant." *Oxford Dictionary of Current English, new revised edition*. 1998. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

in “Lukey” occurs only in the *Road Rage* performance. The name change from “Lukey” to “Lukey/Lukaloney” indicates the presence of guest performers The Chieftains.

But “Lukey” has always been a part of Great Big Sea’s repertoire, noted Doyle. Joking that it came with the birth certificate,⁸⁸ he said:

Lukey I can’t remember learning ever. It’s just around. I don’t think until we got... touring around the world [did we get a] really unique perspective about how cool it is to have songs that are uniquely from your place. Or what advantage it is for a folk band to be from a place that has such a wealth of traditional material (Roberts 2000: n.p.).

“Lukey,” originally known as “Lukey’s Boat” has undergone a lot of changes since the first version appeared in the Doyle songbook of 1927. The tune has changed in various ways, as well as the lyrics. Great Big Sea’s lyrics, which are widely used in present Newfoundland folk circles⁸⁹ are included in Example Two on the left, the original lyrics as included in the Doyle songbook are on the right.

Example 4:2

Lukey

(Traditional/arr. Great Big Sea)
(Lead vocal: Doyle)

Introduction:

A-ha me boys a-riddle-I-day!
Hup, two-yup, Hup two three four!

Verse one:

Well oh, Lukey’s boat is painted green.
A-ha, me boys!
Lukey’s boat is painted green.

Lukey’s Boat

(Traditional/words from Ira
Yates, Andrew Young and others)

Verse one:

O, Lukey’s boat is painted green.
Aha, me b’ys.
O, Lukey’s boat is painted green.

⁸⁸ See Dawna McIvor, “Doing what they love most,” *Thunder Bay Source* (October 1999): n.p.

⁸⁹ See *The Pigeon Inlet Newfoundland Folklore Archive: An Online Source for Newfoundland Songs, Stories & Music* [website]; available from <http://www.pigeoninlet.nfnet.com/archive.htm>; Internet: accessed 03 March 2002.

It's the prettiest boat that you've ever seen.
A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day! (2x)

Verse two:

Well oh, Lukey's boat's got a fine fore cutty,
Ha, me boys!
Lukey's boat's got a fine fore cutty,
And every seam is chinked with putty,
A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day! (2x)

Verse three:

Well I says "Lukey the blinds are down"
Ha, me boys!
I says "Lukey the blinds are down"
"Me wife is dead and she's underground"
A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day! (2x)

Verse four:

Well, I says "Lukey I don't care"
Ha, me boys!
I says "Lukey I don't care"
"I'll get me another in the spring of the year" bigger /
A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day! (2x)

Instrumental verse

Verse five:

Well old Lukey's rolling out his grub,
Ha, me boys!
Lukey's rolling out his grub,
One split pea in a ten pound tub,
A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day! (2x)

Verse six:

Oh, and great big sea hove in Long Beach
Ha me boys!
Great Big Sea hove in Long Beach
Granny Snook she's lost her speech
A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day (2x)

Verse seven:

Well, Lukey's boat's got high-topped sails,
Ha, me boys!
Lukey's boat's got high-topped sails,
The sheet was planched with copper nails,

The prettiest little boat ever you seen
Aha me riddle I day.

Verse two:

O, Lukey's boat got a fine fore cutty,
Aha, me b'ys.
O, Lukey's boat got a fine fore cutty
And every seam is chinked with
putty / Aha me riddle I day.

Verse three:

Lukey's boat got a high stopped jib,
Aha, me b'ys.
Lukey's boat got a high stopped jib,
And a patent block to her foremast
head / Aha me riddle I day.

Verse four:

"I think," said Lukey, "I'll make her
bigger" / Aha, me b'ys.
"I think," said Lukey, "I'll make her
I'll load her down with a
one-claw jigger" / Aha me riddle I
day.

Verse five:

"And now," said Lukey, "get aboard
your grub" / Aha, me b'ys.
"And now," said Lukey, "get aboard
your grub / One split pea and a ten-
pound tub" / Aha me riddle I day.

Verse six:

Lukey's rolling out his grub
Aha, me b'ys.
Lukey's rolling out his grub,
A barrel and a bag and a ten-pound
tub. Aha me riddle I day.

Verse seven:

When Lukey come around the Bill,
Aha, me b'ys.
When Lukey come around the Bill,
He spied his true love on the hill.

A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day! (2x)

Aha me riddle I say.

Instrumental verse

Verse eight:

Lukey's boat is painted green.

Ha, me boys!

Lukey's boat is painted green.

It's the prettiest boat that you've ever seen.

A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day!

Verse eight:

And when he was coming around the
cape / Aha, me b'ys.

And when he was coming around the
cape / He spied old Jennie all on the
flake / Aha me riddle I day.

Closing:

Altogether, a-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day!

A-ha, me boys a-riddle-I-day!

One more, a-ha, me boys a riddle-I-day!

Verse nine:

His wife was dead...

Aha, me b'ys.

"O." said Lukey, "I don't care:

I'll have another in the spring of the
year" / Aha me riddle I day.

Great Big Sea's approach to traditional folksong and music-making is shown through the variety of instrumental verses with vocal verses, and the differences between the three recordings as shown in Table One. For instance, the version from *Up* features the fiddle and guitars quite prominently, while the live version from *Road Rage* doesn't feature the fiddle at all, instead using an accordion for the solo lines. While the *Up* version is more traditional and folk-oriented, the vocal presentation of "Lukey" in the *Road Rage* version is much more casual, and geared towards a pop-rock audience. Although Doyle's vocal style is more of a rock-style "bawling," the overall style of the live version is in the folk tradition.⁹⁰ The band talks to the audience, encourages audience participation by singing, clapping and dancing, and Doyle laughs a few times during the performance.

⁹⁰ "Bawling" is a Newfoundland term for yelling, frequently paired with the word "screeching" as in "screeching and bawling." See *The Dictionary of Newfoundland English* [website]; available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/d7ction.html>; Internet: accessed 03 April 2002. In the liner notes of *Up*, Hallett acknowledges that "Bawling our heads off is a Great Big Sea trick." *Up* [liner notes]. Warner

"Every Great Big Sea show is different," says McCann. "We never play anything the same way twice. [For the live album] we didn't want to record a note-perfect imitation of our studio albums. We wanted to capture spontaneity and energy and you can't plan for that."⁹¹ Each of the versions has a distinct feel. "Lukey" on *Up* is slower, and the most serious of the performances. "Lukey/Lukaloney" from *Fire in the Kitchen* is the most instrumental, including extra verses to highlight the extraordinary musicianship of The Chieftains; and because of its rock interpretation, the version on *Road Rage* vocally strays the most from the traditional folksong. Ironically, the live version is also the most like the performance of a folksong in a group setting, being the most casual, and including the audience as part of the active participation of music-making. Also known as "musicking," the concept by Christopher Small theorizes that art/music is an active collective effort by all present.⁹² Musicking is a big part of Great Big Sea concerts, notes Doyle. "... I will tell people right now that if they come and if they are prepared to participate in what is [an outdoor] Great Big Sea concert, they will not be cold. Great Big Sea concerts are something that you do, not something you see" (Wagner 2002: H3).

Yet although the version with The Chieftains is the most instrumental, and therefore, the most "folk" of all the versions, it was that recorded version which was played on top-ten rock radio in downtown Toronto.⁹³ "Lukey/Lukaloney" was made into a music video, and the merry interaction between the two bands clearly shows the style of

Music Canada, 1995.

⁹¹ *Great Big Sea – Road Rage* [on-line press release]; available from <http://www.greathigsea.com/theband/reviews.html>; Internet: accessed 21 November 2000.

⁹² Notes William Echard, "by turning 'music' into a verb [Small] is drawing attention to the fact that music is not about fixed *texts*, but about social activity. Also, the model implies that musicking is done not just by 'musicians,' but by everyone present at a musical event" (Echard 2000: 11).

⁹³ "Interview with Alan and Séan" [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/98/10/03txt.html>; 03 October 1998. Internet: accessed 15

music-making that is favoured by the folk musicians. Their casual manner is indicated by their performance (sitting in an Irish pub), and there is much laughter and apparent delight at performing with each other. The making of the video was, as McCann noted, the highlight of Great Big Sea's career. "We actually sat down in a pub and played with The Chieftains, for like four hours, in a pub, acoustic, in Killarney. And Kevin Conneff didn't show up, so I got to play the bodhran."⁹⁴

Great Big Sea was very proud to collaborate with The Chieftains, and were extremely excited about the video. Hallett noted their delight:

There's a video coming out... that we were lucky enough to shoot with The Chieftains in Killarney, Ireland... [and although] it was our eighth or ninth video. It was actually their first video. After 35 years in the music business... it's their first video. The video is indescribable. Leave it to say that The Chieftains were as amused to be making their first video as we were by being in it with them.⁹⁵

Both "Recruiting Sargeant" and "Lukey" illustrate the importance of Newfoundland history and tradition to the band. In the folk-pop genre, the band is able to record and perform several versions of the same song and make it completely different. The aspect of traditional music-making is perhaps the most important to the band, however, and the performance itself is just as meaningful as the recorded outcome.

Table One: Three versions of "Lukey" by Great Big Sea

- ♪ - Featured instruments
- ✓ - Verse included in version

December 2000.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ "Interview with Séan and Bob" [on-line essay]: available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/98/07/02txt.html>; Internet: accessed 15 December 2000.

	<i>Up</i> "Lukey" (3:05) tempo: ♩ = 114	<i>Fire in the Kitchen</i> "Lukey/Lukaloney" (3:54) tempo: ♩ = 126	<i>Road Rage</i> "Lukey" (4:15) tempo: ♩ = 128
Introduction	♫ (bodhran, fiddle, guitar)	✓ ♫ (tin whistle, accordion)	Comments by Doyle, audience participation (clapping, cheering and singing) ✓ ♫ (guitar solo with unusual bass line) "one, two and give it up!"
Verse one	✓ ♫ (fiddle)	✓	✓ ♫ (accordion) "Come on!"
Verse two	✓	✓ ♫ (fiddle)	✓ (laughter by Doyle/McCann) "Come on!"
Verse three	✓	✓ ♫ (tin whistle) "Sing it!"	✓ Vocal introduction: "Next one is by yourself so sing it loud!" Audience participation "Everybody jump around!" ♫ (bass, accordion, bones) "Vertical movement!"
Verse four	✓ ♫ (guitars, fiddle, bodhran)	✓ ♫ (fiddle and tin whistle)	✓
Instrumental verse	✓ (2x) (guitars, fiddle, bodhran with tipping for percussion)	✓ (accordion, bones, bodhran, guitars, bouzouki, fiddle) "hup, two, three, four"	✓ ♫ (accordion, bass, guitars, bones, bodhran) "Maximum bass and all frequencies, man!"
Verse five	✓	✓ ♫ (tin whistle, fiddle)	✓
Verse six			✓ Special verse from "Great Big Sea/ Gone by the Board"
Verse seven	✓ ♫ (guitars, fiddle, bodhran)		
Instrumental verse			✓ ♫ (accordion)
Verse eight	✓	✓ ♫ multiple instrumental verses	✓ ♫ (accordion) Audience participation

4.5 Traditional Music-Making Mentality of Newfoundland Folk Musicians

Great Big Sea is different from many popular musicians in Canada in that they have a traditional mentality about their music-making. A response to a fan question in

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 5 explained that because Séan and Bob do not read or write music, they improvise their whistle parts on the spot.⁹⁶ A later comment clarified the band's distinct flavour and approach to the performance of traditional songs:

Playing traditional tunes definitely requires more of a "by-ear" approach than other forms of music. For example, in Newfoundland tunes, one important fiddling quality is "humouring." This is the ability to elaborate grace notes and melodic variations over the core melody. It is impossible to notate humouring, but it is just one of the elements which separates fiddlers from classically trained violinists. There are other intangibles, as well. For example, on the bodhran, there is a rhythmic quality known as [the] "lift," which is equally difficult to describe in musical terms. The best advice we can give is to find some older players, and watch, as well as listen. Good luck.⁹⁷

Great Big Sea has never been shy about the musicians that have influenced their style, and they frequently comment that watching experienced players and listening to records by older Newfoundland artists was a way for them to learn the traditional instruments. One example of their regard for Newfoundland musicians is in the credit that they give to their colleagues, The Irish Descendants, The Fables and Rawlins Cross. They also cite older Newfoundland bands such as Wonderful Grand Band, Ryan's Fancy and Figgy Duff as groups who helped to pave the way for their success.

In Newfoundland, traditional music is considered popular music, and that is one of the reasons that Great Big Sea has been able to flourish as popular musicians in Newfoundland. As Hallett explained,

It's not uncool because in that part of Atlantic Canada... traditional music is to some degree, popular music. Even

⁹⁶ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 5 – October 5, 1997* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

⁹⁷ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 8 – October 16, 1998* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

mainstream radio stations would often play traditional-influenced music. The Wonderful Grand Band were extremely popular, as a top ten Friday night dance slot... a lot of kids growing up in Newfoundland at that point in time [were] lucky enough to see traditional music as acceptable as mainstream music and it saved us from that whole idea that you have to do one or the other. When you hear it on the radio then it becomes legitimized. It is cool (Bliss 1997: 38).

The influence of the Newfoundland "kitchen party" has also been substantial to Great Big Sea. The mix of traditional folksong, the original tune, and the cover song was a big part of the music heard at kitchen parties, and Great Big Sea adopted that variety for their performances. Says Doyle,

You'd hear a Hank Williams song, then you'd hear a 7,000-year old traditional song, then a song that somebody wrote last week, and then someone would do a recitation, and everything would have equal value. And I liked the way our kind of music was applicable. I don't think we'll ever do a record that's all originals because that's not what Great Big Sea's about. Great Big Sea [is] about the songs (Bliss 1997: 41).

Great Big Sea is distinct from other bands in Canada in their extreme pride towards the music of their home province, and they make a point to embrace their Newfoundland heritage as significant and meaningful. Doyle proclaimed "We're playing a form of music that is greater than ourselves. Long after we're dead and gone, we'd like to think we introduced the world to a culture everyone should know about" (Bergman 1999: 64). They continue to stay in Newfoundland because they know that they need to be touched by local music, and that wouldn't happen in bigger cities in Canada. "There are masters of Celtic folk music in Newfoundland that you just can't find in downtown Toronto. We couldn't get people like The Barra MacNeils to show us how to play Celtic tunes if we lived in Toronto" (Veitch 1997: n.p.).

The influence of older Newfoundland performers is very important to Great Big Sea, especially for learning traditional songs. The band has drawn on the expertise of Pamela Morgan (Figgy Duff) and Fergus O'Byrne (Ryan's Fancy) to research older Newfoundland songs. As McCann explained, "When you go to the library and see the songs on paper, it's pretty dry. Fergus and the others are a big help. We'll take some of the songs, maybe rework some melodies or parts of a chorus and see what we come up with" (Stone 1996: 123).

The band is down-to-earth and continues to support the outport mentality of the everyday. Laughs Doyle, "It doesn't take very much to get brought back down to earth very quickly in a small town... It's like, yeah, you sold a million records. Whatever. Big deal. It's your family's turn to do the bingo next week. It's excellent" (MacIvor 1999: n.p.).

4.6 Selling Newfoundland music to Canada and the rest of the world

The unwavering determination of Great Big Sea has been widely noted in newspaper articles across Canada, and they are widely respected by musicians in Newfoundland.⁹⁸ Jennifer Trainor from the traditional Newfoundland band Celtic Connection declared, "The Irish Descendants opened the door, and Great Big Sea kind of pushed it over the top. We've been working away at this for six or seven years and we feel like [performing traditional music is] finally starting to pay off. They've shown us what can be done." Liz Pickard of the punk-alternative rock group Lizband noted that "young Newfoundland musicians can look at what they're doing as something that has real potential. They can believe they have a chance to participate in an international

⁹⁸ See Appendix Five: "Located Articles by the Popular Press featuring Great Big Sea" for further

scene" (Gillis 1999: n.p.). The band is unselfish as well, and pulled out of the running for the 1999 ECMA's (East Coast Music Awards) "Artist of the Year" award, because after five wins, they felt that it was time to give another East Coast musician or band the credit.

The acceptance of traditional music as popular music enabled Great Big Sea to take their music on the road, and share it with other Canadians. Doyle firmly believes that Great Big Sea could only have started and become a pop band in Canada. "We're lucky to be in the country we're in, where Our Lady Peace, Susan Aglukark, Celine Dion and Great Big Sea are on the same radio stations – bands that have absolutely nothing in common, not a thing" (Saxburg 2000: n.p.). As the band later noted "We're proving that Newfoundland has a world music. This is not some in-joke between six or eight communities in Atlantic Canada," he said. "This is just as viable as a blues band from Toronto" (*The Telegram*, 9 August 1997: 1).

Great Big Sea does maintain a certain "Canadianness" in that they uphold an assured confidence in the local and the traditional, which is not often found in the popular music of the US. As Blue Rodeo's Jim Cuddy notes artists are not afraid to sing about their heritage and where they came from, a feature to which audiences are receptive. "Canadians are no longer sucked in by look-alike, sound-alike bands. All they want to hear is music that's honest and means something to people" (Jennings 1995: 42).

But one of the main reasons Great Big Sea is a success in Canada is because of their hard work and constant touring. The band performs over 200 dates per year, and each summer they play at folk festivals in Europe and the United States. They have opened for rock stars such as Sting and The Tragically Hip, as well as for folk giants

Sinead O'Connor and The Chieftains. In Canada, Great Big Sea has performed musical collaborations with Blue Rodeo and La Bottine Souriante. Great Big Sea are now the headliners for folk and pop shows, and are able to highlight new folk-rock bands like Cape Breton's Slainte Mhath for their opening acts.

The music of Great Big Sea expresses the distinct culture of Newfoundland in a tangible and positive way, by using traditional instruments, performing traditional folksongs and by placing a strong emphasis on folk tradition as part of their Newfoundland identity.⁹⁹ Following in the footsteps of Newfoundland folk bands before them, Great Big Sea has presented a positive image of Newfoundland to Canada and the rest of the world, and they have been critical in shaping the local music culture in Newfoundland in the 1990s and early part of the 21st century. As local, regional and national award winners, Great Big Sea is regarded as one of the most popular folk bands in Canada, and is breaking genre barriers by combining traditional folk music with pop and rock music. They continue to release new albums and consistently reach gold or platinum sales, and are continually featured in articles of the popular press.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ See Neil V. Rosenberg's article "The Canadianization of Newfoundland Folksong: or the Newfoundlandization of Canadian Folksong" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 55-73 for further information on the theory that folksong is an important source of Newfoundland's national identity.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix Five for a list of located articles in the popular press featuring Great Big Sea.

Conclusion

“Re-Articulating Canadian Popular Music through a Local Lens: Examining ‘Great Big Sea’ and Issues of Locality, Regionalism and Nationalism” is a multi-topical examination of the Canadian popular music industry and the existing notions of “local,” “regional” and “national.” Through a case study of Great Big Sea I have explored Newfoundland popular music and how it fits into the schema of Canadian popular music. Furthermore, my analysis demonstrates that the Newfoundland popular music of Great Big Sea is concerned with various intersections of place, culture and identity, while assuming a dual position of both cultural preservation and change.

At the core of identity construction in Canada is the acknowledgement that citizens hold multiple national identities. Nonetheless, the concept of “Canadianness” as held by English-Canadians of central Canada has taken precedence in the national scheme. Accordingly, local, regional and distinct identities have been viewed as other, and as a threat to a “unified national identity.” In recent decades with multiculturalism as an official policy Canada has shown signs of acceptance and promotion of its local and regional identities, but has yet to embrace local culture as a means of strengthening the national culture.

In the highly fragmented age of Canadian postmodernism, in which a plurality of identities, a blending of cultures and a heavy dependence on the media is moving all standards towards globalization, it is understandable that Canadians are eager to view tradition as a means of stability (Noonan 2001: 153). Newfoundland folk culture offers the comfort of tradition while at the same time promoting a sense of “national culture.”

The unique nationalism that Newfoundland has built for the past five hundred

years is a separate national identity from the hegemonic nationalism as presented by central English-Canada. Although authorities have not recognized local culture as a means to construct Canadian national identity, cultural production in Newfoundland has been an identity construct for “Newfoundlandness” for hundreds of years. Belonging both to Newfoundland and to Canada, the band Great Big Sea is able to represent themselves as two conjoint identities, recognizable to both Newfoundlanders and Canadians. Limiting a conception of culture to a particular national boundary or only one region of a large country is unreasonable because one identity does not have to consume the other. Instead several identities may co-exist comfortably in the concept of “the national.” In the arena of popular music, locally created product contributes not only to a regional identity, but also to the identity of the country. Therefore, Great Big Sea’s music can be understood as Newfoundland folk-pop music, but also as Canadian folk-pop music, of which Canada has a long tradition.

By including local musics in the national popular music scheme, we are able to include music that is aurally recognizable as “Canadian,” due to its distinct sound. The folk-pop music of Newfoundland is not as touched by the American mass media, and has retained its uniqueness in sound. Furthermore, local Canadian popular music enables listeners to locate themselves aurally, and to answer Frye’s all-important question “Where is Here?”

Popular music that is produced at the local level often preserves the indigenous sound which helps to define its locality in the first place. There are many perceptions of “the local” in Canada, however, and Canadian musicians who identify as such are not as likely to receive financial support because they are viewed as marginal. Local Canadian

product, therefore, often does not have a chance at success in the international popular music market unless it is constructed in a way that makes it less “local,” and more “American.”

Instead, Canadian musicians who locate themselves regionally or locally should be financially supported by government policy initiatives that seek to strengthen the national popular music industry. Local musicians who maintain their regional sound without conforming to the mainstream are the key to defining Canadian popular music. If popular music in Canada is to be encouraged, efforts must be made to increase regional and national subsidies to these musicians who are creating a culturally distinct musical horizon within the national landscape.¹⁰¹

The unique nationalism that Newfoundland has built for the past five hundred years is a separate national identity from the hegemonic nationalism as presented by central English-Canada. Although it was not recognized that local culture could be used to construct Canadian national identity, cultural production in Newfoundland has been an identity construct for “Newfoundlandness” for hundreds of years. Because of various historical factors, the music produced in Newfoundland is different from the national standard.

The popular music created in Newfoundland has distinct features which have in many ways, escaped appropriation by the mass media. Great Big Sea’s music deliberately promotes this indigenous identity as a positive element of their collective sound. The coherent difference in the aural sound of popular music of Newfoundland articulates the

¹⁰¹ Although the Canada Council has granted funding to musicians from the Atlantic Provinces in the past, it must be careful to not award grants only according to population, in that musicians living in big cities in central Canada will be favoured.

distinct culture and society of the region and provides a critical framework for the analysis of local social identity in the national cultural sphere. Through lyric familiarity such as Newfoundland place names, phrases and words indigenous to the province, and dialect, Great Big Sea has created a national consciousness of Newfoundland. Through the use of popular folk instruments Great Big Sea has identified a particular aural location to the rest of Canada. The use of bodhran and the lack of the drum kit make the band's sound different from other trad-pop bands in Canada, and their aggressive vocal approach makes the band different from other local Newfoundland trad-pop bands.

Great Big Sea's music-making mentality is also different from many popular bands in Canada. The band is especially careful to give credit to the singer-songwriter as well as note where the song was found or originated, and they take pride in "collecting" new folk songs and interpreting them in a new way, emphasizing lyrics or solo instruments as they deem appropriate for the genre. The folk-pop music of Great Big Sea has helped to foster local and regional "identity" in the Canadian scheme and it is this sound that may be examined in light of the national music industry.

Often called "Celtic music," Newfoundland music is shaped by its connection with the music made by Celtic peoples of Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Other roots must also be acknowledged, however, including those of settlers from the West Country of England. The traditional music known as "Newfoundland music" was often a broad mixture of European styles, which in turn, have a long history of overlapping and influencing each other. While influenced by older styles, generations of local musicians

have produced a unique sound of Newfoundland and Labrador, with subtle differences in melody, rhythm, local references in lyrics and instrumentation.¹⁰²

Early evidence suggests that the earliest settlers and fishermen of Newfoundland entertained themselves with music. Besides the popularity of sacred hymns and military bands, there was also a secular component, evident in the playing of the fiddle, whistle, bagpipe, and accordion. The instrumentation that was used during this period is especially important in the analysis of the difference of popular music in Newfoundland. The singing of sea shanties and ballads was equally, if not, more important, and the growth and evolution of this music was accelerated by Newfoundland's first wave of immigration during the early part of the 19th century. Although songs from Europe were performed, the new settlers also wrote their own songs to "reflect the stories, tragedies, hopes, fears, personalities, idiosyncrasies and everyday experiences of their immediate communities."¹⁰³

Attempts to document the music did not occur until the 20th century. Collectors Maud Karpeles and Elizabeth Greenleaf were important in distinguishing variations of English and British folksongs in Newfoundland. Businessman and folklorist Gerald S. Doyle published a collectors songbook entitled *The Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland*. It was first published in 1927 and was revised and republished numerous times. The Doyle songbook established a canon of Newfoundland music, and popularized songs such as "Jack was Every Inch a Sailor," and "The Ryans and The Pittmans." Peacock's large collection *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports* was

¹⁰² *Traditional Music* [on-line essay]; available from http://www.heritage.nf.ca/arts/trad_music_arts.html; Internet: last accessed 05/12/01.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

published as part of a series for the National Museum of Canada in 1965. When Peacock did his fieldwork, the richness of the folksongs sustained and created in the outports was confirmed. This vital part of Newfoundland's national identity has been continued in the repertoire of Great Big Sea.

Radio was also a large influence on the popular music of Newfoundland. In the 1930s several radio programs featured recordings and live performances of Irish and Newfoundland favorites. During the Second World War, military radio stations from American bases stationed on the island played country and western, and later jazz and pop music. Elements to be found in the sound of Great Big Sea today such as the use of acoustic guitar, fiddle, mandolin, tenor mandolin, banjo, bass banjo and mandola, as well as the standard three-chord construction of country music, can be attributed to these influences. Of course, Newfoundlanders in the 1950s began to be swept up in the rise of rock and roll. This has inevitably influenced the resultant sound of Great Big Sea. The popularity of rock and pop on radio stations was not challenged again until the first wave of Newfoundland folk-based performers began to be active.

Instead, Newfoundland traditional music thrived in kitchen parties, and at Newfoundland "times," where performers were able to connect with their audiences in a more personal manner. The folk sound was further legitimized by new television programs that debuted on CBC, such as *All Around the Circle*, in 1964. The program brought Newfoundland music into the homes of many viewers who were accustomed to watching shows from central Canada and United States, and introduced Newfoundland music to Canada. The first wave of Newfoundland performers included such traditional singers as Omar Blondahl and Wilf Doyle, an accordion player who toured the island

with his band. Blondahl and Doyle maintained a public profile of traditional music at a time when radio was dominated by popular music from the US. Expatriate Newfoundlander Harry Hibbs of Bell Island, Newfoundland embraced the traditional music from his home province and became a performing sensation at the Caribou Club in Toronto, where he found an audience that was eager to hear sounds from home.

A revival of Newfoundland traditional music occurred in the early 70s, when bands such as Figgy Duff and Ryan's Fancy began touring the island in search of old songs, jigs and reels. What occurred was a discovery of old masters, some of which had never been heard outside of their local outport or community. Instrumentalists such as Rufus Guinchard, Minnie White and Émile Benoit were discovered, and were soon playing for national and international audiences. Folklorists Anita Best and Genevieve Lehr were interested in locally-composed vernacular songs and recorded many local songs between 1975 and 1983.

Revivalist bands such as Wonderful Grand Band and Figgy Duff could be considered the second wave of Newfoundland performers, who were instrumental in exposing traditional Newfoundland music to new audiences. These bands considered themselves part of a larger movement of writers, artists and performers who were concerned with preserving and enhancing Newfoundland's culture and heritage. The bands, however, reworked and redefined many of the traditional songs they heard, combining it with contemporary pop and rock music in order to make it relevant and interesting to younger audiences.

Bands such as Figgy Duff paved the way for a third wave of Newfoundland bands. These bands of the 90s, and early part of the 21st century have regained a place on

Newfoundland's popular radio stations. Performers who play traditional Newfoundland material such as Great Big Sea, The Celtic Connection, The Irish Descendants, The Ennis Sisters, The Fables and The Punters are featured prominently in local media and maintain a central place in the nightclubs and concert stages of the province. These bands continue to maintain a folk sound while performing in new ways.

Although the rural, traditional and outport ways of life are decreasing in Newfoundland, traditional sounds continue to be experienced and explored. Local audiences embrace bands such as Great Big Sea, which promote local music as valuable and important. The band provides a framework of examining a deliberate fostering of local identity and helps to show that the local in turn maintains a "regional" and "national" ideal of Canadian popular music. Because many Newfoundlanders have a strong sense of place and locality, much of the music created by Newfoundland bands like Great Big Sea locates itself geographically, and emphasizes the rich tradition of folk music in the province. A sense of "Newfoundland identity" is inherent in their music and is further fostered by a Newfoundland audience who can appreciate the heritage referred to by the music and lyrics of Great Big Sea songs. Through a lyric study I have showed how the Newfoundland connection to "locality" is inherent to the aural text and music-making of Great Big Sea.

The coherent difference in the aural sound of popular music of Newfoundland articulates the distinct culture and society of the region and provides a critical framework for the analysis of local social identity in the national cultural sphere. The success of Newfoundland popular music in the form of Great Big Sea has ultimately created a new code of understanding in the Canadian popular music industry. The acceptance of a folk-

pop band that is non-mainstream and lacking a perceptible “Americanized” sound confirms that the national music industry is not unable to promote cultural individuality in Canada. Great Big Sea has challenged radio and video stations to play their music, and fans promoted the band to a status that was impossible to ignore.

The performance of Great Big Sea in the April 14th, 2002 Juno Awards perfectly accents the better understanding Canadians have for the hybridity of a Newfoundland experience. The addition of Newfoundland fiddlers, percussionists, dancers and singers to the opening number highlighted the value and importance Newfoundland places on its traditional music, and showcased the pride Newfoundlanders have in their culture of musical vitality. In this example collective voices interpreted distinct local sounds in a popular medium. While the band started the opening number with a traditional folk song “The Ryans and the Pittmans,” they moved into their new hit single “Sea of No Cares” and then to “Lukey.” The addition of performers in both the traditional music and popular music genres highlighted the fact that although Newfoundland fosters its traditional music, it is not opposed to cultural change.

Although the music of Great Big Sea has helped to foster local and regional “identity” within the mainstream of the Canadian music industry, perhaps more importantly they have reclaimed Newfoundland culture and heritage and created a new code of understanding in the Canadian popular music industry. By aggressively fostering their local identity whilst giving interviews and playing in national and international venues, they have demonstrated that local musicians can survive the competitive American-based popular music industry. The acceptance of a trad-pop band that is non-mainstream and lacking a perceptible “Americanized” sound confirms that the national

music industry is not unable to promote cultural individuality in Canada. It is also an indication to other local and regional musicians that national listeners are prepared for representation of the local in the national popular music scene.

The success of Great Big Sea also suggests that there are still changes to be made in the national music industry. As an anomaly in the national popular music scene, it can still be argued that the band is an exception to the rule. However, local bands from Newfoundland are now starting to enter the mainstream in the same manner as Great Big Sea. The national music industry must recognize that there is no singular distinctive national musical identity, and that local popular music is imperative in the fostering of individual regional identities in the country.

Appendix One - Great Big Sea's Awards

East Coast Music Awards

- 1996 - Entertainer of the Year
- 1996 - Album of the Year (*Up*) - Nomination
- 1996 - Pop/Rock Artist - Nomination
- 1996 - Roots/Traditional Artist - Nomination
- 1997 - Video of the Year (*Run Runaway*)
- 1997 - SOCAN Songwriter of the Year (*Alan Doyle - Fast As I Can*) - Nomination
- 1997 - Song of the Year (*Fast As I Can*) - Nomination
- 1997 - Entertainer of the Year
- 1998 - Pop/Rock Artist of the Year
- 1998 - Group of the Year
- 1998 - Single of the Year (*When I'm Up*)
- 1998 - Album of the Year (*Play*)
- 1998 - Entertainer of the Year
- 1999 - Video of the Year (*Lukey*)
- 1999 - Entertainer of the Year
- 2000 - Roots/Traditional Group of the Year - Nomination
- 2000 - Single of the Year (*Consequence Free*) - Nomination
- 2000 - SOCAN Songwriter of the Year (*Doyle/McCann - Consequence Free*) - Nomination
- 2000 - Album of the Year (*Turn*)
- 2000 - Group of the Year
- 2000 - Entertainer of the Year
- 2001 - Video of the Year (*Everything Shines*) - Nomination
- 2001 - Single of the Year (*Everything Shines*) - Nomination

Juno Awards

- 1996 - Best Roots & Traditional Album: Group - Nomination
- 1998 - Group of the Year - Nomination
- 1998 - Best Roots & Traditional Album: Group - Nomination
- 1999 - Video of the Year (*Lukey*) - Nomination
- 2000 - Best Roots & Traditional Album: Group - Nomination

Music Industry Association of NF & Labrador

- 1997 - Pop/Rock Artist/Group of the Year
- 1997 - Video of the Year (*When I'm Up*)
- 1997 - Album of the Year (*Play*)
- 1997 - Group of the Year
- 1997 - Entertainer of the Year
- 1998 - Folk/Roots Artist of the Year
- 1998 - Entertainer of the Year

Much Music Video Awards

1997 – Best Video (*Run Runaway*)

1998 - "MuchMoreMusic" Award (*Lukey*) – Nomination

1998 - People's Choice: Favourite Canadian Group - Nomination

Shanties Festival - Krakow, Poland

1996 - Nagroda Prezydenta Miasta Krakowa (*Award from the President of Krokow*)

1996 - Nagroda Specjalna Zakładów Piwowarskich w Zywcu (*Special award beer makers union in the town of Zywiec*)

1996 - Nagroda za najwiecej mil morskich przebytych w drodze na festiwal (*Award for the most nautical miles on the way to the festival*)

1996 - Nagroda Publicznosci (*People's Choice Award*)

Other Awards

1996 – Hospitality Newfoundland “Ambassadors of the Year”

1998 - Campus Entertainer of the Year - Canadian Organization of Campus Activities

1998 - Folkband of The Year - Sorø Nærradio (Danish radio station)

1999 – Memorial University of Newfoundland “Alumni of the Year”

2000 - CMT Video Cafe Awards - Bluenose Award for the “Best East Coasters”

© 2002 Melissa Hogan. <http://mlhogan.com/rantandroar/awards/index.html>. Used with permission.

Edited by Sarah Moore

Appendix Two - Great Big Sea Albums and Labels

1992 - Great Big Sea (Independent)

1995 – Up (Warner – Canada; Cooking Vinyl - UK)
Great Big Sea (Warner re-release)

1997 – Play (Warner – Canada)

1998 – Play (Cooking Vinyl – UK)
Rant and Roar (Sire Records – US)

1999 – Turn (Warner – Canada, International; Sire Records - US)

2000 – Road Rage (Warner- Canada; Rounder Record – US;
Continental Song City - UK)

2002 – Sea of No Cares (Warner – Canada; Rounder Records - US)

Great Big Sea is also featured on:

1998 – Fire in the Kitchen (BMG – Canada)

Great Big Sea has appeared on albums of four other bands: The Barra MacNeils (Cape Breton), The Oyster Band (Britain), The Irish Descendants (Newfoundland) and The Celtic Connection (Newfoundland).

Appendix Three - Timeline of Newfoundland History

Nine thousand years ago – Before the Europeans arrived, Labrador was an inhabited space by an ancient peoples who were part of the Maritime Archaic tool tradition (Such 1978: 11). This culture, or one derived from it was referred to as Skraeling, by the Norse. A later common term for indigenous peoples on the island was the Beothuk culture. There was later immigration of Mi'Mawq from the West.

Five thousand years ago –The Maritime Archaic people inhabited the island portion of Newfoundland and Labrador (Such 1978: 15).

1000 A.D. – The Norse arrived from Greenland and established settlements in L'Anse aux Meadows.

c. 1200-1300 - The Inuit migrated to Labrador from the Canadian arctic. The primary Inuit settlements are on the north coast of Labrador: Nain, Hopedale, Postville, Makkovik and Rigolet. The Inuit people are also found in a number of other Labrador communities.¹⁰⁴

1497 – John Cabot and his crew arrived in the *New founde lande*, and claimed the land for England.

1519 – English, French, Spanish and Portuguese boats were fishing off the coast of Newfoundland; the English depended more on local fish processing than the other fisheries, and English fishermen and their families tended to develop summer colonies on the island and progressively patterns of settlement emerged (Rowe 1980: 100-101).

1610-61 – Seven colonies of British settlers were founded in Newfoundland. The West Country Merchants of Dorset, Cornwall, Devon, Hampshire and Somerset were controlling the fishery on the Southeast Coast of Newfoundland while the French were controlling the Southwest and Northeast coasts (Rowe 1980: 99).

c. 1650 onwards – In the mid-17th century, the Beothuk were systematically driven out of Newfoundland and often killed on contact. The last of the Beothuk, Shanadithit, died in 1829 (Such 1978: 84).

1832 – Newfoundland acquired the status of British colony. The dependence on the fishery was already a feature of marginality in the Newfoundland economy. Wealthy merchants centered in St. John's took advantage of this situation by establishing a system of credit by which the necessary goods were provided by the merchant to the fisherman each spring in return for the promise of a share of the fisherman's catch in the fall. The merchants constituted an elite who lived comfortably in the city while the fisherman and their families living in the outports remained poor (Rowe 1980: 353-55).

¹⁰⁴ *Aboriginal Peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/aboriginal/default.html>; Internet: last accessed 30 March 2002.

1855 – Newfoundland became Britain's first colony to be granted independence as a Dominion in the British Empire. What followed was a period of independence in which many people and cultures were imported to Newfoundland through immigration. The capital city, St. John's, achieved status as a pre-eminent port city. The island was independent except for the control of its foreign policy and the West Coast of the island where France retained a claim to the fishery.

1914-18 – "The First World War had a powerful and lasting effect on the society. From a population of about a quarter of a million, 5,482 men went overseas. Nearly 1,500 were killed and 2,300 wounded. On July 1, 1916, at Beaumont-Hamel, 753 men of the Newfoundland regiment went into action; the next morning, only 68 answered the roll-call. Even now, when the rest of Canada celebrates the founding of the country on July 1, many Newfoundlanders take part in solemn ceremonies of remembrance. In general, however, the first two decades of the 20th century were a high point. The fishery prospered, standards of living rose, and London treated the Government of Newfoundland on an equal footing with the larger Dominions of the British Empire, such as Canada."¹⁰⁵

1929 – The prosperity of the 1920s was short lived. The economy was already in considerable difficulty by the time the Depression struck in 1929, and the years that followed were full of hardship and deprivation. In 1934, responsible government was suspended, and a Commission of Government appointed by London replaced the Dominion's elected assembly.

With the end of direct British rule in Newfoundland merchant control was further decentralized to small merchants who operated on a regional or community basis. Newfoundland was financially distraught and became destitute during this time of responsible government, akin with the economic collapse of the 1930s.

1934 – Responsible government ceased as Newfoundland was forced to depend on Britain for economic recovery. A commission government of six members (including three Newfoundlanders) was appointed by Britain (Rowe 403).

1939-43 – Newfoundland soldiers fought in World War II as part of the British forces. During the war, Newfoundland was dependent on Canadian and American bases located on the island which provided employment and new revenue aside from the fishery.

1940-1 – In 1940, as the United States prepared to enter the Second World War, the British government signed an agreement that gave the Americans control over three areas in the island for use as military bases. Starting in 1941, the presence of thousands of American servicemen had profound effects on the economy, society and culture. In many areas, a measure of prosperity returned. Many Newfoundland women married Americans.

¹⁰⁵ *Newfoundland History* [on-line essay]: available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/default.html>: Internet: accessed 20 March 2002.

Post WWII - Britain reviewed the condition of Newfoundland after the war and decided to let Newfoundlanders choose the type of government they wanted. The possibilities of either responsible government or Confederation with Canada (meaning a possible economic and political union with the United States as well) were discussed in a national convention.

1949 – J. R. Smallwood, a chief proponent of Confederation encouraged Newfoundlanders to choose Confederation for its social and economic benefits, stressing that this was the only way to improve the nation's conditions. Many rural areas did not have paved roads or basic amenities like electricity and indoor plumbing, let alone social benefits such as pensions, welfare, employment insurance or health benefits. The referendum for Confederation was won by a margin of one percent and is still a highly contentious issue almost fifty years later. Indeed, Newfoundland's being the oldest settled colony in North America by a large margin has bred a people and way of life that is still an unique bridge between cultures and centuries.

In 1949, the population voted by a narrow margin to join Canada, a country whose history, economy, culture and political institutions were significantly different. Newfoundlanders began to prepare themselves for a new set of challenges.¹⁰⁶

Post-1949 – The way of life for many Newfoundlanders changed after Confederation, and it is arguable whether or not it was for the better. Rural Newfoundlanders were in conflict with Smallwood's resettlement program, which would better "the social and economic development of the province to equal standards of living in other parts of Canada" (Matthews 1976: 1).

1965 – A revised resettlement program aimed to relocate entire small isolated communities to designated "growth centres." The program evacuated 600 communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, and relocated over 70,000 people in growth centres. This was often viewed by rural Newfoundlanders as an attack on their homes, their values and their way of life (Matthews 1976: 2).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Appendix Four – A Selection of Great Big Sea Lyrics containing Newfoundland References

*** (Newfoundland Reference)**

Sea of No Cares

Instruments on *Sea of No Cares*:

Doyle: Vocals, guitar, bouzouki

McCann: Vocals, guitar, bodhran, shakers

Power: Vocals, bass, bones, mandola

Hallett: Vocals, fiddles, tenor banjo, piano and button accordions, mandolin, high and low whistles

Additional instruments: Electric guitar, hammond organ, trumpets, tambourine, flute, flamenco guitar, conga, tambourine, drums

Musical contributions: Liz Pickard (LizBand), Bob Sutherby (El Viento Flamenco), Gavin Brown (Big Sugar), Kurt Swinghammer, Geoff Kelly, Vince R. Ditrich, Paul Kinsman, Joel Parisian, Patrick Boyle, Louis Thomas

Clearest Indication

(Doyle/McCann/Trapper)

You left in the morning
 You left without a word
 Did you get what you came for
 Is this what I deserve
 All I know is the silence
 Was the loudest thing I'd ever heard

Chorus:

Where do we stand
 What am I supposed to do
 Give me the clearest indication
 I'm not alone with you

Reach out your hand
 In a world I thought I knew
 I need the clearest indication
 The clearest indication from you

*** Did we have all we wanted
 And let it slip away in time**

Like a country divided
 51 to 49
 Years ago, I suppose
 We just can't seem to make up our minds

In times like these it's hard to see
 With any kind of clarity
 What's the point of wondering anymore
 So much I just can't figure out
 I'd love to know without a doubt
 For sure (2x)

* This verse is a reference to the 1949 vote in Newfoundland for Confederation with Canada. The vote was anything but a clear indication for the divided country. Of the two national referendums held in 1948, the first referendum saw 69,400 people vote for responsible government, 64,066 people vote for Confederation with Canada, and 22,311 vote for Commission of Government. The second referendum, held a month later, dropped the third choice and offered the options of Confederation versus responsible government. The final count was 78,323 votes for Confederation against 71,334 votes for responsible government (Rowe 1980: 456-458). The reference in this song is to the controversial results ("51 to 49") and the confusion felt by the Newfoundland people ("we just can't seem to make up our minds" and "In times like these it's hard to see/ With any kind of clarity") when forced to make a choice of continuing with a familiar way of life, or choosing a "new life" with Canada.

A Boat like Gideon Brown
 (F. Dwyer/arr. Great Big Sea)

Oh Gideon lived across the bay
 He's gettin' older now
 His boat is big and strong and bold
 She has a stalward bow

* But my father's boat was second hand
 One someone used before
 And after every fishing trip
 My father always swore
 That someday he would save enough
 * To go to St. John's town
 And buy himself a big new boat
 A boat like Gideon Brown (2x)

* Confederation came around
 And the days of old age pension

He said 'Son I'm saving every cent'
 And this you must not mention
 You save the baby bonus too
 And things just might turn around
 And we'll have enough to buy a boat
 A boat like Gideon Brown

Chorus:

'Cause she can punch ahead in any gale
 And ride the fishing ground
 I often thought how proud I'd be
 In a boat like Gideon Brown (2x)

Many years did pass away
 And Dad began to fade
 He didn't talk of boats too much
 He said 'Son I'm afraid'
 If things don't soon improve
 Then I'll be underground
 Before we ever get to see ourselves
 In a boat like Gideon Brown

I sat and held his hand one day
 And he said 'Son, that policy'
 The insurance is all in your name
 You're the beneficiary
 And when I'm gone they'll pay you off
 Then go to St. John's town
 And buy yourself a big new boat
 A boat like Gideon Brown

* This song identifies the initial discomfort and suspiciousness of some Newfoundlanders after the referendum in which Newfoundland joined Canada. There were benefits such as old age pension, health, unemployment, welfare and baby bonus benefits, but many considered this to be a trade off for their "freedom." The father advises the son not to tell the government that he has kept his savings.

It also speaks of the merchant system in place in St. John's, where outport fishermen could go to trade their fish for supplies. The outport fishermen were often poor in comparison to the merchants, who were wealthy and lived in St. John's. The narrator, who owned a second-hand boat, wanted a new boat first for himself, and then as he aged, for his son. The new boat would be beneficial for transportation to other communities (often only reachable by boat), as well as for fishing purposes.

Great Big Sea learned "A Boat like Gideon Brown" from McCann's father, who learned

it at a party in Newfoundland. After some searching, they found out that it was written by the late Frank Dwyer, who lived on Fogo Island, in northwest Newfoundland.¹⁰⁷

French Perfume

(Hallett)

It's of a bold young smuggler
From Fortune he did sail
He rode the waves from St. Pierre
And never saw the jail
He filled her up with contraband
Perfume, smokes and rum
He hoped the fog was thick enough
To make another run

Chorus:

You can still see the sight
On a winter's night
Of his wake in the light of the moon
If the wind turns right
If you don't take fright
You can smell that French perfume

But the Mountie boat was waiting
As he crawled near Mortier Bay
And when they hit the spotlight
It was like the light of day
He didn't bring her head round
When they told him to heave to
He opened up the engines
And he ran for Spanish Room

They said they heard him laughing
With the Mounties closing in
His engines screaming murder
And his face set in a grin
The seagulls started lifting
Like an angry banshee choir
He hit the rocks at 50 clicks
And the sky lit up with fire

It's of a bold young smuggler
From Fortune he did sail

¹⁰⁷ Great Big Sea. *Sea of No Cares*. [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada. 2002.

He rode the waves from St. Pierre
 And he never saw the jail
 And when it's cold and foggy
 On the rocks near Spanish Room
 They say you hear him laughing
 And you smell that French perfume

* This song discusses the smuggling trade during the Prohibition in the 1930's. Smugglers would traffic liquor and other goods from St. Pierre et Miquelon to Newfoundland (in this case, Fortune) and sell the coveted goods for high prices.

Barque in the Harbour

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

From a barque in the harbour I went roaming on shore
 And stepped into a pub where I was oft times before
 And as I was sitting and enjoying my glass
 Who chanced to walk in but a young Spanish lass

She sat down beside me and kept squeezing my hand
 Saying 'Sir you're a stranger not long to this land'
 Will you roam, jolly sailor, would you roam along with me
 To some lonesome spot where nobody can see

Chorus:

'Don't you leave me jolly sailor' were the words she did cry
 Waving and weeping and wiping her eyes
 When you reach home in your own Newfoundland
 Think on the young Spaniard who kept squeezing your hand

I quickly consented with her for to roam
 She lived by herself in a neat little home
 She was brisk, plump and jolly and her age scarce nineteen
 And the name of that maiden I think was Irene

One fine summer's morning our ship, she set sail
 And down by the seashore lovely Irene she came
 Waving her pocket handkerchief and wiping her eyes
 'Don't leave me jolly sailor' were the words she did cry

I'll give you farewell love on a fine summer's breeze
 But love don't forget me when you're crossing the sea
 And when you are married and enjoying your bride
 Think on the young maiden who lay by your side

* A common traditional song in Newfoundland folk circles. "Barque in the Harbour" contains the air "Concerning One Summer in Bonay I Spent." The verses tell of a Newfoundland sailor who never forgot his romance with a young Spanish woman. This version comes from North Harbour, Placentia Bay, Newfoundland. A "barque" is a small sailing ship.

Own True Way

(Doyle/McCann/Trapper)

It's takes a lot to get to the top
 And a little just to fall off quick
 And I think I've seen you here before
 Sometimes you fly so high
 So fast it makes you sick
 You won the battle lost the war
 But I don't mind if you say
 Everytime you talk to me
 Everytime we talk

Chorus:

We came, we saw
 We conquered and crumbled
 In our own true way
 We loved, we fought
 We rocked and we tumbled
 In our own true way

Well I believe in brotherhood
 And the good of all mankind
 Though I admit it's hard to find
 But if you want to talk just come and knock
 It don't matter what the time
 Solitude is no friend of mine
 And I don't mind if you say
 Everytime you talk to me
 Everytime we talk

*It's hard to be from a rock in the sea
 Livin' in a big steel town
 Finding unfamiliar faces all around
 *You heard 'em tell stupid jokes
 You heard 'em laugh everytime you spoke
 But you don't let nobody put you down

But I don't mind if you say
 Everytime you talk to me (2x)
 Everytime we talk

In our own true way
 And I don't mind
 If you say

* This verse reveals the common occurrence of discrimination towards Newfoundlanders, especially in regards to their dialect and ways of speech. The "Newfie" joke is particularly harmful to Newfoundlanders because it implies that their manner of speaking is uneducated. In "Own True Way" the band acknowledges the known difficulty that Newfoundlanders have suffered "It's hard to be from a rock in the sea." and encourages Newfoundlanders to be proud of their speech and heritage "don't let nobody put you down."

Fortune

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

There's lots of fish in Bonavist Harbour
 Lots of fish right in around here
 Boys and girls are fishing together
 Forty-five from Carbonear

Chorus:

Catch a hold this one, catch a hold that one
 Swing around this one, swing around she
 Dance around this one, dance around that one
 Diddle um this one, diddle um dee

* "Fortune" consists of two verses of the traditional Newfoundland folksong "Feller from Fortune," a widely known song that is played at many Newfoundland folk functions. This version includes three tunes, two of which come from the Newfoundland tradition. The first is "Feller from Fortune," the second a Scandinavian tune, and the third is "a particularly jaunty number (even by Newfoundland standards)" from the repertoire of the late Rufus Guinchard, a prominent Newfoundland fiddler who, at times, also played the accordion.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Turn

Instruments on *Turn*:

Doyle: Vocals, guitars, bouzouki, mandola, mandolin

McCann: Vocals, guitars, bodhran, shakers, percussion

Power: Vocals, bass guitar, guitars, bones

Hallett: Vocals, button accordions, fiddle, tin and low whistles, bouzouki, concertina, mandolin

Additional instruments: hammond organ, cabasa, banjo, drums

Musical contributions: Patty Maloney, Matt Molloy, Derek Bell, Martin Fay, Séan Keane and Kevin Conneff (The Chieftains), Fergus O'Byrne (Tickle Harbour), Steve Berlin (producer of Los Lobos and The Tragically Hip) and Dermot O'Reilly (Ryan's Fancy).

Jack Hinks

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Ah, when Jack comes ashore
 He's got money galore
 And he's seldom cut short of a job
 He can dress now as well
 As any can tell
 With a good silver watch in his fob
 Poor Jack in his life
 Was ne'er paired with a wife
 Though sometimes with lasses he links
 He's a seafarin', sailmakin', gamblin', caperin'
 Grog-drinking hero, Jack Hinks
 Oh, Jack Hinks

When inclined for to spend
 He walks in with a friend
 And with pleasure he sits himself down
 He tips off his glass
 And he winks at the lass
 And he smiles if she happens to frown

And like a ramblin' true blue
 When the rent becomes due
 On the table the money he clinks
 He's a seafarin', sailmakin', gamblin', caperin'

Grog-drinking hero, Jack Hinks

Round home the other fall
 We fell into a squall
 Round the northernmost head of Cape Freels
 We were washed away
 Without further delay
 At the thought how my spirit it chills

We were bashed on the rocks
 Like a hard-hunted fox
 Of death and destruction he thinks
 He's a seafaring sailmakin', gamblin', caperin'
 Grog-drinking hero, Jack Hinks, oh, Jack Hinks

Jack without fail
 Was out in that same gale
 Having drove across Bonavist Bay
 Oh Neptune did rail
 As he handed all sail
 And he had his two spars cut away

Oh, but Providence kind so eases the wind
 And on sailors so constantly thinks
 He saved
 That seafarin', sailmakin', gamblin', caperin' (2x)
 Grog-drinking hero, Jack Hinks

* From the *Turn* liner notes: " 'Jack Hinks' is one of our Newfoundland super-hero songs. Its celebration of courage and strength comes from the early 1800's, when Newfoundland first achieved independence. The tune in the middle is known as 'The Hills of Home,' a dance from Mrs. Minnie White."¹⁰⁹

Demasduit Dream (Hallett)

I dreamt I saw a woman
 Standing by the strand
 Waiting for her people
 To come in from the land
 Waiting there for seven days
 She built a fire in the sand
 Waiting for her people

¹⁰⁹ Great Big Sea. *Turn*. [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada. 1999.

To come in from the land

She had the look of a refugee
 Hiding in her eyes
 And when I tried to talk to her
 She answered with a cry
 And pointed to the water
 Out beyond the harbourline
 Where a thousand ships lay waiting
 They lay waiting for my sign

Chorus:

But I remember days of sunlight
 With my father by my side
 And the children ran before us
 Like the foam upon the tide

We ran like frightened partridge
 When the strangers came to talk
 * Bringing sickness round them
 And the thunder in their walk
 We ran into the valleys
 And we ran into the hills
 The young they ran before us
 Driven by a stranger's will

I'm waiting by the landwash
 With the giant standing near
 I see them coming always
 All the children and their fear
 I'm waiting on my blanket
 And the giant waits with me
 And I will wait here always
 As they fill the endless sea

* A song from the perspective of Demasduit, the sister of Shanadithit, assumed to be the last of the Beothuks. The Beothuks, a First Nations race which lived in Newfoundland and Labrador were thought to have been largely wiped out due to European weapons and disease.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ See Peter Such *Vanished Peoples: The Archaic Dorset and Beothuk People of Newfoundland*. Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1978.

Boston and St. John's

(Doyle)

Girl, don't tell me that it's mornin'
Can we keep the curtains drawn?
I haven't given you fair warning
But our ship, she sails at dawn

Chorus:

And it's true I must be going, but I swear I won't be long
There isn't that much ocean between Boston and St. John's
Well I'm a rover, and I'm bound to sail away
I'm a rover, can you love me anyway?

And if some suitor comes approaching
Will you let him through your door?
And what if I return half-broken
Will you still want me anymore?

Close your eyes and dream and tell me what you see
Tell me what you want, just tell me that you'll wait for me

But oh, don't tell me that it's mornin'
Can we keep the curtains drawn?
I haven't given you fair warning
But our ship, she sails at dawn

Can you love me anyway?
Love me anyway

* In an interview Doyle said that he always considered being a performing artist in the 21st century much like being a sailor in the 19th century, away from home for weeks at a time, checking into twenty ports and then returning home, safely, "hopefully with spices from the Indies" (Ross 1999: n.p.).

Trois Navires de Blé

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Un gros coup de vent de nordet
Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
Un gros coup de vent de nordet
Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
Trois navires de blé s'en fit rentrer
Nous irons jouer

A strong wind from the Northeast
 A strong wind from the Northeast
 We will play at the water's edge
 A strong wind from the Northeast
 We will play at the water's edge
 Three wheat ships came
 We will play

Chorus:

Sur le bord de l'eau
 Nous irons jouer dans l'île
 At the water's edge
 We will play on the island

Trois filles d'un roi veulent marchander
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Trois filles d'un roi veulent marchander
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Et les jolies filles envoler le coeur
 Nous irons jouer

Three daughters of the king wish to bargain
 We will play at the water's edge
 Three daughters of the king wish to shop
 We will play at the water's edge
 And the pretty girls make the heart fly
 We will play

La plus jeune avait l'pied léger
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 La plus jeune avait l'pied léger
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 A bord d'la barque elle a sauté
 Nous irons jouer

The youngest was light on her feet
 We will play at the water's edge
 The youngest was light on her feet
 We will play at the water's edge
 She jumped in the small boat
 We will play

Combien vendez-vous votre blé?
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Combien vendez-vous votre blé?

Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Seulement pour vous, six sous le boisseau
 Nous irons jouer

How much do you sell your wheat for?
 We will play at the water's edge
 How much do you sell your wheat for?
 We will play at the water's edge
 For only you, six cents a bushel
 We will play

Dans l'île...

J'entends ma mère m'appeller pour souper
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 J'entends ma mère m'appeller pour souper
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Et les petits-enfants pleurer
 Nous irons jouer

I hear my mother calling me for supper
 We will play at the water's edge
 I hear my mother calling me for supper
 We will play at the water's edge
 And the grandchildren cry
 We will play

Oh vous la belle vous, vous mentez
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Et vous la belle vous, vous mentez
 Nous irons jouer sur le bord de l'eau
 Jamais d'enfants vous n'avez eu
 Nous irons jouer

Oh you beautiful, you lie
 We will play at the water's edge
 Oh you beautiful, you lie
 We will play at the water's edge
 You have never had children
 We will play

* From the liner notes of *Turn*. " 'Trois Navires de Blé' is a rare song from Newfoundland's French community. Originally collected from Guillaume Robin of Cape St. Georges, the tune came to our attention through Keith Murphy, a St. John's man now performing in New England. The title translates as Three Wheat Ships, and describes a

mildly salacious dialogue between some sailors and three sisters on the beach. The sailor's intentions are to sell them some wheat and win their hands. The girls, alas, are too smart and the sailors fail on both accounts."¹¹¹

Ferryland Sealer

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Oh, our schooner and our sloop in Ferryland they do lie
They are already rigged to be bound for the ice
All you lads of the Southern we will have you to beware
She is going to the ice in the Spring of the year
Laddie whack fall the laddie, laddie whack fall the day

Our course be east-north-east for two days and two nights;
Our captain he cried out 'Boys, look ahead for the ice!'
And we hove her about standing in for the land,
And 'twas in a few hours we were firm in the jam.
Laddie whack fall the laddie, laddie whack fall the day

Oh our captain he cried out, 'Come on, boys, and bear a hand!'
Our cook he gets the breakfast and each man takes a dram.
With their hats in their hands it was earlye for to go,
Every man showed his action 'thout the missing of a blow.
Laddie whack fall the laddie, laddie whack fall the day

Some were killing some were scalping, some were hauling on board,
And some more they were firing and a-missing of their loads.
In the dusk of the evening all hands in from the cold,
And we counted nine hundred fine scalps in the hold.
Laddie whack fall the laddie, laddie whack fall the day

We are now off Cape Spear and in sight of Cape Broyle
We will dance, sing, carouse, my boys, in just a little while.
We will soon enjoy the charms of our sweethearts and friends,
For it will not be long before we're down to the bend.
Laddie whack fall the laddie, laddie whack fall the day
Fall the laddie, laddie whack fall the day

*A traditional Newfoundland song performed by many artists, including "Silly Wizard" from Scotland. There are numerous Newfoundland references in this song, including place names "Ferryland," "Cape Broyle" and "Cape Spear" as well as references to the sealing industry, which has been a large part of Newfoundland's history.

¹¹¹ *Turn* [liner notes]: Warner Music Canada, 1999. English translation of lyrics by Melissa Hogan, available from <http://mlhogan.com/rantandroar>; Internet: used with permission.

Old Brown's Daughter

(Trad./arr. Ron Hynes)

Well there is an ancient party at the other end of town
And he keeps a little grocery store, ah the ancient's name is Brown
And he has a lovely daughter, such a treat I never saw
Oh I only hope someday to be the old man's son-in-law.

Well old Brown he sells from off his shelf most anything you please
He's got juice tarts for the little boys, lollipops and cheese
His daughter minds the store, and it's a treat just to see her serve
I'd like to run away with her but I don't have the nerve.

Chorus:

And it's old Brown's daughter she's a proper sort of girl,
Old Brown's daughter is as fair as any pearl.
I wish I were a Lord Mayor, a Marquis or an Earl
And blow me if I wouldn't marry old Brown's girl.
Blow me if I wouldn't marry old Brown's girl.

Well poor old Brown now, he has trouble with the gout,
He grumbles in his little parlour when he can't get out
Oh and when I make a purchase lord and she hands me the change
That girl she makes me pulverised, I feel so very strange
But Miss Brown she smiles so sweetly when I say a tender word
Ah but old Brown says that she must wed a Marquis or a Lord,
And I don't suppose it's ever one of those things I will be
But by jingo next election I will run for Trinity.

* Johnny Burke, a balladeer from St. John's wrote "Old Brown's Daughter" in the early 1900s.¹¹² The original melody has been lost, but singer-songwriter Ron Hynes added a new melody for the Mummers' Troupe production of "The Bard of Prescott Street" in 1977.¹¹³

Captain Wedderburn

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

(Lead vocal: McCann; guest vocal: Sarah Harmer on the live version on *Road Rage*)

¹¹² For further information on Johnny Burke, see Michael Taft, "The Bard of Prescott Street Meets Tin Pan Alley: The Vanity Press Sheet Music Publications of John Burke," *Newfoundland Studies* 6, no. 1 (1990): 56-74.

¹¹³ Ron Hynes [personal email], 27 March 2002.

A nobleman's fair daughter
 Came down a narrow lane.
 And met with Captain Wedderburn.
 The keeper of the game
 Now my pretty fair miss
 If it wasn't for the law,
 You and I in a bed might lie
 Roll me over next to the wall (2x)

Now, my dear good man, she said
 Do not be perplexed,
 Before that you might bed with me,
 You must answer questions six.
 Six questions you must answer me,
 And I will ask them all.
 And you and I in a bed might lie
 Roll me over next to the wall (2x)

What is rounder than a ring.
 And higher than the trees?
 And what is worse than a woman's curse.
 And what is deeper than the sea?
 What bird sings first, which one best?
 Where does the dew first fall?
 And you and I in a bed might lie
 Roll me over next to the wall (2x)

The earth is rounder than a ring.
 And Heaven is higher than the trees.
 The devil is worse than a woman's curse.
 And Hell is deeper than the sea
 The lark sings first, the thrush sings best.
 Earth is where the dew falls
 And you and I in a bed must lie
 Roll me over next to the wall (2x)

He takes her by her lily-white hand
 And leads her down the hall
 And takes her by her slender waist
 For fear that she might fall
 And lays her on a bed of down
 Without a doubt at all
 And he and she lie in one bed
 Roll me over next to the wall

* There are literally dozens of versions of "Captain Wedderburn" in Newfoundland. The Captain answers the ancient riddle and wins the affection of his lady. McCann learned this version from Jamie Moreira, from Nova Scotia, "who wisely chose to study in St. John's for a few years." The instrumental air in the middle is "Give Me Your Hand."¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Great Big Sea. *Turn*. [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada. 1999.

Play

Instruments on *Play*:

Doyle: Vocals, acoustic and electric guitars, bouzouki, mandolin

McCann: Vocals, bodhran, acoustic guitar

Power: Vocals, bass, bones, harmonica

Hallett: Vocals, button accordions, tin whistle, fiddle, mandola, concertina

Additional instruments: Congas, drums, piano, spoons, piano accordion, violin

Musical contributions: Jim Cuddy and Greg Keelor (from Blue Rodeo), Stuart, Kyle, Lucy, and Seamus MacNeil (from The Barra MacNeils).

The Night Pat Murphy Died

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Oh the night that Paddy Murphy died, is a night I'll never forget
Some of the boys got loaded drunk, and they ain't got sober yet:
As long as a bottle was passed around every man was feelin' gay
O'Leary came with the bagpipes, some music for to play

Chorus:

That's how they showed their respect for Paddy Murphy
That's how they showed their honour and their pride:
They said it was a sin and shame and they winked at one another
And every drink in the place was full the night Pat Murphy died

As Mrs. Murphy sat in the corner pouring out her grief
Kelly and his gang came tearing down the street
They went into an empty room and a bottle of whiskey stole
They put the bottle with the corpse to keep that whiskey cold

About two o'clock in the morning after emptying the jug
Doyle rolls up the ice box lid to see poor Paddy's mug
We stopped the clock so Mrs. Murphy couldn't tell the time
And at a quarter after two we argued it was nine

* They stopped the hearse on George Street outside Sundance Saloon
They all went in at half past eight and staggered out at noon
They went up to the graveyard, so holy and sublime
Found out when they got there, they'd left the corpse behind!

Oh the night that Paddy Murphy died, is a night I'll never forget
Some of the boys got loaded drunk and they ain't been sober yet:
As long as a bottle was passed around every man was feelin' gay

O'Leary came with the bagpipes, some music for to play
Well every drink in the place was full the night Pat Murphy died!

* A song portraying the traditional "Irish wake" in which mourners celebrate the life of the deceased in a jovial manner.¹¹⁵ The Sundance Saloon is a real pub on George Street, Newfoundland.

Donkey Riding

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Chorus:

Way hey and away we go
Donkey riding, donkey riding
Way hey and away we go
Ridin' on a donkey.
Was you ever in Quebec
Launchin' timber on the deck?
Where ya break yer bleedin' neck
Ridin' on a donkey!

Was you ever 'round Cape Horn
Where the weather's never warm?
Wished to God you'd never been born
Ridin' on a donkey.

* Was you ever in Miramichi
Where ye tie up to a tree.
An' the girls sit on yer knee?
Ridin' on a donkey

Was you ever in Fortune Bay
See the girls all shout. "Hooray!?"
"Here comes dad with ten weeks pay
Riding on a donkey."

Was you ever in London-town
See the King he does come down?
See the King in his golden crown
Riding on a donkey

* A traditional song naming towns across Canada. In the live version on *Road Rage*, audience members scream with delight upon hearing their hometown.

¹¹⁵ The movie *Waking Ned Devine* (Twentieth Century Fox, 1998) provides further clarification on this phenomenon.

General Taylor

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Well General Taylor gained the day
Walk him along, John. Carry him along
Well General Taylor he gained the day
Carry him to his bury'n ground

Chorus:

Tell me where you're stormy
Walk him along, John, carry him along
Tell me where you're stormy
Carry him to his bury'n ground

We'll dig his grave with a silver spade
Walk him along, John. Carry him along
His shroud of the finest silk will be made
Carry him to his bury'n ground

We'll lower him down on a golden chain
Walk him along, John. Carry him along
On every inch we'll carve his name
Carry him to his bury'n ground

General Taylor he's all the go
Walk him along, John. Carry him along
He's gone where the stormy winds won't blow
Carry him to his bury'n ground

General Taylor he's dead and he's gone
Walk him along, John. Carry him along
Well General Taylor he's long dead and gone
Carry him to his bury'n ground

* Fergus O'Byrne, a folksinger, and multi-instrumentalist emigrated from Dublin to Canada in 1967. A founding member of the band "Ryan's Fancy," O'Byrne moved to Newfoundland in 1971 and now performs solo, as well as with the band "Tickle Harbour." O'Byrne, who taught this song to the band, is a mentor to Great Big Sea, and especially to McCann, who likely was influenced by O'Byrne's bodhran-playing style. McCann sings the lead vocal of "General Taylor" and often invites O'Byrne to sing this song when they are performing in St. John's.

Seagulls
(Hallett)

She left St. John's one day in May
Dressed in her Sunday best
A kind man sat beside her
As she cried her way out West
She moved in with her cousin
Found a job down in the mall
Her friends at home were jealous
Said "We'll see you in the fall."

Chorus:

But, you know that she wants to try.
Never let's you see her cry
You know that she wants to try.
She's got seagulls in her eyes

The people here seem really nice
But the winter's way too long
Her new friends don't understand
They just tell her to be strong

She made some decent money
Yeah, but nothing comes for free
*The busy streets, just don't compete
With the sky, the rocks and sea

Her parents came at Eastertime
They wanted her to stay
But she went and got a panel van
And moved home on her birthday

The girls in town all said
She couldn't make it on her own
Now the sky's a little smaller
And it doesn't seem like home

She's got seagulls in her eyes

* An upbeat song explaining the difficulty many young Newfoundlanders feel when leaving their home to find work. "Seagulls in her eyes" is a reference to the main character's ties to Newfoundland, who finds that "the busy streets just don't compete with the sky, the rocks and sea."

Jakey's Gin

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

When I was a young man I was led astray
 I met with a buddy down in Logy Bay
 We went out in a weather
 We wore out our shoes,
 And up Kingsway road for a drink of old blue

Chorus:

Drink 'er up boys its well after ten
 Some people say that the pinky is fine
 Others will swear by a drop of moonshine
 But as for myself I'm a bottle of each.
 mixed in with a gallon of dipper or screech

It's the old shavin' lotion that's made me this way
 Sweeter than Pepsi and stronger than tea
 And when in the evening when we're feeling fine
 We'll stop into Jakey's for icon and shine

It's the old shavin' lotion that's made me this way
 Sweeter than Pepsi and stronger than tea
 And when in the morning when I'm feeling rough
 I curse, ol' Jakey who sold me this stuff

Take it two four out the door!

* This song passed down generations from Darrell Power's family tells the story of a Newfoundland bootlegger in the 1920s. Said McCann: "It's a really funny song about this guy who used to sell liquor after hours. If you bought this liquor, he'd give you a religious icon. For four or five dollars you'd get a bottle of home-made brew and a religious icon. The reason he gave the icon out is if the police caught him he'd say, 'I sold them the religious icon and I just gave them the booze as a present'. So it was a bit of a scam there. Probably not the most religious guy in the world anyway" (Lyons 1997: n.p.).

*Up***Instruments on *Up*:****Doyle:** Vocals, guitar, bouzouki, mandolin**McCann:** Vocals, guitar, bodhran, tin whistle, snare drum**Power:** Vocals, bass**Hallett:** Vocals, button accordion, tin whistle, fiddle, mandolin, mandola**Musical contributions:** Oliver Schroer (violins), Rick Lazar (percussion), Al Cross (drums and percussion), Danny Greenspoon (guitar)**Goin' Up**

(Doyle)

Ah, well come gather all around me
 There is something you should know
 There is no place quite like this place
 If we get it on the go
 So, pile your boots up in the corner
 Hang your jacket from the door
 There's thirty people in the kitchen
 And there's always room for more

Chorus:

oh-oh-oh. Come on now
 Let's lock the world outside
 oh-oh-oh. Come on I tell you now
 She's goin' up tonight

*Well there'll be music all around you
 You should see the way it feels
 Come on off we go now
 Heel to toe now
 To the jigs and reels
 'Cause somebody's got a fiddle
 And someone else bought a guitar
 and we got Bobby on the squeezebox
 Grab a chair and raise a jar

Well there'll be smilin'. there'll be laughin'
 Well that's good enough for me
 There'll be dancin' all around you
 This is where you want to be
 So pile your boots up in the corner

Hang your jacket from the door
 There's thirty people in the kitchen
 And there's always room, yes there's always room...

She's goin' up tonight.

* This song is a euphemism for the traditional Newfoundland "kitchen party," which emphasizes fun and good times by all who attend. It can be argued that the kitchen party is a setting for "musicking," in which all involved take an active role in participation. The lyrics of verse two urge the participants to dance to the jigs and reels, because "Bobby's got a squeezebox" [an accordion], and there's "always room for more".

Mari-Mac

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

There's a neat little lass and her name is Mari Mac
 Make no mistake, she's the girl I'm gonna track
 Lot of other fellas try to get her on her back
 But I'm thinking that they'll have to get up early

Chorus:

Mari Mac's mother's making Mari Mac marry me
 My mother's making me marry Mari Mac
 Well I'm going to marry Mari for my Mari's taking care of me
 We'll all be feeling merry when I marry Mari Mac

Now Mari and her mother are an awful lot together
 In fact you hardly see the one without the other
 And people often wonder if it's Mari or her mother
 Or both of them together I am courting

Well up among the heather in the hills of Beniffee
 Well I had a bonnie lass sitting on me knee
 A bumble bee stung me right above me knee
 Up among the heather in the hills of Beniffee

Well a certain bonnie lass and me, we're going to spend the day
 Sittin' among the heather in the hills of Beniffee
 Where all the boys and girls are making out so free
 Up among the heather in the hills of Beniffee

The wedding's on Wednesday, everything's arranged
 Soon her name will be changed to mine unless her mind be changed
 And making the arrangements, I feel I must arrange

Marriage is an awful undertaking

Sure to be a grand affair, grander than a fair
 Going to be a fork and plate for every man that's there
 And I'll be a bugger if I don't get my share
 If I don't we'll be very much mistaken

There's a neat little lass and her name is Mari Mac
 Make no mistake, she's the girl I'm gonna track
 Lot of other fellas try to get up on her back
 I'm thinking that they'll have to get up early

* Great Big Sea heard this song from Newfoundlander Ralph O'Brien. The song has Scottish origin, but came to St. John's from Ireland. As per local tradition, the song is greatly accelerated as it progresses.¹¹⁶

The Old Black Rum

(Trad./Hallett)

I drank sixteen doubles for the price of one
 Trying to find the courage to talk to one
 I asked her for a dance
 Not a second glance
 My night had just begun

Well I drink to the father and the holy ghost
 I'm kneeling at the altar of my nightly post
 So I'll raise a glass, not the first or last
 Come join me in this toast

Chorus:

Because the old black rum's got a hold on me
 Like a dog wrapped around my leg
 And the old black rum's got a hold on me
 Will I live for another day?
 Hey, will I live for another day?

* Well the Queen of George Street just went walking on by
 Walking on by with some guy who don't care
 That she stood in line
 Since half past nine
 And spent three hours on her hair (on her hair!)

¹¹⁶ Great Big Sea. *Up* [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada, 1995.

Well her friend is looking at me with an evil grin
 I think the bloody racket might soon begin
 I must have said something
 To the George Street Queen
 The boys are joining in!

So I drank all of my money
 And I slept out in the rain
 Everyday is different but the nights they're all the same
 You never see the sun on the old black rum
 But I know I'm gonna do it again!

* A song that represents the active nightlife of the St. John's pub scene. There are over thirty-five bars and pubs lined along the downtown streets of St. John's, many of which are contained on the famous "George Street."¹¹⁷

The Chemical Worker's Song (Process Man)
 (Ron Angel)

Chorus:

And it's go boys go
 They'll time your every breath
 And every day in this place your two days nearer death
 But you go...

Well a process man am I and I'm tellin' you no lie
 I work and breathe among the fumes that trail across the sky
 There's thunder all around me and there's poison in the air
 There's a lousy smell that smacks of hell and dust all in me hair

Well I've worked among the spitters and I breathe the oily smoke
 I've shovelled up the gypsum and it neigh 'on makes you choke
 I've stood knee deep cyanide, got sick with a caustic burn
 Been working rough, I've seen enough, to make your stomach turn

There's overtime and bonus, opportunities galore
 The young men like their money and they all come back for more
 But soon your knocking on and you look older than you should
 For every bob made on the job, you pay with flesh and blood

Well a process man am I and I'm telling you no lie

¹¹⁷ For further information on George Street and the St. John's downtown scene see *The City of St. John's Visitors Guide*. Available from: <http://www.city.st-johns.nf.ca/guide/page37.htm>; Internet: accessed 06 April 2002.

I work and breathe among the fumes that trail across the sky
 There's thunder all around me and there's poison in the air
 There's a lousy smell that smacks of hell and dust all in me hair

* Taught to Great Big Sea by Irish born Dermot O'Reilly from the band Ryan's Fancy, which has heavily influenced the band's style. "The Chemical Worker's Song (Process Man)" was written by English activist Ron Angel in the 1950s (Stoute 1995: n.p.).

Wave Over Wave

(Jim Payne/Janis Spence)

Oh me name's Able Rogers, a share man am I
 On a three-masted schooner from Twillingate Isle
 I've been the world over north, south, east, and west
 But the middle of nowhere wheres' I likes it best

Chorus:

Where its wave over wave, sea over bow
 I'm as happy a man as the sea will allow
 There's no other life for a sailor like me
 Then to sail the salt sea boys, sail the sea
 There's no other life but to sail the salt sea

Well I leave my wife lonely ten months of the year
 For she built me a home and raised my children there
 She never come out to bid farewell to me
 Or ken why a sailor must sail the salt sea

Ah, the work it is hard and the hours are long
 But my spirit is willing, my back it is strong
 And when the work's over the whisky we'll pour
 We'll dance with the girls upon some foreign shore
 I've sailed the world over for decades or more
 And oft times I wonder what I do it for
 I don't know the answer it's pleasure and pain
 But with life to live over I'd do it again

* Twillingate Isle, Newfoundland

Billy Peddle

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Billy Peddle, Billy Peddle have you seen Tom White?

Billy Peddle. Billy Peddle have you seen Tom White?
 Billy Peddle. Billy Peddle did you see Tom White?
 Gone around the harbour gonna stay all night
 Gone around the harbour gonna get a dozen beer
 Gone around the harbour gonna get away from here
 Gone around the harbour gonna have a cup of tea
 If you see Billy Peddle tell him I wants he!

Repeat

* As Hallett's liner notes for *Up* indicate "Billy Peddle's burst of mouth music is prefaced by a Newfoundland take on an Irish jig which we have dubbed 'The Sook.' The Newfoundland term for a complainer or whiner."¹¹⁸

Nothing Out of Nothing (McCann)

I left my home and my family by the ocean
 Out on my own, to seek my fortune
 But there's no work to occupy these young hands
 So look out boy, you're headed for the mainland

Chorus:

And what do you do? You can't make nothing out of nothing
 Everybody needs a start
 And what do you do? You can't make nothing out of nothing
 * Give my country back its heart

Now I was born on a St. John's street
 Where all my hopes could meet with defeat
 I hired my days to higher education
 Now I'm so smart I've got ruinous condemnation

Now I'm alone but I'm workin' everyday
 I'm getting stoned and blowin' all my pay
 Just to survive I'll do whatever I can
 Now I'm alive, but I cannot be a real man

* Another song indicating the hardships that Newfoundlanders have suffered because of the poor economy. Many young Newfoundlanders leave for work elsewhere, usually on the mainland of Canada. "Give my country back its heart" refers to the anger many Newfoundlanders feel at the lack of employment in the region, and the lack of government intervention to keep young, employable Newfoundlanders in the province.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

Rant & Roar (The Ryans and the Pittmans)

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Chorus:

We'll rant and we'll roar like true Newfoundlanders
We'll rant and we'll roar on deck and below
Until we strikes bottom inside the two sunkers
When straight through the channel to Toslow we'll go

I'm a son of a sea cook. I'm a cook and a trader
I can dance, I can sing, I can reef the main boom
I can handle a jigger, I cuts a fine figure
Whenever I gets in a boat's standing room

Farewell and adieu to ye young maids of Valen,
Oderin and Presque, Fox Hole and Bruley
I'm bound for the westward to the wall with the hole in
I can't marry all or it's yokey I'll be

* This tune, called "The Ryans and the Pittmans" is found in the Doyle songbooks of the early 20th century. Despite numerous variations of the title, Great Big Sea notes that the song is "universally known in Newfoundland as 'Rant and Roar.'" The song has nineteen verses all of are "a different slice of Newfoundlandia" (Burliuk 1995: n.p.). Great Big Sea added the last verse about re-settlement, listing some of the communities that have become ghost-towns, since being resettled in the 1960s.¹¹⁹ "Sunners" are large rocks hidden beneath the surface of the water.¹²⁰

"Rant and Roar" is an important song to Newfoundland traditional music because it speaks of the Newfoundland spirit which is so hopeful and cheerful, albeit stubborn. Says Doyle, "We've been facing adversity for 400 years. Never mind rolling up the sleeves – ours are cut off. We have a strong feeling of independence and self-sufficiency. We've gotten used to not getting help from other people. There's a resilience, too. Another bang on the head? So what. And for that reason there's a strong sense of hope here" (Burliuk 1995: n.p.).

¹¹⁹ Great Big Sea. *Up* [liner notes]. Warner Music Canada, 1995.

¹²⁰ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 8 - October 16, 1998* [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greathigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Sea

Instruments on *Great Big Sea*:

Doyle: Vocals, acoustic and electric guitars

McCann: Vocals, bodhran, tin whistle

Power: Vocals, bass, acoustic guitar, mandolin

Hallett: Vocals, fiddle, mandolin, button accordion, tin whistle, bouzouki

Musical Contribution: Greg Hawko (percussion)

Great Big Sea/ Gone By the Board

(Trad./Hallett)

Great big sea hove in Long Beach.
Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh.
Great big sea hove in Long Beach.
Granny Snooks she lost her speech.
To me right fol diddle fol-day.

Great big sea hove in the Harbour
Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh.
Great big sea hove in the Harbour
Hove right up to Keough's Parlour
To me right fol diddle fol-day.

Mother, dear I wants a sack
Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh
Mother, dear I wants a sack
With beads and buttons all down me back
To me right fol diddle fol-day.

"Me boot is broke, me frock is tore
Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh.
Boot is broke, me frock is tore
But Granny Snooks I do adore.
To me right fol diddle fol-day.

Fish is gone and the flour is high
Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh.
Fish is gone and the flour is high
Granny Snooks she can't have I
To me right fol diddle fol-day.

She will have me in the fall

Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh.
 If she don't I'll hoist my sail
 Hove right up to old Canaille.
 To me right fol diddle fol-day.

Great big sea hove in Long Beach,
 Whack fa-loral taddle diddle i-doh.
 Great big sea hove in Long Beach.
 Granny Snooks she lost her speech.
 To me right fol diddle fol-day.

* This song opens with the sounds of the waves crashing over the rocks of Signal Hill, and the moan of the foghorn warning the ships of the impending coast. Aurally locating the listener with the sounds of the Newfoundland shore, the listener is then introduced to a duet between the waves and the bodhran. A reel written by Bob Hallett follows the verses.¹²¹

Great Big Sea often uses guitar tunings more common to folk music than pop music. The tuning DADGAD is utilized at the beginning of this song. Notes the Great Big Sea newsletter, "these tunings were invented hundreds of years ago to make instruments like guitars more akin to the tunings utilized by fiddles and accordions."¹²²

Someday Soon (Doyle)

* They keep talking of the things they'd do if we'd only vote them in
 Send one more dollar and all the bickering and suffering would end.
 If you'd sign your 'X' in favour it's three jobs for every man
 You can burn your boats, that's what they said.
 It seemed they had it planned.
 And I hope they haven't forgotten, the promises they made

Chorus:

Cause they said they'd stop the fighting
 And they said they would bring peace
 And they said they'd find a serum that can cure all our disease.
 And they said they'd house the homeless
 And put black and white in tune
 And they said they'd feed a hungry child
 And I hope it's someday soon

¹²¹ Great Big Sea. *Great Big Sea*. [liner notes]. NRA Productions Ltd.. 1993.

¹²² *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 3 - May 1, 1997*. [on-line essay]; available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>; Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.

Saw a man sleep in an alley lane with a paper for a bed
 And the headline shown beneath the man and this is what they read,
 "If elected there would be no persons living in the street"
 But the paper couldn't even provide shelter for his freezing feet.
 And I hope they haven't forgotten, the promises they made

Well they said it would be so different, if we'd only play their games
 And I've been playing for so long and I swear its still the same!

* Another song with a references to the Newfoundland Confederation, the lyrics in the first verse question whether the subsidies sent to Newfoundland by the federal government would actually provide jobs in industries other than the fishery. The underlying tone of this song is serious, and the narrator questions whether the future will get better, when he has not seen any changes that have improved Newfoundland's living conditions.

Excursion Around The Bay

(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Well it was on this Monday morning
 And the day be calm and fine
 To the Harbour Grace excursion
 With the boys to have a time
 And just before the sailor
 Took the gangway from the pier
 I saw some fella haul me wife
 Aboard as a volunteer

Chorus:

Oh me, oh my, I heard me old wife cry
 Oh me, oh my, I think I'm gonna die!
 Oh me, oh my, I heard me old wife say,
 "I wish I'd never taken this excursion around the bay"

We had full three hundred souls aboard, oh what a splendid sight!
 Left strong and regimental to make our spirits bright
 And meself being in the double, when a funny things they'd say
 They choke themselves from laughing when they'd see us in the bay

Me wife she got no better, she turned a sickly green
 I fed her cake and candy, fat pork and kerosene
 Castor Oil and sugar of candy, I rubbed pure oil on her face
 And I said she'll be a dandy when we reaches Harbour Grace!

My wife she got no better, my wife me darling dear
 The screeches from her troll you could hear in Carbonear
 I tried every place in Harbour Grace,
 Tried every store and shop,
 To get her something for a cure or take her to the hop

She died below the brandies as we were coming back
 We buried her in the ocean, wrapped up in a Union Jack
 So now I am a single man, in search of a pretty face
 And the woman that says she'll have me, I'm off for Harbour Grace!

* A folksong that was almost lost, Great Big Sea took the tune and accelerated the tempo to a pop-rock tempo. Noted Doyle, "It's a great song and a real slice of Newfoundlandia. When I hear kids singing it while they're skipping rope, I honestly feel like we've done something really good. It's like we've done something for the province" (Stockwood 1996: 11). Darrell Power learned the song from his cousin Gabe Houlihan of Flat Rock.¹²³

Whadd'ya At? (Doyle)

Well I was walking in a mainland city
 And I was feeling so alone
 I was looking for someone or thing to remind me of my home
 What I wouldn't give to have somebody nod or wink at me
 'Cause that's the way we say hello in my home down by the sea

We never say "Hello" or "How's it going?". "Good day" or any of that
 * We just look at them and nod our heads or wink and say 'Whadd'ya at?'

Chorus:
 Whadd'ya at?
 How's she going buddy?
 Whadd'ya at today? (2x)

But then I walked into a shopping mall and much to my surprise
 An old friend from my hometown was a sight for my sore eyes
 And of all the people I met there in the city or in the mall
 I think I like my hometown friend the best one of them all
 Because he didn't say "Hello" or "How's it going?". "Good day" or any of that
 My old friend he just looked at me and smiled said "Whadd'ya at?"

Everybody must say "Whadd'ya at?"

¹²³ Ibid.

Altogether now

Let this be a lesson to all our people who go away
 Remember if you meet someone the special words we say
 We don't ever say "Hello" or "How's it going?". "Good day"
 Or any of that.
 You just look at them and nod your head now wink and say "Whadd'ya at?"

Now I said "Whadd'ya at?"!

* "Whatd'ya at?" is an colloquial Newfoundland question, which means "how are you doing" or "what are you doing? It is often paired with "How's she going, buddy?" another colloquial question. The questions are usually said consecutively, in a caring and jovial manner.

Fisherman's Lament

(Ed McCann/Séan McCann)

I stand in my doorway as the moon rises high
 Over glorious ocean, reflects the bright sky
 My heart it is aching, so much I could die
 I've known only the ocean, since I was a boy

Chorus:

And I spent my whole life, out there on the sea
 Some government bastard now takes it from me
 It's not just the fish, they've taken my pride
 I feel so ashamed that I just want to hide

I fished with my father, so long, long ago
 We were proud of our trade, and in us it did show
 We held our heads high, there was lots of fish then
 That was the time, when we were proud men

We challenged great storms and sometimes we won
 Faced death and disaster, we rose with the sun
 We worked and we toiled, we strained our manned brain
 We were a proud people, will we ere be again?

My father is gone now, and the fish are gone too.
 Abused and mismanaged, oh what can we do?
 I'm too old to change, but what of my sons,
 How will they know that we weren't the ones?

DFO regulations permitted the rape
 Of our beautiful ocean, from headland to cape
 They brought in big trollers, they tore up our twine
 Politicians don't care for what's yours or what's mine!

You brave Newfoundlanders, now listen to me
 *Shove the package to hell, go back to the sea
 If we don't stand our ground, we will fade away
 And the bones of our fathers will turn in the grave

Back to the sea.

* A contribution to the growing collection of moratorium songs. "Fisherman's Lament" was written by Séan McCann's father, out-of-work fisher, Edward McCann. McCann was deeply affected by the fishery collapse and ensuing moratorium of Newfoundland's main industry. The DFO is the abbreviation for the federal government's Department of Fisheries and Oceans. The "package" refers to the federal government's compensation package, NCARP (The Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program, August 1, 1992 to May 15, 1994).¹²⁴

I'se The B'y
 (Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

I'se the b'y that builds the boat and
 I'se the b'y that sails her and
 I'se the b'y that catches the fish and
 Brings 'em home to Liza

Chorus:
 Hip-yer-partner Sally Tibbo
 Hip-yer-partner Sally Brown
 Fogo, Twillingate, Morton's Harbour,
 All around the circle

Sods and rinds to cover your flake,
 Cake and tea for supper
 Cod fish in the spring of the year,
 Fried in maggoty butter

I don't want your maggoty fish
 They're no good for winter

¹²⁴ Folklorist and musician Peter Narváez, Memorial University, has studied Newfoundland's moratorium songs in his article "'She's Gone, Boys': Vernacular Responses to the Atlantic Fisheries Crisis." *Canadian Journal of Traditional Music* 25 (1997): 1-13.

Well I can buy as good as that.
Way down in Bonavista!

I took Liza to a dance.
As fast as she can travel.
And every step that she could take.
Was up to her knees in gravel

Susan White she's outta sight.
Her petticoat won't support her.
Well old Sam Oliver in the dark.
He kissed her in the corner!

* A Doyle songbook contribution. many Newfoundlanders are familiar with this well-known folksong. Great Big Sea's version is more aggressive than most, with an accelerated tempo and loud vocals. The first verse is sung unaccompanied, and then is joined by the fiddle playing the melody. A Cape Breton fiddle jig and tin whistle melody punctuates the middle of the song.

Irish Paddy/Festival Reel/Roger's Reel
(Trad./Benoit/Guinchard)

It's of an Irishman I'm going to tell you
Free from Ireland sailed away
Where he was to he was not contended
Made up his mind for to go away

Early next morning the ship was sailing
Queenstown Harbour, the Cobh of Cork
Eight long days he was sailing over
'Till he landed in New York

Up the street young Paddy wandered
Each big building caught his eye
Looking up at a big shop window.
A bottle of whisky he did spy

Into the bar young Paddy entered
Called for a drink, without delay
Give me a drop of that Irish Whisky.
Four big coppers I will pay

The landlord he jumped over the counter
"Pay me down that bill", he said

Paddy up with a big shillelagh
Laid him on the floor right dead

So the Yankees they came runnin'
When they heard about the row
Trying to kill poor Irish Paddy.
Shouting out, "Where is he now?!"

Irishmen they followed after
Following without delay
Each of them with a big shillelagh.
Made the Yankees run away

May God's success to his Irish people
Many's the country they have roamed
But their courage is far bolder
When they're far away from home

* A song from Branch, St. Mary's Bay, followed by reels from Newfoundland's late master fiddlers, Émile Benoit and Rufus Guinchard.¹²⁵ McCann speaks the last word of each verse, a declamatory style that is widely used in folksongs of Irish provenance.¹²⁶

The *Great Big Newsletter*, a means for Great Big Sea to keep in touch with their fans, frequently answers fan questions about performance. In *Issue 3*, the band offers an explanation of how they perform their songs. One of the most unique characteristics of Great Big Sea arrangements is the effect of layering guitar sounds, also called "rhyming" guitars. "One guitar will play the song in the standard chords of the songs key. Another will be played with a capo on a harmonic fret, playing the song using different chords. A third part will double the guitar line on bouzouki or mandola." The newsletter goes on to advise that the lead lines of "Lukey," "Buying Time" and "Irish Paddy" are played on the mandola and mandolins. "They are almost impossible to play on guitar (unless you grow another finger)."¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ For further explanation on the declamatory style see Laurel Doucette, "The Gattineau Valley Singing Tradition: A Contemporary View," *Canadian Folk Music Journal* 7 (1979): 18-22; and *The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs, selected and edited by Edith Fowke*. Music consultant: Keith MacMillan. Harmondsworth, England, Penguin Books, 1973.

¹²⁷ *Great Big Newsletter: Issue 3 - May 1, 1997*. [on-line essay]; available from www.greatbigsea.com; Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Berry Picking Time
(Trad./arr. Great Big Sea)

Well I spied a berry bush as I was strolling home one day
And somehow it brought back the bygone days
Of when you and I were berry picking many years ago
In a little county not so far away
How well I do remember the day when we first met
It leaves a picture in my mind I never can forget

Chorus:

We were picking berries at Old Aunt Mary's
When I picked a blushing bride
As we strolled home together, I just wondered whether
I could win you forever if I tried
Then at love's suggestion, I popped the question
And asked you to be mine
By your kisses I knew, you'd picked me and I'd picked you
At berry picking time

Well how sweet you were that day, in your simple gingham gown
To me you were as lovely as a Queen
When from underneath your bonnet popped a pair of golden curls
And the bluest eyes that I have ever seen
Your lips were red as cherries, the taste was twice as sweet
It only took one kiss to make my happiness complete

* Alan Doyle's family in Petty Harbour preserved this song, and as the liner notes indicate, it was a great favourite of his grandfather.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Appendix Five

Articles in the Popular Press featuring Great Big Sea

April 2002

"Great Big Junos" – *The Newfoundland Herald*

"What About Bob? Bob Hallett discusses his role in Great Big Sea" – *The Express*

February 2002

"It's Sea, travelling from sea to shining sea" - *Winnipeg Free Press*

"Sea could do with some bad press" – *The Edmonton Journal*

"Great Big Sea of Change" – *The Halifax Daily News*

"GBS produce a lukewarm fish" – *The Toronto Sun*

"Fishin' for fans in U.S.A." – *The Halifax Herald*

"A Great Big Sea change" – *The Winnipeg Sun*

"GBS set sail for new pop world" – *The Winnipeg Sun*

"Twenty Questions with Great Big Sea" – *The Edmonton Sun*

"Great Big Sea expanding musical horizons" - *Canadian Press*

"Cold no barrier to Great Big Sea" - *The Toronto Star*

January 2002

"Great Big Sea single offers solace in troubled times" - *Jam! Showbiz*

December 2001

"Great Big Sea land 'Shipping News' songs" - *JAM! Showbiz*

September 2001

"As to be seen on TV" – *The Ottawa Sun*

"Ottawa concert filmed for TV" – *The Ottawa Sun*

"Flavour of the millennium" – *The Ottawa Citizen*

August 2001

"Canada maritime-pop washes ashore at last" - *Anchorage Daily News*

"Adrift in the Sea" - *The Buffalo News*

"It's like being a Beatle for a few minutes" - *The Express*

July 2001

"In Conversation With Great Big Sea's Darrell Power" - *CanEHdian.com*

"Great Big Sea top guest list" – *The Winnipeg Sun*

June 2001

"Great Big Roadtrip" – *The Halifax Daily News*

"Great big bash" – *The Halifax Herald*

"Four Canadians - six stars" - *Nordjyske Stiftstidende (Denmark)*

November 2000

"Great Big Sea VS Britney" - *The Downhomer* (Newfoundland)

October 2000

"Were they ever in Miramichi?" - *The Telegraph Journal*

"Road Rage Review"

"Great Road Show" - *HMV.com*

"Day's use of popular song could be Great Big problem" - *The Halifax Herald*

"No Ordinary Day for Stockwell" - *The Telegram*

"Don't use our song," - *CBC Online*

"Hands Off". Great Big Sea tells Alliance" - *CBC Online*

"A road rage voyage" - *The Ottawa Citizen*

"The long, winding road of Great Big Sea" - *The Halifax Herald*

"Lose The 'Road Rage' With Great Big Sea" - *GlobalTV.com*

"Great Big Sea of contentment" - *The Ottawa Sun*

"The Rock's Celtic rockers are on a roll" - *National Post*

"Celtic band's great big live CD" - *Calgary Sun*

September 2000

"Great Big Sea 'rage' on live album" - *JAM! Showbiz*

July 2000

"Go see the Sea" - *The Calgary Sun*

May 2000

Review of Turn - *Detroit Free Press*

April 2000

"Canadian Celts rock the high seas" - *The Pioneer Log*

March 2000

"Great big sounds" - *Lexington Herald-Leader*

Review of Turn - *Detroit Free Press*

Review of Turn - *The Eagle*

"Maritime ebullience" - *The Ann Arbor Observer*

Review of Turn - *Mote Magazine*

February 2000

"Great Big Sea the Great Big Winners at 2000 ECMAs" - *Chapters Online*

"Islands dominate East Coast" - *The Daily News*

"Great Big Sea, Stockwood big winners" - *The Telegram*

"Great Big Sea rides the wave" - *The Toronto Star*

"Great Big Sea dominates at East Coast Music Awards" - *Canadian Press*

January 2000

"Great Big Sea of folk arrives soon" - *The Michigan Daily*

"Great Big Sea - great big night" - *The Brunswickan*

December 1999

"Great Big Shindig" - *The National Post*

MuchEast Interview - *Much Music*

"A Great Big Scene" - *The Dome*

"Great Big Sea gets great big boost from crowd" - *The Halifax Herald*

"Great big voice" - *The Halifax Herald*

"Great Big Sea returns victorious from Europe" - *The Daily News*

"Huge New Year's Eve crowd expected for Great Big Sea in NFLD" - *The Daily Guardian*

November 1999

"Tidal wave" - *Arthur* (Trent University paper)

"Big Sea prompts waves of delight" - *UWO Gazette*

"Great Big Sea" - *The Silhouette*

"The Sea storms Massey" - *The Toronto Sun*

"A Conversation With Great Big Sea's Alan Doyle" - *MediaPipe*

"Great Big Sea rocks Ottawa" - *The Ottawa Citizen*

"Making a Great Big splash" - *The Ottawa Sun*

"Maritime bands between the Rock and a hard place" - *The Toronto Star*

"Aggressive Folk!" - *Dirty Linen*

"Swimming in Sea of success" - *The Ottawa Sun*

"Great Big Sea Comes to PG" - *Over The Edge*

"Great Big Sea. Doane hope to end tour with a bang Sunday" - *Cape Breton Post*

October 1999

"The sea is getting bigger" - *The Gauntlet*

"Great Big Sea pleases Agricom crowd" - *University of Alberta Gateway*

"The Great Big Sea pulses with Celtic Energy" - *The Calgary Herald*

"Great Big Sea stays afloat" - *The Calgary Sun*

"Great Big Sea guaranteed a warm Calgary reception" - *The Calgary Sun*

"It's their Turn" - *The Winnipeg Sun*

"Doing what they love most" - *The Thunder Bay Post*

September 1999

"Great Big Sea at the Painted Bride in Philadelphia, PA" - Tom Knapp

"Great Big Sea makes a music career of Newfoundland pride" - Tom Knapp

"Great Big Alumni for 1999" - *Luminus* (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

August 1999

"Take a Turn" - *Newfoundland and Labrador.com*

"Review of the Halifax Picnic" - *The Halifax Herald*

"Great big (wet) fun" - *The Daily News*

"Picnic packs a punch" - *The Telegram*

July 1999

"Great Big Sea set to kneel down and kiss the Rock" - *The National Post*

"Thrill on the hill" - *The Halifax Herald*

"I&I - A behind the scenes look" - *Atlantic Gig*

"Great Big Sea's traditional with a twist" - *The Toronto Sun*

"Behind the stage at Stardust Picnic" - *The Toronto Sun*

"Surf 'n' turf at Telus" - *The Edmonton Sun*

"Great Big Sea goes political in its latest album" - *CBC Infoculture*

"Sea makes splash" - *The Calgary Sun*

"Shining through" - *The Calgary Sun*

"Rock in the park" - *The Calgary Sun*

"Tide is coming in" - *Winnipeg Free Press*

"Great Big interview" - *Imprint*

"Great Big Sea Spinning Traditional Tunes With a Newfoundland Twist"

"A rousing Great Big Sea" - *The Edmonton Sun*

"Same old Great Big Sea" - *The Calgary Sun*

"GBS releases third one-word winner" - *The Telegram*

"Article in the Daily News" - *The Daily News*

"Review of Turn" - *The Toronto Sun*

"Awash in popularity" - *The Ottawa Citizen*

"Great Big Sea turns the page" - *Jam! Music*

"An outdoor feat of Canadian music: Great Big Sea's cross-country picnics" - *The National Post*

June 1999

"Music let loose on new Great Big Sea disc" - *The Telegram*

"The Sunday Telegram's 20 Questions" - *The Telegram*

"Article about Turn" - *Warner Music Canada*

"Interview with Alan" - *Magic 97 (St. John's)*

"Great Big lineup for concert" - *The Whig-Standard (Kingston, ON)*

April 1999

"Electric Maritime Band. Great Big Sea" - *Cedar Cultural Center's newsletter*

"A weekly guide to arts, culture and entertainment" - *Revue*

"Northern breeze on a Southern night" - *The Telegram*

March 1999

"They rant and roar, like Newfoundlanders" - *The Courier-Journal*

1999

"Great Big produces whirling dervish of sound" - *The Medina Gazette*

"Soaking up Great Big Sea" - *Humber*
 "Music Preview" - *SEE Magazine*

December 1998

"Live from The River Music Hall" - *WXRV 92.5FM*
 "Songs of their childhood" - *The Boston Herald*

October 1998

"GBS Concert Review" - *Dirty Linen*
 "Great Big Picnic The highs and lows" - *Celtic Heritage Magazine*
 "Interview with Alan and Sean" - *WUMB* (Boston)

September 1998

"Great Big Party" - *The Halifax Herald*
 "Great Big Picnic, Great Big Blast" - *The Halifax Herald*
 "Great Big Picnic" - *Atlantic Gig*
 "Great Big Picnic proves a feast" - *The Daily News*

July 1998

"Interview with Sean and Bob" - *Mix 99.9* (Toronto)
 "Great Big Sea making waves" - *The Calgary Sun*

June 1998

"Party town: Salmon and picnics go together next month as Great Big Sea headlines this summer's big blowout in Grand Falls-Windsor" - *The Evening Telegram*

May 1998

"Giving NF's Celtic Melodies a 90's Sound" - *The New York Times*
 "Great Big Sea drops anchor in the US" - *The Halifax Herald*

April 1998

"Songwriters on songwriting" - *Canadian Musician*
 "Great Big Sea's fest may go on the road" - *Jam! Music*

March 1998

"Great Big Sea Dominates 1998 EMCA's" - *The Downhomer*
 "What Celebrities Say" - *CREDO*

February 1998

"From sea to Great Big Sea" - *The Globe and Mail*
 "Great Big Winners" - *The Halifax Herald*
 "Great Big Sea et Sarah McLachlan couronnés au Gala des ECMA" - *L'Acadie Nouvelle*
 "Great Big night in Halifax" - *The Evening Telegram*

1998

"Review of Rant & Roar" - *Folk Tales*
 "Great Big Celtic Sea" - Allison Cully
 "Big Sea Saves The Day" - *Miner and News Staff*
 "Review of Great Big Sea" - *Groove Eh*

December 1997

"Great Big Year, Great Big Christmas" - *The Evening Telegram*

November 1997

"Great Big Sea Rates a Great Big Eh!" - *The Toronto Sun*
 "Great Big Sea buoyed by cross-Canada success" - *toronto.com*

October 1997

"Great Big Kiss" - *The Calgary Sun*
 "Come Play with Great Big Sea" - *The Carillon*
 "Great Big Sea with Tariq" - *FFWD Weekly*

September 1997

"Great Big Sea Rolls In On Grateful Fans" - *London Free Press*

August 1997

"Great Big Time had by all at Great Big Picnic" - *The Evening Telegram*
 "Great Big Sea not lifted by labels" - *The Evening Telegram*

July 1997

"The Festival Survival Kit" - *Eye Magazine*

June 1997

"Songs of the Sea" - *The Ottawa Sun*
 "UP - Great Big Sea **1/2"
 "Great Big Picnic Returns" - *Celtic Heritage*
 "Concert crowd left breathless by entertainers" - *Brockville Recorder*

May 1997

"Up Close and Personal" - *The Echo*
 "Great Big News" - *The Saint John Times Globe*
 "It's Worth the Money" - *The Saint John Times Globe*
 "An Interview with GBS" - *SEE Magazine*

April 1997

"Great Big Sea are hip to Celtic lingo" - *Jam! Showbiz*
 "Great Big Sea worries about flooding" - *Winnipeg Free Press*

March 1997

"Great Big News" - *Telegraph-Journal* (Saint John, NB).

"Great Big Sea has energy to burn." *The Whig-Standard* (Kingston). 15 March.

February 1997

"Great Big Sunday with Great Big Sea" - *The Brock Press*

"The offbeat antics of Great Big Sea" - *UWO Gazette*

"Great Big Sea goes for platinum at ECMAs" - *The Chronicle Herald*

"Great Big Sea making great big waves inland" - *Waterloo Chronicle*. 12 February.

"Jumping into the Great Big Sea" - *Pulse* (St. Catharines, ON). 05 February.

1997

"Shared Blind Optimism & the Skill of Being a Good Host" - *What! A Magazine??*

"To Sea or not to Sea" - *The Edmonton Sun*

November 1996

"Great Big Sea Runs Away"

"Great Big Sea feels kinship with PEI." *Journal Pioneer* (Summerside, PEI). 05 February.

October 1996

"Next Up at the TSC: GBS"

"From New York to Poland, Great Big Sea finds audiences who like folk music" - *Telegraph Journal* (Saint John, NB). 25 October.

July 1996

"Distinctive sound offered by East Coast 'energy' band" *The Sault Star*. 10 July 1996.

June 1996

"Great Big Sea Folk from the Rock" - *Dirty Linen*

"Rocking on the Rock: Great Big Sea takes great pride in sturdy Newfoundland roots" - *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*. 20 June.

"Great Big Sea pulling up roots" - *View Magazine*. 20 June.

May 1996

"Great Big Sea" - *The Peak*

"Great Big Success" - *The Newfoundland Herald*. 18 May: 124-5.

April 1996

"Great Big Sea riding big wave of success" - *The Times-Transcript* (Moncton, NB). 27 April.

"Great Big Sea docks at Myron's" - *The Guardian* (Charlottetown, PEI). 27 April.

"The Celts take over" - *The Daily Courier* (Kelowna, BC). 04 April.

March 1996

"Making Waves" - *The Carillon*

"GBS @ The Lethbridge Folk Club"

"Up from complacency" – *Ottawa X-Press*. 14 March.

"Great Big Sea wins more awards" – *The Western Star* (Corner Brook, NF). 09 March.

February 1996

"Great Big Sea heaving into Krakow" – *The Evening Telegram*. 18 February.

January 1996

"Great Big Sea"

"Go to Sea For a Celtic Education" - *Express Writer*

November 1995

"Band is full of surprises" – *The Whig-Standard* (Kingston, ON). 16 November.

"Great Big Sea makes a splash" – *The Toronto Star*. 16 November.

"Review of UP" - *Dirty Linen*

"Stirrings Review of UP" - *Stirrings*

October 1995

"Great Big Sea heading up on the charts" – *The Newfoundland Herald*. 21 October: 28-9.

"Great Big Sea playing Wednesday" – *The Daily News*. 24 October.

"Great Big Sea rising up, up, up" – *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax, NS). 20 October.

March 1995

"East Coast music has come a long way" – *The Evening Telegram*. 02 March.

"Making a big splash: Newfoundland's Great Big Sea roars on to music plateau" - *The Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax, NS). 17 March.

February 1995

"Newfoundland's good time ambassadors returning to Charlottetown on Wednesday" – *The Evening Patriot* (Charlottetown, PEI). 06 February.

"Tuning into crises" – *The Evening Telegram*. 26 February.

"Warner signs Great Big Sea" – *The Daily News* (Halifax, NS). 11 February.

1994

"Sitting in the Catnerd Seat" - *Dirty Linen*

1993

"Rising Stars" - *The Newfoundland Herald*

"Ex-Rankin Street members riding a new wave now" – *The Evening Telegram*. 30 May.

Works Cited

- Audley, Paul. 1983. *Canada's Cultural Industries: Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co.
- , 1983. "Proposals for Canada's Cultural Industries." *Canadian Forum* (March): 6-10, 36.
- Aboriginal Peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador* [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/aboriginal/default.html>. Internet: accessed 30 March 2002.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and extended 2nd ed. London, Verso.
- Bateman, Jeff. 1990. "FACTOR vetting quality over quantity." *The Record*, 8 October: n.p.
- Berland, Jody. 1991. "Free Trade and Canadian Music: Level Playing Field or Scorched Earth?" *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2: 317-325.
- , 1988. "Locating, Listening: Technological Space, Popular Music, Canadian Mediations." *Cultural Studies* 2, no. 3: 343-358.
- , 1993. "Radio Space and Industrial Time: The Case of Music Formats." In *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies and Institutions*, ed. Simon Frith, et. al., 104-118. London: Routledge.
- Berland, Jody and Will Straw. 1991. "Getting Down to Business: Cultural Politics and Policies in Canada." In *Communications in Canadian Society*, ed. Benjamin Singer, 276-294. Scarborough: Nelson Canada.
- Billboard*. 1991. "Many Canadian acts still outside the international spotlight." *Billboard*, 23 March: 72.
- Brookes, Christopher. 1988. *A Public Nuisance: A History of the Mummers Troupe*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- Brown, Laurie. 1991. "Songs from the Bush Garden." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3: 347-357.
- Burke, John. 1983. *Musical Landscapes*. Exeter, England: Webb and Bower.
- Calhoun, John H. 1976. "The National Identity of Newfoundlanders." Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh.

Canadian Content Rules [on-line essay]. Available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/culture/can-con/can_con.html. Internet: accessed 01 April 2001.

Canadian Recording Industry Association [website]. Available from <http://www.cria.ca>. Internet: accessed 13 May 2001.

Casey, George J., Neil V. Rosenberg and Wilfrid W. Wareham. 1972. "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples." *Ethnomusicology* 16, no. 3: 397-403.

Cavell, Richard A. 1994. "Theorizing Canadian Space: Postcolonial Articulations." In *Canada: Theoretical Discourse/Discours Theoriques*, ed. Terry Goldie, Carmen Lambert and Rowland Lorimer, 75-104. Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies.

The City of St. John's Visitors Guide. Available from: <http://www.city-st-johns.nf.ca/guide/page37.htm>. Internet: accessed 06 April 2002.

Cohen, Anthony P. n.d. "Social Identity and the Management of Marginality." Unpublished paper. University of Manchester.

Collins, Richard. 1990. *Culture, Communication and National Identity: the Case of Canadian Television*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cox, Gordon. 1980. "Folk Music in a Newfoundland Outport." Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies. Paper no. 32. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Canadian Recording Industry Association [website]. Available from http://www.cria.ca/stats_alb_can2000.htm. Internet: accessed 13 May 2001.

Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission [website]. Available from www.crtc.gc.ca/ENG/INFO-SHT/G11.HTM. Internet: accessed 19 October 2001.

Department of Culture and Heritage, The Government of Canada [website]. Available from <http://www.pch.gc.ca/mindep/misc/culture/html/4.htm>. Internet: accessed 13 May 2001.

Diamond, Beverly. 1994. "Issues of Hegemony and Identity in Canadian Music." In *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, ed. Beverly Diamond and Robert Witmer, 1-21. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

-----, 2000. "What's the Difference?" *Canadian University Music Review*. Vol. 21, no. 1. 54-75.

- Dictionary of Newfoundland English Online* [website]. Edited by G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin and J. D. A. Widdowson. 2nd ed. with supplement. 1999. University of Toronto Press, 1982. Available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/>. Internet: accessed 3 April 2002.
- Dorland, Michael. 1996. "Cultural Industries and the Canadian Experience: Reflections on the Emergence of a Field". In *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*. 347-365. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co.
- Drodge, Janice Ann. 1982. "A Heritage Portrayed: Nationalist Theatre in Newfoundland, 1972 – 1982." M.A. Thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Doyle, Gerald S. 1927. *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland*. 2nd ed. 1940. 3rd ed. 1955. St. John's, Newfoundland.
- Dundes, Alan. 1983. "Defining Identity through Folklore." *Identity: Personal and Socio-Cultural: A Symposium*. ed. Anita Jacobson-Widding. Uppsala: Acta University. 235-261.
- Echard, William. 2000. *Canadian Popular Music*. Lecture Notes. Carleton University, Ottawa.
- , 2000. *A Little Glossary of Popular Music Cultural Theory Terms*. Music 30.102 Coursepack. Ottawa: Carleton University.
- Elliot, Robin. 1997. "The Guess Who and the 'Stigma of Being Canadian'." *Music in Canada* 1, ed. Guido Bimberg, 151-164. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.
- FACTOR* (The Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent on Record) [website]. Available from <http://www.factor.ca/whatisfactor.html>. Internet: accessed 05 May 2001.
- Fairchild, Charles. 1994. "Mediating Marginality: Music and Community Radio in Canada." Special Issue: Identity and Marginalities. *International Journal of Canadian Studies* (Fall): 119-135.
- Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. 1982. *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee*. Ottawa: Department of Communications, Government of Canada.
- , 1982. *Summary of Briefs and Hearings*. Ottawa: Department of Communications, Government of Canada.
- Feihl, John. 1990. "The impact of the Canadian content regulations on the Canadian

- recording industry." *Association of Canadian Studies Newsletter* 12, no. 3 (Fall): 32.
- Fejes, Fred. 1981. "Media Imperialism: an Assessment." *Media, Culture and Society* 3, no. 3: 281-289.
- Figgy Duff* [website]. Available from <http://www.ambermusic.nfnet.com/artists/figgy.html>. Internet: accessed 04 March 2002.
- Fitzpatrick, Jamie. 2001. "Traditional Music." [on-line essay]. Available from: http://www.heritage.nf.ca/arts/trad_music_arts.html. Internet: accessed 06 March 2002.
- Filion, Michel. 1996. "Radio." In *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, ed. Michael Dorland. 118-141. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co.
- Flohil, Richard. 2000. "A Return to 'Pop' – and Canada Begins to Catch Up." *CARAS Newsletter* (Fall): n.p.
- , 1991. "Selling Newfoundland Music to Canada Fred Brokenshire's Job." *The Record* 11, no. 14 (4 November): 49.
- , 1989. *Shakin' All Over: The Rock n Roll Years in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw.
- , 1988. "A Televised Debate: How GATT and Free Trade may Change the Way the Business of Music Works in Canada." *The Canadian Composer*. (April): 18-22.
- Fraser, Ingrid Ann. 1981. "Public Tradition in an Urban Context: an Occupational Folklore Study of Musicians in St. John's." M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Friedman, J. 1994. *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage.
- Frye, Northrop. 1971. *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination*. Toronto: Anansi.
- , 1982. *Divisions on a Ground*. Toronto: Anansi.
- Galperin, Hernan. 1999. "Cultural Industries in the Age of Free-Trade Agreements." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 24: 49-77.
- Garofalo, Rebee. 1991. "The Internalization of the US Music Industry and its Impact on Canada." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 4: 326-331.
- , 1997. *Rockin' Out: Popular Music in the USA*. Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.

- Gasher, Mike. 1997. "From Sacred Cows to White Elephants: Cultural Policy Under Siege." In *Canadian Cultures and Globalization*, ed. Joy Cohnstaldt and Yves Frenette, 13-29. Montreal: Association of Canadian Studies.
- Goddard, Peter. 1980. "Pop record makers ignore borders." *Toronto Star*, 15 November.
- Godfrey, Larry. 1981. "Canadian Bands Now Supported at Home as Never Before." *The Music Scene* 318 (March): 4-5, 18.
- Grant, Barry K. 1986. "'Across the Great Divide': Imitation and Inflection in Canadian Rock Music." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring): 116-127.
- Great Big Sea* [website]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 06 January 2002.
- Gushue, John. 1988. "Evaluating the Cultural Economy of Newfoundland." *Atlantic Insight* 10, no.8 (August): 11.
- Gwyn, Richard. 1972. *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary*. 2nd ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Gwyn, Sandra. 1976. "The Newfoundland Renaissance." *Saturday Night*. (April): 38-45.
- , 1997. "Sense of place: the exploding arts scene in Newfoundland is quirky, kinetic and passionate." *Maclean's*. Vol. 110, no. 25 (23 June): 18-21.
- Hall, Stuart. 1999. "Culture, Community, Nation." In *Representing the Nation: a reader*, ed. David Boswell and Jessica Evans, 33-44. London: Routledge.
- Harcourt, Peter. 1993. "The Canadian Nation: An Unfinished Text." *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 2, nos. 2-3: 5-26.
- Hardin, Herschel. 1974. *A Nation Unaware*. Vancouver: Douglas.
- Hegemony* [on-line essay]. Available from <http://carmen.artsci.washington.edu/panop/home.htm>. Internet: accessed 04 July 2001.
- Hiscock, Philip. 1988. "Folklore and Popular Culture in Early Newfoundland Radio Broadcasting: an Analysis of Occupational Narrative, Oral History and Song and Song Repertoire." M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- The History of Screech* [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.trapperjohns.com/history.html>. Internet: accessed 06 March 2002.

- Jennings, Nicholas. 1997. *Before the Gold Rush: Towards the Dawn of a Canadian Sound*. Toronto: Viking.
- , 1995. "Canadian Rock Explodes!" *Maclean's* 108, no. 13 (27 March): 40-2.
- , 1989. "Urban Cowboys." *Maclean's* 102, no. 16, (17 April): 59.
- Jones, Timothy. 1999. *Beethoven: The 'Moonlight' and Other Sonatas, Op. 27 and Op. 31*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jordan, Terry G. and Lester Rowntree. 1990. *The Human Mosaic: A Thematic Introduction to Cultural Geography*. 5th ed. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Juno Awards History* [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.juno-awards.ca>. Internet: accessed 01 April 2002.
- Keillor, Elaine. 1998. "The Canadian Soundscape." In *Profiles of Canada*, ed. Kenneth G. Pryke and Walter C. Soderlund. 2nd ed. 339-368. Toronto: Irwin Publishing.
- Kelly, Ursula. 1993. *Marketing Place: Cultural Politics, Regionalism and Reading*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- Kostash, Myrna. 1972. "The Pure, Uncluttered Spaces of Bruce Cockburn." *Saturday Night* (June): 21-22.
- , 2000. *The Next Canada: In Search of Our Future Nation*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc.
- Laba, Martin. 1996. "No Borders, No Problems: Mixed Media, Cultures of Youth and Music in the Marketplace." In *Seeing Ourselves: Media, Power and Policy in Canada*, ed. Helen Holmes and David Taras. 73-84. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- Laing, Dave. 1986. "The Music Industry and the 'Cultural Imperialism' Thesis." *Media Culture and Society* 8: 331-341.
- Laroche, Karyn and Will Straw. 1989. "Radio and Sound Recording Policy in Canada." *Australian-Canadian Studies* 7, nos. 1-2: 163-166.
- Leblanc, Larry. 1990. "The Canadian Record Industry 1990." Report to the Department of Communications, Ottawa, Canada.
- Lee, Jo-Anne and Linda Cardinal. 1998. "Hegemonic Nationalism and the Politics of Feminism and Multiculturalism in Canada." In *Painting the Maple: Essays on*

- Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada.* ed. Victoria Strong-Boag, et al., 215-241. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Lehr, John. 1987. "As Canadian as possible... under the circumstances: regional myths, images of place and national identity in Canadian country music." *border/lines* 2: 16-19.
- Linton, Ralph. 1943. "Nativist Movements." *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 45: 230-40.
- Litt, Paul. 1991. "The Massey Commission, Americanization, and Canadian Cultural Nationalism." *Queen's Quarterly* 98, no.2 (Summer): 375-387.
- Lorimer, Rowland and Mike Gasher, eds. 2001. *Mass Communication in Canada*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacDonald, Sandy. 1992. "Traditional Music Finding New Ears." *Canadian Composer* 3, no. 3 (Summer): 18-19.
- Mackey, Eva. 1999. *The House of Difference*. London: Routledge.
- Manning, Frank E. 1993. "Reversible Resistance: Canadian Popular Culture and the American Other." In *The Beaver Bites Back? American Popular Culture in Canada*, ed. David H. Flaherty and Frank E. Manning, 3-32. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Manuel, Peter. 1993. *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Matthews, David Ralph. 1976. "There's No Better Place than Here." In *Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates.
- Matthews, Keith. 1973. "The Origins of Newfoundland Nationalism." *Lectures on the History of Newfoundland* 30. Memorial University of Newfoundland. 249-254.
- McCann, Philip. 1988. "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland 1832 – 1855." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, nos. 1-2: 86-103.
- McMullin, Stan. 1994. "A Matter of Attitude: The Subversive Margin in Canada." *Culture and Policy* 6, no. 1. 111-120.
- Melhuish, Martin. 1983. *Heart of Gold: 30 Years of Canadian Popular Music*. Toronto: CBC Enterprises.
- Moore, Sarah. 1998. "CHMR: Campus Radio as a Music Culture." Unpublished paper.

School of Music, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

- , 2000. "The 'Canadian' Sound in Popular Music: Cultural Imperialism, the US Music Industry and Regionalism." Unpublished paper. School of Canadian Studies, Carleton University
- , 1999. "Nationalism in Anglo-Canadian Popular Music, 1968-1972." Unpublished paper. School of Canadian Studies, Carleton University.
- Morey, Carl. 1988. "Nationalism and Commerce: Canadian Folk Music in the 1920s." In *Canadian Identity: Region, Country, Nation*. Canadian Issues XX. ed. Caroline Andrew. Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies.
- Morris, William, ed. 1980. *Houghton Mifflin Canadian Dictionary of the English Language*. Markham, Ontario: Houghton Mifflin.
- Murphy, Clara Joan. 1984. "A Chronological History of the Folksong Revival in Newfoundland." Unpublished paper. Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Murphy, Rex. 1999. "Between the Rock and a Hard Place." *The Globe and Mail*. 31 March.
- The Music Industry Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, Inc. 1996. *Summary Report of the Economic Benefits, Opportunities and Potential in the Sound Recording Industry of Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Atlantecon Consulting Economists, Ltd.
- Narváez, Peter. 1986. "Joseph R. Smallwood, 'The Barrelman': The Broadcaster as Folklorist." In *Media Sense: The Folklore-Popular Culture Continuum*, ed. Peter Narváez and Martin Laba, 47-64. Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press.
- , 1982. "On Rovers and Ron, Reflex and Revival in the Music of Newfoundland." *This Magazine* (May): 9-12.
- , 1997. "'She's Gone, Boys': Vernacular Responses to the Atlantic Fisheries Crisis." *Canadian Journal of Traditional Music* 25: 1-13.
- The National Post*. 1999. "Canadians vs. Americans: One of Us is Livelier, Warmer, and more Stable. Guess Which?" 12 April 1999: n.p.
- Nationalism and National Identity* [on-line essay]. Available from <http://carmen.artsci.washington.edu/panop/topicsnat.htm>. Internet: accessed 04 July 2001.
- Newfoundland History* [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/default.html>. Internet: accessed 20 March 2002.

- Nelson, Joyce. 1986. "Losing it in the Lobby: On Entertainment and Free Trade." *This Magazine* (October/November): 14-23.
- Nicholson, G.W.L. 1964. *The Fighting Newfoundlander: A History of The Royal Newfoundland Regiment*. St. John's: The Government of Newfoundland.
- Noonan, Kerry. 2001. "The Discourse of Hockey in Canada: Mythologization, Institutionalization, and Cultural Dissemination." M.A. thesis, Carleton University.
- Novitz, David. 1989. "On Culture and Cultural Identity." *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, ed. David Novitz and Bill Willmott, 277-291. Wellington: GP Books.
- The Ottawa Citizen*. 2002. "The Battle of Newfoundland: 'Newfies' are tired of your bigotry." 9 February: B5.
- , 2001. "Support urged for musicians." 31 March.
- O'Neill, Mary. 1988. "The Consumption of Popular Music by Canadian University Students: Theory Research and Analysis." B.Mus. Honours thesis, Carleton University.
- O'Neill, Patrick. 1993. "The Impact of Copyright Legislation upon the Publication of Sheet Music in Canada, prior to 1924." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 3: 105-121.
- O'Sullivan, T. 1983. *Key Concepts in Communications*. London: Methuen and Company.
- Overton, James. 1984-5. "Coming Home: Nostalgia and Tourism in Newfoundland." *Acadiensis* 14: 84-97.
- , 1985. "Living Patriotism: Songs, Politics, and Resources in Newfoundland." *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 12, no. 2: 239-259.
- , 1997. "A Newfoundland Culture." In *A Passion for Identity: An Introduction to Canadian Studies*, ed. David Taras and Beverly Rasporich, 3rd ed., 329-354. Toronto: ITP Nelson.
- , 1980. "Promoting the 'Real Newfoundland': Culture as Tourist Commodity." *Studies in Political Economy* 4: 115-137.
- , 1979. "Towards a Critical Analysis of Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland." In *Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Robert J. Brym

- and R. James Sacouman, 219-249. Toronto: New Hogtown Press.
- Peacock, Kenneth, ed. 1965. *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*. Vol. 1. National Museum of Canada. Bulletin No. 197, Anthropological Series No. 65. Ottawa.
- Pegley, Karen. 2000. "'Simple Economics?': Images of Gender and Nationality on MuchMusic (Canada) and MTV (United States)." *Women and Music* 4: 1-17.
- Pevere, Geoff and Greig Dymond. 1996. *Mondo Canuck: A Pop Culture Odyssey*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.
- The Pigeon Inlet Newfoundland Folklore Archive: An Online Source for Newfoundland Songs, Stories & Music* [website]. Available from <http://www.pigeoninlet.nfnet.com/archive.htm>. Internet: accessed 03 March 2002.
- Plaskin, Robert. "Culture on the Rock". *Maclean's*. (1 January 1979): 4-5.
- Pocius, Gerald. 1988. "The Mummers Song in Newfoundland: Intellectuals, Revivalists and Cultural Nativism." *Newfoundland Studies* 4, no. 1: 57-85.
- Posen, I. Sheldon. 1979. "On Folk Festivals and Kitchens: Authenticity in the Folksong Revival." *Canada Folk Bulletin* 2 (May/June): 3-11.
- Posen, I. Sheldon and Michael Taft. 1973. "The Newfoundland Popular Music Project." *Culture and Tradition* 1: 17-23.
- Potter, Greg. 1999. *Hand Me Down World: The Canadian Pop-Rock Paradox*. Toronto: Macmillan Canada.
- Potter, Mitch. 1988. "Regional Rights: Maritimes and Prairie Associations Bolster Local Talent." *Music Scene* no. 361 (May/June): 14.
- Prowse, D.W. 1895. *1834—1914, A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Quill, Greg. 1984. "Record Industry Gets a New Deal." *Toronto Star* (1 December).
- Rant and Roar with Great Big Sea* [website]. Available from <http://mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/index.html>. Internet: accessed 20 March 2002.
- Rasporich, Beverly. 1997. "Regional Identities: Introduction." In *A Passion for Identity: An Introduction to Canadian Studies*. ed. David Taras and Beverly Rasporich. 3rd ed. 321-324. Toronto: ITP Nelson
- Rice, Timothy and Tammy Gutnik. 1995. "What's Canadian about Canadian Popular

- Music?: The Case of Bruce Cockburn." In *Taking a Stand: Essays in Honour of John Beckwith*, 238-256. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Rompkey, Ronald. 1998. "The Idea of Newfoundland and Arts Policy since Confederation." *Newfoundland Studies* 14, no. 2: 266-281.
- Rosenberg, Neil V. 1994. "The Canadianization of Newfoundland Folksong; or the Newfoundlandization of Canadian Folksong." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no. 1 (Spring): 55-73.
- , 1974. "'Folk' and 'Country' Music in the Canadian Maritimes: A Regional Model." *Journal of Country Music* 5, no. 2: 76-82.
- Rowe, Frederick W. 1980. *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Russell, Kelly. 1994. "Beyond the Guitar: The Fiddle in Contemporary Newfoundland Music." *Newfoundland Musician*. St. John's, Newfoundland: Design Grafix Communications (June): 16, 18.
- , 1994. "Introducing the Bouzouki to Newfoundland Music." *Newfoundland Musician* 1, Issue 1. St. John's, Newfoundland: Design Grafix Communications: 27-28.
- Rutten, Paul. 1991. "Local Popular Music on the National and International Markets." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3: 294-305.
- Salutin, Rick. 1995. "A plea for Canada." *Maclean's* 108, no. 27 (01 July): 40.
- Saugeres, Lise. 1990. "Figgy Duff and Newfoundland Culture." M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Saul, John Ralston. 1998. *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Toronto: Penguin Books.
- Sharp, Keith. 1993. "A Rising in the East." *SoundCan* 1, no. 4 (May): 22-25.
- Shepherd, John. 1993. "Value and Power in Music: An English Canadian Perspective." In *Relocating Cultural Studies: Developments in Theory and Research*, 171-206. London: Routledge.
- Shepherd, John and Jennifer Giles. 1989. "The Politics of Silence: Problematics for the Analysis of English Canadian Musical Culture." *Australian-Canadian Studies* 7, nos. 1-2: 113-126.

- Shuker, Roy. 1995. *Understanding Popular Music*. London: Routledge.
- Singer, Benjamin D. 1995. *Communications in Canadian Society*. Scarborough: Nelson Canada.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1991. *National Identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- , 1990. "Towards a Global Culture?" *Theory, Culture & Society* 7, 171-191.
- Social Identity & Nationalism* [on-line essay]. Available from
<http://carmen.artsci.washington.edu/panop/home.htm>. Internet: accessed 04 July 2001.
- Straw, Will. 1993. "The English Canadian Recording Industry Since 1970." In *Relocating Cultural Studies: Developments in Theory and Research*, 52-65. London: Routledge.
- , 2000. "In and Around Canadian Music." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35, no. 3: 173-83.
- , 1996. "Sound Recording." In *The Cultural Industries in Canada: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, ed. Michael Dorland, 97-117. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co.
- , 1991. "Systems of Articulation, Logics of Change: Communities and Scenes in Popular Music." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3: 363-388.
- Street, John. 1993. "Local Differences? Popular Music and the Local State." *Popular Music* 12, no. 1: 43-55.
- Such, Peter. 1978. *Vanished Peoples: The Archaic Dorset and Beothuk People of Newfoundland*. Toronto: NC Press Ltd.
- Sullivan, J. M. 1999. "East Coast Music Event Celebrates Local Heroes." *Globe and Mail*. 11 February.
- Taft, Michael. 1990. "The Bard of Prescott Street Meets Tin Pan Alley: The Vanity Press Sheet Music Publications of John Burke." *Newfoundland Studies* 6, no. 1: 56-74.
- Tagg, Philip. 1989. "Open Letter: 'Black Music,' 'Afro-American Music,' and 'European Music'." *Popular Music* 8, no. 3: 285-298.
- Thirlwall, Stephen Lawrence. 1992. "Musical Landscape: A Definition and Case Study of Musical Landscape in the Contribution to the Development of Quebecois Identity." M.A. thesis, Carleton University.

- Thompson, Della, ed. 1998. *Oxford Dictionary of Current English, new revised edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tomlinson, John. 1991. *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*. London: Pinter.
- , 1999. *Globalization and Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- , 1997. "Internationalism, Globalization and Cultural Imperialism." *Media and Cultural Regulation*, ed. Kenneth Thompson, 118-153. London: The Open University. Sage Publications.
- Tower, Courtney. 1970. "The Heartening Surge of a New Canadian Nationalism." *Maclean's* (February).
- Tunstall, John. 1997. *The Media are American*. London: Constable.
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) [website]. Available from <http://www.unesco.org/>. Internet: accessed 27 February 2001.
- Van Luven, Lynne and Priscilla L. Walton, eds. 1999. *Pop Can: Popular Culture in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall & Bacon Canada.
- VideoFACT [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.muchmusic.com/videofact/>. Internet: accessed 28 January 2002.
- Vivian, John and Peter J. Maurin. 2000. *The Media of Mass Communication*. 2nd ed. Scarborough: Prentice Hall.
- Watson, William. 1998. *National Pastimes: The Economics of Canadian Leisure*. Vancouver: Fraser Institute.
- Widdis, Randy William. 1997. "Borders, Borderlands and Canadian Identity: A Canadian Perspective." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 15 (Spring): 49-66.
- Wright, Robert A. 1988. "Dream, Comfort, Memory, Despair: Canadian Popular Musicians and the Dilemma of Nationalism, 1968-1972." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 22, no. 4 (Winter): 27-42.
- , 1991. "'Gimme Shelter': Observations on Cultural Protectionism and the Recording Industry in Canada." *Cultural Studies* 5, no. 3: 306-316.
- Yorke, Ritchie. 1971. *Axes, Chops and Hot Licks: The Canadian Rock Music Scene*. Edmonton: Hurtig.

Zemans, Joyce. 1995. "The Essential Role of National Cultural Institutions." In *Beyond Quebec: Taking Stock of Canada*, ed. Kenneth Roberts. 138-162. Montreal: McGill University Press.

Newspaper and Magazine Articles featuring Great Big Sea:

Barron, Tracy. 1993. "Ex-Rankin Street members riding a new wave now." *The Evening Telegram*. (30 May): n.p.

Bergman, Brian. 1998. "Great big promise: (Great Big Sea)." *Maclean's*. Vol. 111, no. 20 (18 May): 64.

Bliss, Karen. 1997. "Great Big Sea: keeping with tradition." *Canadian Musician* 19, no. 3 (June): 38-41.

Brown, Dan. 1997. "Great Big News." *Telegraph-Journal (morning)*. Saint John, New Brunswick. (17 May): n.p.

Burliuk, Greg. 1995. "Great Big Sea: band is full of surprises." *Kingston Whig-Standard*. (16 November): n.p.

Campbell, Rod. 1995. "Sea of energy." *The Edmonton Sun*. (1 December): 7.

Clarke Wawrykow, Cathy. 1997. "Great Big Sea." *What! A Magazine*. Vol. 11, no. 3 (May-June): 20.

Cooke, Stephen. 1998. "Great Big Party." *The Halifax Herald*. (10 September): n.p.

Crozier, Ron. 1996. "Great Big Sea feels kinship with PEI." *Journal Pioneer*. Summerside, PEI. (05 November): n.p.

Deachman, Bruce. 2001. "Flavour of the millennium." *The Ottawa Citizen*. (20 September): E1, E6.

Flynn, Andrew. 2002. "Great Big Sea make 'best album ever recorded.'" *Canadian Press*. (05 February): n.p.

Gillis, Charlie. 1999. "Great Big Sea set to kneel down and kiss the Rock." *The National Post*. (30 July): n.p.

The Globe and Mail. 1997. "Great Big Sea singer wants respect." (11 August): C3.

Jones, Christopher. 2000. "Great Big Sea's Creative Evolution." *Words and Music*. Vol. 7, no. 1 (January/February): 14.

- Krewen, Nick. "Great Big Sea is great big hit in Poland." *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*. 11 February 1997.
- Lyons, John. 1997. "Great Big Sea worries about flooding." *Winnipeg Free Press*. (04 April): n.p.
- MacIvor, Dawna. 1999. "Great Big Sea: doing what they love most." *Thunder Bay Source*. (October): n.p.
- O'Hallarn, Brendan. 1996. "Distinctive sound offered by East Coast 'energy' band." *The Sault Star*. (10 July): n.p.
- Ostroff, Joshua. 1999. "Great Big Sea: swimming in a sea of success." *The Ottawa Sun*. (19 November): n.p.
- Ross, Mike. 1999. "Sea makes splash: Celtic wave did nothing but good for Great Big Sea." *The Express*. (3 July): n.p.
- Saxburg, Lynn. 2000. "A road rage voyage." *The Ottawa Citizen*. (3 October): n.p.
- Sperounes, Sandra. 2002. "Sea could do with some bad press." *Edmonton Journal*. (17 February): n.p.
- Stockwood, Kim. 1996. "Kitchen music for the masses: Great Big Sea stirs up traditional tunes." *Words and Music*. Vol. 3, no. 2 (February): 10-11.
- Stone, T. 1996. "Great Big Success." *The Newfoundland Herald*. (18 May): 124-5.
- Stoute, Lenny. 1995. "Great Big Sea makes a splash." *The Toronto Star*. (16 November): n.p.
- Sullivan, J.M. 1998. "From sea to Great Big Sea: in person." *The Globe and Mail*. (13 February): D2.
- The Evening Telegram*. 1997. "Great Big Sea not lifted by labels." (09 August): 1.
- Vaughan-Jackson, Mark. 1997. "Great Big Year. Great Big Christmas." *The Evening Telegram*. (26 December): 15.
- , 1999. "Music let loose on new Great Big Sea disc." *The Telegram*. St. John's. (20 June): n.p.
- , 1998. "Party Town." *The Evening Telegram*. (26 June): 11.
- , 1998. "Tuning into Crises." *The Evening Telegram*. (26 February): n.p.

Veitch, Dave. 1997. "Great big kiss." *The Calgary Sun*. (30 October): n.p.

Wagner, Vit. 2002. "Cold no barrier to Great Big Sea." *The Toronto Star*. (7 February): H3.

Unpublished Articles and Interviews:

"Great Big Sea Interview" [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.muchmusic.com>: Internet. MuchMusic. 15 June 1998. Accessed: 24 November 2000.

"Great Big Sea's *Sea Of No Cares* Is Certified Gold" [on-line press release]. Available from http://www.warnermusic.ca/news/press/March_2002/march22nd-01.asp. 22 March 2002. Internet: accessed: 25 March 2002.

"Great Big Sea – Road Rage" [on-line press release]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com/theband/reviews.html>. Internet: accessed: 21 November 2000.

"Interview with Alan and Séan". [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/98/10/03txt.html>. WUMB 91.9FM Boston. 03 October 1998. Internet: accessed: 15 December 2000.

"Interview with Alan." [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/99/05/01txt.htm>. Magic 97FM St. John's. 01 May 1999. Internet: accessed: 15 December 2000.

"Interview with Séan and Bob." [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/98/07/02txt.html>. Mix 99.9FM Toronto. 02 July 1998. Internet: accessed: 15 December 2000.

"Interview and Performance with Great Big Sea." [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.muchmusic.com>. MuchMusic. 03 October 2000. Internet: accessed: 24 November 2000.

Knapp, Tom. "Great Big Sea makes a music career of Newfoundland pride." [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/99/09/02txt.html>: Internet. 02 September 1999. Internet: accessed: 15 December 2000.

Pytlík, Mark. "Great Road Show: Great Big Sea Finally Release Live Album." [on-line interview]. Available from <http://www.mlhogan.com/rantandroar/news/00/10/11txt.htm>: Internet. HMV.com. 11 October 2000. Accessed: 15 December 2000.

Great Big Sea Online Newsletter:

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 1 – February 5, 1997 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 3 – May 1, 1997 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 4 – July 3, 1997 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 5 – October 5, 1997 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 6 – January 10, 1998 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 7 – May 15, 1998 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 8 – October 16, 1998 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Newsletter: Issue 12 – May 15, 2000 [on-line essay]. Available from <http://www.greatbigsea.com>. Internet: accessed 16 January 2002.

Great Big Sea Recordings:

Great Big Sea. 1993. NRA Productions Ltd. CD 10088.

Up. 1995. Warner Music Canada Ltd. CD 12277.

Play. 1997. Warner Music Canada Ltd. CD 18592.

Fire in the Kitchen. 1998. BMG Music Canada Inc. 09026 63133-2.

Turn. 1999. Warner Music Canada Ltd. WEA 2 27734.

Road Rage. 2000. Warner Music Canada Ltd. WEA 2 84666.

Sea of No Cares. 2002. Warner Music Canada Ltd. WEA 2 43310.