Folk Music and the Construction of Community: Southern Ontario in the 1970s

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Table of Contents

Abstract

While dominant periodisation holds that folk music was a relatively inactive genre in the 1970s, this thesis documents and analyses the vibrant folk music scene in southern Ontario during that decade. Through interviews with twenty-five participants in the scene, its constituent parts and the ideas held about it are explored. As a greater number of folk performers were singer-songwriters, concepts of the definition of folk music and the notions of authenticity that qualify it shifted accordingly. Musicians and listeners forged communities which grew from musical activity, and shaped a regional scene. Further, participants experienced the sense of membership in a broader imagined community. The venues that hosted folk performances persist in personal and collective memory, contributed to a sense of authenticity, and acted as nodes along routes of musical travel through the region.

Tandis que la périodisation courante considère que la musique folk était un genre peu dynamique dans les années 1970, cette thèse documente et analyse la scène effervescente de musique folk du sud de l'Ontario durant cette décennie. Les diverses composantes de cette scène et les idées qui s'y rattachent sont examinées à l'aide d'entrevues effectuées auprès de vingt-cinq participants issus de ce milieu. La majorité des musicien-ne-s deviennent à cette époque des auteurs-compositeurs-interprètes plutôt que des interprètes de musique traditionnelle. Par conséquent, les concepts qui définissent la musique folk et les notions d'authenticité qui la caractérise se transforment. Par l'activité musicale, des communautés de musicien-ne-s et d'auditeurs se sont formées et ont façonné une scène régionale. De plus, les participants ont développé un sentiment d'appartenance à une communauté imaginée plus vaste. En plus d'avoir contribué au caractère authentique de cette scène, les lieux qui ont accueilli les concerts folk ont été des points de rencontre importants dans le paysage musical régional et perdurent dans les mémoires personnelles et collective.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

While the folk revival of the midcentury may have receded from the popular spotlight as the 1970s began, declarations of its demise have been exaggerated. Across small stages, in rooms with sewing machine tables, mismatched cushions, and a hot pot of coffee, or bandshells facing out to an open park field, folk music was performed in a vibrant scene throughout southern Ontario in the 1970s, fostering the development of musical talent and local community. This collection of musicians, and the audience who supported them, shaped a new decade of folk music as the genre's contents shifted towards the singer-songwriter, ushering in a new type of authenticity. Simultaneously, these participants formed musical communities rooted in local venues and houses, linked into a regional folk scene and conceptually part of a Canada-wide and even global imagined folk community. The venues themselves are significant actors in the formation and practice of the folk community and scene. Their physical character and booking decisions are informed by and also shape folk aesthetics, while grounding the community and locating folk music within the urban landscape.

This southern Ontario scene, as well as other folk music activity in the 1970s, has been largely overlooked in studies of folk music in the latter half of the century. The genre's midcentury peak and popular resurgence in the late 1980s and early 1990s is well-documented. However, while it is recognised that folk did not cease to be performed in the interim of these two periods, exactly what happened in the middle years is minimally recorded. The present study aims to document and examine one piece of that missing history of 1970s folk music. In being strongly based on oral history, it also serves to record contributions of participants while they are still living, acutely aware of the loss of a number of this group of musicians in the previous months and years.

Defining the boundaries of this scene involves identifying, if roughly in some cases, its participants, and significantly, the musicians that animated it. While a handful of musicians from this

southern Ontario scene are noted in broader accounts of folk music, the formidable aggregate of the scene's musical activity and the majority of its musicians are not. Indeed, most musicians involved did not develop into “stars,” even if they were venerated within the scene. Many who contributed to the vibrancy of folk music activity may only have performed a handful of times, sharing songs at an open mic or a brief opening set. If not the Lightfoots and Tysons of Canada, who, then, are the people who played music within the 1970s southern Ontario scene, ran the coffeehouses, and organised the festivals? This question could be answered with a list of names, though such a list would surely be incomplete, as the countless individuals who performed at open mic nights whose names were not recorded and many others would be overlooked. To even begin addressing this question, another must be considered first, one that has hung over the preceding discussion: what, exactly, is folk music? While this cannot be conclusively defined or decided here, an explanation of what this particular “folk scene” encompassed is necessary.

Like most music genre labels, folk music is a nebulously defined category, its meaning and contents having been debated throughout its history, yet its definition has remained significantly informed by ideas of authenticity. The first chapter of this thesis surveys meanings of the term and explores the definitions held by participants in the southern Ontario scene, discussing the reconfiguration of authenticity in this decade of folk music. For the purposes of this thesis, folk music activity is approached as that which was performed in spaces recognised as folk venues. This delineates the music and venues that will be included, though the acoustic signifiers of style and genre therein have substantial range. In southern Ontario, self-identified “folk clubs” and “folk festivals” constituted the scene, and thus music performed in them comprised folk music activity. This venue-based perspective identifies what can be considered under the folk umbrella, and casts this music as folk, or at least affiliated with it, even if the same sounds performed at another venue may be assigned another genre and not received as folk. Indeed, extra-musical factors significantly construct the frame that

produces music as “folk” and places musicians and listeners in a “folk scene.” I argue that the definitional power of venues—the context they place around the music performed within them—renders venues as a primary “folk lens.” Through this lens, the music performed at folk venues is incorporated into the scene, even if some of this music would otherwise aurally be considered first as another genre, such as blues or jazz. Thus, this chapter discusses the ways in which the music included in the scene is coded as “folk,” focusing heavily on extra-musical factors including venues, participation, finances, and aesthetics.

Growing out of folk's participatory nature and the intimacy of performance venues, strong social ties emerged in the southern Ontario scene. The second chapter discusses this community generated through and around folk music activity, encompassing both performers and others engaged in the scene. Participation in the scene through managing or working at venues, making art, or being an active audience member kept the folk scene rooted in a broader community than that solely of professional musicians. While the scene's participants cannot all be recorded, as these names were not typically kept on file, their involvement was important to the scene in creating the requisite spaces and audiences to support active musicians, and to the community, in extending socialisation beyond musicians to include a broader group of individuals. The nature of these local musical communities will be explored through the work of scholars including Ruth Finnegan and Kay Kaufman Shelemay, who have studied this phenomenon in other contexts.[1] Beyond the local, connections between participants in the broader area resulted in a folk scene existing at the regional level. The concept of the scene, a term applied to a range of social structures and networks, has been theorised by Will Straw, whose ideas will be drawn upon in this section.[2] At the broadest level, the connections perceived at a global level, the

1 Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-making in an English Town* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2007); Kay Kaufman Shelemay, “Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2) (2011): 349-390.

2 Will Straw, “Systems of articulation, logics of change: Communities and scenes in popular music,” *Cultural Studies* 5(3) (1991): 368-388.

imagined folk community, will be considered through Benedict Anderson's model of the imagined community developed in studies of the nation.[3]

The physical sites that fostered the building of community and the proliferation of folk music through hosting self-identified folk concerts are essential components of the scene. These venues, including relatively stable coffeehouses as well as ephemeral festivals, and the paths travelled to them are the focus of the third chapter. This chapter explores how the identities of these venues are constructed through their booking choices—shaping their musical profile—and their physical incarnation. They provided hubs of folk activity in the urban landscape, sometimes coexisting within the same city, and functioned as nodes along regional touring routes. Their decor, often assembled through thrift and repurposing of objects, gave each a distinct atmosphere that generates memories among attendees. A number of significant venues will be discussed as case studies in this chapter.

This thesis is heavily informed by the contributions of participants in the scene. Interviews with twenty-five musicians and venue operators constitute the base of this study, and their contributions to the oral history of folk music in southern Ontario are invaluable. Their contributions provide histories and illuminate personal experiences of spaces, events, music, and the people they interacted with. These reflections will be interwoven with theories about folk music, community, and spaces.

3 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, e-book, New York: Verso, 2006 (1983).

Literature review

While the 1970s are a little-studied period in folk music history, much has been written about the folk revival of the preceding decades. This period, stretching from the 1940s through the 1960s, has been studied through lenses of musical characteristics, authenticity and folk culture, political affiliations, and the culture it produced.

Studies of this period tend to focus on the better-known stars and major urban centres of the United States, such as those by Ronald Cohen, Dick Weissman, and David King Dunaway and Molly Beer. In these histories, the role of figures including John and Alan Lomax, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, the Kingston Trio, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez is emphasized. Weissman, writing from the perspective of a musician active during the revival (as a member of the Journeymen), provides an "insider" point of view, but as his book is not an academic study, lacks references to support his broader assertions. Dunaway and Beer present short reflections by figureheads of the revival on a variety of topics. While each discussion is introduced by the authors, their presentation of the era remains much like Weissman's, as the views of the musicians surveyed are not critically reflected upon. Where Ronald Cohen surveys and celebrates this history within music, Robert Cantwell, taking a scholarly approach, interjects aspects of class and nationalism in early American folksong collection, placing it in political context. From this foundation, Cantwell continues to discuss folk revivalism as a theatre for navigating relations between classes, and identifies issues of race and representation as centrally important to American folk, drawing connections to traditions of minstrelsy.[4] Broader themes of revivalism are also discussed by Livingston, who takes an analytical perspective by identifying a revival's basic components, as revealed by surveying revivals around the world.[5] While the majority of

4 Robert Cantwell, *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 55.
5 Tamara Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," *Ethnomusicology* 43(1) (1999): 69.

studies stop at the end of the 1960s, indicating that the revival faded away at that point, Thomas Gruning takes that period as his starting point. Despite this, Gruning finds the 1970s to have been a quiet decade for folk, which he argues re-emerged in the 1980s. This chronology is also voiced by Dunaway and Beer, as well as Michael Scully, even though the subject of his specific focus—Rounder Records—began in the early 1970s.

In the majority of these studies, the divide between traditionalists and more pop-oriented players is made clear, though some contributors to Dunaway and Beer's collection seek to elide the differences. Weissman portrays this conflict as being something of a crusade by the former against the latter, himself being in the popular camp. While his perspective is arguably not objective, being unsupported by references and unbalanced by views of the traditionalist camp, it does provide insight into the subjective experience of pop-oriented folk musicians and the ways in which tensions were perceived to play out. In terms of the study and collection of folk music, similar tensions and transformations occurred. As Benjamin Filene discusses in his exploration of folk music, cultural-musical roots, and the notion of authenticity, "pioneering collectors such as Child, Sharp, and even John Lomax had tended to study folk song to demonstrate the vitality of America's *past*. They had offered little sense of present-day possibilities for these cultural forms," yet a model of folk music as functional, tied to the New Deal folklorists, shifted the scope of folk to include socially relevant contemporary music.[6]

The tension illustrated by Weissman is not only of concern to performers; indeed, the relationship between "tradition" and folk, and the concept of authenticity it brings up, is of concern to scholars as well. Simon Frith discusses the sources of meaning and thus of authenticity in folk music, making clear the social factors that shape what may seem to some as strictly musical concerns. Authenticity, Frith tells us, was adapted as rock music emerged to mean truth to self rather than truth to

6 Benjamin Filene, *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory & American Roots Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 138.

the people.[7] Gruning finds a similar trend within folk music in tracing how "authenticity" has been differently constructed over the twentieth century, as the relationship to traditional folk performers (those "discovered" by revivalists) became ever more distant.[8] In the understanding of authenticity that emerged, the folk singer-songwriter is held to a standard of truth to self, like the rock music Frith discusses.

Scully adds the dimension of the recording industry to these studies, tracing the history of Rounder Records and its founders, along with the issues of authenticity and folk culture being raised at the time.[9] Scully presents Rounder Records as exemplifying the breadth of the modern folk scene, engaging with the complex negotiations of commercialism and folk as a "noncommercial" culture.[10] Gruning's study adds useful considerations for folk music's circulation after the 1960s, as he explores the shifts in the industry (referring frequently to the "folk microindustry"), discussing the changing practice and context of folk music.

Throughout the sixties, the growing influence of recording technology and mass media shaped the presentation of 'authentic' folk artists and the range of influence individual performers had within society.[11] This context of stardom facilitated by media and fixity of performance facilitated by recording technology exacerbated tensions between "authentic" or "traditional" and "commercial" music, the former safely considered "folk," the latter often including music with claims to the "folk" label but much more tenuously attached. As Scully notes, "Participants valorized folk music as organic, informal, and community based. They then took that music and, motivated by respect, nostalgia, or the possibility of profit, presented it to a distant public, altering radically the context that captivated

7 Simon Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free': the ideology of folk and the myth of the rock community," *Popular Music* 1 (1981), 163-4.
8 Thomas R. Gruning, *Millenium Folk: American Folk Music since the Sixties* 32.
9 Michael Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival: Rounder Records and the Folk Alliance* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008).
10 Ibid., 17.
11 Ronald Cohen, *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940-1970* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 261-264.

adherents in the first place."[12] Despite the tensions that would appear to be generated by this translation, as Filene reveals, "the cult of authenticity is not a fixed and static entity. Rather, it takes on different configurations according to when, by whom, and to whom it is applied."[13] Additionally, Scully points to the growing cultural and commercial force of the music industry, which sought to capitalise on the growing popularity of folk music. Frith injects a critical perspective to this discussion, exploring the ideology of folk music, noting that the distinction between folk and pop was first made by scholars and was not always evident to those making the music.[14]

While the majority of scholarship and popular histories of this period concern themselves with the United States, there are some more recent contributions to the literature that explore folk music in Canada. Gillian Mitchell's study of North American folk music (which only covers the United States and Canada) includes discussion of Toronto's Yorkville scene alongside New York's Greenwich Village. Yorkville, like Greenwich Village, was a major hub for those interested in the midcentury folk revival.[15] And as Mitchell describes, it in fact played host to a growing range of music through the period, including jazz and blues. Although Mitchell's discussion is devoted to folk music, it is short and largely limited to this one location in Canada; she notes the need for studies of other regions' folk music activity as this has not been undertaken.

Michael MacDonald has added to the literature a study of folk music festivals in the western provinces, focusing in particular on Winnipeg. Many of the festivals included in this study began in the 1970s, though others started more recently, and the discussion draws substantially upon the current realities of these festivals. In drawing upon the theories of Deleuze and Guattari, MacDonald presents an understanding of the festival as an assemblage of machines, and the folk a Body without Organs.[16] This theoretical approach suggests avenues for understanding the complex balance of forces manifest

12 Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival*, 3.
13 Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 77.
14 Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free',", 160.
15 Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*
16 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden"

in a folk festival, and a way to view its various territories. In interrogating folk music practices alongside its connections in that region to the "back to the land" movement, the nature of community revealed is one characterised by intentions of social engagement and an ecological sensibility preexisting in the population. This phenomenon is rather unique to the western provinces, particularly British Columbia, and thus this aspect of Macdonald's framework is not transferable, though it certainly merits comparison with other regions.

One year of an Ontario festival has been memorialised in a book; the 1975 Mariposa festival is documented in a collection of reflections, archival documents, and a handful of transcribed melodies compiled by Bill Usher and Linda Page-Harpa. This collection details the range of performers and music present at this preeminent Ontario festival, with musicians offering their own stories of life, music, land, culture, and oppression. A brief history of the festival is also offered to conclude the volume.

While no substantial study of southern Ontario in this period has been done, one song from this scene has become the focus of two articles. Both Greenhill and Lederman have discussed "Barrett's Privateers," written by Stan Rogers, as it circulated in folk circles becoming modified through oral transmission. These two studies reveal an aspect central to historical folk music—oral culture—still operational in the 1970s. However, neither address whether or not such an occurrence was common; the lack of similar histories for other songs suggests it was rather unique. Nonetheless, the transmission they document reveals the wide reach and appeal that at least some of the music from southern Ontario's 1970s folk scene achieved.

The very concept of a folk music scene is one that requires developing and critically reflecting upon, as does the related notion of musical community. Scenes have been theorised notably by Will Straw, who interrogates the term's applications and identifies its utility in capturing a particular presence and concomitant vagueness. Straw's explanation of the term "scene" suggests its suitability to

many phenomena of modern social life, as he writes, "'scene' seems able to evoke both the cozy intimacy of the community and the fluid cosmopolitanism of urban life."[17] Dealing directly with music, Straw adds that a musical scene incorporates a variety of musical practices.[18] These considerations allow for folk music to be considered in a modern, urban context in which theories developed to deal with traditional folk cultures do not fully apply. But community is not entirely an irrelevant concept; with local clusters of music remaining within urban centres, theories of community are necessary to understand the social practice of modern folk music-making. Indeed, Frith identifies folk community as the community created as an effect of musical performance in the American folk revival.[19] Musical community has been further theorised by scholars including Shelemay and Finnegan. Shelemay indicates that the concept of community is frequently used in music scholarship but rarely defined, its meaning being assumed even though it varies widely from instance to instance. As Shelemay notes, though, music often spurs the generation of community through its performance and reception. To address the non-specific use of the term, she proposes a definition for musical community: it is a "collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances" which may exist concretely or virtually, and can be, though does not need to be, rooted in one place.[20] Drawing on ethnomusicological research focused on the Ethiopian diaspora in the United States, Shelemay applies these theoretical models to a case study. An in-depth discussion of musical community is offered by Finnegan, whose pioneering work in the study of amateur musicians illustrates the ways in which music is practised in a community, and how these musical activities shape social affinities and structures. In a book-length examination of amateur music in the English town of Milton Keynes, Finnegan details the activities of community music ensembles including bands and choirs, illuminating the roles these ensembles—musical collectivities—play in the formation of social bonds. Rather than a

17 Will Straw, "Scenes and Sensibilities," *Public* 22/23 (2001), 248.
18 Will Straw, "Systems of articulation, logics of change: Communities and scenes in popular music," *Cultural Studies* 5(3) (1991): 373.
19 Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free'," 162.
20 Shelemay, "Musical community," 364-5.

clear-cut subject group, however, Finnegan also notes that there is not a simple distinction between amateur and professional musicians, and that it is in fact a complicated continuum.[21] This observation is helpful in understanding the role, self-identification, and economic reality of local and regional musicians. Additionally, Finnegan addresses the distinct musical activities that exist within one town, referring to them as separate "musical worlds" that together comprise the local music scene.[22]

The concept of community has been the subject of theorisation and debate in sociology and cultural studies as well. These perspectives can aid in approaching musical communities, which may not all conform to the models of understanding developed within musicology, thus meriting the application of outside theories. An influential model is offered by Anthony Cohen, who proposes an understanding of community as symbolically constructed, and found within the minds of its members, not to be elided with geographic or sociographic groupings.[23] This notion, alongside Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community, allow for the assertions of community from those within to be meaningfully understood regardless of what may be observed from without.[24] The imagined community of the nation, as Anderson details, has become an influential theory in studies of society and community across disciplines. Practices and objects that facilitate a sense of connection, such as reading the newspaper, can be found in music communities, and these include concert attendance, performance, recordings, and memorabilia.[25] Finnegan illustrates this in practice, finding such conceptions held by folk musicians in Milton Keynes who understood themselves as part of a country-wide "folk world."[26] What is less clear in these theories' application to music, particularly in Cohen's model, is the role of boundaries. Cohen emphasises the importance of boundaries in negative definition, that is, community being understood against what is not part of it. While certain genres or

21 Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians*, 14.
22 Ibid., 31.
23 Anthony Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 1985), 98.
24 Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*
25 Ibid., 35-36.
26 Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians*, 61.

scenes may be opposed, it seems less likely that this is a consistent feature of definition for musical community.

As the theories discussed above illustrate, community is not necessarily tied to a specific location, or if it is, this may not be its defining or most salient feature. However, as this thesis is concerned with a geographic region, the role of place should not be overlooked; indeed it is an important actor, facilitating gatherings and performance, and becoming translated into mental images of place that provide grounding for identity. As such, theories of musical geography are relevant to this discussion. Lashua, Schofield, and Sara Cohen have contributed to this angle of study, introducing interdisciplinary collaboration that ties leisure studies with musicology.[27] Their collaborative work focuses on the geography of Liverpool's live music scene, tracing musicscapes that are overlooked by official histories of the city, and illuminating the interaction of genre, race, and public perception. As their work reveals, musicians contribute to reshaping the city through transforming spaces into thriving venues. This builds on the process Straw proposes of scenes affecting a city's cartography, providing a concrete example of how this can occur. Transformed space is one of the venue types identified by Kronenburg, who proposes a framework of adopted, adapted, dedicated, and mobile venues.[28] These various types of performance space factor in varying proportion within folk music. Kronenburg's case studies, though, are focused on venues and performances on a larger scale, of artists in demand by a substantial fan base and who have the ability to redesign spaces to their wishes. The design of adapted and mobile venues in the absence of such resources is arguably of more concern to the study of regional folk music.

Lashua, Cohen, and Schofield's work also challenges the dominant genre periodisation of Liverpool by illustrating a range of music practices that do not conform to this history.[29] This

27 Brett Lashua, Sara Cohen, and John Schofield, "Popular music, mapping, and the characterization of Liverpool," *Popular Music History* 4(2) (2010): 133-152.
28 Robert Kronenburg, *Live Architecture: Venues, Stages, and Arenas for Popular Music* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5.
29 Lashua, Cohen, and Schofield, "Popular music, mapping, and the characterization of Liverpool," 133.

conclusion is significant to the present study, as studies of folk music largely treat the 1970s as a decade in which folk dropped off the map; rather, through mapping the thriving regional folk scene, it will be revealed that it has only been missing from the map because these loci have not yet been marked, not because it was not practised. Further, Cohen emphasises the importance of venues in the experiences and memories of musicians, noting the role of certain venues in contributing to personal identity and heritage.[30] Lashua pursues this idea to articulate the role of musical practice as "part of the processes through which urban space is produced, changed and remembered," stressing the function of collective memory.[31]

Additionally, Laing has explored the musi-geographical history of Manchester and Salford, in northwest England, overlaying maps of the zones occupied by different genres of music in live performance to construct a "gigography."[32] Addressing general principles of such geography, Laing defines terms that describe patterns of movement in musical performance—residency, circuit, and tour—and illustrates models of touring shaped by centripetal or centrifugal forces depending on the artist's stature. While the contours revealed by Laing's study of these touring patterns, in their particularity, cannot be transferred directly to a Canadian context (given the difference in geographical layout of towns and cities, which in Canada are much more clustered in the south), the principles of large and small cities or towns as sites of performance, and the resulting patterns of movement, can be translated. The relationship between geographies of different genres is beyond the scope of this study, though some aspects of such distinctions will arise.

30 Sara Cohen, "Live music and the urban landscape: mapping the beat in Liverpool," *Social Semiotics* 22(5) (2012): 595.
31 Brett Lashua, "An atlas of musical memories: popular music, leisure and urban change in Liverpool," *Leisure* 35(2) (2011): 136.
32 David Laing, "Gigographies: where popular musicians play," *Popular Music History* 4(2) (2010): 196-219.

Chapter 2: Folk Music and Authenticity

For most of the history of folklore studies, definitions of the folk and folk music have been contested and in flux. The music considered in this study is that captured within the southern Ontario folk scene of the 1970s, defined by self-identified folk venues. In this way, some performers—in many cases, blues, jazz, and bluegrass acts—participated in the folk scene while also being active in other genre scenes or venues like bars or jazz clubs, with audiences still attending their coffeehouse or festival performances as "folk shows" due to the venue's framing function. It cannot be said, though, that this by default makes their performance "folk music." The scope of musical styles included in the umbrella also varied between venues, a topic that will be explored later in discussion of the venues. While this venue-based approach to the term is taken, the meanings and implications of "folk" are nevertheless highly significant. This chapter will discuss the definitions of folk music found throughout the term's history and the ways in which it was used in the southern Ontario scene. Closely related to these definitions is the notion of authenticity, which will also be a focus of this chapter.

Defining folk music

Particularly in light of the increased commercialisation of folk music beginning in the 1950s, with acts like the Kingston Trio, debate has intensified as to what may still constitute "authentic" folk music. Scully articulates that strictly speaking, "a 'commercial folk song' is an oxymoron. As traditionally understood, a folk song is an ancient artifact of unknown origin, one that has survived through oral transmission."[33] This traditional understanding follows the ideology of early collectors including Cecil Sharp and Francis Child. However, such a rigid perspective was eroding by midcentury. During the

33 Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival*, 3.

folk revival at that time, significant figures including Alan Lomax, Ruth Crawford-Seeger, and Charles Seeger advocated for an understanding based on performance style.[34] This allowed for new performers, including those who did not grow up around the music they then sought to emulate, to be regarded as legitimate folk performers. Charles Seeger expressed this perspective in celebrating American music as "a dynamic folk art," which "while it continually loses old songs, it continually adds new ones."[35] This inclusion was a welcome change to many musicians, who did not see folk music as something solely of the past. Indeed, Roger Abrahams, a Greenwich Village folkie of the revival years and later an academic folklorist, argues for the view that folklore is "a very live cultural phenomenon."[36] This attitude became fairly widely shared, and many subsequent efforts to define folk music involve explaining what is currently practised under this term.

Such perspectives on folk music were largely shared in Canada, with musicians and associations open to new styles and approaches being counted as folk. CAPAC, the Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, wrote of folk music as practised in the 1970s, noting its changes over the preceding decades:

> The definitions of "folk music" have changed over the years. Once the term described traditional songs and dances passed down from generation to generation; a transitory, ever-changing reflection of times and people, places and events. Radio, the movies, records and television have changed all that. Of course, the old traditions are preserved, especially at festivals like [Northern Lights]. But "folk music" today is often composed by individual writers with their own sense of time and place. This new "folk music" belongs to the people who created it; they share it with their audiences, big and small. And under the copyright laws of Canada—and of most other countries in the world—the creators of music are paid when their music is performed.[37]

This description identifies the impact of media and commerce, demonstrating a flexible approach to the concept (though these changes were also in the interests of CAPAC, giving them more artists to

34 Ray Allen, "In Pursuit of Authenticity: The New Lost City Ramblers and the Postwar Folk Music Revival," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 4(3) (2010): 289.
35 Charles Seeger, quoted in Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 141-142.
36 Roger Abrahams, quoted in Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival*, 45.
37 Northern Lights festival program, 1979, Jackie Washington fonds, Box 4, McMaster University.

represent). But while acknowledging the new role of the singer-songwriter in “folk music,” the aural contents are not identified by CAPAC nor substantively addressed by other attempts at definition. Particularly since the later years of the revival, as singer-songwriters emerged under the “folk music” umbrella, aural features are markedly absent from definitions. Surveying the term's history, Frith finds that in the 1960s it came to describe values such as collectivity and honesty, in contradistinction to mass consumption, rather than particular musical production.[38] It bears noting, though, that particularly in the 1960s there were aural attributes that clearly were excluded from folk; the hostile reaction by the crowd at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival to Bob Dylan plugging in suggests an attitude that electric instruments were not part of folk music. Despite these instances of clarity on the aural front, a definition of folk as it was understood and practised will necessarily be grounded in extra-musical features. Reflecting on folk festivals, MacDonald suggests that folk music “appears to be more social than musical...[although] there is something that holds many of these artists together that is both extra-musical and musical at the same time,” positing that it is “the business models [folk festivals] have developed, and the social aims of these models, that provides the link that allows different musical styles to be programmed together...as folk.”[39] These social factors, as well as other extra-musical aspects, are highly important in defining folk.

A subsequent part of Scully's framing, cited above, suggests a greater specificity found in practice rather than directly in musical content, and that is the notion of folk music as functional and participatory. Functionality was a significant aspect of folk music that manifested as work songs, though did not persist directly in a performance-oriented context. Thus, it is arguably not present in the music heard in the Ontario scene, but participation is an aspect that does hold significance, defining music by action rather than sound. In some cases in southern Ontario, such as traditional British performers at a venue like Friends of Fiddler's Green or the sing-arounds held at Shier's, the group of

38 Frith, “'The Magic that can Set you Free',” 160.
39 MacDonald, “Back to the Garden,” 28-29.

people present are collectively participating in creating the music. Participation in the music itself is viewed by some musicians interviewed as important to its categorisation as “folk.” Musician Shawn O'Halloran suggests, “folk music just by definition I guess would be music by folks that has more to do with their daily lives than just listening to a radio. They participate in it more.”[40] Grit Laskin, luthier and member of Friends of Fiddler's Green, too, comments, “whether it's the song circles or people who just play amateurly, you don't just have to absorb this music as an audience member, you can participate, you can make this music.”[41] Such engagement manifested notably with respect to particular songs including Stan Rogers' “Barrett's Privateers,” which commonly found audiences joining in the chorus at Rogers' performances. Speaking to the role of this practice, Lederman suggests that many “participants in the folk revival, at least in Canada, have had little direct experience with older folk traditions... [and] Rogers seemed to offer this kind of a 'folk' (live, participatory) experience for these revival participants.”[42] This significance of experience that Lederman describes suggests participation is an important feature of this incarnation of folk music. By default, it stresses live performance as the primary mode of experience. At a time when recording technology was largely inaccessible to independent musicians, this works in tandem with the ways in which musicians could gain exposure, largely in live performance at small venues where audience interaction was possible. Within the southern Ontario scene, some other artists would invite the audience to join in singing parts of their songs (or the song would spur such involvement), such as Brent Titcomb with “Healing of Her Heart,” or a more comical instance with Willie P. Bennett's “Hey What's the Matter With You.”

Even though a minority of musicians performed material that audiences would join in singing, audience engagement was an important quality of performance for many artists. The importance of socialising with the audience was stressed by many musicians interviewed. Within performance, David

40 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
41 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
42 Lederman, “'Barrett's Privateers',” 163.

Bradstreet notes the interaction between musicians and audiences, describing, “the fourth wall between the audience and the stage, we did our best to get rid of that. Everything from running into the audience and sitting down and playing, all that kind of silly stuff that we did, I think really, it's still what the folk crowd is...it's that feeling that you can be really involved with this thing, and have that sense of community within the room.”[43] One of Bradstreet's songs, “Renaissance” (which became a hit for west-coast performer Valdy), can be seen as spurring audience members to participate through dance at the first Festival of Friends, a spontaneous occurrence captured in the film made of the event.[44]

Participation can be understood more broadly, beyond the performance context, and this may provide an explanation of the scene as a whole. Many individuals participated in the production of the folk scene, even if not of folk music, through running small-scale venues, hosting one-off concerts, taping posters to telephone poles, volunteering at festivals, selling their arts and crafts, or simply attending as engaged audience members. That the music fostered this kind of engagement marks its distinction from other genres which do not tend to solicit such involvement (such as pop and rock).

Oral tradition, traditional music, and traditional aesthetic

Other criteria, more directly related to music or musical process, still hold significance to many involved. Oral tradition, a fundamental aspect of historical definitions of folk music, turns up in modified form in contemporary explanations. Given the reality that, as Lederman notes, most people in Canadian society are not connected to oral tradition, the insistence that the author cannot be known for a song to be considered folk is simply untenable to sustain it as a genre. However, the requirements for oral tradition have been reconfigured to retain the concept's utility. Songs learned off of recordings and subsequently shared between musicians have entered into the oral process. Returning to “Barrett's

43 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
44 *The Festival of Friends*, directed by Jim Aquila, 1976

Privateers," Lederman and Greenhill remark upon the song's transformation over its brief history of oral transmission as evidence that the folk process is alive and well, even as commercial recordings and media run in parallel.

Another link to oral tradition is the impetus among certain songwriters to craft material that sounds as if it could be traditional, bearing similarity to songs passed down over generations. Stan Rogers, Laura Smith, and Grit Laskin are among those in the southern Ontario scene who have pursued such intentions. Rogers strove for this in melody, lyric, and structure, leading to accusations of him taking traditional songs and calling them his own (when he did in fact write them). As he explained in a 1978 interview, "I [wanted] to write stuff that [sounded] like what the people in the Maritimes play. ... I wanted to write some songs that would sound like anything from thirty to two hundred years old."[45] Paul Mills comments upon the role of instrumentation he and Rogers introduced on *Fogarty's Cove*:

> I was hearing a lot of music, some of it coming from England, which was folk music, but kind of tarted up a little bit here and there with drums and bass and pianos and sometimes even electric guitars and things like that, and I was also hearing some of the traditional music from bands like the Bothy Band from Ireland. [There was] Celtic music, [with] a flute and a fiddle playing the melody together and stuff like that. So all of those elements were dancing in my head, and Stan's also, and a lot of those elements we brought into the arrangements of Fogarty's Cove.[46]

Yet, as Greenhill notes, there are deviations in Rogers' music from traditional structures that would be noticed by those better versed in that music.[47] Distinctions like this were noted by east coast listeners, as Mills recalls, "we were breaking new ground for the music. I've been told this subsequently by people particularly on the east coast, where they said they heard this record...and they were hearing their music, they said, but it's got these modern elements to it, and then, apparently it was fairly influential."[48]

Smith, recounting an informal performance of a more recent song she wrote about an imagined

45 Stan Rogers, quoted in *The Folk Life*, 1978, quoted in Greenhill, "The Folk Process in the Revival," 141.
46 Interview with Paul Mills, June 24, 2013
47 Greenhill, "'The Folk Process' in the Revival," 143-144.
48 Interview with Paul Mills, June 24, 2013

family, celebrated the success of having it mistaken for a traditional east coast song, for this signalled successful emulation of the region's style while composing her own work.[49] Laskin, who also wrote songs influenced by contemporary styles, would employ traditional structures to set modern-themed lyrics; as an example, he offers, “I wrote a long ballad form about an AIDS court case, so the subject matter would be contemporary and based on the trial transcripts, but it took 19 verses to tell it, so in my mind I was borrowing from an old ballad form in the way there'd be a refrain that would show up, not a chorus, but keep the story going in the same way.”[50]

For some, the connection can be less clear or specific, but is still important in their own conception of folk music. In this vein Ken Whiteley, noting that his understanding of folk music is shaped by that of Estelle Klein, offers, “the defining feature is that [folk] music continues to bear the mark of its connection to the oral tradition. So yes, you can be a songwriter and writing songs, but in some way what you are doing is still informed by an ongoing tradition.”[51] A connection to traditional styles is found, for instance, in Willie P. Bennett's songwriting, as David Essig describes, “Willie absorbed all that traditional stuff from us guys...the whole bluegrass country thing from hanging around with the Dixie Flyers, and me, and then the blues stuff as well from hanging around with the Whiteleys. So he was a perfect example of trying to write within the tradition and without the tradition at the same time, one foot in, one foot out.”[52] Bennett would also perform songs by traditional blues musicians as well as traditional country and bluegrass songs. Many of Essig's own songs also draw heavily upon traditional styles, and as he recounts,

> the highest compliment I think I've ever been paid was when an old guy came up to me, in Moncton, New Brunswick, after I'd played this song that I'd written, called “Paint Me a Picture.” It's one of my first songs, and it sounds like an old country song. And he started reaming me out, and he said, 'you shouldn't get up there and say that you've written something that's a traditional song'....and I said, I wrote that song; 'you didn't write, you couldn't've written

49 Laura Smith, personal correspondence, March 31 2014
50 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
51 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
52 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013

> that!' Oh, bless you sir, thank you. So that's still to this day what I try to do, I try to write things that sound like I didn't write them.[53]

Closely related to definitions that include oral tradition are those that include the "folk process," songs—regardless of their degree of resemblance to any traditional forms—that pass from musician to musician, becoming modified in the process, even if this occurs only within a handful of years. Mose Scarlett considers the folk process important, with music passing through an oral tradition and being subject to change over time, this product standing in contrast to singer-songwriters, whose material remains as they wrote it. In this formulation, for Scarlett, blues and related traditions are encompassed by the folk umbrella.[54] As recording technology and mass media became more prevalent, though, the folk process became an increasingly unlikely trajectory for a song, as the ability to learn from and emulate the original creation became widespread. Nonetheless, this phenomenon is seen in the case of "Barrett's Privateers" as Lederman and Greenhill discuss. Beyond the folk process, Scarlett also allows the importance of subject matter: "somebody writing their own songs, singing songs about people, in that sense they could be called a folk musician;" this latter consideration recalling Frith's "true to the people" model.[55]

While oral tradition held weight within some parts of the southern Ontario scene, in others, folk music was identified more with singer-songwriters, regardless of their connection or lack thereof to traditional musics. This attitude reflects the shift in understanding over the 1960s documented by Frith from truth to the people to truth to self.[56] Significantly, Alan Lomax—a key figure in the promotion of traditional players—wrote in 1959 that "The authentic folk singer [has] to *experience* the feelings that lie behind his art."[57] Singer-songwriters, who adopted this mode of folk music, were a significant presence within many of the coffeehouses in southern Ontario. Smale's Pace almost exclusively booked

53 Ibid.
54 Interview with Mose Scarlett, March 11, 2013
55 Ibid.
56 Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free'," 163.
57 Alan Lomax, *Sing Out!* (1959), quoted in Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free," 163-4.

singer-songwriters, and Campbell's largely did as well. Paul Campbell illustrates how musical aesthetic and traditions informed his booking choices, saying, “I guess I was looking for kind of a genre, a singer-songwriter thing for sure, or different interesting traditional music.”[58] Of these older traditions, he reflects upon the Original Sloth Band who performed at Campbell's, “that kind of music...most of the audience including myself, we'd [only] hear[d] that stuff on 78s, but it was thrilling to see it played live, and those guys were real scholars of the music back then...it was totally authentic.”[59] On this topic, Smale reflects, “Friends of Fiddlers Green and other traditional performers were always hounding me to play at Smale's Pace and it wasn't my, I didn't think it was my kind of authentic. I didn't think it was Canadian roots music. And it was somebody else's roots music, it was ye olde country music, and I was into Canadian singer-songwriters.”[60] This illustrates the importance of place as perceived by Smale; it was not sufficient for music to bear a connection to *an* oral tradition, but rather it was important for it to have a connection to the country in which this scene was taking place. Since settlers in Ontario did not have a distinct oral tradition to draw upon, singer-songwriters produced music from their place of habitation and of their own experience, a connection that seems to—in a framework like that articulated by Smale—substitute for the historical link found in other cultures.

Despite these theoretical or value-based explanations being prevalent among those heavily involved in the scene, aural factors still came into play in the experience of some musicians. Mose Scarlett found that in public perception, “if you wrote songs or if you sang songs but you played an acoustic guitar, you were a folksinger. ...[But] if you played piano...this is the thing that struck me as really quite weird, and basically threw a screw into this whole works, was if you played piano, and you could play a lot of these same songs, you weren't [considered] a folksinger. It seemed to be instrument specific.”[61] This points towards the complexities of defining folk music, and the often unspoken

58 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013
59 Ibid.
60 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
61 Interview with Mose Scarlett, March 11, 2013

assumptions that underlie the term. Another facet of the folk aesthetic identified by musicians is how composed and polished the performance was, particularly regarding harmony singing. David Woodhead describes the sound of the group Lazarus, composed of Bill Hughes, Carl Keesee, and Gary Dye (later David Bradstreet) as tending towards pop rather than folk: "they were such a sort of a slick kind of thing, I held them in high esteem, quite frankly. They sounded amazing, they could sing really well, and they had everything worked out. ... [They had] bass played directly through the PA instead of micing the amplifier...so it sounds really clear, not muddy, and pick-ups on your guitar and stuff instead of micing an acoustic guitar."[62] Woodhead notes similar qualities in pre-composed arrangements of other groups like Peter, Paul, & Mary, but identifies the difficulty in defining a boundary between folk and pop on such aesthetic qualities, as he comments, "at a certain point, in whatever definition this is, it stops being folk music. Because it's sort of deliberately put together...but it's so hard to draw that line."[63]

The aural qualities of folk music, and particularly the frequently ascribed characteristic of being possible to play solo or in a small group, without technological intervention, factored into the production of musicians' albums as well. In the case of Willie P. Bennett's first three albums, produced by David Essig, the performances are almost identical to those of Bennett's live shows. With respect to Stan Rogers' albums, Paul Mills explains his approach as producer:

> I've had the experience so often of going to a club and hearing a singer-songwriter perform, just with them and a guitar and maybe a bass player, and then I buy their record and I take it home and it doesn't sound anything like them. And I didn't like that. So...what I was trying to do, and Stan was trying to do as well, was while we wanted some of these other elements on the record that would not be there in live performance, we tried to make sure that the vibe of the recording was true to what Stan would be like live.[64]

The corresponding alternative, opting for a studio album that did not reflect live performance, in some cases led to listeners rejecting the new sound. David Bradstreet's first studio album drew this response

62 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
63 Ibid.
64 Interview with Paul Mills, June 24, 2013

from many listeners, as David Eadie recalls, when Bradstreet “played with Carl Keesee, they were magic. ... And he was a minor god in Kingston especially, it was incredible. And then he put out the album, and a lot of people got turned off by it, because it wasn't him as we had come to know him. It was him sort of reaching for that sort of broader commercial acceptability, that's the way it felt.”[65] Bradstreet's album features a larger band and evident studio production, rendering it an audibly different sound than his live performances.

Among the looser definitions of folk music expressed by participants in the southern Ontario scene are those which treat it as an umbrella term, not necessarily containing any specific pre-determined referents or qualities. Arthur McGregor describes folk music as being an evolutionary form, continually changing and growing to include more styles, such as acoustic blues.[66] This understanding is reflected in McGregor's booking of blues acts like Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee at his coffeehouse, Rooster's. Grit Laskin expands upon this perspective, finding that folk “has more styles of music under it than any other genre,” noting that “alt-country and blues and bluegrass and Celtic music and singer-songwriters and world music and all these things are under the folk umbrella, in their rooted forms at least.” Of musicians' attitude these various styles, he reflects, “definitely we didn't see a separation, at all, we saw it all as one.”[67]

Making it authentic: constructing folk through modes of truth

Running through all of these definitional qualities, except perhaps the last umbrella usage, are various modes of producing authenticity. Folk music, in theory, is an authentic music of “the people,” but the impossibility of achieving purity in this regard is discussed by Cantwell, who comments that similar to

65 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
66 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
67 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013

"other noble ideas, the idea of the folk must be an invention, a substance sublimated by an aspiration."[68] "The folk" has, in some cases, been constructed through the application of the term to a group of people, their music subsequently codified as "true" folk music. In early American folklore studies, led by Francis James Child and Cecil Sharp, criteria for "authentic folk songs" were as Livingston describes: "they must be old, they must be anonymous, they must exist in oral tradition, they must have variant forms, and they must have come from uneducated rural peoples."[69] Since then, what constitutes an authentic folksong or folksinger has been the source of substantial debate, often closely tied to what can be labelled folk music. The folk revival of the 1950s necessitated a re-working of authenticity, given that its performers were interpreting this "true" music at a socio-cultural distance, a feat achieved by identifying and venerating "authentic" re-creation, a successful bridging of the gap between musician and "the folk."[70] Connection to the "real," "authentic" folk performers still functioned in itself as a badge of authenticity; Dylan's friendship with Woody Guthrie is one example of this process of legitimisation. Lead Belly too served as an important figure for later folk musicians, though as Filene writes, Lead Belly became venerated as a folk forefather after his passing, in a way that "each generation could 'discover' him for itself," and his persona "became an authenticating agent, one who could bestow legitimacy on performers and fans searching for a sense of roots in the midst of emphemeral pop culture."[71] Numerous others had stories of their encounters with southern blues performers, many of whom were black, who had been brought north to tour. At this time, as Filene discusses, marginality of identity became a source of authenticity, in a phenomenon of "outsider populism."[72]

In recent years, as Gruning notes, "indices of authenticity have become more diverse, more

68 Cantwell, *When We Were Good*, 38.
69 Livingston, "Music Revivals," 75.
70 Cantwell, *When We Were Good*, 37.
71 Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 75.
72 Ibid., 65.

fluid, and often less easily situated within folk's 'traditional' thematic contexts."[73] Regardless of the criteria constructed in each case, authenticity must be produced and successfully received for a musician to succeed in the genre. Both musical content and self-presentation are sites for this work, and in the southern Ontario scene are approached differently than in the American revival.

Musically, traditional players have a comparably clear path towards this goal; if the music they play is done in a manner true to the common understanding of the tradition they are continuing, then their performance has a claim to authenticity. Musicians' relationship to the tradition they are continuing can complicate matters regarding authenticity, though; as Allen notes, urban musicians in the American revival who were performing southern music were often viewed warily for adapting traditional songs to their own, modern aesthetics and commercial appeal. By the 1970s, however, with the trend of such re-creation having passed with the peak of the folk boom, those who pursued traditional music tended to do so in a more "purist" or "traditionalist" manner. This is not to say that sources were replicated note-for-note; rather, respect for and adherence to a musical tradition was integrated with artistic sensibility, much like Allen describes with respect to the New Lost City Ramblers.[74] In Southern Ontario, acts such as Friends of Fiddlers Green and Margaret Christl pursued this path. Additionally, The Original Sloth Band, who performed early jazz and blues jug band music, clearly exhibits this attitude towards source material. Indeed, in an interview with *Sing Out!*, Ken Whiteley likened their approach to that of the New Lost City Ramblers who incorporated a range of country and bluegrass music into their oeuvre.[75] The Ramblers' approach was described by member Mike Seeger with the term "folk song performance," enacted by practitioners whose "musical education consisted of 'learning the rules' by ear from watching and listening to performances and phonograph records of traditional folk musicians in order to play more or less within the tradition."[76]

73 Gruning, *Millenium Folk*, 32.
74 Allen, "In Pursuit of Authenticity"
75 Ken Whiteley, quoted in Matt Watroba, "Toronto's 'Everything' Guy: Ken Whiteley," *Sing Out!* 52 (1), retrieved from http://www.kenwhiteley.com/index.php?show=49
76 Mike Seeger, liner notes for *The New Lost City Ramblers Volume 4* (Folkways Records FA2399, 1962), quoted in Allen,

Like the Ramblers, the Whiteleys made personal connections with the musicians who they sought to emulate. Writing of this practice, Allen argues, by "noting their authenticating journeys south and their personal ties to those they identified as 'genuine country musicians,' the Ramblers separated themselves from armchair folknics who learned solely by listening to records. In doing so they further bolstered their credentials as *the* urban interpreters of authentic rural styles."[77]

This type of direct connection offers an opportunity for oral transmission unmediated by technology or temporal or spatial distance, more akin to traditional folk practices, while also adding a personal bond. Such an approach proved successful for the Sloth Band, with reception generally like that found in an album review from the *Eyeopener* in 1978:

> The music is the rural blues of the Mississippi delta, the dixieland and nascent jazz of New Orleans and Kansas City in the '20's, swing from Harlem nightclubs in the '30's and '40's and the gritty, urban blues heard in the smokey, southside Chicago bars. But the Sloth Band does more than just play this music, they live and breathe it. Their love and respect for the tradition behind the music infuses it with the essential power and life that the original musicians gave to it.[78]

In the same vein, a later article comments that it "hardly matters whether they are absolute purists or not, this is surely how the music felt when it was played thirty, forty and fifty years ago."[79]

Those who write in the manner of traditional songs, such as Stan Rogers, are a step removed from the former method, but in retaining traditional features, can achieve acceptance as authentic if they are successful in their emulation (based on how listeners perceive the resemblance, rather than what an ethnomusicologist may rule, again referring to Greenhill's discussion of "Barrett's Privateers"). David Essig also drew heavily upon traditional country and blues music in his songwriting. His proficiency with these sounds led him, for instance, to be paired with musicians including John Hammond and John Prine at the Mariposa festival.[80] Essig's experience with these musics and the region that fostered them bolstered his connection. As he describes:

"In Pursuit of Authenticity," 288.

77 Allen, "In Pursuit of Authenticity," 288.

78 Review of "The Original Sloth Band", *The Eyeopener*, November 2, 1978, 23.

79 David R. Hayes, "The Original Sloth Band's unadulterated love for music," *The Eyeopener*, November 23, 1978, 17.

80 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013

> I'd been brought up in traditional music in my hometown, in Washington DC, and as a kid I'd learned to play in the two separate traditions which because of racism didn't meet very much, those of the traditional blues and traditional bluegrass and country music. So, I had bags of authenticity, and I was just starting to be a songwriter...I was steeped in those traditions...I was a really lucky kid in that I got to know and hang out with some of the most legendary bluegrass people, and I learned to play the mandolin from John Duffy and the Country Gentlemen, and it was a big deal in my life.[81]

Even those who do not consciously strive to sound like traditional music may retain its traces. Laskin remarks on his perception of the connection between newly-written material and traditional songs: "What was interesting back then is the division wasn't as sharp between the traditional and contemporary side, because the people who were writing songs had gotten into it at a time when the traditional forms were more available, and those were the things they were using as their models. So, the songs had a closer affinity...contemporary songs and traditional songs had an easier fit."[82] This, he finds, contributes to the authenticity of folk and roots music, though noting, "folk music just has a big claim on that word, not the only claim, but a big claim, simply because at its root, it's about music you can make yourself."[83]

Singer-songwriters who do not work in aesthetics of traditional musics, and are further removed from such repertoires, face a different dilemma, framed in the "truth to self" or "truth to the people" modes of authenticity. Bob Dylan was attuned to the role of truth in folk music as he expressed in a 1963 interview, "the times call for truth . . . and people want to hear the truth and that's just what they're hearing in good folk music today. . . . There's mystery, magic, truth, and the Bible in great folk music."[84] "Truth to self" is communicated in the honesty perceived in, for instance, love songs, and the personal experience that gave rise to songs, tied in through stage banter.[85] The importance of this mode of authenticity is articulated (whether tongue-in-cheek or not) in a comment by Willie P. Bennett between songs in a 1978 performance: "Yes these are all true stories." "Truth to the people" no longer

81 Ibid.
82 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
83 Ibid.
84 Bob Dylan, interviewed in the *New York Daily News*, 1963, quoted in Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 210.
85 Gruning, *Millenium Folk*, 36.

held the pull it did in the more politically-charged years of the folk boom, but in Ontario a decade later, it was arguably replaced by “truth to place,” linking songwriter and audience in shared geography, demonstrating familiarity with land that would only be known through experience, too small to gain circulation in the popular imagination outside of the region.

Place as roots

In the music of this scene, landscape and geographical references in lyrics are a significant mechanism employed to generate specificity of place—and further, of origin or roots—and thus produce authenticity for the musician as a Canadian, or even Ontarian, singer-songwriter. Canadian identity is often associated with images of nature, especially the North and wilderness, the latter typically depicted from the Ontario shield (with the exception of Emily Carr's paintings). These images, according to Berland, provide the sole symbol of unity in terms of collective identity in Canada.[86] Cultural products associated with the country, notably the paintings of the Group of Seven, depict these themes; those artists (visual, literary, and musical) who do focus on or include these topoi are likely to become discursively aligned with nationalism. In folk music, the idea of the local also pulls considerable force, and as such, regionalism and geographic references specific to Ontario produce the songwriter as authentically local. Given that Ontario's wilderness tends to stand in for the country's, depictions of wilderness in lyrics simultaneously produce Ontarian and Canadian associations.

Lyrically, within the music of southern Ontario singer-songwriters, themes of country life and natural spaces occur with some regularity. David Eadie comments on lyrical thematic references: “one of the strong themes at the time was, there was a Canadian identity in the music, not necessarily stated, but you knew, listening to...Greg Forbes, from Ottawa and then Kingston, would sing a song that had a

86 Jody Berland, “On reading 'The Weather',” *Cultural Studies* 8(1) (1994): 99, cited in Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 40.

line like, 'the road weren't even centre-bare,'...that came from nowhere else but the Canadian experience."[87] Stan Rogers' writing is one of the clearest cases of this, exemplified in "Northwest Passage" and its references to the Beaufort Sea, Fraser River, and the Davis Strait, found in a land "so wide and savage," a descriptor which invokes the northern expanse and the wild of the shield. In this song, Rogers draws a parallel between the voyages of these early explorers and his own journey as "this tardiest explorer" across the country, his path laid by "Mackenzie, David Thompson and the rest/Who cracked the mountain ramparts..." and considering his own similarity to these figures, asking, "How then am I so different from the first men through this way?" In this framing, Rogers inscribes his travel onto a national(ist) history, finding continuity with and celebrating explorers of the North. Additionally, it communicates "time depth," a function of authenticity articulated by Livingston.[88] Rogers' use of a traditional a cappella aesthetic coupled with the lyrics that write a century-old history produce "time depth" and thus authenticity on both fronts. Many of Rogers' other songs are focused on maritime life, another significant topic in the geography of Canadian identity, including "The Idiot" telling the familiar contemporary tale of an east coast man going west to work in oil refineries, and "Make and Break Harbour" giving a nod to Cape Breton Island.

Beyond Rogers, as David Essig observes, "there's almost a quality of naturalism in the songwriting. You think of Willie [P. Bennett]'s first successful songs, they all had the Canadian landscape in them. And so did the rest of us, we aspired to that."[89] Arthur McGregor too finds that despite the influx of Americans who came as draft dodgers, serving to add more American sounds to folk music in Canada, there was an increasing focus on local or Canadian subject matter.[90] Indeed, specific and general landscape references can be found in Bennett's and Essig's lyrics. For instance, Bennett's "Driftin' Snow" begins with a reference to a small Ontario town, "I came down from

87 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
88 Livingston, "Music Revivals," 74.
89 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
90 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013

Thessalon/Toronto's not my home/I miss the north country so much/No longer will I roam," and others such as Country Squall and White Line—the latter written, according to Bennett, in Thunder Bay when stranded in the cold, failing to hitch a ride—capture the country's characteristic winter scenes. Nonetheless, the impressions of these references seem to make an impact on listeners disproportionate to their presence in Bennett's repertoire; the majority of his songs of the 1970s do not contain such references. Later songs, though, do continue to include geographic markers, such as the "corner of Spadina and Queen" in "The Last Word," and "Thunder Bay to Oka" in "Blood Brother." Essig's 1975 album High Ground begins with three songs each containing Canadian geographic references. "You Don't Have to be a Mother to Wear a Rose" (co-written with Joan Guenther) references Toronto and its subway alongside rural images of farm and meadow; the scene of "Albert's Cove" is "a small fishing village/On the cold New Brunswick shore," and the protagonist of "High Ground" recalls his home of Prince Edward Island "with that accent in my pocket/And the red clay on my feet," naming Charlottetown, as well as Toronto, directly. Essig also foregrounds the album's rural Canadian site of creation in its paratext, noting on the jacket that it "was recorded entirely on location in a reconstructed log barn built by Richard Thomas in Kearney, Ontario," the album art depicting such a cabin with a rocky point typical of the Canadian shield. Ontario references are also found in other songwriters' repertoire, such as David Wiffen's "Cool Green River" beginning "Well I was riding out of Toronto," and "Lucifer's Blues" with the protagonist's journey "up north to the Sault," and Shawn O'Halloran whose songs include "Ontario Feeling" about a farm in the Peterborough area, and others based off of Farley Mowat books.[91] Jude Johnson expresses the impact of her time in wild spaces through participating in Outward Bound in British Columbia and working for Camp Outlook in Algonquin Park, experiences which informed her songwriting and prompted a focus on themes of nature, notably in her "Cry of the Loon."[92]

91 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
92 Interview with Jude Johnson, February 18, 2013

Localism and the sound of a place

In addition to landscape referents, musical manifestations of regional culture from various parts of the country can be identified in some cases. Instances of this are found in fiddling styles such as the Ottawa Valley sound Stringband incorporated, or East Coast traditional songs that Stan Rogers drew upon, and Quebecois fiddling performed by musicians at festivals. David Essig notes that in Ontario, the predominant style of guitar playing made use of finger-picking rather than strumming, emphasising melodic playing. However, he reflects, "there's a real different sound [but] we didn't realise it. ...it's like you never hear your own accent, we didn't realise it until some of us started playing in other parts of the world, I think."[93] Ken Palmer considers specifically, "I always thought that there was a style of fingerpicking they did that seemed to be, kind of a Smale's Pace kind of thing," a style of picking he heard in London performers and particularly in David Essig's playing (though Essig did not live in London).[94] Grit Laskin posits that regional sounds are tied to traditional forms, leading to distinct approaches to songwriting, identifying Quebecois and Newfoundland music with Irish and Cape Breton with Scottish traditions, suggesting that Canadian songwriters absorbed these forms whereas American songwriters were influenced by Appalachian and bluegrass music, as well as blues and jazz, noting the substantial influence from music of Black communities.[95] Beyond these qualities, a sense that the music was Canadian pervaded much of the scene, though certainly this view was not held by all. Arguably, within the performing community, the perception of such links possesses force in presenting a regional authenticity regardless of the veracity of such claims.

On a regional level, media also picked up on distinct styles, though the accuracy of these

93 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
94 Interview with Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
95 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013

characterisations is debated by those writing and listening to the music concerned. David Essig comments that after this scene dissipated, media stories and other music critics began referring to scenes in individual communities such as London and Hamilton, but that "at the time, I don't think that any of us realised...that there was a sort of a sound or a school, or a kind of London scene or a southern Ontario scene of the songwriting in particular. I don't think we realised how coherent it was."[96] Brent Titcomb identified what he perceived as unique aspects of music in Hamilton and Ottawa, with Hamilton producing a "tough" sound, as he comments, "it's a tough town, it's a steel town...and you gotta kick butt," while Ottawa fostered a "very intellectual" approach to songwriting, exemplified by Bruce Cockburn.[97] Paul Langille adds, "Hamilton's a pretty tough town, so it's a very, I don't like the word abrasive, I just believe it's a very stated approach to the music and arts. If you listen to players from Hamilton, there's not a lot of prettiness around it, it's pretty much to the point."[98] The frequent descriptions, as noted above, of both Langille's and Materick's styles as being "gritty" support this characterisation, and Stan Rogers, though not "gritty," was described by Derek Andrews as one who "would just plough his way through the audience and hold the audience without any concerns about being interrupted by chatter."[99] Nonetheless, the same cannot be said for all Hamilton musicians, including Paul Campbell, Jude Johnson, Thomson Lawrie, Shawn O'Halloran, Gord Lowe, and Tim Gibbons, whose style can be characterised as lyrical and gentle. With respect to Ottawa, Cockburn can well be considered more intellectual in his writing, though this orientation is arguably not shared by others in the city such as David Wiffen, Colleen Peterson, or William Hawkins.

In contrast to these stylistic groupings, John Smale, exposed to a range of singer-songwriters from the region, did not perceive anything musically distinct between different cities in folk music (though he did in rock).[100] Arthur McGregor, too, considers that styles of the artists he heard varied

96 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
97 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
98 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013
99 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
100 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013

more on an individual level than they held regional cohesion.[101] While some styles may have become associated more with one city than another, it appears that these characterisations do not apply across the board. In large part, though, for musicians, the distinctions—providing localism—are important, while to venue operators they are not necessary. Perhaps for the musicians, being able to identify city-based sounds, of which they can fall under one, allows an aspect of place-based authenticity, which is much less of a burden for those running venues.

Canadian identity and booking north of the border

In addition to local identity, the country-wide context of folk music was an important force. As Mitchell notes, as the end of the 1960s brought the Vietnam War to the forefront of North American politics, "a general climate of optimistic nationalism emerged in Canada while chaos and disintegration appeared to exist in the United States," and in this climate, "Canadians began to consider their own folk musicians in a different light."[102] Canadian patriotism grew around Expo '67, and cultural products including music were given more attention and funding my mainstream institutions, including the CBC. Individual performers included in the category of "folk," notably Gordon Lightfoot and Ian and Sylvia, demonstrated the possibility of making a career as a Canadian musician without relocating south of the border to achieve recognition. Lightfoot is cited by many of the musicians interviewed as being a particularly influential model, his small-town roots and singer-songwriter aesthetic resonating with their experiences. The popularity of Lightfoot, Ian and Sylvia, as well as Neil Young, Joni Mitchell, Leonard Cohen, and Buffy Saint-Marie led to the labelling by critics of a "Canadian sound," attached to this set of songwriters who had grown out of the folk revival.[103] Thus, as Mitchell notes,

101 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
102 Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*, 87.
103 Ibid., 145.

"there is no doubt that the new aesthetic folk genre became closely identified with the idea of 'Canadian' music."[104] While this discourse was instrumental in furthering the careers of subsequent songwriters who embraced a similar aesthetic, such as Bruce Cockburn and Murray McLachlan, it must be recognised as an external discourse created by media and visible to the public, rather than in most cases the internal articulation of active musicians. Nonetheless, such an angle is found in some Ontario venues and festivals who booked primarily or even exclusively Canadian acts. For instance, Derek Andrews comments that at the venue Egerton's, "there was a certain nationalism in our approach, in our thinking" when directing the music policy and booking acts. Motivating this, Andrews adds, was a sense that "we wanted to see our songs and our identity and our stories on those stages."[105] London's Home County Festival, too, focused on Canadian performers; Walter Grasser, involved in initiating this festival, extended his mandate as talent coordinator at the university to promote Canadian musicians to the festival booking.[106] Some performers also chose to stay within the country's borders, such as Perth County Conspiracy, as David Woodhead reflects, "[performing in the States] was not even considered...it was this huge other potential market...but there was a sense of...pride in independence...that applie[d] to the American scene as well, like, we don't want to be part of that."[107] Such intentional engagement with national culture supports the idea of *Canadian* folk music, and accordingly the authenticity of being a Canadian folk musician.

But when discussing the music itself, it must first be noted that there is no specific musical content identified by these critics that makes a song Canadian rather than American. However, Wright, surveying music of the Centennial era, finds that much of it is characterised by "rurality, directness and simplicity," and that "Canadian musicians have betrayed a deeply rooted reverence for rural life and for natural ecology, and very often these values were identified as 'Canadian' and juxtaposed with urban

104 Ibid., 146.
105 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
106 Interview with Walter Grasser, August 5, 2013
107 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013

America."[108] Song lyrics can clearly demonstrate these qualities, and though musical content is harder to identify, some features can still be identified. These characteristics do surface frequently in songwriting of the southern Ontario; for those writing in the "folk" style, directness and simplicity describe the acoustic approach fairly accurately. This notion is also reflected in a comment made by Essig that, in his sense, Canadian songwriting has a "real cleaned out economy in the writing."[109] Some see a Canadian style as growing from an underlying sensibility, as Paul Langille suggests, "I think [it's]...very Canadian to be very balanced and fair, I think we always fight for the underdog and we're fair...and it was very prevalent in the writing at the time," even as musically, in his perception, there is more an amalgamation of American and British sounds.[110] The uniqueness of these features, though, is uncertain; while there may be common features to Canadian folk, that does not by default mean that they are not shared with other countries' folk music as well.

Among songwriters, attitudes towards producing national music, and intentions to do so, were varied. From his listening experience, Derek Andrews describes Stringband as being "of the southern Ontario culture, absolutely, and drawing on the national identity and [being] identity advocates in their repertoire."[111] Musically, they drew on Ottawa Valley fiddling, their lyrics often took up Canadian themes, and one of their albums featured a jacket decorated with Canadian postcards; thus, in musical style, lyrics, and paratext, they communicated regional and national identity as a conscious choice. Jude Johnson comments on Stan Rogers' writing, "in songwriting, he made a conscious choice, I believe, to write from that Canadian experience, and he also got success out of that."[112] Beyond his own writing, as David Woodhead adds, Rogers "would make a big point of telling the audience about how this material was his own original material, and the other half was by other CANADIAN singer-songwriters that

108 Robert A. Wright, *Dream, Comfort, Memory, Despair*, 291-2, quoted in Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*, 149-150.
109 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
110 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013
111 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
112 Interview with Jude Johnson, February 18, 2013

YOU'VE GOTTA KNOW ABOUT," as he covered songs by writers including Essig, Bennett, Robbie MacNeill, and Terry Jones.[113] In a similar vein, Bill Hughes recorded an entire album, *Horton, Bates, & Best*,[114] of songs by Canadian songwriters primarily from southern Ontario, promoting this body of work. Doug McArthur, in contrast to a songwriter like Stan Rogers, did not seek to write something particularly Canadian, but along the lines of David Essig's comment above, found that when he performed in the United States, his music was recognised as being foreign to their context and expressing a different point of view.[115] On the whole, Canadian identity in folk music is at least recognised and at most produced and advocated, maintaining its effectiveness as a source of authenticity.

Real folkies: Constructing authenticity of self

Turning from the broad notions of nationalism to the smallest level of the individual artist, this section will explore how notions of the "authentic folk musician" was constructed in this scene, much like in the earlier American revival years. A potent sign of folk authenticity is the image of the folksinger as one of limited means and thus "of the people," not seeking financial gain, with a dedication first and foremost to the music. This is the iconic image of Pete Seeger and other Greenwich Village folkies, as illustrated in recollections such as Lee Hays telling how Seeger taught him "how to put hot pepper sauce into cold beer to pep it up, make you less hungry" and Millard Lampell (a fellow Almanac Singer) reflecting, "No one ever cared about money, or where the money was coming from, or whether you were going to have enough to live. ... It's amazing how little you could live on. We paid virtually no rent. We got very little for the singing, and no one really cared."[116] Seeger's sartorial style continued

113 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
114 This album (1981, Street Records Inc., SR003-A) has since been re-released as *A Tribute to Canadian Songwriters*
115 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
116 Lee Hays, quoted in Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 51; Millard Lampell, quoted in Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 52.

this presentation through his attire of overalls or blue jeans and work shirt with rolled-up sleeves, and for a time early in his career, taking a holiday from hygiene.[117] For the image of the folksinger, such meagre resources were romanticised by at least the public, if not the musician too. This attitude is evidenced in Bess Lomax Hawes' comment that everybody in the Almanacs "was poor, but we weren't poor in the sense of the people we were talking to. They were poor and didn't want to be poor. We were poor and didn't notice it."[118] The folk musician, eschewing the potential path towards musical stardom in a more commercialised genre such as pop or rock, ignores their relative poverty in order to pursue a musical calling. In doing so, they also remain "of the people" (unlike the rich pop star), thus producing authenticity in reflecting the working class's condition. Indeed, this was the political role of folk in the 1940s and '50s.[119]

Similarly, in southern Ontario in the 1970s, the meagre financial situation of most of the musicians arguably rendered them more "of the people" than artists with similar musical profiles who had achieved industry success. The oft-repeated tales of Willie P. Bennett sleeping at Smale's Pace or in his car, to later happily reside in the closet at Stan and Garnet Rogers' house, affirm the importance of these portrayals in the formation of the "folk artist" in this context. But like for Bess Lomax Hawes, limited finances were not a substantial source of strife.

As this experience was commonplace, and part of the folk revival ideology, related concepts shaped or were adopted into broader attitudes about music-making and the integrity of the scene. For instance, Gord Lowe reminisces about living in a van, describing the experience as being care-free rather than an unfortunate situation from lack of resources.[120] Following on this, the notion of "making it" in the folk scene was viewed frequently as involving a commitment first to the music and being able to largely support oneself through music-derived income, qualified differently than for mainstreamed

117 Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 201-202.
118 Bess Lomax Hawes, quoted in Dunaway and Beer, *Singing Out*, 51.
119 Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free'," 163.
120 Interview with Gord Lowe, February 3, 2013

music. As David Eadie articulates, “we did okay...but it wasn't like playing a 5000-seat hall. It was just a different thing. And part of the authenticity was knowing that and being prepared to make it small.”[121] David Woodhead comments on those who did not pursue commercial success, saying “there was a pride of independence, that might have come before ambition for a lot of people... I think that what's interesting is the ability to stand back and say, well those [commercial successes] are kind of hollow glories really, because it's sort of fabricated. ... We saw ourselves as being outside of that, as being in a way above that, by being smaller, and being more local.”[122] David Eadie elaborates, “that sense of authenticity was a commitment to this even though it's not the big time. And it's not *even though* it's not the big time, this is what it is, this is worth it, and we're committing to it.”[123] This attitude, particularly in the distancing from the star machinery it effects, reflects the backlash to the Kingston Trio and similar groups during the folk boom. Indeed, among many of the musicians interviewed, there is a sentiment that artists who achieved more wide-scale commercial success, such as Dan Hill, Bruce Cockburn, and Murray McLachlan, regardless of the sound of their music were not part of the same scene or community even though they had begun their careers in the same circles. These acts performed only rarely at coffeehouses once they achieved larger success.

Nonetheless, many did aspire to larger-scale success, if not on the level of pop stardom. Some found success through already-popular artists recording their songs, as happened for Doug McArthur and David Bradstreet with Valdy and Brent Titcomb with Anne Murray. Doug McArthur came near to this more institutional success, being almost in a recording deal with Warner Brothers for a year, and securing a publishing contract with A&M Records. As he relates, “I got to have that little fantasy. ... I thought, this is it, I'm going to be a rock star the rest of my life, as far as I could see. It took me about ten years to figure out it wasn't happening.”[124] David Bradstreet secured a deal with A&M that allowed

121 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
122 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
123 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
124 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013

him to record albums and open for big-name artists on the same label, such as Joan Armatrading and JJ Cale, and perform multiple times at Massey Hall. As a result, by the middle of the decade, Bradstreet largely ceased performing in coffeehouses and other small venues. His experience reflects the double bind of the financial and aspirational limits of remaining within the coffeehouse circuit and the disconnection effected by reaching a greater level of stardom: “the large shows, as nice as it was to feel...like a big shot, sort of, [but] people reminded you, by the way, that you're acting like a jerk.”[125] Such a reaction is captured well in Paul Langille's comment that “everybody wanted you to do well; they didn't want you to do too well, but they wanted you to do well.”[126]

Langille reflects on his own experience, commenting, “I was very fortunate, I got to play music and pay my bills doing that. And continue to do that. ... This is what I do, and I'm still excited about playing, I love it, and it's my best friend.”[127] Shawn O'Halloran qualifies “making it” more among social and musical lines, commenting, “I don't know what level I ever got to on that, I was more interested in just talking to the musicians. I didn't care about booking or agents and all that stuff. ...I just wanted to be close to those people because I was so knocked out when I first saw them,” adding, “The end game was different then, because you weren't in it for the money, because there wasn't any.”[128] This financial reality did push some musicians to seek their primary income in other lines of work, or to move primarily to other genres such as blues, country, or jazz in which they could earn a steady income.

One interesting aspect of this attitude towards commercial success is the overall reaction to Stan Rogers' growing fame. Many times, the musicians interviewed here expressed that Rogers was always part of their community, even in later years when he toured more extensively. As Ken Whiteley shares, “nobody begrudged him the commercial success. ...Because, there was no sense that in any way he had

125 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
126 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013
127 Ibid.
128 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013

short-changed his craft, or lost that sense of connectivity... Yes he was trying to do it intelligently, yes he kept trying to get better, and he was making a connection with people."[129] This reflects the importance given to musicians' intentions in pursuing their careers; Rogers maintaining personal connections with the musicians who remained within the coffeehouse scene, honing his musical abilities, and seeking to make a connection with his new audiences signalled a different orientation than those who departed the scene they had started in and became far removed from their audiences. Further, Whiteley adds, "we all, I think, saw it as opening doors that perhaps we might be able to go through. As opposed to Dan Hill, who came out of the same community but who left, was taken out of it, whatever, and [went] into a different milieu where the intentions were different."[130] This potential for success, seen in a peer who had come from the same beginnings, a success that did not involve "selling out" or signing with an American label, was certainly tantalizing for musicians in the scene.

Generally, however, many musicians express a commitment to music over and above other concerns. Music was seen to be a fulfilling activity, and comments on the subject project an image of artists entirely dedicated to and passionate about their craft. In this vein, David Woodhead relates with regard to his experience in Perth County Conspiracy, "I felt very special, I felt very lucky to be there. It felt like we were the most blessed people on earth. And I mean it was fantastic. The profit motive was not part of it, it was a real community of people."[131] Brent Titcomb, too, offers, "We just loved what we did. To this day I can't remember how we existed money-wise."[132] Doug McArthur expresses his commitment to his music from the start of his career, saying, "I actually did make decisions very early on based on whether, not just because they were jobs, but because the music was important enough to me to finish and to present properly."[133] This attitude led McArthur to turn down an offer of weekly employment in the chain of Holiday Inn hotels across the country, as he reflects, "it took me forty-five

129 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
130 Ibid.
131 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
132 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
133 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013

seconds on the phone to say no. I was completely broke, I was living on peanut butter and sleeping on couches, and I knew the money was there. But I also knew of course that I wouldn't actually be able to do my own music, I would obviously have to do versions of whatever was popular at the time."[134] Paul Langille also identifies these different aims, and finds that "if you were in it for the music and not for the payout end of it, if you approached it as this is what I need to do...and you weren't looking at it as there's an end game," there would be significant support and generosity shown to the musician, and that competent musicians were very generous with others still learning.[135] Rather than these artists being musically at a lower bar than those selling out arena shows, though, David Eadie emphasises, "It wasn't that it was amateur, because it sure wasn't amateur hour, I mean the acts that you saw, they had their thing together. ... That was big-time, in terms of professionalism."[136]

The attitudes expressed in statements such as those quoted above, taken with the absence of significant financial success for the vast majority of musicians involved in the scene, do point to a commitment to music-making, and to "mak[ing] it small," that supersedes monetary and career targets. But they also work to construct a folk performer and, collectively, a folk scene imbued with a sense of authenticity.

134 Ibid.
135 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013
136 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012

Chapter 3: Constructing Community

Folk music is notable for the social connections and concepts of collectivity it produces. These ties are present at local and global levels, ranging from practised friendships to notions of affinity and commonality between all involved. This chapter will explore how these dynamics manifested in southern Ontario during the 1970s.

This period of folk music activity in the region can be approached at levels of community, scene, and imagined community, distinct but not entirely separable from each other. Within individual cities and towns, local community grew around folk music. This phenomenon will be explored through theories developed by Shelemay, Finnegan, and Cohen. The concept of the scene, which can also apply on a local level, will here be used to discuss the regional folk music activity and network of musicians. Straw's theorisation of this term will be used to elucidate this level of organisation. Finally, Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community will be applied in relation to connections perceived on a larger scale, uniting musicians and listeners who may only rarely encounter one another at festivals, and even beyond those realised through interactions.

The nature of community, and its relationship to folk music

While many studies have adopted the term “community” in relation to music, its meaning is assumed and rarely defined, its usage varying from case to case. Thus, as it offers a theorisation of the term, Shelemay's proposed definition of musical community is worth quoting at length here:

> A musical community is, whatever its location in time or space, a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances. A musical community can be socially and/or symbolically constituted; music making may give rise to real-time social relationships or may exist most fully in the realm of a virtual setting or in the imagination. ...a musical community is a social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical

> processes, rendering those who participate in making or listening to music aware of a connection among themselves.[137]

Shelemay's definition includes geographically dispersed yet virtually enacted as well as imagined community, highlighting the potential of music to generate all of these types.

While any music may be at the root of such a community, different genres seem predisposed to different levels and forms of interaction in the collectivities they draw together. For example, Frith posits that with rock music, the extent of community is contained within the music and common listening, rather than being practised through social interaction.[138] Folk music, as many of those who studied the American folk music revival have found, seems to support the generation of practised community particularly well. Looking at the American revival, Scully sees folk music as an answer to a yearning for community in modern urban society, while Frith sees the folk community and folk consciousness as a result of folk music performance.[139] This turn to folk music to to forge such community supports Ben-Amos's call for a definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups," with its importance derived from the process rather than the product.[140] Extending Shelemay's identification of social and musical processes as significant to forming musical community, this perspective suggests that the social is performed through the musical, an important factor in the formation of community. This resonates with MacDonald's assertion, from studying folk festivals of western Canada, that "folk music is a performance of a type of contemporary community."[141]

The practice of folk music too disposes it to generating collectivities; as it is largely performed in coffeehouses—predominantly small venues, with performers who interact with and often become part of the audience—participants are encouraged by the design and tone of venues to interact with one

137 Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 364-365.
138 Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free'," 164.
139 Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival*, 15; Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free'," 162.
140 Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, edited by Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 13.
141 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden," 19.

another and form connections rooted in music. Mitchell suggests that coffeehouses were a way of developing the all-embracing, pluralistic philosophy of the revival, as they gave space to all levels of talent and a range of musical styles.[142] David Eadie describes the coffeehouse environment, specifically referencing The Scarecrow in Kingston, though the features are largely shared within the venue type, as being conducive to contact between musicians and audience members, with musicians typically joining a table in the room for a coffee during set breaks and being accessible after the show. Eadie notes the impact of "being that close to somebody, and watching that little thing of sweat coming down, and catching that little mrrmm, the little asides, and the ability to say man, great set, and shake his hand as he walks by or go back and split a coffee with him between sets, or hang around afterward."[143] This affirms Mitchell's outlook that coffeehouses allow for a wide range of people, musicians and otherwise, beginner and professional players, to interact on an equal plane. Taking this notion further, Mitchell suggests that coffeehouses could be said to have made "the revivalists' idealistic dream of unity in diversity, of true community, become a concrete reality."[144] However, it is clear from accounts of participants that much like in the American revival, the demographics of participants fell predominantly into a fairly narrow range—white, middle-class, often university-educated, and young—and a number of venues had musical profiles that favoured particular genres and in some cases excluded others. This is not to discount the openness many found in coffeehouses and the optimism Mitchell sees, but to qualify it with the identities that it particularly welcomed and that formed the bulk of the group, with a prototypical coffeehouse participant as demographically normative, and musically as a singer-songwriter.

Enacted community: local iterations of collectivity

142 Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*, 113.
143 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
144 Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*, 113.

Throughout the region, local communities developed around folk music activity. Musicians who lived in southern Ontario, whether they grew up in the region or elsewhere, extended their musical bonds into social ones, fostered by shared spaces. The bonds between them were in most cases not pre-existing; musicians and other participants were drawn together through music. The potential for this phenomenon has been explored by Shelemay, who notes that music "often impels the formation of collectivities by the strength of its ability to communicate to listeners. It carries emotional meaning and establishes what have been termed [citing Guilbault] 'audible entanglements.'"[145] Shelemay here focuses on the impact on listeners, but collective playing of music certainly falls within this process as well, as Frith suggests. These qualities are reflected in definitional aspects of folk music as participatory, recalling Lederman's suggestion regarding "Barrett's Privateers" that audiences desired, and received through Rogers' song, a participatory folk experience like those that would have occurred in traditional folk communities.

The particular connection between folk music and community stands out to many participants, as well, even as they acknowledge that personal bonds can form in other genres and other careers. For Arthur McGregor, the participatory nature of the tradition is what initially drew him to folk music, attracted by the aspect of songs that everybody could sing and would indeed come together to do so. He also sees the communitarian orientation of folk as a reason why churches supported and hosted coffeehouses.[146] Many musicians express sentiments of enduring friendship and community when considering those they came into contact with through folk music. For instance, David Essig shares, "Among the first people I got to know were Paul Mills and Chris and Ken Whiteley, and we were all still like brothers, we're like best friends. It's been a wonderful experience having lifelong friends that I

145 Shelemay, "Musical Communities," 363.
146 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013

met when I first came here."[147] Brent Titcomb offers, "the music was the centre of it, but a lot of relationships have endured," finding that even people who do not see each other very often still consider one another part of the same community.[148] Rather than one homogeneous community in the province, David Essig conceives of these formations as "about two or three of these orbits, they were like Venn diagrams, they sort of interacted."[149] It is this sensibility, of units smaller than the entire scene and relationships that are directly enacted and maintained, that places these groupings within the framework of community rather than scene, while Essig acknowledges the interaction of the two levels.

As Shelemay's definition suggests, musical communities do not have to be rooted in one location, but shared spaces provided substantial grounding for community in the region. In southern Ontario, local communities were formed by participants in folk music, particularly musicians, and typically grew from one venue in the city. The individuals involved in any of these communities formed bonds beyond shared performances, through socialising, jamming, and frequently sharing living spaces with each other, reflecting the dual musical and social forces Shelemay identifies.

London is a particularly strong example of this phenomenon, anchored at Smale's/Change of Pace coffeehouse. This venue stands out in the memories of many musicians and audience members alike. Speaking about Smale's Pace, David Bradstreet comments, "it was like coming home every time any of us got there. It was a great place, John Smale was a wonderful host, he really was, and he made sure everyone was happy, and he made sure the sound was as good as we could possibly get it."[150] Bradstreet wrote a song (recorded and released on his most recent album though written in the 1980s) entitled "No Place Like Home," about his fond recollections of Smale's. Additionally, Doug McArthur created a page on his website for musicians to write and post their memories of the coffeehouse. David Essig reflects, "[it] was like the gig from heaven. It was the best live music venue for folk music in

147 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
148 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
149 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
150 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013

probably Canada, and probably ever."[151]

The musicians who congregated around the venue did so regularly outside of performances, forming a London-based community of folk musicians. John Smale describes, "we had nice big family-style dinners...Thanksgiving dinners, family dinner like that, Easter dinners, Christmas dinners, if we didn't all travel to our hometowns. We had a good, good group of people that hung out together."[152] Smale's use of the term "family" in describing this group evinces their closeness. This sense of community made Smale's Pace stand apart from venues such as the Riverboat or Le Hibou to the musicians who played there. The source of this difference, John Smale postulates, is perhaps found in the London group of musicians and staff at the venue, as he reflects, "maybe it was that collective of people that made Smale's Pace as successful as it was, artistically. Not financially. Artistically. And emotionally, and culturally."[153] During the venue's later years as Change of Pace, the family sense was maintained, with many musicians regarding the slightly older Grindstaffs as parent figures. Indeed, the Grindstaffs took interest in the lives and well-being of the musicians.[154]

At the Knight II in Hamilton as well, a sense of family is articulated by Bill Powell, who says that the "people who hung around the coffeehouse were an extended family, and they were treated the same. ... When we needed them they were there, when we didn't need them, they were still there."[155] Also like the Grindstaffs, the role of parent figure was assumed by Lynne Powell, who, despite being roughly the same age as the musicians, looked after them and assisted with life skills. The Powells characterise those who formed this core as being of the "soft left," coming out of the "peacenik" sensibility of the previous decade, and that these were the people who would stay to help out.[156] In Hamilton more broadly, Jude Johnson describes that "there was a real hardcore group that just hung out

151 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
152 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
153 Ibid.
154 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013
155 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013
156 Ibid.

[at the folk clubs] all the time, it was home. It was where you felt like you weren't abnormal."[157] This group included musicians and audience members, the latter on the whole drawn, in Johnson's estimation, from a more youthful and/or university-educated crowd, rather than from the city's substantial working-class population, and the audience was predominantly white (though the city as a whole was as well). Such a demographic, which as Alan Lomax noted enjoyed educational advantages, was also found in the American folk scene of the 1950s and '60s, as discussed by Cantwell, again counterbalancing Mitchell's more idealistic formulation with dynamics of class and race.[158]

Fiddler's Green in Toronto, too, fostered connections between musicians that turned into life-long friendships as well as musical collaborations. Grit Laskin remarks that in addition to musicians he still knows, he met his wife there, as did luthier Jean Larrivee. Laskin generally characterises the venue as a meaningful social space: "that's where friends and, to this day, so many people that you met there were still in the music scene, there were musicians, there were studio owners, there were producers...So much happened there." Broadly, he says, "that was where so much attention happened because it was so important, it was so relevant to your life in many ways, on many levels."[159] The lasting importance of these connections was reflected in the memorial held for Tam Kearney, who passed away in March of 2013; hundreds of people packed into a Toronto community centre to attend the gathering, with the space's standing room all filled. Laskin reflects on this gathering, "what struck me is that it's the evidence of how wide a community formed around this club, it wasn't just people who regularly attended it to hear music, to buy a ticket and sit in the audience. And that was evidence of it more than anything, that all these years later...people haven't forgotten these connections."[160] Ian Robb, also of Friends of Fiddler's Green, writes, "[Tam] was a natural community builder, and the broad Fiddler's

157 Interview with Jude Johnson, February 18, 2013
158 Alan Lomax quoted in Cantwell, "When we were good," 48; Robert Cantwell, "When We Were Good: Class and Culture in the Folk Revival," in *Transforming Tradition*, ed. Neil V. Rosenberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 45-48.
159 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
160 Ibid.

Green family eventually spawned shape note groups, Morris dance teams, song circles, social dances, folk music camps and other folk clubs."[161] Fiddler's Green also formed a link with the Mariposa festival when it was held in Toronto. During festival time, Fiddler's Green would open its doors for a number of extra nights, and artists playing at the festival would also play at the club. Grit Laskin attributes this connection to Estelle Klein, whose philosophy emphasized being part of a community.[162]

Within these communities, musicians who got along well would often play with each other and assist in the development of each others' craft. John Smale also fostered these musical connections; David Essig notes that musicians in that circle would be admitted without charge to each others' performances, facilitating musical learning, feedback, and friendships.[163] Mentorship was also found at Shier's, which became a regular weekend visit for a young Colin Linden who sought out the expertise of blues players performing there.[164] At the Scarecrow in Kingston, musicians would typically socialise with the audience after performances. This type of opportunity proved significant to David Eadie's career, for he met Stan Rogers at the venue when Rogers performed, and Eadie later ended up playing bass and singing with him.[165]

Like at Fiddlers Green, the Knight II drew in other artists to its community. There, this connection was fostered by the Canvas Gallery, also run by the Powells, which operated on the ground floor of the building. As Bill Powell describes, "it was all one, the musicians and the artists were treated equally, and when a musician was in trouble the artists were asked to help, and they did."[166] The Powells formed relationships with poets as well, this broader engagement with the arts community supported by their formation of Creative Arts Inc. In London too the folk community extended beyond

161 Ian Robb, "Tam Kearney, singer & co-founder of Toronto's Fiddler's Green, passes," *Sing Out! News Service*, March 7 2013
162 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
163 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
164 Rob Bowman, "Colin Linden: Sad and Beautiful World," accessed June 11, 2013, http://www.colinlinden.com/the_book.html
165 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
166 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013

musicians, including local artists and poets, as well as the kitchen staff at the venue. Annie Grindstaff characterises the kitchen staff at Change of Pace as being a family of its own, leading to lasting bonds.[167] Both Grindstaff and Smale reflected fondly upon the staff, who were central to that venue, ensuring the kitchen ran smoothly and that their famous butterscotch squares were made. Smale notes that the employees of the local Sam the Record Man also socialised at the coffeehouse, a place that suited their intense interest in music, and further, that some other downtown merchants "became part of the regular group."[168] This mix of people who became part of the community is reflected in Smale's comment that "[those] were kind of halcyon days of the mix of the status quo and youth culture, of blending together with hippieness."[169] David Bradstreet expresses the artistic collaboration and sense of community found in London: "There was a real feeling of community, I think, and not the kind of, it wasn't competitive, it wasn't like oh, you bastard, you got the gig and I didn't kind of thing, it was almost like, you got a gig, well let's all go and play the gig."[170] To encapsulate the spirit of interaction he perceived, Bradstreet references fellow musician Brent Titcomb: "to me, he epitomises the feeling of community, he really does, he's that kind of man that has a real deep love of humanity and he shows it in everything he does and the songs that he sings. ... He's a really good example of the kind of feeling of the community that we did have as a group of people."[171]

This manifestation of community, of people participating in folk music in various ways, suggests the presence of something like the "folk consciousness" Frith refers to. This consciousness, or sensibility, can be shared among members despite participating in markedly different ways. Anthony Cohen suggests that "[t]he quintessential referent of community is that its members make, or believe they make, a similar sense of things either generally or with respect to specific and significant interests... The reality of community in people's experience thus inheres in their attachment or

167 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013
168 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
169 Ibid.
170 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
171 Ibid.

commitment to a common body of symbols."[172] Here, interest in folk music and in particular to artists active in the region, and the coffeehouse as both a concrete venue and a symbol of the folk revival, are shared, and as Cohen indicates, with at least the perception that fellow members make similar sense of them.

Musical tastes and sociability convened to shape who was involved in the local community, since these modes of engagement were frequently tied. For instance, as John Smale relates, "London really loved the Good Brothers, and they just became very much like family, also, and we all liked each other a lot, and so they played a lot."[173] The traditional players in London, though, were largely separate from the Smale's Pace community, since Smale's/Change of Pace predominantly booked singer-songwriters. At Fiddlers Green in Toronto, the nature of the club encouraged the involvement of other traditionally-minded groups to become involved in the local community, including dance and craft groups; while the club booked a range of artists including singer-songwriters, their identity as a traditional club (and the Friends of Fiddlers Green as traditional performance) put forward the symbol of tradition as a unifying identity for others similarly inclined.

Shared symbols and musical activities form one level of connection, but socialising outside of musical performance is also necessary for the formation of local community, and the activities undertaken socially perhaps did more to select from the broader "folk scene" who became a member of a more cohesive local community. Certainly, not everyone would be comfortable or able to partake in late-night partying, or running off to swim in the river. Largely, this is a demographic concern; those who were older and/or who had full-time jobs could not participate fully in much of the social process of the primarily youthful circle. But this did not necessarily diminish their importance in their community, as such participants had other methods of forming and maintaining connections. In London, Carl Grindstaff reflects on the routine of musicians and friends staying up (often at his house)

172 Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 16.
173 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013

late into the night over drinks, but notes that he could not regularly participate since he had to work in the morning.[174] Nonetheless, he remains a central figure of the community, through being a co-owner of Change of Pace and finding ways to be socially involved but with a slightly different role than the younger members. Beyond the venue, others supported the musicians and fostered a sense of community. “Uncle Billy” Anderson was notable in this regard. Anderson did not perform, but “just loved the music,” as Carl Grindstaff relates, adding, “he didn't have money or anything, but he just promoted the music.” Well-known within the London crowd, Anderson could be heard calling “nicely, nicely” from the back of the room when he was particularly pleased with a performance, a phrase that became associated with him.[175] Such participation was surely not accessible to all, though, and demographic differences that may hinder social connections, as well as financial limitations that would prevent others from providing spaces for community, must be considered in their relationship to musical bonds.

In addition to venues as locales for community, many musicians shared houses with one another, and these spaces became centres for jamming and socialising. Mose Scarlett's Toronto house was such a space, as he reflects, “things were pretty easy back then, you could drop by our place any time of the day or night.”[176] David Bradstreet was a regular guest, as was Shirley Eikhard when she was still a young teenager.[177] Additionally, Doug McArthur shared a house with Colleen Peterson in Toronto, “so everybody was coming over and jamming all night and playing.”[178] Also in Toronto, Brent Titcomb's Bishop Street apartment became a hub of social activity, with frequent guests including Murray McLachlan and Bruce Cockburn, who would play their songs for one another there.[179] Arthur McGregor shares similar memories of the house in Ottawa that he lived in with David Woodhead,

174 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013
175 Ibid.
176 Interview with Mose Scarlett, March 11, 2013
177 Ibid.
178 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
179 Bruce Cockburn, “Past Areas of Residence in Toronto: Queen St./McCaul St. area,” accessed July 8, 2013, http://cockburnproject.net/toronto/8.html

where there would be frequent parties to which people would bring instruments and jam.[180] In Hamilton, Jude Johnson lived in a house that she describes as "kind of a commune" shared with Brian Griffith "and a lot of musicians and artists."[181] In London, a duplex on Maitland Street downtown was home over the years to musicians including Stan and Garnet Rogers, Willie P. Bennett, and Marianne Grittani.[182] This shared living space fostered social and musical interaction, the kitchen often finding itself host to late-night jams, as did Ken Palmer's house shared with Bennett later.

Perth County Conspiracy took this concept further, living together outside of Stratford. While many outside of the group regarded it warily and thought of it as too much of a commune, David Woodhead regards those fears as unfounded, having experienced a positive collaborative artistic environment with the benefits of an intentional community.[183] Given the nature of the interests of members, the Perth County Conspiracy community included poets and actors in addition to musicians, as well as the families of many of those involved.

Speaking of the community in general, Essig adds, "we all played together, and we all did music together, and it was like living the utopian dream. ...Zizek said that one of the ultimate goals of your life can be to actualise your utopia, and that's what we did. I look back on it, and we actually did that."[184] Such utopian formulations are identified by Scully as being found among folk revivalists of the preceding two decades. Scully writes that many "revivalists revel in their own communities of folk song aficionados, which serve as a substitute for the idealized communities from which the construct of the folk emerged. For these seekers of fellowship, low volume and spare instrumentation serve as a means to an old-fashioned end."[185] In this Ontario scene, the musical content was not restricted to the repertoire of the "folk song aficionados" Scully discusses, but the formation of communities through

180 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
181 Interview with Jude Johnson, February 18, 2013
182 Interview with Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
183 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
184 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
185 Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival*, 24.

folk music, as it is defined and practised by those members, is a thread that runs through it as it had through the revival.

Extending beyond community into a scene

The more dispersed iterations of the "folk community," as well as some aspects of local manifestations, can be considered as "scenes," a term that itself needs clarification. Straw writes that the term "scene" is used "to circumscribe highly local clusters of activity and to give unity to practices dispersed throughout the world," and that it "functions to designate face-to-face sociability and as a lazy synonym for globalized virtual communities of taste."[186] Its utility and appeal, Straw continues, is found in its flexibility, "requiring of those who use it no more than that they observe a hazy coherence between sets of practices or affinities."[187] This flexibility certainly facilitates the term's application to folk music activity in southern Ontario. And rather than this vagueness being a weakness, it serves to capture dynamics of musical and social activity that terms like "community," "genre," or "music world" do not. "Scene," applied to this context, reflects the admixture of regional, national, and international flow within locally-based communities. This vantage point allows for the recognition of how performers who travelled from the States and may have only played in a particular city once or twice were nonetheless included in conceptions of the total folk music activity and are named in conversations of the scene—for instance, the American Mark Rust in London—as well as the connection musicians rooted in one community found with others in the region, themselves identifying similarities that fit Straw's "hazy coherence between sets of practices or affinities."

"Scene" thus encapsulates a spectrum of connections and interactions ranging from friendships and semi-regular socialising to the infrequent or entirely imagined connections between folk music

186 Straw, "Scenes and Sensibilities," 248.
187 Ibid.

participants in the region. One dimension shared amongst these varied participants is partaking in some part of a "pathway" through folk music, a term Finnegan explains with regard to local music-making. Finnegan writes that "participants in local music...followed a series of known and regular routes," and suggests that describing these patterns as pathways "avoid[s] the misleading overtones of concreteness, stability, boundedness and comprehensiveness associated with the term 'world'."[188] Coffeehouses and the musical and social engagement they afforded formed such a pathway in southern Ontario.

On a local level, the folk scene is evident in the participation of audiences. Many coffeehouses had a large set of regular audience members familiar with the venue's decorum, and who anticipated their favourite performers. Memberships that would allow discounted rates to the performances—which were already a low admission cost—were common, and this allowed access for university students and others with limited income, as well as encouraging regular attendance. While a constant presence in local folk music activity, audiences, for the most part, did not engage in the community as practised by those more directly involved. Their attendance was essential for the success of concerts, enabling musicians to perform and venues to operate, and particularly at venues such as Campbell's and Smale's Pace contained many regulars. John Smale commented upon the audience make-up at Smale's, which included musicians, artists, people from the downtown community, and local university and college students, saying "it worked out really well as far as, it didn't feel like a yuppie university place and it didn't feel like a downtown, different place, it was just a nice blend of everybody together."[189] Venues located on campuses drew an audience almost exclusively of students. Derek Andrews describes some of the regular crowd at Egerton's, which was situated on the edge of the Ryerson Polytechnic campus in downtown Toronto: "The Ryerson community that supported Egerton's was the arts side of the Ryerson community, meaning the theatre, journalism, radio-television arts, film students. As a waiter, you could identify those students, especially the theatre students, it was a salad

188 Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians*, 305-6.
189 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013

and a glass of water is all they can afford and that was their routine."[190] Reflecting upon the audience at Rooster's, located at Carleton's Ottawa campus (a fair distance from downtown), Arthur McGregor notes, "it was a different demographic than the pub [which] was downstairs with big rock bands and all that kind of stuff. ...it was definitely a different culture than the majority of the university crowd."[191] This nebulously defined shared culture, in some cases defined more negatively against other scenes than positively for its own constituents, corresponds to the level of coherence and intentionality of scenes identified by Straw.

Regular individuals or groups in the audience added a sense of stability to the local scene, but without the relationships and attachment characteristic of community, though they likely participated in their own local communities outside of the folk scene. Straw considers reunions of a Montreal scene, identifying one locale that has continued to exist and that serves as a site for members of the scene that gathered there to "intermittently coalesce and recover a sense of scenic coherence," but posits that were the bar to close, "[the scene's] constituent parts would be unlikely to reassemble elsewhere."[192] Like Straw's supposition concerning the Montreal scene, these audience members—members of the folk scene but not the folk community—largely did not persist in congregating with the musicians and venue operators beyond the closure of the venues. The effect of this situated context is expressed by David Eadie, saying, "what is sort of unique is that you get to know people in a very specific way, I mean if you run into them at the festival, it's a very specific way to meet somebody, and that's how you connect with them...that's how they'll always be [to you] in a way."[193] However, the popularity of the Smale's/Change of Pace reunion concerts in recent years suggests a greater amount of sustained interest in the folk scene than is perhaps found in other scenes. Three decades after the closure of Change of Pace, four years of reunion concerts have been held at London's Aeolian Hall. These concerts have

190 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
191 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
192 Straw, "Scenes and Sensibilities," 255.
193 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012

reunited musicians who were part of the scene, and attracted large audiences largely composed of long-time local folk music listeners and participants, each year selling out the hall.

For some audience members, connections to the performers held greater significance and persisted in their memory more than they did for the musicians. For instance, Ken Palmer relates,

> There was always these fringe guys. John the leather guy. Y'know so and so and so and so. And they're all over the place. It'd be nothing to be in Alberta, like us playing, there's a guy here to see you. ... Go out, and it'd be one of these guys from the York [in London, Ontario, a popular hangout for musicians], something like that, that I hadn't seen in 15 years or something like that. We went out to, oh, Alberta, we flew out just a couple years back, and sure enough, Mr Palmer, yeah? There's a guy here to see you. Guy? I don't know anybody here. It's Stony Plain Alberta. Yes you do, he knows you. So I go out, and there's this guy, I haven't seen him in 25 years. Oh yeah, I'm, and he starts talking to you like yesterday, y'know like it was yesterday. Oh you know after I left Smale's, you remember when I was there. I don't remember![194]

This reflection illustrates the difference in experience and significance between participants in the same event, constructing the scene or imagined community in markedly distinct ways. However, it must be noted that there are exceptions to this relationship to audience members; Lynne Powell recounts how two such individuals became part of the "extended family," though in both cases, these people became further involved through volunteering or photographing performances, so that by the time they were incorporated in this way, they were no longer just audience members.[195]

Region-wide folk music activity can also be considered as a scene. Folklore centres in particular functioned as spaces that facilitated a regional, and even national or international, scene. At these centres, musicians could find other like-minded individuals and have their travelling instruments repaired. Arthur McGregor speaks of the function of these centres as nodes on a journey: "A folklore centre opened in Denver, and Sneezy Waters worked at that folklore centre, it was the perfect position for musicians hitchhiking across the States [who] would stop in Denver and work for a couple weeks at the Denver folklore centre and get enough money to continue."[196] The centres in Toronto, Ottawa, and

194 Interview with Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
195 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013
196 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013

Montreal supported the travelling network of folk musicians within the region, while simultaneously supporting the local folk scene by supplying instruments and lessons to those eager to learn.

Musicians who participated in their local community frequently performed in other towns and cities, making contact and forming connections with people in those places, but without becoming incorporated into these communities. David Woodhead explains, “there was contact [across the region], but I think that the real friendships and real closeness developed on local levels like that, so that each [city] would have its own flavour.”[197] For example, many musicians coming from out of town would spend extra days in London and socialise with the local community, extending this network throughout the region, creating a scene of musicians on this scale. Doug McArthur recalls the house he lived in on the outskirts of London as being “a real hippie haven” that would host large numbers of guests, including many groups who played at Smale's Pace who would spend a week in the city.[198] Afternoons of coffee at Smale's were enjoyed by out of town musicians as well; for instance, Jackie Washington writes in his journal of many occasions of spending the day there to visit people over tea even if his performance was at another venue in London.[199]

Wait staff would also travel to coffeehouses in other cities to attend the performances, becoming engaged in the regional folk music scene as listeners. Some, like Laura Smith at Smale's who went on to have a solo career as a singer-songwriter, played music as well, and would use their opportunity at work to connect with the performing musicians to learn songs and form friendships. Others became involved in the local folk music festivals or pursued loosely related careers in other arts, but retaining a connection to the broad scene if not a local community as well. Finnegan discusses audiences' conception of this level of folk music activity, citing a participant's statement that folk clubs are “all the same—and, different. You can go into any [folk club] and know they'll be friendly.”[200] Even for those

197 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
198 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
199 Jackie Washington fonds, Box 4
200 Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians*, 61.

who did not travel to other venues, in southern Ontario, audiences were aware that similar venues existed in other cities, supporting awareness of if not engagement in a regional scene.

As a result of regular travel within the region, many lasting bonds formed between musicians in the scene. These scene-wide bonds have been shown to be enduring; the Smale's/Change of Pace reunion concerts attest to this. Some of the musicians now have to travel substantial distances to reach London for these concerts, but the enthusiasm for these reunions motivates their continuation. Such persistence of interest and engagement can be taken as a signal of the community nature of folk music participation, beyond just being a scene. Unlike the more casual audience members, as discussed above, and in contrast to the loosely-bonded nature of the scene Straw discusses, these musicians and others involved continue to coalesce despite the decades passed between the loss of a venue and the current concerts. This persistence of relationship indicates the depth of the bonds formed between those more active in producing the scene (musicians, venue operators, and wait staff in particular), beyond that of a more loosely-affiliated scene.

Overlapping features and shared origins: community and scene at the same time

The strength of ties in parts of the scene does suggest a blurring of the distinction between community and scene, and reveals events and processes that simultaneously gave rise to each. The operations of Campbell's illustrates this possibility. Campbell's brought performing musicians into the social aspect of the venue and into the Hamilton folk community. The majority of musicians who performed at the coffeehouse stayed as guests of Campbell, who before the shows also hosted a dinner for the performer that friends from the Hamilton community would come to as well.[201] Through this interaction, musicians became comfortable with the space and the people they were to play for, as Paul Campbell

201 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013

reflects, “by the time [the musicians] got to the stage at night, they were really comfortable with the situation, and it was usually good company all around, so it was good that way.” Among the musicians, Campbell found that “everybody at the time for those two or three years, there was definitely a sense of a community, and a sense of creating something new.”[202] While many connections remained casual, as part of interaction within the scene, some became particularly strong, such as that with Willie P. Bennett—who played his first solo gig at Campbell's—as Paul Campbell describes: “Willie and I were pretty fast friends, and we were lifelong friends, he was my best man, a confidante, whatever you want. ... And he was an uncle basically to all my kids too.”[203] Fiddler's Green, too, generated scene and community engagement through the activities it hosted. While performances were only held two nights a week, it was a consistently active space. Comhaltas Ceoltóiri Eiran, the Irish traditional music society, met and held their tune sessions at the club, as did the local bluegrass association and the shape note singers. The Morris dancers, too, used the space for practices and teaching, and crafts including weaving and knitting also took place there.[204] Grit Laskin describes, “Fiddler's Green [was] the hub, and there were spokes that went to so many different groups...they were their own communities as well of people and networks, but they would meet through this club. And because of it they'd get to know what music was happening and they'd show up at the concerts.”[205] Each of these groups reflected their respective communities, but through their involvement with Fiddlers Green, their members became part of the folk music scene and to a degree part of the community, as they were brought into more substantial involvement with events like the Mariposa festival.

The distinction between scene and community membership may also vary depending upon whose perspective is considered. The affiliations of community, as Anthony Cohen discusses, are largely held in the minds of its members; thus, the community's boundaries may be constructed in as

202 Ibid.
203 Ibid.
204 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
205 Ibid.

many ways as it has members, with each regarding a different set of individuals as part of it, in varying degrees of significance. Doug McArthur notes a distinction between his vantage point as a touring musician and that of audiences:

> I think they saw it differently than we did. They saw it as a local phenomenon...all the people in Hamilton thought I was the Hamilton guy, all the people in London thought I was the London guy. And we would go spend weeks on end in the different towns, so there was reason for them to think that. But from the performers' point of view, it was more national, particularly once the festivals started. And we were really like a travelling party that was going from festival to festival from club to club, and you'd get into town and you'd see the people you knew and catch up, and you hadn't been gone that long anyway.[206]

Imagining a global folk community

Beyond the directly practised community that existed through local coffeehouses and shared living spaces, and the broader scene found at a regional or even national level, there is also an imagined community of shared ideals and musical practices that encompasses a broad geographic area or entirely transcends its bounds. As Anthony Cohen argues, a community "exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of 'fact'."[207] This larger "folk community" that numerous musicians allude to bears similarities to the structure of the imagined national community as Benedict Anderson understands it. The folk community's imaginary nature is shared with the nation, in that any one participant, be they a musician or audience member, does not know every other person involved in folk music, though shares a sense of this extended collectivity's existence.[208] As Anderson explains, an American "will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240,000,000-odd fellow-Americans. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity."[209] Such

206 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
207 Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 98.
208 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
209 Ibid., 26.

broad, nebulous formulations of "folk community" reflect what Abrahams refers to as "a complex cultural fiction," where the "folk" is not a distinct people but is composed of a mix of imagined relationships and networks as well as direct interpersonal relationships, and "folk music" reflects a shared aesthetic approach rather than a tradition particular to a geographically rooted community.[210] Finnegan notes that those involved in their local folk music community were keenly aware that there was also a "country-wide 'folk world' of which they were a part."[211] At large folk music festivals, the existence of a large "folk world" or "folk community," one constructed and held almost entirely in the minds of its members rather than in practice, is manifested for a brief period.

This model also reflects the trend identified by Frith towards "community" being understood as representing shared taste in music.[212] Folk music, as MacDonald argues, is commonly associated with a set of values, drawing together those who share such principles and seek like-minded individuals with whom to enact them.[213] The degree of cohesion MacDonald finds in the western provinces, identified with the back-to-the-land movement, is not shared in Ontario. But as Cohen indicates, "the '*common*ality' which is found in community need not be a uniformity. It does not clone behaviour or ideas. It is a commonality of *forms* (ways of behaving) whose content (meanings) may vary considerably among its members."[214] The commonality of behaviour—attending folk festivals, listening to folk music, supporting artisans—provides a sense of community in the large-scale convergences of festivals, events that even those who only attend one understand to happen in similar form in other locations, supporting the extension of imagined community to all of these places.

The sense of kinship across this imagined community is expressed by many of the musicians interviewed. David Eadie illustrates a perceived connection with performers, saying, "I felt as an audience member like the acts that I saw, some of whom I never spoke to, but I felt really, really close

210 Roger Abrahams, quoted in Scully, *The Never-Ending Revival*, 26.
211 Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians*, 61.
212 Frith, "'The Magic that can Set you Free'," 164.
213 MacDonald, *Back to the Garden*, 28-29.
214 Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 20.

to them, and I felt that this guy, whoever he is, he's a part of me. That we shared something real...there was a connection."[215] Some musicians express this notion as being manifest in folk festivals while otherwise existing in a dissipated form, and some see it as extending globally even if not physically enacted. David Bradstreet offers, "there was a very strong local thing for sure, but I think it's, it was almost like being able to wear your colours in a sense...when I would go to Vancouver or to...any town in Canada, there's always a community, so if you go through and you play these places, the community, the musical community which would be hovering around, like satellites, they would all sort of come in and see who, what you were up to. I got to know a lot of people as a result of that kind of feeling."[216] Brent Titcomb describes his perception of this phenomenon: "One time I was watching the Blue Skies folk festival from up on the hill and I thought, wow, it's like a community that, when we're not all together at the folk festival it's this ethereal community, this consciousness that we're all part of. At a folk festival, there we are, in the physical. All on the same page, we all feel a kinship, we feel a bond...then we all go away."[217]

And like the national newspaper Anderson describes as uniting a population, who share in reading the same text,[218] the CBC radio show "Touch the Earth," the main Canada-wide radio venue for folk music, provided a shared listening experience among many (though indeed not all) folk participants. Reading the newspaper, Anderson writes, is an "extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction," that, while the act of reading it "is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull...each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion."[219] Touch the Earth, as radio program of folk music broadcast across the country, offered an actually simultaneous

215 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
216 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
217 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
218 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-36.
219 Ibid., 35.

experience of listening, practised individually yet with the assurance that many others, while in smaller numbers than for the newspaper, are doing the same. Anderson continues in his discussion of the newspaper to note the how it facilitates the "remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations."[220] This anonymity of the modern nation, as a change from small communities, is transferred as well to the dispersed community of folk music, which previously was rooted in face-to-face folk cultures. Paul Mills, who produced the show, comments, "I'd like to think that Touch the Earth formed a kind of virtual meeting place, because all of the musicians listened to the show and learned about each other from the show, and again when they happened to run across each other at festivals, there would be a bonding in that situation."[221] While certainly some would meet in the flesh at festivals, many other listeners would not, but but would be assured of fellow listeners across the country to a program on the main, government-sponsored, state-wide radio station. Numerous musicians from southern Ontario performed on the show, including Brent Titcomb, Glenn Copeland, Christopher Kearney, David Wiffen, Colleen Peterson, David Essig, and Willie P. Bennett, but the show had a national mandate and indeed travelled across the country, recording musicians from coast-to-coast.[222] This Canada-wide listener and contributor base facilitated the program functioning as a platform upon which a folk community could be imagined as existing across the country.

Some see this collection of like-minded individuals extending internationally, bonded by an interest in folk music, something David Bradstreet found in Austria[223] and David Essig in Italy,[224] while Stan Rogers and Bill Hughes developed followings in Japan. This highlights the potency of the imagined community, offering to those involved membership in a national or global folk music community, providing the assurance that there are like-minded individuals across the planet with whom they can find acceptance and resonance.

220 Ibid., 36.
221 Interview with Paul Mills, June 24, 2013
222 Ibid.
223 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
224 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013

Where different modes meet: the summer festival

Even though the imagined folk community encompasses the broad range of those interested in folk music, the boundaries of the "folk community" become particularly unclear when festivals are taken into account. With the enacted local community, regional scene, and fragments of the imagined country-wide community woven together in the festival space, one can consider them nodes of realisation of the otherwise imagined community. But unlike the citizens in Anderson's modern nations, it is not necessarily the case that every festival attendee is equally part of the folk community as they would be citizens of a nation. Statements like Titcomb's quoted above, invoking a shared consciousness, suggest such an egalitarian construction. However, is difficult to argue that a person who pauses to listen at a free festival is as much part of the community as the musicians who play the music and socialise with each other; they are certainly not as active in producing the scene as its constant participants, though it must be acknowledged that this occasional audience base is essential to the festival "phase" of the folk scene.

In some cases, while exceptional, the once-a-year audience participates extensively in creating the event of the festival, notably at the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival, as MacDonald explores.[225] However, in the case of Winnipeg, the audience-created happening exists in parallel to the organised festival programming, with a large proportion of separate activities occurring at a physical remove from the stage area. In general, large festivals involve a separation between audience and performers, due to the sheer impossibility of interaction between the musicians and the large number of attendees. Not all festivals follow this model, though; at the Blue Skies festival, where performers and musicians both camp at the rather small site, a more mutually constituted festival experience is found, and the

225 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden"

level of involvement and interaction among all present distinguishes it from larger festivals. In cases like this, the idea of manifested community is more grounded, but the concept's power holds across festivals large and small. At the largest of these Ontario festivals, however, there remains a site of interaction between musicians and often a small assemblage of volunteers and other friends, and this convergence provides a tangible occurrence upon which to build an imagined broader community extending beyond the players backstage. In some instances, spontaneous, fleeting actions by audience members support notions of shared sentiments and a broader "folk community." Dancing during performances is one common manifestation of this phenomenon. This unplanned action also reflects the carnival nature of audience participation that MacDonald discusses, existing in relationship to the organised festival programming, and it is the convergence of these two facets that constitutes a folk community beyond the performing musicians.[226] Musicians, too, create aspects of carnival through unscheduled playing, such as that captured briefly in Jim Aquila's film of the first Festival of Friends, where during the rain storm a large number of performers crowded into the basement of the bandshell, bringing their instruments and playing together. At the same event, Brent Titcomb led an impromptu "keep the rain away" parade of children through the park, bringing musicians and attendees together in co-constructing the festival's events.

For the musicians, though, festivals also support interaction that can be better described as a national scene. Ken Bloom writes, "festivals are like conventions for performers. You see friends you haven't seen in years. Lots of playing goes on back at the hotel where performers often get together in discrete groups to play quietly without the pressure of an audience to entertain."[227] In a similar vein, Paul Mills describes, "there were national friendships, national. And...these people would all come together at the festivals...so that's where you really had the best sense of community... Because invariably there would always be after parties. And that's where all of us musicians would gather, at the

226 Ibid., 163.
227 Ken Bloom, "The Performer at Festivals," *Canadian Folk Music* 16 (3) (1982): 10.

hotel where we were all staying, and there would be jam sessions into the wee hours."[228] Because of the nature of festivals, these encounters only took place over the summer months. As Jude Johnson reflects, "you were so excited because...you didn't see them that often because everybody goes back to their own lives...and then you get together."[229] David Woodhead identifies festivals as a space that brings together musicians who occupy parallel but largely separate paths during the rest of the year; "this whole group of people that were all part of the coffeehouse scene [are] all together in one place, like there was a big meeting, it was like a big picnic or something, it was amazing."[230] Like regional touring, though less frequent, festivals provide an opportunity for musicians in different cities to interact with one another, sharing stages in workshops, jamming and socialising outside scheduled performances; for audiences, though, these sorts of connections were not found at festivals. But given the importance of audiences to folk music activity and community, the large audience found at festivals in other parts of the region or country demonstrates to musicians the grounding for the otherwise imagined community. Thus, through interactions with fellow musicians and witnessing the substantial audience base, musicians' festival experience contains elements of both scene and imagined community.

For audience members, the festival supports aspects of the scene and the imagined community associated with folk music, and provides a link to older forms of socialisation that follow cyclic patterns. As Brent Titcomb expresses, fans of folk music "loved that, they loved the continuity, they loved the tradition." Musicians too enjoyed this dynamic, as Titcomb observes, with the same people filling backstage roles year after year at festivals, "every year, it was like we were there yesterday."[231]

The Blue Skies Festival in Clarendon particularly blurs even these divisions between the experiences of audience and performer. The summer prior to the festival's launch, the luthier Oskar

228 Interview with Paul Mills, June 24, 2013
229 Interview with Jude Johnson, February 18, 2013
230 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
231 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013

Graf invited friends to his meadow to play music, and they decided to build upon this experience to create the festival.[232] Titcomb describes the experience of this festival, “Blue Skies is a utopia. ... You go there and you actually really live there for days. ... And it is like a little big bubble of harmony and cooperation. ... You don't want to leave.”[233] An important aspect of the festival that distinguishes it from others is the substantial involvement of the audience in shaping the festival, as they, along with performers and others involved, are invited to submit ideas for the next year's event. All participants camp together, participating in the same space while at the festival, which minimises the division between performer and audience. The effect of these dynamics is described by David Woodhead: “Blue Skies is a really utopian thing, in all the best possible way. Because it really feels like a little golden community in the middle of nowhere that everybody lives in for a few days, it's pretty amazing. ... And there are rules, but, of all the festivals, it's maybe the most esoteric in a way, but in such a friendly and accessible way...it's so welcoming. That's a rare one.”[234] Blue Skies continues to be an annual festival, with demand for tickets well exceeding capacity. Throughout its history, Blue Skies has maintained continuity of musicians and attendees, as Brent Titcomb notes, “now they're into the next generation, kids who grew up there are now part of running it and playing it and having kids.”[235] While other festivals work primarily to produce imagined community and scene, Blue Skies adds a strong element of local community to these modes of engagement with folk music, supporting a strong conception of cohesive imagined community while facilitating connections characteristic of scenes. Thus, it illustrates the polymodality of the festival with regard to community, and the potential for this complexity to be found in other venues.

With these considerations in mind, we can understand the 1970s “folk scene” in southern Ontario to be composed of locally-enacted communities, scenes of more loosely associated folk

232 "Blue Skies Music Festival," accessed July 10, 2013, http://web.ncf.ca/dq579/concerts/blueskies.html
233 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
234 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
235 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013

musicians and other participants, and otherwise maintained as an imagined community spread across the region's venues and festivals, and beyond these geographical confines to the imagined global folk music community. These associations offer members participation in a larger social structure that is meaningful to them, offering a solution to the lack of traditional community that Scully identifies. While the varying experiences of community, often coexisting in one event, may suggest a weak version of collectivity, in contrast, as Cohen argues, the character of community "is sufficiently malleable that it can accommodate all of its members' selves without them feeling their individuality to be overly compromised. Indeed, the gloss of commonality which it paints over its diverse components gives to each of them an additional referent for their identities."[236]

236 Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 109.

Chapter 4: Venues and Routes

The sites that hosted folk music, and the routes between them, construct and are constructed by the scene as a whole. Individual venues exhibit distinct musical profiles within the folk umbrella, given aural texture through varying balances of traditional, singer-songwriter, blues, and other styles of music. Venues, as tangible spaces, function as sites of performance, nodes within a regional scene, and individually are marked by physical characteristics that serve to identify them and persist in memory. This chapter explores how the identities of these venues are constructed through their booking choices, shaping their musical profile, and the nature and role of their physical incarnation.

Throughout southern Ontario, coffeehouses and clubs, and later, summer festivals, hosted folk music performance, forming the regional scene. The nature of the southern Ontario folk scene, particularly with its youthful demographics and the financial difficulty of running a coffeehouse, led to there being a large share of short-lived venues, the names of which are largely forgotten by those not directly involved in their operation. The venues that managed to exist over multiple years and attract travelling performers are best remembered, while in between these two poles are venues whose names and/or locations are recalled but without further details. Coffeehouses were scattered throughout the region, generally along the more highly populated arc from Windsor to Ottawa, and typically in towns with universities or colleges. These venues supported folk music activity within their respective cities and towns, and together created a regional scene as musicians travelled between them to perform. Most closed in the late 1970s or early 1980s, due to insurmountable financial challenges, the most frequently cited cause being the lowering of legal drinking age in the province and the accompanying upsurge in venues with liquor licenses. Within cities, the presence of multiple folk venues was in some cases characterised by amicable coexistence, and in others by competition. While the aggregate of these venues forms a scene more cohesive than not, each venue had a different aural profile, tending towards

particular genres or levels of performers. Through these profiles, artists found routes through the region suited to their music and ability—significantly determined by their responsibilities at home and by demand for their music—to tour. Once festivals became more plentiful, the summer season meant a shift in patterns of movement for musicians, providing different opportunities for performance and musical interaction within the broader region, and attracting players from further afield. The venues themselves, in their assembly and operation, are themselves a significant component of folk music activity. Coffeehouses and clubs were housed primarily in spaces adapted by the venue operators for performance, while festivals temporarily transformed public parks into large concert spaces. These endeavours were undertaken on limited budgets, necessitating creativity, thrift, and the participation of others to construct and maintain the space. The spaces that resulted were distinct, their character becoming aligned with local folk music, and factoring meaningfully into personal and collective memory and identity. Nonetheless, the realm of regional folk music did not, with few exceptions, cross over into the territory of major labels, chart success, and national or international stardom; thus, these venues and the thriving local music scenes they hosted have remained absent from the dominant maps of folk music history.

Segments of the folk spectrum: Aural profiles of significant venues

While a large range of styles and genres are represented in the scene as a whole, few coffeehouses included an equally diverse set of performers. Most of the coffeehouses that comprised the folk scene in southern Ontario hosted both Ontario-based artists and artists touring from further afield in Canada or the United States. But within this base of performers, the balance of singer-songwriter and traditional players, more and lesser known performers, as well as touring and local musicians, varied. Programming choices reflect the views and definitions of folk music held by venue operators and

booking directors, as well as the financial realities in terms of hiring musicians. In this way, each venue developed its own profile and audience base.

Festivals, generally, represented the broadest selection of genres and styles captured under the folk umbrella, often taking advantage of multiple stages and workshop themes to group performers by genre or tradition (such as blues or fiddling workshops). Indeed, festivals began incorporating musics that were not heard in coffeehouses, particularly traditions from South American or African countries, as well as Indigenous and Quebecois traditions. As Brent Titcomb finds, "that's when...the whole idea of folk music really blew up and expanded, you got to hear lots of different stuff," including, in his recollection, Inuit, African, Celtic, and reggae music.[237] This expanded notion of folk musics developed at a time when awareness of music from around the world in general was growing in North America, facilitated by technological advances and ease of travel. Estelle Klein was instrumental in reflecting and shaping this perception through her programming at Mariposa, its wide array of traditions preceding similar developments elsewhere in Canada. Other Ontario festivals, following Mariposa's lead, brought together diverse styles of music, and brought musicians into dialogue through workshops.

This section will survey the programming at significant venues in the region, illustrating their generic tendencies, as well as other activities they hosted.

A significant number of popular venues focused on Ontario-based and other Canadian singer-songwriters, with flexibility to bring in some performers from other places and from other musical traditions including jazz and blues. Smale's Pace in London and Campbell's in Hamilton are illustrative of this approach to booking. Artists associated with these venues include Willie P. Bennett, David Essig, David Bradstreet, Doug McArthur, Stan Rogers, Billie Hughes, Rick Taylor, and Steve and Lia Hayes. In foregrounding singer-songwriters, John Smale typically turned down the requests of those performing songs they did not write. Essig notes that Smale's Pace brought in musicians from across

237 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013

the country, and was "the first place most people in this part of the world ever saw Valdy...and it was a show-stopper."[238] When the venue changed hands to Carl and Annie Grindstaff, its name modified to Change of Pace, its musical focus remained singer-songwriters, but broadened to include bluegrass as a regular feature. Ken Palmer of bluegrass band the Dixie Flyers, who became involved with the venue under the change of ownership, coordinated weekly bluegrass nights, branching out from the singer-songwriter-focused profile of Smale's. Palmer also facilitated performance opportunities for some lesser-known musicians by arranging for split bills to encourage higher attendance, exposing the performers to larger audiences.[239] Building on the reputation and audience base of Smale's Pace, Change of Pace was also able to attract touring artists such as Connie Kaldor, Roy Forbes, James Durst, and Mark Rust, while the same group of local singer-songwriters continued to perform there. Both Smale's/Change of Pace and Campbell's were intended to be listening rooms; as Paul Campbell reflects, some performers "enjoyed it but they found it kind of a terrifying experience too, because nobody talked much between songs, and [were] really appreciative of the music."[240]

Campbell's additionally featured performances that included poetry and storytelling, as well as American performers who were booked with some regularity, including Utah Phillips and Leon Redbone. At Smale's, other types of content were found on Tuesday nights which were sometimes hoot nights, sometimes with poetry readings or movie nights with a projector and films from the library. Change of Pace also occasionally hosted other types of performance; the comedy troupe The Frantics had their first performance there, garnering many positive reviews.[241] In the case of both venues, the generic boundaries of "folk" were reached with The Original Sloth Band. As Sloth Band member Ken Whiteley comments, "we were kind of more out, we were their envelope-pushing, as pushing as they got. They wouldn't have had the Friends of Fiddler's Green or a more traditional act like that at Smale's

238 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
239 Interview with Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
240 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013
241 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013

Pace. It was focused on the songwriters, with a bit of the other kind of stuff."[242]

While Campbell's similarly did not book the Friends of Fiddler's Green, they frequently featured performers from the Fiddler's Green club, as the timing of the two venues' performance nights facilitated this relationship. Campbell's schedule of Saturday performances (later Sundays as well) worked in tandem with Fiddler's Green which ran on Friday nights, so "it kind of slowly developed into a loop" between the two clubs, as Paul Campbell describes.[243] Campbell also sought acts from Smale's Pace. Later, Shawn O'Halloran booked the acts, and he drew on those he had seen at coffeehouses and festivals in the region.[244] Additionally, Campbell's featured opening acts, strictly limited to three songs, though some nights included two openers each allowed three numbers. This structure allowed for the participation of numerous local musicians who did not perform elsewhere in the scene.

A similar focus on singer-songwriters was found in other venues, including The Scarecrow in Kingston, which featured performers including Stan Rogers and Sneezy Waters.[245] David Eadie fondly remembers the Scarecrow, offering, "Best folk club in the world, it was amazing. ... You'd see the best music—acoustic music acts in Canada. Week after week after week after week. ... And it was a centre for all the acoustic players in Kingston."[246] Running six nights a week, it offered opportunities for lesser-known performers through hosting open mic nights and including opening sets.[247]

Some venues chose to include other styles of music alongside folk. The Knight II, in downtown Hamilton, focused on singer-songwriters, while also including a considerable amount of jazz music. The Powells, who ran the venue, booked many local performers, including those who did not perform beyond the city, as well as those touring through the region.[248] Through including musicians such as

242 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
243 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013
244 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
245 Wayne Grady, "The Five-Ring Circus," *The Kingston Whig-Standard*, March 19 2011, accessed May 20, 2013, http://www.thewhig.com/2011/03/19/the-five-ring-circus
246 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
247 Ibid.
248 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013

Michael Lewis, they also incorporated more rock-influenced styles into the purview of the coffeehouse. Other performers at the Knight II include Garnet Rogers, Bill Hughes, Jackie Washington, Jude Johnson, Colin Linden, Paul Langille, Matt Zymbal, Michael J. Birthelmer, and Thomson Lawrie. Shiers, in north Toronto, also included a wide variety of musics in its programming, the venue's line-up incorporating singer-songwriters, bluegrass, jazz, blues, and traditional players. When Ken Whiteley opened the venue, he initially hired musicians he had heard in the regional folk scene, and was concerned with their talent rather than their ability to draw a crowd.[249] As a musician, Whiteley himself was in the midst of different segments of the folk world. While the Original Sloth Band played traditional music, it was American blues and jazz, not British; thus, the band and Whiteley within it fit within traditional music and singer-songwriter—as North American, and often blues and bluegrass influenced—styles. Whiteley's programming decisions reflected these and more genres, all collected as folk under the Shiers umbrella. As Whiteley details,

> we had Stringband, and Dan Hill played there pretty regularly too. ... Dixie Flyers, there was about three different bluegrass bands that would play. Some nights we would do just a big sing-around and we would kind of make the audience extend out into a big circle and we'd tend to have more traditional people. I'd have the Friends of Fiddler's Green and a bunch of other people come and do a big sing-around. Kathy Reid and Cathy Schmidt...[250]

A poster from the venue lists a month's acts, consisting of Nancy Simmonds (“a talented contemporary singer-songwriter with strong country influences...a powerful voice and a distinctive presence”), Margaret Christl (“one of North America's best singers of British traditional music”), The Incredible Ben Mink Revue with Elliot Feldman (“Ben Mink [is] Toronto's mild mannered superstar...His fiddle playing will thrill you. Elliot is a rare guitarist whose innovative jazz stylings & arrangements are making him a rumour in his own time”), Jackie Washington (“Duke Ellington standards, swing, boogie-woogie, blues. This man holds the all time record for the greatest number of encores at Shier's”), Mose Scarlett (“Must have one of the deepest voices in the business. His songwriting is often humorous, even

249 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
250 Ibid.

funny"), and the Humber River Valley Boys ("Bluegrass. Newgrass. Bluegrass. You got it").[251] This assortment of performers is illustrative of the venue's stylistic range.

Alongside venues with an emphasis on singer-songwriters were those which focused on traditional music. For example, Fiddler's Green, which opened in 1970 in north Toronto, functioned as the primary venue for traditional British musicians to perform in the area, and thus played host to numerous musicians visiting from the United Kingdom. But unlike some traditionally-focused clubs, Fiddler's Green was open to singer-songwriters and other contemporary musicians performing in styles such as blues and bluegrass, and a wide range of artists was represented in their concerts, including Bruce Cockburn and James Taylor. In this way, they functioned as a meeting point for artists in genres often kept separate, allowing for musical interaction and incorporating a wide swath of overall folk music activity.

Fiddler's Green also had a weekly night of guest sets, where any musician could sign up and play three songs or for fifteen minutes. This opened the space up to a broader range of styles, unmediated by the preferences of its operators. For some musicians, this could lead to a full set, as was the case for Grit Laskin, who was given his own concert after host Tam Kearney was impressed with his playing. Laskin soon became part of the de facto house band, Friends of Fiddler's Green, who started in the tradition of floor singers, but who all played instruments as well.[252] Before each Friday show, the Friends of Fiddler's Green would play a few numbers. As this collection of musicians was rather loose, it would often just be Grit Laskin and Tam Kearney performing.[253] In this way, regardless of the headliner's style, the traditional focus of the venue was represented, but without posing as a conflict with any other style that might follow.

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251 Poster from Shier's, Jackie Washington fonds, Box 4
252 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
253 Ibid.

One level up: larger-budget venues

Some venues, with access to larger budgets and more space to host a larger audience, could book nationally-touring artists with more frequency. Included in this group are Egerton's, The Razor's Edge, and Rooster's.

Egerton's hosted a range of local and touring musicians, ranging from nationally-known artists performing on the weekends to any who signed up for open mic nights. The acts booked there were primarily singer-songwriters, some with back-up musicians, as well as some bands. These artists are primarily aligned with a "new folk" aesthetic, though as can be seen in the inclusion of acts such as Jackie Washington, Paul Odette, and the Dixie Flyers, other styles of music were incorporated as well. Egerton's sought to cultivate Canadian talent, but American acts such as Hamilton Camp and David Amram still made appearances. A list of many artists who performed there can be found in Appendix 1. Similarly, The Razor's Edge in Kingston booked nationally-touring artists with more substantial name-recognition. Performers there included Bruce Cockburn, Murray McLachlan, Jesse Winchester, and Richard Keelan. Egerton's also hosted open mic nights on Mondays and Tuesdays, each night allowing four artists to play. Derek Andrews reflects that there was significant demand to play the open mic slots, as people were learning instruments through places like the Toronto Folklore Centre and seeking to perform their newly-acquired skills, since people "believ[ed] in the fact that they could be part of a music-making world, that they could play and write songs and be part of a scene."[254] Despite it being a drinking room, Egerton's cultivated a listening audience, attentive to the performances.

While weekend performers at Egerton's were often well-known artists—they were expected to

254 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013

play three forty-five minute sets, starting at nine o'clock, and thus had to have a substantial enough repertoire to fill this time—they were not generally international performers. This distinction reveals another stratus in the folk scene within Toronto, as the American acts, which cost more to hire, would typically play at the Riverboat, which had the budget to book them. Egerton's remained connected to the local music scene; in addition to performances, Egerton's hosted the Toronto Area Bluegrass Committee, who would jam, socialise, and drink at the venue, and this was a "scene that supported the club...connected at a grassroots level."[255] Egerton's ability to book nationally-touring artists, while also hosting musicians who only performed within the region, linked local activity to a much broader network of folk music activity. The range of artists included meant that this was a wide swath of that contained under "folk," though notably without traditional players. This type of connection was not seen at the Razor's Edge. Unlike venues such as Smale's Pace and Campbell's, the owners of The Razor's Edge were not invested in the local folk music community, and had a greater emphasis on the venue's existence as a business than as a node of folk music activity. With this approach and intent, the funds book bigger artists were able to be generated. Further, the venue's large space allowed for the sizable crowds attracted to these artists to attend. After this venue's demise, another club later reopened in the same location, able to book many of the same acts.

Rooster's, supported by its affiliation with Carleton University, was afforded a larger budget and steadier audience than most coffeehouses. This allowed Arthur McGregor to bring in bigger acts, such as Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee, Leon Redbone, and Paul Jeremiah. Facilitated by its proximity to a border crossing with the United States, Rooster's tapped into the American Coffeehouse Circuit to draw performers from south of the border, which also distinguished its roster from that of venues without this proximity or desire to book American acts. Rooster's did not hire traditional folk acts like Quebecois or Celtic musicians, but its range of styles included singer-songwriters, bluegrass, and blues.

255 Ibid.

It ran five nights a week, Tuesday through Saturday, with the final two nights drawing the largest crowds. There was no open stage night at the venue; rather, featured artists would commonly play for three or four nights in a row. Some, such as Cedric Smith (of Perth County Conspiracy) would be hired for five nights. Other regular acts included local performers Ian Tamblyn, Bob Stark, and Bob Sousie, with appearances also by Doug McArthur, David Wiffen, and the poet Milton Acorn.[256] It served as a hangout for local musicians including the band that David Woodhead was playing in at the time.[257]

While these venues booked some local acts, and were used by some musicians to socialise (to a lesser extent with The Razor's Edge), they did not foster a local community as lesser-resourced venues did. Additionally, they differ from the other venues discussed, with the exception of Shier's, in the absence of a clear musical focus. While those with a focus (such as singer-songwriter or traditional) included some amount of other musics, they were identified with one tradition or genre, and patronised by a community interested in that music. Certainly, it cannot be said that the genesis of a community rests upon a venue's genre focus, but it is notably correlated among the venues surveyed here. These venues also were more successful as businesses than were coffeehouses, and MacDonald posits that such business aims are counter to folk aspirations. As Derek Andrews comments, the end of Egerton's illustrates the business orientation of its owners, motivating a change in genre to focus on punk music as it became The Edge to keep the business running, rather than a change in business to keep folk music played.[258] Similarly, the push to sell more alcohol (which drives up profits) that forced Arthur McGregor's departure from Rooster's betrayed economic priorities ahead of artistic and cultural values.[259] This distinction in priorities is identified by Carl Grindstaff, who contrasted Change of Pace's focus on music, as a listening room, with the other local venues which served alcohol and did so during performance, focusing on food and beverage sale.[260] MacDonald identifies that the folk festival “works

256 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
257 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
258 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
259 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
260 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013

in a markedly different way than an entertainment activity which is run by economic capital."[261] Instead of economic motivations, MacDonald suggests that social capital is the driving force, making the endeavour part of the social economy, a concept that can be extended to folk music activity in other formats. Thus, those grounded in economic capital are out of place amongst the majority motivated and sustained by social and aesthetic value.

One venue that does not share the profile of others in the region is The First Church of Alice, run by Doug McArthur and Frank Wheeler in Kingston. At The First Church of Alice, McArthur recalls eclectic, improvised performances that would "seem strange now" but at the time "[weren't] even mention[ed] as an odd night."[262] Many local musicians, including McArthur and Wheeler, played there, as well as touring musicians who were playing elsewhere in Kingston, which at the time was typically Bitter Grounds, the campus coffeehouse.

Coexistence and competition within cities

Where there existed multiple venues in the same city, there were typically either different types of folk music performed at the different venues, or in cases where the music was of a similar vein, distinctions in the particular performers and in the overall tone of the venue. Arthur McGregor describes the Ottawa venues as ranging "from very community-oriented to performances," with Le Monde acting as the most locally-rooted coffeehouse, the Wasteland as somewhat higher-brow with more active hiring, Rooster's as benefiting from a larger budget and consistent audience, and Le Hibou as bringing in the biggest name acts.[263] Stylistic differences are reflected in the coexistence of Smale's Pace and the traditional music-focused Cuckoo's Nest in London, as well as Fiddler's Green amongst a number of other venues

261 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden," 323.
262 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
263 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013

in Toronto. Fiddler's Green welcomed singer-songwriters, but developed its audience around an identity of traditional British music, which sustained it as a venue. These distinctions were also felt within the broader region, as David Bradstreet comments, "I think there may have been a real difference between places like the Riverboat and a place like Smale's Pace... Riverboat had to stay in business...it was much more business-like at the Riverboat," a distinction that was reflected in the performers at each, since "there were a lot of American folk people [who] came through, probably much more than the Smale's Pace people."[264] Riverboat was also a site of informal social interactions for musicians, and thus not exclusively used as a performance space, but did not function as a central location for a musical community as Smale's Pace did. Campus coffeehouses also did not tend to provide competition with downtown, as the former attracted a very local student population while the latter catered to local residents as well as particularly interested students who would travel off-campus to hear music. This coexistence can be seen in London, between the Hub and Smale's Pace, in Hamilton between Poorboys and the Knight II, in Kingston between Bitter Grounds and the Scarecrow, and in Ottawa between Rooster's and the city's other venues. Additionally, in Kingston, The First Church of Alice's late night schedule meant that artists such as Bruce Cockburn would come to play sets there through the night after playing their Bitter Grounds show.[265] Thus, it operated within the local folk community and engaged in the regional scene through picking up musicians already selected by another venue, who themselves sought out an alternative performance experience. Through its scheduling, it also operated in positive coexistence with the other venues in town, themselves already distinct in booking focus.

Without these differences, greater competition did arise. The Knight II, though booking more jazz musicians, had an otherwise similar musical focus to Campbell's. As Paul Campbell recounts, "there was competition. ... [Bill Powell] and I didn't always see eye-to-eye. Even though Powell "was always talking like there was room for everyone," Campbell sensed that Powell perceived rivalry

264 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
265 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013

between the two venues.[266]

In Toronto, Derek Andrews notes that there was some “talent poaching” between Egerton's and the Groaning Board, and recalls Watson and Reynolds, a popular act at Egerton's, going over to the Groaning Board.[267] Andrews describes the tone of the two venues, finding that the Groaning Board's approach “was similarly kind of a downtown, rootsy hippie environment where it was a certain lifestyle that you adhere to, that was where you'd feel comfortable going for your night out. I think Groaning Board had a little more formality, a little more show biz in the presentation.”[268] But Andrews also found that acts could successfully balance playing different venues, provided they did not perform at either too often.[269] Toronto's larger population likely facilitated this, where Hamilton's comparably smaller crowd would be split between two venues. In London, too, the problems arising from a limited audience base and competing venues such as the bar The Firehall are recalled by Carl Grindstaff:

> I can remember when we talked about people playing, the basic arrangement was is that you couldn't play too close together, 'cause you wouldn't get people come see you. So at most people would play say twice a year. And if you played at another place in town, that wouldn't work. So there was a little tension at that, but people worked it out. The basic guys, now Doug did play on his own, and Willie would play on his own at different places, but by and large, Brent and David Essig, they would only play the club.[270]

The size of a city's folk audience certainly contributes to the feasibility of multiple, similarly-focused venues coexisting; Calgary stands out on the national scene having previously hosted enough coffeehouses for there to be tours within the city, and still acting as home to five folk venues.

In addition to these venues, a substantial number of smaller and/or short-lived venues populated the region. These include The Slaughterhouse in Aberfoyle, featuring performers including Rick Taylor, Billie Hughes, George Taros, and David James Bowen; Irene's Goodnight coffeehouse on the edge of Markham, co-hosted by Jerome Jarvis of Perth County Conspiracy (dne), Susan Cogan, and David Rea,

266 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013
267 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
268 Ibid.
269 Ibid.
270 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013

with performers including Bruce Palmer, Luke Gibson, Paul Langille, Barbara Duggan, The "Eat More Feelgood Memorial Stringband," D'Arcy Wickham, and Bonny Bradley. Other venues were found in a church hall in Ingersoll, Essex County, St. Thomas, Oshawa, Peterborough, Barrie, Belleville, Niagara Falls, Brampton, Brantford, Ancaster, and Orillia.[271]

These smaller venues allowed musicians to maintain active performance schedules, offering many places to play within short driving distance. Without them, there may have existed certain central coffeehouses, but those alone likely could not have supported the development of the number of active musicians found in this scene.

Festivals expanding folk music, offering new structures and collaborations

With the emergence of festivals in the mid-1970s as a significant part of folk music activity, the range of musics incorporated in the scene grew substantially. This section traces the roots of folk festivals in southern Ontario, exploring their musical profiles and structures, as well as the links between the various events. Overall, these festivals furthered the association of singer-songwriters with folk music, while including a greater variety of other musical styles and traditions.

Any discussion of folk festivals in Ontario must pay significant attention to the role of Estelle Klein with the Mariposa Folk Festival. Almost without exception, she is cited as being centrally influential in establishing the nature of festivals and in including a range of traditions under the folk umbrella. Amongst Ontario musicians and festival organisers, her contribution most remarked upon is the introduction of workshops. Under Klein's supervision, workshops were carefully constructed with themes that she discussed with each participating musician, who had themselves been thoughtfully

271 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012; Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013; Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013; Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013; Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013

selected. The workshops served to bring together musicians who may otherwise never have played together, and to create music that drew on the musicians' skills but pushed them into new realms. After Klein established the tone of Mariposa, other festival organisers drew on this as a model, evidenced in the programming of festivals that began in the 1970s. Klein's influence has been recognised in the annual award named in her honour given to individuals who contribute to the folk music community. Mitch Podolak, though not based in Ontario, also became a significant figure for Ontario folk musicians for his role in the Winnipeg Folk Festival. Podolak's Trotskyist training influenced his approach to the festival, as MacDonald discusses, setting a tone of active involvement by volunteers and others involved in producing the festival.[272]

Festivals in southern Ontario largely emerged from the same communities that hosted and attended the local coffeehouses and clubs. Yet Klein's model of including world music and traditional players from the southern United States influenced many of these endeavours. Home County in London, which began in 1974, was one of the earlier to start of these festivals, reflected in Alistair Brown's comment that it is "one of the granddaddies of festivaldom in Canada."[273] It was initiated by Walter Grasser and John Smale (depending on which account is believed) with collaboration from people of various sectors of the city. A number of other festivals which began soon after drew upon the Home County model for their own design and programming. This linkage, which went beyond inspiration to hiring individuals who designed Home County as consultants for the other festivals, created a common base among Ontario festivals. Owen Sound's Summerfolk, started by brothers Tim and John Harrison along with the Grey-Bruce Arts Council in 1975, Hamilton's Festival of Friends, started by Bill and Lynne Powell, and Ottawa's Festival of the Folks are three such festivals.[274]

Home County focused on Canadian acoustic folk and roots music, drawing in bluegrass and

272 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden," 98-101.
273 Alistair Brown, "Home County Folk Festival," *Canadian Folk Music* 16 (3) (1982): 9.
274 "Summerfolk History," accessed June 12 2013, http://summerfolk.org/history/

acoustic blues as well as singer-songwriters, and this mixture, as Alistair Brown comments, "is trying to break down barriers in people's minds between different types of folk music by showing the relationship between a common experience and the music that arises from it."[275] The festival's mandate is outlined in the Home County Folk League's incorporation documents, dating from weeks prior to the first festival, and begins with its musical focus stated as being: "(a) TO promote interest in, and to develop Canadian folk music; TO provide improved opportunities for the development of Canadian musicians; (c) TO provide facilities for the presentation of Canadian folk music."[276] The Festival of Friends and Festival of the Folks followed similar mandates. The statement from the Hamilton-Wentworth Creative Arts board regarding the Festival of Friends' content makes its intention to support Canadian artists clear: "Festival of Friends is a showcase of Canadian talent. Talent which, given the support of every one of us, would make a great impact on the international scene."[277] The Festival of Friends also incorporated a greater range of musics, including singer-songwriters, country, bluegrass, blues, British traditional, swing, Acadian, Metis fiddling, African drumming, and south American music. Canadian poetry, as well as miming, clowns, and dancing were also featured. Speaking to this broader scope, the Creative Arts statement notes, "We hesitate to label it 'folk' because the music covers a wide range of the medium—traditional to contemporary, classical to jazz, with a little rock thrown in for good measure."[278] Tim Harrison, Summerfolk's first artistic director, similarly viewed folk music as music of all people, and thus as encompassing a wide range of styles and traditions that he sought to represent in the festival.[279]

The first year of Home County featured workshops focused on guitar, banjo, mandolin, and fiddle, led by musicians David Bradstreet, Paul Hurdle, the Perth County Conspiracy, and John P. Allen

275 Alistair Brown, "Home County Folk Festival," *Canadian Folk Music* 16 (3) (1982): 10.
276 Founding documents, Home County Folk Festival, 1974.
277 Festival of Friends program, 1976, 3.
278 Festival of Friends program, 1976, 3.
279 "Summerfolk History," accessed June 12 2013, http://summerfolk.org/history/

respectively. Other performers included Lisa Garber, Stan Rogers, Willie P. Bennett, the Good Brothers, and the Dixie Flyers.[280] Jackie Washington became the festival's "iconic closer"[281] (and would often remark, accurately, "They love me in London"). When Alistair Brown served as artistic director a few years later, the musical emphasis accordingly shifted to traditional players, illustrating the substantial role of the director's musical focus and interests in composing the festival. Summerfolk's first year included similar performers, such as the Original Sloth Band, David Wiffen, Shirley Eikhard, and Willie P. Bennett, with Stan Rogers, David Amram, Bruce Cockburn, and Don MacLean also playing in its early years.[282] Many performers became regulars at the festival, particularly the Friends of Fiddler's Green, who performed the first eleven years it was running.[283]

The Festival of Friends programming in its first year also reflects these shared intentions; the closing acts in this year were The Good Brothers, Sylvia Tyson, and the Jesse Winchester Band, and workshops included "The Canadian as Songwriter," "The Jug Band & Modern Man," "Canadian Dreams," "Songs of French Canada," and "Country Showdown." Additionally, a local movie theatre, the Dollar-Fifty Delta, partnered with the festival to screen related films and host late-night marathon performances, with appearances by musicians including Koumantaros, David Woodhead, and Jerome Jarvis.[284] A complete list of performers from the festival's first year can be found in Appendix 2. Throughout the festival's decades under the direction of Bill and Lynne Powell, Canadian musicians were emphasised, and comprised the majority of performers, though artists from other countries also performed. The Festival of the Folks in Ottawa, which only lasted three seasons, included folk and jazz music, and also incorporated arts and crafts, mime, and theatre.[285] Its lineup included many of those

280 James Reaney, "My London: For its 40th anniversary, the folk and art festival has a tribute up its sleeve but needs a bit of help," *The London Free Press*, June 26, 2013, accessed July 9, 2013, http://www.lfpress.com/2013/06/26/my-london-for-its-40th-anniversary-the-folk-and-art-festival-has-a-tribute-up-its-sleeve-but-needs-a-bit-of-help

281 James Reaney, "40! Home County milestone headlines red-hot July," *The London Free Press*, January 18, 2013, accessed July 9, 2013, http://www.lfpress.com/2013/01/18/40-home-county-milestone-headlines-red-hot-july

282 Ibid.

283 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013

284 Festival of Friends program, 1976, 14.

285 Annette Snowdon-Beeton, "Festival for the Folks site Brewer Park," *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 5, 1976, p. 42, accessed

heard at Home County and the Festival of Friends, in its first year including The Original Sloth Band, Colleen Peterson, David Wiffen, Ian Tamblyn, Robert Paquette, John Allan Cameron, Christopher Kearney, and Shari Ulrich.[286]

Thus, in the festivals that started in this time period in Ontario, there was a largely shared musical profile extending from London to Ottawa that reflected the booking preferences of the Canadian singer-songwriter focused coffeehouses and extended it to include a greater number of traditional players as well as touring acts, and increasingly world music as well. In sharing a general approach to booking, these festivals, many of which are still running annually, created a network of summer festivals through which musicians could play multiple stops, or if fortunate, tour throughout.

In addition to these annual festivals, some one-off events were held as well, not necessarily taking the same musical approach. One early effort to host a festival was Sarnia's festival at Canatair Park in 1971 undertaken by Arthur McGregor.[287] Aberfoyle's Down to Earth festival in 1976 drew musicians, poets, and artisans together with sustainable living workshops, in a much more similar vein to the culture MacDonald discusses in west coast festivals tied to “back to the land” movements. In a more pluralistic-minded effort reflecting Mariposa more than the other Ontario festivals, York University's Glendon College held a “Festival of Nations” in 1978 organised primarily by students and alumni, taking a broader view of the country's music and culture than was common. This event highlighted Indigenous, French, and English artists (musical, visual, and theatrical), described by the promoters as representing “Canada's three predominant cultures.”[288] Performers at this event included Buffy St. Marie, Barde, Brent Titcomb, Glenn Copeland, Marie-Lynn Hammond, Colleen Peterson, Michael Hasek, The Original Sloth Band, Joe Hall, Sneezy Waters, and Ron Nigrini.[289] Mariposa's

July 10, 2013, http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2194&dat=19760605&id=yqIyAAAAIBAJ&sjid=tO0FAAAAIBAJ&pg=4098,2334087

286 Ibid.; “Ottawa's Festival for the Folks,” accessed July 10, 2013, http://www.royforbes.ca/Ottawa-1976-2.html

287 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013

288 *York University Bulletin*, Thursday June 15-Monday June 19, 1978, 9.

289 Ibid.

intention of including English and French Canadian, as well as Indigenous (taking one year as an example, Kanien'keha'ka, Anishinabe, Cree, Abenaki, Gitxsan, and Dakota) is reflected in the book compiled of the 1975 festival, which includes written contributions from performers of these backgrounds, as well as reflecting Mariposa's global view in the inclusion of African musicians and traditional players from the American south.[290]

Overall, these festivals reinforced the association of folk music with Canadian singer-songwriters and traditions of blues, bluegrass, and British music, with seasonal incorporation of traditions from other countries into the musical—but not social—enactment of folk.

Venues in the physical: ambiance and operation

In combination with the musical identity of these venues, their physical incarnation and operation is an influential facet of their role in role in folk music community and scene. Of the categories of venue identified by Kronenburg—adopted, adapted, and dedicated—most venues in southern Ontario were spaces adapted for performance. The transformations undertaken, and the efforts to do so, gave a particular character to venues while producing affiliations with the space and others involved in its production. The process of adaptation as Kronenburg discusses requires investment in the space to create necessary structures, such as stage, lighting, sound, and seating, rendering a space suitable for performance. But the examples Kronenburg cites are primarily those where funds were available to seamlessly construct these components. In the folk scene, however, such funds were typically unavailable to venue operators, who had to improvise alternative solutions. The results of this process led to the particularities of venues living on in the memories of participants. Cohen comments upon the nature of memory of venues, drawn from her work with Liverpool-based musicians, that some venues

290 Bill Usher and Linda Page-Harpa, eds, *"For what time I am in this world": Stories from Mariposa* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1977)

"were highly valued and mythologised for the intensity of experience they offered, and their role in developing a sense of personal identity and heritage for the musicians and audience members who frequented them, as well as for particular musical styles and scenes. Venues were also associated with visceral memories of particular performance events and of sticky carpets, strange smells, unusual decor and a distinctive layout and acoustics."[291] Certain venues in southern Ontario generated such recollections, while others were less distinctive points along a route. Recollections of the butterscotch squares of Smale's Pace, the floor cushions of Campbell's, and the suspended cauldron of the Slaughterhouse speak to the type of visceral memory Cohen identifies, while recollections of particular performances or other musical encounters are woven into the mythology of a venue.

In adapting spaces, thrift was necessary given the limited means of those undertaking to transform a building into a music venue. As such, creative solutions, community involvement, and occasionally non-traditional objects were employed in composing the space. The physical composition of a venue also informs broader sensibilities about its character, particularly with regard to authenticity. The ways in which spaces were adapted contribute to their identities as folk venues, as their decor and the process of transforming and operating them align with indices of authenticity.

Smale's Pace, Campbell's, and Shier's exemplify the process of adaptation through thrift. Smale's Pace transformed a brick-interior building on Clarence St. in downtown London that had been the first ambulance garage in the city, and later a Bell Telephone repair garage. The former garage doors were replaced with large windows, and an addition was built, constructed with the help of Stan Rogers and his father Al, a bricklayer. The stage was also built with the company of Rogers, who, unsatisfied with the original one, declared "we're gonna BUILDAGODDAMNSTAGETHAT'SNOTGONNAMOVE," as Smale recalls, and this was duly constructed so it would withstand Rogers' stomping during performance.[292] Seating was arranged with

291 Cohen, "Live music and urban landscape," 595.
292 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013

farmhouse chairs bought cheaply at an auction house, with sewing machine bases as table bases, and salvaged marble slabs for table tops. As Dave Bradstreet remembers, "there was all kinds of stuff hanging on the walls: old pictures, an old saw, candles and beads and mattresses on the floor etc. and some very relaxed folks hanging out drinking coffee, smoking cigarettes (ah) and solving the world's problems with spirited conversation."[293] The repurposed objects used as furniture, farmhouse chairs, and "homey" natural food marked the venue's difference from a formal concert venue; its construction through thrift and creativity instead reflects values associated with folk culture, and the involvement of the Rogers tied it to the local folk music community even before performances were held. When Carl and Annie Grindstaff took over the venue and re-opened it nearby on Talbot St., the Smale's Pace furnishings were preserved. While maintaining its focus as a listening room for folk music, the culture was somewhat different, as Carl Grindstaff reflects, "the original coffeehouse and all that, it was a, you know, hippie, long-haired, beard, free love, lots of dope smoking, had all that reputation and it was probably pretty well-deserved. Then when we got it, we went upstairs and stared to have a little different version of it that wanted to really focus everything on the music. ... And so we changed the name to Change of Pace, and it became a lot more formal."[294] Initially, some crowds were intimidated by the dark stairway, so as Annie Grindstaff recalls, they put up a yellow awning to make it more inviting in its appearance. In retaining the furnishings from Smale's, Change of Pace kept a folk aesthetic, but without the process of creative salvaging to accomplish this. Thus, it was able to reflect the more formal tone that Carl Grindstaff indicates was its intention while still remaining a vital centre for local folk music.[295]

Campbell's, which opened on Hamilton's York Boulevard near Locke Street in 1972, took an even simpler approach; its seating arrangements consisted of cushions obtained from thrift stores, an

293 David Bradstreet, "There's No Place Like Home," retrieved from http://www.dougmcarthur.ca/smales/ARTICLES.html#Home
294 Interview with Carl and Annie Grindstaff, August 5, 2013
295 Ibid.

idea taken from Hamilton's Scene After Scene coffeehouse.[296] It took up residence in a storefront building with a performance space on the ground floor and a three-bedroom apartment above. This aesthetic led Shawn O'Halloran to comment, "Campbell's was really the nicest place because it was old and funky. It was just an old house but it had the wood stove and it had the cushions on the floor," continuing to describe it as being "a classic folk club."[297] Shier's, which Ken Whiteley opened in North York in the autumn of 1972, made its home in an old school portable at 2955 Don Mills Rd. W., offered by the director of a local youth centre, who used another for the centre's activities. A poster for the venue describes it as "a non-profit folk music club, open to all, run in conjunction with N.Y. Parks & Rec."[298] The chairs were bought for fifty cents each at a bar on Jarvis Street, and the space was completed with the construction of a stage and the fabrication of stage lights in fruit juice cans. The low-budget nature of the space did prove problematic on some occasions, such as when water dripped from the ceiling into a can next to Leon Redbone as he performed.[299] More than other venues in the region, Shier's demonstrated adaptation of space, and the determination to maintain a venue even if these adaptations fell short of what would be desired.

Thrift extended even to heating of the venues. In Smale's Pace, there was a gas heating unit that hung above the stage, the cost of a furnace out of the question. But, as Smale describes, "it was too loud to have on while musicians were on stage, so we'd shut it off when the musician went on stage, and if it was a really cold night you couldn't wait for them to finish."[300] This necessitated a change in the models of sets for the winter months. Eventually, baseboard heaters were installed. Campbell's was heated by a wood fire stove, again adding to a folk sensibility, particularly one tied to rural culture. Of this system, Paul Campbell recalls, "we were probably completely under code in every department, but

296 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013
297 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
298 Poster from Shier's, Jackie Washington fonds, Box 4
299 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
300 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013

we never had a problem, never had anybody from the city come and visit the place."[301]

These instances of thrift and making do with imperfect solutions marked the venues as "folk" in their physical nature. In this way, they were disposed to function as hubs of folk music community in ways that simply adopted or occasional venues of folk music were not.

Some venues extended their reach into the community by also operating as restaurants serving lunch and in some cases dinner, while others opted for simpler provisions. The Scarecrow and Smale's/Change of Pace both operated kitchens. The Scarecrow included a restaurant which local reporter Wayne Grady postulates must have been the first vegetarian restaurant in the town.[302] Lunches at Smale's were popular, primarily within the local business community, thus attracting different people to the venue than those who attended performances. Ken Palmer recollects, "it was a unique spot, and people were nice, and it wasn't that expensive, and they had peanut butter and banana sandwiches, brown sugar instead of white sugar, and stuff like that. And they made all their own food pretty much."[303] During the venue's first year, the front of the space also held a general store where hand-crafted goods by local artisans were sold on commission, though the popularity of the venue motivated a shift away from this model to accommodate extra seating.[304] At Campbell's, rather than incorporating a kitchen as many other venues did, food arrangements were kept simple; as Paul Campbell recalls, "Lia [Hayes] or somebody would bake like forty-eight muffins Saturday evening, bring them down, and make an urn of coffee, that was basically it."[305] But Campbell's attracted more people to its community through hosting small dinners with the performing musicians in the upstairs apartment. Additionally, it offered a living space for performing musicians to stay at afterwards, including Willie P. Bennett and Leon Redbone, the latter as Ken Puley (who lived in the apartment) recollects, "when he stayed over, he would just sit, like, other people would crash on the floor, drunk, and he would just stay

301 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013
302 Reaney, "The Five-Ring Circus"
303 Interview with Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
304 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
305 Interview with Paul Campbell, February 15, 2013

sitting up in a chair all night long."[306] A resident jug band also formed of musicians living above and otherwise affiliated with the club, involving Steve and Lia Hayes, Ken Puley, Tony Wilkinson, and Al Jones.[307] These functions of community meals, the involvement of those living the apartment, and the sleeping space it afforded—allowed by the venue being created in a storefront with living quarters—resulted in it becoming a community space for those involved with folk music.

Other venues imparted a folk sensibility through similar aspects of design, and in some cases through location. The First Church of Alice, run by Doug McArthur and Frank Wheeler in Kingston "was upstairs on Princess Street, and it had a giant paper mache mushroom, and you played underneath the mushroom. So you can see what kind of a place that was [laughs]. And I slept on a couch at one end, and [Frank] slept, there was kind of a ledge over the door, and he had a little bedroom up there."[308] Another venue with memorable decorations was the Slaughterhouse in Aberfoyle, which featured a cauldron suspended from the ceiling, sometimes occupied by the resident dog. In terms of location, Fiddler's Green was housed in a condemned building on Eglinton Avenue, which is a major artery of the city, though as Grit Laskin describes, the building was nonetheless difficult to find, tucked away behind a parking lot. Despite this, it frequently filled its approximately 120-person capacity, and operated on a first-come first-served basis that often saw people turned away at the door, even if they had travelled from the States for a concert.[309] Its location, tucked out of view, and in a building which being condemned perhaps suggested a tinge of transgression, set it apart from mainstream venues. In these ways, the adaptations of these venues are those that aligned them with hippie or alternative cultures, which were strongly connected to folk music culture even after the close of the 1960s, as MacDonald affirms.[310]

Some venues, particularly those with larger budgets, did not conform to these tendencies of folk

306 Interview with Ken Puley, June 7, 2013
307 Ibid.
308 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
309 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
310 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden," 301.

aesthetic. These venues, such as The Razor's Edge in Kingston, Egerton's in Toronto, and Rooster's in Ottawa, were geared more specifically towards the concert environment. Egerton's operated a restaurant as well as a performance venue, and the building was divided into two rooms, one with full view of the stage, the other a dining room where people could still hear the music but could not see the performer.[311] Egerton's inclusion of a dining room suited it to a night out for groups and couples, making it a social destination beyond the draw of the music. It was also a drinking room, which during happy hour sold jugs of draught for ninety-nine cents, catering to the student community. Despite "[coming] to the edge of impropriety" with that practice, Egerton's was a dining room, not a tavern, so as Derek Andrews describes, "[it was] a restaurant with a live music policy, and that made us legitimate, that made us okay in the eyes of the upper echelons, the city fathers, the politicians, the police."[312] Rooster's more formal structure issued from its affiliation with the university, though Arthur McGregor, operating the venue, maintained its tone as a listening room, insisting that the audience did not talk during performances. This approach led to McGregor's departure in 1975 or '76, though, as he relates: "I refused to sell draught beer at Rooster's, I sold a couple of fancy liqueurs, a couple of wines at the time...and some nice bottled beer. And they eventually forced me, and I didn't want to do it, so it was kind of, quit, fired, time to move on, Arthur."[313] While the venue did not close at this point, its tone changed, moving it away from the coffeehouse atmosphere that had been cultivated in its initial years.[314]

These three venues were characterised by a more formal structure, adapted with greater means to be a concert space, and hosted a larger proportion of touring artists with established reputations. In design as well as booking, they were a step removed from the locally-based communitarian nature of the other venues, though still served as important nodes in the regional folk music scene.

311 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
312 Ibid.
313 Interview with Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
314 Ibid.

In addition to these sustained venues, folk music performance occurred in temporary venues, adapted for one-time or occasional use, as well as in some dedicated performance spaces that were used for a range of genres. Within small and large cities, folk nights were often held at campuses and churches. Some of these became regular occasions, while others were one-off events. Paul Langille describes the Deacon Coffeehouse in the back of Saint John's church on Locke Street in Hamilton:

> they had a garage in the back and it had a dirt floor, and that's where a lot of the folk types and solo guitar players would play there. ... And it was just basically to keep the criminals off the street, the kids basically off the street. A place to go for coffee and pop. ... But there's a lot of players that played there, and it was just, they'd set you up in the corner, no mics or anything...it was like a community drop-in centre set up by the minister.[315]

As is clear in Langille's description, the adaptation to make a venue out of a church space was minimal. The aesthetic of folk music meant that this was possible, since acoustic instruments were the norm; in a small space, the performer could be heard unamplified by all in the audience.

Other occasional venues included theatres and stages which also hosted different music genres, such as The Rathskellar at McMaster University as well as Mohawk College in Hamilton, Alumni Hall at the University of Western Ontario in London, Glendon College at York University in Toronto, and community colleges in Barrie and Lindsay.[316] High schools often held folk nights in auditoriums, and musicians such as Shawn O'Halloran played many of these events.[317] In all cases, these dedicated spaces were not solely for folk performance; the scene was not substantial enough to fill large halls on a regular basis for folk music. As such, these venues did not become part of the folk scene themselves. Nonetheless, they allowed for occasional large audiences and/or assured income for the performing musicians, fulfilling an important function for folk music in the region.

Constructing the venue at the festival: Mobile, temporary spaces

315 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013
316 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
317 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013

Kronenburg's venue types include mobile spaces, such as those constructed for particular set designs on touring shows. Mobile spaces are also characteristic of summer festivals, which took place predominantly in public parks. In many cases, this resulted in a combination of temporary infrastructure and permanent facilities, as the parks used typically included a bandshell, while side-stages and other areas would be assembled for the duration of the festival. Festival infrastructure is in some cases accumulated from year to year, creating permanent features, a tendency MacDonald identifies, while some festivals leave almost no trace of their presence. These tendencies and the structures created for a number of Ontario festivals will be discussed in this section.

Public parks were used as the sites for many festivals. Typically, these spaces are accessible to large numbers of people. But their suitability to become venues for folk music was envisaged by festival organisers drawing on various sources of inspiration and motivations. For Home County, while Mariposa was an inspiration, the initial seeds of the idea of having music in the park were found elsewhere; Walter Grasser recalls, "the idea came basically from a classical music concert that we have in the park as well. ... And I thought, well, it doesn't have to be chamber music, it can be folk music, right. Mariposa had been doing it for years, successfully, so why not go that way?"[318] This veteran festival informed the layout of the park for Home County, as John Smale notes, "[Mariposa] was sort of the template for having these different stages around the park, and with workshops and with concerts in the evening and all that."[319]

In addition to music, Home County features a large arts and crafts component, and many local artisans sell their creations there. This concept is also found in Mariposa, but the proportion of arts and crafts was increased at Home County, and distributed throughout the festival grounds. Walter Grasser indicated a direct benefit of the arts and crafts vendors: "The money coming in. They basically paid for

318 Interview with Walter Grasser, August 5, 2013
319 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013

their spot. ...that income then was, helped with the whole picture."[320] This economic relationship supports the permanence of the festival, allowing funds for it to be repeated in subsequent years. Home County's layout, which reflects notions of interaction between musicians and artists through pathways from stage to stage lined by arts and crafts vendors, has been maintained over its four decades of existence. The choice of Victoria Park, too, facilitates public attendance; it is centrally located in the city, allowing downtown residents to walk to it, and as it is a free festival, attendees can come and go while they are downtown without pre-planning or needing to pay to attend. This also reduces the amount of work necessary to transform the park, since it does not have to be fenced off to prevent entrance. The Festival of Friends took a similar approach to transforming a public park, undoubtedly influenced by Home County as the Smales were involved in its planning. Like London's Victoria Park, the sprawling Gage Park was left unfenced to allow free admission to the festival, attracting neighbourhood residents as well as those who drove to attend. This park is in the east end of the city, rather than downtown, but is still accessible by transit and surrounded by residential neighbourhoods. Gage Park's accessibility was a key feature in Bill Powell's vision for the festival, since local residents would easily be able to get to the site.[321] Within the park, the various stages and areas shared participants; some musicians who performed on the main stage also appeared at the children's area, such as musician Glenn Copeland who at the festival also told stories for children, as captured in Jim Aquila's film, and mimes would perform to the inspiration of the musicians on stage.

The folk music community was also extended through the process of establishing temporary venues for these festivals. The Festival of Friends led to ongoing relationships with providers of temporary infrastructure and other services.[322] In its first year, another element of the festival was tied in off-site; in partnership with the nearby Dollar-Fifty Delta movie theatre, Canadian films were

320 Interview with Walter Grasser, August 5, 2013
321 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
322 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013

screened free of charge throughout the festival. Included in the line-up was "Jug Band Music: A Film About the Original Sloth Band."[323] This theatre also played host to "Delta Till Dawn," shows that ran from midnight until dawn on the Friday and Saturday nights of the festival. Through this partnership, the festival activity extended beyond the bounds of the park. With respect to Home County, Ken Palmer recollects, "it was [Smale's] idea for the folk festival, and Walter was sort of his kind of partner in on it, and there was a couple of other guys...one guy worked at the newspaper, and another guy worked at the TV station" (and while Palmer recalls the involvement of both Grasser and Smale, by Grasser's account, Smale was not active in this process, though Smale recalls his participation).[324] The occupations of these latter two contributors was not coincidental; Smale describes his vision for building the festival: "What I wanted to do was get one person from each sort of segment of life out there, so one guy was from the newspaper, one guy was from the radio station, one guy was from the television station, one guy was, well, Walter Grasser who was booking entertainment for the university...Ken Palmer from a retail record store, and another person. So we had about ten people that brainstormed how to get the support from the city to put the first festival on in the park."[325] The work of a handful of volunteers alongside the board of directors ensured that the entire park was cleaned up by the Monday morning, restored to its pre-festival condition, paving the way for future use of the park for festivals.[326] These efforts laid a structure for subsequent iterations of the festival, so the entire process did not have to be redone each year.

The layout of these festivals also persisted for a considerable length of time. In the case of the Festival of Friends, while the number of side stages fluctuated, its general layout was kept for the festival's quarter century under the Powells' direction, and in the case of Home County, its general layout is still employed. This reflects the drive towards permanence that MacDonald discuss with

323 Festival of Friends program, 1976, 13, 15.
324 Interview with Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
325 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
326 Interview with Walter Grasser, August 5, 2013

respect to the festival. Even so, in the case of the Festival of Friends, simply maintaining the existence of the festival proved challenging, as the city would consistently threaten to cut funding for the event, which as Lynne Powell recalls, meant that Bill would go to the media each spring and rally support, pressuring the city to continue sponsoring the event.[327] This recurring challenge illustrates the obstacles particular to mobile venues and occasional events.

Blue Skies, operating on privately-owned land, did not have the same obstacles to obtaining space, but also lacked the infrastructure such as a bandshell that other festival sites had. As Brent Titcomb describes, "you live there, so there's a lot that has to go on for 1200 people to live and keep themselves clean and have proper sanitation, where to eat and all that's required, it has to be very well organised, and it is VERY well organised."[328] In the absence of permanent structures, and with a participatory, communitarian orientation, festival attendees—musicians and audience members alike—are asked each year to offer their suggestions for the next event, which are all discussed by the organising committee.[329] Through this process, aspects are modified and improved based on the wishes and needs articulated by participants. In this way, it is more open to change than festivals structured by a director or even a board without this input, though a considerable amount of the festival's operations and structure appear to be maintained year to year, presumably because they are serving the festival community well as they are. As Titcomb expresses, "so after being there what, 35 years? They've been fine-tuning this thing. It just gets more like a fine-tuned instrument."[330]

These long-running festivals all demonstrate a tendency to create structures in their first year that are re-created, with minor adjustments, in the years that follow. MacDonald discusses the drive toward permanence characteristic of the "festival-machine," that despite the ephemeral nature of the event, it spurs efforts towards concretisation for its cyclic repetition.[331] While MacDonald focuses on

327 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013
328 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
329 Ibid.
330 Ibid.
331 MacDonald, "Back to the Garden," 121-124.

the aggregation of permanent physical infrastructure, he also mentions social architecture. These festivals exhibit permanence in their planning and structure, despite the absence of physical structures built in the parks that host them, in this way working towards stability of social architecture. The case of Blue Skies, whose overall structure has been tweaked but not overhauled by participants, is reflected in MacDonald's argument that "the ephemeral performance of structure creates an experience and therefore a habit of thinking," so that "experimental structures, if they prove to be useful, may take on permanence."[332]

One instance of a mobile venue more akin to those Kronenburg discusses with respect to band tours, that travels with the band and is constructed each night, is found with Perth County Conspiracy. Generally, folk acts emphasised the musical content of performance, the visual content addressed by the physical venue as discussed above. PCC's affiliation with theatre, however, informed their attention to staging. This dynamic and their resulting set-up is described in detail by David Woodhead:

> because of the whole Stratford connection, there was a feeling of awareness of things like lighting during a show, I mean in a pure folk world, like who cares, lighting, as long as it's got some mood to it, some chianti bottles on the tables with candles stuck in them, that kind of thing, that's sort of one thing, but what Perth County did, was they took theatre lighting and used it on gigs. So you'd have...the homemade lighting system... It was made of galvanized steel poles in sort of a triangle...about ceiling height. No matter where we played, be it Massey Hall or whatever, we'd take this lighting system. Well obviously not a coffeehouse gig 'cause, Perth County wasn't a coffeehouse act, right, Perth County was more of a concert act, which is another thing that sort of sets them apart, they became able to use these kind of theatrical technologies. So, hanging from the steel pipes were tomato juice cans with light bulbs inside them, all plugged in through this rat's nest of extension chords, and I mean those brown extension chords, going back to this thing, controller pack, and then there was a what we call a six pack, which was like six of those big rheostats at the back... And, so you had this, again like radically homemade but theatrically important thing. ...[W]e had the Perth County banner...all embroidered...like a quilt, but with all different shapes and colours on it, and that would be hung at the back, on the back pole of the 3 poles, and there would be a special light on that. And then you had a special light on the percussionist, on his little riser, and you had lights for the front people at their microphone positions. And so you could fade people in and out. I mean this is like common place for a lot of rock bands now, and I suppose it was then too, with certain people, but that was the interaction, like that's what really set them apart.[333]

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332 Ibid., 129.
333 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013

As Woodhead identifies, this type of staging was foreign to the folk scene, and not suited to coffeehouses (although PCC made their regular home at the Black Swan coffeehouse in Stratford). Indeed, as Woodhead alludes to, rather than an initiative of folk musicians towards a more elaborate set-up, this was the result of cross-pollination with theatre, the connection between folk music, poetry, and theatre perhaps being the more intentional move of certain folk musicians, itself rather unique within the genre. Comparable mobile stage set-ups are not seen in other folk acts, whose typical venues —small coffeehouses—are not physically amenable to such redesign even if it were desired. Further, such production of space and environment would likely be perceived as counter to the "folkness" of coffeehouses. PCC achieved an interesting mixture in this regard of including a stage set-up, more akin to polished rock acts as Woodhead notes, but with the home-made, repurposed materials characteristic of the folk aesthetic. In this way, they did not alienate themselves from the scene, finding instead a way to merge the two aesthetics.

Routes through the folk scene: navigating paths through venues

Once these venues and festivals were established, they outlined patterns of movement for musicians within and between cities, shaped by genre, demand, availability of time, and transportation. Laing outlines basic patterns of motion for performing musicians, identifying the residency, circuit, and tour. These patterns and the shape they take, Laing argues, is influenced significantly by the musicians' genre and status. Residencies, depending upon the genre, can mark either substantial success or necessity of an apprentice. Circuits are aligned with particular genres, each including a string of venues affiliated with the individual type of music.[334] Laing distinguishes between contours of touring routes; acts who can draw a larger audience embark upon tours of major cities, while those appealing to

334 Laing, "Gigographies," 198.

smaller, niche crowds visit smaller towns, in England distributions which map onto centripetal and centrifugal patterns respectively.[335] The centripetal/centrifugal framework does not translate to southern Ontario, as large cities and small towns are all clustered along the corridor from Windsor to Ottawa. Nevertheless, distinctions between large venues, found in major cities, and smaller clubs, found in both cities and towns, remain.

Between coffeehouses, clubs, campus concerts, and high school folk nights, there were many performance opportunities for folk musicians, geographically distributed throughout the region of southern Ontario. Laing found that compared to other genres, folk performers demonstrate a greater deal of mobility, afforded by their typically minimal musical set-up often consisting of a sole guitar.[336] Many musicians in Ontario did perform solo with just a guitar for accompaniment, though many others performed with bands and/or more cumbersome, complicated equipment including amplifiers, or even stage set-ups. It is important to note the distinction between folk musicians and musicians who performed in the folk scene, for while these categories contain significant overlap, they are not the same, as the latter includes musicians who do not identify with the folk idiom but nonetheless participated in and feel part of the folk scene. These players may also engage with blues or jazz scenes, making their touring patterns more complicated than a set of venues within the folk scene. Thus, a performance map of blues- or jazz-focused musicians who participated in the folk scene would contain nodes not found in a folk musician's route. While these are outside of the scope of this study, they are significant divergences that should be noted, revealing the permeability of the folk scene.

The scene as a whole welcomed a range of performers and styles, making it feasible for performers to arrive in new places and set up a performance opportunity, if only in a church basement. Thus, for some musicians, their performances would only be at their local coffeehouse. Others travelled within the region, while some would perform across the country. Few artists in the region embarked on

335 Ibid., 206.
336 Ibid., 203.

tours in the manner that Laing discusses, but those who had achieved greater recognition, including Stan Rogers, Bruce Cockburn, and Murray McLachlan, did, returning occasionally to play smaller clubs they remained connected to.

To embark on a tour of major cities essentially required playing in the United States as well, and thus cultivating a following in that market, a task that typically required the support of a major record label, a rare occurrence for folk musicians at that time. Circuits did take some south of the border, including David Bradstreet, who was able to play on the college campus circuit.[337] A campus circuit also existed in Ontario and into western Quebec, which Paul Langille played in, though most musicians discussed here did not formally engage with this structure.[338] Instead, an informal circuit of venues existed, formed through connections between their operators, and fostered by similar booking focuses. In response to the barrier to performers from the absence of a formal circuit, John Smale sought to put together tours for artists. This was a difficult undertaking, though, as he reflects, "Everybody kind of operated a bit independently, it was hard to do that a lot, so I thought well, I can't afford to do that anyway, [but] if anybody wants to get in, let's just try to figure out a way of doing it. There wasn't a folk society or network per se, it was fairly loose."[339] In 1975 or 1976, the Smales created an agency for this purpose, named "Listening House" after a Lazarus song that Smale thought a fitting expression of the type of performance space he hoped to see enacted, and suggesting that "wherever these musicians played, they would be respectful venues."[340] Bill Powell also compiled tours for musicians when possible, finding performance opportunities in southern Ontario and into Quebec.[341]

The geography of southern Ontario facilitated a thriving folk scene sustained primarily by short-distance travel. With the province's population clustered in this region, there were many venues close together at which musicians could play. Brent Titcomb, who had previously spent time playing in the

337 Interview with David Bradstreet, February 1, 2013
338 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013
339 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
340 Ibid.
341 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013

Western provinces, found that “the cool thing about Ontario was there were more places to play than other provinces.”[342] For some musicians, this meant that they could travel along an informal circuit from Windsor to Ottawa, sometimes extending into Montreal or the West Island.[343] In Doug McArthur's words,“there was this golden chain of clubs all over Ontario and Montreal... And we were on the circuit, and we would just play. You would go from town to town, and you'd stay all week, and make friends, and y'know, just have a wonderful time.”[344] Even more locally, David Essig found that “there were enough gigs basically between Toronto and Windsor that you could support yourself. ... So you could go from Toronto to Hamilton, Guelph, Kitchener-Waterloo, Stratford, London, and then down to Essex County and Windsor. There were maybe twenty of them.”[345] Ken Whiteley describes, “You could just be driving around southern Ontario for weeks on end to different places.”[346]

Other musicians maintained a more regular base, travelling to each engagement and returning home in between. For instance, David Woodhead remarks, “There was sort of a circuit of coffeehouses but it was not like you played one then the other and then the other and then you start all over again, it wasn't that regular...maybe you could play each place several times a year.”[347] Additionally, many venues only held performances on weekends, leaving empty time between gigs, which was not financially feasible for musicians. This schedule prompted a number of musicians to hold jobs during the week, leaving them free to travel out of town to perform on the weekends. For instance, The Friends of Fiddler's Green, involved with the club in Toronto on a weekly basis and also increasingly geographically disparate as individual members, would travel for weekend performances, leaving them able to return to weekday jobs. Despite not being able to embark upon longer tours, they still performed in other provinces occasionally, as well as at a wide array of venues in southern Ontario.[348]

342 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
343 Interview with David Allan Eadie, December 27, 2012
344 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
345 Interview with David Essig, February 17, 2013
346 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
347 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
348 Interview with Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013

Not all musicians found this array of venues accessible as performance locations. Shawn O'Halloran, entering the scene slightly later than musicians like Willie P. Bennett or Stan Rogers, found that “the problem with the circuit was, somehow, it had already been established and it was real tough to break into, because there was a lot of people in folk music [already].”[349] Mose Scarlett identifies the role of an agent or manager in bringing this practice to fruition: “There'd be talk of a circuit, but basically it was [dependent upon] your agent, or you if you were a good business person, which I never was and most performers weren't.”[350] Booking agencies like those established by the Smales and the Powells attempted to assist musicians in finding gigs, and ideally clusters of performances in one location, though as booking was not these people's primary focus, the agencies' capacity was limited.

Laing's framework describes a set type of movement or progression from one pattern to another as success increased. Many musicians fit one of these models, though not necessarily with such consistency, and following the closure of many venues at the end of the decade, musicians again had to adapt their routes. Brent Titcomb describes that in his experience, “in the early days it wasn't so much a circuit, you would travel to Ottawa, do that, at least I did, and then I'd come back-- it wasn't like doing a sequence of gigs, I don't remember that in the early days.” Later in the decade, he notes, then, “yeah, you would start booking a sequence of gigs. ... For me I seem to have been more concentrated in southern Ontario than others.”[351] For a time, Paul Langille held a regular weekend engagement at Egerton's, playing every six weeks, which ensured a regular presence in Toronto while allowing ample time between these shows for other opportunities.[352] This was neither the beginning nor the height of his career, contrary to the models Laing indicates of residencies, and served for one period of a varied career including the college circuit.

The practical difficulties of travelling to perform also factored into musicians' routes; David

349 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
350 Interview with Mose Scarlett, March 11, 2013
351 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
352 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013

Woodhead recalls, “sometimes I would take the train with my bass and amp up to Ottawa or something and play a gig, and I remember taking the train to London, and how did I even get, did we have a wagon or something? I'm trying to figure out how I got my amp, because I had a fairly large bass amp... Although that's a little different from the rambling guy with his guitar, which is more common.”[353] Shawn O'Halloran highlights the precarity and potential cost of travel for minimally-resourced musicians in recounting a failed journey out of London, when his gas tank, filled on his earnings from the gig there, fell out of his car, and he was left without transportation to the second round of CBC auditions in Toronto. Unable to make the audition, he lost the chance at a secure job.[354] Jude Johnson also comments, “I played, well, it was primarily around here [in Hamilton] because I didn't drive. ... So I kind of went with people who were playing. So we'd go to Kingston...I think we took the train, if I remember right, or probably the bus. That was more likely, 'cause we didn't make a lot of money.”[355] For Johnson, touring was also hampered by the need to make a steady income, particularly while Garnet Rogers was on the road; “It was also difficult for me, because we had no money. And I was working full time, because I had to support us while Garnet was on the road with Stan. So I kind of took a back seat. ... I couldn't do what these guys were doing, because I had to make a living. So I was supporting them. I was supporting Garnet.”[356]

In a few cases, the logistical challenges of driving were overcome through acquiring a touring bus, though given economic considerations as well as the tenor of the scene, these were converted school buses rather than touring coaches. Perth County Conspiracy and Cedar Lake both engaged in this type of venture. PCC transported their stage set-up in addition to musicians and instruments, which included scaffolding and stage lights. They also performed at larger concert venues such as Massey Hall much more than other performers did, the size of their set-up and their popularity lending itself to

353 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
354 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
355 Interview with Jude Johnson, February 18, 2013
356 Ibid.

these spaces. Cedar Lake was instigated by Stan Rogers along with Gord Lowe, who described it as the "apple pie version" of PCC, noting the influence of the model provided by the group.[357] Cedar Lake acquired a bus and embarked on extended tours. Other musicians involved include Rick Taylor, Laura Smith, David Essig, Willie P. Bennett, with the occasional participation of Doug McArthur, Paul Mills, and Brent Titcomb. Doug McArthur writes of this experience that with "assorted hangers on, friends and lovers and you have at least twenty five people careening around the country in an old school bus playing gigs where the audience was often out-numbered by the armada on stage, and where the prevailing central discussion seemed to be how to divide up the $27 we had made from the last gig."[358] These tours were the exception, though, the majority of performances being arranged individually.

The routes to venues, within and between cities, Lashua writes, can be "mapped through a performance of memory...and further involve the sharing of stories and anecdotes as well as lyrics and songs," with individual sites acting as "landmarks of memory."[359] Considering how these routes and locales are woven into broader webs of meaning, Sara Cohen writes, "Live music [is] revealed not as one-off, individual performance events but as embedded in the spatial, temporal and social rhythms of urban living, and in patterns of repetition, familiarity and change."[360] Shawn O'Halloran's recollection of his failed trip to Toronto is one instance of this. Further, David Bradstreet's song "No Place Like Home" captures the significance of returning to a venue that acted as a social-musical hub for the scene. It is evident how the musical activity at these venues reshaped the cities that hosted them for participants in the scene, constructing musical urban geography. Representing the importance of music to London's downtown, a Change of Pace poster illustrates the skyline as constructed in part by instruments of the folk scene (a guitar, banjo, cello, and piano). Even more casual actions formed part of these patterns of musical geography in southern Ontario, with journeys further inscribing these

357 Interview with Gord Lowe, February 3, 2013
358 Doug McArthur, "White Squall," retrieved from http://www.dougmcarthur.ca/smales/ARTICLES.html#Squall
359 Lashua, "An atlas of musical memories," 148; Hawlbachs, 1992[1952] cited in Lashua, "An atlas of musical memories," 148.
360 Cohen, "Live music and urban landscape," 598.

locations' significance to the scene, as evidenced in the persistence of memories about them. For instance, a regular rhythm of music-making and socialising through musical spaces is seen in Doug McArthur's use of the Toronto Folklore Centre: “I lived just down the road from there, and I would just get up in the morning and have breakfast and go to the folklore centre and by noon I'd run into somebody who's in town, and we'd go off and have a couple of beers and do this and that, have all these adventures, and then I'd go home and sleep for an hour, and drop back to the Folklore Centre...and the same thing would happen again.”[361] O'Halloran recalls his regular trip to Campbell's, relating, “I lived about, oh it must have been two miles away, my high school was pretty far but this was farther than the high school I went to and I used to have to walk all the way because buses didn't even go there.”[362] Some individual journeys linger in memory, such as one instance when John Smale recalls “going down and meeting Dave Bradstreet at the train station in the biggest snowstorm that ever hit London, and that was on the Thursday night when he was arriving, and all of us wearing cowboy boots and stuck in four-foot snowbanks and driving a little Volkswagon, four guys pushing it and one guy driving it.” The activities of a venue's operations formed lasting impressions, too; Smale describes a typical day: “We'd shop every day at the market, the downtown market. Had a red wagon, the red Smale's Pace wagon, and the girls would wander off to Covent Market while I was doing the bookkeeping or housecleaning or whatever...and they'd come back and cook and bake, and muffins would be in the oven, and banana bread and all that, and then people would come for lunch, big flurry of activity.”[363] This exemplifies the “spatial, temporal and social rhythms of urban living” that Cohen describes, the venue becoming part of the city's social, geographic, and economic fabric.[364]

Seasonal shifts: Musical travels through summer festivals

361 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
362 Interview with Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
363 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
364 Cohen, “Live music and urban landscape,” 598.

Patterns of movement took on different characteristics in the summer once there were multiple folk festivals in the region and country more broadly. Even though Mariposa had been running since 1961, the other festivals did not start until the mid-1970s. Although Mariposa began in the small town of Orillia, for multiple years during the 1970s it was held on Toronto Island. John Smale described this phase of the festival: "It was pretty hot in those days, it was really big...and everybody went to it like a pilgrimage every year."[365] With Mariposa's increased profile, other cities in the region, also spurred by the success of their local coffeehouses, began hosting summer festivals during this period.

As more festivals were founded in the region, musicians had the opportunity to tour from one to another over the summer months. Initially, festivals were fairly discrete occurrences, and this lack of coordination resulted in conflicting dates that made such touring impossible. As they became more established, though, this changed; as David Woodhead notes, "all these things sort of faded in, and some of them were pretty small and locally oriented when they started out, and became increasingly, casting a wider net as time went on."[366] The scheduling of the Festival of Friends and Summerfolk was mutually beneficial; one weekend apart, each would pick up musicians of interest already booked to perform at the other, since their presence in the region at that time was thus secured.[367] Eventually, the Ontario Council of Folk Festivals was formed in order to facilitate such coordination.

Many artists took advantage of this new opportunity for summer performing, which meant, as Ken Whiteley comments, "that was great, because from the mid-seventies then you could basically spend your whole summer going from festival to festival."[368] Ken Bloom writes that there were, in his estimation, thirty to fifty regular acts who toured the festivals at that time. However, this was not consistently available to all performers; as Woodhead recalls,

365 Interview with John Smale, March 22, 2013
366 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
367 Interview with Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013
368 Interview with Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013

> You [would] tend to see the same acts, like around fifty percent of the acts at more than one festival, and sometimes three or four; they'll be the hot thing that year. ... So they'll get a whole bunch of festivals in one year. And everybody else is, oh damn! They got it! But that's just the way it is. There was [about] two years when I played seven festivals, and there's other years where I played one or two, and that's just the luck of the draw, depends what you're doing.[369]

Despite the variability of festival touring, some festivals were essentially guaranteed engagements for certain performers. The eleven-year run for Friends of Fiddler's Green at Summerfolk is one such instance, as is Jackie Washington's regular presence at Home County. The Festival of Friends typically included Jackie Washington, Mose Scarlett, and Brent Titcomb, as Titcomb explains, "Bill Powell used to call us old guys the glue of that festival. He made sure that some of us were always there, and that gave it continuity."[370] In good years for a musician, they would be able to tour through the region in the summer, connecting with other musicians also touring as well as those only at single festivals. These overlapping routes of musicians, not found in travels to coffeehouses, since in that context only one or two acts would perform on the same night, facilitated convergences of greater interaction entailing musical collaboration and socialisation.

Once major festivals to the west—Winnipeg and Vancouver—were established, musicians had reason to travel further afield and play to the large crowds at these events. As Doug McArthur comments, when the folk festivals started in the middle of the 1970s, that "changed everything again. Because suddenly you had the opportunity of a national audience."[371] As occurred within the region, scheduling conflicts initially hindered some of these opportunities, for instance as Winnipeg and Home County were held on the same weekend in their first year, but coordination prevented this in later years. This extended the routes of some Ontario folk musicians from regional to state-wide and made this large network of folk music activity visible to all involved, including those who only participated in one area of it.

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369 Interview with David Woodhead, February 17, 2013
370 Interview with Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
371 Interview with Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013

What is shown through mapping

Through mapping these venues and routes of folk music activity, an active musicscape is revealed, one that is overlooked in dominant histories of folk music which focus on Toronto's Yorkville scene. While the venues involved closed their doors in the 1970s or early 1980s, their impact in the scene has extended much longer through the musicians whose careers they fostered and the festivals that emerged from them, many of which continue to run annually.

As with Lashua, Cohen, and Schofield's research, this mapping challenges the dominant genre periodisation which holds that folk music faded away with the close of the 1960s, maintained in a small, disparate manner until its resurgence in the 1980s and 1990s. Rather than being a quiet decade for folk, the 1970s in southern Ontario saw the genesis of coffeehouses throughout the region and the start of many festivals. Many musicians who started playing at this time continued to play in the years to follow, and a substantial proportion are still active performers. Among these are performers who came to hold significance across the country, including Stan Rogers, in whose name there is an annual folk festival in Nova Scotia, Colin Linden, Willie P. Bennett (whose songwriting spurred a tribute band which includes Linden), and on the recording side, Dan Lanois. Within the scene, though, all who participated were integral, influencing its musical and social character and adding to its substance, forming a thriving scene rather than the sporadic activity suggested in histories of folk music. These participants were not those with major record deals or large performances, so their individual histories have not registered in most histories. Similarly, the scene did not exist in a highly clustered area as Yorkville did, its liveliness visible only from a regional perspective, not evident from any single street or neighbourhood to passersby, even if individual venues may have been seen. Thus, mapping the activity across the region is essential to reveal the presence of folk music across towns and cities and

draw the flows of movement and affiliations that weave these sites into a scene.

Conclusion

As this study of the southern Ontario folk scene of the 1970s illustrates, folk music did not disappear for the decade as many histories suggest, but rather was enthusiastically practised throughout the region. Oral history generated from interviews with twenty-five participants in the scene sheds light on the nature of music played, the community it spurred, and the venues that housed it. Especially given the limited documentation of this era of folk music, interviews proved to be an effective way to begin recording the history folk music activity in the region and probe issues related to style, authenticity, community, and venues. This avenue of study warrants further exploration as there are numerous other participants from this and other regions who can add to the history and understanding of folk music in the 1970s.

As the first chapter of this thesis discusses, the concept of folk music in the 1970s was not a direct extension of its previous iterations, but was renegotiated through changing ideas of authenticity. The definition of folk music has always been contested, and its musical terrain has expanded and shifted through its history. In the 1970s, many folk music performers were singer-songwriters, and their compositions registered in measures of authenticity through expressions of personal truths, marking a substantial shift from folk music being understood as solely the performance of songs passed down through oral tradition. As revealed in participants' comments, these new modes of authenticity were commonly adhered to, and extended to personal motivations, habits, and sartorial style of the artists. Even so, there is clear variety in the ways in which these principles were interpreted and enacted. The musical and personal practices of the musicians as well as the views held regarding authenticity allow insight into its transformation in the 1970s.

Participants' comments offer particular insight into the nature of community associated with folk music activity in the region. In southern Ontario, folk music fostered local practised community, a

regional scene, and a sense of participating in a broader imagined community. Interpersonal relationships developed as musicians and listeners alike congregated at folk venues, forging bonds through this socio-musical experience, while occasional participants as well as travel to other towns and cities established a scene. At the most removed level, imagined community was supported by the knowledge of other folk venues across the country and even across the world, as well as the Canada-wide radio show Touch the Earth, and was made tangible through the large gatherings at folk festivals. While these groupings are notably different than traditional folk groups, they provided a sense of community and even family as well as membership in a broader collectivity similar to the imagined community of the nation. These communitarian functions of folk music merit further study in other regions and periods, particularly as technology has reshaped the possibilities of community and making connections through shared musical interests.

Many of the venues for folk performance are brought to life as participants recall performance experiences, decor, friends, food, and the journeys they took to these sites. This illustrates how these venues have persisted in personal and collective memory, even as other fleeting venues have faded beyond recollection. The decor and operation of venues often reflected a folk aesthetic, adding to a sense of authenticity through thrift, repurposing, and community involvement. Together, these venues formed a network that hosted a vibrant folk scene. Musicians travelled in different patterns of movement through the region, determined by musical style and ability, finances, and personal commitments. These patterns are not represented by the distinctions of residency, circuit, and tour, but often combine elements of two or three in any one musician's activity. Identifying and mapping these venues and routes reveals an extensive, active folk scene, in a challenge to the dominant periodisation which holds that folk saw a marked decline in the 1970s.

Through exploring the nature of folk music and authenticity, the community it generated, and the venues that populated the scene, this project illuminates the continuation of folk music in the 1970s

by looking at one regional manifestation. The shifting definitions of folk and the substantial number of small, adapted venues are a testament to the flexibility of "folk," while the strength of community at multiple levels attests to the desire for community in urban society and the capacity of folk music to facilitate such bonds.

Appendix 1

A sample of Egerton's performers:

Stan Rogers, Stringband, Colin Linden, Joe Hall and the Continental Drift, Marc Jordan, Lisa Garber, Cedric Smith, Terry Jones, Peter Donato, Brent Titcomb, Bob Carpenter, Ray Materick, Willie P. Bennett, Ron Hynes, Tamarack, The Luke Gibson Band, David Wiffen, Jackie Washington, Mark Haines, Dan Hill, the Dixie Flyers, Watson and Reynolds, Hot Knives / Southern Cross (Greg Quill's bands from Australia), Mandolin Wind, David Essig, Big Jim Eaves, Toronto Area Blues Committee, Jesse Winchester, David Wilcox, Hamilton Camp, David Amram,[372] Paul Langille, David Bradstreet,[373] Marie-Lynn Hammond (solo), Dave Nicol (singer-songwriter), New Potatoes, Ronney Abramson, McLean & McLean, Windhover, Dee Higgins (singer-songwriter), Dave Bacha, Wolfgang Brothers ("hillbilly jazz"), Robert Armes (singer-songwriter), Barb Duggan, Paul Odette (lute), Max Mouse & The Gorillas, Wooden Teeth, Billy Hardman Band, Morgan Davis & Catfish, Wells-Davidson Band, Kelona, B.B. Gabor & InstaBand, Bernard Purdy, and Cueball.

Appendix 2

Complete list of 1976 (first annual) Festival of Friends performers:

Ronney Abramson, Arethusa, Willie P. Bennett, Bim, Michael J. Birthelmer, Black Creek, David James Bowen, Dave Bradstreet, Bob Burchill, John Allan Cameron, Paul Campbell, Terry Christenson, Margaret Christl, Susan Cogan, Glenn Copeland, Dandy Rat, Dixie Flyers, Paul Dunn, Shirley Eikhard, Dave Essig, Friends of Fiddler's Green, Bill Garrett, Luke Gibson, Marianne Girard, The Good Brothers, Noel Harrison, Bill Hughes, Jude Johnson, Marc Jordan, Christopher Kearney, Richard Keelan, Rolf Kempf, Paul Langille, Thomson Lawrie, Michael Lewis, The Little Boy Blues Band, Myrna Lorrie, Gilles Losier, Robbie MacNeill, Ray Materick, Doug McArthur, Bruce Miller, Paul Mills (alias Curly Boy Stubbs), Ben Mink and Elliot Feldman, Mary Murphy, Marty & Eric Nagler, Rick Neufeld, Ron Nigrini, Original Sloth Band, Robert Paquette, Colleen Peterson, Pied Pumkin, Prairie Oyster, Raffi, Chris Rawlings, David Rea, Redrock Hotel, Stan Rogers, Bill Russell, Nigel Russell, Saltspring Rainbow, Nancy Simmonds, Cathie Stewart, Streets & Hills, Stringband, Ian Tamblyn, Rick Taylor, Brent Titcomb, Jack Tobi and Firecloud, Sylvia Tyson, Christopher Ward, Jackie Washington, Watson and Reynolds.

372 Interview with Derek Andrews, April 8, 2013
373 Interview with Paul Langille, February 3, 2013

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Grit Laskin, April 8, 2013
Gord Lowe, February 3, 2013
Doug McArthur, April 5, 2013
Arthur McGregor, May 27, 2013
Paul Mills, June 24, 2013
Shawn O'Halloran, February 3, 2013
Ken Palmer, August 5, 2013
Lynne and Bill Powell, October 6, 2013
Ken Puley, June 7, 2013
Mose Scarlett, March 11, 2013
John Smale, March 22, 2013
Brent Titcomb, January 4, 2013
Ken Whiteley, February 15, 2013
David Woodhead, February 17, 2013