‘There’s a Sound of Many Voices in the Camp and on the Track’

A Descriptive Analysis of Folk Music Collecting in New Zealand, 1955-1975

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Abstract

During the period from 1955 to 1975 a group of individuals began the task of collecting folk music in New Zealand. This collecting was different from the earlier collecting of Maori music – it focussed mainly on English-language material felt to be the folk heritage of New Zealanders of European descent.

The collectors gathered a valuable body of songs, verse and music, which was used in a variety of ways. Many individuals promoted the material to a wider public by performing music, recording albums and publishing song anthologies. Other collectors commenced the scholarly study of folk traditions in New Zealand.

This thesis is a descriptive analysis of the work of seven individuals involved in the overall effort: Angela Annabell, Rona Bailey, Les Cleveland, Neil Colquhoun, Frank Fyfe, Phil Garland and Herbert Roth. It seeks to understand the enterprise from their point of view: how they conceived of 'folk music'; their collecting methods; and the ways in which they promoted or studied what they had collected. To help situate and compare the achievement of each individual, their work is placed within the wider contexts of overseas folkloristic research, related study in New Zealand and the folk revival movement.

The collecting in New Zealand was relatively short-lived but brought together a recognised canon of folk music.

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Abbreviations, Language and Format

This thesis uses the author-date system for referencing, except for a few miscellaneous examples (mostly newspaper references) which are end-noted. Endnotes are placed at the end of each chapter and many include the following abbreviations:

bc.	back cover
dj.	dust-jacket
ep.	episode
tr.	track

Within the appendices some references have been abbreviated for the purposes of clarity and economy.

Foreign words have been italicised, except for extremely common abbreviations such as ‘eg.’, ‘ie.’, and ‘etc.’. Maori words have not been italicised.

All song and tune titles will be placed within single quotation marks (regardless of whether they have been published), as in ‘David Lowston’. Songs which do not have titles will be denoted by the first line or phrase of the song, followed by three dots, and placed within double quotation marks, as in “They say there is gold on the Maggie…”. The titles of publications are italicised.

The terms ‘folk song’ and ‘folk music’ are often used in slightly different forms to denote different meanings. Within this thesis, ‘folk song’ will be used in reference to actual songs; ‘folksong’ and ‘folk music’ will refer to a wider body of songs, music and practices. ‘Folk music’ will also be used to describe actual pieces of instrumental music. The term ‘folk revival movement’ (and its variations ‘revival movement’, ‘folk revival’, ‘folk movement’ and ‘revival’) is used to denote the cultural movements which can be said to have been initiated in England by Cecil Sharp and others, and which became widely popular throughout the Western world during the twentieth century, especially after the 1950s.

Common abbreviations used in this thesis:

ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
MS	Manuscript
NZBC	New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation
NZBS	New Zealand Broadcasting Service
NZFLS	New Zealand Folklore Society
NZFSRG	New Zealand Folksong Research Group
RNZ	Radio New Zealand
SMANZ	Sheet Music Archive of New Zealand
VUW	Victoria University Wellington
WEA	Workers’ Education Association

Introduction

In the mid-1950s a number of individuals began the task of collecting folk music in New Zealand. They were impelled by a concern for New Zealand heritage, while being guided by international ideas about folk music. Their work entailed looking for people who knew old New Zealand songs, tracking down writers of balladry and delving into manuscripts and newspaper back issues. A few travelled from cities into rural areas; others found what they were looking for closer to home, in their own memories or in archival holdings. These endeavours had various outcomes: anthologies of New Zealand folk songs were published; music groups formed; concerts held and recordings put out; radio programmes created; a folklore society set up; and scholarly study of the subject commenced. Between the years 1955 and 1975 this combined effort comprised a 'movement' which resulted in the formation of a folk music canon - an ideal repertoire of songs with similar provenance and particular value as New Zealand heritage.

This thesis examines the work of individuals involved in the collecting enterprise: Angela Annabell, Rona Bailey, Les Cleveland, Neil Colquhoun, Frank Fyfe, Phil Garland and Herbert Roth. Although others contributed, these seven form a representative core group.[1] This thesis will draw on interviews, books, recordings, magazines, private collections, letters, archival papers and the general printed record of the time to answer some basic questions. What were these individuals aiming to do? How did they go about it? What were they looking for and what did they find? How did they use the material they found?

Although it marked neither the beginning nor the end of folk music collecting in New Zealand, a number of factors make the 1955-1975 era special.[2] It was widely felt that material from early historical periods, such as the nineteenth century gold rushes, was about to disappear and the quest for such 'survivals' gave the collecting enterprise a special urgency and atmosphere. There was also a general confidence about the work: individuals were not hesitant to describe themselves as 'folk song collectors' or affirm that their work had important heritage value. The popularity of the folk revival movement also contributed to the overall sense of purpose.

The folk revival movement was a worldwide phenomena which had its roots in early twentieth century England, where collectors had sought to preserve traditional songs and dances. The guitar-based folk styles of America gathered an enormous popular following around the world in the late 1950s, leading to new performance contexts being developed and many songs being written. In New Zealand, the coffee house scene, folk clubs and professional music groups generally emulated American and British music styles - except for collectors, who promoted ideas about New Zealand folk music and helped provide a local repertoire. Some had little direct contact with the revival, but others were key members.

'Folk music' is a term that has been used widely in the Western world across both popular and academic fields. Multiple claims over its meaning have stimulated great debate. The crucial part - 'folk' - has been called "the keyword that wears a thousand masks", and 'folk music' likewise presents many often contradictory aspects (Green 1993:7). It may suggest the songs of ordinary people, bygone traditions, working-class music, a national or ethnic heritage, raw uncensored utterance, a global humanistic force, or a music industry marketing brand. Historically, the work of the eighteenth century German writer and philosopher Johann Herder is often taken as a starting point for intellectual concepts of folk music. From here, the scholarly discipline of *Volkskunde* or Folkloristics has developed. Herder's nationalist agendas also stimulated the use of folk music as a popular cultural force. In many countries across the world folk culture is now an important touchstone for public debates about identity, ethnicity and heritage.

In New Zealand the idea that there is a local heritage of folk music is not well established, either at a public level or among musicologists. The field has not enjoyed research funding or state recognition in the same way that classical music, Maori music or even popular music have. In fact,

the wider study of folklore – which includes tales, beliefs and customs - has remained relatively undeveloped in academia here.[3] As one scholar noted recently, "we don't do folklore here", and those with an interest have often shifted overseas to pursue the subject (Cleveland 2004). An early folklorist was Brian Sutton-Smith, who between 1949 and 1951 conducted extensive fieldwork into the folk games of children. He left New Zealand in 1953 and has worked in the United States ever since.[4]

In 2006, to approach in a scholarly way the broad subject of folk music in New Zealand presents several difficulties. Aside from the general lack of primary research into source traditions and the folk revival movement, the proliferation of contexts in which the term 'folk music' has been applied presents a considerable theoretical challenge. Folk music can be studied in a variety of ways: as expressive culture, musical tradition, cultural revival or popular movement. This thesis takes collecting as its central subject because it can be seen as a primary link in a chain of cultural processes whereby source traditions are revealed, folkloristic study initiated and a folk music canon formed. The approach taken is essentially descriptive, aiming to understand the field from the point of view of collectors. A secondary aim is to incorporate an evaluation of their work in more contemporary folkloristic terms.

Although it occurred on a much smaller scale, the work of the New Zealand collectors is broadly comparable with that of well-known individuals like Cecil Sharp in England or John Meredith in Australia. The 1955-1975 collecting was an endeavour in which skills were borrowed, learned, and improvised, in combination with a certain amount of sweat and ingenuity. At times there was a struggle with fundamental principles and aims. In other words, it was a pioneering effort.

At its most basic level, collecting is a process whereby certain people ('collectors') seek out other people ('informants') who are willing to sing, play or otherwise pass on what the collectors are looking for. Broadly speaking, such a process may have two additional outcomes for the collector. Firstly, as a folkloristic undertaking it studies expressive culture and traditions. Secondly, it can have a revivalist outcome, where the collector aims to preserve the music and promote it in some form to the wider public. These two aims can be intermingled in the work of a single individual. Folklorists have often been performers, published song anthologies or contributed in other ways to revival movements. Likewise, collectors orientated towards revival may obtain valuable material and background information which is useful to other scholars.

Placing the seven individual collectors at the centre of this study has three main advantages. Firstly, it suits the local situation, where organised collecting through state institutions or universities has been minimal.[5] Collecting here has largely been a matter of individual effort. Secondly, it allows an investigation of the basic 'nuts and bolts' level of collecting. Thirdly, and most importantly, it acknowledges that collecting was done by real people –with backgrounds, talents, interests and ideas of their own – who as individuals strongly influence how folk music is understood in New Zealand today.

This approach considers each collector as a 'mediator'. More than simply preserving, reviving or studying, collecting is a process of 'mediation', whereby a song, for example, is taken from the source context and put into another – anthology, performance stage, recording, academic essay - as a 'folk song'. Its content and meaning may alter during this process, reflecting priorities about what material to favour and how to present it. Different collectors may frame what they have collected in quite different ways. For instance they may relate it closely to the informant or source tradition; or to a characteristic regional or national heritage; or else trace threads back to older songs and variants. Examining the 'mediations' of collectors allows one to appreciate the different ways in which folk music has been thought about, poses critical questions about the process and identifies where avenues of future research might be found.

The study of collecting as a mediating process is still fairly new. The term was influentially used by David Harker in his study of English collectors, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to Present Day* (Harker 1985). But in the New Zealand context, the specific approach taken by

Harker seems inappropriate. Harker's historical span of interest ranged from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, allowing a wide set of comparisons to be made using dialectical Marxist techniques. The activities of collectors in New Zealand have taken place over a much shorter span of time and in a rather different society, with its own set of cultural and class circumstances. Such factors ultimately demand a more flexible approach.

This thesis will assess of the work of collectors using a mixture of descriptive and analytic elements. These include a description of the life background and experience of each individual; their initial contact with folk music; why they began collecting; how they characterised what they were looking for; and the circumstances and methods of their work. It will also describe, and where possible list, the material they actually collected and the various ways and forms in which they utilised it, whether in books, performances, recordings, radio programmes or scholarly studies. Examples of collected material will also be given. Integrated into this description will be an analysis of each individual's ideas about folk music in New Zealand; how these can be related to international concepts and the folk revival movement; and the effect their ideas had on what they collected and subsequently produced. A complete assessment of each collector's work, as outlined here, has been the ideal, although for various reasons has not always been possible. But the interests, ideas and achievements of each collector will be apparent enough.

The folk music collecting between 1955 and 1975 in New Zealand also took place against a number of intellectual, historical and social backdrops. It is important to describe these so that the meaning of the work can be fully understood. Chapter 1 will examine international folk music scholarship, mainly as it has evolved within Folkloristics. It will begin with a discussion of folk music definitions and the directions in which study has developed. Following this will be an examination of five theoretical concepts of particular relevance: authenticity, nationalism, folk music canons, revival, and mediation. Chapter 2 will consider the New Zealand background. This will begin with an overview of the collecting of Maori music, as well as pre-1955 collecting of English-language material and various relevant comments from the era. After this will be a condensed history of the folk revival movement in New Zealand. The chapter will conclude with an overview of New Zealand folk music scholarship and post-1975 collecting. Following these contextual sections, Chapters 3 to 8 cover the work of the collectors in roughly chronological order.

This thesis is primarily concerned with collecting during the 1955-1975 period, although a few of the individuals covered in this thesis carried on their work beyond 1975. As a quite natural continuation, this has been considered. But this also raises an important question: why did the collecting movement which began in the mid-1950s effectively end twenty years later? There are a number of potential explanations for this. The decline in popularity of the folk revival by the mid-1970s is an obvious possibility, but perhaps there are deeper factors underlying the waning of interest and activity. It is important to critically examine whether the ways in which folk music has been conceptualised in New Zealand have a bearing on this matter. This question will be considered in the Conclusion, along with a summary of the overall collecting effort.

The present thesis provides the first overview and evaluation of the work of these New Zealand folk music collectors, whose work has previously been known only in a partial or fragmentary form. To assist with a greater understanding of their achievement, the thesis is supplemented by a number of appendices. Several provide consolidated references relating to songs, verse and music in many of the collections and publications covered. Others give comparative examples, tables, indexes, and certain source texts which are difficult to obtain.

It is also necessary to mention that the collecting of Maori music lies beyond the scope of this thesis. A separation between Maori music and English-language folksong in New Zealand has generally been made. Although in the fullness of time this might be seen as unnecessary, it is a convention which has been observed here. A short description of Maori music collecting has been included in Chapter 2 and is mentioned as a point of comparison in several other places.

Finally, it is appropriate to explain how my own background relates to the choice and focus of this study. I was born in 1970 and grew up in the small town of Waikanae. Early musical memories include family singsongs on long car journeys, which included 'Waltzing Matilda', 'The Greenland Whale Fisheries', and New Zealand songs like 'Double-bunking' or 'Bright Fine Gold'. As a teenager I developed an interest in blues music and later discovered recordings of traditional American, British and Australian music. Eventually this led me in search of New Zealand folk songs. I was excited to find a few published collections and got in touch with the collectors involved, both to ask questions and offer gratitude for their work. It was obviously important, but seemed virtually unknown to those around me. I gradually became aware of past debates about whether New Zealand actually had any 'true' folk music. Personal experience gave me a particular perspective on the subject. For instance, I realised that the tramping songs I knew from childhood could be considered a form of folksong. Education also contributed to my outlook. Through university training in Ethnomusicology, I learned that folk music could be defined from many different angles, that it was symbolic construction as much as authentic product. Some small-scale collecting of my own has added a practical level of understanding.

All these experiences have contributed to the approach taken in this thesis, which has been motivated by a desire to see a neglected field taken more seriously. With the passing of several decades it now seems a useful time to examine the collecting work of the 1955-1975 period. It can be assessed both in the terms that collectors set themselves and in terms we can now apply. Ultimately, such a study becomes not simply an analysis of the process of collecting; it is about what 'folk music' means.

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[1] During the course of research a number of other collectors have come to attention. The work of Pat Sunde, Rudy Sunde and Bill Worsfold will be described in Chapter 8. Other collectors include Elsie Locke, Joe Charles, William Clauson, Arthur Ross, Lew Williams, Jim Musson, Peter Newcomb, Roger Dick, John Stafford, Julian Ward, Christine Lewis and Chris Norris. These have been mentioned where there is a connection, but more research is required to fully assess their work. From the investigations carried out so far, the writer Elsie Locke seems particularly significant. She collected original balladry and formed a music group The Rouseabouts in Christchurch in the late 1950s. In the late stages of writing this thesis I became aware of the work of Christine Lewis, who studied Welsh folksong in New Zealand during the early 1970s (see Lewis 1975).

[2] The beginning of the collecting movement is dated to 1955, because this was the year in which Rona Bailey first began to receive quantities of folksong material from other people, namely Mona Tracy and Dr Percy Jones (see Chapter 3). The end of the collecting movement is dated to 1975, because this was the year in which the last remaining branch of the New Zealand Folklore Society disbanded and Angela Annabell completed her PhD dissertation (see Chapter 8).

[3] For instance the wide-ranging 1989 essay collection *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (Novitz and Willmott 1989), encompasses discussions of colonialism, Maori identity, gender, war, sport, literature, art, popular culture, mass media, and religion, while the subject of folk culture receives virtually no mention, nor is it indexed. Yet on the other hand, New Zealand music surveys have generally included some discussion of folk music (Thomson 1980, 1991; Annabell 2001).

[4] Other folklorists, for instance Moira Smith, continue to shift overseas to pursue their studies. More recently there have been increased proposals for folkloric investigation and work has commenced in several areas, perhaps indicating a change in the situation (see Brednich 1996; Belich 2001; Ackerley 2003; Brednich 2003).

[5] The work of the New Zealand Folklore Society, which operated between 1966 and 1975, will be considered in several chapters. Since the 1960s, several repositories of folklore have been built up through university coursework (see Chapter 2) or radio programme making. But, outside of Maori material, folk music *per se* has not been a focus.

Chapter 1
Theoretical Background

This chapter will survey the theoretical terrain within folk music and folksong research. It will begin with an outline of the scholarly field and the search for definitions. This starts with a brief description of the ideas of the eighteenth century German writer Johann Herder, then concentrates on the development of the field of Folkloristics in America and England, an overview which encompasses the international ideas accessed by the New Zealand collectors. Following this will be more extended discussions of five key concepts. Firstly, *authenticity*, an attribute often sought by definitions and standards of 'folk music'; secondly, *nationalism*, a strong motivating factor for collectors; thirdly, *the folk music canon*, a national repertory imbued with symbolic significance; fourthly, *revival*, a public activity which has the aim of reviving marginalised music; and fifthly, *mediation*, a term to describe the collecting process.

The Search for the Field

The term 'folk song' only came into the English language in the late nineteenth century (Sharp 1965:2-3); the term 'folk music' shortly afterwards (Caldwell 1999:491). These probably derive from the German term *Volkslieder*, which was used by the German writer and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) to describe the songs of the German *Volk* or 'common people'. Herder specifically identified the true *Volk* with a rural peasantry carrying on old traditions, as opposed to the urban proletariat, whom he characterised as "the rabble in the alley… [who] never sing or compose but only shriek and mutilate" (quoted in Bendix 1997:47). By turning to *Volkslieder*, something which had been relatively neglected by scholars, Herder discovered a new object of academic discourse and a cultural 'Other' in the very backyard of the European Enlightenment.

Herder collected, published and celebrated these songs, combining a democratising impulse which praised *Volkspoesie* ('folk poetry') alongside *Kunstpoesie* ('art poetry'), with a powerful romantic idealism about what the songs meant. As an important member of the German Romantic movement, Herder viewed *Volkslieder* as untainted by the influences of literary poetry or art music. Instead they had a primal integrity which stood in contrast to the products of modernity. *Volkslieder* were believed to have originated in a bygone age and although being seemingly forgotten by the literate classes, had been passed down by the *Volk*. Consequently, the 'spirit' of the German nation could find its oldest and purest expression in these songs, and they became a potent instrument with which to inspire an incipient German nationalism (Wilson 1973).

During the nineteenth century, the wider field of 'folklore' - encompassing songs, music, tales, proverbs, jests, beliefs, customs and material crafts – began to be seriously studied. In Germany, the scholarly study of folklore came to particular distinction with the work of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The term 'folklore' itself was first suggested by William Thoms in an English journal in 1846, to replace the term 'popular antiquities', and this was quickly accepted (Dundes 1965). By the end of the century, a scholarly discipline called *Volkskunde* was proposed to unify related scholarly activity in Germany. In the United States, this discipline became known as Folklore Studies, and later, as Folkloristics. A related field of scholarship which studies the musical cultures of non-Western societies also emerged in the late-nineteenth century and has became known as Ethnomusicology.

The collecting of folk songs in England stretches back to the sixteenth century (Myers 1993b:130-132). But in the mid-nineteenth century the scholarly study of anonymous narrative lyrics called 'ballads' became firmly established, finding prominence in the work of the American scholar Francis James Child. Working mainly from manuscript sources, Child compiled and annotated a corpus of 305 English and Scottish ballads (Child 1882-1898). Child focussed mainly on the texts of ballads; later scholars turned their attention to the tunes (Bronson 1959-72).

In 1898, the English Folk Song Society was founded by collectors such as Lucy Broadwood and Frank Kidson. This coincided with a wave of collecting activity in England and elsewhere, increased interest in the music of folksong, and a range of fresh theories. One of the most important motives for collectors of this generation was preservation. It was widely felt that old traditions were dying out in Western societies, swamped under the combined influence of the industrial age, mass media and popular culture. This meant that folk songs were in need of urgent preservation before they 'died' with the singers who knew them. Collecting was conducted with urgency, mostly across rural areas. In Britain and Ireland, notable collectors included Cecil Sharp, Ralph Vaughan-Williams, Percy Grainger, Gavin Greig, Sam Henry, John Carpenter, Alfred Williams and Maud Karpeles. In the United States, collectors included Phillips Barry, Henry Belden, Francis O'Neill, John Lomax, Robert W. Gordon, Helen Creighton, Frank C. Brown, and Vance Randolph. Some individuals ventured to other countries, notably Sharp and Karpeles, who in the 1910s found numerous British ballad 'survivals' in the Appalachian Mountains of America where they had been sung for hundreds of years (Sharp and Karpeles 1932). For an overview of this era of collecting see Wilgus (1959).

The most influential theoretical statement of the period was the 1907 treatise by Cecil Sharp, *English Folk Song – Some Conclusions* (1965). In a strong echo of Johann Herder, Sharp defined a folk song as one "created by the common people" (*ibid.*:4). His theory had two main conceptual strands:

> 1 – *Social grouping* – Folk songs were the songs of the 'common people', identified as the non-educated inhabitants of rural villages, the more isolated from the "infection of modern ideas" the better (Sharp 1965:5). He also distinguished folk songs from the composed popular songs prevalent in wider society and current among the "partially-educated" (*ibid.*:4).
>
> 2 – *Mode of transmission* - Sharp identified a song's survival by oral transmission as a vital condition for it to be considered a 'folk song' (Sharp 1965:14). This meant that it had been learned and passed on by word of mouth rather than by writing or print. In the process it became through "communal effort… [like a] pebble on the seashore… rounded and polished" (*ibid.*:21). Sharp's theory of oral tradition was founded on a quasi-Darwinian process of evolution which had three principles: continuity, variation and selection. Continuity was the fundamental requirement of the song surviving over time. Through changes wrought by individuals, a song came to exist in variant forms. Selection was an "act of the community" (39) by which certain songs or variants were preferred to others because they had survived over the passage of time.

The issue of where folk songs originated had already been a subject of debate. A number of theories of 'communal composition' had been developed (eg. see Gummere 1975 [1897]), and, for some writers, anonymity of composition was a defining aspect of folksong. Sharp preferred the idea that they were composed by individuals whose names had been long forgotten. Yet one of the strengths of his theory was that such issues were not critical to deciding if a song was a folk song, because it was in the workings of oral tradition that a folk song came to be 'created' by the folk. In its diverse permutations, this is often referred to as the 'folk process'.

Although much debated, Sharp's core ideas remained persuasive for many scholars. Oral transmission in particular has proved the most common criteria in subsequent definitions of folksong and folklore (Nettl 1965; Utley 1965; Leach and Fried 1972:398-403). A consensus version arrived at by the International Folk Music Council in 1955 is often quoted:

> Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the traditions are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.
>
> The term can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music and it can likewise be applied to music which

> has originated with an individual composer and subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community.
>
> The term does not cover composed popular music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and remains unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community that gives it its folk character. (IFMC 1955)

However, collecting in the early twentieth century revealed aspects which contradicted Sharp's ideas. James Porter has characterised Sharp's theory as 'idealistic' (in that it described an ideal process), contrasting it with the 'realism' of contemporaries like Phillips Barry and Percy Grainger, who were more interested in the observable reality of the folk process (Porter 1991). For example, Barry considered that certain ephemeral printed forms - such as broadsides, 'songsters', and newspapers - had a major role in the transmission of songs (Barry 1914). Writers have continued to investigate the complex relationship between written tradition and oral tradition (Geroud 1957; Laws 1957; Anderson 1973:244-258; Lloyd 1975:25-31; Finnegan 1977; Dugaw 1984). The term 'traditional' is now often used to indicate that a song has been passed on via oral tradition rather than print. When a song originates in print but has subsequently been passed on orally it is said to go 'into tradition'. Even in cases where the author or composer's name is known or later discovered, this does not necessarily negate the song's claim to being 'traditional'. Folklorists have highlighted similarly complex relationships between oral tradition and commercial sound recordings in the twentieth century (Wilgus 1968; Green 1972).

Another aspect of the collecting and study of this period was that it largely focused on folk music or folk songs as 'products'. The range of products that were called folk songs was often delimited according to internal textual and musical features. Previously, Child had used literary measures of quality to define a finite canon of ballads (Harker 1985:124-127). Sharp stressed the process of oral transmission, but in practice he favoured ballads and lyric songs, particularly those with modal melodies. These kinds of delimitations came to be challenged, especially in the United States. Barry noted that his informants might have a repertoire extending to "parlor and vaudeville songs" (1914:67), and other collectors began to establish a more inclusive set of folksong genres (Rosenberg 1993:13). Folk music in America came to encompass lyric songs, occupational songs, spirituals, prison chants and frolic tunes. Despite this greater inclusiveness, it would be many years before certain genres, such as erotic or bawdy folksong, were openly published and analysed (Legman 1970; R. Green 1983; Cray 1992).

From the 1940s onwards the study of folk music began to find new centres of interest. *Style* was a different way of viewing the subject and raised questions about whether it was *what* was sung or *how* it was sung that typified folksong. Percy Grainger first gave this aspect prominence (Grainger 1915). Because he had recorded the singing of his informants using wax cylinder equipment, Grainger could observe the discrepancy between their often highly ornamented singing and the relatively simplified transcriptions of collectors like Sharp. Recordings also highlighted the individual creativity of singers: that folk singing had integrity as artistic expression (*ibid*.; Barry 1975). Later collectors came to depend on tape recording, leading to an ever-greater appreciation of the 'texture' of folk singing (timbre, ornamentation, inflection, tone etc.), as well as the intricacies of instrumental playing (Dundes 1964). In the 1960s, the folklorist Alan Lomax prepared a global analysis of singing styles from field recordings, formulating a system of comparison known as 'cantometrics' (Lomax 1959, 1968).

In the 1950s concepts of community or *group* were extended and developed. Even for Sharp it had been clear that not all folk songs were associated with rural communities or isolated 'folk societies' (Redfield 1947). Clear exceptions were sea shanties, songs that had developed in the work culture of sailors, and which were collected from the late nineteenth century onwards. Sailors were a folk group defined by their *occupation*. Collections of songs sourced and organised in this way began to be published. The occupational songs of American cowboys were among the first to be collected (Lomax and Lomax 1938 [1910]), while the songs of sailors, river-boat workers and whalers remained a classic genre (Doerflinger 1951; Hugill 1961; Huntington 1964). Other manual occupations with notable song traditions included mining (Korson 1927; Lloyd 1952; Green 1972)

and lumber felling (Rickaby 1926; Fowke 1970). Another branch of occupational study has been concerned with trade union songs (Kornbluh 1964), with the term 'laborlore' being used to describe the wider folklore of this type (Green 1968). 'Laborlore' also merges into the broader area of protest folksong (Greenway 1953).

Another way of defining a 'folk group' was as an *ethnic* minority. Immigrant communities often formed enclaves in their adopted countries, and were discovered by folklorists to sometimes preserve the songs and music of their original cultures. Work in the United States revealed that ethnic enclaves flourished equally well in urban as in rural settings, thus further redefining folk groups beyond the early model of an isolated rustic peasantry (Parades 1968; Myers 1993c). In Britain, mobile communities such as 'travellers' have also been viewed as enclaved minority groups (MacColl and Seeger 1977).

The folk music of various other associations, which are neither properly occupational or ethnic, have also been studied, including children (Opie and Opie 1997 [1951], 1985; Lowenstein 1974) and convicts (Jackson 1972). These expansions of the idea of a 'folk group' contributed to a theoretical breakthrough by Alan Dundes in the mid-1960s. Dundes universalised the concept, proposing that 'a folk' could be

> *any group of people whatsoever* who share at least one common factor. It does not matter what the linking factor is – it could be a common occupation, language or religion – but what is important is that a group… will have some traditions it calls its own. (Dundes 1965:2, original italics)

Further important shifts in thinking occurred in the 1960s within Folkloristics and Ethnomusicology which centred attention on *performance*. The performance of a song could be viewed as a complex combining of text, style, singer and audience in an unfolding event. Singers were participating in a process, which required the researcher to take into account frames of reference and layers of local meaning (Lord 1960; Merriam 1964; Finnegan 1977). The setting in time, place, social group and wider society was bound up in the term *context*. Within Folkloristics the single most influential definition was produced by Dan Ben-Amos, who combined process and context in a single formulation, summed up in the phrase "folklore is artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1972:13). Ben-Amos did not want to regard folklore as a "collection of things" and considered that oral transmission did not define folklore, only described an aspect of it (*ibid.*:9). Folklore was instead a "communicative process… [and] an artistic action" that occurred in the face-to-face social setting of the small group (9-10). While some maintained that products (or 'texts') were still a valid object of study in themselves (Wilgus 1972), the 'performance school' ushered in a new era of theories and concepts (Paredes and Bauman 1972; Goldstein and Ben-Amos 1975). Definitions of folk music now shifted away from oral transmission, internal characteristics and style. One influential branch of study proposed that a single genre of folklore, such as folk music, should be considered as part of the overall 'folklife' of communities because of its structural relation to other strands of expressive culture and custom (Yoder 1976; Titon 1988).

In the 1970s concepts of *tradition* began to be re-evaluated. Ben-Amos had excluded the idea of tradition from his definition on the grounds that, even if the traditional nature of an item of folklore was established, this was not necessarily an indispensable "cultural fact" for the source group (1972:13). But some folklorists wanted to study the recurrence of folklore products, patterns of action and social structures within the face-to-face group setting (Elbourne 1975; Joyner 1975). The realisation that all groups tended to 'traditionalize' aspects of their culture extended the basis for this kind of research (Hymes 1975), and case studies confirmed that groups were often highly conscious of the traditional nature of their music (Dunn 1980; Glassie 1982; Cooke 1986). In 1981, the International Folk Music Council changed its name to the International Council for Traditional Music, reflecting a sense that perhaps 'traditional music' now better described the field than 'folk music' (Bohlman 1988:xi). For several previous decades, the term 'folk music' had been used in ways different from the academic sense, eg. as a commercial music genre, and the change to 'traditional music' clarified the object of interest.[1]

But like 'folk music', 'tradition' is an ambiguous term with a wide range of meanings, which now began to be probed (Ben-Amos 1984). One development was the recognition and analysis of 'invented traditions': those which "claim or appear to be old [but] are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm 1983:1). Furthermore, some folklorists sensed that such a dichotomy between 'genuine' and 'spurious' tradition was in itself misleading (Handler and Linnekin 1984). According to this view, tradition should not be regarded as a bounded "natural object" to be verified, but as an "interpretative process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity" (*ibid.*:273). In the eyes of another writer, "tradition is the creation of the future out of the past" and encompasses a plethora of activities which establish such connections (Glassie 1995:395).

These reassessments of the core concepts of Folkloristics were part of a wider disciplinary self-evaluation that occurred in the 1980s. From a postmodern perspective, Folkloristics involved the construction of a silent Other (the 'folk') and the discipline was just as implicated in the politics of culture as any other (Shuman and Briggs 1993; Abrahams 1993). Writers began to examine the 'mediations' of early collectors, their methods, characterisations of 'the folk' and editing of material (Pickering 1982; Harker 1985; Boyes 1993). The unacknowledged quest within the discipline for various conceptions of 'the authentic' also came under close scrutiny (Bendix 1997). The notion that Folkloristics was a form of cultural intervention in the public world was similarly debated (A. Green 1983; Bendix 1997:215-216), together with the practices of 'applied folklore', in which 'public folklorists' advocated folkloric representations in museums, festivals and community events (Ben-Amos 1998; Zeitlin 1999; also Baron and Spitzer 1992).

The combined adjustments of perspective in this period opened up the study of folk music in new ways. One important development was the long-overdue study of the folk revival movement. Although popular biographies and overviews had long existed (Seeger 1972; Laing *et al* 1975), academic studies of the revival had been rare. One reason was that for many folklorists the music of the revival violated their conceptions of authenticity and scholarly ethics (Legman 1970:494-521). But to a new generation, the folk revival movement contained a range of interesting musical transformations, ethnographic situations and 'revival ideals' (Rosenberg 1993; Livingston 1999; Winick 2004; Smith 2005). Such explorations have been complemented by hypotheses about how folk culture and popular culture might be related (Narvaez and Laba 1987), although outside the Folkloristics discipline, this very distinction has sometimes been challenged (Middleton 1990:127-146). New terms, such as 'vernacular music', have also emerged to describe music previously treated as a form of folk music (Bohlman 2001).

The study of folk music currently claims a panorama of possible subjects. Certain writers have consequently felt the lack of a "powerful theory that can tie together the contexts, performers, materials and musical styles in a convincing way" (Porter 1991:125). Yet for others, such a unifying theory is of less importance than deciding the dialectics that inform questions of origin, tradition, authenticity and social function (Bohlman 1988). For these writers, the "the dynamic nature of folk music belies the stasis of definition" (*ibid.*:xviii). If Folkloristics is now the study of "tradition in relation to the modern world", questions of process and transformation will certainly lie at the heart of the discipline (Shuman and Briggs 1993:131). Also central is ethnographic methodology, where the folklorist works from the "inside out, from the place where people have the power to govern their lives to the spaces in which their powers evaporate" (Glassie 1995:401). For others the discipline's mission is to consider expressive culture in general and expand "common perceptions of what constitutes art and indeed what constitutes humanity" (McDowell and Smith 2004:103).

Authenticity

Authenticity was until recently an unexamined concept in Folkloristics. To refer to an 'authentic folk song' implied that the song had simply fulfilled the criteria required to be considered a *bona fide* folk song. Yet such criteria have evolved markedly over the years, as the preceding discussion has demonstrated. Originally the defining aspect of a folk song was being sung by a rural *Volk*, but the

criteria have since moved through anonymous composition, narrative form, oral transmission, singing style, traditionality and being sung in face-to-face settings. Such varied efforts to define folk music indicate both a serious concern with identifying the authentic subject of study and the elusive quality of the authenticity sought for.

An important analysis of this paradox is Regina Bendix's *In Search of Authenticity – The Formation of Folklore Studies* (1997). Bendix proposes that the quest for 'the authentic' in Western culture was initiated by the onset of modernity in the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment introduced new rational and scientific ways of looking at society and the universe, but also produced an existential and spiritual crisis. Cultural movements, like the Romantic movement, sought for existential redemption through contact with various Others: nature, the inner soul, the ancient world, exotic peoples and folk cultures. The concept of 'authenticity' became an important way of differentiating between aspects of these various Others and the modern Western world.

Folkloristics has been concerned with authenticity in its definitions of product, selection of folk groups and methods of study. Most crucially, it has sought to "render authenticity as a scientifically verifiable entity" in order to legitimise itself as a discipline (Bendix 1997:46). An important way of doing this has been to devise definitions of folklore that distinguish an authentic object. Such definitions use different criteria and thus construct competing ideals of authenticity. What these constructions conceal are anxieties about the survival and integrity of the subject. Genuine folksong has often been deemed on the verge of extinction and in need of being saved, a narrative of 'salvage' played out by successive generations of folklorists (*ibid.*:10, 125-126). Notions of the authentic also imply an anxiety that it could be contaminated by its opposite: the inauthentic. At various times folklorists have become concerned to what extent their materials are indeed authentic or not. For instance, the nineteenth century German scholar Carl Lachmann became engrossed with determining from manuscript sources the oldest and most original form of heroic poems like *Parcival* and *Der Nibelungen* (60-66). The twentieth century American folklorist Richard M. Dorson repeatedly attacked what he saw as 'fakelore', material felt to be fabricated, dubiously sourced, not from oral tradition, or which had been adapted for popular consumption. Such material could not be trusted for consideration by the scholarly folklorist (189-194). Bendix highlights an associated 'rhetoric of authenticity': a vocabulary which contrasts the 'genuine', 'real', 'pure', 'original' and 'natural', with the 'fake', 'contrived', 'impure', 'corrupted' and 'synthetic'.

The quest for authenticity is "oriented toward the recovery of an essence whose loss has been realised only through modernity, and whose recovery is feasible only through methods and sentiments created in modernity" (Bendix 1997:8). Folklorists have been concerned with retrieving 'authentic' folklore from the matrix of modern print, media and mass culture which seems to be causing its demise. But these efforts have led to the incongruity of 'authentic folk songs' being presented in books or on sound recordings. Paradoxically, the very perception of 'authenticity' is a product of modernity. Acknowledging the insights of the 1970s 'performance school', Bendix concludes that authenticity is only found in the "fleeting moment of enactment" of expressive culture, that it is "experiential, rather than static and lasting" (*ibid*.:198). Folkloristic definitions and methods are attempts to carry through experiential authenticity into the scholarly domain, but cannot succeed. Authenticity remains transitory and subject to interpretation. It is not an objective quality.

Quests for the authentic aim to "satisfy a longing for an escape from modernity" and can scarcely be dispelled from the work of folklorists or removed from modern society (Bendix 1997:7). Authentication of products, experiences and lifestyles happens in many contexts. For folklorists, the dialectics of authentication within source traditions have become a category of interest (Bohlman 1988:10-11). Quests for the authentic are not activities to be simply deconstructed and discarded. Rather they generate new ideas and implications, of which it is important to be aware. Searches for authentic folk music by collectors are often nourished by a variety of other cultural projects, such as revival or heritage preservation, and can be interwoven with activities like song adaptation or performance, further complicating their meaning. New Zealand collectors have located authenticity in different aspects of what they have collected, and identifying these aspects is essential to understand the meaning of their work.

Nationalism

An important motive for folk music collecting is nationalism. This element was prominent in the eighteenth century work of Herder and folk culture has since become an expression of nationalism in many countries. 'National' costumes, dances and songs derived from folk sources are used for special occasions, while their promotion through schools or other public organisations is an accepted way of raising national consciousness. Folk music collectors are therefore special contributors to the formation of national identity.

As with the concept of *Volkslieder*, the idea of 'the nation' is often seen to be a creation of the Enlightenment era. The eighteenth century saw a decline in monarchical government in Europe, accompanied by the emergence of republicanism and democracy in Europe and the New World. 'Nationhood' came to be identified with ideals of self-determination and independence. In a broad sense, nations have become the most convenient way for large groups of people to organise themselves in the modern world.

Nations have been conceptualised as "imagined communities" (Anderson 1983). This is because members of a nation "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (*ibid*.:15). Such feelings of nationhood are thought to be strengthened in various ways, such as through common ethnicity or language, or the construction of national symbols via the appropriation of history, culture, landscape and notions of destiny (Spencer and Wollman 2002:57-93). Together, these form a sense of national identity. Folk music delivers unique symbols of nationhood by satisfying nationalistic longings for myths of origin, community or purity. These myths characteristically involve a 'folk' bearing an old, authentic and continuous culture.

The nationalistic motive imparts a serious dimension to folk music collecting and its influence can be discerned throughout the process in a number of different ways. Firstly, it may be an impelling motive for an individual to begin collecting. The notion that there is a *national* heritage which must be preserved is particularly important. Collectors tend to be intellectuals or well-educated, a segment of society who play a key part in 'imagining' nationhood (Spencer and Wollman 2002:74-76). They may also have access to international perspectives and experiences, creating an awareness of how folk music may symbolise "differential identity" on the international stage (Bauman 1972).[2] Such feelings may be strengthened in reaction to a predominance of foreign-sourced folk music in the local scene. Secondly, nationalism can delimit the kind of material that is gathered. Music may be overlooked on the grounds that it does not promote national awareness even if it fulfils folkloric standards of authenticity. Thirdly, collected material is very often presented and intellectually framed in terms of a national culture. Ascribing national categories has become a common way to generalise about folk music, eg. as 'English folksong' or 'American folk music'.

An interesting effect of the nationalistic imperative is how folk music is often situated at the national 'cultural core', while the actual material is drawn from the 'cultural boundary'. The songs and music of vanished, archaic, marginal or local traditions are usually highly sought after. Material which is historically distant and fragmentary carries an aura of 'folk origins': a feeling of "continuous connection to a historical stage of protonationhood" (Bohlman 1988:131). Similarly, myths of national community often find their basis in peripheral social groups. For example, Russel Ward in his study *The Australian Legend* (1958), locates the origins of the Australian national ethos in the folk culture of nineteenth century bushmen and rural workers. This is despite the fact that these were minority groups within Australian society, which during this period had one of the most urbanised populations in the world (Sinclair 1986:10). Myths of national purity may also be expressed through collecting. For instance, Cecil Sharp considered English folksong was a pure English music because the process of oral tradition and community selection expressed the "racial character" of the nation (1965:41). It was thus a true national music to be preferred to the cosmopolitan repertoire heard in concert halls and taught in schools (*ibid.*:173-180; see also Harker 1985:177-180). Conversely, the nationalistic self-image of the United States is aligned with ideals of individualism and democracy.

The effect of this can be discerned in the printed compendiums of American folk music which encompass a wide variety of regional, occupational and ethnic music (eg. Lomax 1960).

In New Zealand, it is also relevant to investigate how ideas of nationhood have driven folk music collecting. Historians such as Keith Sinclair and Miles Fairburn have identified a number national myths operating in New Zealand culture, including a pioneering myth (Sinclair 1986:8-9), and that of a utopian 'ideal society' (Fairburn 1989). Schools of literary nationalism have also devised distinct expressions of national identity (Sinclair 1986:239-254; Jones 1989). Folk music collecting creates another interpretation of the 'cultural core' through the collecting and organising of folk material. This thesis describes the effect of nationalism upon the process and productions of collectors; the greater task of comparing national folk symbologies with those of literature, popular culture or state museums is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The Folk Music Canon

One of the most important outcomes of collecting is the formation of a national folk music canon. The canon is a standard repertoire with common subject matter, styles and other attributes. Songs in the canon are 'held up' as typical examples and have a strong influence on how folk music is felt to be a national heritage.

A national folk music canon can be conceptualised as an 'imagined canon'. This concept was created by Philip Bohlman, who distinguished it from other sorts of folk music canons, such as the standard repertory of a small group of people, or of a particular community or region (Bohlman 1988:110-112, 116-119). The imagined canon instead relates to large communities such as nation states, extending Benedict Anderson's paradigm of the 'imagined community'. In fact, Bohlman considers that "the imagined canon is inseparable from the processes of modern nation-building" (*ibid*.:119).[3]

The imagined canon appears to be a *bricolage* of material of different types, periods and traditions (Lévi-Strauss 1966). For instance, as will be seen, the New Zealand folk music canon includes the sea shanties of American whalers of the 1830s, goldfield music hall songs from the 1860s, early twentieth century 'bush songs', ballads from the Great Depression, tramping songs and compositions by urban songwriters from the 1960s revival era, such as Peter Cape. Sentiments and criteria bind this disparate material into a unity with "expansive, yet luminous symbolic meaning" (Bohlman 1988:120). The canon is a manifest realisation of folk music as national symbology.

The formation of the national folk music canon is a complex process. Fundamentally, songs are shifted from often very limited circulation and relevance (one person, community or occupation) to a national level. The process involves not only collecting, but publishing, performing, recording and other promotional activity. The canon can remain 'open' and be augmented not only through further collecting, but also through the songs of contemporary songwriters and performers. Songs from folk revival songwriters may emulate the styles and subject matter of collected local pieces, and also be informed by outside influences. There can also be different 'imaginings' of the canon by collectors or anthologists, in which the repertory is arranged in ways that create, on a symbolic level, different interpretations of nationhood. Non-collectors can also 'imagine' the canon in an influential manner. For instance, Francis Child was not a collector as such, but in the nineteenth century he delineated a canon of English and Scottish ballads which remains a vital reference point. Likewise, the Australian writer Hugh Anderson enlarged the Australian folk music canon by researching the printed and manuscript records of the nineteenth century (Anderson 1970).

One interesting aspect of the nationalistic imperative in canon formation is how it can override criteria of authenticity or even historical reality. Bohlman notes that folk music in the modern world, especially in the context of revival, is freighted with a "new authenticity" which serves imagined continuities to the past (1988:130). Thus, the Israeli national folk music canon, by virtue of being called 'folk music', provided myths of origin and community for mid-twentieth century immigrants,

even while its empirical continuity to a more distant past was largely fictitious (*ibid*.:117-119). In a similar way, writers have highlighted how fakelore (invented or fabricated folklore), like the 'clan tartan' tradition in Scotland or the Paul Bunyan tales in America, may actually serve deep yearnings within national communities (Trevor-Roper 1983; Dundes 1985). In such cases, issues of authenticity are often quietly ignored.

In New Zealand, several collectors have contributed rather different imaginings of the canon, whether through song anthologies or recording oeuvres. In most cases, the repertory is overlapping. The way in which each individual has bound together or 'imagined' the canon is one of the most interesting outcomes of the collecting process, and must be considered alongside questions of authenticity and nationalism.

Revival

Collectors have often been involved in attempts to 'revive' and promote the music they have collected. Indeed, the very nature of collecting is a preserving and therefore potentially revivalist action. Folk music revivals were prominent in the English-speaking world during the twentieth century and are often considered as parts of an overall 'folk revival movement'. This movement has involved the widespread use of folk music in schools; the rise of participatory singing, folk clubs and folk festivals; and the release of large quantities of commercial music marketed as 'folk music'. The proliferation of new contexts for music originally sourced elsewhere carries many implications.

Revivals have been defined as "social movements which strive to 'restore' a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past for the benefit of contemporary society" (Livingston 1999:66). In practice, folk revivals encompass a wide range of such 'restorations' combined with other cultural goals. They can recreate lost or fragmentary traditions; or learn music styles from source practitioners, as has happened in the United States with bluegrass music (Rosenberg 1993:177-182). Heightened political consciousness in the 1960s led to folk music being used as an expression of public protest and original songs based on folk models were created. The incorporation of original music is a widespread aspect of folk revivals and when it occurs, some members – often called 'traditionalists' - may prefer to isolate traditional from contemporary material. Others may determine that composition is a requisite first step in initiating all 'folk processes'. Similar dynamic tensions inform the use of a national versus an international repertoire, or whether commercial values should be admitted (Smith 2005:33-34). Revival movements can eventually split into smaller factions, which enact differing stylistic interests or ideals of authenticity (Livingston 1999:76-77).

Folk music collectors have a special relationship to revival movements. If authenticity and nationalism help determine the content of a folk music canon, revival can be seen as its most highly-evolved enactment in the public arena. Along with providing a repertoire, collectors help instil notions of authenticity and nationalism into revival movements. The fact that songs and music have been collected 'in the field' adds an authentic dimension, while nationalism may be an important rallying cry. Of course, not all collectors necessarily have a direct link to revival movements and may work only within a scholarly framework. But for others revival is a cultural goal which precedes, justifies and informs the entire collecting enterprise and may involve publishing song collections, performing in public, making sound recordings, teaching music or creating media presentations such as radio broadcasts. Collectors may also advise revival performers on style and repertoire (Rosenberg 1993:13-14). Individual collectors such as Cecil Sharp, A.L. Lloyd and Alan Lomax all helped initiate and shape revivals in Britain and the United States. Sharp collected songs but was also involved with lobbying the British Board of Education for their introduction into the public school syllabus (Harker 1985:181-184). In Australia, the collectors John Meredith, John Manifold and Ron Edwards published popular collections and started music groups to perform them at concerts (McKenry 1997).

Performing collected folk music involves taking a particular product or style from a source context and into a revival one. In the process, the music's social setting is changed and its meaning transformed. A song which may have been sung to family in a domestic tradition can be subsequently performed by another singer on a public stage in front of a paying audience. In such situations, performers must develop "convincing, enjoyable ways of presenting the retrieved material to contemporary audiences" (Smith 2005:10). This may involve instrumental accompaniment, group arrangements, sound amplification, audience explanations and the use of costumes.

The extended transformations that occur in folk revivalism have been conceptualised in many ways. A crucial issue for scholars has been deciding how the original meaning of folk music survives radical changes - if indeed at all - especially when meaning has so often been centred around ideas of authenticity, social grouping and performance setting. Generally, folk revivals have been identified as middle class in nature (Rosenberg 1993:5; Cantwell 1993:35-36; Livingston 1999:77-79; Smith 2005:7-8). For some, revivalism is a class or cultural intrusion, in which traditions are appropriated to become romanticised vehicles of authenticity: "new symbols masquerading as the old" (Bohlman 1988:131). Others have characterised revivals as longings for an alternative to mass-produced music; celebrations of neglected traditions; or liberating musical environments based on ideas of 'folk community' and 'folk process' (Smith 2005:13-14). Folklorists have recognised that the organisations and events of the 'folk revival movement' form an ethnographic context which can be studied like any other folk group (Posen 1993; Greenhill 1993; Lederman 1993). This involves an acceptance that revival transformations actually create a 'new aesthetic' which "synthesises elements from a variety of traditional forms to create a separate music-culture" and may comprise a tradition in its own right (Rosenberg 1993:3).

In New Zealand, revival ideals and contexts have been an important element in the work of many of the collectors covered in this thesis. Several proceeded with the aim of performing, publishing or promoting the material they hoped to find. The folk revival movement itself was an evolving backdrop throughout the era covered. To fully understand the manner and form in which the canon has been presented it is vital to examine the revivalist activities of the various individuals as well as their intersection with the folk revival movement.

Mediation

The nature of revival brings into sharp relief how collectors act as mediators between informants and a wider public. Revival performers shape material for their needs, but this process of transformation actually begins with the collector who provides the material. Collectors solicit for certain kinds of material from informants and then make selections about what to further promote. At a fundamental level even the act of writing down a song from an informant is a mediation which transforms 'folk music as performance' into 'folk music as physical artefact'. The lyrics and melody of a collected song may then be adapted, edited, added to, or melded with other songs, before being presented in books or otherwise made accessible for performers.

The concept of mediation was used by David Harker in his 1985 study of English collectors, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to Present Day* (Harker 1985). Working within an explicitly Marxist framework, Harker proposed that collecting in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries entailed the 'commodification' of songs acquired from unpaid informants by middle-class collectors like Sharp. After editing, smoothing and bowdlerisation, these songs emerged as an idealised working-class music acceptable to a middle-class audience disturbed by the vigorousness of the contemporary popular culture. The work of a later collector, A.L. Lloyd, was viewed by Harker as an enterprise whereby 'English folk music' was reconstructed in left-wing terms so that the folk revival could become a political force. In both cases, the social status and ideological beliefs of the collectors had a profound impact on the form in which they presented songs and the means they used to promote them.

Mediation takes many forms and can have a number of stages. Archiving and scholarship are interrelated mediations of folk music. The academic folklorist may archive a song in an unedited state as a field recording. If the song is later transcribed onto paper it becomes mediated into a new form which can be effectively analysed and conveyed to other scholars. These various activities all situate the collector as the primary intermediary through whose hands folk music passes from the source informant into another context, in another form. This transformative process is influenced by the priorities of each collector, their allegiance to various cultural or scholarly projects, and their notions of authenticity. Examining the work of collectors as mediators helps us understand the various forms in which folk music has been presented in New Zealand.

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[1] Even in the 1960s, some scholars advised a move away from such terms as 'folk song' to more narrow designations, such as *gruppenlieder* or 'group song' (Klusen 1986 [1967]). Charles Keil and David Harker both proposed that the 'folk' designation should be abandoned due to its potentially condescending overtones (Keil 1978; Harker 1985).

[2] The notion of international 'differential identity' may be particularly relevant in the New Zealand context. Mike Harding has noted that "New Zealanders usually need to go overseas to develop an awareness of their national identity" (Harding 1992:57).

[3] Bohlman's statement could also be inverted: modern nation-building demands the formation of a national folk music canon.

Chapter 2

The New Zealand Background

This chapter will survey the New Zealand background to the folk music collecting covered in this thesis. It will begin with a brief overview of the collecting of Maori music, followed by a discussion of early collecting of other types of folk music in New Zealand, in particular the work of James Cowan and Mona Tracy. After this, four contrasting statements about folk music in New Zealand by pre-1955 commentators will be examined. The chapter will then give a broad overview of the folk revival movement in New Zealand, beginning with a brief discussion of the nineteenth century Scottish revival and English country dancing in the early twentieth century. It will then describe in greater detail the American-influenced revival which became popular in the late 1950s. Lastly there will be a discussion of scholarly research into folk music in New Zealand and collecting which has been conducted after 1975.

The Collecting of Maori Music

Threads of collecting activity stretch back to the earliest years of European settlement in New Zealand. Before the advent of settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, Maori music existed as an aural music and oral song tradition and European settlers became interested in studying and documenting it. Probably the first systematic song collecting was done by Sir George Grey. During his first governorship in the 1850s, he published several editions of *Ko nga Moteata, me nga Hakirara o nga Maori*, a collection containing over 500 texts. Smaller books were compiled over subsequent years, then in the 1860s John McGregor collected around 400 songs from Maori prisoners of war he was guarding (Thomson 1991:196).

At the end of the nineteenth century, the composer Alfred Hill became interested in European-influenced Maori songs, collecting and adapting these for several published collections. Hill included Maori melodies in his symphonies and operas, and also composed several songs with partly Maori words and musical styles, such as 'Waiata Poi', which became very popular throughout New Zealand (McLean 1996:313-314; Thomson 1991:217-220). In the early twentieth century, early wax cylinder field recordings were made by A.J. Knocks and Percy Grainger, who personally admired Maori music for its passion and musical qualities (Grainger 1915:425-427; Thomson 1991:138-139). Between 1919 and 1923, Elsdon Best, Johannes Andersen and James McDonald undertook several recording expeditions for the Dominion Museum in Wellington.

An early Maori collector was the Ngati Porou leader Sir Apirana Ngata, who helped arrange the Dominion Museum expeditions. In the 1930s he himself made cylinder recordings of Maori songs, working out of his office as Minister of Native Affairs in Wellington. He later facilitated efforts by the New Zealand Broadcasting Service (NZBS) to record songs that were sung at meetings onto acetate discs (McLean 1996:340). These efforts resulted in the posthumous collection, *Nga Moteatea*, which extended to several volumes. Ngata's work was also part of a cultural revival within Ngati Porou and wider Maoridom, and he wrote new material and stimulated the growth of the 'waiata a ringa' (action song) genre. Other Maori collectors included Arapeta Awatere, who carried out work for the Maori Purposes Fund Board in the 1950s.

An important later researcher was the ethnomusicologist Mervyn McLean. Between 1958 and 1979, McLean recorded over 1300 traditional songs throughout New Zealand and helped establish the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music at the University of Auckland. McLean's work aimed to preserve the oldest available material from elderly singers and these recordings have since functioned as repositories of tribal song for particular iwi (McLean 2004).

The field of Maori music is large. Scholars continue to broach new areas of interest, including traditional musical instruments and the large body of twentieth century songs composed in a

European idiom. From Sir George Grey onwards, the work of collectors has been prominent and some, such as Hill and Ngata, have succeeded in promoting material within broader society. By comparison, the collecting of non-Maori folk music has been much less celebrated.

Early Collecting

Apart from Maori music, a quantity of other folk music was also collected in New Zealand in the nineteenth century, but this collecting was far less systematic or organised. The texts and tunes of various songs were located by twentieth century researchers in ship logbooks, newspaper articles, settler diaries, local histories, song anthologies and manuscript music folios. These sources have proved valuable in accessing an earlier time period and specific examples can be found in several of the song anthologies covered in this thesis.

The nature of this early collecting means that much of it remains to be catalogued or located. Such documentations were generally singular and isolated instances; for example, a sea shanty overheard on a sea voyage or a street ditty printed for an article. More substantial collecting was very rare, one example being the printing of a few local songs by Dunedin publisher Joseph Braithwaite in his small songsters of the 1870s.[1] Although this material was set down for a variety of reasons, it is apparent that most individuals did not perceive what they had recorded to be 'folk music'. For this reason, such documenting can only be termed 'accidental' collecting. The perception that it was valuable and worth collecting as 'folk music' was not achieved until 1913, in an article by James Cowan.

James Cowan

James Cowan (1870-1943) was one of the best known New Zealand writers of the early twentieth century.[2] Growing up on the northern border of the King Country, within proximity of both local Maori and a garrison of Armed Constabulary, Cowan gained a special rapport with Maori and a feeling for New Zealand history. He built a career as a writer and journalist, publishing over thirty books including ethnographic studies, colonial histories, tourist guides and collections of frontier stories and Maori legends. He is probably best regarded for his account of the New Zealand Wars published in 1922-23, a project funded by the Department of Internal Affairs. For this Cowan interviewed all living combatants he could locate and travelled to remote battle sites on horseback. Much of his other research also involved fieldwork, during which he collected a few Maori songs. It has been noted that Cowan's life was informed by a sense of nationalistic purpose. He hoped that writing about New Zealand history would help nourish a "spirit of nationhood" (Colquhoun 1996:120).

In 1912 Cowan was making his living as a freelance journalist. In June of this year he published an article in the *Canterbury Times* entitled 'The Chantey', about the sea shanties he had heard on his travels around New Zealand and the South Pacific (Cowan 1912). Praising these "real old working-songs of the sea" for their plaintive melodies, he remarked that they were known to seamen all around the world but were seldom heard by the 'landsman' (*ibid.*). One of his sources was a Maori sailor, Tohi te Marama, whom Cowan had encountered in Fiordland and whose shanty recollections dated back to the era of the 1849 California goldrush. In total, Cowan mentions the titles of almost two dozen pieces in this article and gives excerpts from seven. Two of these are quoted by Cowan because they had been localised through the addition of New Zealand placenames.

In September of the following year Cowan published 'The Bush Poet – Some Old New Zealand Songs', also in the *Canterbury Times* (Cowan 1913). This is probably the first occasion in New Zealand where it was suggested there were English-language songs in the country akin to folk songs. Although other writers had previously mentioned similar material, Cowan's article is a significant leap forward.[3] Because of its importance and relative inaccessibility, a transcription of this article is given in Appendix 1.

Without directly naming him, Cowan's 1913 article begins by praising the work of A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson in Australia during the previous decade. In 1905 Paterson had published his famous collection of Australian songs, *Old Bush Songs*, which was reprinted in several editions until the 1930s (Paterson 1905). It included classics like 'The Old Bark Hut', 'The Wild Colonial Boy', 'The Dying Stockman' and 'The Overlander'. Shifting to the New Zealand context, Cowan notes that there are local equivalents to the Australian bush songs, but they are as yet uncollected. Although he follows Paterson's ideas in some respects, Cowan quickly sketches out a fresh and expansive portrait of the 'bush song' as he sees it in New Zealand.

Cowan examines songs from the bush felling, gum digging and flax milling camps, and from the vessels plying the coastlines. He describes a tradition that lies beyond the towns and the ken of the average "city man"[4]: it is a culture circumscribed by geographic and social difference. He evokes a milieu of old soldiers, gold-diggers, veteran pioneers and come-ashore sailors, who pass songs down to their "sons and grandsons" in the rural world of the bush camps. Like Paterson, he declares that such "rough-hewn" songs sound best in their native setting "chanted by strong lungs… around a camp-fire" and whatever their literary defects, are classics of their kind. The account is lent weight by Cowan's wide experience and the variety of examples he provides. He admits to not being knowledgeable of the current 'bush' repertoire of the South Island, but writes with familiarity of songs heard in the backblocks of the North Island, with further items from coastal steamers and windjammers. He quotes from six songs overall and mentions three more. The text of one song – 'Paddy Doyle's Lament' – is printed in its entirety.

What is remarkable about Cowan's perspective is that he considers the bush songs of New Zealand largely on their own terms. Unlike Paterson, he only very briefly draws a parallel with the "venerable folksongs" of the Old World.[5] The equivalence, not identicalness, of these traditions is what is implied for the New Zealand context. Cowan surveys a mixture of material, reflected in a terminology encompassing 'bush song', 'chantey', 'homely rhyme', 'ditty', 'ballad', 'doggerel' and 'old "waiata"'. A distinction is made between entirely "home-made" songs and certain sea shanties which had come ashore with sailors and had local touches added. Anonymous ballads are discussed on equal terms with songs written by Charles Thatcher, a professional goldfield ballad singer of the 1860s and 1870s. These have apparently become "bush-camp classics" in their own right through oral tradition, though Cowan does touch on the existence of Thatcher's printed songsters. Certain pieces require topical knowledge or a good understanding of a "pidgin-English jumble of the Maori and pakeha tongues". Other songs are described as having familiar Minstrel tunes, while the localised shanty 'The Sailor's Way' is said to be originally derived from a literary poem.[6] All these comments indicate that, for Cowan, authenticity extended across oral, written, popular, local and 'bush' traditions.

Cowan was most impressed by the length of time that certain songs had survived – fifty years or more – and as an historian, his central valuation of the songs is as historic artefacts. He perceived that this material could "memorise… historic events of the troubled old days" which might otherwise not be recorded. Commenting on a ballad from the wars of the 1860s, he remarks how it would help later generations "picture the tribulations" of the recruits. Such songs comprise an "index to the life and ways of the men who sing them, or used to sing them". It is for this reason that the New Zealand bush songs are like folk songs, a valuation which marks the article as a small but crucial breakthrough. Like the 'accidental' collectors of the nineteenth century, Cowan had come across interesting material over the years and written it down. But he was the first to ascribe these songs with a new meaning: heritage value projected into the future.

Cowan remarked, almost casually, that no one was preserving this kind of material in New Zealand, but he didn't present this as a pressing issue.[7] Here is the most striking contrast with Paterson, who believed that the Australian bush songs were dying and half-forgotten already. Cowan's articles are lively journalist pieces, rather than pleas for preserving fading traditions. He apparently never returned to the subject of the New Zealand bush song in his serious writing, but his papers, held at the Alexander Turnbull Library, might yield more collected material than was printed, a task which awaits future researchers. In the years immediately following Cowan's comments, there

appears to have been little collecting work. The next individual to record folk songs and verse on any scale was Mona Tracy in the 1920s.

Mona Tracy

Mona Tracy (*née* Mackay) (1892-1959) was born in Australia. Her family shifted to New Zealand shortly afterwards and she was raised in various places in the North Island.[8] She was a prolific writer and journalist, with a penchant for historical research, which was utilised in her many children's books and short stories, which often examine the difficulties of Maori-Pakeha relationships.

After her marriage in 1921, Tracy retired from journalism, while continuing to write books and articles. The family was based in Christchurch and, over the next decade or so, they frequently took holidays on the West Coast. Tracy gained a sense that the atmosphere of the nineteenth century gold rushes lingered on there and whenever possible she took the opportunity to interview elderly townsfolk, gold-diggers and bush hermits about West Coast characters and events, also rummaging through back issues of newspapers such as the *Kumara Times* and *Charleston Herald*. This research was utilised in the mid-1930s for radio broadcasts on the 3YA station and newspaper articles printed in the *The Christchurch Star-Sun*. The articles began in October 1936 with the six-part 'Wayfarings to Westland' series.[9] After this she wrote a sequence of historical pieces, followed in June 1937 by the five-part 'West Coast Yesterdays' series.[10] The 1936-37 articles were later collated for the book *West Coast Yesterdays*, which was published posthumously (Tracy 1960).

Scattered throughout Tracy's published writings are the texts of one collected song and six fragments. Manuscript papers held in the Turnbull Library yield three more pieces; a further complete song is printed by Bailey and Roth (1967). See Appendix 2 for details. In one article she gives an account of her collecting and her valuation of the material:

> Now and again in Westland I have come across rags and tags of such verse. Some of it is preserved in old albums. More is found lingering still in the memories of the older generation of West Coasters. Whenever such has been possible I have written the verses down, even though some of them rest under the suspicion of having lost many of their original lines and of having acquired substitutes during the long march of the years.
>
> Topical verse has always maintained a place of affection in the hearts of communities even less elemental than were those on the Coast. Therefore such scraps of it as still survive in Westland are not, by any means, to be despised for the reason that they may not be pedantically perfect. Often, indeed they refer to events and incidents which otherwise might be forgotten.
>
> "The Shanties by the Way," for instance, a crude ditty which arrived with the diggers from Ballarat, was just as typical of old Hokitika as was the "Oh Susannah!" of the Californian Forty-Niners, and no chronicler of early West Coast life, be he historian or novelist, can afford to ignore its not very lilting, though innumerable stanzas.
>
> So with "The Digger's Farewell," a few verses of which I have quoted. It speaks of the West Coast outlook of 1874, a period when claims were duffering out, and disheartened diggers were departing Australiawards in hundreds. (Tracy 1937b)

There are strong echoes of Cowan's viewpoint in this passage; as a fellow writer and historian, she also celebrates the historical value of the material despite its often "crude" literary quality. Like Cowan, she also makes mention of the songs of Charles Thatcher (Tracy 1960:150, 188).[11]

What is different in Tracy's outlook compared to Cowan is a sense of history being lost. In the intervening decades, Cowan's bush song tradition had become "rags and tags" of verse. Although she was more focused on finding stories than songs, this decline clearly reflected Tracy's experience. She later wrote of her unsuccessful search for the song 'The Shanty by the Way', which many people had heard about, though none could actually remember. Tracy's West Coast researches aimed to salvage the vestiges of a colourful past which she felt was fast disappearing and few cared about.[12] Aside

from the valuable material she preserved, her work is notable for conveying a sense that oral tradition was failing to preserve the songs and ballads of bygone days.

Comment and Conjecture

Between 1918 and 1946, a few comments were made by New Zealand writers which reflected upon folk music in one way or another. Although these do not mention collecting they do mark shifting conceptual parameters in the decades after Cowan's 1913 article. The following selection does not comprehensively cover commentary from this period, but is included to help situate the collectors who began working in the 1950s:

- In 1918, Robert Hogg, the Scottish-born editor of *New Zealand Truth*, wrote an introduction to a collection of verse by the trade unionist Edward Hunter, titled *Ballads of the Track*. In 1922 he performed the same duty for J.B. Hulbert's *My Garden and Other Verses*. Hunter and Hulbert had emigrated to New Zealand from Scotland and England respectively and become prominent in local socialist politics. Hogg himself was an honorary bard of the Glasgow United Burns Club (Cleveland 1996). Introducing the work of Hunter and Hulbert, he remarks in both cases that their verses may be "'no great shakes,' tested by the standards of the schools, but as *folk-song* meant to hearten comrades in the rough and tumble of the proletarian fight for freedom they are, and have been, effective in their own way" (Hulbert 1922:5, italics added). Whether through his passion for Scottish verse or his political beliefs, Hogg here makes a striking connection: folksong can be an expression of the working-class struggle.

- The journalist and poet J. Liddell Kelly wrote an article in 1921 for the *Auckland Star* entitled 'Peripatetic Poets – A School of Wandering Minstrels' (Kelly 1921). He describes three members of the "Roving Bardic Brotherhood"[13] who have made their poetry known throughout New Zealand: R.M.S. Mant, Dugald Ferguson and Ernest L. Eyre. As a prologue he recalls a well-travelled "clever rhymer" of the 1880s and although he does not use the term folksong, parallels are apparent in his evocation of a 'tradition' of bards and minstrels. Troubadours in a New Zealand landscape, they spread their work on the swag, in local newspapers, or by selling booklets at the doors of "isolated homesteads". Kelly suggested that such poets carried the "pleasures of literature to many otherwise debarred from such enjoyment" and considered, half in jest, that such a "School" of poetry may one day require serious scholarly attention.

- The writer, playwright and critic Alan Mulgan struck a more earnest note in his 1941 article in *N.Z. Magazine*: 'A Nation's Songs - Could N.Z. Produce a "Waltzing Matilda"?' (Mulgan 1941). Mulgan has been characterised as a writer of New Zealand's 'Late Colonial Period' of literature, inherently preoccupied with nation-building and the "presentation of positives" by authors, in sharp contrast to the demythologising of the 'Provincial' school that followed (Jones 1989:198). In the 1941 article, Mulgan compared the popular ballad poetry of Australia with that of New Zealand and doubted whether a "genuine folk-song"[14] like 'Waltzing Matilda' could ever be produced in this country. For Mulgan, the value of the song was its emblematic national quality: "the main thing is that this is Australia, and an Australia that the Australian, the New Zealander, the Canadian and the Englishman can see and understand". Mulgan's article is an early local example of a 'folk song' being imagined as a symbol of national identity and international difference, what Mulgan calls an "unofficial national anthem". The absence of such a national symbol in the New Zealand context was conspicuous to Mulgan and he suggested various reasons: the lack of the right "conditions… [and] atmosphere" or of geographical vastness's and "mysteries" which might appeal to the popular imagination. Folksong here takes its place in the throng of potential national symbols still to be created.[15]

- In 1946, the composer Douglas Lilburn delivered his seminal lecture 'A Search for Tradition' at the first Cambridge Summer School of Music (Lilburn 1984). This lecture was concerned with the development of a national tradition of classical music in New Zealand. Lilburn foresaw certain difficulties, one being that New Zealand had "no folksong" nor "any tradition… of folk

music" (Lilburn 1984:19, 21). He recalled the English, Scots and Irish songs heard at family gatherings in childhood, but considered that in post-colonial society they were no longer a cultural reference point. Nor did he feel that Maori music could serve this function, and considered that earlier efforts (ie. Alfred Hill's) were too far removed from Maori music in its "purer state", which in any case was "foreign to our own cultural sources" (*ibid*.:21). These remarks reveal a certain conception of folk music as a kind of national 'resonance' with "characteristic rhythms" to be accessed by the art composer, an idea derived from composers like Béla Bartók, Manuel de Falla and Ralph Vaughan Williams, the last of whom Lilburn had studied under in the late 1930s (*ibid.*:19). It also strongly echoes Cecil Sharp's concept of folk music expressing 'racial character'. Sophisticated new musical criteria in defining and understanding folk music had arrived in New Zealand.

The four writers discussed – Hogg, Kelly, Mulgan and Lilburn – convey quite different interpretations of 'folk music' in the New Zealand context. A definite change can be discerned between the earlier and later period. As with Cowan in 1913, Hogg and Kelly apply terms like 'folksong' with a certain looseness and creativity, Hogg defining folksong in terms of class and Kelly drawing connections with medieval minstrel traditions. Conversely, Mulgan and Lilburn express more prescriptive and nationalistic understandings of folksong. Both make international comparisons, signalling the presence of new criteria and cultural projects. All four comments are landmarks: they reveal local parallels with broader developments in the literature of folk music and folksong.

The Folk Revival Movement

Aside from these intellectual developments, a practical promotion of folk music was also unfolding in New Zealand. Cultural revival movements – defined broadly – date to the earliest years of European settlement through the influence of Scottish emigrants. In the twentieth century, there were several more waves of folk music arriving from overseas, from England in the 1920s, and from the United States in the 1950s.

The Early Revival

The most prominent revival movements of the nineteenth century were Scottish.[16] Successive waves of cultural revival have occurred in mainland Scotland since the eighteenth century (Blaustein 1993:267-268), and when Scottish emigrants arrived in Dunedin in the 1840s they brought bagpipes, fiddles and books of Scottish dance music with them (Thomson 1991:34-35). Organised public displays of solo Scottish bagpipe music probably did not occur until the convening of annual 'sports' gatherings by Caledonian societies in the 1860s (Coleman 2003:149). In 1881, a specifically Gaelic cultural revival began with the founding of the Gaelic Society in Dunedin to promote the music, dance, songs and language of the Highlands and Outer Islands. The Gaelic Society also had its own local bards, "who would compose epic verse and songs for the members" (Entwhistle 1987).[17] The bagpipe tradition entered a new phase in the 1890-1910 period with the growing popularity of formal pipe bands, which took Scottish music beyond traditional ties of kinship (McPhee 1966; Coleman 2003). Bagpipe music and Scottish dancing spread throughout New Zealand in the twentieth century and the movement remains popular today.

The revival movement which began in England in the 1900s has points of similarity with the Scottish revival, but differs in several important respects.[18] The Scottish revival was far more populist in the cultural material promoted, which included the work of collector-poets like Robert Burns and a range of 'invented traditions' such as clan tartans and kilts (Trevor-Roper 1983). The English movement was more selective, founding itself on the 'authentic' culture of a rural 'folk' distinct from the wider population. These concepts were the primary influence on how terms like 'folk music' were understood in early twentieth century New Zealand.

The influence of the English revival first became apparent in New Zealand in the 1920s when traditional dance classes began to be held.[19] [20] A definite early dating is the teaching of English country dances to school pupils and YWCA members in Christchurch in 1920-21.[21] It appears that interest was reasonably high and one writer noted that in 1930 there had been

> a massed display of 500 children in the Botanical Gardens, and… seven occasions of community dancing in Latimer Square, when on one occasion there were actually thousands present, and I am told that as many as 500 danced Sellenger's Round.[22]

Similar classes were organised in other parts of the country through schools, technical colleges and community organisations. By the 1930s dedicated groups were being set up and a national organisation – the New Zealand Society for English Folk Dancing – was founded in 1938, which published a periodical, *English Folk Lore in Dance and Song*, and organised summer schools and refresher courses. Membership of these groups probably totalled only two or three hundred, but as many were school teachers, their influence must have been substantial.

The national organisation became affiliated with the English Folk Dance and Song Society, and it is evident that several of those who promoted this dancing had taken lessons through the English Folk Dance Society formed by Cecil Sharp in 1911. An instructor at Nelson Girls' College in the 1920s had personally been a pupil of Sharp's.[23] The dances that were taught included 'Strip the Willow', 'Blue-Eyed Stranger' and the 'Durham Reel', as well as jigs, sword dances and Morris patterns like 'Country Gardens' and 'Rigs of Marlow'. The singing of English folk songs among the dance groups is only infrequently mentioned in their publications, though such songs were obviously known. A parody of 'Farewell and Adieu to You Spanish Ladies' was penned after a course in 1939 and the following excerpt expresses something of the spirit of the movement:

> We'll dance and we'll prance like true English villagers,
> We'll sing and we'll dance and ne'er take our ease
> Till we meet again for our next vacation course –
> New Plymouth to Wellington is thirty-five leagues.[24]

Coffee Houses and the 'Folk Boom'

The early 'English period' of the revival movement in New Zealand was a kind of genteel prelude to the 1950s phase. The success of the English revival model can be partly related to the attachment which many New Zealanders still felt to Great Britain in the early twentieth century. The 1950s folk revival was different. Here, the primary influence was American and was related to the growth of 'popular song' as an important cultural force.

In America, the folk music revival is often traced to the 1930s, when the first National Folk Festival was held (Rosenberg 1993:6-9). From here, the revival developed in two main directions: firstly, as a commercial music style, and secondly, as a left-wing movement. Burl Ives and John Jacob Niles became well-known commercial singers, while Pete Seeger, The Weavers and Woody Guthrie pursued more politicised agendas. American folk music was quite different from English traditional dance and song. It commonly had guitar or banjo accompaniment and the repertoire was wider, including traditional ballads, spirituals, blues, union songs and 'dustbowl' protest pieces. By the mid-1940s artists like Burl Ives began to be heard on the radio in New Zealand.[25]

The first substantial manifestation of the American revival in New Zealand was left-wing protest singing. The roots of this go back to the late 1940s and student organisations such as the Progressive Youth League.[26] The League's 1951 song book *Kiwi Youth Sings* contains a wide selection of folk, patriotic, student and trade union songs, including several local pieces (Bollinger and Grange 1951). Such singing continued to feature on a small scale through the 1950s in connection with socialist organisations and the peace movement. The Unity Singers in Auckland were one musical ensemble with this political focus. They played protest material at Labour Party meetings and Hiroshima Day

Peace Day marches and, in 1962, released the EP *It's Up to the People*, which included American songs like 'The H-Bomb's Thunder' and 'We Shall Not Be Moved'.

But as a popular style, the American revival did not make an impact until the late 1950s. The Swedish-American singer William Clauson conducted an influential concert tour in 1957 and in the same year the 2YA radio network broadcast a popular series called *All Day Singing*. This presented folk music selected by the American enthusiast Henry ('Hank') Walter; he fronted another series, *The Folk Singers*, the following year.[27] Even more importantly, 1958 saw the opening of New Zealand's first and most famous folk coffee house, the Monde Marie, in downtown Wellington.

The Monde Marie, located on the corner of Roxburgh and Majoribanks Streets, was run by Mary Seddon, the grand-daughter of New Zealand Premier Richard Seddon. Inspired by the café culture of Europe, Seddon cultivated a semi-bohemian atmosphere and had local singers provide entertainment. In pre-1967 New Zealand this was an astute tactic, as premises licensed for the sale of alcohol were required to close at 6pm. As an unlicensed venue, the coffee house soon became a popular place for young people to socialise in the evening. Seddon personally 'held court' at the Monde Marie, orchestrating a mixture of planned music and informal late night musical activities. After a year the venue expanded its premises to better accommodate gatherings of over 100 people (Stuart 1996; de Fresne 2000). Rival coffee houses soon opened, such as the Chez Paree, and elsewhere in New Zealand similar 'scenes' became established.

This upsurge in interest was closely linked to the increased prominence of the folk music genre worldwide. In 1958 the American group The Kingston Trio had a global hit with their version of 'Tom Dooley' and within a few years popular recording artists such as The Brothers Four, Peter Paul and Mary, The Clancy Brothers, Joan Baez and Bob Dylan helped turn the folk revival movement into a major cultural phenomenon. The period between 1959 and 1965 is sometimes referred to as the 'folk boom', during which many international artists toured New Zealand. There was a certain spirited informality to the era, and in Wellington, famous singers like Josh White, Theodore Bikel, Judy Collins and Paul Stookey are all said to have attended post-concert sessions at the Monde. The LP recording *Folk Concert Down Under*, released around 1965, gives an impression of the repertoire that featured in the more adventurous coffee houses. Tracks include traditional folk songs such as 'Three Jolly Rogues' and 'The Nightingale', Dylan's 'A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall', Tom Paxton's 'The Last Thing on My Mind', plus a scattering of Australian and New Zealand songs.

The most prominent local artists during the 'folk boom' period were those who emulated overseas styles. The success of The Kingston Trio inspired many performers to develop a smooth 'pop' sound, usually with catchy harmonised vocals suited to radio. A few groups achieved commercial success, most notably The Convairs. Other successful artists included The Yeomen, The Tunespinners, Rod McKinnon, Neil and Susan and The Greenstones.[28] Their public profile was partly due to NZBC television shows which showcased folk music in a way similar to the American series *Hootenanny*. Such local shows included *Singing Around*, *Folk Tonight* and *There's a Meeting Here Tonight*.

Most of the music of the New Zealand revival followed international styles, both in content and instrumentation. Bob Dylan, Buffy Saint Marie and Peter Paul and Mary songs were fairly common in the repertoire of recording groups, and although a few talented local songwriters also emerged, identifiably New Zealand content was more unusual. Apart from the performances and recordings of several collectors – which will be covered in subsequent chapters – few local folk artists and songwriters took a consciously New Zealand approach in the 1960s.[29] Most prominent were Peter Cape and Willow Macky, but popular groups and artists did occasionally feature New Zealand tracks and a few, for example The Yeomen, produced all-New Zealand recordings.[30] One of the early inspirations of the movement, William Clauson, returned to the country several times and in 1965 released an entire LP of New Zealand songs (Clauson 1965).

The delineation made here between protest, coffee house, 'folk boom' and commercial folk music is fairly arbitrary. In reality there was significant crossover, as well as other important centres of activity, such as university folk scenes. This section has also excluded mention of certain individuals,

groups and events connected to the work of the collectors which will be covered in subsequent chapters. The same qualification applies to the next section.

Folk Clubs and Folk Festivals

In the mid-1960s the folk revival movement began to evolve in a different direction. The most important developments were the founding of folk clubs and folk festivals. As the wider 'folk boom' declined, such formats were embraced by enthusiasts because they ensured a basis for ongoing performance.

Precisely when the first club was formed in New Zealand is not known, but an article from 1962 makes early mention of the Wellington Folk Singers' Club, probably started by the singer Max Winnie as an informal home gathering.[31] In February 1966 this group became formally established as the Wellington Folk Club and attracted an initial membership of sixty-two.[32] The Titirangi Folk Club in Auckland was formally set up perhaps a year earlier.[33] By 1968 there were at least nine such organisations spread across the country; by 1972, at least twenty-four.[34] These clubs gathered in coffee bars, church halls or private homes usually one night a week.

Another style of 'folk club' was inspired by the club venues of Great Britain, which had operated since the 1950s (Laing *et al* 1975:89-90). These were independent premises run along quasi-commercial lines with a membership system. Unlike the average coffee house, they were singularly dedicated to folk music, usually only being open to the public on certain nights of the week and reserved for club members on others. One of the first such venues was the Poles Apart Folk Club, established in Auckland in April 1967 by an English entrepreneur Curly Del'Monte. Comparable venues elsewhere in the country included the Wellington Folk Centre and The Folk Centre in Christchurch.

The mid-1960s also saw the rise of festivals as important sites for performance and solidarity within the movement. These probably began with the National Folk Festival held in Auckland in October 1964, though the 'national' mantle was also adopted by a more substantial gathering held in Wellington over Labour Weekend 1965 (Colquhoun 1965:13; Staley 2004). The National Folk Festival was convened in Wellington for many years, although its name was later changed to the Wellington Folk Festival. Other festivals sprang up in the 1960s, including the East Coast Folk Festival, Waihi Folk Festival, Palmerston North Folk Festival and the Traditional Festival; and a few of these still operate today. Festivals often took place over holiday weekends and encompassed not just concert performances, but workshops, instrumental clinics and informal jamming. The main performers tended to be from the local scene, but the 1970 National Folk Festival included A.L. Lloyd and Declan Affley. After this, international guests became a regular feature of the larger festivals.

The deepening of commitment among enthusiasts in the mid-1960s was also manifested in the appearance of printed newsletters and folk magazines, most importantly *Heritage*. *Heritage* ran from 1967 to 1972 and carried articles, reviews, club contacts and songs, much in the style of the American magazine *Sing Out!* Accompanying the structural changes in the revival movement was a gradual maturing of musical tastes. Imported albums by string band revivalists like The New Lost City Ramblers and Folkways field recordings were becoming readily available for the first time in New Zealand. American bluegrass music picked up a strong local following, even inspiring a dedicated festival, the National Banjo Pickers' Convention. In fact, probably the most commercially successful group of this era was the Hamilton County Bluegrass Band. Overall, the revival came to encompass an impressive array of music, including traditional British folk music, blues, sea shanties, 'singer-songwriter' material, Australian-style bush bands, country music and a contingent of singers focussed on New Zealand songs.

The 1965-1975 period saw the folk movement contract in size to a more serious and enthusiastic core. This required self-organising and self-funding right across the movement and a strong 'do it

yourself' ethos is still apparent today among 'folkies'. Since the early 1970s the revival movement has basically retained the same club-festival structure. Most folk clubs set up in the 1960s are still in existence, while the intervening decades have seen a range of new musical styles leave their mark.

Other Collecting and Folk Music Scholarship

The central focus of this thesis is the collecting of folk music and songs in the 1955-1975 period, but a significant amount of relevant work which falls outside this ambit has also been conducted.

Brian Sutton-Smith's study of children's games was one of the earliest folkloristic projects carried out in New Zealand. Between 1949 and 1951 as part of a doctoral fellowship, Sutton-Smith interviewed hundreds of people about their memories of such games, some of which dated back to the 1870s. During his fieldwork, Sutton-Smith also collected children's rhymes and songs, for example, a long version of the Guy Fawkes rhyme 'Please to remember the fifth of November' (Sutton-Smith 1981:205-207). He went on to analyse this material in a series of books and articles, assessing, among various matters, the survival of traditional English games and the interrelation between Maori and European traditions.[35] Partly through this work, Sutton-Smith has become one of the leading world experts on children's folklore and has contributed to many folklore publications.

Since the early 1990s, children's folklore has once again become an area of study. Janice Ackerley has been instrumental in creating the 'New Zealand Children's Folklore Collection' at the Christchurch College of Education, which contains thousands of rhymes gathered through student coursework since 1993 (Ackerley 2003). Allan Thomas has similarly gathered traditional children's rhymes through the School of Music at Victoria University (Thomas 1993), while more recently, linguistics researchers Laurie and Winifred Bauer conducted an extensive field study (Bauer 2002).[36]

In the field of 'adult' folk music there has been only a modest amount of post-1975 collecting carried out. Roger Dick was one of the most important individuals in this regard. He collected several dozen songs and compiled a New Zealand song collection and index (Dick 1979, 1985). These unpublished works were a major inspiration for singer Mike Harding, who while not a collector *per se*, produced a valuable source guide for New Zealand folk and popular songs (Harding 1992). This has been further supplemented by the work of John Archer, who edits a website dedicated to the subject of New Zealand folksong incorporating his own research and collecting (Archer 1998-2006). In the academic field, Roger Buckton has conducted work on the traditional Bohemian music of the small town of Puhoi.[37]

Not all folk music study is circumscribed by the necessity of collecting and a number of individuals have produced valuable work through archival research. The most outstanding example is Robert Hoskins, who has produced an impressive series of scholarly books and articles on Charles Thatcher and another 'goldfield balladeer' Joe Small (Hoskins 1973, 1977, 1986, 1987, 1994, 1996, 1999). Other scholars have also made contributions to our understanding of source traditions or related musical activities in New Zealand (Martin 1988; Drummond 1991; Coleman 1996, 2003). These have been supplemented by more popularly-styled publications of considerable value (Steele 2001). Apart from the written works of the main collectors, the most extended overviews of the field of New Zealand folk music are given by Harkness (1980), Thomson (1991), and Harding (1992).[38]

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[1] For information about the Braithwaite songsters see Hoskins (1987). Apart from the titles Hoskins mentions (*ibid*.:26-27), the five extant songsters contain several other local songs or adaptations, including 'The Sewing Machine' (*The New Zealand Songster*, no.2, pp.8-9) and 'Trap, Trap!' (*The New Zealand Songster*, no.3, pp.62-64).

[2] Biographical information on James Cowan has been mostly gained from Colquhoun (1996), Jones (1966) and Wattie (1998).

[3] Examples of earlier mentions of 'folk' material are the articles 'Reminiscences of the Inimitable Thatcher' in the *Otago Witness* (Dunedin), 27/8/1896, and another piece on Charles Thatcher in *The Evening Post* (Wellington), Christmas Number, 1904.

[4] All quotations in the next three paragraphs are from Cowan 1913.

[5] The Introduction to Paterson's *Old Bush Songs* begins by quoting Thomas Macaulay on the nature of ballads (Paterson 1905:ix).
[6] 'The Sailor's Way' is closely related to the poem 'Homeward Bound' by Irish poet William Allingham (1877:209-210).
[7] Apart from Cowan's initial implication that such songs should be preserved, there is only one other faint suggestion that they might be disappearing. On the topic of shanty singers who have left the sea and come ashore to work in New Zealand, he mentions that in the bush camps there are "plenty of them *still*" [italics added], perhaps inferring a possible decline.
[8] Biographical information on Mona Tracy has been mostly gained from Gilderdale (1998), McCallum (1998) and Tracy's own writings.
[9] The 'Wayfarings to Westland' series was published in the *The Christchurch Star-Sun* on the following dates: 3/10/1936; 10/10/1936; 17/10/1936; 24/10/1936; 31/10/1936; and 7/11/1936.
[10] Relevant articles can be found in the following issues of the *The Christchurch Star-Sun*: 21/11/1936 ('In Old Westland'); 28/11/1936 ('Hokitika's Story'); 5/12/1936 ('South of Hokitika'); 12/12/1936 ('In South Westland'); 19/12/1936 ('The Heart of Westland'); 23/1/1937 ('Diamond Mines?'); 30/1/1937 ('Almost Lynched'); 13/2/1937 ('Chinese Diggers'); 20/2/1937 ('Lamplough Gold'); 6/3/1937 ('In Old Kumara'); 20/3/1937 ('Citizens of Kumara'); 17/4/1937 ('Kumara's Gaieties'); 24/4/1937 ('Ordinary People?'); and 29/5/1937 ('Gold… Thousands of Ounces'). The 'West Coast Yesterdays' series was printed on the following dates: 19/6/1937; 26/6/1937; 3/7/1937; 21/8/1937; and 28/8/1937.
[11] Tracy may have been aware of Cowan's 1912-1913 articles, but she makes no mention of Cowan in her letters to Rona Bailey. See ATL MS-Papers-0157-34.
[12] See ATL MS-Papers-0157-34, letter from Mona Tracy to Rona Bailey, 4/7/1955. This comments on the search for 'The Shanty by the Way' and the loss of copies of historic newspapers. Tracy also fears that the papers of amateur historians might be discarded after they die.
[13] All quotations in this paragraph are from Kelly (1921).
[14] Subsequent quotations in this paragraph are from Mulgan (1941:20).
[15] In 1962 Mulgan revised his earlier opinion about the lack of popular New Zealand balladry in a discussion of the poetry anthology *New Zealand Farm and Station Verse* (Woodhouse 1950). He stated that it had become a "commonplace that we had not produced a popular literature comparable with Australia", but then acknowledged that "really more has been written about farm life than New Zealanders realised" (Mulgan 1962:49). He praised the anthology as a literary landmark in presenting popular New Zealand verse.
[16] Whether the Irish music revivals of the nineteenth century spread to New Zealand remains a possible subject of future research.
[17] One such honorary bard of the Gaelic Society was Angus Cameron Robertson, who published several books containing verse in both English and Gaelic. Bards were apparently also attached to the earlier Caledonian Society in Dunedin, such as John Barr (see Thomson 1991:69).
[18] In some respects these distinctions are too simplistic. The English folk revival might be dated back to the mid-eighteenth century work of Bishop Thomas Percy. There was also a slender continuity of English revivalism in New Zealand, for example in dances which the 1920s revival promoted. Thomson (1991:52-53) notes that very few English country dances were performed in nineteenth century New Zealand, with the exception of the popular Roger de Coverley. The continuity of this dance into the twentieth century was mentioned in *English Folk Lore in Dance and Song*, no.1, September 1938, p.3.
[19] The writer acknowledges that he first became aware of the early English dance revival through a letter from Chris Brady to the magazine *Club Folk*, August 1979.
[20] More informal English country dance activities may date back to the mid-1900s. See *English Folk Lore in Dance and Song*, no.1, September 1938, p.3.
[21] *ibid*.
[22] *ibid*.
[23] *English Folk Lore in Dance and Song*, no.2, January 1939, p.3.
[24] *English Folk Lore in Dance and Song*, no.4, September 1939, p.7
[25] Interview with Neil Colquhoun, 3/2005.
[26] The Progressive Youth League organisation was linked to the international left-wing 'progressive movement'. It had connections to the New Zealand Student Labour Federation and probably the Eureka Youth League in Australia.
[27] *New Zealand Listener*, 10/1/1958, p.4. Walter continued to host programmes into the 1960s, see *New Zealand Listener*, 16/2/1962, p.7. The 1962 article also suggests that he began such broadcasts in 1956.
[28] For a brief overview see the liner notes to the 2005 CD *The Kiwi Folk Scene – 1965-1971*, EMI 3308312.
[29] The early 1960s were also a heyday of New Zealand popular song, including pieces written by Rod Derrett, Ken Avery and the Howard Morrison Quartet. Such songs have been termed "vernacular gems" because of

their New Zealand flavour (Harding 1990:4). But strictly speaking these artists were not part of the folk revival movement, whereas Cape and Macky had definite connections.

[30] The Yeomen, [c.1965], *New Zealand Folk Songs*. EP recording, Viking VE 162.

[31] See the article 'Pop Goes the Folk Song' in *New Zealand Listener*, 16/2/1962, p.7.

[32] See *Sing*, 26/3/1966; and Staley 2004.

[33] According to Neil Colquhoun the Titirangi Folk Club was formed around 1965 and "grew gradually out of a University-extension course on folkmusic run by Juliet and Des Rainey" (Colquhoun 1968:17).

[34] See *Heritage*, no.3, p.24, and *Heritage*, no.27, p.25. A listing of clubs in *Heritage*, no. 12, August 1969, includes twenty-nine such organisations (not including Folklore Society branches).

[35] See Sutton-Smith (1981:325-326) for a bibliography of his works to 1981.

[36] See also Young (1984). This cassette includes 153 children's rhymes recorded in the Wellington area in July 1984 for a radio series.

[37] Roger Buckton has not yet published the results of this research, but has produced cassette recordings of Puhoi musicians (Buckton 1993).

[38] Harkness (1980) raises important issues, but also contains pejorative passages; Thomson (1991) gives a balanced if overly conservative overview (see also Thomson 1980); Harding (1992) places folksong in the context of popular song and gives due attention to neglected areas, such as tramping songs.

Chapter 3

Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth

This chapter will discuss the collecting, research and publishing work of Rona Bailey and her collaborator Herbert Roth. After Mona Tracy's work on the West Coast, Bailey was the next individual to take up song collecting. In the early 1950s, she set about researching in Wellington archives and later undertook a number of field trips to provincial areas. She also began to collaborate with Herbert Roth on an anthology of song and verse called *Shanties by the Way* (1967). Roth was not involved in field collecting, but he did gather an extensive body of material from newspapers, books and ephemera. This chapter will firstly describe Rona Bailey's background and how she became interested in folk songs. It will then discuss her collecting methods and criteria, her surviving collectanea and use of material. Following this will be a description of Herbert Roth's background, archival collection and published articles. The chapter will conclude with a description and analysis of *Shanties by the Way*.

Rona Bailey

Rona Bailey (*née* Stephenson) (1914-2005) was born in Wanganui. Her father was an Englishman who had emigrated to New Zealand and built a prosperous shoe-importing business.[1] As a girl she was especially talented at sports and after attending Auckland Teachers' Training College in the 1930s, she travelled to the USA to study physical education and dance at the University of California at Berkeley and at Columbia University in New York City. Her modern dance teachers included the world famous pioneers Martha Graham and Doris Humphries. Bailey had a keen political consciousness and adopted socialist ideas from a youthful age. In San Francisco she heard the famous trade unionist Harry Bridges giving public speeches, further cementing her ideological convictions; she later become a long-term member of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

Bailey returned to New Zealand in 1939 and, after several years teaching, took up a position in the Department of Internal Affairs in Wellington as a physical welfare and recreation officer. Her work included instructing school teachers in the European folk dances she had learned in America, which Bailey preferred to the English country dances she had been taught in New Zealand. She also helped found the New Dance Group which promoted modern styles.

In 1952 Bailey contracted tuberculosis and following her recovery she became heavily involved in trade union and political activities, through the Communist party and her husband Chip Bailey, secretary of the Wellington Drivers' Union. Throughout her life Bailey was committed to many left-wing political and civil rights causes, including the 1951 Waterfront dispute, opposition to the Vietnam War and protests against the 1981 Springbok rugby tour. In 1981 she was named on a list of political agitators produced by Prime Minister Robert Muldoon.

In the 1980s Bailey became involved with promoting biculturalism and was an early patron of the Trade Union History Project, formed in 1987. Later in life she taught dance and movement at the New Zealand Drama School, Te Kura Toi Whaakari O Aotearoa, in Wellington. Her interest in theatre spanned many years, from working with Unity Theatre in the 1950s through to her involvement with Taki Rua Productions in the early twenty-first century.

Folksong Interest

Rona Bailey's inspiration for collecting New Zealand folksong came from the broadcaster Arnold Wall (junior) (Thomson 1991:65).[2] Wall himself had recently been appointed to review books by the New Zealand Broadcasting Service (NZBS) and had a keen interest in New Zealand culture, later editing books for local publishers A.H. & A.W. Reed (Manning 1998). While Bailey was confined to

a hospital in Wellington with tuberculosis in 1952-53, she heard a broadcast in which Wall deplored how little collecting of nineteenth century goldfield, gumfield or backblocks' songs had been carried out.

Bailey wrote to Wall, who told her that any collecting would have to begin immediately to retrieve songs from the memories of elderly people. Because her work and other commitments allowed her some freedom, Bailey was prepared to take up this challenge, at least on a part time basis. She began by asking for material through newspaper advertisements, but this attempt was largely unsuccessful.

Her first major breakthrough was making contact with Nola Millar, who was involved with the left-wing Unity Theatre and worked as a librarian at Victoria University. Millar showed Bailey the Horace Fildes Collection of early New Zealand books, clippings and manuscripts held at the university. This collection includes Charles Thatcher songsters, such as *Songs of the War* (1864) and *Otago Songster* (1865), and Bailey would probably have been shown Fildes' manuscript book 'Fugitive Verse of Early New Zealand'. This contains twenty-four items of verse with annotations, four of which feature in *Shanties by the Way*.[3] Millar also showed Bailey one of Fildes' newspaper clipping scrapbooks, containing James Cowan's 1913 article 'The Bush Poet'.[4] Cowan's article became a key reference point for Bailey and Roth.

Another early inspiration was Mona Tracy, who wrote to Bailey in mid-1955, possibly after being encouraged by Arnold Wall. They conducted an extended correspondence and Tracy shared a few songs and song fragments. She explained her problems tracking down material in the 1920s and 1930s, but also expressed regrets that she hadn't looked harder and didn't have more to pass on to the young enthusiast.[5]

Around this time Bailey contacted several folksong researchers in Australia. It is difficult to establish exactly the course of events here, but probably her first contacts were Douglas Stewart and Nancy Keesing, who collaborated in editing two influential anthologies of Australian bush song and balladry (Stewart and Keesing 1955, 1957). Stewart was originally from Eltham in New Zealand and could have been Bailey's initial contact, otherwise she may have written to them because of their 1955 anthology *Australian Bush Ballads*. Stewart and Keesing put her in touch with Dr Percy Jones of Melbourne, one of the most important of the mid-twentieth century Australian folksong collectors. Jones was a Roman Catholic priest and musicologist who gathered many songs through a newspaper column he ran in the 1940s (Smith 2005:2-3). On a visit to Auckland in 1940, Jones had collected a song from an old miner called 'The Shanty by the Way'. In 1955 he sent this piece to Bailey and it went on to became one of the best known New Zealand folk songs of the revival.[6]

In Wellington, Bailey also turned to the archival collections of the Parliamentary Library, searching for verse in regional newspapers such as *The Mount Ida Chronicle* and *Inangahua Times*. She also wrote requesting assistance from smaller newspapers that were difficult to access from Wellington. It appears she received some important material this way, such as the song 'Waitekauri Everytime!' from the *Hauraki Plains Gazette*. She also located manuscript songs in the Alexander Turnbull Library. But, as Bailey later wrote, she eventually decided that the best way to gather material was to "go out and look for it and interview people" (Bailey 1997:2).

Fieldtrips

Rona Bailey's field collecting began with a trip to the West Coast in early 1956, accompanied by two friends, the writer Dick Scott, and Bob Armstrong, a doctor from Hawera (Scott 2004:212).[7] By doing this field collecting, Bailey became the first person in New Zealand to follow the classic pattern of work set by Cecil Sharp, John Lomax and others in going into 'the field' to find songs. Although James Cowan and Arnold Wall had suggested that such collecting should begin, Bailey took the important step of *actually doing* the collecting and must be considered a major innovator in folksong research.

Travelling in Armstrong's car, the group ranged through the West Coast region for ten to fourteen days, from the Wangapeka Valley in the north, through Westport and Greymouth, to Hokitika and Kumara in the south. Scott was mainly concerned with his own historical research and Bailey probably did much of the collecting with Armstrong or by herself.[8]

First points of contact with local communities were public bars and rest homes, where Bailey inquired about locals who might know New Zealand songs and ballads. Sometimes the response was immediate and one newspaper article stated that "true to the traditions of the West Coast, some of the best 'finds' were in hotel bars, after hours".[9] But it appears that the visitors were more often "led down some weird and strange paths and you might spend a whole day talking to someone who said go and see so-and-so who said 'I know who you should see' who would put you onto somebody else" (Bailey 1997:2).

There are occasional references to the use of a tape-recorder on the West Coast trip.[10] Bailey later recalled that recording was only attempted on the return journey from the West Coast, after a machine had been borrowed in the Marlborough area (Bailey 1997:3, 5). But she got the strong impression that elderly informants, in any case, would have been "put… off no end" by such technology (quoted in Thomson 1991:65). In total, about eleven collected songs and pieces of verse can be traced from the West Coast fieldtrip.

A second collecting trip occurred over the 1956-57 holiday period when Bailey and her husband travelled to the Northland region.[11] Apparently she had several contacts in Northland, but in the end did not find the journey particularly productive. The only collected piece that can be traced is the poem 'The Black Swans'.

Bailey's third fieldtrip took place in March-April 1958.[12] This time she successfully applied for financial assistance from the State Literary Fund to cover her expenses. The grant was sufficient to allow Bailey and a friend, Betty Hunter, to travel for two weeks through Otago and Southland collecting songs.

As with the West Coast trip, Bailey covered a good deal of territory on the 1958 fieldtrip, travelling in a car borrowed from her husband's union. From Oamaru, Bailey and Hunter headed south to Gore, Invercargill and Bluff, then crossed to Stewart Island. After returning to Bluff they probably headed inland to Lawrence, Queenstown, and Arrowtown, and returned to the coast through Naseby, before turning north to Wellington via the Mt. Pleasant Sheep Station in South Canterbury.[13]

The method of contacting informants through public bars was again used. Two contemporary newspaper articles indicate that there was also a modest level of pre-publicity about Bailey's search, although it is not known whether this actually yielded any contacts.[14] Five pieces can be definitely traced to this fieldtrip, four of which were obtained from an informant in Bluff, Haldy Ryan – see Figure I for an example. It appears that Ryan sang at least two other songs for Bailey, but these are now missing. Furthermore, Bailey commented later that Arrowtown had been the "most fruitful" part of the collecting trip, yet nothing could be traced to this locality (Bailey 1997:4).

It is worth considering why Bailey specifically chose the West Coast, Northland, Otago and Southland for her fieldtrips. This was probably because these regions are associated with nineteenth century gold mining or gum digging activities and maintained a conservative rural culture. Additionally, Bailey later indicated that she believed the material she sought would never be found in cities. On the West Coast, for example, she stated that "people have always been more down to earth, in a closer community, less sophisticated than city-dwellers… folk material is still to some degree part of their lives. But in the city it has gone completely" (quoted in Faville 1967).

I fished at the Traps, both the North and the South,
Yes, in Raggedy too.
And codfishes seen me, in what I would call,
A rugged old raggedy crew.
Oh there's only one life for a hophead,
That is the life for me,
A slinging, a rocking,
A rolling, a swearing,
Out on the billowy sea.

Figure I: **"I fished at the Traps…"**
Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff by Rona Bailey, 1958.
Apparently this song was sung by fishermen in Bluff. 'The Traps' are a pair of dangerous reefs some 25km south-east of Stewart Island. 'Raggedy' may refer to Rugged Island, while 'codfishes' probably refers to Codfish Island.
Source: ATL Roth papers 94-106-06/2

Aims, Criteria and Concepts

The most important aim of Rona Bailey's collecting was preserving New Zealand heritage. She was galvanised by the comments of Wall, who stressed the need for immediate action – "very soon it would be too late" (Bailey 1997:1) – which was further amplified by Tracy's experiences collecting in the 1920s. Throughout the newspaper coverage of Bailey's collecting and other work, her search was often reported as being for songs 'of the early days'. A newspaper article from 1957 described her as "travelling about looking for 'old identities' with long memories".[15] In another newspaper article, she expressed the belief that she was salvaging heritage from oblivion: "most people feel that what I am doing is for a lost cause but already the songs I have collected refute this".[16] Bailey later concluded that this quest to preserve material had been 'too late' and wished that the collecting had started earlier, "perhaps in the early 1930s".[17] In 1986 Bailey told John Mansfield Thomson that "people had become too old [and] much material had been tossed away and burned" (quoted in Thomson 1991:65). Her later memoir supports this general impression with stories of elderly people's voices giving out and unique historical papers being destroyed (Bailey 1997:3).

For her collecting work, Bailey was obviously interested in a wide range of songs, ballads and verse and did not limit herself with prescriptive notions of authenticity.[18] It is clear what she was looking for – New Zealand folk heritage – and like James Cowan, she used various terms to describe the material she found: old songs, ditties, bar-room yarns, folk songs, shanties or diggers' songs. The most common term that Bailey used was 'ballad', which appears in almost every newspaper report about her work that has been traced. At one point Bailey defined ballads as "simple stories of action… swift and to the point… close to the soil and people".[19] This definition aligns with a certain scholarly understanding, but as writers have noted, the term 'ballad' has been used "for a number of different forms in music and poetry" (Gerould 1957:vii). In 1950s New Zealand, 'ballads' were probably most widely understood as popular narrative poetry, which was recited or, less commonly, sung. In the 1955 anthology *Australian Bush Ballads*, Douglas Stewart related the term most strongly to the popular balladry of the 1890s written by A.B. Paterson, Henry Lawson and others, which was published in the Sydney *Bulletin* (Stewart and Keesing 1955). This popular literary balladry was very much an Australasian-wide phenomenon and Stewart included pieces by several New Zealanders.

Stewart also distinguished 'bush ballads' from 'bush songs', narrative poems and other popular verse forms. But Bailey probably meant 'ballad' to encompass all such possibilities. Working between popular, intuitive and scholarly understandings of the term, she elicited a wide range of material from her informants: traditional folk songs ('The Dying Bushman'), political verse ('Vote for Tommy Seddon'), children's verse ('The Awful Moa') and topical songs of definite authorship ('The Passing of the Helvetia' and 'The Hero of the Coast').

In 1967, with her field collecting behind her, Bailey gave a more expansive statement of how she understood the term 'folk song', relating the object of her search to wider concepts:

> If a song deals with the life of the people, usually connected with some particular event, at a sort of 'grass roots' level, and if it has the feeling of the people, then it comes into the ballad folk form. I don't think it necessarily has to be old. (quoted in Faville 1967)[20]

Within this area of interest Bailey had several limiting criteria. Probably the most important of these was New Zealand content. Her collecting was described in newspaper reports as a search specifically for "songs with a New Zealand flavour and origin".[21] This focus certainly restricted the material she recorded. For example, during the West Coast trip, many informants seem to have known only British or Irish songs, such as a "magnificent 90-year-old ex-blacksmith, with 'arms like elephants' legs' and a flowing white beard, [who] knew ballads by the yard – but they were old Irish ones".[22] Bailey chose not to write down this kind of material and only a few collected pieces do not have New Zealand references.

Certain newspaper reports also suggest that Bailey found some songs inappropriate to collect because they were too "lusty… [or] bawdy".[23] She is quoted as saying that "some songs just aren't for publication"[24] reflecting the reality of publishing standards of the time, but also suggesting that Bailey was by this stage (1958) perhaps primarily 'collecting for publication'. Certainly no such material has survived.

Bailey also had several largely practical limitations on her field collecting. Firstly, she was primarily interested in the texts of songs and only ever collected music by noting if a song had a well-known tune. Although there are indications that she attempted to use a tape recorder at one stage, most of her work involved writing down texts in notebooks, which were in some cases typed out later. Secondly, she gathered material from "old albums and cuttings"[25] that she was shown, and this may be the source of two items from the West Coast trip.[26] Thirdly, it seems that another limitation on her work was that she gathered little background information about the actual material she collected. Unfortunately, because Bailey's notebooks are now missing it is difficult to say exactly what contextual information she recorded. Certainly the names and locations of her informants were often noted down and it is possible in some cases to gather more information. For example, she gave a brief account of how she heard the song 'The Gay Muttonbirder' in Bluff, along with other information about certain lyric references (Bailey 1997:4-5; Bailey and Roth 1967:136). Yet with most pieces little contextual information is available.

Collectanea

Rona Bailey's original field notebooks have not survived and there is no definitive information about the extent of her work. But she published several pieces and gave copies of material to other collectors, thereby leaving definite traces of what she collected. From this 'diaspora' of material I have traced a total of eighteen pieces. Seven items were published in *Shanties by the Way*; the rest can be located in other books or in archival holdings. Seventeen pieces relate to her three fieldtrips; with one other item collected at another time. See Appendix 3.1 for details of Bailey's extant field collection.

The pieces collected by Bailey sometimes survive in a number of locations in versions with slight variations (even though she probably only originally collected one version of each). These variations suggest that editing occurred after items were collected. It is evident that Bailey herself edited a song text on at least one occasion after she transcribed it from her field notes.[27]

The loss of Bailey's field collection, in the form of notebooks and papers, is largely the result of inadequate archiving. The collection was given into the care of the New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS) in Wellington in 1968.[28] In 1972 it was reported that the "Rona Bailey Collection has been indexed, and the Index is now awaiting publication", but this project did not eventuate (Fyfe 1973a:3). As will be further explained in Chapter 6, the entire archives of the Wellington branch are

currently missing and probably lost.[29] But as Bailey distributed much of her material to others, the total amount of lost material may be quite small.

The total of eighteen pieces does not include material which Bailey located in newspapers, songsters and books. It should be noted that Bailey and a number of other collectors used the term 'collecting' to encompass archival and library research.[30] Although this was a common practice in the 1950s elsewhere in the world (Stewart and Keesing 1957 *passim*), 'collecting' is not understood in this sense any more. Because this thesis is a study of collecting, it is more crucial to identify field collected material with each specific individual and this task will be given priority throughout this thesis. Such an approach also helps determine the extent and success of each individual's collecting; it establishes what material has been in oral tradition; and gives indications about where and how future fieldwork might be conducted.

The 1957 Auckland Festival

Rona Bailey's collecting and research had its first public outcome in a prepared concert of songs and recitations at the 1957 Auckland Festival. This performance dates from well before the opening of coffee house and clubs specialising in folk music. As with her collecting, Bailey was ahead of her time in wanting to present folk songs to a larger audience.

In early 1956, probably shortly after completing her West Coast trip, Bailey visited Neil Colquhoun in Levin. In collaboration with Wellington singer Jim Delahunty, she had started to develop her collected songs for public performance. Delahunty had a strong voice, but Bailey herself had no great musical experience and required expert assistance with her project. Colquhoun relates:

> The reason why Rona Bailey turned up from Wellington was [that] I was… well-known in Left circles I suppose…. She had got from the Communist Party or… whatever it was, about me… the fact that I was a musician…. So, she came up to me to ask me to teach her to play guitar. She told me that she was going to the Auckland Festival the next year, in June. That she had been on a trip and had collected all these songs…. so I showed her some things…. She went away to learn guitar, so she could play and sing her songs at the Auckland Festival. Never played the guitar in her life before.[31]

Bailey had written to the Auckland Festival organisers explaining her work and had been invited to hold a concert. In January 1957 she returned to Colquhoun and asked him to join Delahunty and herself for the Festival. Songs began to take shape whenever the three could gather for rehearsal, with Colquhoun supplying guitar accompaniment, support vocals and tunes for some of the texts. An acquaintance in Auckland, Reg Thorne, had already provided music for one piece, 'Song of the Gumfield'.[32]

The ninth Auckland Festival presented an eighteen-day programme of music, theatre and visual arts from 24 May 1957. This was an important national event for classical music and included a performance of Mozart's opera *The Impresario* and works by Igor Stravinksy and Douglas Lilburn. There were also numerous smaller concerts, poetry readings, plays, film screenings and art exhibitions. Many of the musical events had a delayed national radio broadcast.[33]

Bailey, Delahunty and Colquhoun performed their programme of songs – entitled 'New Zealand Folk Songs and Ballads' – at two lunchtime concerts at the Auckland Art Gallery on May 31 and June 4. These concerts received advance notice in the Auckland newspapers and around the country.[34] The programme consisted of songs and ballad recitations – see Figure II - together with an overall narration by Bailey.

Reviews of the concerts were excellent and one reviewer felt that they would "eventually be recognised as one of the big surprises"[35] of the Festival. Another gave a more detailed account of the performances and audience reaction at the first concert:

> They are a genuinely festive addition to the Auckland Festival. The programme given in the Art Gallery today was in all respects like the ballads themselves - simple, direct, a little rough around the edges, and utterly disarming… Like all real enthusiasts, Mrs Bailey has the knack of imparting her enthusiasms, and the slightly bewildered audience of 150 or more soon found itself singing the chorus of Charles Thatcher's song of the Nelson goldfields, "The Whakamarina for Me."[36]

The trip to Auckland also provided Bailey with the opportunity to examine archival holdings and she discovered further Thatcher songsters in the Auckland Museum.[37] An audience member at one of the recitals was also inspired to transcribe a song her mother remembered from childhood. This song - 'The New Chum' - was later forwarded to Bailey and turned out to be a version of 'The Young Man Fresh From England', written by the Christchurch singer Charles Martin in the 1860s, which had gone into oral tradition.

Songs	The Shanty by the Way Waitekauri Everytime! The West Coast The Digger's Farewell I've Traded with the Maoris The Passing of the Helvetia A Tract for the Hard Times The Surrender of the Natives The Bazaar The Wakamarina Song of the Gumfields
Ballads	The Maori's Wool The Embryo Cockatoo

Figure II: **Programme of the 1957 Auckland Festival concerts**
This programme includes Charles Thatcher songs, verse from newspapers, broadside ballads and one song from James Cowan's 1913 article: 'I've Traded with the Maoris'. Two of the pieces were collected in the field by Bailey herself, 'The Passing of the Helvetia' and 'The West Coast'.
Source: Rona Bailey collection

After the Festival concerts, Bailey, Delahunty and Colquhoun continued performing their songs around Wellington, both in public and private settings. They gave one more major concert in Hawera in October 1957.[38] The songs were also recorded by the NZBS in August, with Bailey providing a linking narration. Later in the year, this recording was broadcast in two sections: 'Prospecting and Mining: Songs from the Early Days of Gold and Gum' and 'Songs by Charles Thatcher'.[39]

Jim Delahunty subsequently went on to form a music group, The Sundowners. Together with Neil Colquhoun, they later recorded an EP called *Shanties by the Way* (1958), featuring four songs from the concerts. This project was funded by the poet Denis Glover, who admired what Bailey and the others were doing. The EP was released on his Little Mermaid record label, but had only limited distribution. By the end of 1957, Colquhoun had also formed his own folk group in Levin, The Song Spinners, which similarly performed New Zealand songs. Several of these were adapted from other texts supplied to Colquhoun by Bailey.

Later Involvement

The next major outcome of Bailey's collecting and research was the publication *Shanties by the Way*, which will be covered later in this chapter. She also continued to distribute songs to various other interested performers and writers.

The Wellington-based New Zealand Players used several pieces from Bailey's collection for their November 1957 stage production entitled *Free and Easy*. This part of the show was praised by one reviewer who said: "one scene, 'Shanty by the Way', based on traditional West Coast ballads, might well be expanded into a New Zealand 'musical'".[40] Some songs found their way into history books and other publications. The 1959 history of drinking in New Zealand, *Grog's Own Country*, featured three verses of 'The Shanty by the Way' supplied by Delahunty (Bollinger 1959:24, 175 fn25); and Bailey herself provided a number of songs for the popular 1964 anthology *A Book of New Zealand* (Reid 1964).

Songs were also supplied to various performers in the folk revival movement. Bailey sent material to the writer and activist Elsie Locke for her Christchurch folk group The Rouseabouts and in 1965, she wrote liner notes for William Clauson's *Packing My Things* LP. These notes provide a good indication about how she viewed her work promoting New Zealand folk songs:

> Every country has its rich field of song and New Zealand is no exception. This may come as a surprise to many New Zealanders who believe that the only indigenous music comes from the Maori people… Such songs which sometimes reflect events better than any history book, tell of the hopes and aspirations of our pioneers and their struggle for survival in a new land. In this collection there is the old and the contemporary, but all with the flavour and smell of New Zealand – its landscape, the early settlers, work and sport, colourful characters and "tall" stories… they all help to create a picture of New Zealand over the last hundred years and as such are part of our cultural heritage. (quoted in Clauson 1965)

In the late 1960s Bailey was continuing to distribute songs to other enthusiasts, such as Sharyn Harris[41], editor of *Heritage* magazine, and Frank Fyfe, founder of the New Zealand Folklore Society. Bailey also advised both Fyfe and Phil Garland about approaches to field collecting. In a sense she 'passed the torch' of folksong collecting to the NZFLS, along with her field collection, and in 1970 she was made an Honorary Life Member of the Society for "Outstanding Services to the Preservation of New Zealand's Folk Culture".[42]

Rona Bailey's active interest in collecting or researching new material appears to have continued until the end of the 1950s. She did remain involved in bringing *Shanties by the Way* to final publication in 1967 and continued to give inspiration to other collectors (Colquhoun 1972:4; Garland 1996:7-8). But Bailey indicated to the writer that after the 1960s she 'moved on' from her folksong work into different fields of interest. The only other material she seems to have gathered after this time were protest chants from protests against the proposed Security Intelligence Bill in the mid-1970s and the 1981 Springbok rugby tour.[43]

Herbert Roth

Herbert ('Bert') Roth (1917-1994) was born in Vienna, Austria.[44] Of Jewish descent and an active socialist, he decided to flee from Austria when it was annexed by Germany in 1938. After a period studying in France, Roth was again forced to move at the outbreak of World War Two. This time he obtained permission to emigrate to New Zealand, where he arrived in April 1940.

Initially Roth took employment in New Zealand factories, farms and timber-yards, then joined the Air Force as a meteorologist. He became a New Zealand citizen in 1946 and remained in the country for the rest of his life. In 1947 he studied at the New Zealand Library School and a year later was appointed to the National Library Service in Wellington. This began a long career as a librarian at the

National Library of New Zealand and, from 1961, at the University of Auckland. He held position of deputy librarian at the University until retirement in 1984.

Although Roth was an active participant in many left-wing causes and shared much ideological ground with Rona Bailey, he was not affiliated with any particular political organisation (Taylor 2000:454). Much of his energy went into researching trade union history in New Zealand using the wealth of resources available through his library work. He was also an assiduous collector of ephemeral material and clippings with political or trade union relevance, from the time of the 1951 Waterfront dispute onwards. He produced many well-regarded publications, including several commissioned trade union histories and a general study, *Trade Unions in New Zealand - Past and Present* (Roth 1973), as well as many short articles for newspapers, magazines and academic journals.

Archival Collection

Herbert Roth's major contribution to the field of New Zealand folk music was as an archival researcher and historian.[45] He was not a folk music collector as such, although he possibly did collect at least one song 'in the field'.[46] Consequently, he perhaps has more in common with later scholars such as Robert Hoskins. But Roth's work must be considered in this thesis, because of his contribution to *Shanties by the Way* and his collection of ephemeral material.

Following Roth's death in 1994, his personal archives of cuttings, letters, ephemera, drafts and research notes were placed in the Alexander Turnbull Library. This large collection contains 1224 catalogued folders of material. Nine of these concern songs, popular verse and related material. The quantity of material within these folders is substantial, extending to many hundreds of individual pieces. The nine folders are loosely organised into different subjects. Four contain mostly songs and verse; three relate specifically to Charles Thatcher; one consists of a 1958 draft version of *Shanties by the Way*; and a final folder has documents relating to the New Zealand Folklore Society.

94-106-06/1	International songs and poems, song sheets
94-106-06/2	NZ songs and poems, clippings, song sheets, letters, articles
94-106-06/3	NZ union and political songs, poems, clippings, letters, song books
94-106-06/4	NZ union and political songs, poems, clippings, letters, song books
94-106-06/5	1958 Draft version of *Shanties by the Way*, songs
95-106-06/6	NZFLS documentation, letters, newsletters, songs
95-106-06/7	Charles Thatcher research, songs, songster facsimiles, articles
95-106-06/8	Charles Thatcher research, letters
95-106-06/9	Charles Thatcher research, letters, listings

Figure III: **Summary of Herbert Roth folders in Alexander Turnbull Library**

The first folder includes mainly typescripts and song sheets of British, American or European songs, such as 'The Red Flag' or 'The Peat Bog Soldiers'. Almost all of the material in the next three folders is New Zealand related. Some of the poetry dates to the nineteenth century and was typed out from newspapers such as the *Otago Daily Times* or *New Zealand Observer*. Most of the material dates from the twentieth century, culled from an array of sources including *The Maoriland Worker*, *PSA Journal* and student magazines. Ephemera includes the temperance songster, *Prohibition Campaign Songs* and rare song books from the 1960s, including *'Rude Songs' from the Rubbisher's Shows* (1964) and *Workers' Songs* (1966). Additionally, there are many reproduced typescript song sheets, mostly presenting parodies of a political nature. Roth also collected union broadsides and several of these have been transferred into the printed collections of the Turnbull Library. The Roth folders also preserve the 1958 draft version of *Shanties by the Way* together with several extra items

not included in the final book, including pieces collected by Rona Bailey. No formal inventory of Roth's collection is available and such a task falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Roth probably gathered much of this material through his library work. In his early years in the National Library Service, Roth spent his lunchtime breaks "flicking through newspapers from 1880 to 1920" as part of a research project (Morrison 1990). When the Wellington Public Library later decided to discard many of its older newspaper runs, Roth was able to obtain clippings of material that interested him. From his letters it is evident that he also used contacts within the wider network of librarians and archivists in New Zealand to obtain material and information. Much of the political and trade union ephemera was probably collected at first hand, during visits to the Auckland Trades Hall or at protest marches.

The overall body of material presents a valuable resource for researchers of New Zealand folk music. In folkloric terms it is a challenging mixture and many pieces belong more properly to popular literary traditions, such as newspaper verse. But while much of the song and verse found by Roth falls outside folkloristic demarcations like 'oral tradition', it does tap into related areas. A great deal was apparently generated by small groups of people and was never widely published. Furthermore, certain pieces seem to record folk compositions with traditional elements - see Figure IV. The bulk of material awaits more thorough research as to its context, source and meaning.

Do ye mind, Tim, when I first lamps that pictur it brung up old times for sure. The mahn the pencileer had drawed was the dead spit of a covie that worked away down Staircase Gully way those days before all the rale navvies of New Zealand come up to Pig Island. That bye went by the name of Midland Mick and mind I'm tellin' ye though he wasn't wat ye'd call a muck ater nivertheless he was two halves of a sprig poet all right allright. Them days they was a ganger down there they nicknamed the Irish Turk; black bearded he was with eyes that bit like a bastanado. A great sying of the Turk's was "on ye go" and Mick took this as the refrain to his song and this same I'll be after telling ye the words of to once't. Here how it goes as near's I can recollect.

Shud you ever pay a visit
To the Midland Railway work
Ye will see a gang of Navvies
Bossed by one, an Irish Turk.

Some of thim are shuvvling mullick,
Some wheel barrys to and fro,
While they listen to the order:
"Fill them barrys – On ye go."

"On ye go, ye lazy divils,
"On ye go from morn till night,
"There's no time to have a smoko,
"Work away will all yer might.

Be the hills all bathed in sunshine
Or the ground all white with snow
Ye will hear the rocks re-icho:
"Fill them barrys – On ye go."

Ye will hear the weka wail it,
And the kiwi answer low
In the silence of the night time:
"Fill them barrys – On ye go."

Whether it be raining torrents,
Or the stormy winds do blow,
Ye will hear the cry resounding:
"Fill them barrys – On ye go."

When at last Life's work is over,
And the Turk goes to be tried
For his actions on the Midland
Where he bossed before he died.

Peter then will tell him gently –
As he lets him feel his toe:
"No slave drivers here admitted,
"Off to Hades, off ye go!!"

Figure IV: '**Memories of Midland Mick'**
This song was located by Roth in a 1927 article by 'the Mangaore Magpie' entitled 'Memories of Midland Mick – Two Old-time Navvies Yarning at Mangahao'. Spelling has been retained from this article. The Midland Railway line was opened in 1923, connecting Canterbury with the West Coast through the Otira tunnel. Staircase Gully was located on the challenging Waimakariri section of the line and required a large viaduct to be constructed. The viaduct was completed in 1906, dating the reminiscence to around this period. Several features of this song have a traditional feel to them, such as the St. Peter verse and lines like "the stormy winds do blow".
Source: The Public Service Journal, *1/4/1927, p.129. See also ATL Roth papers 94-106-06/2.*

Research and Articles

Herbert Roth also conducted research into the historical background of songs and Bailey acknowledged that he did the majority of this work for *Shanties by the Way*. Roth's profession clearly facilitated research and his writings reveal he used a wide range of archival holdings and publications available through the National Library and Auckland University Library. Examining his work, it is clear that establishing historical context, authorship, textual references and other background details was his main focus. He did not take a folkloristic or musicological approach.

The subject to which Roth gave most sustained and concentrated attention was Charles Thatcher. The balladeer was the ideal subject for Roth. Not only did Thatcher publish eleven songsters, but he was a well-known public figure in the 1860s and 1870s, receiving a great deal of notice in contemporary newspapers. In the late 1950s, Roth corresponded with the Australian writer Hugh Anderson, an expert on Thatcher's earlier period on the Australian goldfields.[47] Anderson had published an anthology of Thatcher songs in 1958 and was working on a more extensive biographical treatment (Anderson 1958, 1960). Through Anderson, Roth was able to gain access to song manuscripts held in Australian libraries and he built up a large set of lyrics. From the Anderson-Roth letters, it is clear that Roth was breaking new ground researching Thatcher's New Zealand period. He did considerable work tracking Thatcher's movements, annotating lists of newspaper references and even constructing maps tracing the probable routes of Thatcher's three New Zealand concert tours.

The most immediate outcome of Roth's Thatcher research was a series of three articles for the weekly magazine *Joy*, a Wellington-based offshoot of *New Zealand Truth* which ran from 1958 to 1960. Although essentially a tabloid, *Joy* also featured articles on infamous or salacious incidents in New Zealand history. There were over forty of these historical articles about famous murders, prison escapes, religious cults and other matters, probably all the work of Herbert Roth using the nom-de-plume '*Joy*'s own historical researcher'.[48] In late 1959, Roth began the three-part Thatcher series, which although taking a suitably sensationalist approach, hardly needed to exaggerate the singer's colourful career (Roth 1958b, 1959a, 1959b). These articles were probably the first extended discussion of Thatcher published in New Zealand and included excerpts from several songs. At roughly the same time Roth wrote another Thatcher article for the *Public Service Journal*, this time under his own name (Roth 1958a). His final work on Thatcher was an entry in the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Roth 1966). While these written pieces are all informative, they do not reflect the depth of research apparent from Roth's archived papers. Perhaps he planned a more extensive treatment at some stage.[49]

Shanties by the Way

The collaboration between Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth that would result in *Shanties by the Way* probably began in 1956-57. Both lived in Wellington, knew each other and were aware of their mutual interest in folksong.[50] Bailey later wrote that she "did not have enough good material really for editing a collection and… [Roth] was in a similar position. But together? We thought we might have something" (Bailey 1997:6). The earliest surviving draft of the collection is dated 1958 and newspaper reports suggest that publication was first planned for that year.[51] Contemporary material was eventually incorporated in the book and it appears to have taken its final shape over the next two or three years.[52]

After a long delay, *Shanties by the Way* finally appeared in 1967. This delay has various explanations. Initially, the editors found it difficult to find a publisher and, when Whitcombe and Tombs agreed to take the book, there were disagreements about including music notation because of the extra cost.[53] Eventually, Bailey and Roth threatened to take the book elsewhere and the publishers duly met their commitment (Bailey 1997:6-7).

In the Introduction the editors stated that the book was the "first published collection of 'home-made' New Zealand songs" (Bailey and Roth 1967:6). If it had been published in 1958, this certainly would have been accurate, but in the meantime, several, admittedly more modest, collections had already appeared. Even so, *Shanties by the Way* can be considered the first nationally-distributed anthology containing a broad range and large quantity of New Zealand folk material. For these reasons, the book is a landmark in the study of folk music in this country.

Description

Shanties by the Way is a cleanly printed hardback volume with a dust-jacket featuring nineteenth century images of whalers, gold diggers and carousing sailors. The title is derived from the song 'The Shanty by the Way' - punning on 'shanty' as grog shop or sea shanty. It is subtitled "A Selection of New Zealand Popular Songs & Ballads".

The book opens with a short introduction, followed by a contents page listing seventy-nine songs or poems organised into fourteen chapters. The figure of seventy-nine is slightly deceptive, for scattered throughout the collection are various supplementary songs, poems and fragments. Most of the chapter title-pages feature an epigram, couplet or quotation, which is not found on the contents page or in the indexes. In total, the book actually contains 100 songs, poems and fragments. Twenty-two pieces are presented with a musically notated melody line and suggested chords. Seven of these melodies were composed by Neil Colquhoun, who prepared all the music notations in the book. Many more pieces have named tunes or airs and approximately half of the pieces in the book have a musical element. The book concludes with indexes for authors, titles and first lines. There are no illustrations.

As is stated in the Introduction, the "arrangement is by subject and is roughly chronological, ranging over almost a century and a half, from 1810, the date of 'David Lowston', to the present day" (Bailey and Roth 1967: 7). In effect, this means that the chapters follow a loose overall historical chronology, as do the items within each individual chapter. See Figure V for a chapter listing.

1.	Sealers, Whalers and Traders	1814-1836
2.	The Settlers	1844-1896
3.	The New Zealand Wars	1845-1864
4.	The 'Inimitable Thatcher'	1862-1864
5.	Gold	1862-1890
6.	The Volunteers	1885
7.	The Long Depression	1889-1922
8.	Arthur Desmond	1889-1893
9.	Prohibition	1893-1903
10.	Members of Parliament	1891-1940
11.	War and Conscription	1912-1918
12.	Work and Wages	1889-1962
13.	Out with the Jokers	1935-1962
14.	The Hunted	1934-1953

Figure V: ***Shanties by the Way*** **chapters with date range**
Note: The dates here are estimated dates of composition.

The first eleven chapters are quite narrowly delineated by subject and period, but the final three chapters have a looser arrangement. 'Work and Wages' covers the broadest date range and includes sea shanties, gumfield poems, union protest verse and a Denis Glover poem. 'Out with the Jokers'

features mainly humourous or nostalgic items: tramping songs; pub ditties; songs by Peter Cape; and ballads by Dennis Hogan and Joe Charles. 'The Hunted' concerns 'outsider' figures in New Zealand history, but, with only three pieces, the theme is not developed to any great depth.

Just as it covers a wide range of subjects, *Shanties by the Way* includes material gathered by both field collecting and archival research. It seems the editors considered field collected material was most ideal: "working in a field which has for so long been neglected, we had to rely primarily on printed sources and only in a few instances were we able to collect songs from people still living" (Bailey and Roth 1967:6). The archival sources include newspapers, journals, broadsides, manuscripts, songsters, historical books and memoirs. The book also features contemporary songs and poetry. Apparently the literary verse by Denis Glover, A.R.D. Fairburn, James K. Baxter and R.A.K. Mason, was included at the insistence of the publishers to help sales, though Bailey herself later agreed this had been a good decision (Bailey 1997:7). See Figure VI for a breakdown of source types.

Field collected	16
Oral circulation (printed or manuscript source)	13
Ephemera (songsters, broadsides, song sheets)	16
Newspapers (originally ephemera)	1
Archival manuscripts or typescripts	5
Newspapers	27
Books, journals and magazines	17
Supplied by author or intermediary	4
Unknown	1
Total	100

Figure VI: ***Shanties by the Way*** **source types**
See Appendix 3.3 for full title listings according to source types.

Of the sixteen field collected pieces, seven were collected by Rona Bailey, the balance by Neil Colquhoun, Mona Tracy, John Leebrick, Dr Percy Jones and Leo Fowler. It is probable that one song, 'Double-bunking', was collected by Herbert Roth.[54] A further thirteen pieces were taken from sources which indicate they were traditional or in oral circulation of some kind. Four of these come from Cowan's 1913 article.

Most of the pieces in the book are given an explanation - usually about one paragraph of text – concerning historical context, textual references, sources, variant versions (which are sometimes quoted) and authorship. These notes were probably all written by Herbert Roth. The catalogue numbers of commercial recordings are given for several songs.

Material

Shanties by the Way begins with a voice from the past: James Cowan from his 1913 article: "So far no New Zealander has attempted to record the unprinted old 'home-made' songs afloat in the bush and backblock communities in New Zealand" (quoted in Bailey and Roth 1967:6). The 1967 book then, is a realisation of what Cowan had imagined over fifty years previously: the first "collection of 'home-made' New Zealand songs" (*ibid*.). There are two factors which broadly characterise the material within the book.

Firstly, there is a clear focus on New Zealand content. Not all the songs are 'home-made' by New Zealanders, for example the nineteenth century American whaling songs that open the collection, but everything does reflect upon New Zealand history. There is only one song from Maori tradition.[55] Other pieces reflect life in a bicultural setting, but *Shanties by the Way* is firmly situated as a selection from the European (Pakeha) heritage of New Zealand.

Secondly, there is a mixture of types and sources of material. In its variety, the book exceeds even Cowan's survey, encompassing newspaper verse, election jingles, temperance songs, popular songs and literary ballads written in a popular mode. In a sense, all the material is placed within the parameters of the book's subtitle, 'Popular Songs and Ballads'. 'Popular' is the key term here, essentially connoting any material that has wide appeal or lies outside canons of high literature.

A particularly striking aspect of *Shanties by the Way* is that the term 'folk song' is almost completely absent from the text. The only place it can be located is on the inner front dust-jacket sleeve - an important place nonetheless - where the book is described as a "collection of New Zealand folk songs and topical ballads". The editors acknowledged the diversity of their collection but were not concerned with the typological complexities of its mix. One interpretation might be there was little field collected material they could access, and they included whatever they could find (which they suggest in the Introduction). But the book's careful organisation and scholarship more persuasively attest to the editors' primary interest in the social and historical value of the material, rather than in its folkloric authenticity.

There is also some evidence to suggest that Bailey chaffed against purist notions about national identity and restricting folk music to 'oral tradition'. These views were most clearly expressed in a 1958 letter by Bailey to the *New Zealand Listener* (Bailey 1958). She here responded to a radio book review by Les Cleveland of the newly expanded edition of *Old Bush Songs* (Stewart and Keesing 1957). No recordings exist of Cleveland's broadcast, but he made a strong impression on several radio listeners.[56] Cleveland noted that the song 'The Shanty by the Way' had been used in the New Zealand Player's revue of 1957 and after reading Stewart and Keesing's notes (*ibid*.:xi-xii), he had apparently objected to it being called

> an early New Zealand song… He said it was nothing but a corrupted version of an Australian poem by E.J. Overbury… Mr. Cleveland is right when he quotes the origin of the song, but this is one of the ways in which people's songs grow. Often something composed was used as a base, verses were added, words changed, the music altered, and touches of local colour often crept in… Again in Mr. Cleveland's eyes the gold fields songs of Charles Thatcher and Joe Small should not be considered as part of gold field balladry. But many of these songs became the diggers' own and expressed their life and work, giving a much better account of the times than many learned works on the subject. Mr. Cleveland obviously has the "pure" approach to folk lore. (Bailey 1958)

In arguing against exclusivity of national origins, Bailey focused attention on the hybridising and transnational mechanisms of the folk process. She felt that Thatcher's songs - the work of a professional entertainer partly disseminated by print – were also worthy of consideration as part of folk culture, because they expressed important aspects of the life of 'the folk'.

But *Shanties by the Way* itself cannot be seen as containing exclusively 'folk' material. Certain songs are obviously traditional; others are clearly popular printed literature. Many more are somewhere between topical and traditional; ephemera and oral; popular and folk. Any 'selection' of material has certain selecting principles and in *Shanties by the Way* the main criteria is nationalistic. What binds the material in the anthology together is its New Zealand relevance and the way it expresses a certain 'national spirit', regardless of source, origin or authenticity. Although the editors valued 'folk' material highly, they were essentially interested in any material which supported their interpretation of the 'cultural core' of New Zealand (see below).

In examining the 1958 draft of *Shanties by the Way*, folkloristic demarcations become even more blurred. Although the publication occasionally mentions other versions of songs or verse, Bailey and

Roth's draft has more annotations, including the names of tunes and extra lyrics. Many pieces are revealed to have multiple versions. For example, the 1890s political song 'The Liberal March' was transcribed by Bailey and Roth from a broadside, but also appeared in a contemporary newspaper with variations (Bailey and Roth 1967:102). See Appendix 3.4 for the two source versions and the edited version in *Shanties by the Way*. Once the actual broadside of 'The Liberal March' is examined, it becomes clear this was the *fourth* edition of the song, indicating some level of popularity and possibly further textual modification. The broadside also reveals clues about how such ephemera were distributed, including their wholesale and street prices. Another example is the song 'The Scab', by J.B. Hulbert. This piece was originally written in during the 1890 maritime strike and modified for publication in 1922 (*ibid*.:78-79). But the 1958 draft reveals that it was further modified for a version printed in 1933. An examination of original sources also reveals greater depth to singing traditions than is first apparent. For example the temperance song 'Wake Up, New Zealand' (briefly quoted on page 93), is taken from a song sheet with *seventeen* further pieces, including a variant of 'Strike Out the Top Line', given elsewhere in the book (95). A similar 'tip of the iceberg' effect occurs when the student, trade union and tramping songs are traced to their original sources.[57]

Such examples demonstrate that *Shanties by the Way* is indeed a 'selection' from a far larger body of material. Future researchers would be advised to use the published version as a guide, rather than a complete representation of its sources. A listing of the full contents of *Shanties by the Way*, with draft annotations and other sources can be found in Appendix 3.2.

Aims and Approach

Shanties by the Way primarily aims to be a scholarly, accurate and accessible collection of texts. Although the book features some music, it cannot easily be used as a song book from which songs can be readily learned. The words are not fitted to the melody line and the notation is rather small. Although Bailey did want to include music, it seems that both editors conceived the anthology as fulfilling more of a scholarly than a revivalist function. Probably a key factor was that neither editor was particularly musically inclined.

Instead, *Shanties by the Way* is organised as an attractive anthology. The material is given priority and the supporting notes are concise. Later folklorists, such as Frank Fyfe, praised the book as "excellent" and on the whole, the book is informative (Fyfe 1971a:17; see also Annabell 1975:319 fn48; Thomson 1991:71 fn4). The reputation of *Shanties by the Way* for accuracy is mostly deserved, although there are a few unacknowledged emendations, for example, the song 'I've Traded with the Maoris' had a crucial line silently altered – see Appendix 3.2 for details.

Any anthology must have organising principles and the dominant approach of *Shanties by the Way* is historical. This aspect is evident from the chronological ordering of material and chapters; the background notes that are given; and the general focus of the selections. Although such an approach might seem merely logical, it does reveal deeper levels of meaning. As the book progresses through the eras of sealing and whaling, early settlement, the New Zealand Wars and the gold rushes to the 'long depression', the temperance movement and parliamentary politics, several thematic strands present themselves.

Firstly, *Shanties by the Way* presents a 'subaltern' view of New Zealand culture and history. As James Cowan had said, folk material allows one to access experiences that would otherwise go unrecorded, memorialising the lives of people who might well be overlooked or deemed irrelevant by more general written history. *Shanties by the Way* extends this idea across the whole panorama of New Zealand history from the early nineteenth century up until the 1950s. This approach evokes one of the more subtle meanings of the title: such songs and verses are found 'by the way': beside the main thoroughfare of history. Although it is still basically structured around major events or movements (gold rushes, wars, social movements), this is 'history from below', composed of many voices joining in a 'democratic' chorus of protest, humour, storytelling and political purpose.

Secondly, the material is primarily associated with groups of people that could be considered different 'folk groups'. Apart from the chapters on Charles Thatcher and Arthur Desmond, the book's structure highlights work occupations and groupings such as settlers, soldiers, prohibitionists, trade unionists and trampers. Work predominates and represented occupations include sealing, whaling, gold digging, gum digging, shearing, farming, stevedoring and mutton birding. The book does include a chapter of humourous material, 'Out with the Jokers', but even here the very title has a group connotation. This overall emphasis means there are no love songs and very few personal expressions, except of nostalgia.

Thirdly, these two strands coalesce into a narrative of national progress in New Zealand. Near the end of the Introduction the editors state that in the selection "we see New Zealanders at work, sometimes gay, more often bitter, but always determined to build that 'kindlier realm' of which Pember Reeves sang in more educated language" (Bailey and Roth 1967:7). 'Kindlier realm' might seem to evoke any of various utopian visions of the broader New Zealand mythos (see Fairburn 1989), but in the original context it is quite specific. The phrase comes from the poem 'New Zealand' written by a radical socialist in the first Liberal government, William Pember Reeves (1857-1932). The poem famously idealises a future nation of "freemen and peers, plain workers", without "multitudes starving and striving" and where "the toiler be lord" (Alexander and Currie 1926:1-2). This is the "past and future of a national destiny" to which Bailey and Roth anchor their chorus of folk voices (Spencer and Wollman 2002:49). Although the left-wing leanings of the editors do not obviously bias the selections in *Shanties by the Way*, the book's structuring, especially in the first eleven chapters, could be interpreted as a quasi-Marxist depiction of power struggles played out in history: a 'progressive' process toward a more equitable society.[58] If the Introduction to *Shanties by the Way* opens by acknowledging James Cowan as a kind of cultural forebear, it is significant that it ends by subtly invoking William Pember Reeves as author of the book's national vision.[59]

To summarise, *Shanties by the Way* is an historically grounded treatment of New Zealand folk music. The book reaches back to the 'origins' of New Zealand in the sealers of the 1810s and continues onwards through the strenuous nineteenth century building of the nation, emphasising themes of work, settlement, social progress and political satire. Folksong is only one thread within a larger body of assembled material, which expresses an interpretation of cultural core based on democratic inclusiveness, group association and socialist objectives. On the whole, each individual text is embedded in history; the reader is not immediately invited to remove them from their context to be sung anew. Although Rona Bailey assisted in the revival of the songs she collected, in *Shanties by the Way* they are firmly moored to an 'original' context; the idea of a 'folk music canon' remains largely latent within its pages.

Conclusion

Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth were pioneers in the collecting, research and publication of folk music in New Zealand. The idea of field collecting songs in New Zealand had been previously suggested, but Rona Bailey was the first individual to take this innovative step. She is often considered the first major collector of (non-Maori) folksong in New Zealand, but her work does form a link to earlier generations. Although she gained her interest after James Cowan had died, his articles were a great influence, and she also made contact with an earlier field collector, Mona Tracy, who passed on important material collected in the 1920s. In her turn, Bailey organised public concerts and provided a benchmark of enthusiasm for later work, effectively launched the collecting 'movement' covered in this thesis.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that Bailey's individual fieldtrips only took place over short periods of time and the surviving collection, while valuable, is small. Her strongly nationalistic aims also seem to have restricted what she collected. In the end, Bailey and Roth both relied heavily on the printed and manuscript record of the nineteenth century and the body of song and verse accumulated in this way is comparatively much larger.

The major outcome of Bailey and Roth's work is *Shanties by the Way*. This collection of songs and verse is presented in an accessible style, with concise explanations of historical background. But it does not aim to 'revive' the material as such. Revealed in the selection are a wide range of popular traditions overlapping with and beyond folklore - strictly defined - and this naturally raises challenging questions about where such scholarly demarcations should be made in the New Zealand context. *Shanties by the Way* essentially makes a strong case for the national heritage value of all the material it contains. As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, this sense of nationalistic purpose was bequeathed to many of the collectors that followed.

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[1] Rona Bailey died in 2005 during the writing of this account of her collecting. In the early stages of research she provided a number of comments, unpublished papers and references to published material. Other sources utilised include Bailey (1997, 2004), Priestley (2003, ep.2), Grant (2004) and Kitchin (2005). A posthumous online publication of many of Bailey's letters and the memories of personal friends can be found at URL: < http://ronabaileystories.blogspot.com/> [accessed 5/2/2006].

[2] Several 1950s articles suggest that it was actually Wall's father, Professor Arnold Wall, who gave Bailey this inspiration. See *New Zealand Listener*, 29/11/1957, p.5, and *Southland Times* (Invercargill), 23/3/1958. This confusion may have arisen because the elder Wall was better known. Bailey confirmed it was the younger Wall in Bailey 1997:6.

[3] See Manuscript Rare Book 45080. The four pieces are 'Taranaki Song', 'Lay of the Disappointed', Whalers' Rhymes' and 'Abolition of the Provinces'.

[4] See Fildes 641.

[5] For the Bailey-Tracy letters see ATL MS-Papers-157-11 and MS-Papers-0157-34.

[6] Jones apparently sent this to Bailey in a letter dated 26/8/1955. See Fyfe (1970a:40-41 fn23, fn29, fn43). The original letter has not survived.

[7] The 1956 dating for Bailey's first fieldtrip was confirmed by Dick Scott in a letter, 13/11/2005. There is some uncertainty due to Bailey's own dating of 1954 (Bailey 1997:2), but she was herself was slightly unsure about this. The later date does accord with various other circumstantial evidence in archival letters and interviews.

[8] Letter from Scott, 13/11/2005.

[9] *Auckland Star*, 30/5/1957.

[10] *ibid*.

[11] The dating of the Northland fieldtrip is brought into line with the revised dating of the West Coast trip (see note 7 above), although Bailey herself dated it to 1954 or 1955 (Bailey 1997:4).

[12] The dating of the Otago-Southland fieldtrip is derived from Bailey 1997:4. A letter from Bailey to Mona Tracy, dated c. March 1958, states she was going to Otago to collect songs in May of that year (ATL MS-Papers-0157-11). But from the dates of the newspaper articles cited in note 14 (see below), it seems that March-April is probably correct.

[13] Here again, Bailey's 1997 account does not quite fit earlier evidence. An article in the *Southland Times*, 23/3/1958, makes it clear that Bailey visited Stewart Island before heading into Central Otago.

[14] See *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 13/3/1958; *Southland Times*, 23/3/1958.

[15] *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin), 31/5/1957.

[16] *Southland Times*, *loc. cit.*

[17] *Evening Star*, *loc. cit.*

[18] Bailey was a good friend of the American folk music enthusiast Henry Walter (see Chapter 2). He may have influenced her understanding of terms like 'ballad' and 'folk song'.

[19] *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), 4/6/1957.

[20] In 2003, Bailey gave a slightly different description again, using the term 'folk song' more directly: "[it is] one that's taken up by people to sing themselves. A folk song for me is one that is taken up and is well sung and often, and by people rather than being sung to. I think years have to go by too" (Priestley 2003, ep.2). But because this is a much later definition by Bailey, it is perhaps less indicative of her understanding during the 1950s and 1960s.

[21] *Southland Times*, *loc. cit.*

[22] *Auckland Star*, 30/5/1957.

[23] *Evening Star*, *loc. cit.*

[24] *Southland Times*, *loc. cit.*

[25] *Auckland Star*, 5/6/1957

[26] These two pieces are 'The West Coast' and 'The West Coasters' Sport', see Appendix 3.1. A different newspaper article also mentions a "crudely-printed ballad, written by a band of timber-workers whose employer had decamped without paying them at the end of the contract" (*Auckland Star*, 30/5/1957). This item has not been directly traced, but Dick Scott forwarded a copy of a ballad matching this description in 2005. The same

piece can be found in ATL MS-Papers-7202-106, with the opening line "It was way down in South Westland…".
[27] The song mentioned is 'A Trawlerman's Song' (a.k.a. 'The Foggy Foggy Banks'). A text of this song - known to have been directly transcribed from Bailey's notebooks - was located in an NZFLS letter (Frank Fyfe to Rudy Sunde, dated 6/6/1972, writer's possession). This text contains several lines missing from other typescript and published versions.
[28] See *Penny Post*, no.11. For confirmation see also Annabell (1975:463).
[29] The writer became aware of this situation in 2004 and inquired with Bailey about what she had collected. But unfortunately, at the distance of nearly fifty years, she found it difficult to recall any fresh details of her collecting outside of what was contained in her 1997 memoir.
[30] The descriptions in *Shanties by the Way* also generally use the term 'collected' in the sense of 'field collected', indicating that Bailey and Roth became aligned with a more conventional understanding. But in the case of 'Kidd From Timaru', this was an item probably transcribed from a printed sheet, rather than field collected, see Appendix 3.2.
[31] Interview with writer, 3/2005.
[32] The musical arrangement by Reg Thorne can be heard on the 1957 radio programme 'Prospecting and Mining' (Bailey 1957). Colquhoun later composed a different melody for this song.
[33] See *New Zealand Listener*, 17/5/1957, p.9, for an overview.
[34] See *New Zealand Herald*, 21/5/1957; *Auckland Star*, 30/5/1957; *The Dominion* (Wellington), 31/5/1957; *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin), 31/5/1957; *New Zealand Listener*, *loc. cit.*
[35] *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), 4/6/1957.
[36] *Auckland Star*, 31/5/1957.
[37] See *Auckland Star*, 5/6/1957. The song mentioned - 'Beautiful Auckland' - is found in the songster *Thatcher's Wit and Humour* (1869), which is in the collection of the Auckland Museum.
[38] See *Hawera Star*, 14/10/1957.
[39] Although Bailey's original scripts have survived, only the first of the broadcasts could be traced in the Sound Archives (Bailey 1957). The shows were aired on the National Programme on 8/12/1957 and 15/12/1957 respectively. An article about the broadcasts, 'Ballads of the Pioneers', can be found in the *New Zealand Listener*, 29/11/1957, p.5.
[40] *New Zealand Listener*, 22/11/1957, p.18.
[41] Now Sharyn Staley.
[42] Certificate dated 3/9/1970 in the Rona Bailey collection.
[43] These songs and chants were shown to the writer by Bailey before her death. Many of the same pieces can be found in Herbert Roth's archived papers, see ATL 94-106-06/3.
[44] Biographical information about Herbert Roth has mainly been gained from Taylor (2000).
[45] Although Roth did not perform music, he wrote the words for at least one song, 'M.V. Kaitawa', about the wreck of the coal collier *Kaitawa* in 1966, set to the tune of 'Reuben James'. See ATL 94-106-06/3.
[46] The song is 'Double-bunking', see Appendix 3.2.
[47] The Roth-Anderson letters are located in ATL 94-106-06/8.
[48] That Roth was '*Joy*'s own Historical Researcher' is clear from the drafts and notes throughout Roth's archived papers. See also letter from Roth to Frank Fyfe, dated 19/6/1972, in ATL 94-106-06/6.
[49] Of the other articles by Roth that have been examined, only one other relates to folksong or popular verse. This article is a 1959 piece for *Joy* about the poet-radical Arthur Desmond: 'Vitriolic Writings of a Savage Old Pagan' (24/8/1959). In *Shanties by the Way*, Desmond was given a complete chapter, but the earlier article is more biographical and does not feature any verse.
[50] Bailey and Roth were probably exchanging some material too, as one item in the Auckland Festival concert, 'The Embryo Cockatoo', would have been taken from a broadside in the possession of Roth.
[51] *Southland Times*, *loc. cit.*
[52] The draft copy is dated 1958 on the title page, although this dating is crossed out. Most of the material is in typescript form. It is assembled in a ring-binder which means that material could be easily added or removed, meaning a precise pre-publication dating of the final selection cannot be made. Some songs, such as 'Black Billy Tea' and 'Down the Hall on the Saturday Night', were probably added in 1959-60.
[53] Rona Bailey, conversation with writer, 6/2003.
[54] The version of 'Double-bunking' in *Shanties by the Way* has slight variations from other versions traced in song books. Roth was a member of the Tararua Tramping Club (Taylor 2000:453), and it is reasonable to suppose he collected it through this connection.
[55] This piece is 'He Ngeri' (see Bailey and Roth 1967:34). Also included is a reputed translation into English of 'The Song of Te Kooti' (*ibid*.:87-88).
[56] Les Cleveland's book review was broadcast 5/2/1958. As well as Bailey's response, see a letter from the poet Louis Johnson in the same 28/2/1958 issue of the *New Zealand Listener*. The previous week's issue (21/2/1958)

also contains a relevant letter from J.D. (see p.11) and a radio review of Cleveland's broadcast by J.C.R. (see pp.16-17).

[57] Few of these singing traditions have been investigated at an academic level. Smith (1992) looks at the background to student capping songs, but does not deal with them directly (see also Perkins 1993). Martin (1998) gives some background to union balladry, while Laracy and Laracy (1980) gives a biographical treatment of the early twentieth century Shearers' Union poet Mick Laracy. For a radio documentary about tramping songs, see Brown and Perkins (2004); on this subject see also Harding (1992:89-91).

[58] There is something of a diffusion of historical impetus in the book's final three chapters. Curiously, *Shanties by the Way* does not contain any material relating to the major twentieth century labour disputes in New Zealand, such as those that occurred in 1912-1913 and 1951, even though such material can be found in the editors' archival collections. Were these socially tumultuous events too recent to be acknowledged in a published selection? The editors' continuing political activities certainly suggest that the 'kindlier realm' of New Zealand was still an ideal waiting to be realised.

[59] Although Karl Marx himself was initially hostile towards nationalist movements, later Marxists, such as Otto Bauer, were more positive (Spencer and Wollman 2002:8-15).

Chapter 4
Neil Colquhoun

This chapter will examine the collecting, publishing and recording work of Neil Colquhoun. In 1957 Colquhoun became inspired to begin collecting folksongs after being involved with Rona Bailey and the Auckland Festival concerts. He developed a body of songs for performance and formed his own music group, The Song Spinners. In 1965 he edited a small anthology, which was expanded in 1972 as *New Zealand Folksongs – Song of a Young Country*. This chapter will discuss Colquhoun's background and his interest in folk music; and describe and analyse his collecting methods, folk music concepts, revival activities and methods of song adaptation. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the two versions of Colquhoun's song anthology.

Background

Neil Colquhoun (b.1929) was born in Palmerston North.[1] His father was headmaster of Palmerston North Boys' High School and Colquhoun remembers a comfortable and affluent home even during the 1930s Depression. He became attracted to music at an early age and his parents encouraged him to develop his talents. On his fifth birthday, he remembers awaking to discover his room was "absolutely full of musical instruments… a piano accordion and a button accordion; a ukulele; a clarinet… various drums.… This was the most wonderful day of my life really, in hindsight, and I just went mad you know".[2]

Destined to a life involved with music, Colquhoun remembers a broad range of childhood experiences which helped form his inclusive tastes and sense of the universal qualities of music. These experiences include hearing his parents singing; the murmur of music on the radio; concerts given by the Freemasons Pakama Lodge; and the thick saxophone harmonies of swing bands playing the local ANA (Army Navy Airforce) Club. Colquhoun himself learnt to play piano and later guitar, leading to public concerts in Palmerston North. At secondary school there were jazz piano sessions in the music room, playing "bell to bell" with other students over lunchtime. But Colquhoun also remembers the education system of his era as overly rigid and disciplinarian. When he later went into musical education himself, he would take a quite different approach.

After finishing secondary school in 1946, Colquhoun became a student at Teachers' Training College in Christchurch, where he studied under Ernest Jenner and Bill Trussell. He found that fresh school teaching methods were being developed under the Labour government of the day. These changes had come about with the appointment of Clarence Beeby as Director of Education in 1940, who during his long tenure would instigate a broad reform of the education system (Renwick 2000). In primary schools the teaching of art became far more flexible, encouraging greater participation in the classroom and stressing "the importance of taking into account the artistic ability and stage of development of individual children" (Ewing 1970:238). Colquhoun applied these insights to the teaching of music.

Around the same time he began to develop an awareness of folk music. Like many of his generation, he first became conscious of songs as 'folk songs' through popularised forms broadcast on the radio:

> The first person I heard as folk music, and loved and adored was Burl Ives…. He was quite pop… [but] the whole thing was so different from pop songs… it wasn't classical music... the stories, for a start and there was a declamatory quality about his presentation, I guess that he was imagining himself as a troubadour… in the hall of a medieval castle….

At Training College, Colquhoun found that folk music was already a subject of much discussion among fellow students, who were stimulated by the ideas of overseas poets and musicians. Many of the same ideas had also informed Douglas Lilburn's 1946 speech at the Cambridge Summer School

of Music (Lilburn 1984). Colquhoun became friends with Lilburn, who he met in 1948. In Christchurch, Colquhoun realised there was folk music going on around him at the Irish-Catholic parties where he played piano. These involved popular songs like 'Irish Eyes Were Smiling' but also political songs such as 'Kevin Barry' and "special, lovely ballads… sung unaccompanied… [where] the men stood quiet and one woman just sang".

At the completion of his studies, Colquhoun did general classroom teaching at several North Island schools. In 1951 he was appointed to the new position of Music Specialist Adviser for the Wellington Education Board. Colquhoun was based in Levin and visited primary schools in the Wellington region assisting teachers with classroom music lessons. The position was unique at the time and provided ample opportunities for musical experiments in collective performance and composition, also allowing Colquhoun to later promote New Zealand folk songs within the school system. He held the position until 1964 when he moved to Auckland to become head of music at Tamaki College. He taught at Tamaki and other schools in Auckland until his retirement in 1999.

For Colquhoun, collecting and folk music took place alongside a full-time education career. He was also a composer, creating theatre music, choral arrangements and orchestral works,[3] and in the mid-1970s became involved with the jazz music scene in Auckland. He was also a practicing visual artist.

1957 - A Pivotal Year

During his music advisory work in the 1950s, Colquhoun would employ a variety of classroom techniques, such as getting children to sing in parallel harmonies or using rounds. Folk music was ideally suited to this process because it often had a limited range and was harmonically simple. Colquhoun considered folk songs could also be sung by children beyond the classroom, at home:

> I introduced those ideas too... the idea that singing was good for you… then getting the parents along and getting the parents to get the kids singing at home, that's the main thing. Doing the dishes, because everyone did the dishes in those days, they didn't have dishwashers…. There were the 'zipper songs' where a simple tune had new words 'zipped' onto it. Each person making up a one-liner and singing it.

Initially, Colquhoun used well-known songs like 'Putting on the Style', but soon began to adapt them so children would relate more directly to the words. He had a particularly formative experience relating to this, which made him conscious for the first time that he was hearing a 'New Zealand folk song':

> Something that set my teeth together and thinking about it… was a song called 'The Scia-Scia Gang Song'… composed by Mat Patuaka, who was part-Maori and a talented guitarist-singer. He worked for the Scia-Scia brothers… a Levin family that had this firm that did building. The building gang… they really got together and they sang and Mat… made up this song about them… including the Scia-Scia brothers themselves, poking fun at them you see. There was some social function… and he got up and sang this song and I thought 'that's wonderful!'… And they roared with laughter through the song and I thought: 'how valuable that was… to the people there...'

But although this event happened in the early 1950s, Colquhoun's commitment in earnest to 'New Zealand folk music' is probably best dated to a few years later, through his contact with Rona Bailey. As described in Chapter 3, Bailey had visited Colquhoun in early 1956 to learn guitar for the Auckland Festival concerts the following year. But Colquhoun subsequently became involved in performing at the Festival himself, and he provided tunes and musical arrangements for five of the songs.[4]

For Colquhoun, the Festival became a pivotal reference point. He considered "it had been a great, in fact wild, success… [and] in Wellington so many people became excited about the fact that we had this material". The positive reaction of a New Zealand audience to New Zealand songs, revealed the

material's wider importance, spurring him into two main activities. Firstly, as a result of the Festival concerts, Colquhoun began serious collecting work. He was inspired by the quality and quantity of material which Bailey had found. As he later testified:

> Years ago, when Rona came along and showed me what she had collected during just one field trip through the West Coast, my own doubts concerning the existence of a sizeable body of New Zealand folksongs were put to flight…. If there is one thing a collector needs first it is belief in the existence of a 'folk muse'" (Colquhoun 1972:4)

Secondly, the Festival was the beginning of Colquhoun's performance career, which led onto music groups, recordings, radio programmes and eventually, published song collections. The public response at the Festival and elsewhere demonstrated to him that New Zealanders themselves found these songs meaningful, lending a weight and importance to such an enterprise. Given Colquhoun's musical background, performing was a fairly natural role for him; in some ways he was better equipped to promote songs to a public audience than Rona Bailey.

Collecting

Aims and Criteria

Neil Colquhoun's folk music collecting aimed to preserve and promote New Zealand heritage. Like Rona Bailey, his collecting demonstrated that he was interested in a wide array of different types of material. But Colquhoun's work also had some slightly different parameters.

New Zealand content was a primary concern: "I know Rona was looking for *New Zealand* songs, things that were relevant to New Zealand history, so was Bert of course, so it's the relevance I suppose… I did too, I placed importance on that". Songs which conveyed a sense of collective identity or group expression were most valuable: songs which "tell a story the people, as a group, identify with and to such a degree, that some of them, at least, keep singing the song, often making the detail even more relevant".[5] Even if basically "the expression of a minority" (Colquhoun 1959), material which expressed a sense of group identity would be most relevant to a wider public because its historical and sociological interest.

Like Bailey, Colquhoun also placed a special premium on older New Zealand material because "people might irretrievably take songs with them to the grave".[6] After realising that some songs that his parents knew accessed relatively distant historical eras (see below), he felt that there must be other such material in people's memories: "I ended up asking everyone I met (almost) if they could remember songs from their childhood".[7] But it should also be noted that Colquhoun was not only interested in older material and he also collected contemporary pieces.

Unlike Bailey, Colquhoun was also prepared to expand the parameters of 'New Zealand relevance' and collect folksong 'survivals' of British or other overseas origins. Although Colquhoun considered such songs "sort of outside our canon", they were worth preserving because they had "a genuine history here in New Zealand." An example of such a song was 'Darling Johnny O', which he collected from an Auckland woman, Elizabeth Mair, who had learnt it through a long family tradition. This song is part of the British song family which includes 'Willie O' and 'The Grey Cock' (see Appendix 4.2). With a song like 'Darling Johnny O', its ongoing survival beyond its place of origin was proof for Colquhoun that it was meaningful in the New Zealand context.

Methods

Colquhoun's collecting work was spread over a number of years and used a number of methods. Unlike Bailey he did not conduct dedicated fieldtrips or archival researching, although the manner in which he obtained his first substantial group of songs can be compared to how Bailey acquired 'The

Shanty by the Way'. Shortly after the 1957 Festival, Colquhoun inquired through the Schillinger Institute in New York whether any American composers might know of songs which nineteenth century American whalemen had sung while hunting in New Zealand waters. Several months later he received a letter containing six such songs from John Leebrick, an elderly composer in the United States – see Figure VII.

Blood Red Roses
Come All You Tonguers
David Lowston
New Zealand Whales
Shore Cry
Whaling Off Greenland

Figure VII: **The John Leebrick Songs**
These songs were collected by John Leebrick from "the daughter of a former captain of an American whaleship which had operated around our coast… during the 1830s" (Fyfe 1971a:4). The name of this informant or how the songs were collected is unknown. Leebrick died shortly after contacting Colquhoun and no new information has emerged. Apart from pre-European Maori song, these six pieces are some of the earliest folk songs to be associated with New Zealand. 'David Lowston' concerns an actual incident where a gang of sealers was stranded on a remote coastline from 1810-13, dating the composition of the song to around 1814. 'Come All You Tonguers' is connected to the era of South Island shore-whaling in the 1830s. The other pieces are mostly variants of well-known sea songs. See Appendix 4.2 for location details.

The six songs were remarkable discoveries and Colquhoun forwarded them to Bailey and Roth for inclusion in *Shanties by the Way* (which eventually included three of the songs). But the method by which he acquired the Leebrick songs was unusual for Colquhoun; most of his collecting work was quite different.

Colquhoun's main method of collecting was to informally ask for material among his family, friends and acquaintances. His 'fieldtrips' were carried out among the branches of a personal network, around which the advance news of his search was conveyed by word of mouth. Such an approach might not seem to present great opportunities, but Colquhoun travelled widely as an educationalist and knew many people. After releasing recordings and books, Colquhoun found that his reputation preceded him to an even greater extent: "people seem to know that I do that… because I loved songs and they knew I loved songs". This method also meant he was – to some extent – an 'insider' with informants and therefore made the task of collecting material easier and less intrusive. The approach was

> very opportunistic… often, somebody would say 'Ted knows something he'd like to tell you'. So, there'd be an introduction… somebody heard about somebody. Word of mouth you know, and then you investigate. But, I must say, most people I knew, it was just friends and people I'd met. So, that made me think, 'well, there's a lot of stuff there.'

Using this approach, Colquhoun collected songs in various ways. For example, he collected the song 'Down in the Brunner Mine' as a semi-sung recitation from Jim Musson, an acquaintance of his friend Elsie Locke in Christchurch. In turn, Musson introduced him to Ben Whittle, who remembered several songs – including 'The Mill' - from his days living on the West Coast. A different chain of events occurred with the song 'As the Black Billy Boils'. Upon moving to Auckland in 1964, Colquhoun lived briefly in West Auckland and through his neighbour became acquainted with an elderly Yugoslav man who knew this song. Other songs arrived by more direct routes, such as 'My Man's Gone Now', heard in Foxton from a friend, May Simpson, who had learned it from a local woman.

The collecting imperative was also passed on to friends who conveyed their own 'finds' to Colquhoun. One of these was Lew Williams, whom Colquhoun had first befriended in the early 1950s. Born in Wales in 1906, Williams settled in New Zealand in the 1920s and in later years took

an annual hitchhiking pilgrimage around the country, apparently tape-recording singers and musicians (Giles 1982; Elliot 1982).[8] Williams passed to Colquhoun a number of songs written by a former bushman, swagger and watersider, Bob Edwards, including 'Old Billy Kirk' and 'The Day the Pub Burned Down'.[9] Other collector-informants were Jim Musson and Arthur Ross. More research is required to assess the work of all three of these individuals.

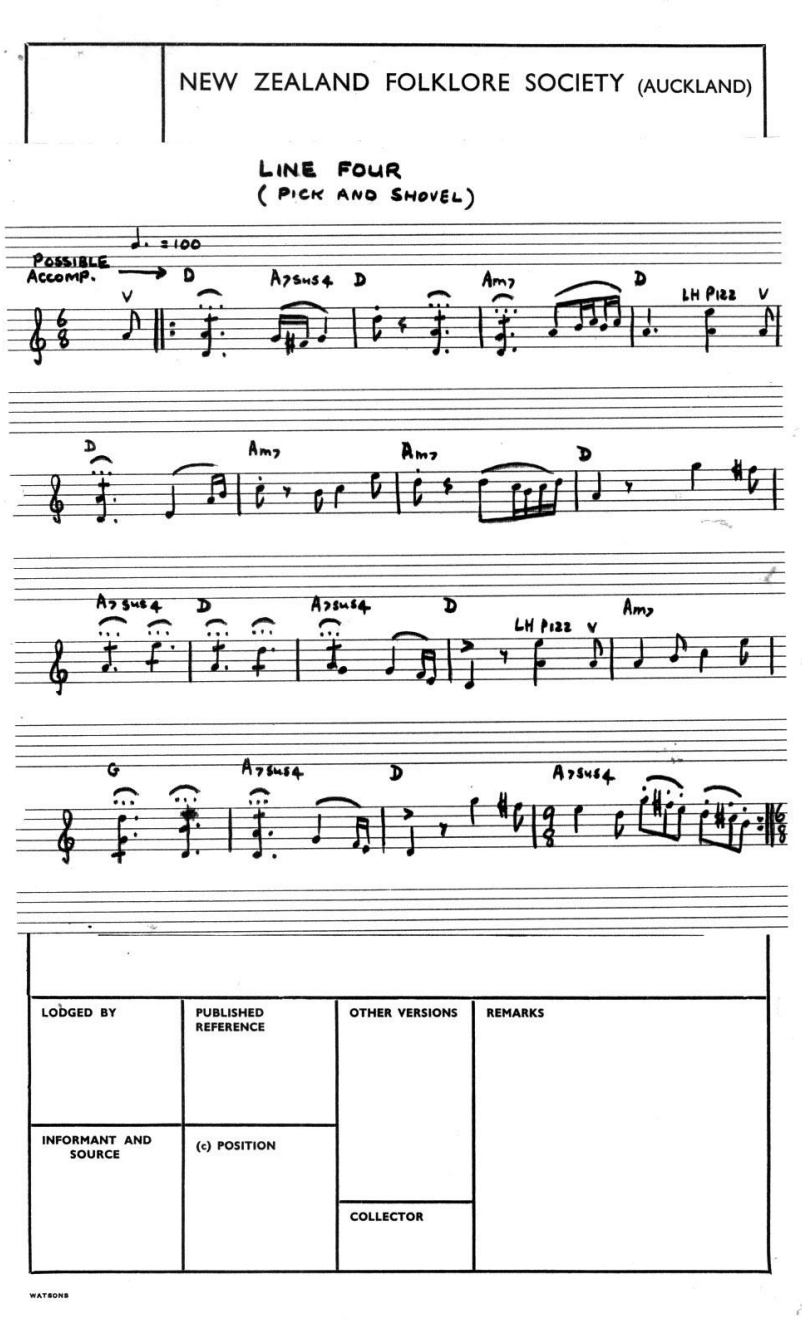

Plate 1: **New Zealand Folklore Society song sheet for 'Line Four'**
This fiddle tune was collected from the playing of Walter Thomas, Wellington, by Neil Colquhoun, c.1946. In the early twentieth century Thomas had been a navvy working on the Otira railway tunnel and played fiddle at recreational dances held by the workers. He was apparently a self-taught musician and tuned his instrument to an unusual A-E-G#-D tuning. In the late 1960s seven of the Thomas tunes were deposited by Colquhoun in the archives of the New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS) Auckland branch.
Source: ATL 2000-199-2/05

Apart from searching for new informants, Colquhoun accessed his own memories for material. He recalled certain songs sung by friends of the family, such as 'Little Tommy Pinkerton', heard from

Dorothy Hueston, a former schoolteacher of his wife Barbie, in 1953. His own childhood became a source of material. For example, during school holidays in 1941 he had encountered a group of railwaymen singing and making music on home-made instruments (Colquhoun 1965a:11-12). One of their songs, 'Railway Bill', was later supplemented with verses collected from an acquaintance in Levin, the ex-railway worker Ted Moxom (*ibid*.:57). A similar situation arose with songs by the Otago poet John Barr, such as 'Altered Days' and 'Rise Out Your Bed', which he could remember his parents singing. The melodies and words of these were later also heard from a man he had befriended while living in Levin in the 1950s, William Swan. A group of fiddle tunes were also collected at an earlier stage in Colquhoun's life from the playing of his sister's elderly father-in-law, Walter Thomas. In 1946 Colquhoun transcribed seven of these tunes, which have unusual ornamentation and rhythms – see Plate 1.

Neil Colquhoun did not use a tape-recorder in his collecting and mostly wrote down words and melodies.[10] He preserved both the words and music of songs he was given and his training enabled him to quickly notate melodies from informants, which could be recalled in more detail at a later stage. Although he retained information about informants, Colquhoun's primary focus has been on the songs themselves and contextual information has not been systematically recorded. Certainly the names of informants are mostly credited in his publications, but he considers that he has not operated in a "scientific way".[11] Unlike Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth, he did not acquire material from archives or newspapers, but his published works were supplemented with some historical research.

Collectanea

The overall body of folksong and folk music collected by Neil Colquhoun is a private collection not available for general public access. Material which is publicly available can be divided into a number of categories. Many songs were collected in a largely complete state; others were originally recitations that were later set to music; and a few have been constructed from various fragments or sources. There is also a group of texts which Colquhoun has set to music, these texts being either collected by other individuals or coming from printed sources.

The material can be summarised as follows. Apart from the six John Leebrick songs, the collected material comprises twenty-two largely complete songs; seven fiddle and one whistling tune; four recitations made into songs; five pieces which have been built into complete songs using collected fragments; and at least six 'Cazna Gyp' songs. Colquhoun has created nineteen songs utilising other collectors' material, archival texts, original verse or lyrics written by himself. These nineteen songs include one entirely self-written song and four contemporary verse settings (found in *Shanties by the Way*). There are probably more musical settings by Colquhoun in archival holdings which remain to be firmly identified. A breakdown of the overall body of material which I have traced and categorised is in Appendix 4.1; annotations for material published in *New Zealand Folksongs* (Colquhoun 1972) is in Appendix 4.2; and references for other material is in Appendix 4.3.

A full description of all these songs is not possible here, but the sheer variety of Colquhoun's collected pieces should be noted. It includes nineteenth century poetry settings like 'Altered Days' and 'Old Dash'; popular Australasian balladry such as 'The Mill' and 'McKenzie and His Dog'; old British songs like 'Darling Johnny O'; American-influenced songs such as 'Leatherman' and 'Railway Bill'; anonymous union protest songs like '151 Days'; a song set to a Yugoslav melody, 'As the Black Billy Boils'; Maori songs like Tuini Ngawai's 'E Te Hokowhitu'; and the music hall ditty 'Little Tommy Pinkerton'.

Colquhoun remains modest about the quantity of collected material which has not been released in some form through publications, recordings or which can be accessed in archival holdings. The unreleased portion apparently extends to about two dozen songs and a larger quantity of texts obtained from Jim Musson in the 1960s.

Folk Music Concepts

Neil Colquhoun has defined and conceptualised 'folk music' in a distinctly subtle way. He has preferred to discuss his 'experience' of folk music rather than stress prescriptive concepts of authenticity. As a consequence, instead of basing his ideas on criteria such as oral transmission, anonymity or age, he has developed a personal understanding based on interpretative notions of meaning and process.

The earliest published statement by Colquhoun about folk music was a long letter to the *New Zealand Listener* (Colquhoun 1959). The letter was written in response to a rather critical editorial concerning the New Zealand songs current within the folk revival of the era (M.H.H. 1959). The editorial stated that "folk music of any sort… is old and anonymous" and that songs derived from newspaper texts might have "nostalgia interest and… quaintness… [but were] not worth preserving" (*ibid.*). Colquhoun responded as follows:

> That folk music need essentially be old and anonymous, and that its exact source or author must be untraceable before it can be called folk music are pitifully naïve generalisations. Cecil Sharp innocently held these views fifty years ago simply because at that time it seemed a reasonable theory, and because the science of comparative musicology had then barely begun its tremendous journey. (Colquhoun 1959)

He continued by defending the use of newspapers and other printed sources as a "normal check-process in collecting… [where] material is… rebuilt from this and that piece" (*ibid.*). He also emphasised that New Zealand "indigenous material" required careful handling, because folk music

> is mostly found to be the expression of a minority opinion and must wait on the collector's shelf until the majority accept, or at least become indifferent to, the minority. But none of this means the material is "not worth preserving." It is the minorities that make history.... (*ibid.*)

The sense that folk music is a minority group expression – of one kind or another - has remained constant for Colquhoun. His innermost concept of authenticity is closely connected to how songs relate to informants and their lives. According to this view, a folk song might be seen as a special 'possession' of the informant, coming from a childhood memory; being written about a personal experience; or having a special place in the activities of a close-knit group of people. Colquhoun felt that often the songs he collected were "part of… [the informant's] life actually… part of their identity I thought". Part of this was that songs were

> wrapped up with storytelling, often just telling a story about their life. Not in a grand way. In a way, even though the song might be pretty simple and not much to it, it still connected in my mind with the story they were telling. So, always these songs are telling stories as far as I'm concerned. That's important.

He has also remarked that "the most distinguishing feature about folk-song is the way in which the singer will identify himself with the song: make it his own; alter it; play with it; and inject his own personality" (The Song Spinners 1958b). Performance style often seemed integrated with the lives of certain musicians, like the fiddle player Walter Thomas or a Foxton ukulele player, Boyd Winiata, who he had met in the 1950s (Colquhoun 1965a). He praised their "casual, but impressive, music-making", comparing them to American singers like Doc Watson who were similarly to be valued for the "rightness of their art, which is built on, and mirrors, their own hard-working lives" (*ibid.*:12, 13).

Colquhoun's view of folk music is reminiscent of early folksong 'realists' like Phillips Barry and Percy Grainger (see Chapter 1). Like them, he de-emphasises the central importance of oral tradition and instead locates the authenticity of folk music in the life of the informant and, as Grainger had outlined, in 'the impress of personality' (Grainger 1915). Colquhoun's sense that authentic meaning emerges from a conjunction of informant, style and text has, as with Barry and Grainger, been developed through his own collecting experiences. He discovered that informants often became friends who were "sharing something rather special with you",[12] further enhancing his underlying ideas.

Lastly, Colquhoun has related that certain songs were often attractive to him "because the word phrasing had a certain magic in itself, quite different from poetry… often creating an image that's related to their life and everybody's life, very ordinary, but quite emotional at times". This sense that folksong may inspire universal recognition beyond the national context imbues his project with an underlying humanistic idealism. In this, he shares more perhaps with revivalists such as Pete Seeger.

The Song Spinners

After the 1957 Auckland Festival concerts, Colquhoun began to regularly perform New Zealand folk songs. He helped record the two radio programmes based on the concerts; and appeared on the *Shanties by the Way* EP, playing guitar and sharing lead vocals on 'Waitekauri Everytime!'. By the end of 1957 he had started to accumulate his own body of fresh material, including the Leebrick songs, which inspired him to form a music group in Levin, The Song Spinners.

> The idea I had was to have a double quartet. A quartet of trained singers that could read… and could place a note... and a quartet of the very opposite, just casual party singers that were local teachers very often…. The effect was… to have something that was a bit warmer and folkier than a formal choral-type [group]….

Songs of the Whalers – Songs of Early New Zealand EP
1958, M31-1. Tracks: Whaling Off Greenland; Blood Red Roses; New Zealand Whales; Davie Lowston; Come All You Tonguers; Across the Line

Songs of the Gold Diggers – Songs of Early New Zealand 2 EP
1958, M31-2. Tracks: I'm Packing My Things; New Chums at the Diggings; Tuapeka Gold; Song of the Pick; Gold's a Wonderful Thing

Sing Around the World 10" LP
1959, M31-3. Tracks: Sing Around the World; Banuwa Yo; Paddy on the Railway; Raguhpati Ragava Ram; Yo Se Murio El Burro; Ride Around, Little Dogies, Ride Around; Putting on the Style; Droben Im Oberland; Whack! Tee Doody Dum; Oleanna; Drill, You Tarriers; Gedunken Sink Frei; Bay of Mexico

Cazna Gyp - Songs of the Backblocks EP
1959, EA-33. Tracks: Old Billy Kirk; Heart of the Hills; Brandin' Muster; Song of the Kauri

Songs of Africa EP
1960, EA-55. Tracks: Wimoweh; Here's to the Couple; Somagwaza; Bayeza; He Motsoala; Bayandoyika

Songs of the Gumdiggers EP
1960, EA-58. Tracks: Trade of the Kauri Gum; The End of the Earth; The Way of the Trade; The Gay Deserter; The Black Swans

Figure VIII: **Recordings by The Song Spinners**
All these recordings were released on the Kiwi label. The four New Zealand EPs are *Songs of the Whalers, Songs of the Gold Diggers, Cazna Gyp* and *Songs of the Gumdiggers*. The third features original songs by 'Canza Gyp', the others feature material collected by Colquhoun, Leebrick, Bailey and others. The *Sing Around the World* LP contains one song – 'Paddy on the Railway' – partly adapted from a version collected in Birkenhead, New Zealand by Albert Gilmore. The New Zealand EPs all included song lyrics and notes. Some of the many members of The Song Spinners were Jack Murphy, John Godden, Arthur Weller, Don Yeates, Mathew Davies, Audria Beddie, Sybil Hewitson, Lorna McLeod, Barbie Colquhoun, John Weblin and Malcolm Cunninghame.

The group featured a shifting membership of ten or more local people. It included some instruments - bass, banjo and drums - with Colquhoun himself playing guitar. In keeping with participatory ideals, the group had a 'work-shopping' ethos and developed songs within the rehearsal process. The group performed mostly in Levin and nearby towns like Manakau, making the occasional visit to Wellington.[13]

The Song Spinners predated the 'folk boom' in New Zealand by at least a year and being based in a provincial town, they were rather separate from the coffee house scenes of the main cities. Nonetheless they felt connected to the international revival movement and its values. The liner notes to one record expresses this feeling of kinship:

> Revived interest in folk-singing, as well as spot-lighting the solo ballad-singer, has brought about the formation of hundreds of small amateur song-groups throughout Great Britain, Canada, the U.S.A., and Australia. Here, young folk meet to study and revive, with enthusiasm, those singing traditions that old-timers once lamented as forgotten. (The Song Spinners 1958a)

The Song Spinners sang mainly New Zealand material gathered from various sources and reworked by Colquhoun and the group. He had always been interested in recording the Leebrick songs and after auditioning for publishers A.H. & A.W. Reed, The Song Spinners became one of the first groups to be recorded on their Kiwi label.[14] The Song Spinners' first EP, *Songs of the Whalers*, was released in early 1958 and over the next two years, there would be another four EPs and a 10" LP – see Figure VIII. In 1959 a six-part radio series with the group, *With Voices Together We Sing*, was broadcast on the 2YA network.[15] But the following year Colquhoun left the group and it only carried on for a short time without him before disbanding.

Later Involvement

After leaving The Song Spinners, Colquhoun formed a smaller folk group, The Threepenny Singers: a trio with Colquhoun's wife Barbie and Malcolm Cunninghame, formerly of The Song Spinners. They played New Zealand material but also embraced a wider international repertoire. The Threepenny Singers performed throughout New Zealand and had their own radio show, *Singing Easy*, but they made no recordings.[16] Colquhoun also contributed songs to various radio programmes about New Zealand history or rural life, including *Murderers Rock*, *The Diggers of Long Ago* and *The Fleece is Gold*.[17] These projects involved arranging and performing existing material, and in the case of *Murderers Rock*, writing original songs.

When the Colquhouns moved to Auckland in 1964, The Threepenny Singers disbanded. Here, Colquhoun became involved with the Auckland branch of the Workers' Education Association (WEA), giving workshops on folk music, teaching songs and encouraging others to perform. The interest among WEA members was sufficient for an enthusiasts' group to be set up, the New Zealand Folksong Research Group (NZFSRG). As a result of these activities, Colquhoun edited a small collection of songs, entitled *New Zealand Folk Songs* (Colquhoun 1965b), which was published by the WEA in 1965.

After moving to Auckland, Colquhoun increased his involvement with the mainstream of the local folk revival movement. He attended the Titirangi Folk Club and coffee houses like the Uptown Gallery, but his favourite venue was the Poles Apart Folk Club in Newmarket. Colquhoun became friends with the owner, Curly Del'Monte, as well as many of the younger singers and musicians who performed there, including Bill Taylor, Robbie Laven, Dave Jordan, Marilyn Bennett and Dave and Panda Calder. After the New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS) was founded in Wellington, Colquhoun was instrumental in establishing an Auckland branch of the organisation in December 1967 in conjunction with the Poles Apart. Many of the songs and tunes Colquhoun had collected were placed in the archives of the NZFLS Auckland branch and some material was printed in *Heritage* magazine. He also contributed songs to a 1968 anthology edited by school teacher Alistair C. Cumming and recorded an EP for a series of recordings associated with the book (Cumming 1968; Colquhoun *et al* 1969).

From 1968 onwards, in collaboration with the NZFLS and members of the Poles Apart, Colquhoun devised a special concert and a radio series to showcase New Zealand material. This culminated in a double LP, *Song of a Young Country* (Colquhoun 1971) and an enlarged edition of the 1965 WEA book, entitled *New Zealand Folksongs - Song of a Young Country* (Colquhoun 1972).

As discussed below, these releases attracted some controversy within the folk movement and as a result Colquhoun moved away from the revival. His last substantial contact was a workshop, which he directed, on New Zealand music at the 1978 Canterbury Folk Festival.

Revival Concepts

Neil Colquhoun's revival and collecting aims were closely bound together. Nationalism was again a central concern. Colquhoun perceived that older songs were vital links to the nation's past and could provide a way to "gain our identity as a young nation".[18] This sense that New Zealand was in the formative stages of developing its national identity informs the very title of Colquhoun's LP and anthology: *Song of a Young Country*. He was well aware that folksong elsewhere was used to provide a vision of nationhood and particularly admired the influential American collections of Alan Lomax (Lomax 1960, 1964).

In the 1960s, as the 'folk boom' unfolded in New Zealand, Colquhoun also became conscious of the largely international repertoire of the folk movement and felt a duty to provide local songs: "few New Zealand folk-songs have been heard on the radio, or television, and none have been published since the 1860s… few of the young folk-singers in the coffee-houses and galleries know of these songs" (Colquhoun 1965a:14). After becoming involved with folk clubs in Auckland, he was able to effectively address this deficiency.

But at the same time, Colquhoun was never entirely comfortable with the atmosphere and direction of the mainstream of the revival movement. Examining his criticisms of the movement is useful to gain an understanding of his own revival ideals. One of Colquhoun's early comments concerned the lack of a nationalistic awareness or imperative among revival performers: "Maybe our folk-songs are worth taking notice of – but sometimes I wonder. I once announced to a gathering of folk-singers in Wellington that I had a collection of some hundred songs I wished to share. Only three took up my offer" (Colquhoun 1965a:15). He also unfavourably compared revival performance styles with those of informants such as Walter Thomas and Boyd Winiata.

> every time I see a young fellow [in a coffee house]… take out a guitar and sing a good ballad with such complete, yet obvious, involvement in the song, and people say "this is folk music, this is a folk-singer", I am somehow reminded of "method" acting; and I long to see and hear again some of those real folk-musicians. (*ibid*.:13)

He also wondered whether the local revival movement would ever come 'full circle' as in the United States, where source practitioners like Doc Watson and Hobart Jones featured on the same stage with revival performers like Joan Baez, as happened at the 1964 Newport Folk Festival. Part of Colquhoun's later attraction to the Poles Apart Folk Club was that it didn't "specially cater to the 'folk crowd'" (Colquhoun 1968:18). Indeed, certain individuals who played at the Poles Apart, for example, banjoist Jim Higgott, could be compared to the source musicians showcased at American festivals.[19]

Generally, Colquhoun has been more comfortable promoting songs to a broader public and has emphasised an intimate 'everyday' role for folk music in the lives of all people, rather than simply being a vehicle for public performance. This relates to his education work, which encouraged participation, song adaptation and singing beyond the classroom. Even The Song Spinners EPs had featured song lyrics and liner notes, encouraging listeners to find out more about songs and perform themselves. His 1965 anthology also declared itself a "book for singers, young or old, big or small, to sing anywhere they like, now, today" (Colquhoun 1965b:2).

This leads naturally to the question of how Colquhoun has reconciled his concepts of authenticity with the activity of revival. If a song gains its authenticity as a 'folk song' in connection with the life of an informant – if it is, indeed, a 'special' part of their lives – then it is important to examine how Colquhoun characterised the action of transferring it away from this context. In 2005 he expressed

certain ethical anxieties: “for a while there I was worried about repercussions actually, I was worried about… [informants] being found and hunted out and… their life spoilt a bit”. But he also felt that informants were aware of his performing work and had given him “the songs that they want[ed] to be known”.

The task of reifying the authenticity of folk music in revival contexts is more complex. Here, Colquhoun faced the same compromises of any revivalist collector who values the authenticity of source traditions. Throughout his career in education, performing and publishing, his solution has been to promote a ‘total’ practice of folk music, which has meant encouraging people to make folk music part of their lives in a way equivalent with source informants. This view is encapsulated in a 1965 comment: “concentrate less on ‘living the song’ and instead begin ‘singing the life’” (Colquhoun 1965a:15). Colquhoun took special responsibility for what he collected and felt obliged to encourage its use in a certain way. According to this view “a song has a life… [but] it has no life in a book… it’s the way it is actually being used by people [that’s important]”. Of course, promoting songs in books, which Colquhoun has done, is a much less personal and effective way of imparting these values than in a classroom or folk club. Although he has framed his anthologies with these ideas in mind (see below), it seems that with published material, authenticity would have to be interpreted anew by readers and listeners.

Shaping of Material

Neil Colquhoun’s use of collected folk material for public concerts, commercial recordings, radio programmes and books has often involved shaping it into suitable forms. This activity has harnessed his talents as an arranger, composer and lyricist, but has also involved ‘work-shopping’ songs with musical collaborators. He has been quite open about this process, stating that songs were “presented in their colloquial form, not always as they were first published or collected…. in other words, I am guilty of modernising the source. I make no apology…. I have followed Alan Lomax in combining versions and composing words and melodies where these have been forgotten” (Colquhoun 1965b:2). Ultimately, Colquhoun’s chosen role has been revivalist rather than scholarly.

It is not always possible to know the original forms of material Colquhoun collected and therefore a full examination of adaptations cannot be made. But the broad processes are evident enough and Colquhoun has communicated several examples to the writer. A number of different processes of adaptation have been used. Pieces which lacked tunes (‘Across the Line’) or were originally recitations (‘McKenzie and His Dog’) have had musical settings added. Fragmentary material has been ‘reconstructed’ by having extra verses written (‘Packing My Things’) or by combining material from different sources (‘Bright Fine Gold’); other songs have been edited down if too lengthy (‘The Wakamarina’). Lyrics have been modified to allow easier singing and dialect lyrics modernised (‘Rise Out Your Bed’). But many other songs have also remained essentially as collected (‘Come All You Tonguers’, ‘Darling Johnny O’, ‘My Man’s Gone’).

Colquhoun has overseen this shaping process, but has also stressed the involvement of other people: musical collaborators, revival performers, or school children. Generally, he has waited until songs have evolved into a form deemed effective for both performers and audiences before recording or publishing them. An impression of how Colquhoun’s adaptations have evolved can be gained from examining a song released in an interim and ‘final’ state: ‘Waitekarui Everytime!’. Within its original source tradition in the Coromandel goldfield area, the song was evidently sung to the tune ‘Clementine’. From this piece of information, Colquhoun developed a melodic variation of ‘Clementine’ constructed on a 12/8 metrical pattern. He then later modified the melody into a 4/4 metre with a more robust melody. Colquhoun relates that this final version was very “successful with children… who absolutely loved it and sang it with such gusto and they had actually altered it really”. See Appendix 4.4 for a comparison.

Apparently, Colquhoun's teaching work was a crucial site of experimentation. He related to the writer how the musical setting for the song 'Across the Line' (a.k.a. 'I've Traded with the Maoris') arose from a classroom exercise:

> This came from kids, but I shifted it to adults and they liked it. The most widely-spread children's song ever… we call it 'Twinkle Twinkle Little Star'…. That becomes a ground, and over top of that, the tune [of 'Across the Line'], that sort of evolved…. And then when it comes to the chorus, that was just a burst from the kids, and we knew we'd got something…. And then The Song Spinners recorded it.

Colquhoun feels that such informal participatory methods have been a kind of 'folk process' in themselves: "there were all these different teachers, with all these different children and I really, artificially, tried to create a folk process… and it worked". While the characterisation of these methods as a folk process is debateable – especially given Colquhoun's adult supervisory role – the process was certainly a practical validation of his philosophy that folksong gathers meaning through use and personal investment by performers.[20]

An important component of Colquhoun's processes have been the composition of entirely new melodies for texts. In the context of shaping songs, melody is crucial because it creates an emotional interpretation of the text and imparts, through a particular musical vocabulary, a sense of cultural tradition. Due to his classical music and teaching background, Colquhoun has been able to draw upon a range of techniques to develop folk material. Although in certain cases he has used specified tunes, modified into slightly different forms, his melodies have mostly been original.[21] These tunes are usually simple, but with distinctive touches added. For example, the song 'Down in the Brunner Mine' follows a familiar ABAC verse structure, yet the first musical phrase ends on a distinctive major seventh note. In some cases, 'irregular' verse forms are used, such as the five-line verses of 'Packing My Things'. Other pieces have extended chorus developments ('John Smith A.B.'); while some evolve, with a certain degree of repetitions, over the entire piece ('Run For Your Life'). The flavour of Colquhoun's musical crafting is complemented on several recordings by unusual guitar-banjo arrangements, such as on the 1960 version of 'The End of the Earth' (The Song Spinners 1960b).

Talking to the writer, Colquhoun agreed that while drawing on traditional folk melody, he had felt compelled to develop tunes with distinctive qualities. This aim partly related to the creative satisfaction of developing original tunes, but there was another, more central, motive to not using existing traditional melodies to set texts:

> Definitely no! Because, not because I wanted 'me' to be there… it's simply that I wanted them to be *New Zealand*… [for example] when I was given… 'Whalers' Rhymes'… and the air was 'The King of the Cannibal Islands'[22]…. I found it and I had to fit those words…. I felt that, isn't it a pity they didn't think of an original tune that was *our* country?…. I was motivated for… identity. Identity motivated me, so much. New Zealand identity.

Colquhoun's use of unusual note choices, cadences and structures expresses this desire to develop a new musical idiom, one that echoes tradition, but is also different and somehow specifically 'New Zealand'. It is interesting to note that he was here inverting the standard relationship between folk and classical traditions - as considered by Lilburn (1984) – through injecting touches of classical sophistication into the folk material he collected and performed. The wide success of certain songs is probably due to the fact that his melodic additions are generally catchy and understated; several have been recorded many times, including 'Packing My Things', 'Bright Fine Gold' and 'Across the Line'.

New Zealand Folk Songs

The 1965 song anthology *New Zealand Folk Songs* arose from Colquhoun's involvement with folk music workshops for Auckland WEA. The book was a natural means to spread folk material beyond his personal network and perhaps inspire others to begin collecting local songs. But Colquhoun was

also frustrated by the seemingly endless delays in publishing *Shanties by the Way*, to which he had contributed several songs and musical arrangements, and wanted to more actively progress the 'cause' of New Zealand folksong.

A Southern Gale	John Smith A.B. Davy Lowston New Zealand Whales Come All You Tonguers
Landfall	Altered Days I'm a Young Man Little Tommy Pinkerton Rise Out Your Bed
For Gum or Gold	Trade of Kauri Gum Packing My Things Tuapeka Gold The Black Swans
Of Rogue and Rebel	The Gay Deserter Te Kooti E Ha Rerenga's Wool
Workin' Out Country	The Foggy Foggy Banks Dug-out in the True Shearing Leatherman
Union Men	Railway Bill Run For Your Life 151 Days Down in the Brunner Mine

Figure IX: **Chapters and Songs in *New Zealand Folk Songs***
Note: The title of the song 'Tuapeka Gold' was later changed to 'Bright Fine Gold' to avoid confusion with a song of the same title written by Phil Garland.

Description

New Zealand Folk Songs is a small softcover publication. The text is modestly typeset and all the musical notations are hand drawn. It is sometimes known as the 'green book' for the colour of its cover, which features a semi-abstract drawing by Colquhoun incorporating the profile of a seabird. The book starts with a short Introduction, source notes and acknowledgments. It is then structured into six thematic chapters, each containing three or four songs. Short notes on songs placed at the beginning of each chapter, with the actual songs following and given one page each. There are twenty-three songs in total. Throughout the book are small ink drawings by Colquhoun. The back cover supplies guitar chord diagrams and a brief biography of the editor.

The book's organisation is similar to *Shanties by the Way*, in that it combines thematic chapters with a loose chronological ordering, but the song notes are quite different from those in Bailey and Roth's book. They often comment on the songs indirectly, giving a more general description or evoking the social backdrop with the use of long quotations from historical accounts. Every song has musical notation of the vocal melody line, with lyrics fitted, and suggested chords for accompaniment.

Analysis

New Zealand Folk Songs stands as the first published version of the New Zealand folksong canon. Its project to define a folksong canon is evident from the very title. As with *Shanties by the Way*, the anthology is centred around themes of work and settlement in a frontier land, although a few different notes are struck by the Scottish conjugal humour of 'Rise Out Your Bed' and the music hall atmosphere of 'Little Tommy Pinkerton'. But the overall approach of the anthology reveals rather different aims and principles from Bailey and Roth.

In the Introduction, Colquhoun mentions the influence of Alan Lomax on his policy of adapting songs. But the book also uses essentially the same structuring principles as Lomax's 1960 anthology *The Folk Songs of North America*, applied, nonetheless, on a far reduced scale.[23] Both books are divided into chapters where chapters notes are combined together and sometimes only obliquely comment on the actual songs. This approach has several advantages. Firstly, the songs themselves are placed in a more simple context on the page: they 'stand alone'. Secondly, combining the song notes together contributes to the unity of each chapter. Both books also feature hand drawn illustrations.

While Colquhoun roughly follows Alan Lomax's approach, he does not attempt to replicate the intellectual argument found in the Lomax volume, where history, geography and musicology combine in a sprawling treatise on American folk music. Instead Colquhoun's Introduction is short and uses quotes from writers like Frederico Garcia Lorca, Richard Chase and Ewan MacColl to suggest the universal and ever-topical nature of folk music. For Colquhoun, it was more important to provide an encouragement for the reader to sing the songs, than provide Lomax-style intellectual commentary. Indeed, Colquhoun's 1965 anthology and its 1972 edition, are unique among New Zealand folksong anthologies in making direct appeals to the reader to begin singing. Of course, other collections imply such a function by their very format, but only Colquhoun gives detailed advice on vocal delivery, instrumental accompaniment and the importance of rhythm. The music notations are deliberately pitched low so that singers can 'capo' a guitar upwards to a suitable pitch and use the same chord progressions. In all these ways, Colquhoun tries to imbue the book with his own participatory vision of folk music.

In *New Zealand Folk Songs*, the overall effect of Colquhoun's structuring and emphasis on participation is to subtly separate songs from their specific historical context and - to a significant extent – allow the reader to draw their own connections as they learn them. Colquhoun guides the experience by using homespun ink drawings to help the reader 'picture' the subjects of the songs. Certain chapter titles have a mythical ring of origins ('A Southern Gale', 'Landfall'), while others romantically evoke the frontier society ('Rogue and Rebel', 'Workin' Out Country'), again encouraging the reader to use their imagination. Contrasted with the prosaic historical anchoring of Bailey and Roth, Colquhoun constructs a more poetic and romantic representation of historical and national 'essence'. For all these reasons, *New Zealand Folk Songs* is an effective 'imagining' of the folk music canon.

New Zealand Folksongs - Song of a Young Country

After the formation of the Auckland branch of the NZFLS in December 1967, Neil Colquhoun and Curly Del'Monte began planning a fundraising concert. They obtained sponsorship from the Rothmans Cultural Foundation and organised a programme of songs to be performed by local revival artists, with spoken scripts, written by Colquhoun, to link the concert together. The 'Song of the Young Country' concert took place on 28 April 1968.[24] Afterwards the same idea was expanded by Colquhoun into a seven-part radio series called *Songs of a Young Country* which aired from September 1969.[25] It featured 'The Folk-lore Singers and Players' who were revival performers mainly associated with the Poles Apart Folk Club, and included collected songs along with original material by Peter Cape, Phil Garland and Dave Jordan.[26]

The head of Kiwi Records, Tony Vercoe, then suggested that an expanded edition of the *New Zealand Folk Songs* anthology could be published, along with an LP recording of the songs. By this stage, Colquhoun felt there was a growing interest in a new edition of the book: "people were beginning to accept the fact that there was a New Zealand body of songs and that made a difference". A double LP, *Song of a Young Country – New Zealand Folksongs*, featuring new versions of twenty-nine songs was released in December 1971, and the book anthology *New Zealand Folksongs - Song of a Young Country*,[27] became available in mid-1972, published by A.H. & A.W. Reed. The song recordings also featured on a subsequent radio series, *A Young Country*, which was marketed internationally by the NZBC.[28]

Description

New Zealand Folksongs is a large softcover publication. The book is handsomely produced and is reminiscent of the American folksong anthologies produced by Oak Publications.[29] The cover gives a detail from one of Alfred Sharp's nineteenth century watercolours of Coromandel bush workers. The book retains Colquhoun's Introduction largely unchanged from the 1965 WEA edition, but adds a contents page, reference page and a more detailed list of informants at the back of the book. Colquhoun's hand drawings were replaced with nineteenth century engravings and several photographs.[30] The book contains a total of fifty-one songs structured into seven chapters. The chapter titles are unchanged, but the 1965 chapter 'For Gum and Gold' is divided into two: 'For Gum' and 'For Gold'. Certain aspects of the overall structuring were changed, most notably, the song notes were removed from the start of each chapter and placed on the same page with the relevant song; additionally, writer-composer credits and discography references were added. Apart from these aspects, the 1972 anthology largely follows the approach of the 1965 version.

Included among the twenty-eight new songs are several recent compositions, including pieces by 'Cazna Gyp', Colquhoun himself, and revival performers Phil Garland and Dave Jordan. More recently collected items were also included, such as 'Darling Johnny O' and 'Friendly Road', as well as pieces collected and developed many years previously. See Appendix 4.2 for an annotated listing of the songs in *New Zealand Folksongs*.

Analysis

Although the book format was slightly modified, the analysis given above for the 1965 edition can also be applied to the 1972 edition. However, Colquhoun did incorporate a few new kinds of material. Love songs ('Darling Johnny O' and 'The Banks of the Waikato') appeared for the first time in a New Zealand anthology. Probably more dramatic was his inclusion of folk-style revival songs. While certain recently-composed pieces - like the Bob Edwards song 'The Day the Pub Burned Down' - could be viewed as quasi-folk songs, the incorporation of revival compositions marked a new way of expanding the canon.[31] Furthermore, revival songs which depicted certain historical periods were placed among collected songs of those periods. For example, Phil Garland's song about the 1860s Otago gold rush, 'Tuapeka Gold', was placed alongside 'Bright Fine Gold', a song partly based on a children's rhyme from the 1860s.

Colquhoun's belief that revival compositions had a valid place in an anthology of 'New Zealand folksong' was clearly stated on the liner notes of the accompanying LP, where Garland and Jordan were said to be "continuing the tradition" (Colquhoun 1971).[32] Through his involvement with folk clubs it seems that Colquhoun had warmed to the interpretations of revival performers. For example, he felt that the use of "American instrumental techniques propagated during the recent folkmusic revival" was in fact curiously appropriate given the long history, for example, of banjo music in New Zealand (*ibid*.).[33] The revival movement was therefore a valid part of "the New Zealand tradition – as it is today".

But the ambiguities about what this term 'the New Zealand tradition' might mean is crucial to understanding events which accompanied and overshadowed the book's release. The two *Song of a Young Country* releases had mostly good reviews in the general press,[34] but the review of the LP in the NZFLS newsletter *Penny Post* was severely critical. This review and the responses it engendered were part of a watershed moment in the New Zealand collecting enterprise, exposing fundamental differences in motivation and concepts of authenticity.

The *Penny Post* review, written by Andrew Potter, praised some aspects of the album but mainly railed against the "obscurantist clap-trap" of the song notes, arguing that "shoddy research and inaccurate credits" reduced the LP's value for "specialists", ie. serious folklorists (Potter 1972a).[35] Potter's most serious criticisms were directed at errors and ambiguities in crediting. For example, 'John Smith A.B.' was credited on the LP centre label as "Attr. Rogers – Trad.", which could be construed as meaning that authorship was unclear and that the piece had been collected intact from oral tradition as a song. But the text had in fact been printed as a poem by D.H. Rogers in the late nineteenth century, then later collected as a oral recitation by Colquhoun and subsequently set to his own melody. There were many other possible ambiguities or straightforward errors on the labels. More broadly, Potter deplored the fact that no explanations were given about how material had been combined, modified or composed.

Beyond these specifics lay a rather different understanding of what the term 'traditional' meant. For Potter and others in the Wellington branch, a 'traditional' song was clearly understood as a song collected from oral tradition. With a reconstruction like 'Song of the Digger' - which Colquhoun had built from an oral recitation (verses), a printed poem by William Satchell (chorus) and an anonymous tune[36] - the simple credit 'Trad.' was inaccurate and blurred aspects which a scholarly folklorist might want to elucidate. Potter also disputed that "songs sung by self styled folksingers" were part of "the real New Zealand tradition" (1972a, 1972b); he maintained that "very little" of this was to be found on the LP (1972a).

Colquhoun replied with a letter to the *Penny Post*, accepting there were errors on the labels (although he later disclaimed responsibility for this).[37] But he considered he was being falsely accused of editorial dishonesty by an "academically conceited"[38] minority in the Wellington revival scene who had other motives for attacking his work (and in fact there had been earlier disputes between the NZFLS Auckland and Wellington branches).[39]

When the book anthology *New Zealand Folksongs* was released several months later, Frank Fyfe gave it a generally positive review in *Penny Post*. But while praising the book's revivalist value, he also mentioned errors in crediting[40] and the lack of full disclosure about informants and editing. Fyfe felt that Colquhoun had tried to "bridge the gap" between revival and scholarly viewpoints, but that ultimately the approach would frustrate scholars (Fyfe 1972b). He later clarified his criticism by explaining that Colquhoun's procedures produced a situation where folklorists, like himself, "[could not] be sure just how much of the 'orality' evident in the book texts may, in fact, be due to editorial addition" (Fyfe 1973a:5-6). At one stage, the committee of the NZFLS in Wellington denounced the anthology as a "hazard to folklore scholarship… and damaging to the preservation and collection of genuine New Zealand folklore data".[41]

The *Song of a Young Country* controversy can be interpreted as a conflict over different concepts of authenticity and revival practices. For Colquhoun, full disclosure of reconstruction was unnecessary with a popular LP or anthology; contemporary songs were valid as 'folk songs' even if they weren't traditional; and while crediting errors were regrettable, scholars could access the NZFLS Auckland branch archives if they wanted more detailed information about sources.[42] But for Potter, the crediting errors and debateable generalisations about 'the New Zealand tradition', damaged whatever value these works might have for "specialists"; spread "half truths, distortions and fabrications" to a general public; and failed to honour authors, collectors and informants (Potter 1972b). Later researchers have mostly echoed this latter viewpoint (Annabell 1975:319 fn48; Harkness 1980:1-3; Thomson 1991:71 fn4), but few have given the book's revivalist achievement equal weight.

How this dispute is interpreted may depend largely on personal feeling, such are the often emotive contradictions between scholarly or revivalist quests. Given the direction of the NZFLS Wellington branch (see Chapter 6) the dispute was perhaps inevitable and the issues that were raised needed to be faced. In retrospect it seems probable that the *Penny Post* exchanges brought about a certain poisoning of goodwill for those involved and led to a breakdown of relations within the small community of the NZFLS, which was in itself trying to reconcile scholarly and revival aims.[43] Although many revival performers defended his work,[44] Colquhoun himself felt "emotional disappointment over some of the criticisms" and eventually distanced himself from the folk movement.

Conclusion

Neil Colquhoun has been an innovative collector and revivalist of New Zealand folk music. He became crucially inspired by Rona Bailey in the mid-1950s to focus on New Zealand material, although he was already interested in the broader field of folk music. He subsequently made the promotion of New Zealand folksong an important part of his life. Colquhoun used an informal approach to collecting over many years and gathered a somewhat larger quantity of material than Bailey.

Importantly, Colquhoun used his energies to create a useable body of folksong for revival purposes. He developed songs in various ways - adding melodies, combining fragments and modifying texts – and in this process was helped by other people. These songs were then performed and promoted via concerts, recordings, radio programmes, in classrooms and through song anthologies. In doing this, he has helped shape the New Zealand folk music canon. His body of recordings and two publications are strong 'imaginings' of the canon; they present songs framed as national symbols and readily available to be sung anew.

Nationalism was central to Colquhoun's collecting and revival work. He argued for the contemporary relevance of collected songs more comprehensively than Bailey and Roth, formulating a conception of a continuous 'New Zealand tradition' involving the revival movement. But he also expressed a certain ambivalence about the wider folk movement. Because of his appreciation of informants, Colquhoun developed a distinctive vision of folk music's authenticity and at times he found this hard to reconcile with direction of the local movement. Likewise, serious criticisms of his own work revealed the emergence of competing values, based around scholarly definitions and practices, in the collecting and presentation of folk material. But ultimately, Neil Colquhoun's work has its own integrity and his anthologies remain benchmarks for how we understand New Zealand folk music.

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[1] Biographical information about Neil Colquhoun has been mostly gained through interviews conducted in March 2005 and correspondence carried out since January 2004. Printed sources have also been used, most importantly Colquhoun (1959, 1965a, 1968).

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, all non-attributed quotations in this chapter from Neil Colquhoun are from interviews conducted in March 2005.

[3] One highlight of Colquhoun's orchestral composing work was the piece *Parallel Lives*, which was performed by the Auckland Symphony Orchestra and a jazz group several times during the 1980s.

[4] Colquhoun probably provided tunes for 'Waitekauri Everytime', 'The Digger's Farewell', 'The West Coast', 'A Tract for the Hard Times' and 'The Wakamarina'. The song 'I've Traded with the Maoris' may have used Colquhoun's melody or else the tune of 'Ten Thousand Miles Away' (as found in *Shanties by the Way*).

[5] Letter from Colquhoun, 12/2/2004.

[6] *ibid.*

[7] *ibid.*

[8] For more information about Lew Williams, see the 1978 radio documentary, *A Rebel Song*, Sound Archives SP301. Some of Williams' tape-recordings have circulated in private hands, others are held by the Devonport Folk Club. Most of these have not yet been examined by the writer.

[9] These songs were originally said to be written by the collective 'Cazna Gyp' - Bob Edwards, Lew Williams and Edith Williams – but are probably mostly the work of Edwards.
[10] Colquhoun has said that a tape-recorder was used on a group fieldtrip to Puhoi with the NZFLS Auckland branch (see Chapter 8), but that he has preferred to collect from informants in 'one on one' situations without recording apparatus.
[11] Personal communication 1/3/2005. Some background information about songs and singers has been gathered through interviews and research, but a comprehensive presentation of the results is beyond the scope of the present thesis.
[12] Letter from Colquhoun, 12/2/2004.
[13] The Song Spinners can be briefly glimpsed performing the song 'Bay of Mexico' in the 1961 film *A Place Called Levin*, New Zealand Film Archive, F3959.
[14] The Kiwi label was created by A.W. & A.H. Reed around April 1957 (Staff and Ashley 2002:66).
[15] Each episode of this radio series was about twenty minutes long; it was broadcast on a weekly basis from 9/8/1959. The titles of the first four episodes were 'Work Songs', 'Morals, Warnings and Tall Stories', 'Singing at Home' and 'Singing of Love and Faraway Places'. See a brief description and photograph in *New Zealand Listener*, 31/7/1959, p.18. No episodes of *With Voices Together We Sing* have been traced in the Sound Archives.
[16] No episodes of *Singing Easy* have been traced in the Sound Archives.
[17] Two of these radio programmes survive in the Sound Archives: *The Diggers of Long Ago* (c.1961), T514, and *The Fleece is Gold* (c.1963), T1297. *Murderers Rock* (c.1959) could not be traced, although the title song can be found in Colquhoun 1972:41.
[18] Letter from Colquhoun, 12/2/2004.
[19] Jim Higgott, together with accordionist Charlie Stewart, can be heard performing on *An Evening at the Poles Apart Folk Club* (Kiwi CD SLC-56). Higgott learned to play banjo in the 1930s.
[20] Colquhoun's 'folk process' might be compared to the quasi-folk traditions of boy scouts, girl guides and American summer camps. All these situations involve adults taking leading supervisory roles, but also 'underground' song repertoires, ephemeral song books and often loosely informal performance situations. No research into scouting and guiding song traditions in New Zealand has been traced. One study of girls' school songs includes some New Zealand material (Haddon 1977).
[21] Two examples of adapted traditional melodies being used are 'Gold' and 'Waitekauri Everytime!'. 'The Old Identity' features a more straightforward setting. Evidently 'McKenzie and His Dog' also uses a standard tune but the identity of the melody has not been discovered.
[22] Colquhoun was asked by Bailey and Roth to locate the original melody for this song for inclusion in *Shanties by the Way*.
[23] The way in which Colquhoun's book's loosely follow the Alan Lomax format came to my attention after reading Frank Fyfe's description of *New Zealand Folk Songs* as "Lomax-style" in *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.6, 4/5/1972.
[24] For a review of the concert see Saas (1968).
[25] See *New Zealand Listener*, 26/9/1969, p.13, for an article about this radio series.
[26] Sound Archives T7775-T7781.
[27] These various endeavours all have slightly different titles, which may require some clarification. The 1968 concert was 'Song of the Young Country'; the 1969 radio series 'Songs of a Young Country'; and the 1971 LP and 1972 book 'Song of a Young Country'.
[28] This radio series survives in Sound Archives in two different versions. The first (6 episode version) appears to be a 1972 production; and the second (7 episode version) appears to be a re-edit, probably utilising songs from the 1971 double LP. There are various songs on both series which are not available elsewhere (eg. 'The Fairy Fishers', 'Christ on the Swag' and 'Factory Lad'). This archival material has not yet been examined. See Sound Archives TX3087-TX3092 and TX3093-3099.
[29] Frank Fyfe makes this comparison in his review in *Penny Post*, *loc. cit.* The American publishers Oak Publications produced many different folk anthologies during the 1960s, eg. Harris, Metzler and Seeger 1966.
[30] The illustrations in *New Zealand Folksongs* come from a bound volume of temperance magazines that Colquhoun's son had discovered.
[31] To a certain extent, Colquhoun's use of revival material was preceeded by the use of Peter Cape's 'Down the Hall on a Saturday Night' in *Shanties by the Way*. But this particular song has a contemporary subject and the editors placed it in the penultimate chapter of the book. Colquhoun's incorporation of revival material is far bolder.
[32] All quotes in this paragraph are from Colquhoun (1971).
[33] There is no general history of banjo music in New Zealand, but it was certainly played locally as early as the 1860s, see Drummond (1991:12).

[34] Reviews of the LP (Colquhoun 1971) can be found in *Arts and Community*, February 1972, p.12; and *Australian Tradition*, October 1972, pp.29-30. Reviews of the book (Colquhoun 1972) can be found in *New Zealand Herald*, 6/5/1972; *New Zealand Listener*, 12/5/1972, p.42; *Auckland Star*, 17/6/1972; and *PPTA Journal*, May-June 1972, p.47.

[35] Who is Andrew Potter? There is uncertainty about the identity of this individual, who could not be traced or contacted. One possibility is that 'Andrew Potter' was a pseudonym used by a member of the NZFLS Wellington branch, perhaps Frank Fyfe.

[36] The source of the 'Song of the Digger' tune, which first features on the 1960 *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, is not known. Colquhoun has communicated that it was not his composition.

[37] See *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.6, 4/5/1972 for a report of Colquhoun's disclaimer about the labels.

[38] *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.4, 28/1/1972.

[39] The most obvious aspect of this was a dispute over selected performers for the final concert at the Fifth National Folk Festival, held in Wellington over Queen's Birthday Weekend, May-June 1969. Many in Wellington afterwards criticised Curly Del'Monte's role on the selection panel, causing something of a rift between Auckland and Wellington sections of the movement. For many letters concerning this issue see *Heritage*, no.11, July 1969, pp.4-10, and *Heritage*, no.12, August 1969, pp.15-17. In Colquhoun's letter of response to Potter's review (*Penny Post*, *loc. cit.*) he implied that the promotion of New Zealand material aroused the ire of certain individuals because it "directed attention away from their own specialty [ie. overseas folk music]".

[40] In conversation Colquhoun agreed that the source listing in the book also contains errors, but has explained that mistakes occurred because the listing was hurriedly assembled shortly before printing. Personal communication, 1/3/2005.

[41] Letter from the NZFLS Wellington branch to A.H. & A.W. Reed, dated 28/7/1972, ATL 2000-199-2/16. See also the Auckland branch response in a letter to the Wellington branch, dated 5/8/1972, in the same ATL folder.

[42] The liner notes to the LP (Colquhoun 1971) states that all the songs were drawn from the NZFLS Auckland archives.

[43] A significant consequence of this was the cancelling of an advance order of Colquhoun's book by the NZFLS Wellington branch. Although matters are not entirely clear, the decision to cancel the order may have been based on the accrediting of the words of 'Bright Fine Gold' as Anon. Frank Fyfe had written to author Ruth Park about the verses contained in her 1957 novel *One-a-Pecker Two-a-Pecker* (1957), which bore a resemblance to Colquhoun's words. Park told Fyfe the verses were original work and strongly objected to any claims they were anonymous (see Garland 2000). It was later inferred by Frank Fyfe that copyright breaches were the main reason for the NZFLS order being cancelled (Fyfe 1973a:6). Evidently, when this matter was brought to Colquhoun's attention, he did accept Ruth Park's claim and agreed to pay copyright fees. But the NZFLS order was not reinstated and perhaps the Wellington branch decision should be interpreted as expressing a more general dissatisfaction with the book.

[44] See letter from Rudy Sunde to *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.6, 4/5/1972; letter from Robbie Laven to *Heritage*, no.28, p.13; and book review by Howard Harris, *Heritage*, no.27, p.28.

Chapter 5

Les Cleveland

This chapter will examine the collecting, publishing and recording work of Les Cleveland. In 1958 Cleveland began a series of radio broadcasts of Australian and New Zealand balladry and released an EP of ballads by a Canterbury farmer, Joe Charles. He also began to preserve New Zealand army songs he knew from World War Two and collected others, producing a song anthology, *The Songs We Sang* (1959), and two LP recordings. He continued with various musical projects and in 1991 produced an anthology of popular song, *The Great New Zealand Songbook*. His interest in military folksong led to further research and in 1994 a scholarly study on the subject was published, entitled *Dark Laughter*. This chapter will begin by describing Cleveland's background, then proceed to a discussion of four specific projects. Firstly, his collaborations with Joe Charles in the late 1950s; secondly, his collecting, publishing and recording of army songs in the early 1960s; thirdly, the anthology *The Great New Zealand Songbook*; and fourthly, his scholarly analysis of military folksong, *Dark Laughter*.

Background

Les Cleveland (b.1921) was born in South Australia.[1] When he was five the family moved to New Zealand and he grew up in Christchurch and Timaru. After leaving school in 1937 Cleveland worked as an electrician and a junior reporter for *The Press* (Christchurch), also beginning some university studies. From 1940 he served with the New Zealand Army in World War Two and saw action in the Italian campaign with the 25th Battalion.

When he returned at the end of 1946, Cleveland resumed his newspaper work, but several years later went bush contracting on the West Coast. In the mid-1950s he became chief reporter for *New Zealand Truth* in Wellington and then in 1966, after completing several years of university study in English literature and political science, he became a lecturer in the Political Science Department of Victoria University. He edited the journal *Political Science* for several years and wrote books relating to New Zealand politics, retiring from the University in 1987.

Alongside his professional career, Cleveland has made contributions across a remarkably wide range of cultural activities. He began working in the medium of photography in the early 1950s and produced one of New Zealand's earliest photography books, *The Silent Land* (1966). This artistic interest culminated with a major solo exhibition in 1998 at the City Gallery, Wellington.[2] He has also written verse and short stories, and in 1979 edited a collection of war poetry, *The Iron Hand*. Over the years, public broadcasting has been another area of involvement for Cleveland. He has presented many radio programmes and contributed scripts, voiceovers and songs to various television and film projects. His most substantial televised work was a six-part 1980 series about post-World War Two New Zealand, *Not So Long Ago*, which he wrote and hosted. He was also a member of the NZBC Advisory Committee from 1969 to 1972.

In addition to these cultural activities, Les Cleveland is a climber and tramper, familiar with many New Zealand wilderness areas, particularly the Southern Alps. This life experience - spanning an academic career, creative pursuits, practical skills and a reputation as a bushman - has led one writer to dub Cleveland "a good keen man with a PhD" (Morrison 1991).

Folksong Interest

An early reference by Les Cleveland to the field of folk music came in a radio book review of *Old Bush Songs* (Stewart and Keesing 1957) in February 1958.[3] At this time he was working in Wellington for *New Zealand Truth*, but had also been doing broadcasting work for the NZBS. During

the review he challenged certain ideas about folksong that were beginning to be promoted in New Zealand and exhibited some of the bravado and iconoclasm which was to be a hallmark of his publications. He questioned whether 'The Shanty by the Way' could be considered a New Zealand song because of its Australian origins and made several observations about what "real folk-song" in New Zealand was (J.C.R. 1958). He reminded listeners that while the true "songs of the people" had vitality they were "largely unprintable", ie. bawdy, and suggested that a pub-crawl would therefore be an effective form of "ballad-collecting field-work" (*ibid*.).

Through his army experience, Cleveland had considerable experience of 'unprintable' songs, which will be discussed below. He had also gained knowledge about what material was popular in rural areas of New Zealand through his work on the West Coast. He found Australasian popular balladry of the kind written by the *Bulletin* poets of the 1890s, like A.B. Paterson and Henry Lawson, still had a certain currency. Cleveland had taught himself to "play guitar, knock out a few tunes on the piano and sing" and around mid-1958 he began a series of radio broadcasts of Australasian songs and ballads (Morrison 1991). The recordings from 1958 which still survive in public archives include Cleveland performing Paterson's 'Salt Bush Bill', Lawson's 'The Boss's Boots' and the bush song 'The Old Bark Hut'. During his spoken introductions, Cleveland gave the impression that this material still circulated in New Zealand, although it is not clear whether he actually collected the pieces he performed.[4] Cleveland introduced one song with a statement about how folksong could be defined in the New Zealand context:

> I always think the test of a folk song or a popular ballad is this: when the first bar or even the opening few notes are sung, does everybody who hears it instantly identify the song? If they don't, or if there's any awkwardness or lack of spontaneity, then the song simply isn't part of the folk structure which we all have in common. So when somebody says 'what about a Kiwi song?' we often find ourselves falling back on 'Waltzing Matilda' or some Hollywood-ised melody even more remote. But there is one song which I think is a general part of the national consciousness. That's a thing called 'Weeping and Wailing'… It's a lugubrious refrain sometimes heard in the more mournful states of mind towards the end of the party, but everyone seems to know it.[5]

Cleveland here considers that folksong authenticity can be tested by the immediate sense of recognition and empathy it produces for a group of people. His perspective subtly integrates the roles of performer, participant and commentator. Authenticity is not directly addressed as a folkloristic issue, but is instead bound to the action of performing particular songs to - or with - a particular audience.

The concept of 'authentic recognition' is also linked to nationalistic concerns. Cleveland's main point is that for a song to be considered a 'national folk song' it must receive recognition among many groups of people across the country ("everyone"). This was the hard evidence necessary to establish a song's connection to the national "folk structure", and which, in the case of 'Weeping and Wailing', was manifestly obvious. His ideas echo to a certain extent the 1941 comments of Alan Mulgan (see Chapter 2), especially when he observes that identifiably New Zealand songs are hard to find. But Cleveland is more concerned with audience recognition, a concept which allows a song like 'Weeping and Wailing' - which is not indigenous to New Zealand[6] - to be viewed as part of the 'national consciousness'. Mulgan probably wouldn't have accepted 'Weeping and Wailing' as an "unofficial national anthem" because it was not of local origin, but it is interesting that both Mulgan and Cleveland mention 'Waltzing Matilda' (Mulgan 1941:20). Although 'Waltzing Matilda' was widely known in New Zealand (indeed, arguably part of the 'national consciousness') it could not be held up as a 'New Zealand folk song', because it had been permanently canonised as an 'Australian folk song'.

Authentic New Zealand Ballads

Cleveland continued radio broadcasts of ballads and songs in 1959.[7] He explained that his continuing interest in the area was partly a reaction to the New Zealand folk revival of the period:

> Every time you hear folk recordings here they're completely unnatural. They've got nothing to do with the New Zealand scene. They're completely academic, and they invariably seem to be sung by some bunch of academics sitting around a piano, or tootling away on an accordion – it all sounds artificial. So, more or less as a social protest, I started to gather material, and then I got in touch with Joe Charles. (quoted in Anon 1959a:4)

Joe Charles (1916-1991) was a farmer born in Otago, who in 1958 was working in the Glentunnel district of Central Canterbury. Charles had begun writing ballads about local stories and characters several years previously "as a hobby" (Anon 1959c).[8] He shared these among a small group of family and friends, also having a selection printed in a small booklet.[9] Les Cleveland apparently first became aware of Charles' ballad writing talents in the second half of 1958.

> I first got in touch with Joe Charles through H.L. Pickering, the Rural Broadcasts Officer at Christchurch. We'd both done some work on Pickering's *Home Paddock* programme, and when Pickering saw these ballads he swooped on them and sent them to me. The first I got was 'Black Billy Tea' a really splendid thing…. (quoted in Anon 1959a:3)

Cleveland began setting the ballads to music and presented the results to Charles in late 1958 (Anon 1959a). They developed a good friendship and Cleveland encouraged Charles to find more local material for ballads and mentioned certain Canterbury stories he himself had heard.[10] Charles subsequently did some informal research, even tape-recording informants about swaggers, legends and other local history.[11] This process produced several new pieces, including 'The Ballad of Crooked-Neck Stanley' and 'Around the Coleridge Run'. Charles also collected verse, including two poems ('Snowed In' and 'The Sardine Box') from the owners of Castle Hill Station.[12]

In March 1959 Cleveland presented a series of three radio programmes entitled *New Zealand Ballads* which included the Charles-Cleveland songs. Several months later he recorded an EP, *Authentic New Zealand Ballads*, for the Tanza label, with group backing by 'The Black Billy Boys'. These radio programmes and the EP were Cleveland's first major New Zealand folksong project. But it is probably not quite correct to say that Cleveland collected the ballads from Charles. Rather, the songs arose out of an interesting collaborative process between a 'folk' poet, who himself engaged in collecting, and a performer, who was both an 'insider' (familiar with rural New Zealand) and an 'outsider' (a revivalist with a broader cultural agenda).

Description

The three *New Zealand Ballads* programmes were broadcast on the 2YA 'Saturday Night at Home' show.[13] Each programme was about fifteen minutes long and included songs, poems and an overall narration by Cleveland. In total, these programmes contained nine Joe Charles adaptations and four other pieces. The four pieces were 'Weeping and Wailing', one verse of 'Kevin Barry' and two anonymous New Zealand poems. Cleveland provided his own guitar accompaniment throughout. See Figure X for details.

An EP of four of the Charles-Cleveland songs was recorded and released on the Tanza label by July 1959.[14] The record cover features a drawing of three swaggers, an image derived from an 1890s lithograph. Liner notes explain the nature and background of the songs. Instrumental backing was provided by Wellington musicians Ken Avery (saxophone/clarinet), Bob Barcham (piano accordion), Doug Brewer (double bass) and Bill Kyle (drums). One song, 'Around the Coleridge Run', also includes an array of sound effects to complement the lyrics, which are about a race between two traction engines in the Canterbury high country.

Cleveland adapted at least five more of Charles' ballads. Two of these – 'Top Beat' and 'Davy Gunn' - can be found in *The Great New Zealand Songbook* (Cleveland 1991:26, 60-61). Three others are on a copy of one of Joe Charles' personal home recordings, located in the Phil Garland collection. In total Cleveland adapted at least fourteen ballads by Joe Charles. See Appendix 5.1 for details.

New Zealand Ballads Part 1	McKenzie and his Dog (Charles-Cleveland) The Malvern Hills (Charles-Cleveland) Around the Coleridge Run (Charles-Cleveland)
New Zealand Ballads Part 2	Black Billy Tea (Charles-Cleveland) Farewell to Geraldine (poem)[15] Weeping and Wailing The Phosphate Flyers (Charles-Cleveland) Beating the Breeze (Charles-Cleveland)
New Zealand Ballads Part 3	Coasters (Charles-Cleveland) Kevin Barry "Come let me tell you a story…" (poem) Black Billy Blues (Charles-Cleveland) Black Billy Joe (Charles-Cleveland)

Figure X: **Songs and Poems from *New Zealand Ballads***
These programmes were broadcast on 7/3/1959, 21/3/1959 and 28/3/1959 respectively.
Source: Sound Archives T46, T47

Song Adaptation

The musical settings used by Les Cleveland were either traditional tunes or his own melodies. Three songs use the tunes of the well-known bawdy songs 'No Balls at All' and 'The Ball of Kirriemuir'. Many of his original melodies splice together melodic phrases and passages reminiscent of other songs. For example, 'Black Billy Joe' uses a tune which suggests Tex Morton's 'The Dying Duffer's Prayer'[16]; the melody and chord progression of 'The Phosphate Flyers' evokes 'The Keyhole in the Door'[17]; while the sparse arrangement of 'Beating the Breeze' echoes the American folksong 'Take a Sniff on Me'[18].

These combinations of musical elements suggested to one contemporary journalist the "curiously intermingled Irish-Australian-New-Zealand-with-a-dash-of-Hollywood-Western melodies still to be heard around shearing sheds and sawmills" in New Zealand (Anon 1959c). The use of American country music styles was deliberate on Cleveland's part. He considered the style appropriate given the popularity of 'hillbilly' or 'cowboy' music in New Zealand rural areas (Cleveland 1959a).

The shifting and composite sense of melody of these songs is heightened by Cleveland's sometimes 'semi-spoken' style of delivery, which can be heard on recordings from the period. On other occasions he uses a more operatic vocal style and freer melodic lines. A good example of this is 'The Malvern Hills', where Cleveland displays a great dynamic range across a loosely repeating minor-key musical structure. Combined with his Spanish-influenced guitar accompaniment, it is a dramatic and compelling performance - see Figure XI for the text of this song.

Cleveland's singing is also notable for the broadness of his New Zealand accent, which is more pronounced than any other collector-performers covered in this thesis. He displays a mercurial quality of expression and a single line might begin with a wistful edge, shift to ironic comedy and conclude with deadly seriousness. His guitar-playing uses a simple finger-picked or flat-picked style, which on the EP is replaced by the understated swing band arrangements of 'The Black Billy Boys'.

Ride old Snowball through the creek,
Tobacco and tucker to last a week,
Musterin' the southern block,
Ten miles of scrub and a thousand feet of rock.
With the old gang, scourin' the tops,
Get a big cheque, then into the hops.

'Cross the misty Malvern Hills I ride old Snowball,
And I know all the tracks and the faces on the way:
The shepherds and the shearers,
The shed-hands and the cooks,
The good 'uns and the bad 'uns,
The roughnecks and the crooks.

Where-a-go old timer?
Soon we'll be back again,
With a scent of dip and dags,
Barkin' dogs, sheep in the pens,
Old fertiliser bags, chops fryin' in the pan,
Empty bottles in the shearers' camp,
Leather and sweat and tar.

Hear the old hands tell again,
The old familiar gags,
Of matagouri mermaids,
Hauntin' the back boundaries.
Then fights and football matches,
And end of season sprees.

I mustered the Southern Alps to Ben Ohau
I've seen the sun like blood behind the nor' west clouds,
I've raced through the river,
I've raked in the snow,
Shivered all night in a southerly blow,
Cursed an old horse that went too slow.

Where-a-go old Battler?
Where-a-goin' now?
Got the bridle on you once again,
'Come on, old bone rattler!'
We're heading back,
And the hills are still the same.

Figure XI: **'The Malvern Hills'**
A ballad by Joe Charles, sung by Les Cleveland in New Zealand Ballads Part 1, *broadcast 7/3/1959.*
The Malvern Hills depicted in this ballad are probably those near Glentunnel, where Joe Charles lived for many years.
Cleveland's performance can be heard on Sound Archives T47.
Reproduced courtesy of Robyn Matheson

Analysis

Les Cleveland promoted the Joe Charles adaptations as authentic New Zealand 'ballads' rather than folk songs, which were described as a "type of semi-folk material which rural New Zealand is rich in" (Anon 1959d). Furthermore, adjectives like 'authentic' and 'genuine' were used by

Cleveland throughout radio broadcasts, in press reports and, most obviously, in the title of the EP recording. Upon closer examination this overall envelope of 'authenticity' can be found to knit together several distinct concepts. Some of these echo his 1958 concerns with national 'resonance' and cultural distinctiveness, while others are new.

Still apparent was Cleveland's concept that immediate recognition by people denotes authenticity. But in the interim period this concept had gained more obviously revivalist overtones. The introduction to the first programme was not spoken by Cleveland, but could have been written by him:

> Are there any up-to-date New Zealand ballads? The songs that have been written by contemporary folk and not just relics from whaling or colonial days or adaptations from Australian material…. Is there anybody writing in the vernacular ballad style about ordinary, everyday life in uncomplicated terms that lend themselves to simple melodies?[19]

This statement expressed a sense that for a ballad to be worth singing it must have a contemporary resonance, not necessarily through its subject matter, but through using a vernacular style that was part of the existing national 'folk structure'. Colonial era "relics" lacked this resonance, presumably because they were historical curiosities and stylistically defunct.

Matters of nationalistic cultural difference also remained crucial. Cleveland praised Charles' ballads because they could be "identified unmistakably as part of our own little environment and not somebody else's".[20] Singing style and musical arrangements could also be culturally distinctive. Cleveland stated that "none of this stuff is any good unless its sung in the genuine vernacular" (Anon 1959a:3). Several contemporary articles acknowledged his "forceful singing style in the unmistakable New Zealand idiom" (Anon 1959c), and perhaps for Cleveland, the most important confirmation came after performing for Glentunnel locals: "one local cocky said, 'Oh, it sounds like one of the jokers from up the gorge'. Now that's high praise" (quoted in Anon 1959a:3).[21]

Cleveland's partial use of the American 'cowboy' style of singers like Tex Morton[22] was another 'authentic' element of his interpretations because it reflected the true musical tastes of the rural world where Charles' ballads originated and which they were about. He admitted this style was "not native", but argued that in rural New Zealand, even in Charles own work, imported "colours and sounds and accents" were "all mixed up in the folk tradition" (Anon 1959a:3).[23] He conceded, that ultimately, local tradition was often rather imitative and "pretty incoherent" (*ibid*.). By pursuing his own vision - selecting and shaping Charles' material, and buttressing it with nationalistic justifications, Cleveland perhaps aimed to make coherent and elevate what was truly distinctive. Despite his criticisms of the local revival, this motive brings him close to other revivalist-collectors who wished to strengthen a sense of New Zealand identity. Unlike others, he drew the definite outlines of an authentic New Zealand tradition and proclaimed the best singing styles, types of musical arrangements and kinds of source material to be used. These also became ways of stretching authenticity around his own mediating and revivalist work.

All these ideas were basically extensions of Cleveland's 1958 statements about accessing the national 'folk structures' in a performing context. The Joe Charles project also used a new set of criteria to confirm the authenticity of the source material. Charles' verse was authentic because the stories were "handed down by old timers in the true *oral tradition*" (Cleveland *et al* 1959, italics added). Here Cleveland based authenticity on oral tradition for the first time and during the radio programmes he mentioned the concept on several occasions, for example, terming the verse of 'Farewell to Geraldine' he had collected a "genuine chunk of oral tradition".[24]

With the Charles ballads, the situation was more complicated because the texts were not discrete artefacts from oral tradition. Rather, it was the stories they were based on which came from oral tradition. For example, the tale behind 'Around the Coleridge Run' had been told to Charles by Joe Crump in the "faithful manner of the true backblocks bard".[25] Cleveland viewed these "unwritten legends" of rural New Zealand as part of the "basic tradition" of the country (Anon 1959a:3). He felt

that rural New Zealanders "intuitively have a relationship with the earth they exist on; they are like peasants, they have a very intimate knowledge and understanding of it and a very emotional feeling about it" (quoted in McCredie 1985:49).[26] Because of Charles' own farming background, he was especially "sensitive" to the body of folk material he drew from and was able to interpret and reshape this with integrity (Anon 1959a:3).[27] Therefore, even if the actual texts of Joe Charles' ballads weren't from oral tradition, they had a special continuity with the oral traditions that inspired them.

Joe Charles' verse has also been viewed as especially valuable by several other collectors and revival singers. Among those who would also praise and adapt Charles' verse were Elsie Locke, Willow Macky, William Clauson and Phil Garland. A hardcover collection of ballads was published in 1981, entitled *Black Billy Tea* (Charles 1981).

The Songs We Sang

In 1959 Cleveland began to collect and develop a different body of material.[28] While promoting the Joe Charles songs, Cleveland came to realise that the bawdy, boisterous and often satirical songs he knew from rowdy gatherings during World War Two were in themselves

> the fair dinkum vernacular; the uncensored workings of the oral tradition, full of crude imaginative vitality, spectacular imagery and sardonic humour; the stuff that folk poetry is made of – the kind of material that doesn't find its way into official war archives because it never gets written down. (Cleveland 1959b:6)

Even during the War, Cleveland had apparently been curious about these songs and had "gathered up scraps of paper with songs scrawled down and kept what he could", thereby beginning an informal collecting process (Morrison 1991). As he explained,

> Every now and again you'd lose some. You couldn't cart much around. The only ones who kept diaries and letters and so on were people with transport or in some more secure part of the outfit. But up front we led a more fugitive existence. You couldn't carry round a file index cabinet. (quoted in *ibid*.)

In 1959 Cleveland decided that this material was worthy of more systematic preservation. He discovered that the writer and former soldier Jim Henderson had compiled a scrapbook of war poems and songs in 1944 while recovering in hospital from a leg wound (Cleveland 1959a:8). As he later explained, with the help of Henderson and "a good many other fellows in various parts of the country I finally ended up with the texts of about a hundred songs and verses" (Cleveland 1959b:6). The direct personal connection that Cleveland had with this material places him in a unique position among the collectors in this thesis. He participated in the tradition which he would later document, allowing him an especially intimate understanding of the material. With army songs Cleveland was an 'insider' collector.

After gathering together sufficient raw material, Cleveland began compiling a printed anthology and in December 1959, *The Songs We Sang* (Cleveland 1959a) was published by Wellington firm Editorial Services.[29] He also recruited some of the same musicians who had featured on the Joe Charles EP to record the new material. The first recording session was held at the Tanza studios in Wellington, where Cleveland assembled a "bunch of veterans… plus a few other strays we got out of the pub" to add vocal parts and choruses (Cleveland 2004). The results were rough but captured a certain rowdy spirit. Unfortunately, Tanza closed down shortly afterwards and this particular recording was never released.[30] New sessions were subsequently organised by the Kiwi label, with a "more polished approach" being taken (*ibid*.). In 1960 an LP was released, *The Songs We Sang*, followed about a year later by *More Songs We Sang*.[31] The performers were billed as "Les Cleveland and the D-Day Dodgers".[32] A radio script based upon the songs was also prepared, but it is not known whether this was ever broadcast.[33]

The Book

The Songs We Sang is a small, cleanly printed hardback volume, subtitled "A Collection of N.Z. Army and Service Ballads".[34] The cover features a humourous cartoon image of a watchful infantry soldier, placed over a background of musical notation.[35] The ink drawing is by Neville Colvin and many more of his cartoons - taken from the wartime newspaper *2NZEF Times* - are featured throughout the book. It begins with a short introduction, followed by four chapters, which include the texts of fifty songs, poems and recitations. Each chapter opens with a short text or prose-poem evoking the historical backdrop to the songs. A few items also include a brief note of explanation. Many of the song texts are given named traditional or popular tunes; four songs with non-standard tunes are given small musically-notated melody lines with the lyrics fitted. The book also has an epilogue, 'Off the Record', where the titles of thirty-seven bawdy songs are given which could not be practically bowdlerised for "a work of this kind" (Cleveland 1959a:94).[36] There is a brief biography of the editor on the back cover.

Wine, Women, And the Next Best Thing

O'Reilly's Daughter
A Soldier and a Sailor
Maggie May
Samuel Hall
Little Miss Muffet
I Don't Want to Be a Soldier
When They Send the Last Yank Home
A Pack of Yankee Bastards
Please May I Have a Pension (JH)
A Soldier's Love
The Lousy Lance-Corporal
But I Still Haven't Rendered My A25

Camp Life

Wharfie's Song
Tretham Blues
Vive la Compagnie
I Know an Army Camp
The F.S. Cap (JH)
A Ruddy Little Sparrow (JH)
A Main Body Chorus
When This Ruddy War Is over
Your Country Needs You

Middle East and Italy

The Bludger (JH)
A Word for the A.S.C. (JH)
The Tale of Doom (JH)
Fred Karno's Army
Aiwa Saida
My Africa Star
'Ere We Pass (JH)
Ode to Egypt (JH)
North versus South
The North African Derby
One night as I Strolled Down the Berkha
Dugout in Matruh
Mersa Matruh
The Egyptian National Anthem
Saida Bint
Pistol Packing Heinie
Won't You Take Us Home
Rolling Wheels
How V.C.s Are Won (JH)
The Road to Cassino
Castelfrentano
Kiwi Memories of Egypt When in Italy (JH)

The Pacific

The Army in Fiji
Engineer's Song (JH)
The Battle of Coconut Grove
The Great New Zealand Bum
Defending the C.S.R.
This Is My Story
Farewell Refrain

Figure XII: **Chapters and Songs in *The Songs We Sang***
The eleven titles marked with (JH) were taken from the Jim Henderson collection.

The book contains a range of different material. The first chapter features mostly traditional army or bawdy songs, including 'The Soldier and the Sailor', thought to date to the Crimean War, and the well-known English folk song 'Samuel Hall'. The other chapters have more topical texts concerning army rations, training, life in the Middle East and incidents from the various campaigns of the New Zealand Army in Africa, Europe and the Pacific. In general there are no indications of informants, but the songs are occasionally accredited to specific authors or related to certain battalions of the Army. Most songs had seemingly become traditional or were of unknown authorship. In later years, Cleveland was able to trace several specific composers, for example Arthur Wallis and Earle Taylor, who had a small swing band in Cairo in 1943 and composed many songs, including 'Aiwa Saida' (Cleveland 2000:593-594). See Figure XII for a listing of song titles.

The Songs We Sang is the first published collection of folk songs in New Zealand. But it is different to *Shanties by the Way* or *New Zealand Folksongs* in that it defines one particular part of the folk song canon, rather than attempting a broader overview. The corpus presented by the book also overlaps with an international tradition of army songs, which has been conceptualised by Cleveland in various ways since 1959 (see below). But *The Songs We Sang* presents itself as specifically relevant to New Zealand.

The book has a number of aims and values the material it contains in several ways. Because military folksong "never gets written down", the book was a way to preserve an oral tradition (Cleveland 1959b:6). The material was worthy of preserving for its nostalgic value - the title of the book has this connotation - but was also valuable because it presented the subaltern perspective of the ordinary soldier, a viewpoint which somewhat runs against the grain of official war history. As Cleveland explained:

> Although a great deal has been written about World War 2 and the adventures of the second New Zealand Expeditionary Force, remarkably little attention seems to have been paid to the real feelings and attitudes of the ordinary soldiers who fought in it. (Cleveland 1959a:7)

Cleveland stressed that during the War the typical infantryman spent most of his time away from combat, "getting drunk, chasing girls, playing two-up… [and] joyriding in trucks" (Cleveland 1959b:6). Singing was an important form of self-entertainment and songs sometimes operated as a "bitterly satirical" outlet for soldiers who were likely to be in a potentially mortal predicament at some time or another (Cleveland 1959a:8).

The book is not just a corrective to typical written treatments of World War Two. Cleveland was also aiming to challenge a perceived belief that 'war songs' only consisted of "patriotic ditties… [or] establishment propaganda", such as 'The White Cliffs of Dover' or 'The Marines' Hymn' (Cleveland 1959b:6). *The Songs We Sang* instead presented the real songs sung by the rank and file. These were part of a "Rabelaisian, sardonic folklore" given to parody, satiric protest and obscenity, which had a long tradition in the military (Cleveland 1959a:8). While much of this material could be presented directly, Cleveland did have to compromise in certain areas by omitting the full-blown obscenity of the many songs listed in the 'Off the Record' section, and expurgating a few songs with dashes.[37] Thus, even with his abiding concern for presenting the real war songs, Cleveland was constrained from representing that "most potent part of the oral tradition" (*ibid.*:94).

The Songs We Sang delineates one folksong tradition in New Zealand. The songs were sung by large numbers of conscripted New Zealanders and Cleveland indicated the material had an even wider currency. Songs had been remembered beyond the wartime experience and were "still being sung or recited at reunions, camps, trampers' huts, or wherever New Zealanders gather" (Cleveland 1959a:dj.). The impression he gives is that soldiers returned from the War after having absorbed a large body of material and spread songs into a range of other informal singing traditions in New Zealand. With *The Songs We Sang*, Cleveland firmly established this material within the broader New Zealand folk music canon.

The Recordings

The two 10" LP recordings of the army songs – *The Songs We Sang* and *More Songs We Sang* – were released on the Kiwi label. The cover of the first LP is a cartoon by David Eastman of a rowdy soldiers' gathering, an image which is cruder and more anarchic than Neville Colvin's cartoons in the book anthology. The album contains eleven songs. The cover of the second LP is a sombre painting by Eric Heath of an artillery battery being operated. This album contains eleven songs and one recitation ('The Veteran's Reply'). Both albums feature extensive liner notes about the background, topical references and sources of each song. These notes provide significantly more specific information on the songs than the book. See Figure XIII for a listing of songs on the LPs.

The musical arrangements on the two albums are more elaborate than those on *Authentic New Zealand Ballads* (1958). As Cleveland noted elsewhere, the records aimed to "present the songs in the spirit and atmosphere of the camps, the troopships, the bivouacs, of their wartime contexts, recapturing that mixture of high spirits and sentiment" (Cleveland *et al* 1975). Vocals on the LPs were provided by Cleveland, Alec Veysey, Mike Bennet, Basel Tubert and Jim McNaught; and the musical backing by Bob Barcham (piano and piano-accordion), Denny Mahn (trombone), John Mahn (trumpet), Morry Simpson (drums), Doug Brewer (string bass) and Ken Avery (clarinet and musical direction). Different vocalists exchange verses, share choruses, and add a backdrop of interjections and whistles. At times, there are lengthy exchanges of semi-comic dialogue in caricatured bar-room, camp or combat settings which are evoked with various sound effects. The musical flavours are reminiscent of the Kiwi Concert Party, ranging from swing and dixieland jazz to military marching band music. The overall atmosphere also extends to many quiet and sentimental numbers.

The Songs We Sang (Kiwi LA-3)

(Side A)	*(Side B)*
Red, White and Navy Blue	The Good Ship "Venus"
Aiwa Saida	My A.25
Saida Bint	The Army in Fiji
My Africa Star	The Fighting Kiwi
Rolling Wheels	Side Side, Monowai Side
	This Is My Story

More Songs We Sang (Kiwi LA-6)

(Side A)	*(Side B)*
The Quartermaster's Store	The Battle of Coconut Grove
The Trentham Blues	Lili Marlene
The Veteran's Reply	Castelfrentano
Little Miss Muffet March	Mama
The Lousy Lance Corporal	Dugout in Matruh
Isa Lei	Maori Battalion

Figure XIII: ***The Songs We Sang* and *More Songs We Sang* recordings**
The version of 'Lili Marlene' on *More Songs We Sang* includes German, French and Italian verses, as well as several verses from the New Zealand song 'Won't You Take Us Home' (a.k.a. 'Please Mr. Fraser'), which is sung to the same tune. The album also includes an army version of the traditional routine or Sod's Opera, entitled 'Let's Have a Party'.

The albums feature eight songs which are not printed in the book and many of the recorded songs have variations on the printed lyrics, most of which are expurgations designed to avoid obscenity, as with 'The Good Ship Venus' (see Figure XIV). Other alterations subtly emphasise Cleveland's view of wartime government propaganda. One example is 'The Battle of Coconut Grove', a mock heroic account of a battle on a Pacific Island which was evidently reported in newspapers but never actually

happened. The final lines are changed from "We're brave, we're strong, we're heroes! / But I'm blowed if I think as much" to "We're brave, we're strong, we're heroes! / Don't you believe all you read", with the last line being repeated several times to strongly encourage scepticism of official wartime reportage.

The LPs share the book's aim of presenting an 'unofficial history' of World War Two. But Cleveland clearly had more revivalist intentions with the recordings – as the liner notes state, the songs "deserve to live again" (Cleveland *et al* 1960) - and the musical treatments provide a broadly accessible and entertaining treatment. But while the material was potent, it was not nearly as suited to revival in a mainstream public context as the Joe Charles songs. *Authentic New Zealand Ballads* accessed a symbolic core suited to being framed as a national folk music, while the army songs are at times uncomfortably sarcastic and satirical. Even so, Cleveland stressed that the army songs were part of "the real New Zealand tradition… [and] strictly authentic" (Cleveland 1959b:7).

'Twas on the good ship Venus My word you should have seen us We stayed in bed and swung the lead And drank all the grog between us. The Captain's wife was Mabel And as often as they were able She and the mate played Kiss me Kate Around the messroom table.	'Twas on the good ship Venus – By Christ you should have seen us – The figurehead was a whore in bed, And the mast was a rampant penis. The captain's wife was Mabel; To fuck she wasn't able, So the dirty shits, they nailed her tits Across the barroom table.

Figure XIV: **Comparison of two verses from 'The Good Ship Venus'**
The verses on the left are from Les Cleveland's bowdlerised adaptation of 'The Good Ship Venus' transcribed from *The Songs We Sang* (Cleveland *et al* 1960). The version on the right presents unexpurgated examples of the relevant verses, taken from Cray (1992:316-317) who prints many more verses.

Considering the bowdlerisations and stylised barrack-room atmosphere of the recordings, Cleveland's claim of "strict" authenticity was debateable. In fact, when the first LP was released several months after this comment, he was no longer explicitly claiming 'authenticity'. The liner notes of both albums are instead sprinkled with references to the songs as 'folklore'. A conclusion that can be drawn from this shift is that Cleveland had decided upon a more orthodox understanding of folkloric authenticity. The army songs were folklore because they existed in oral tradition *in their original setting* and authenticity could therefore be assumed, rather than needing to be emphasised; the claim that the LP recordings were in themselves 'authentic' quietly dropped away.

In coming years, Cleveland was to increasingly stress notions of oral tradition, directly stating in a later article that the army songs were in "the classical tradition of folk song… [and] owed nothing to written sources, being dependent entirely on oral transmission" (Cleveland 1973). The *Songs We Sang* recordings therefore lay on the cusp of a transformation in Cleveland's terms of interest. On the one hand he argued that the songs "deserve[d] to live again" (Cleveland *et al* 1960); but increasingly he viewed the army material as more of a topic of scholarly folkloristic interest, part of a "great sprawling body of belief, humour, protest and comic fantasy" (Cleveland *et al* 1961).[38]

The Great New Zealand Songbook

The period from 1958 to 1961 represented a highpoint in Cleveland's revivalist activities and his musical projects were less frequent after this. He provided a setting of David McKee Wright's poem 'The Diggers' for a 1961 radio programme, *The Diggers of Long Ago*, and contributed songs to

several other radio projects.[39] In 1964 he produced and performed on an LP of tramping songs, *Bush Singalong*, which utilised material collected or written by Tony Nolan (Cleveland and Nolan 1964); a 7" single relating to this album was also released (Cleveland 1964c). *Bush Singalong* had musical direction by Ken Avery and took a similar approach to *The Songs We Sang* with dialogue and simulated ambience.

In the mid-1960s Cleveland began composing music for poems by Denis Glover and A.R.D. Fairburn. The settings matched the irregular modern verse of the poetry with complicated musical structures that fused folksong and art-song styles. These songs were evidently created for Cleveland's wife to use in secondary schools and several pieces were later performed by Cleveland on the 1973 LP *Arawata Bill and Other Verses* (Glover and Cleveland 1973).

In March of the same year, Cleveland presented a programme of folk music, photographic slides and narration, entitled *What Harry Really Sang*, at the Christchurch Arts Festival. This was apparently a collaboration between Cleveland, John A. Lee, Tony Simpson and the MP Paddy Blanchfield (Ogilvie 1999:408-409). The same programme was later presented in Wellington and a review indicates that it included Cleveland's poetry settings, Australian bush songs like 'The Drover's Dream', army songs such as 'Dugout in Matruh' and bawdy numbers like 'The Harlot of Jerusalem' (Fyfe 1973b).[40]

All these strands of musical activity, together with the earlier Joe Charles and *Songs We Sang* projects, were gathered together in 1991 for a song anthology called *The Great New Zealand Songbook* (Cleveland 1991). This also contained many new pieces, indicating that Cleveland had conducted some further collecting over the years. The dates relating to this collecting range from 1942 to 1965.

Description

The Great New Zealand Songbook is a large softcover book. The cover features a stylised graphic of the title interwoven with an outlined shape of New Zealand. This image is laid over a musical notation with lyrics.[41] The anthology begins with a long introduction, followed by five thematic chapters, each opening with a brief essay. The book contains a total of sixty-two songs. Each song has a musical notation of the vocal melody line and chords for accompaniment. At the end of the book are endnotes, a bibliography and an index of songs giving sources and dates of composition. The book features a great deal of visual material – more than any other anthology covered in this thesis - including period cartoons, magazine illustrations and many of Cleveland's own photographs.

The songs in the book are taken from a wide range of sources. It includes three popular songs of the mid-twentieth century: 'Blue Smoke', 'Paekakariki' and 'Tea at Te Kuiti'; three songs by singer-songwriter Willow Macky; two songs reprinted from *New Zealand Folksongs* (Colquhoun 1972); nine songs reprinted from *Shanties by the Way* (Bailey and Roth 1967) including the Joe Charles adaptation 'Black Billy Tea'; five other Charles-Cleveland songs; six pieces from the *Songs We Sang* book and recordings; four settings of verse by rural balladeers like George Meek, Cornelius O'Regan and David McKee Wright; two adaptations of humourous verse by Kate Skates; and six settings of Denis Glover and A.R.D. Fairburn.[42] Three pieces are derived from other printed sources: a trade union poem ('Plutocracy'); a war poem ('My Anzac Home'); and a parody of the New Zealand national anthem ('Alternative Anthem'). It also includes two collected songs from the New Zealand Folklore Society journal *The Maorilander* ('The Life of a High-Country Shepherd' and 'Timber'); and a setting of the poem 'Snowed In', collected by Joe Charles. Of the remaining sixteen songs, two were taken from ephemeral printed sources and the remaining fourteen were collected by Cleveland.[43] Although many songs are reprinted from elsewhere, several are presented for the first time with full musical notation or are given newly-composed tunes by Cleveland. See Figure XV for a listing of titles and Appendix 5.2 for more details.

Songs of Celebration

Take Me Up Tenderly
Sings Harry
Stand in the Rain
Tea-tree
Black Billy Tea
Top Beat
The Casual Man
The Shanty by the Way
The Legend of Mokoia

Songs of Experience

Arawata Bill
A Question
David Lowston
Whalers' Rhymes
The Shiner
Snowed In
The Life of a High-country Shepherd
The Fossicking Fool
The Wakamarina
Mackenzie and His Dog
Timber
Down by El Alamein

Songs of Nostalgia and Lament

The Soldier's Farewell
Davy Gunn
Mrs Mitchell
Castelfrentano
Rolling Wheels
Blue Smoke
Black Billy Blues
The Digger's Songs
Dear Old New Zealand

Songs with Laughter

Fossicker Michael O'Flynn
The Drover's Dream
Wool, Wether and Wine
Coasters
The Tale of a Pig
No Boots
The Dying Tramper
A Fast Pair of Skis
Double-bunking
An MP's Life for Me
Bump Me into Parliament
General Freyburg's Stew
My Anzac Home
Fred Karno's Army
Cassino Town
Paekakariki
Tea at Te Kuiti

Songs of Protest

Bright Fine Gold
My Man's Gone
Walking on My Feet
Plutocracy
Strike Out the Top Line
Boozers All
We'll Set the Children Free
The Lousy Lance Corporal
Oh Mr Fraser
Non Capisce
Better Than War
Trentham
The Ballad of the Export Sheep
Keep It Small
Alternative Anthem

Figure XV: **Chapters and Songs in *The Great New Zealand Songbook***
Apart from these sixty-two items, the anthology also quotes excerpts from several other pieces in the text. There are some brief quotations from election songs and one stanza of Peter Cape's 'Down the Hall on Saturday Night' is also quoted.

Although the book is filled with useful references and background information, with regard to collected material there is no disclosure of informants' names or locations. Only the date of collection is given. A close examination of original printed sources also reveals some discrepancies. For example, the datings for the composition of certain pieces are inaccurate (eg. 'Paekakariki').

The songs in *The Great New Zealand Songbook* range across similar themes to *Shanties by the Way* and *New Zealand Folksongs*. There are occupational folk songs and pieces about political and

social movements. More distinctive is the inclusion of twelve army songs. A sizeable proportion of the lyrics are about nature and have rural or wilderness settings. These include songs about rural work, like the Joe Charles ballads, but also five tramping songs and many Glover and Fairburn poems.

Analysis

The Great New Zealand Songbook is a revivalist publication. It is unusual among New Zealand song anthologies in presenting songs framed by an intellectual discussion. The Introduction is a lengthy, if selective, history of popular music in New Zealand, ranging from colonial music to the radio quota issue of the 1980s. Chapter essays ponder the meaning of songs grouped according to different themes. Together with the background notes, visual material and bibliography, several reviewers concluded that the book was largely designed for classroom use (Owen 1991; Annabell 1992:225).[44]

From the book's conceptual approach, it is clear that Cleveland's ideas had developed considerably since the 1960s. He states that the collection is about "the distinctively New Zealand voice in our history of popular song" (Cleveland 1991:1). 'Popular song' is a term which, like 'folk music', has many different possible meanings. In the Introduction, Cleveland defines popular song in the context of 'popular culture': "the characteristic ways in which the people of a country or a region live, work and obtain recreation and amusement", explaining that popular songs "reflect sentiments and feelings that ordinary people can intuitively identify with and are sometimes deeply moved by" (*ibid*.).

Fundamentally, this statement is a reformulation of Cleveland's 1950s concern with locating songs which were unmistakably part of the 'national consciousness'. In 1958, folk songs and ballads were considered by Cleveland to have this function. In the intervening years, it seems that 'folksong' had come to mean, for Cleveland, songs existing in oral tradition or for certain subcultural groups; while 'popular songs' were assumed to express a broader national resonance. Cleveland's utilisation of 'popular song' indicates that he still wished to address general questions of cultural nationalism; but it also infers that 'folksong' was now not the appropriate field for such questions in the New Zealand context.

However, as one writer pointed out, *The Great New Zealand Songbook* is not really representative of New Zealand popular song either (Owen 1991). It focuses primarily on one period, the mid-twentieth century,[45] and even within this period doesn't include songs by obvious candidates like Howard Morrison, Peter Cape, Sam Freedman, Rod Derrett or Garner Wayne (let alone the myriad of local songwriters working in the pop and rock idioms since the 1970s). Nor does it include Maori popular songs, although Cleveland explains that this is more because such material might "present difficulties to a non-Maori speaker" (Cleveland 1991:9). Instead, about one third of the material is based on poetry or ballads; almost one half have musical arrangements by Cleveland; and the overall selection leans heavily towards the folk idiom, as most reviewers noted (Owen 1991; Lodge 1992; see also Harding 1992:38). Cleveland explained that "the basis for selection… [was] directed unashamedly by the author's own musical sensibilities" and reflected an "autobiographical engagement with the material" (Cleveland 1991:11). The book is therefore more a personal selection encompassing a mixture of material.

Although folk music is not the central focus of *The Great New Zealand Songbook*, Cleveland does discuss the subject in several places. He describes three 'minority group' singing traditions, those associated with soldiers, trampers and students respectively (Cleveland 1991:7-9). He also briefly mentions a "large, underground folk repertoire of "bawdy… often sexist, and sometimes racially offensive songs, rhymes and jokes" (*ibid*.:10). Such material is not represented in the book, as he explained elsewhere, because the publication was designed as a "version of popular culture… not offensive to middle class standards of morality" (quoted in Morrison 1991). In this regard only the tunes of a few bawdy songs are used.[46] The songs of the folk revival movement are also mentioned

and Cleveland concludes that these – including his own Joe Charles adaptations – are essentially "sentimental reconstruction[s] of the past" (Cleveland 1991:5). Even so, he acknowledges that the pioneering era portrayed in these songs retains a "glittering attraction as a period of heroic individual achievement" and is a legitimate part of the national mythos (*ibid*.:57). He also remarks that several songs of Maori origin included in the book were products of "folk composition" (11). The integration of Maori elements in the book is one of its more distinctive features and even though the book does not include any songs in the Maori language one reviewer viewed this integration as a new "acceptance of New Zealand's bicultural structure as the basis from which the songs spring" (Annabell 1992:226). But concepts of folksong are not central to the book's overall aims.

The primary aim of the book is to advance an original concept of indigenous popular song. Cleveland's approach is to delineate New Zealand identity through patterns of emotional expression in local song making. Dividing the material into thematic chapters - 'Celebration', 'Experience', 'Nostalgia and Lament, 'Laughter' and 'Protest' – he illuminates national identity via the characteristic ways in which these themes have been expressed in song. Distinctive emotional responses and expressions are what defines indigenous New Zealand culture.

In this regard, some of Cleveland's findings about New Zealand culture are relatively familiar, such as the identification of a streak of ironic humour in which one "intuitively laughs at what one values most" (Cleveland 1991:8). Elsewhere his comments present an unusual blend of optimism and subversiveness. In contrast to certain local schools of literature which "emphasised the limitations of our national experience" due to local society's materialistic and puritanical concerns,[47] Cleveland traces a song tradition which celebrates nature, the hospitality of the backblocks and a colourful historical heritage (*ibid.*:13). Conversely, while the book grandly declares a certain nationalistic pride in its title, the concluding song is a bitter parody of 'God Defend New Zealand', pointing out the discrepancy between the idealism of Bracken's lyrics and the occasional bigotry of New Zealanders. As a national vision, *The Great New Zealand Songbook* is favourable and inclusive, yet also mocking of nationalistic pieties.

While the anthology is not explicitly a representation of the folk music canon, *The Great New Zealand Songbook* does use songs from the past as symbols in a nationalistic 'imagining' of the cultural core. But Cleveland does not arrange the songs as either a quasi-historical romance of 'origins' (like *New Zealand Folksongs*) or as a progressive historical narrative (like *Shanties by the Way*). In fact, the material isn't anchored into any historical chronology at all; nor is background information given on the song pages. Cleveland's arrangement is subtly disruptive of more 'logical' ways of thinking about the material and encourages the reader to view the songs as symbolic 'mirror images' of New Zealanders; or maybe, 'images' of how New Zealanders should be. Peter Turner has interpreted Cleveland's photography as an attempt to "invent a new Kiwi: the real New Zealander… the one Cleveland saw in us" and this observation can be applied, to some extent, to the song anthology as well (Turner 1998:46). One reviewer actually felt that Cleveland was "*inventing* a body of folk song as much as recording existing material" (Lodge 1992, original italics). Indeed, the opening essay concluded by stating that there were still "unrealised possibilities at popular levels in the further evolution of a cultural identity" (Cleveland 1991:11). In Cleveland's vision of idealistic nationalism, the expressive material of the past is organised toward the optimistic outlines of an 'imagined community' of the future.

Dark Laughter

Although Cleveland was involved since the 1960s in various folk music projects, his central collecting interest over the last forty years has been in military folksong. It is likely that Cleveland's own wartime service stimulated an ongoing interest in this field and a desire to preserve army material. He also produced an anthology of World War Two poetry and a radio programme about songs and poems from the era (Cleveland 1979, 1986).

Following the *Songs We Sang* recordings Cleveland continued to collect army songs from local sources. The overall body of material, which Cleveland refers to as his "field collection" (Cleveland *et al* 1975), remains a private collection and is not available for public access. There is no published description of the general nature and dimensions of this corpus, but it is possible to gain a few basic facts from material presented in books, articles and album liner notes. Material relates to wars ranging from World War One to the Vietnam War; songs have been collected through interviews with informants and in some cases, from ephemeral materials[48]; some non-standard musical melodies have been preserved (Cleveland 1991:58-59, 63); and while it seems unlikely that Cleveland used a tape-recorder in his pre-1960s collecting, it is possible that this occurred during later periods. At the very least, the overall quantity of material probably extends to several hundred songs.

During the 1970s Cleveland continued to write articles on the subject (Cleveland 1973), and in 1975 the two 10" *Songs We Sang* records were compiled onto a single 12" LP with more extensive and scholarly liner notes (Cleveland *et al* 1975). At this stage Cleveland began to consider the broader implications of the material:

> I found myself having to write these footnotes about the language and also about places and events… I then began to struggle with the problem of what it all means – it's not good enough now to vomit up a pile of soldier's songs and say: 'Look how clever we were.' What does it all mean? (quoted in Parker 1985)

Cleveland now took a definite turn towards treating the songs within a scholarly folkloristic framework and he apparently spent some time in the 1970s "studying folk lore at American universities" (Morrison 1991). He also accessed American institutional collections of folksong and his interest expanded to embrace international military folklore and general wartime popular culture. Beginning with 'Soldier's Songs: The Folklore of the Powerless', discussions of military folksong by Cleveland began to be published in various American journals (Cleveland 1985, 1987; see also Cleveland 1984). After retiring in 1987, he was awarded a Senior Fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution enabling him to continue his research.

The culmination of all this activity was the 1994 book *Dark Laughter* - a "treatment of war as popular culture" (Cleveland 1994a:2). This study considers twentieth century military folksong and folklore from New Zealand, America, Britain, Australia and elsewhere. A wide range of popular culture, including music, films, comic books and television programmes, is also surveyed. Cleveland draws from folkloristics and various theoretical models of group behaviour, popular culture, and media and communication, to analyse the material. The concept that popular culture is a kind of integrative socialisation process is particularly crucial (see Flucke 1987). Because of the book's international scale and a theoretical basis which extends well beyond folkloristics, it is outside the scope of the present thesis to discuss *Dark Laughter* at length, but the main argument and folkloristic approach will be summarised.

Dark Laughter organises the subject into six thematic groupings: 'The Happy Warrior', 'The Reluctant Warrior', 'The Bawdy Warrior', 'The Hungry Warrior', 'The Mortal Warrior' and 'The Vietnam Warrior'. Across these categories, Cleveland constructs a cultural-functionalist model, analysing how "popular culture deals with the emotional and social crises of wartime by providing soldiers with a comprehensive repertoire of integrative precepts" (Cleveland 1994a:2). This model is complicated by Cleveland's dual focus on how popular culture and soldiers' occupational folklore each fulfil different sub-functions; yet also how these cultural layers interact and influence each other.

Dark Laughter uses two main branches of folkloristic theory to analyse military folksong. First, the psychoanalytic theory of Gershon Legman, and second, the occupational folklore theories of Robert McCarl, Jack Santino and Roger D. Abrahams (Cleveland 1994a:20-29).[49] These occupational theories are most important and Cleveland compares military folk traditions to the those of "accident-prone occupations like mining and firefighting" and also prison labourers, who used chants to supply

a rhythm for manual tasks in a way comparable to marching songs (*ibid*.:21). Cleveland identifies many underlying functions of military occupational folksong:

> Some songs… are protests against fate and the workings of the military authority system. Others are a form of licensed joking about the prospects of death or wounding and a distrust of authority. Still others are fantasies in a licentious comedy of manners that has been able to flourish unimpeded in what is largely a male-dominant cultural enclave. They are couched in a comic irony that permits the jocular and frequently obscene utterance of otherwise unpalatable or intolerable truths. (26)

He observes that wartime experience and the nature of military life facilitates the "transmission of traditional lore from one generation to another and sometimes between one country and another" (20), also giving an autobiographical account of a singing session and a description of informal song composition (37-39, 40-41). *Dark Laughter* is one of the only scholarly books on the subject of military folklore and has been praised as "the finest study of an aspect of popular culture yet produced by a New Zealander" (McDonald 1998:23). Cleveland has continued to write about this subject (Cleveland 1994b, 2003).

Conclusion

Les Cleveland has made an important and distinctive contribution to the field of New Zealand folk music. In the late 1950s, partly in reaction to the music of the folk revival, he began to search for material which he felt was a more genuine expression of New Zealand identity. This led to a fruitful collaboration with the folk poet Joe Charles. Around the same time, he began to collect army songs to preserve and record them.

As a collector, Cleveland's main focus since the 1960s has been in the field of military folksong. He is unique among the individuals covered in this thesis for having concentrated on one particular field and also for investigating a tradition he was originally a participant in. Although he began by promoting army songs within the context of New Zealand folk music, he increasingly took a scholarly approach and became interested in an international body of material. The result of this specialised attention to the subject was the ground-breaking 1994 study, *Dark Laughter*.

In the field of New Zealand folk music Cleveland has developed a unique vision of an 'authentic' local song tradition. From the start he argued for an accurate representation of general tastes and pointed to local traditions of balladry and bawdy folksong. Using his adaptations of the Joe Charles ballads as examples, he promoted an attention to vernacular language, vocal style, appropriate music and a personal empathy for folk material. Over time, he gradually came to stress oral tradition as the ultimate basis for the authenticity of folksong, a shift which is connected to his folkloristic work studying army songs.

His concern with delineating cultural nationalism in song continued. In 1991 he produced an anthology, *The Great New Zealand Songbook*, which arranged a national musical symbology in terms of 'popular song', a category which had come to more accurately embody his cultural agenda. Although not explicitly presenting a folk music canon, this book does present new songs which Cleveland had collected and has enriched the canon with an idealistic vision of New Zealand identity.

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[1] Biographical information on Les Cleveland has been taken from McCredie (1985), McDonald (1998), Morrison (1991) and various other articles listed in the bibliography. Since 2003, I have had several helpful conversations with Cleveland, but he has declined to participate in a formal interview. Consequently, the treatment in this chapter has concentrated on the published and recorded outcomes of Cleveland's collecting, supplemented with other information derived from books, articles and archival holdings.

[2] This exhibition was called 'Les Cleveland: Six Decades – Message from the Exterior'. A monograph related to the exhibition was also published (McDonald 1998).

[3] The earliest published reference to the broader area of folklore by Cleveland that could be traced was a 1956 article, 'Wrestling as a Folk Art Form', *New Zealand Truth*, 9/10/1956, p.13. Although he had apparently written down songs during World War Two, his use of terms like 'folk art form', 'folklore' and 'ballad' in a

public context can only be definitely dated to the mid-1950s. He had apparently been first introduced to the idea of folklore as "part of his English studies" at university, which took place in the 1950s and 1960s (Parker 1985).

[4] Four items from these broadcasts survive in Sound Archives, with a dating of 24/7/1958. The titles are 'The Ole Bark Hut Song', 'Salt Bush Bill', 'Boss's Boots' and 'Aideloboy' (a.k.a. 'Weeping and Wailing'). See D1079.

[5] Transcribed from Sound Archives D1079-2b.

[6] 'Weeping and Wailing' (a.k.a. 'Aideloboy') is a variant of a British or Irish song known by several titles, including 'Rocking the Cradle' or 'The Old Man's Lament'. Variants of the song have been collected throughout the English-speaking world, see Lomax 1960:357-358, 375; Kennedy 1975:469. The text can be found in many New Zealand student and tramping song books from the 1940s onwards.

[7] In February 1959 Cleveland broadcast a three-part series called *Backblock Ballads*, but none of these programmes have been traced in the Sound Archives.

[8] For a brief biography of Joe Charles see Garland (1996:134-135).

[9] A copy of this booklet (of unknown dating) is in the Garland collection.

[10] Correspondence between Charles and Cleveland, along with Cleveland's working copies of the ballads, can be located in ATL MS-Papers-6269-7.

[11] The Joe Charles field recordings are currently held by a family member. There are apparently several dozen reel-to-reel tapes of interviews and music. These have not been examined or heard by the writer.

[12] See letter from Charles to Cleveland, dated "April 14th", in ATL MS-Papers-6269-7. The verse texts of 'Snowed In' and 'The Sardine Box' were also given to Elsie Locke by Charles, although only the first item can be found in her archived papers (see ATL MS-Papers-7202-106). The text of 'The Sardine Box' - apparently transcribed off the wall of a now-demolished shearing quarters and rumoured to have been written by Henry Lawson – was passed on to Herbert Roth and can be located in ATL 94-106-06/4.

[13] Sound Archives T46, T47. Although only three *New Zealand Ballads* programmes on Charles were produced, listings for more 'Saturday Night at Home' presentations by Cleveland in the weeks and months following the *New Zealand Ballads* series have been located in the *New Zealand Listener*.

[14] The songs on the EP are 'McKenzie and his Dog', 'Around the Coleridge Run', 'The Phosphate Flyers' and 'Black Billy Tea'. The release dating comes from Anon 1959b.

[15] The four-line verse 'Farewell to Geraldine' was collected from Con McKenna, Wellington by Cleveland and is a variant fragment of a poem by swagger Joe Fleming. A longer version is quoted in several books by John A. Lee (1964:26-27; 1977:37).

[16] See *Young Pat Maloney/Dying Duffer's Prayer* 78rpm, Regal Zonophone G23582.

[17] Elsewhere, Cleveland calls the same tune 'Our Goodman' (Cleveland 1991:62).

[18] The tune of 'Take a Sniff on Me' has not been traced to any published collection, but resembles that taught to the writer by his father, who had learned the song in Wellington, New Zealand, in the early 1950s.

[19] Transcribed from *New Zealand Ballads Part 1*, T47.

[20] *ibid.*

[21] Joe Charles himself consistently praised Cleveland's musical interpretations. See the various letters in the archival papers cited in note 10.

[22] Although Tex Morton was actually New Zealand-born, he moved to Australia in the 1930s and became the first Australasian singer to find commercial success imitating yodelling American 'cowboy' singers like Carson Robison and Jimmie Rodgers. See Smith (2005:87-89).

[23] This influence is particularly apparent in songs like 'Black Billy Joe' with its lyrics: "There is little moss to a rolling stone / And my saddlebags hold all I own".

[24] *New Zealand Ballads Part 2*, T47.

[25] *New Zealand Ballads Part 1*, T47.

[26] Cleveland's concept of the 'organic tradition' in rural New Zealand is connected to his interest in the relationship people have with the wider environment. This topic has apparently been a central concern of Cleveland's since the 1940s, which he has investigated through his photography and literary studies (McCredie 1985). Particularly important is his lengthy analysis of the twentieth century New Zealand novel (Cleveland 1964b). Here Cleveland considered how effectively New Zealand literature represented the 'organic community', as defined by F.R. Leavis and Denys Thompson, in New Zealand life (Leavis and Thompson 1942). English writers Leavis and Thompson based their concept of 'organic community' on a view of village life in pre-industrial England, where individuals were seen as having "a way of living… involving social arts, codes of intercourse and a responsive adjustment, growing out of immemorial experience, to the natural environment and the rhythm of the year" (*ibid.*:1-2). This kind of society was contrasted with the modern industrial world, where social traditions and folk arts had fragmented, lost meaning or died out altogether. Cleveland felt that aspects of New Zealand society, especially in rural areas, represented "a continuation into modern industrial life" of the organic ideal (Cleveland 1963:203). Despite the seeming parallels with the views

of early folksong collectors, such as Cecil Sharp, it is worth noting that Leavis and Thompson considered it "difficult to take revivals seriously" because folk material became dislocated from its original context (Leavis and Thompson 1942:2). Their viewpoint may be usefully compared with Cleveland's descriptions of certain New Zealand folk revival recordings as unnatural and over-academic (Anon 1959a:4). See also note 27 below.

[27] Les Cleveland also felt that a revival singer should ideally have had experience in the subject they were singing about, otherwise they ran the risk of not understanding the material at a basic level. As he put it, "if you want to sing songs about, say, an East Coast woolshed gang, best you go and sweat in one for a while" (quoted in Anon 1959b).

[28] Unfortunately little hard information has been found about Cleveland's public performing in the early revival, but during the 1958-1961 era may have sung at the Monde Marie and elsewhere. He is referred to on the *New Zealand Ballads Part 1* programme as a "Wellington ballad singer"; and a photograph printed in Anon 1959b shows him with recognisably 'folknik' clothing and cap. Another snippet of confirmation relating to later performances at 'The Balladeer' can be gleaned from the reminiscence by Dave Jordan in Archer (1998-2006), URL: <www.folksong.org.nz/greatfolk.html> (accessed 1/8/2005).

[29] Editorial Services was a small company who specialised in books about agriculture.

[30] The original acetate of the first recording is evidently held by Cleveland. A full listing of tracks can be found in Huggard (2004:43). Several tracks were played during the course of Cleveland 2004.

[31] There is conflicting information about the release dates of these two LPs. The sleeve notes from the 1975 compilation LP re-release gives 1959 and 1962 respectively (Cleveland *et al* 1975), while a later publication gives 1960 and 1961 (Cleveland 1994a:158). This second dating is more accurate as both records can be found listed in the 1961 Kiwi label catalogue (Kiwi Records 1961).

[32] This is a reference to the World War Two army song 'The D-Day Dodgers', which was created in reaction to apocryphal comments made by British MP Lady Astor about allied troops stationed in Italy at the time of the Normandy landings, into a satirical statement (Page 1973:160-162). The song ironically confesses that:

> We landed at Salerno, a holiday with pay.
> Jerry brought his bands out to cheer us on our way,
> Showed us the sights and gave us tea,
> We all sang songs, the beer was free.
> For we are the D-Day dodgers, the lads that D-Day dodged. (*ibid.*:161)

[33] No recording of this radio programme has been traced in the Sound Archives. The unsigned typescript (which is almost certainly by Cleveland) can be located in ATL MS-Papers-7981.

[34] The only review of this book which has been traced is R.A.K. 1960.

[35] The notated tune on the cover is 'My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean', which is used by one song in the book, 'Please May I Have a Pension'.

[36] Unexpurgated renditions of ten of these songs, with comments, were made by Cleveland in 2005 and can be heard on a public website. The songs are:

> 'You Can Tell Them All that we Learn ---- all'
> 'My Old Gal Salome'
> 'Oh My Name is Tiger Lily…'
> 'Isn't it a Pity She's Only One Titty'
> 'The Balls of O'Leary'
> 'For They Were Large Balls'
> 'The Old Red Flannel Drawers'
> 'If I Was a Rugby Fullback' (a.k.a. 'The Rugby Song')
> 'A Drunken Old Harlot Lay Dying' (a.k.a. 'The Dying Harlot')
> 'I Wish I Was a Fascinating Bitch'.

Cleveland also sang an untitled song beginning "And then there came a sailor's wife…" and a version of 'Vive La Compagnie' (Cleveland 1959a:36). Online URL: <http://www.immortalia.com/html/field-recordings/mehlberg-collection/les-cleveland/index.htm> (Accessed 1/12/2005).

[37] It is worth noting that few bawdy folksong books have ever been published in New Zealand. The only such publication that could be traced by the writer was *Bawdy Sporting Songs for the Shower* (ed. Christopher Steele), 1985, Wellington: Walrus Waterbooks. However, there have been several local recordings of such songs released both through commercial companies and as private pressings.

[38] When the two *Songs We Sang* LPs were re-released on a single 12" LP in 1975 it was also stressed in the liner notes that the army songs were "oral folk literature".

[39] Sound Archives T514. Cleveland also contributed songs to several other radio programmes, but these may have repeated the recordings from the *New Zealand Ballads* series. See *The Fleece is Gold* (T1297) and

McKenzie and His Dog (T1292). Another programme, *Reflections of the Back Country* (TX3085), which was recorded in 1965, may contain new versions of the Charles adaptations, but has not yet been heard by the writer. Performances by Cleveland also feature in a 1960 New Zealand Film Unit promotional film, *JD Goes Hunting*, but who these songs were written by is not known - see New Zealand Film Archive F7071.

[40] No publicly accessible script or recording of 'What Harry Really Sang' has been traced.

[41] The song notated on the cover is 'Take Me Up Tenderly'.

[42] Meek, O'Regan and Wright wrote within the 'classic period' of the Australasian popular ballad, roughly 1890-1920. They also all published collections of verse. Kate Skates is not as well-known, but lived in Cobden on the West Coast and wrote many poems and songs (see Chapter 8, note 34).

[43] The songs from ephemeral sources are 'Bump Me Into Parliament' and 'An MP's Life for Me'. The other songs collected by Cleveland are 'Take Me Up Tenderly', 'Stand in the Rain', 'The Fossicking Fool', 'Down by El Alamein', 'The Soldier's Farewell', 'Dear Old New Zealand', 'The Drover's Dream', 'No Boots', 'The Dying Tramper', 'General Freyburg's Stew', 'Boozers All', 'Non Capisce', 'Trentham' and 'Keep It Small'. Some of these may have been taken from ephemera as they are not all denoted as "collected". Two songs - 'The Drover's Dream' and 'Keep It Small' - were possibly written or adapted by Cleveland himself, even though the first is given as "collected". The second is credited as 'anonymous' although not as "collected" in the sources. A similar uncertainty applies to many of the tunes credited as 'anonymous' in the book. The use of the 'anonymous' credit itself is inherently ambiguous because it can legitimately denote either that a composer was unknown or that the composer wished to remain anonymous. Elsewhere, there are brief mentions of another song collected by Cleveland, from a Dunedin man, David Greer (Cleveland 1991:98; Morrison 1991).

[44] Cleveland also suggests the use of the book in schools (Cleveland 1991:1, bc.).

[45] One reviewer suggested the body of songs in the book was a "dead tradition" that had passed away (Roberts 1991).

[46] Apart from two Joe Charles songs mentioned in this chapter, the items which use bawdy song tunes are 'Mrs Mitchell' which uses the tune of 'Our Goodman' (Cray 1992:11-23); 'The Fossicking Fool' which uses an adaptation of the verse melody of 'The Bastard King of England' (*ibid*:122-125); and 'Keep it Small' which uses the tune of 'I Don't Want to Be a Soldier' (384-386).

[47] See Cleveland 1964b for an extensive critique of the 'man alone' literary tradition and his proposed alternative literary canon.

[48] Various references to ephemeral sources can be found throughout Cleveland 1994a, for example, one song was taken from a leaflet (Cleveland 1994a:62). He also mentions that he possesses a mimeographed song book "compiled by American and New Zealand personnel at Scott Base, Antarctica, in 1971" (*ibid.*:150).

[49] See the bibliography in Cleveland (1994a) for specific works by these writers.

Chapter 6
Frank Fyfe

This chapter will examine the collecting and publishing work of Frank Fyfe. In the mid-1960s Fyfe shifted from Australia to New Zealand and became involved with the folk movement in Wellington. In 1966 he established the New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS / the Society) to develop an organised system of folk music collecting and his contribution to the folk music field is intertwined with the work of the Society. In 1969 he began to produce studies of New Zealand folk songs and established a folklore journal, *The Maorilander*, to publish them. This chapter will firstly describe Fyfe's personal background and interest in folk music. It will then discuss the origins of the NZFLS and the collecting work of the Wellington branch of the Society. An analysis of Fyfe's revival activities, folk music concepts and scholarly writing follows. The chapter will conclude with a description of the Society's broader aspirations and examine why the Wellington branch of the organisation disbanded in 1973.

Background

Frank Fyfe (1936-1997) was born in the coastal town of Mackay in Queensland, Australia.[1] He had an early interest in craft printing, leading to training at the Queensland Technical College and a five year apprenticeship. Printing was Fyfe's main career throughout his life. In the late 1950s, he became involved with bush music clubs in Brisbane, partly through his connections with the Australian Labour Party and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). He printed protest leaflets for CND and later produced a music club magazine, *The Queensland Bush Telegraph*. In October 1964 Fyfe and his wife Mary came to New Zealand, planning to have a working holiday before travelling on to Europe. After working in the South Island for about a year, they decided to remain in the country and settled in Wellington.

During the mid-1960s, Wellington had a thriving folk music scene. Coffee houses which had been running for some years, such as the Monde Marie and Chez Paree, were popular and a number of small clubs had started up. After arriving in Wellington, the Fyfes became involved on a number of levels with this social and musical world. Mary began working at the Monde Marie and through this connection the couple were given the opportunity to manage another coffee house, in Willis Street, called The Balladeer Coffee Tavern. Mary Seddon offered to set up the Fyfe's at The Balladeer, which had lately run into financial difficulties, and they became proprietors in late 1965.

The Balladeer quickly became an important venue for folk music in Wellington. Frank Fyfe acted as host during evening sessions, getting to know, introducing and supporting local singers. Through performing at The Balladeer, he also became known as a singer himself, a role he had not previously taken. Fyfe started to encourage audiences to pay more respectful attention to performers than afforded by the cacophonous ambience of busy coffee houses like the Monde. Although Wellington audiences apparently "took a little educating"[2] in this matter, the atmosphere that Fyfe cultivated marked a change in the local movement towards a more serious attitude and approach. Folk scene writers saw The Balladeer as offering the "best indication of the direction in which the folk movement in this country, and possibly everywhere, is going".[3] When the Wellington Folk Club was formally established in early 1966, Frank Fyfe was elected to the first committee and The Balladeer became its unofficial headquarters; he also helped print the Club's bulletin *Sing*.

The Fyfe's coffee house, The Balladeer, remained open until late 1967 and then Frank Fyfe resumed work as a printer and mechanic for various companies. He continued to be heavily involved in the revival movement, writing news columns and articles for the folk magazine *Heritage*, helping organise the annual National Folk Festival and forming the Port Nicholson Folk Club in 1968. In April 1974 the Fyfe family moved to the small town of Greytown in the nearby Wairarapa region. Here Frank had various jobs, including as a printer and later, journalist for the *Wairarapa Times-Age*.

His passion for printing presses and typography led to a series of publishing enterprises, including the community newspaper *The Greytown News* and many booklets about local history, stories and buildings. He later became a district councillor and was an activist for various community causes. Fyfe died unexpectedly in 1997 at the age of sixty.

Collecting Interest

Frank Fyfe's interest in collecting folk music originated in Australia. In 1960 he had joined the Queensland Folklore Society (QFLS), an organisation founded by collectors associated with the early Australian folk revival, including Bill Scott and Bob Michell. The QFLS conducted fieldwork throughout Queensland and contributed to the anthology *The Queensland Centenary Pocket Songbook* (1959). The organisation was also involved with the Moreton Bay Bushwhackers Band,[4] and according to former member Stan Arthur had various smaller groups within it: "a collectors group, a dance group, library group… a singing group".[5]

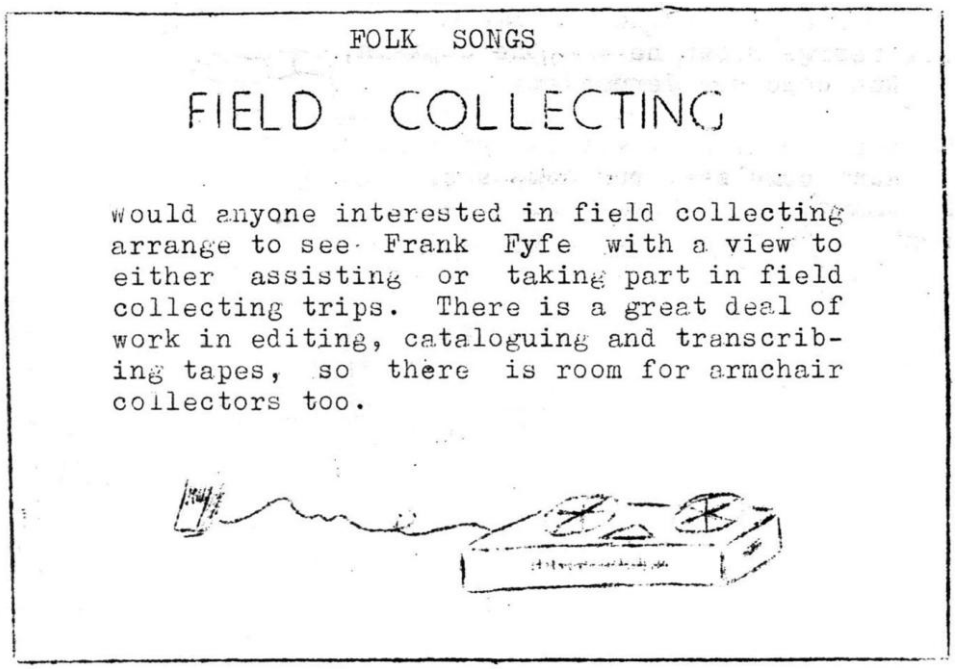
Although Fyfe knew collectors like John Manifold and Bill Scott, it was Bob Michell who particularly encouraged Fyfe to begin collecting.[6] No specifics have been traced about what collecting he did in Australia, but when Fyfe arrived in New Zealand in 1964 he was still interested in the possibilities and shortly afterwards collected a version of 'The Shanty by the Way' in Southland (Fyfe 1970a). His interest would appear to have remained largely dormant until 1966, when it re-emerged on an ambitious new scale.

The New Zealand Folklore Society[7]

Frank Fyfe first mooted the idea of establishing an organisation to collect, study and promote New Zealand folk music in April 1966. He wrote an article, 'Why Collect?', for the club bulletin *Sing* and encouraged interested individuals to contact him. Because this article is difficult to obtain, a transcription is provided in Appendix 6.1.

In the article Fyfe noted the "plaintive"[8] belief in the local revival movement that there were few New Zealand folk songs. He argued that even if such songs were not heard in coffee houses, this was not evidence that they didn't exist. He pointed out that the "same general attitude" had prevailed in Australia before the extensive collecting of individuals like Russel Ward and John Manifold, and the promotion of songs through the *Reedy River* theatre production. It was only because of *Reedy River* - which had toured throughout Australia in the mid-1950s - that the public became aware of the existence of an Australian traditional song heritage and the need to collect and preserve it. Without the work of individual collectors and societies, Fyfe argued, "most of the traditional songs would have died".

Fyfe had learned of the work of Rona Bailey and Neil Colquhoun, and while praising the quality of songs like 'Bright Fine Gold' and 'David Lowston', concluded that collecting work had really only been "sporadic" up until that time. Fieldwork had not been organised, systematic, properly funded or involved the tape-recording of informants. He declared that it was "high time some organised collecting work was done, and the sooner the better". It was particularly important to access the fading memories of those who might remember songs from the gold rushes, before "their songs… die[d] with them". Fyfe was also optimistic about the projected results, arguing that just as Australian folk songs had been located by collectors in the 1950s, it would be "very strange if… a great number of folksongs" were not uncovered here. It was inferred that these songs might form the basis of a New Zealand folksong heritage which local singers could proudly embrace.


FOLK SONGS

FIELD COLLECTING

would anyone interested in field collecting arrange to see Frank Fyfe with a view to either assisting or taking part in field collecting trips. There is a great deal of work in editing, cataloguing and transcribing tapes, so there is room for armchair collectors too.

Plate 2: **Field collecting notice in *Sing***
Source: Sing*, 17/4/1966, p.42, courtesy of the Sheet Music Archive of New Zealand.*

The ideas and aspirations expressed in Fyfe's article begin a whole new chapter in folk music collecting in New Zealand. He proposed that collecting should be conducted with the same dedication as in the United States, Britain and Australia and that the endeavour required personnel, new technology and funding.

It is also notable that Fyfe was the first collector in New Zealand to emerge from the folk revival movement. Although Neil Colquhoun had significant dealings with the movement in Auckland, Fyfe was a folk scene impresario and performer from the start, with a solid base of support readily at hand in his coffee house. Although the collecting enterprise was framed in scholarly terminology, there was an implicit assumption that it would also produce substantial outcomes for the revival, specifically songs, "good enough to stand beside the traditional songs of any other country" (Fyfe 1966:36). Subsequently, he inaugurated the largest mobilisation within the revival towards the possibilities of collecting New Zealand folk music.

By August 1966 Fyfe had gathered together a group of interested individuals and devised the name 'The New Zealand Folklore Society'. Events moved rapidly and by late September the first issue of a newsletter, *Penny Post*, was produced. The NZFLS was officially set up at a public meeting held on the 3rd October, which was attended by about seventy people, and Fyfe was elected chairman of the Society.

The NZFLS had the conventional structure of a small non-profit organisation, with a constitution, a committee and elected officers. When it was formed, the Society had about twenty full members, although this grew to include a larger number of associate members from outside Wellington, both individuals and organisations, such as libraries and folk clubs.[9] Meetings were held at The Balladeer and later in private homes or the Wellington Folk Centre.[10]

The Society also managed to attract some wider notice and distinguished patronage. An editorial in *The Evening Post* offered encouragement at the start, stating that the preservation of folklore in New Zealand had hitherto lacked "a pivot – a clearing-house for this rare possession of which New

Zealand is amply endowed".[11] Former Prime Minister Sir Walter Nash agreed to become the first patron of the Society, a role later taken by MP Thomas Seddon and senior civil servant W.B. Sutch.

Most of the active membership was drawn from the local folk movement. Although there was only a small core of serious enthusiasts, the Society generated much wider interest within the revival. An impression of this interest can be gained from the circulation figures of the *Penny Post* newsletter (which was made available to clubs around the country). The first issue of the newsletter had a run of seventy-five copies, but by January 1967 this had doubled, further climbing to two hundred copies in April 1967.[12] Other NZFLS branches were set up in Auckland and Christchurch at the end of 1967, and the Society in Wellington became known as 'the Wellington branch'. It will sometimes be referred to as this below.

Collecting

The New Zealand Folklore Society was the main vehicle for Frank Fyfe's collecting work. Consequently, his project has a quite different character from the other individuals covered in this thesis. He created an *organisation* to frame and extend his own aims. Although other people contributed to this enterprise, Fyfe always remained chairman of the Society in Wellington and was undoubtedly the keystone of the organisation. Most of the collecting, archiving, production of leaflets and writing of newsletters and articles was done by him, making it difficult to separate the work of Fyfe as an individual from the work of the Society. This task has become even more complicated with the loss of the branch archives (see below). The following discussion will therefore concentrate on Fyfe's activities, but will often have to refer in a more general way to the work of the NZFLS.

Aims and Criteria

The aims of Fyfe and the NZFLS were most directly expressed in a series of leaflets printed soon after the Society was formed. The first was entitled *Aims and Objects of the New Zealand Folklore Society* (1966) and listed four overall objectives, which were also written into the constitution of the Society:

- To foster a more widespread awareness of New Zealand's folk culture and a greater understanding of the country's history as expressed in this culture.
- To collect songs, poems, stories and anecdotes relating to New Zealand's history.
- To record, collate, publish and preserve these collections.
- To encourage present day composers of material in the tradition of New Zealand's folk culture.[13]

Within these parameters the Society had two familiar criteria for the material that was being sought. Firstly, folklore specific to New Zealand was of highest importance, especially if it had an historical element illustrating "the hardships, the pleasures and the sorrows of a pioneering people".[14] This criteria was later modified to the "indigenous folksong" of New Zealand; but even so it was largely taken for granted that Maori material lay beyond the Society's interest (Fyfe 1972a:4).[15] Secondly, the NZFLS was especially interested in folklore that was old. Folklore was viewed as a form of culture existing "in the collective memory of people still living" and forming a "living link" to a past not found in "history books".[16] Preserving folk culture was an urgent task because the oldest material was known only by elderly people and was therefore in "in imminent danger of extinction".[17] Oral tradition by itself could no longer be relied upon because the popularity of modern media meant that "the 'common people' have much less need to make their own entertainment".[18]

In other leaflets the Society described specific areas of interest. The 1967 leaflet *Notes on New Zealand Folklore* outlines various occupational genres of folksong, including the songs of sealers, whalers, gold diggers, swaggers, shearers, bullockies, fishermen, miners and railway workers. The

leaflet also mentions recent traditions for possible investigation, for example watersider and tramping culture. Elsewhere, the Society affirmed that

> of course, New Zealand's folk tradition didn't finish with the Nineteenth Century. There are a number of Vernacular Ballads, mainly from the pen of Peter Cape, which come from the 1950's, and the 'folk revival' of the 1960's has produced not a few songs and poems true to our tradition. Revival Ballads cover the whole range of human activity and truly mirror the turmoil of our age.[19]

It should also be mentioned that although the NZFLS was a *folklore* society, Fyfe remained primarily interested in collecting folk *songs* and folk *music*. A few other genres of folklore were collected on a smaller scale, including verse, tall tales and oral history. Fyfe himself acknowledged the narrow focus of the Society in 1972, admitting that "superstitions, yarns, slang, children's games, work lore… [and] bush lore" still awaited the interest of NZFLS researchers (Fyfe 1972a:4).

Methods

The best extant source of information about the collecting of the NZFLS Wellington branch is the *Penny Post* newsletter. *Penny Post* regularly included reports of field trips, giving a brief details of informants and collected material. See Appendix 6.3 for a tabulated list of these reports.

The Wellington branch carried out fieldwork mainly in the Wellington, Wairarapa and Manawatu regions. Contact was also made with informants in Nelson, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Auckland. Initially, collecting was carried out by teams of sometimes up to five people[20] and in late 1967 three separate 'field teams' were organised, each concentrating on specific areas: the 1951 Waterfront dispute; sea songs and 'sea lore'; and traditional and contemporary New Zealand songs.[21] Not long afterwards, branch activities were suspended, for a number reasons,[22] and when collecting resumed in late 1969 it was mainly conducted on an individual basis. Frank Fyfe did most of the overall collecting for the NZFLS Wellington branch, with Julian Ward probably being the next most active fieldworker.

Informants were contacted in a variety of ways. The personal networks of Society members and their families, friends, and acquaintances proved useful. For example, an informant in Foxton, Hector MacDonald, was contacted at the suggestion of Neil Colquhoun.[23] One Society report from 1967 describes an extensive letter-writing campaign as part of a search for sea songs, with newspapers, maritime associations and individuals being contacted.[24] The need for informants was also publicised through newspaper adverts, articles, radio interviews and publicity leaflets. The back cover of the 1967 *Notes on New Zealand Folklore* leaflet carried the following direct appeal: "If you or your family or friends know any songs, poems, stories or anecdotes – or know anyone who may – please get in touch with us as soon as you are able".[25]

Fyfe was involved with ongoing fieldwork, but he seems to have undertaken two main projects. Firstly, he conducted what he termed "saturation"[26] collecting in Greytown for six weeks in the summer of 1969-1970, which essentially meant concentrating on this one small community, following up all contacts and recording as much material as possible.[27] Secondly, over the 1971-72 period Fyfe focussed on collecting versions of the song 'Bright Fine Gold', partly in collaboration with Phil Garland. Fyfe made nationwide appeals through radio interviews and in newspapers which resulted in "over fifty potential informants"[28] volunteering information. These informants were spread throughout New Zealand, but it is not known whether Fyfe actually visited them all personally.

The Wellington branch generally used a tape-recorder for collecting, supplemented with written notes. The Society initially borrowed a recorder, but following a fundraising concert in April 1967 was able to purchase its own machine.[29] Fyfe was already familiar with orthodox fieldwork approaches and tried to educate other members in this regard. The Society reprinted essays by folklorists A.L. Lloyd and Kenneth Goldstein,[30] it ran a 'Collecting School' for members,[31] and

arranged for instruction tapes compiled by Australian folklorists John Manifold and Bob Michell to be made available to members.[32] At a more local level, talks were given by Rona Bailey and Elsie Locke about their collecting experiences. From Fyfe's published studies, it is evident that he not only tape-recorded informants but noted down their personal backgrounds; where, when and how songs had been learned; the meaning of unusual references in lyrics; and comments by informants concerning other versions of the same song (eg. Fyfe 1971b).

Collectanea

Only a small proportion of Frank Fyfe's original field collecting has survived; virtually all of the rest of the NZFLS Wellington branch collecting is lost. Only around twelve songs and poems collected by Fyfe could be traced from publications or other sources. Two other songs which were probably collected by Fyfe in 1967 have also been located, although his own recordings are gone. See Appendix 6.4 for details. These fourteen pieces do not include the large number of yarns and tall tales he later collected.

The loss of the NZFLS Wellington branch archives is essentially due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances. The NZFLS constitution stipulated that the Society, upon winding up, would place all collected, archival and administrative material into the care of the Alexander Turnbull Library. When the Wellington branch disbanded in 1973 this did not occur and Fyfe took the material with him to Greytown. Fyfe died unexpectedly in 1997 without having made any provision for the conservation of his collection of historical and folkloric material. Many of Fyfe's papers were transferred to the Wairarapa Archive in Masterton, but these holdings contain little material relating to the NZFLS. According to members of the Fyfe family, a box of what were probably NZFLS tape-recordings had been stored in a leaky garage and was found after Fyfe's death to be irretrievably water-damaged.[33] These tapes were discarded, probably along with the Society's written archives.[34] It may be possible for future researchers to retrace some of the lost fieldwork back to informants who may still be alive, although this project lies beyond the scope of the present thesis. It is also possible that a proportion of collected material was retained by NZFLS members not yet contacted by the writer.

The surviving pieces collected by Fyfe are of various kinds. They include four versions of 'Timber', a song of North American origins sung in parts of rural New Zealand; four versions of the children's ditty 'Bright Fine Gold'; a poem derived from an 1889 newspaper cutting; and a local adaptation of the popular song 'Home Boys Home', probably dating from the Boer War. Other fieldwork conducted by Fyfe into folk music survives in the form of two short articles about New Zealand 'folk instruments': a benzene tin fiddle, and the 'flagonophone', a kazoo-type instrument constructed from glass beer flagons (Fyfe 1970b, 1971c).[35]

Furthermore, in its early years the Society tape-recorded New Zealand songs performed by various Wellington revival singers, including Jim Delahunty and Arthur Toms.[36] Many of these songs originated with the earlier collecting of Rona Bailey and Neil Colquhoun; others were written by Peter Cape. One of the singers, Sam Sampson, also performed various pieces he had learned through tramping activities ('Double-bunking') or from ex-servicemen ('Oh Mr Fraser'). Sampson's repertoire represents an overlapping between the revival movement and source traditions, but the NZFLS Wellington branch does not seem to have further explored this interesting avenue, which probably still presents many collecting possibilities.[37] Several of the original NZFLS revival recordings still exist.[38]

From the table of fieldwork reports given in Appendix 6.3 it is clear that most collected material has been lost.[39] During Fyfe's 1969-1970 Greytown collecting work, he apparently collected "about sixty songs and tunes of one type or another"[40] including music hall songs, English folk songs and tin fiddle tunes.[41] Similarly, only four variants survive from his 'Bright Fine Gold' collecting, which apparently involved initial contacts with fifty informants.[42] It seems that a wide range of other material is also gone, including sea shanties, temperance songs and Scottish traditional songs.[43] A

broad array of instrumental music recorded from informants - including an "old time banjo" player, an "instrumentalist who plays mandolin-guitar; lute; guitar", a "string band… [including] banjo, mandolin, guitar and ukulele" and several "old time family bands" - has also perished.[44]

Revival Activities

The first real outcome of the NZFLS endeavour was to initiate the promotion of New Zealand folk songs within the folk movement. A defining aspect of Fyfe's revival work was his influence and organisational prowess. Rather than releasing recordings or publishing folksong anthologies, Fyfe utilised the structures of the folk movement to spread an awareness of New Zealand material. As the proprietor of an important coffee house, a committee member of Wellington folk clubs and an administrator of the National Folk Festival, he was well-placed to ensure that the work of the NZFLS found its way into many parts of the movement, especially in Wellington.

From the start, this activity had an intrinsically nationalistic aim. As Fyfe later pointed out, "the folk music revival of the 1960's was greatly dependent upon readily available material from overseas"[45] and it was preferable for performers to be less reliant upon this imported material. But when the NZFLS was formed in 1966, Neil Colquhoun's WEA anthology *New Zealand Folk Songs* was the only general collection available and even this had a very limited distribution. Therefore, an initial priority was to gather a consolidated corpus of readily available New Zealand songs. Fyfe used recordings of revival singers to create a 'Circulating Tape Library', made available to "performers in various New Zealand and overseas centres… members, associate members, clubs and interested groups at no cost" (Fyfe 1967:7). The tapes were accompanied by transcriptions and source information.[46] Songs were also promoted through *Heritage* magazine, which was edited by two Wellington branch members.[47] Indeed, Society members themselves were in a position to perform material in festivals, concerts and informal gatherings. Fyfe also gave many workshops on New Zealand folk music at folk festivals throughout New Zealand.

Song	**Location**
The Day the Pub Burned Down	*Heritage*, no.3; Garland 1996
Don't Blame the Wealthy Squatter	Fyfe 1980
Drinking Rum and Raspberry	*Heritage*, no.6; Colquhoun 1972
Dugout in the True	*Heritage*, no.4; Fyfe 1980
The Dying Bushman	Fyfe 1980; Garland 1996
Timber	*The Maorilander*, no.3
The Warriors of Poverty Bay	*Heritage*, no.18
Wool Commandeer	Fyfe 1980; Garland 1996

Figure XVI: **Song Adaptations by Frank Fyfe**
These are eight New Zealand song adaptations or arrangements by Frank Fyfe which have been traced by the writer. Some exist in several different versions. The musical settings are mostly simple and sometimes feature Australian tunes. For example, 'Don't Blame the Wealthy Squatter' uses the tune of 'My Name is Edward Kelly', a bushranger song originally collected by the Queensland Folklore Society (see Manifold 1964:64-65, 77).

The NZFLS also spread an awareness of New Zealand folksong to a wider public audience through concerts and radio programmes. Concerts were also an important way to raise money and publicise the Society's work. In Wellington, there were at least two large concerts held at the Wellington Town Hall. The first - a straightforward programme of songs performed by various singers - was held in April 1967 and attracted an audience of 500 people.[48] A recording of the concert was apparently purchased by the NZBC for radio broadcast.[49] The second concert took place the next year and featured an onstage shanty, costumes, scripted dialogue and a bush band, in an attempt to

"re-create an evening in a New Zealand grog shanty".[50] In an interview Fyfe compared this with the Australian *Reedy River* production.[51] In 1969 Fyfe hosted a radio series called *Singaround*, featuring singers from the Wellington folk movement (Staley 2004).

Although these large-scale efforts were important, Fyfe's specific revivalist ideals are better revealed in his performance and publishing work. Unfortunately, he made no commercial recordings and the only publicly available release is a cassette of performances from the late 1960s (Fyfe 1980). This lack of accessible material gives a slightly distorted impression, because in fact Fyfe was known throughout the New Zealand folk movement as a singer with a large repertoire - including many Australian pieces - who encouraged participation by audiences. He produced adaptations of at least eight New Zealand songs and several were printed in *Heritage* magazine.

Apparently Fyfe's performances commonly involved the framing of songs with background information about his own collecting and research work.[52] For example, after tracking children's rhyme versions of 'Bright Fine Gold', Phil Garland recalls that Fyfe performed a "skipping rhyme [version], complete with actions, on stage at a couple of folk clubs, using it as part of his introduction to singing the song" (Garland 2000). Published adaptations follow a similar pattern. For example, his arrangement of 'Timber' was presented alongside all four variants he had collected. Although most other songs do not get quite the same level of treatment, he clearly thought it desirous to give some details of sources and adaptation. Fyfe's revival ideals were most clearly expressed in his 1972 review of Australian folklorist Alan Scott's *A Collector's Songbook*:

> If ever there was a published collection which should act as a guide in the manner in which collections in this country should be published, this is it… [Scott] admits to having "bent, cobbled, twisted and bashed, even written new lines" in order to make… incomplete fragments, into more acceptable items from a singer's point of view. However, the more serious side of his work has been adequately maintained by the inclusion of copious notes in which the original words, as collected, are printed.[53]

Although Fyfe never produced such an anthology himself, it is evident that he tried to integrate the collecting perspective into his revival work as a matter of course. By doing this he was able to retain his ethical authority as a folklorist and encourage an awareness of folkloric concepts within the wider folk movement. Most importantly, Fyfe promoted these concepts in a manner that was compatible with revivalist formats and highly enjoyable for audiences; he provided proof that revivalism and folkloristics might be practically combined without too much compromise.

Folk Music Concepts

When it began, the NZFLS was interested in many types of 'folk music' - from folk songs of the pioneering days to tramping songs and 'revival ballads' – all of which were seen as being "true to our tradition".[54] This breadth of interest was to some extent realised in the material which was actually collected. Along with creating a system of organised fieldwork, Fyfe tried to establish a more serious consideration of scholarly concepts and theories.

In the 1966 *Sing* article Fyfe focused on the pressing need to collect "traditional songs" and invoked images of a dwindling heritage - those songs which might be found "in the far reaches of an old-timer's mind" (Fyfe 1966:36). 'Traditional songs' meant songs which existed in oral tradition like the bush songs collected in Australia in the 1950s. To clarify this point, the NZFLS Wellington branch – led by Fyfe - officially adopted the 1955 IFMC definition of folk music in 1972. This definition, as outlined in Chapter 1, was based primarily around Cecil Sharp's 1907 theory of oral transmission.[55]

By emphasising folkloric concepts developed by overseas folklorists, Fyfe became the first individual in New Zealand to base their work from the outset largely around scholarly precepts. Established standards of authenticity were the benchmark and bedrock of his enterprise. Fyfe's work

in New Zealand can be viewed as an attempt to collect material and analyse it in terms which would be understood as legitimate in countries such as Australia, Britain and the United States.

Fyfe was also aware of the need to remain flexible enough to reach a valid understanding of how folk music might exist in New Zealand. He explained that although since

> 1967 the working definition of the Society has virtually been that made in 1954 by the IFMC… formal adoption of this definition has been postponed on several occasions for two principle reasons: the first, lest we should unduly inhibit field work by applying a straight jacket; the second, because the true pattern as revealed by field work was only beginning to emerge. (Fyfe 1973a:5)

For example, while Fyfe followed orthodoxy in considering that folklore was the expressive culture of "the common people", he saw that in New Zealand this loosely-understood social grouping was different to other colonial countries (such as Australia) and might be largely made up of colonists drawn from "the wealthier middle classes of British society" (Fyfe 1967:5).

Fyfe's ultimate objective was to delineate what he called "the New Zealand tradition", a concept which intertwined his roles as a scholar and revivalist (Fyfe 1967:5). This concept essentially had two different meanings. Firstly, it denoted the general ways in which the folk process operated in New Zealand. Secondly, it referred to the national folk music canon, most specifically to the authentic core of 'traditional songs'. By elucidating authentic processes, material and styles through disciplined fieldwork and folkloric study, Fyfe hoped to build upon established folkloric facts in his subsequent revivalist work. At the same time, the legitimising scholarly work was infused with suggestions of a nationalistic 'imagining'; Fyfe was searching for a generalised "true pattern" of New Zealand folklore (Fyfe 1973a:5).

In some respects Fyfe's 'New Zealand tradition' is comparable to Les Cleveland's earlier "real New Zealand tradition" (Cleveland 1959b:7). Cleveland felt he had tapped into such a cultural essence from the start; for Fyfe, the 'New Zealand tradition' had yet to be properly described and this became the ultimate object of his folkloristic quest. To a certain extent Fyfe's model of 'national tradition' followed an Australian example. In the 1950s, Australian folklorists like John Manifold had collected and revived songs, but had also developed concepts about how the folk process specifically operated in Australia. These ideas about bush song transmission, song ownership and singing styles were crucial elements in their construction of a nationalistic vision of how folk music operated at the source level in Australia. Fyfe used these Australian concepts on a number of occasions as points of comparison in the New Zealand context (eg. Fyfe 1969, 1970a). In a sense Fyfe was using 'the Australian tradition' to help construct an understanding of 'the New Zealand tradition', and although he suspected that these 'traditions' might be quite different, his terms of reference were essentially derived from a pre-existing Australian model.

Publications

Frank Fyfe's most lasting achievements in the field of New Zealand folk music are his folksong studies. Although only a few concern songs which he personally collected, they are highly significant as the first body of scholarly inquiry into folksong and folk music in New Zealand (apart from works on Maori music).

The NZFLS had always aspired to produce folklore scholarship and from the outset began to build a library of reference books[56] and folklore periodicals like *Australian Tradition, English Folk Song* and *The Cotton Patch Rag*.[57] While Fyfe's revivalist work commenced almost immediately, the folkloristic studies he had envisioned did not actually start appearing until 1969, three years after the formation of the Society. While Fyfe was perhaps waiting to accumulate sufficient field material to allow study, there was also a pragmatic reason to finally begin work.

Ever since it had formed, the Society had been surviving financially on subscriptions and donations. In mid-1969 Fyfe approached the QEII Arts Council and the Rothmans Cultural Foundation for financial assistance to fund South Island fieldwork by Phil Garland, but had not been successful. The agencies had stressed the need to "see results of the society's work, in published form" before lending support (Anon 1969). As an organisation based largely within a popular music scene, the NZFLS may have appeared insubstantial in the eyes of state and private funding bodies. Publication of scholarly work therefore became a primary means to legitimise the Society.

The Maorilander, no.1, Spring 1970
- 'William Satchell', Heather McInnes and Andrew Potter [Biography]
- 'Recollections of a Pioneer' [Archival letter]
- 'Harvesting Folklore', Kenneth S. Goldstein [Reprinted article]
- 'David Lowston', Frank Fyfe [Song study]

The Maorilander, no.2, Summer 1970/Autumn 1971
- 'The Old Iniquity - Part 1: The Pelagic Whalers', Frank Fyfe [Song study]
- 'The Old Iniquity - Part 2: The Cloudy Bay Shorewhalers', Frank Fyfe [Song study]

The Maorilander, no.3, Winter 1971
- 'Shore Cry' [Collected Song]
- 'The Old Iniquity - Part 3: Leebrick's Collector?', Frank Fyfe [Song study]
- 'Timber' [Song arrangement]
- 'Timber', Frank Fyfe [Song study]

The Maorilander, no.4, Spring 1971
- 'What is a Flagonophone?', Frank Fyfe [Instrument study]
- 'The He Housekeeper' [Collected poem]
- 'Whalers' Rhymes', Frank Fyfe [Song study]
- 'It Just Can't Happen' [Collected yarn]

The Maorilander, no.5, Autumn 1972
- 'The Life of a High Country Shepherd' [Collected Song]
- 'The Folk Culture of the Dispossessed', Tony Simpson [Essay]
- 'Jock Graham', Andrew Potter [Biography]

The Maorilander, no.6, Winter 1972
- 'Freddie Ambrose', Andrew Potter [Biography]
- 'Freddie Ambrose', Joe Charles [Poem]
- 'The Four "Old Identities"', Peter Newcomb [Song study]
- 'Into the Sun' [Collected tall tale]

Figure XVII: **Contents of *The Maorilander***
Most of the studies in *The Maorilander* concerned specific songs or groups of songs. There were also several short biographical accounts of individuals who were all to some extent styled as New Zealand 'folk heroes'. Apart from various examples of collected songs, poems and tall tales, the journal also included an essay by Tony Simpson, 'The Folk Culture of the Dispossessed', which tracked a history of poverty in New Zealand through its expression in folklore.

The first NZFLS publication appeared in July 1970. This was a booklet-length study entitled *A "Shanties" or Two* (Fyfe 1970a). Around the same time it was proposed that the Society publish a journal with

> articles discussing New Zealand songs, various aspects of New Zealand folklore… poems, articles from various eminent authorities… so that the publication fulfils the function of acting as a regular medium of contact between folklorists in a somewhat more scholarly fashion than that hitherto. (*Penny Post*, vol.5 no.1)

The first issue of this journal, *The Maorilander*, appeared in September 1970 and continued until mid-1972 over a total of six issues. Other relevant articles by Fyfe were published in *Heritage* (Fyfe 1969c, 1970b, 1970d).

The journal took its name from a magazine edited by William Satchell which briefly existed in 1901. Satchell was seen as something of a spiritual ancestor of the Society and he became subject of the first article in first issue. Like *A "Shanties" or Two*, the journal was designed and produced by Fyfe himself.[58] Most of the articles in *The Maorilander* were written by Fyfe, with a few other Wellington branch members contributing. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse all of Fyfe's writing, but the following section will summarise his approach and highlight a few recurring themes.

A "Shanties" or Two is a study of the song 'A Shanty by the Way', a variant of which Fyfe had collected in 1964. He traces the song's history, describing its origins in the Australian poem 'The Public by the Way' by E.J. Overbury (first printed in 1865) and sketching a hypothetical evolution of how it became a folk song, represented by three versions collected in the twentieth century. Fyfe places these versions in the context of the 1860s gold rushes and the lives of the informants, examining how the song might have spread and been modified. Threaded through the study is a comparison between Australian 'bush song transmission' and analogous New Zealand processes. Although Fyfe considers that bush singers may well have carried the song into New Zealand along with Australian notions of song ownership and adherence to an 'original' version, he is also conscious that certain New Zealand singing traditions might have had a quite contrary effect on the song's textual stability (Fyfe 1970a:22-23). For example, he mentions that

> it was the practice at weekly Saturday dances in Westport to use "topical" singers during the breaks, when a sort of musical newscast was performed, into which local identities and recent events would be woven… It is therefore certain, that to survive under these conditions, bush songs would have to change. (*ibid*.:31)

Fyfe stated that a song might therefore be "de-nationalised" - losing references to its country of origin –and then "nationalised" to New Zealand through the addition of local content necessary for its continued survival (31-32). Fyfe considers such a process particularly relevant when considering the 1964 variant of the song, which he concludes had resulted from the version promoted by Rona Bailey going into oral tradition and gaining an entirely new 'shearing' verse. The emergence of a song parody by Peter Cape, 'Charlie's Bash', is also noted as indicative of the song's 'traditionality' within the revival (see Steele 2001:78-79, 104).

A "Shanties" or Two contributes to an understanding of certain folk processes in New Zealand. It also has flaws and Fyfe himself later concluded that his arguments had been "too closely reasoned" and the study "a flop" (Fyfe 1985:9). While this final judgement is far too harsh, Fyfe does sometimes reach for conclusions which neither his exploratory understanding of the 'New Zealand tradition' or the fragmentary folkloric evidence will support.[59] Nonetheless, the study was a pioneering application of folkloristic methodology in the New Zealand context and established a solid pattern of inquiry for Fyfe's subsequent work.

Nationalistic issues were an important facet of *A "Shanties" or Two* and thoroughly underscore Fyfe's next study, which is about 'The Old Mud Hut' (Fyfe 1970d). This song was a variant of the well-known Australian bush song 'The Old Bark Hut', which had been collected by Phil Garland in Otago in 1969. Fyfe again maps a probable scenario of the song's arrival in New Zealand and how it became modified. But information is even more lacking than with 'The Shanty by the Way' and Fyfe mainly uses the song to as a platform with which to discuss issues of "national identity" (*ibid.*:21).

> [B]efore we can call it a New Zealand "folk" or "bush" song we have to know quite a lot about it other than the facts about it which are proclaimed within it. Does it, for example, give us any insight into the "common" New Zealander? Does it reveal something about life in New Zealand? If it had its origins outside of New Zealand then has any "New Zealandness" been added? How widespread was its circulation in this country? (21)

He provides several different criteria by which a song might be legitimately added to the canon of New Zealand folksong. These include both folkloric evidence (existence of widespread and longstanding variants) and internal textual evidence (local references, "New Zealandness", symbolic 'insight'). By comparing the song text to Australian versions, Fyfe finds that the only really substantial variation was that the bush-style 'bark hut' had become an Otago-style 'mud hut'. In combination with other evidence, he concludes that the song was "arrested in the very primary stages of… re-nationalisation" and it can "hardly be regarded as a New Zealand bush song" (23). In a sense these issues were crucial, because the IFMC definition of folk music adopted by Fyfe argued that "folk character" arose from "re-fashioning" by a community (IFMC 1955).

Ultimately, Fyfe is most concerned with describing what the 'real' New Zealand version of the song would be like. He provides examples of the textual changes which would have to occur, in oral tradition, for a song of overseas origin to slip over into being a New Zealand one, even supplying possible lines and titles! Here is a clear example of a folklorist 'imagining' what an 'authentic New Zealand folk song' would be like. By publishing this article in *Heritage* magazine, Fyfe was sending out a clear message across the revival movement about how authenticity and national identity would combine within a legitimate folk music canon.[60]

The next year Fyfe presented a study of another song of overseas derivation, 'Timber' (Fyfe 1971b). This song laconically describes the progress of timber from 'bushman' and 'breaker-out' to 'yardman' and 'railroad track'. Fyfe had collected four variants from informants in Wellington and learned that the song had been popular in forestry work communities in the central North Island from at least the 1950s onwards. Although 'Timber' had not been 'nationalised' in any obvious way, Fyfe was considerably more circumspect with regard to nationalistic issues, although perhaps he considered that the song was well-known enough to be assumed as a 'New Zealand folk song'. Overall, this is one of Fyfe's best articles in *The Maorilander*. He describes the informants' feelings about the song, presents the variants and discusses the meaning of the lyrics. Throughout, his conclusions are in due proportion to the folkloric evidence he has gathered and he supplements the study with a long oral history about logging in New Zealand.

Apart from 'Timber', most of Fyfe's major song studies in *The Maorilander* do not concern items which he had collected. The studies principally consist of a linked sequence dealing with the John Leebrick whaling songs and the shore-whaling song 'Whalers' Rhymes'.[61] Fyfe describes in long and satisfying detail the occupational groups and situations which produced these songs, although, as elsewhere, the folkloric evidence itself is slender, with almost all the examples being represented by a single version. Fyfe again aims to establish questions of origin and distribution, and while he tends to construct lengthy chains of inference from references in song texts, the depth of background research renders his conclusions satisfactory. Perhaps the most impressive study tracks the movements of American whaling vessels around New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century in an effort to ascertain the identity of John Leebrick's original informant. The study of 'Whalers' Rhymes' produced an interesting letter from Australian folklorist Ron Edwards to *Penny Post*.[62] Edwards pointed out similarities to the Australian song 'The Beautiful Land of Australia' which cast the New Zealand song into a new light.[63] In the case of 'Whaler's Rhymes', *The Maorilander* clearly served its intended purpose of being an international "medium of contact between folklorists".[64]

NZFLS Aspirations

Fyfe founded the NZFLS in Wellington with the hope that like-minded individuals within the folk movement would form other branches elsewhere in the country. By the end of 1967 branches had been established in Auckland and Christchurch. In 1969, another branch was formed in Hawke's Bay, but does not seem to have remained active for more than a few months.[65]

Within the three branch structure of the NZFLS, Wellington was generally viewed as national 'head office'. Once the other branches had been set up, *Penny Post* became a national newsletter. Because the Wellington branch carried the financial burden of printing the Society's publications,

half of all membership subscriptions were levied to Wellington. Furthermore, the Wellington branch coordinated fundraising efforts for fieldwork funding and the purchase of a printing press, as well as hosting national gatherings in 1970 and 1973.[66]

In the early 1970s, the Society became focused on establishing a national archive of folklore. Fyfe had always requested copies of collected material from other branches in anticipation of some kind of centralised repository. It was hoped that the Alexander Turnbull Library would house the archive and Fyfe was possibly encouraged in this thinking by chief librarian A.G. Bagnall.[67] In 1970 the Society produced a leaflet designed to stimulate public interest, pointing out many benefits of an archive:

> Playwrites, novelists, historians, musicians and composers… will be able to listen to people telling of their lives... Broadcasters, naturally, will find the collection useful, as too will people engaged in tourist and publicity activities… [T]he study of our own history is enlivened… if schoolchildren can have access to songs, poems and reminiscences… As we in New Zealand strive for a national identity, we may find that the raw material for an identifiable art form exists, so to speak, right under our noses.[68]

Along with many other NZFLS projects, the public folklore archive was never realised.[69] Although Fyfe produced the serious publications he hoped would secure for the Society a degree of respectability and state patronage, the plan did not succeed. This failure to attract broader support may be one reason for the eventual demise of the Society in Wellington.

But in many ways the Wellington branch had its own organisational weaknesses. Several times branch activities were suspended for long periods, as the intermittent publication of *Penny Post* demonstrates (see Appendix 6.2). From the start, there was a heavy reliance on the involvement of Fyfe and a few other key members, and by the early 1970s there was a membership crisis. Frank noted in 1972 that the loss of one member had reduced the "effective strength of the Folklore Society" by one third and that there were no new members to replace them (Fyfe 1972a:5). Activities finally trailed in late 1973, shortly after the appearance of the last *Penny Post* in August. The Fyfe family shifted to Greytown in April 1974 and the Wellington branch was effectively disbanded.

The folkloristic enterprise initiated by the Society could well have lasted until the present day. Why the NZFLS - which began with strong support, collected a substantial amount of folk material and produced a scholarly journal – did not sustain itself for more than seven years is an important issue. Probably the most relevant underlying factor was that Fyfe clearly became disappointed, over time, in not finding more songs which met his criteria of authenticity and clear national identity. In a 1972 radio interview he described how he had collected

> in nearly ten years working in New Zealand… something like seventy or eighty songs. Of these I would class ten as folk songs. Of those I've collected two complete songs. So in ten years work, I've collected two complete songs, that is complete words, music, chorus, the lot.[70] Which isn't a great number. So, one can therefore infer that New Zealand hasn't got a large number of songs in any case. (quoted in Perkins 1972)

Another NZFLS member, Frank Sillay, expressed a similar sense of diminishing returns in a letter to *Penny Post* in 1972. Although this letter concerned an essay in *The Maorilander* written by Tony Simpson, it revealed that certain expectations of the NZFLS enterprise were not being fulfilled.[71] Although acknowledging the widespread existence in New Zealand of a bawdy song tradition and verbal folklore such as oral history, Sillay disputed there had ever been the "flourishing musical tradition" which Simpson envisioned in his essay (Sillay 1972). He noted a

> striking absence of folk songs (see the [IFMC] definition recently adopted by the Society)… In the recent controversial book [*New Zealand Folksongs*] there are only a mere handful of songs which indisputably satisfy the aforementioned definition. Mr Simpson includes fragments of many poems and songs… The implication is that these are a few samples from the vast, living oral tradition… Mr Simpson seems to me to have let his objective judgement succumb to that romanticism which led all of us to study folklore. (*ibid.*)

Fyfe had previously admitted that new members coming from "the atmosphere of the revival folk club" might be disappointed at the "comparative dearth of 'traditional' New Zealand songs" (Fyfe 1972a:3). The NZFLS endeavour had been always framed as a quest for authentic New Zealand folk songs from oral tradition - those which expressed 'New Zealandness' and could form the spine of a revivalist folksong canon. Ultimately, the foundation of Fyfe's venture in the revival movement proved somewhat double-edged.[72] Because collecting had not revealed the songs which the movement had been expecting since 1966, support for the collecting venture eventually disappeared.[73]

Later Work

After disbanding the Wellington branch and shifting to Greytown, Frank Fyfe turned his attention to the folkloric genres of tall tales and yarns. Within this Wairarapa community – from where he had been collecting material since 1969 - Fyfe would uncover the oral folklore he sought in significant quantities.

In the late 1970s he founded the Greytown Folklore Society (GFLS). This organisation had about twelve members and focussed on collecting stories and researching Wairarapa history. The GFLS published several booklets written by Fyfe starting with *The Legend of Samuel Oates and the Verger*, which explored the rumours surrounding the origins of an historic gumtree on Greytown's main street (Fyfe 1978). The booklet features stills from a period film, *The Ballad of Samuel Oates*, written and directed by Fyfe.[74] The Greytown Folklore Society disbanded in the mid-1980s.

Several years later Frank Fyfe published a series of twenty-five booklets, *Tales of Old Wairarapa*, dealing with more small town legends and tall tales. In these works, collecting merged with storytelling and Fyfe wove together threads of oral tradition, historical research and narrative conjecture, with tales of hoax gold rushes, church steeples going missing, amateur highwaymen and warring fire brigades.[75]. As a body of work, Fyfe's tales could almost be seen as a kind of 'Grimm Brothers Tales' of semi-rural New Zealand, not so much for containing any supernatural or ancient qualities, but by presenting a distinctive body of oral storytelling moulded by the collector's tastes. Many of Fyfe's original field notebooks from this period are held by the Wairarapa archive.[76]

Conclusion

Frank Fyfe made a special contribution to the collecting and study of folk music in New Zealand. Coming to New Zealand in 1964 with Australian collecting experience, he set out to promote a new organised approach in this country. In 1966 he founded an organisation - the New Zealand Folklore Society - which used tape-recorders, trained its members for fieldwork and published folklore studies.

Fyfe was an important individual in the Wellington folk movement and brought to the NZFLS a perspective forged in the revival. He wanted to both seriously study folklore and source new songs for local performers. To supporters in the revival he made a nationalistic appeal: "unless you go looking for New Zealand songs you don't find any" (Fyfe 1980). He also emphasised the need to apply international scholarly concepts of authenticity; and in his own work, he drew from a specific set of Australian reference points. Unfortunately, due to archiving failures, most of the fieldwork of the NZFLS Wellington branch is probably lost. A proportion of valuable material remains, along with Fyfe's groundbreaking studies in the NZFLS journal *The Maorilander* and elsewhere.

Fyfe's enterprise drew strength from the revival movement through the mobilisation of volunteers and as a network within which to promote collected material. To a certain extent, the support of the revival movement was predicated on the eventual discovery of the kinds of 'New Zealand folk songs' which Fyfe envisaged. Such songs would have to meet the standards of authenticity and nationalism which he promoted. Although the NZFLS appears to have recorded a good quantity of music from both source traditions and revival performers, Fyfe finally concluded that he'd only ever succeeded in

collecting a small handful of *bona fide* New Zealand folk songs. Instead of then widening the Society's terms of reference accordingly, Fyfe narrowed them and insisted that a prescriptive definition of folk music be enshrined into the very constitution of the organisation. Eventually the task of finding the 'New Zealand tradition' of folksong was abandoned. In his later years, Fyfe found recompense in a rich vein of oral tales collected in the Wairarapa, publishing a series of booklets which stand as a mature realisation of his folkloristic interests.

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[1] Biographical information about Frank Fyfe has been gained from an interview with his widow Mary Fyfe (held 31/8/2005), Campbell (1997) and Fyfe's own writings.
[2] *Heritage*, no.2, p.14.
[3] *ibid*.
[4] Little published information could be traced about the Queensland Folklore Society, but it operated at least as early as 1956 (see Manifold 1964:26). Some details about the organisation can be gained from Fyfe (1966) and an article about Bill Scott in *Folk Rag*, no.50, February 2001.
[5] Stan Arthur interviewed by Alan Scott, 4/10/1989. National Library of Australia ORAL TRC 2581/11-12.
[6] See *Penny Post* vol.7 no.5.
[7] Information about the NZFLS has been gained from their own publications, newspaper articles and informal conversations with various former Wellington branch members. These include Duilia Rendall (several times between 2003 and 2005); Sam Sampson (1/11/2004); Sharyn Staley (25/5/2005); Julian Ward (15/6/2005); and Robyn and Mitch Park (19/6/2005). Mary Fyfe and Phil Garland also provided useful information. Due to the loss of all Wellington branch records, many precise details about the organisation are not available.
[8] All quotations in the next two paragraphs are from Fyfe (1966).
[9] Fyfe (1973a) mentions associate members in Australia, Britain and the United States. One American member was the folklorist Hilda Kring, who in the 1960s collected New Zealand superstitions and beliefs. She completed an unpublished study - 'In the Land of Witches' Britches' – which is not currently held by any New Zealand library. The only copy that could be traced is in the special collections of Millersville University in Pennsylvania, USA. See also letter from Sharyn Harris to Phil Garland, dated 24/11/1967 (Garland collection).
[10] This venue was set up in Palmer Street by several Wellington folk organisations in 1970. It relocated to Holland Street in 1972 and closed in 1991 (Staley 2004).
[11] *The Evening Post*, 22/10/1966 (unsigned editorial).
[12] See *Penny Post*, no.4, and *Penny Post*, no.6. No other circulation figures for the newsletter have been traced.
[13] *Aims and Objects of the New Zealand Folklore Society*, 1966 (NZFLS leaflet). Writer's possession.
[14] *ibid*.
[15] There are few references to Maori folklore in the printed literature of the NZFLS. Frank Fyfe mentioned in 1972 that "Maori lore" had not been collected by the Society (1972a:4).
[16] *Aims and Objects of the New Zealand Folklore Society*, 1966.
[17] *On the Need for Field Collecting*, 1969 (NZFLS leaflet). Writer's possession.
[18] *ibid*.
[19] *Notes on New Zealand Folklore*, 1967 (NZFLS leaflet). Writer's possession.
[20] *The Maorilander*, no.4, p.9.
[21] *Penny Post*, no.9.
[22] The drop-off in Wellington branch activities between mid-1968 and mid-1969 was probably due to The Balladeer closing down and extra family commitments for Fyfe.
[23] *Penny Post*, no.2.
[24] See 'Monthly Report from 'B' Field Team' typescript in ATL 2000-199-1/02.
[25] *Notes on New Zealand Folklore*, 1967 (NZFLS leaflet).
[26] Letter from Frank Fyfe to Rudy Sunde, dated 6/7/1972, writer's possession.
[27] Fragmentary drafts of a report into this fieldtrip are held by the Wairarapa Archive, 97-193, uncatalogued papers.
[28] *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.7.
[29] *Penny Post*, no.7.
[30] See *Notes on Folklore and Field Collecting*, by A.L. Lloyd, 1967 (NZFLS leaflet) and 'Harvesting Folklore', by Kenneth S. Goldstein, in *The Maorilander*, no.1, pp.10-23. Both were reprinted from other sources.
[31] *Penny Post*, no.9.
[32] *Penny Post*, no.10. See also letter from Sharyn Harris to Alan Wild, dated 21/12/1967, ATL 2000-199-1/02.
[33] Interview with Mary Fyfe, 31/8/2005.
[34] There is always the remote possibility that the Wellington branch archives may have survived in the care of another former member, not yet contacted by the writer. Such an eventuality seems very unlikely given that all former NZFLS members spoken to have confirmed that the archives were in Fyfe's possession.

[35] Fyfe also apparently collected information on 'bush bass' construction and playing. See *Penny Post*, vol.7 no.6. Few other studies about the making of 'home made' instruments in New Zealand have been published apart from Fyfe's articles. The Kokatahi Band features the unusual 'stroviol', although this type of modified violin was a commercially available instrument in the 1920s (see Graham 2001:28-29). Phil Garland has mentioned that during his collecting work he has encountered the playing of the 'bones' and beer flagon instruments, but has not published any accounts of these experiences (see interview with Garland in Brown 2003). Another such instrument which has come to the writer's attention is 'bush saxophone', similar to Australian gumleaf. See *Weekly Review – 185*, c.1944, New Zealand Film Archive F21887.
[36] A complete listing of these songs can be found in *Penny Post*, no.7.
[37] A similar example was the army song 'Syngman Rhee', learned by revival singer Max Winnie from writer and bushman Barry Crump, and later printed in *Heritage*, no.2, pp.4, 8.
[38] Various recordings exist which relate to the listing in *Penny Post*, no.7. The Phil Garland songs survive on a reel-to-reel tape in the Garland collection and a duplicate in the writer's possession. The former NZFLS Christchurch branch member John Stafford has also forwarded several recordings made from Wellington branch tapes which appear to correlate to the 1967 listing. This include a handful of songs by Arthur Toms, Jim Delahunty and Sam Sampson. Of the Sampson songs, the following titles survive: 'Viva La Compagnie', 'Double-bunking', 'The Dugout in Matruh', 'A Pack of Yankee Bastards', 'Oh Mr Fraser' (a.k.a. 'Won't You Take Us Home', 'Please Mr Fraser'), 'Kiwi Keith's Back Again' and 'Don't You Think He Looks Peculiar'.
[39] What this quantitatively represents is a little difficult to estimate because Fyfe made various statements about the number of pieces in the NZFLS archives. In 1967 he stated there were about 100 songs and a dozen poems (1967:7); and in 1969 he stated there were around 200 New Zealand songs and two dozen poems (cited in Anon 1969). But these figures probably include songs from song books, the folk revival and the collecting of other branches of the Society.
[40] Letter from Fyfe to Rudy Sunde, dated 6/7/1972, writer's possession.
[41] Letter from Fyfe to Phil Garland, dated 19/12/1969, Garland collection.
[42] *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.7.
[43] *Penny Post*, no.11; *Penny Post*, vol.5 no.1; *Penny Post*, vol.8 no.1; and *Penny Post*, vol.4 no.2.
[44] *Penny Post*, no.4.; *Penny Post*, vol.4 no.3; *Penny Post*, vol.5 no.4; Fyfe 1972a:2. In addition to the references given here, NZFLS collector Julian Ward also told the writer that he recorded the music of an elderly dulcimer player in Paekakariki (conversation 15/6/2005). The repeated use of the term 'old time' is also interesting. Was this a reference to New Zealand 'old time dancing'-style music (see Chapter 7 note 37)? It seems more likely that 'old time' was borrowed from the 1960s American revival, where the term was used in reference to American 'hillbilly' instrumental styles. Like 'bush tradition', the use of 'old time' is another example of overseas terms being applied within the NZFLS. However, for future researchers, it does not really clarify what 'old time' New Zealand music actually was.
[45] *Of What Value is a National Archive of Folklore?*, 1970 (NZFLS leaflet). Writer's possession.
[46] See *Penny Post*, no.7 for a catalogue listing. The tape library also had a secondary purpose. Borrowers were encouraged to return the tapes with "additional words, verses, versions, tunes, etc, which they might know, also… known sources, or corrections to our present information… [These] may be included in the carton with the tape… [and] thus we hope to be able to assemble a complete collection of known New Zealand songs, both traditional or early NZ songs, and contemporary and recent compositions…" (*Penny Post*, no.3). Therefore, the library was also an enterprising means of collecting new songs, variants and information. It is not known how successful this actually was.
[47] Sharyn and Howard Harris
[48] *Penny Post*, no.7.
[49] *ibid.* See also article in *Sports Post* (Wellington), 22/4/1967.
[50] *Penny Post*, no.11. See also R.D. (1968).
[51] *Heritage*, no.4, pp.15-16.
[52] Unfortunately there is little publicly available evidence to support this. Former NZFLS members have mentioned Fyfe's stage presentation and there are several examples on Fyfe (1980).
[53] *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.3.
[54] *Notes on New Zealand Folklore*, 1967 (NZFLS leaflet).
[55] *Penny Post*, vol.7 no.1.
[56] A catalogue was printed on two occasions, see *Penny Post*, no.7; and *Penny Post*, vol.5 no.2. The later listing contains fifty-five books consisting mainly of early New Zealand verse, historical studies and novels.
[57] These periodicals were produced by the Folklore Society of Victoria, the English Folk Dance and Song Society and the Houston Folklore Society respectively.
[58] Like many other aspects of Fyfe's work, this self-publishing element has Australian antecedents. For example, the Australian collector Ron Edwards published many self-printed folklore books through his Ram's Skull Press.

[59] Failures of evidence are especially pertinent with the Bilston version, which as Fyfe rightly points out, has an ambiguous and slightly confusing provenance. His tentative characterisation of the 'New Zealand tradition' is also more problematic than it first appears. The nature of the 'topical' song tradition is deduced from one second-hand report, hardly the basis for generalisations. It is also possible that while a 'topical song' tradition existed in parts of New Zealand, perhaps a 'bush song tradition' was also found among itinerant workers (like those mentioned in connection with the Jones version). Furthermore, the new verse in the Southland version of the song seems less a result of the kind of 'topical' singing Fyfe describes and more a product of the folk revival itself (or perhaps school teachers or scout leaders). In hindsight, Fyfe's main overall problem was a lack of information. Taken together with a fourth collected version from Elsie Locke (see Appendix 3.2), and a 1937 article by Tracy which gives more information about the song and variant lyrics (Tracy 1937a), it may be a worthwhile time to revisit these questions.
[60] A reference to a song called 'The Old Mud Hut' can be found in the RNZ *Sounds Historical* catalogue with the code D475 (c.1951). After checking with the Sound Archives it has been found this song does not actually appear on the acetate with this reference number.
[61] The studies are 'David Lowston', 'The Old Iniquity Parts 1-3' and 'Whalers' Rhymes'.
[62] *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.6.
[63] It seems that 'Whalers' Rhymes' was most probably modelled on the earlier Australian song. For a full discussion see Annabell (1975).
[64] *Penny Post*, vol.5 no.1.
[65] See *Penny Post*, vol.3 no.1. There is also a fleeting reference to the formation of a 'Wanganui Folklore Society' in *Heritage*, no.13, p.9. No information has yet been traced about this organisation and it may have been unconnected with the NZFLS.
[66] These were the '1st National Gathering', January 1970, and the 'New Directions' gathering, January 1973. Both were attended by members from outside Wellington.
[67] See Anon (1969); *Auckland Star*, 19/1/1970.
[68] *Of What Value is a National Archive of Folklore?* 1970, (NZFLS leaflet). Writer's possession.
[69] Apart from *Penny Post*, *A "Shanties" or Two* and *The Maorilander*, the NZFLS planned a number of other publishing ventures in the early 1970s. From April 1970 onwards the following projects were announced: a song book collection entitled 'Kiwi Ballads', 'Ballad Hunting on the West Coast' and 'Ballad Hunting in Central Otago' (*Heritage*, no.18, p.28); a collection called 'A Maoriland Bush Songster' (*Penny Post*, vol.5 no.1); a series of broadside-style song sheets 'Maoriland Bush Ballads' (*Penny Post*, vol.5 no.3); 'Bright Fine Gold: The Birth of a Folksong' (*Penny Post*, vol.6 no.7); and the 'Rona Bailey Collection Index' (Fyfe 1973a:3). None of these publications eventuated.
[70] These two songs were probably 'The Shanty by the Way' and 'Timber'.
[71] Replying to Sillay, Simpson stated that he didn't "accept the same definition of folk music… it's far too narrow because it's not a distinction people themselves draw by and large". He also denied that he had suggested "our tradition was vast". See *Penny Post*, vol.7 no.3.
[72] It seems that Fyfe even tried to distance the NZFLS from the revival at one stage by proposing to remove the fourth aim of the Society – "to encourage present day composers of material in the tradition of New Zealand's folk culture" – from the constitution. See the typescript 'Some Explanatory Notes on Re-Organisation Proposals Adopted by Delegates to First National Gathering – Wellington, Jan., 1970' located in ATL 2000-199-2/09. This measure was rejected by the Auckland and Christchurch branches.
[73] See also Fyfe 1972a:3.
[74] This film has not been traced.
[75] Two of these booklets are worth particular attention in the present context. *Jimmy Broon that Built a Toon – An 1854 Tale from the Road to Wairarapa* (Fyfe 1994a) examines the historical inspiration behind a nineteenth century rhyme (see Bailey and Roth 1967:21). *Hallelujah! He Lives! – A Tale-collector's Tale from 1969* (Fyfe 1994b), is concerned with the Greytown resident "Jim Bissett", a pseudonym for Samuel Barrett, who played the tin fiddle for Fyfe in 1968 (Fyfe 1970b).
[76] He also recorded at least two tales for the local Radio Access station, copies of which are held by the Wairarapa Archive.

Chapter 7

Phil Garland

This chapter will examine the collecting, recording and publishing work of Phil Garland. In the early 1960s Garland became interested in folk music through contact with the Christchurch revival movement and built a career as a folk performer with a special focus on New Zealand songs. He also became interested in collecting New Zealand material and helped establish a branch of the New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS) in Christchurch. He went field collecting in the late 1960s and early 1970s, continuing on a smaller scale over subsequent decades to collect and research folk songs. Many songs and poems were adapted for Garland's performance and recording work and in 1996 he published a song anthology based on his repertoire, *The Singing Kiwi*. This chapter will begin by discussing Garland's personal background, interest in folk music and the NZFLS Christchurch branch. The chapter will then examine Garland's collecting aims, criteria, fieldtrips, other collecting work and folk music concepts. After this, Garland's revival career, adaptation process and musical arrangements will be described, followed by an analysis of *The Singing Kiwi*. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of how Garland has combined the roles of folklorist and performer.

Background

Phil Garland (b.1942) was born in Christchurch and raised in the suburb of Opawa.[1] He was involved with music from an early age, singing in the local church choir and having piano lessons. In his teenage years he saw the 1956 American film starring Bill Haley, *Rock Around the Clock*, and became an ardent follower of rock'n'roll. He bought a guitar, took a few lessons and formed a schoolboy band. He was a strong singer and was quickly recruited as lead vocalist for a local group, The Saints, who also included Diane Jacobs in their line-up.[2]

After finishing secondary school, Garland began studying accountancy at the University of Canterbury, but did not continue long after discovering it was possible to make a living as a performer in the Christchurch music scene. With guitarist Brian Ringrose (formerly of Ray Columbus and the Invaders), he started a new band called The Playboys and during a trip to Auckland in 1962 recorded a cover version of an American hit, 'A Little Band of Gold'.[3] The single went to the top of Des Britten's 'Coca Cola Hi-Fi Club Top 30' and Garland stayed on in Auckland for a year. Eventually his record company dropped him and he returned to Christchurch to work as resident singer and *compère* at a popular inner-city nightclub, The Plainsman, introducing bands and performing short sets of songs.

Folk music interest

Phil Garland first became interested in folk music after playing a twelve-string acoustic guitar in a music store. He investigated what style of music was commonly played on the guitar and found recordings by revival artists such as The Kingston Trio, Pete Seeger and Leadbelly. When asked by the writer what appealed to him when he first heard folk music, Garland replied that

> I started listening to it and I thought, 'I like this, this is more interesting'… because I was getting a bit disillusioned with rock'n'roll. It didn't seem to do much, we just stood up there and sang these banal lyrics and everybody jumped up and down…. I thought it was the stories. To my mind, at that stage - I was twenty-three – and I thought, 'it takes a little more intelligence to sing this sort of stuff'.[4]

Garland purchased the twelve-string guitar and began to learn finger-picking techniques from one of Pete Seeger's instructional books. After becoming sufficiently versed in revival folk styles, he started performing songs such as 'Four Strong Winds' and 'Five Hundred Miles' during late-night sets at The Plainsman. The songs were well-received and Garland soon caught the attention of a

group of folk music devotees led by Warwick Brock. He was invited to attend singing sessions at the Stagedoor nightclub and quickly became drawn into the Christchurch revival scene.

When Garland got involved in 1964, it was "the height of the boom". Coffee houses and nightclubs were important venues for the Christchurch movement, but unlike in Wellington, "folk music… kept moving about the place, went from the Stagedoor to The Plainsman… the El Sugundo Coffee Lounge, The Attic, The Negresco, there were various places". The University of Canterbury Folk Music Club was hugely popular and was said to have had about a thousand members.[5] The Club staged regular concerts at the Repertory Theatre and later the Ngaio Marsh Theatre, attracting packed houses of up to 600 people. Many types of music were performed. The early Stagedoor sessions included sea shanties and Clancy Brothers songs, while blues, Woody Guthrie, and Peter Paul and Mary songs were also popular. Garland recalls the era as a time when singers and musicians were enthusiastic about sharing songs and musical skills.

In 1965 Garland travelled to Britain and Europe for a working holiday. Before leaving, he had started to become aware of New Zealand folk songs. Garland had been writing songs in the style of Tom Paxton and Bob Dylan, and his efforts all had a local slant, the first three being 'Banks of the Waikato', 'Tuapeka Gold' and 'Tangiwai Disaster'. These songs received an excellent reaction from Christchurch audiences and he subsequently learned of Neil Colquhoun's recordings with The Song Spinners. After tracking these EPs down, Garland absorbed as much New Zealand material into his repertoire as he could before leaving for Britain.

In London Garland attended clubs around the city and saw artists like Donovan, Paul Simon and The Watersons performing. His favourite venue was the popular Les Cousins club in Soho, which attracted performers like John Renbourne, Bert Jansch and Roy Harper (see Laing *et al* 1974:89-90). Garland also made occasional forays onto the stage himself, but drew the unwanted attentions of the Musician's Union, which at this time was seeking to limit performances by non-British artists. Another venue he attended was The Singers' Club, run by Ewan MacColl, which had a policy of encouraging singers to only perform material directly related to their own cultural background. While Garland did not perform here, he noticed that New Zealand songs usually received the best reaction from experienced British audiences whenever he played.

In late 1966 Garland came back to New Zealand. During the return sea voyage on the Northern Star he gained a profile playing nightly concerts and when the ship berthed in Wellington, he got some coverage in the local newspapers. Now seriously contemplating a career as professional folk singer, he went back to Christchurch and concentrated on developing his New Zealand repertoire, maintaining a public profile through radio and TV appearances.[6] In 1967 a small Christchurch music label invited Garland to record an LP of all-New Zealand songs, *One Hundred Years Ago* (1967)[7], and, later in the year, he established a venue in High Street called The Folk Centre.

Modelled on the club venues he had attended in Britain, The Folk Centre was open three nights of the week for concerts, singsongs and workshops.[8] Although The Folk Centre closed after only one year of operation, Garland was later able to lease premises in Bedford Row. The new Folk Centre opened in August 1969 and became the Christchurch revival's main concert venue for the next six years. Many touring artists performed there, including Mike Seeger, Bruce Woodley and Dave Swarbrick.

New Zealand Folklore Society Christchurch branch

In 1966, when he returned from overseas, Garland was told by Warwick Brock about the New Zealand Folklore Society being established in Wellington. Because of his growing interest in New Zealand material Garland was encouraged to contact the organisation and in April 1967 he travelled to Wellington to meet Frank Fyfe. The two became good friends.

Even before meeting Fyfe, Garland had considered collecting folk music and in 1964 had learned several old rhymes and songs from his parents.[9] But the NZFLS project presented a fresh range of possibilities which Garland found exciting. He agreed with Fyfe that collecting New Zealand folk music was an extremely worthy project, both to preserve material and raise New Zealanders' awareness of their folk heritage, and he expressed a keen interest in going collecting himself. Because of his profile as a singer, Garland also envisaged a promotional role for himself within the Society's broader project. Garland explained that Fyfe

> was very keen on doing the publishing side of things.… He wanted to analyse songs and where they'd come from and why they'd happened and how they'd got from one place to another, that was his *forte*. Whereas my *forte* was just trying to… make people aware of the fact that there were these great songs. Through giving concerts and fortunately for me I ended up with a recording contract… making the stuff available that way….

Garland was also on the verge of establishing an important music venue and therefore, like Fyfe, was influentially positioned to pursue the revivalist objectives of the Society.

When he returned to Christchurch, Garland set about organising a local branch of the NZFLS. The branch was convened formally in December 1967 and Garland was elected chairman. By May 1968 the branch had twelve full members.[10] As in Wellington, the branch drew its membership from the local movement and depended on a key individual (in this case Garland) to carry out most of the actual collecting, while the other members provided logistical, administrative and moral support. The branch seems to have been particularly active in the 1968-69 period, leading up to an extended fieldtrip by Garland in September1969. From 1970 onwards, wider interest seems to have gradually decreased and the final recorded meeting of the branch took place in November 1974.[11]

Compared to the Wellington branch, the NZFLS in Christchurch conducted a narrower range of activities. Apart from collecting, the main focus was on organising concerts and workshops, although the branch did maintain a small reference library and certain members undertook research projects.[12] Fortunately, many of the records and archives of the Christchurch branch have survived as part of the Garland collection, including minute books, correspondence, field recordings, notes and transcriptions.

Collecting

The collecting work of Phil Garland is rooted in the NZFLS enterprise begun by Frank Fyfe in 1966. Fyfe had wanted to stimulate an interest in New Zealand folklore elsewhere in New Zealand and organise a network of Society branches. Garland helped realise Fyfe's vision, broadly following the organisational template developed in Wellington to create a branch in Christchurch. While Garland's work reflects many of Fyfe's objectives, he went on to develop his own methods, ideas and outcomes.

Garland's overall collecting is distinctive because of its longevity. Unlike most other collectors covered in this thesis, Garland continued to collect, research and perform New Zealand folk music beyond 1975. As discussed in Chapter 5, the collapse of the NZFLS enterprise in Wellington in the early 1970s can be partly attributed to an overemphasis on folk music definitions which did not allow most collected material to be considered authentic. Consequently it is important to understand how Phil Garland's work managed to avoid this problem.

Aims and Criteria

Phil Garland's initial collecting aims strongly echoed those the Wellington NZFLS. He was especially interested in "traditional New Zealand folk songs" because they were a historic national heritage (quoted in Anon 1967:9). Such songs existed in oral tradition and were vulnerable to cultural

change, and it was therefore important to preserve them. In an early interview in *Heritage*, Garland expressed these ideas strongly:

> if it isn't done now it's going to be too bloody late because some of the stuff's probably lost now…. I would say this has to be done now, or most of those old fellows or people who can remember it are going to die off because although a lot of it's been handed down to sons and grandsons this process is not continuing…. we've got to interest people of this country in their own heritage. Whether they like it or not they are New Zealanders and as such they have a heritage and not such a heritage of American Folk Music as that to which we are continually being subjected to. (quoted in Anon 1967:10)

Although Garland considers in retrospect that his initial criteria were quite narrow, he had also been strongly advised by Fyfe[13] and others to not be overly concerned if he gathered a wider range of material from informants than just traditional songs:

> I didn't mention the word folk music…. I was just asking for old songs, rather than 'folk songs', because a lot of people don't know what you're talking about. Some people will say, "oh we never called that folksong, that was… 'Irish song' or 'Australian song' or 'New Zealand song'… we didn't call it folk song". I would specifically ask, "I'm looking for any *old* songs that you can remember", and see what they came up with….

Therefore, although 'traditional New Zealand folk songs' were the ultimate objective for Garland's early collecting, his field approach was open enough to yield a broader response from informants. After his first collecting experiences he has become increasingly aware of a folkloristic responsibility to remain neutral during fieldwork: "we have to take the lot, and it's up to somebody else to decide whether that's of value or not". Therefore, even if authenticity might be eventually decided along orthodox lines, such as oral tradition, this part of the process would occur at a later time.

Even so, some specific areas were definitely of less interest to Garland right from the start. As with the Wellington branch collecting, Garland did not aim to collect Maori material. As he explained

> I haven't even attempted to…. It has been well and truly covered I think… [not that I was] deliberately ignoring Maori stuff. If it had cropped up in my collecting it would have been fine, but it didn't, and I think that's possibly because most of my collecting work was done in the South Island, and there was nowhere near the same Maori population down here

New Zealand Folklore Society collecting

Within the NZFLS Christchurch branch, most fieldwork was conducted by Phil Garland, although on a few occasions there was a team approach. In January 1968 branch members Larry Lacey and Dave Hart made contact with members of the Kokatahi Band on the West Coast. The Kokatahi Band was formed around 1910-12 and continues to regularly perform in the Hokitika area. Members of the Band wear costumes based on nineteenth century gold-digger clothing and play various instruments, including accordions, banjos, stroviols or 'saxolins'(a modified violin), swanee whistles and lagerphones (Graham 2001). The NZFLS team tape-recorded some musical items and arranged to return for further recording sessions.

Several weeks later, Larry Lacey and Phil Garland travelled to Hokitika to interview and record Kokatahi Band leader Percy Crough. Although the repertoire of the Band comprised mainly popular songs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as 'Old Folks at Home' and 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary', Crough recorded variants of traditional Irish, British and Australian tunes on stroviol and banjo for the NZFLS. Following these two West Coast fieldtrips it seems there was little further team collecting conducted , although branch minutes note that contacts were found on the West Coast in late 1968.[14] In 1971 there was one further Society fieldtrip to Hamner Springs to visit Joe Charles (see below).

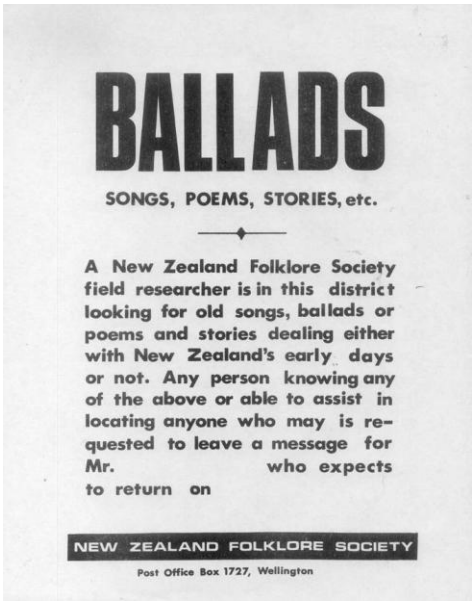
1969-1970 Fieldtrip

In 1968 Garland was running The Folk Centre and did not have much time to commit to collecting. When the venue closed down in late 1968, there was an opportunity for Garland to conduct more dedicated collecting and research. Frank Fyfe approached state and private funding bodies in Wellington for financial assistance, but was not successful. Fyfe then coordinated fundraising efforts across the New Zealand folk movement and substantial donations were made by individuals, folk clubs and the National Folk Foundation.[15] The NZFLS also contributed funds and in September 1969 Garland began with a "preparatory collecting trip through Marlborough, Nelson and the West Coast".[16] By early October $382 had been accumulated, enough to extend Garland's collecting into Otago,[17] where hopes were expressed that "the wealth of material available is equal to expectations".[18] In early 1970 the funds (around $850 was raised in total[19]) were all used up and Garland turned to managing the new The Folk Centre, which had re-opened in the meantime. From September 1969 to January 1970 Garland worked on a full-time basis: researching, locating informants and collecting material.

Before going into 'the field', Garland spent time at the Hocken Library in Dunedin, familiarising himself with local history and the work of Charles Thatcher and various Otago poets. After this background research, Garland set out into Central Otago driving his Austin Westminster. His fieldtrips concentrated on the Clutha and Taieri valleys, including visits to Lawrence, Roxburgh, Alexandra, Naseby and Ranfurly. There were also trips to towns further inland, including Arrowtown and Queenstown.

Garland contacted informants in various ways. With each town he would visit the local hotel because, as he explained, "I thought some of these people are bound to drink at the pub". He also inquired with community figures such as the local clergyman or policeman about likely informants. Another method involved visiting local schools where he would ask

> the Head Principal if I could sing some New Zealand songs to the children, so that was fine…. And then I talked to the children and asked them to go home and I had a little sheet made out, saying I was in the area looking for songs, stories, verse, yarns… [I'd say] "take them home and talk to Mum, Dad, uncles and aunts, grandparents and tell them I'd be back in the area in a week's time and would they return them to the school if they had someone who was interested, or who could help". [See Plate 3.]


BALLADS

SONGS, POEMS, STORIES, etc.

A New Zealand Folklore Society field researcher is in this district looking for old songs, ballads or poems and stories dealing either with New Zealand's early days or not. Any person knowing any of the above or able to assist in locating anyone who may is requested to leave a message for Mr. who expects to return on

NEW ZEALAND FOLKLORE SOCIETY

Post Office Box 1727, Wellington

Plate 3: ***Ballads*** **collecting notice**
These notices – actual size 21cm x 26cm - were printed by the NZFLS Wellington branch and used by Phil Garland on his Central Otago collecting fieldtrip. As well as being given to school children, the notices were sometimes placed in shop windows. Garland also placed a large NZFLS notice in the window of his car to further publicise the fieldtrip.
Source: Phil Garland

During the fieldtrip Garland was equipped with a reel-to-reel tape recorder and where possible recorded his informants. Garland received advice on fieldwork methods from Frank Fyfe and Rona Bailey, but did not access written guidance until after the trip was completed. He took photographs of many informants and gathered some background information, although this was not as detailed as with the work of Frank Fyfe. Despite his lack of experience and training, Garland now feels that in an environment where people were wary of an outsider seeking "old songs", his 'improvisatory' approach to locating and cultivating informants was essentially successful.

Different kinds of folklore - songs, poems, yarns and oral history – were collected during the fieldtrip, but Garland acknowledges he didn't find "as much material as I would have hoped" (Garland 1996:6). For instance, he heard reports of colonial dance music being still played in the region, but was unable to locate any informants in this connection. A striking result for Garland was that he only located one song which could be definitely identified as a traditional folk song according to the definition promoted by the NZFLS. This song was 'The Life of a High Country Shepherd', which Garland collected from Davy Dennison in Arrowtown. Other kinds of songs were more plentiful, notably a set of eight pieces obtained from Graeme Anderson.[20] In the early 1960s Anderson had led a local music group called The Dunstan Trio. The group had formed to provide music for a 1961 radio documentary, *Roads to Nowhere*,[21] and continued to play locally for several years, later releasing an EP (Dunstan Trio 1963). Most of the group's songs were settings of verse by Otago poets David McKee Wright and Hamilton Thompson, but one item, 'The Old Mud Hut', was derived from an anonymous text obtained from a farmer, Bill Caldwell (see Chapter 6). Garland was most successful in collecting original ballads and poems. He recorded many such pieces, in particular from Tod Symons (Alexandra) and Ross McMillan (Naseby). He also recorded reminiscences and yarns from at least eight people. Details of material collected by Garland during this fieldtrip can be found in Appendix 7.1.

An interesting epilogue to the fieldtrip occurred when Garland returned to Central Otago six months later and re-enacted his collecting for the NZBC TV programme *Living in New Zealand*.[22] Garland retraced his steps to four informants - Dennison, Anderson, Symons and McMillan - all of whom performed songs or recited poems. Davy Dennison, who had previously declined to be recorded singing, now become more willing, and was filmed singing 'The Life of the High Country Shepherd' along with members of his family.[23]

Other Collecting

Following the Central Otago fieldtrip Garland continued collecting only on a "weekend or 'whenever' basis" (Garland 1996:7). Later discoveries include instrumental music recorded in 1971 from an elderly informant, Oliver Hunter. Hunter recorded piano accordion medleys of dance tunes from the pre-World War One period; renditions of popular songs like 'The Ship that Never Returned'; and examples of his own original verse. In 1971 Garland and three other NZFLS members visited Joe Charles, who was at this stage living in Hamner Springs.[24] Charles passed on at least one traditional rhyme and the Society later recorded him reciting several of his own ballads. Garland remained in contact with Charles, who later passed on a manuscript of his verses, many of which are still unpublished.[25] Upon moving to Lyttelton a few years later, Charles joined the NZFLS Christchurch branch.

In the area of traditional folk songs, Garland's most notable success was collecting two variants of the 'The Dying Bushman'. In 1976 a deer-culler, Rick Hart, gave him a version after hearing Garland's 1975 LP *Colonial Yesterdays*, which featured a variant of the song collected by Rona Bailey. Hart provided Garland with a fuller set of words and put him in contact with his father, Ken Hart, who knew yet another version of the song. Rick Hart also provided a traditional deer-cullers' verse – see Figure XVIII. Folk material collected by other NZFLS members was also preserved by Garland. Such material includes a railway workers' parody of 'The Wabash Cannonball' obtained from Hugh Isdale who had worked for New Zealand Railways ('The KB Cannonball') and a

Depression-era ditty about the Howard Valley gold field obtained from Sam Sampson – see Figure XIX.

Before the gates a shooter stood
His face was scarred and old
He stood there like a trembling fawn,
Awaiting entrance to the fold
What have you done, St. Peter asked
To gain admission here?
I've been a shooter sir he cried
For many and many a year.
The Pearly gates swung open wide
St. Peter rang the bell
Come in come in and choose your harp
You've had your taste of hell.

Figure XVIII: '**Ode to a Shooter'**
Collected from Rick Hart, Christchurch, by Phil Garland, 10/3/1976.
The traditional formula of this verse has also been used by at least two other occupational groups in New Zealand. Phil Garland collected a 'bushman' version in 1969 and he also traced a 'carrier' (goods hauling) version in a local history, *Moonlight Ranges* (Milligan 1977:148-149).
Source: Garland collection

The profile of the NZFLS in the early 1970s also resulted in many individuals sending material to Garland and a large part of his overall collection was obtained from 'informants by correspondence'. Only a few of these pieces are clearly traditional, but the material is wide-ranging, including topical songs and original verse. Some of the poetry dates to the early twentieth century and was supplied by family descendants of deceased ballad writers such as Cecil 'Riverina' Winter and Frank 'Tussocky Bill' Waddell. Winter died only weeks before Garland attempted to make contact him and family members passed on unpublished piano settings of several poems.[26]

They say there is gold on the Maggie
They say there is gold on the Maud
They say there is gold on the Louis
But it all sounds like bullshit to me.

Bull-shit! Bull-shit!
It all sounds like bullshit to me, to me
Bull-shit! Bull-shit!
It all sounds like bullshit to me.

Figure XIX: **"They say there is gold on the Maggie…"**
Collected from Ray Clarke, Tophouse Hotel (Nelson Lakes) by Sam Sampson, c.1969.
This ditty was apparently the 'anthem' of the Maggie Terrace gold mining settlement during the 1930s. At the time various rivers and creeks in the Howard-Buller region, including those named in the song, were worked by unemployed men. The chorus was given to me by Sam Sampson in October 2005, who indicated that the tune used was 'My Bonnie lies over the Ocean'. A slightly different version - sung by Ray Clarke and Tom Johnson - can be heard on the radio documentary *They say there's no gold up the Louis* (Sound Archives SP467/468). The song is probably modelled on a party song known as 'It Sounds Like Bunkum To Me' - see *Jovial Songs*, 1937, Sydney: Allan & Co., p.25.
Source: Phil Garland collection and Sam Sampson

Like Bailey and Roth, Garland has traced a great deal of older material from archival or printed sources, including newspapers, books of verse and the work of quasi-collectors like John A. Lee.[27] He was perhaps the first collector to access archival material held in the Sound Archives of NZBC, now Radio New Zealand. In 1969 he obtained copies of various acetate recordings, including six songs recorded by a deer-culler, Dick Morris, between 1949 and 1953. Most of Morris' songs are traditional Anglo-Irish folk songs or music hall songs and some feature localised lyrics – see Figure XX. One piece, 'A New Chum Just From England', is notable for being a variant of the 1860s Charles Martin song 'The Young Man Fresh From England' (see Chapter 3). See Appendix 7.2 for a listing of the Morris songs. Systematic searches of the Sound Archives may yet yield more discoveries of folk material recorded in the mid-twentieth century.

Although Garland's active field collecting dropped off in the 1970s, his profile as a performer continued to prompt people to offer information and songs, as occurred with Rick Hart. At concerts, Garland invariably expresses interest in gaining new material and finds he is often approached afterwards by people who wish to contribute something. All the members of Garland's audiences are therefore potential informants for his collecting work.

There were sportsmen in the whole Hope Valley,
And the guns they'd got-got-got,
The rabbit and the frisky deer
They went pop-pop-pop-pop.
But a careless chup with a careless aim
At a certain spot-spot-spot,
Oh he missed his mark but at that spot
He fired that very shot!
But I happened to be there,
But I happened to be there,
Oh my perforated bright blue pants
They made me lead a song and dance.
Oh I can't sit down, upon my you-know-where
All because-because-because
I happened to be there!

As Mrs and Mr Brown came home
From the honeymoon-moon-moon,
Oh at the gate she waits for her old man
Every afternoon-noon-noon.
But the other day Mr Brown came home
Just a bit too soon-soon-soon,
Oh course he meant to have his tea,
And have a spoon-spoon-spoon!
But I happened to be there,
But I happened to be there,
Of course I'd meant no harm you see,
I'd just popped in for a cup of tea.
Rumours of divorce now fill the air,
All because-because-because
I happened to be there!

Some folks say my face is like
A kangaroo-roo-roo,
But I'm going to tell you the wondrous things
My face can do-do-do.
Now you've heard that Wellington won
At Waterloo-loo-loo,
But I'm going to tell you the reason why
The Frenchmen flew-flew-flew.
But I happened to be there,
But I happened to be there,
Oh my face made Napoleon funk
And all the Frenchmen do a bunk.
For Waterloo was won I do declare
All because-because-because
I happened to be there!

In a boarding house in a town nearby
Way down at Kew-Kew-Kew,
There's a staid old maid when the hour gets late
Takes off her shoe-shoe-shoe.
Oh as she looks under the bed
As the ladies do-do-do,
She started crying, 'burglars please,
Murderers, robbers too!'
But I happened to be there,
But I happened to be there,
Oh folks came up, to bolt I tried,
Somebody flung open the window wide.
Smash! Crash! Bang! They flung me through the air
All because-because-because
I happened to be there!

Figure XX: '**I Happened to Be There'**
As sung by Dick Morris, c.1953.
This song is probably of British music hall origin, but an original has not yet been traced. Dick Morris (1903-1957) worked for many years as a deer-culler in the Hope Valley near Lake Sumner, North Canterbury, and may have written (or adapted) the first verse of this song. Even before Morris died, he was seen as something of a 'folk hero' by many people because of his legendary shooting skills, affinity with wild animals and talent at imitating bird calls. See Patterson (1991) for transcriptions of oral histories about Morris' life and times.
Source: Sound Archives D4220a

The folk movement and wider musical community have also been a source of material. Garland has felt it important to preserve and perform revival songs because of their local content and quality. Better known songwriters represented in Garland's archives include Peter Cape, Alwyn Owen, Paul Metsers, Dan Bergin and Graham Wilson.[28] By preserving such material Garland has realised the broader aspirations of the early NZFLS leaflets, where vernacular ballads and revival pieces were all deemed as possibly "true to our tradition"[29] and worthy of preservation.

Garland's overall collection extends to many hundreds of songs, poems, rhymes and tunes. Most, but perhaps not all, of the NZFLS and Otago fieldtrip recordings survive.[30] Because some field recordings are awaiting restoration and other material is difficult to classify or of unknown provenance, a comprehensive listing has not been attempted as with other collectors. A selective listing of field collected material is given in Appendix 7.1.

Folk Music Concepts

When Garland first began field collecting in 1968, old material and traditional folk songs were the main objects of his interest, a focus he now considers "pretty purist". Like Frank Fyfe, he was also largely unsuccessful in finding such songs. But he did collect abundant quantities of other interesting material and became "prepared to spread the net a little wider" in deciding what he considered 'authentic' folk music. As he explains,

> It doesn't have to be old, does it, any more. It had to have currency among a community…. I suppose when I first went out I thought it had to be old. But then I discovered people out there still writing material about events and history and what-have-you…. If it has currency and does exactly the same job, it should be considered 'folk'.

While oral tradition might be seen as an important indicator of 'currency' within a community (or any group of people), Garland has felt that an emphasis on oral tradition obscures the essential meaning of folk music. On a deeper level, folklore is a representative expression of a community rather than simply orally transmitted material. Garland has suggested various ways in which collected material might serve this function, especially regarding the original verse he has collected in rural New Zealand.

Garland's interest in such verse is long-standing and actually precedes his field collecting work. In 1966 he located several poems by 'Blue Jeans' in *The Central Otago News* and discovered they were written by a Naseby farmer, Ross McMillan. He contacted McMillan and played him his musical settings, subsequently recording two songs for the 1967 LP *One Hundred Years Ago*.[31] While collecting in Central Otago in 1969, Garland visited McMillan and recorded the poet reciting verse and singing songs.[32] During the same fieldtrip, Garland also met two Alexandra poets, Tod Symons and Syd Stevens. Verse was later collected from Joe Charles and others.

Echoing Les Cleveland, Garland has praised Charles' verse for preserving New Zealand's "colourful folk-past in verse" and this kind of connection - which to some extent legitimises the material as authentic - could also be extended to the other rural poets (Garland 1996:135). Garland has also pointed to ways in which such balladry might be 'selected' and become 'traditional' for a community other than through oral tradition:

> Most people would think it can't be 'folk' unless its anonymous and it's been handed down orally through generations…. I don't think that matters any more – it depends what happens to it. If it's taken on by a community and you'll quite often go… to Naseby for example and if you're asking about stuff they'll immediately point you to Ross. And on the wall of the pub in Naseby there's a couple of poems written by Ross….

In this case the work of Ross McMillan has been 'selected' by his local community through being on public display at the local hotel.[33] Other poets might have slightly different kinds of relationships to their respective communities. For example, the verse of Tod Symons concerned the Alexandra area

where he lived most of his life. Symons had a kind of 'bardic' role: he was known as a local poet and had his verse regularly published in local newspapers.[34] Syd Stevens' verse was first located by Garland in a theatre programme from a repertory production in Alexandra and seems to have been primarily written for amateur historical dramas about local history - in itself a largely unexamined form of community expression in New Zealand.[35]

There's a stretch of land out yonder where the range lies wide and free,
And it rolls away back further than the naked eye can see.
When it's springtime in the mountains I must saddle up and go,
To the heart of the high country at the thawing of the snow.

For the city charm has vanished and I'm weary of the rush,
And I long to hear the language of a native of the bush.
And I long to hear the chiming of the bellbirds, sweet and low,
As I'm riding in a muster with the country blokes I know.

How the eager stock-horse answers when the spurs are driven hard,
In a race to slew the leaders as they try to dodge the yard;
Then the rebels find the stock-whip can fall with a fearsome blow,
In the brown hands of the drovers – the country blokes I know.

When the old camp cook is swearing and the campfire embers glow,
'Neath the black camp oven full of stew and quart pots in a row.
As the lounging bushmen tell their yarns, while the sun is going down,
Do they wonder just how Greenhide Bill is making out in town.

For my riding gear has gathered dust, my spurs have lost their shine,
And it's ages since I caught the scent that drifts in off the pine,
To mingle with the camp smoke; but it's westward soon I'll go
There I'll join the spring muster with the country blokes I know.

Seems I hear the bawl and bellow of the cattle on the track,
And I see a dusty stockyard and a homestead way out back,
When the sturdy station children come to watch with eyes aglow,
When the stockmen bring the cattle in – the country blokes I know.

Figure XXI: **'Country Blokes'**
A poem by Ross McMillan.
This unpublished poem by Ross McMillan was adapted and set to music by Phil Garland as the song 'Springtime in the Mountains'. Some of McMillan's phrases and names ("quart pots in a row", "Greenhide Bill") echoes the Australian bush ballad. As with the work of Joe Charles, it is also possible to detect the influence of American country music in places ("my spurs have lost their shine"). The strength of McMillan's and Charles' verse is that all such elements are integrated into a popular form with recognisable local content and atmosphere. Garland's song version features on the 1984 LP *Springtime in the Mountains*. See also Garland 1996:129.
Reproduced courtesy of Ross McMillan and Phil Garland

The possibilities for viewing this verse as community expression are complicated by the fact that for many of these ballad writers, wider publication has also been an important outlet for their work. According to more conservative definitions of folklore, such publication could well disqualify the verse as 'folk' expression. For example, Ross McMillan has published at least six books of verse and his work seems intended not only for the Naseby community, but for a South Island audience receptive to the stories, occupations and landscapes of rural New Zealand. There are further elements to consider with McMillan's work. Garland sees the poet as working in the classic Australasian ballad tradition and, indeed, McMillan was familiar with Henry Lawson's verse in childhood (Garland 1996:124). This tradition in itself straddles the 'literary', 'popular' and 'folk' categories: Lawson drew material from a nineteenth century Australian oral tradition of stories and ballads; he was widely published; and several of his poems went into oral tradition themselves (see Manifold

1969:164-7, 174, 176; Meredith and Anderson 1979:114, 116-117). Therefore, McMillan's verse can be interpreted on at least four different levels: as preserving local folk history; as a 'folk' expression of the Naseby community; as a popular literature of rural New Zealand society; and as a continuation of the Australasian ballad tradition. Such complexity makes it difficult to view such work as purely folk or literary.[36] See Figure XXI for an example of McMillan's verse.

In deciding the authenticity of such material, Garland has not pursued the kind of scholarly path taken by Fyfe. Instead he has used his own judgement, based on experience, intuition and personal taste: "having been doing it for so long… I get a feel for something". For future researchers, it seems crucial to investigate how small communities respond to such verse in order to understand it as a form of local folk expression. Ethnographers will have to test and delineate various kinds of "community consciousness… finding and interviewing a folk composer's peers to ask about the process of song movement and meaning" (Green 1972:84). Fieldwork may reveal considerable complexities and subtleties within these contexts.

Revival Work

The outcomes of Garland's collecting activities have been mostly revivalist in nature and part of his long professional career as a performer and recording artist. As he has said: "the more I became involved, the more I came to love and appreciate the priceless musical heritage that pertains to New Zealand" (Garland 1996:7). For many years he has remained committed to revivalist objectives, which derive partly from the nationalistic ideals of the NZFLS. Revivalist activities have in fact become his way of life and main source of income. While he has collected and archived a wide range of material, within his performance work he has favoured a certain repertoire and style in order to sustain his career in the context of the folk movement and music industry.

Music Career

After returning to New Zealand in 1966 and establishing The Folk Centre, Garland gained a high profile in the folk movement which he has maintained until the present day. He has performed at concerts and clubs throughout New Zealand, and toured overseas on several occasions. He has become possibly the most widely-known folk singer in New Zealand.

Although operating primarily as a solo artist, Garland has also been part of various 'bush bands', including The Woolly Daggs Bush Band, Canterbury Crutchings Bush and Ceilidh Band and Canterbury Bush Orchestra. A 'bush band' is a type of folk revival dance group developed in the Australian folk movement in the 1960s and which characteristically feature fiddle, piano accordion, 'bush bass', lagerphone, banjo and guitar, often including some form of electric amplification (Smith 2005). Essentially 'bush bands' aim to recreate the colonial tradition of woolshed and harvest dancing of nineteenth century rural Australasia (Garland 1996:172-173). According to Garland 'bush bands' became widely popular in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s for private dances and folk concerts. Garland's bands have largely followed the Australian model, featuring an Irish-Australian repertoire, with one band member 'calling the changes' for a variety of Anglo-Irish line and circle circles. Although some folklorists, such as John Meredith, have questioned the historical veracity of the 'bush band' format, it has become a popular part of the Australasian revival movement.[37]

Over the years Garland has released many recordings. After the 1967 LP *One Hundred Years Ago*, he was offered a recording contract with the Kiwi label. His first Kiwi recording was *Down a Country Road* (1971) and he has since recorded nine further solo albums for the label. Additionally, he has appeared on four 'bush band' albums. See Figure XXII for a discography.

Garland has also promoted New Zealand material through many radio programmes. He has appeared in the series *New Zealand in Song* (1968), *A Young Country* (1972), *New Zealand Folk* (1972) and *Just Folk* (1976).[38] In 1977 he wrote, produced and performed for a radio documentary,

Landfall New Zealand, which presented a montage of narration, historical accounts, songs, colonial dance music and sound effects, forming an impressionistic narrative of settler arrival in nineteenth century New Zealand. This programme won the 1977 Hoso Bunka Foundation International Radio Documentary Award for traditional music and was later released on cassette.[39] Garland has also appeared in several TV programmes. He acted as a nineteenth century gold digger tramping the Otago goldfields in the television documentary *Here's to the Gold* (1985), which went on to be used as a promotional video by the Department of Conservation for the Otago Goldfields Park.[40] He also made a brief appearance in the series *Landmarks* (1981).[41]

Solo recordings

1967	*One Hundred Years Ago*	LP	Action ACL 8001
1971	*Down a Country Road I Know*	LP	Kiwi SLC 87*
1975	*Colonial Yesterdays*	LP	Kiwi SLC 137
1984	*Springtime in the Mountains*	LP	Kiwi SLC 178*
1986	*Hunger in the Air*	LP	Kiwi SLC 191/Larrikin LRF 191*
1988	*Wind in the Tussock*	Cassette	Kiwi TC SLC 200
1990	*How Are You Mate?*	Cassette	Kiwi TC SLC 212
1996	*Under the Southern Cross*	CD	Kiwi CD SLC 239
1998	*A Sense of Place*	CD	Kiwi CD SLC 250*
2001	*Swag o' Dreams*	CD	Kiwi CD SLC 261
2005	*No Place Like Home*	CD	Kiwi CD SLC 270

Canterbury Crutchings Bush and Ceilidh Band

1976	*The Old Station Days*	LP	Kiwi SLC 144*

Canterbury Bush Orchestra

1979	*Swags to Riches*	LP	Kiwi SLC 158*
1985	*Clear the Board*	LP	Kiwi SLC 182*

Bush Telegraph

1993	*Waiting for News*	Cassette	Independent

Figure XXII: **Phil Garland Folk Discography**
This listing does not include Phil Garland's pre-folk career releases or appearances on compilation albums (see Harding 1992:15). Garland's albums use liner notes to describe sources and background for songs, roughly equivalent to the introductions and stories he provides in a live setting. While these notes were not particularly extensive on early albums, they have become increasingly lengthy. The most recent release, *No Place Like Home*, featured an eleven page booklet. Titles marked with a * were also released on cassette format.

In the late 1970s Garland started a music label called Down Under, as an 'idealistic' non-profit venture. The label aimed to make available on cassette New Zealand recordings of an archival nature, including live recordings from various festivals. The label had twelve releases in total and of particular interest in the present context are *While the Billy Boils – Volume 1 & 2* (Garland 1980b, 1980c). These cassettes feature excerpts from Garland's field recordings along with other archival material he had gathered. The cassettes are significant as some of the only (non-Maori) field recordings of folk music made publicly available in New Zealand.[42]

During the 1980s, Garland found it increasingly difficult to make a living in New Zealand and in 1987 re-located to Australia. Here he found it much easier to support himself because of the extensive Australian touring circuit and other professional opportunities. His repertoire featured many Australian songs, making the transition easier, but it was his New Zealand songs that provided him with a niche within the movement there. He was mainly based in Perth, where he established a 'bush band' and worked as an entertainer at Pioneer Village, an historical recreation of a colonial settlement.

In 1996, Garland returned to New Zealand and published a song anthology, *The Singing Kiwi* (Garland 1996). He has continued to work primarily as a singer of New Zealand-related folk songs, supplementing this with related employment such as teaching. In recent years he has become became involved with Creative Southland's Southern Odyssey project, writing commissioned songs and performing at sponsored heritage sites such as the Hokonui Moonshine Museum in Gore, and Totara Farm Estate near Oamaru.

Adaptation and Arrangement

For all these various revival activities, Garland has used collected material; items found through research; compositions by songwriters in the folk movement; and the existing canon of New Zealand folk songs from the recordings and anthologies of Bailey, Roth, Colquhoun and Cleveland. In the mid-1980s Garland began song-writing in earnest and this has now become a major feature of his active repertoire. His most recent release, *No Place Like Home*, featured ten original compositions out of fifteen tracks. Garland characterises his own compositions as "folk style" songs and they generally follow the subjects, forms and style of his adaptations of collected material.

Like Neil Colquhoun, Garland has used various processes of adaptation to construct songs out of collected material, which he feels will be satisfying for a public audience. While a few pieces have remained virtually the same as he collected them (eg. 'The Dying Bushman'), most have been adapted in one way or another. Adapting processes used by Garland include editing texts, composing or setting tunes, writing additional verses or adding entirely new choruses. Perhaps his most common form of adaptation has been to set collected verse to music. To some extent this arises from practical considerations, as much collected material is fragmentary, topical or brief. With complete poems and ballads Garland can use material already crafted to a level suitable for presentation.

Traditional folk tunes have been used for setting texts, but more often Garland has developed his own melodies. These tunes often have a robust Irish-Australian quality (eg. 'Rose of Red Conroy' and 'At the Mataura'), although sometimes tinges of American folk melody are evident (eg. 'Snowed In'). Such influences were perhaps more obvious early in his career, and Garland now commonly composes more complicated or modern-sounding song structures. An early example of such a song is 'The Stable Lad', which effectively melds Irish and slow country feels. While Garland often aims for a traditional sound, he will deliberately avoid imitative musical phrases:

> I might write a tune, then I'll think, 'oohh… now that line in the tune sounds like a traditional tune or something else… I'll have to rework that or look at that', and I start working with it or trying to change it deliberately, 'til I've got something that doesn't sound exactly the same as something else.

On his early recordings, Garland placed New Zealand material into an instrumental setting largely derived from overseas revival models. One constant element in Garland's arrangements has been his twelve-string guitar, played in a sweetly intricate finger-picking style reminiscent of 1960s revival music, especially the work of John Renbourne and Ralph McTell. But, just as he now aims to compose melodies which evoke, rather than replicate other folk traditions, Garland has come to draw upon an array of instrumental colourings, including colonial Australasian concertinas and fiddles; revival mandolins and banjos; and more recently, Celtic flutes. Since the 1980s these arrangements have settled into a comfortable group sound shared, to some extent, by other local folk artists (such as

Mike Harding and Martin Curtis). This sound has become a kind of 'new aesthetic' of the New Zealand folk revival (Rosenberg 1993:127-129). Instead of taking an 'authentic' approach, these artists have tastefully synthesised a range of musical influences – early revival, 'bush band', colonial, country, Celtic – to produce a distinctive antipodean acoustic 'roots' sound.

A distinctive aspect of Garland's revival practice has been the way he often reworks or rewrites songs – both pieces already in the canon and his own previous adaptations. Early in his career, Garland rearranged songs promoted by earlier collectors (eg. 'Farewell to the Grey', 'Leatherman'); in other cases, melodies have evolved through long years of repeated performance. Garland has also modified songs to incorporate new research, collected fragments or else simply to improve the song. A good example of this is 'At the Mataura', a song about the short-lived gold rush on the Mataura River in 1860. This piece first appeared on the 1971 LP *Down a Country Road* and, until recently, had not been played by Garland for many years. Several years ago Garland heard a story about a 'duffer' rush which occurred at the Mataura in 1862 and this story was incorporated into the existing text to create a more satisfying narrative; Garland also wrote a chorus for the song - see Appendix 7.3. These processes enrich the canon with complementary song versions and inject new meaning into older material, helping to sustain interest for Garland and audiences. The sense that songs can thus be made to 'live again', by being updated and remade, is a revival ideal which reaches full expression in *The Singing Kiwi*.

The Singing Kiwi

In the late 1970s Garland began to assemble songs for an anthology, but it was not until 1993 that he found a publisher, David De Santi, an Australian folklorist and revival musician. In 1996 the anthology was published as *The Singing Kiwi* (Garland 1996).

The Singing Kiwi is presented differently from other New Zealand anthologies. It is a large softcover book with a spiral metal binding. Such a binding is a practical feature of many contemporary song books and ensures that the pages remain open while being played from. The cover has a humourous drawing of Garland playing a guitar-shaped Kiwi bird; and the title refers to the songs of the *genus* 'New Zealander' (although Garland reports that many people have assumed it refers to him personally). While the production level is not as high as with most of the other books covered in this thesis, *The Singing Kiwi* has its own relaxed and personal charm.

The book begins with an introduction, followed by twelve chapters, a bibliography, discography and song index. In total the book contains 106 songs with words, melody lines and chords, along with four dance tunes. Six further texts are also featured elsewhere in the book.[43] The chapter format presents a variation on the Lomax-influenced approach of *New Zealand Folk Songs* (Colquhoun 1965b). Each chapter begins with a written overview of the chapter topic, followed by song notes and then the songs themselves. Each song is given one page, or spread across two facing pages, thereby avoiding page-turning if an instrument is also being played. Throughout the book are many small illustrations and photographs.

An immediately obvious feature of *The Singing Kiwi* is the way it encompasses, supplements and personalises earlier published versions of the canon. It is certainly the largest of the anthologies covered in this thesis and Garland in effect presents the overall progress of the folk song canon forty years after it began to be formed in the 1950s. He includes versions of songs collected by Bailey, Roth, Colquhoun and Cleveland; songs since added to the canon by songwriters such as Peter Cape and Paul Metsers; and twenty-eight of Garland's own compositions. See Appendix 7.4 for a listing.

While the anthology is inclusive in respect of song sources, Garland also aimed to "complement earlier publications" by not replicating or simply combining published material (Garland 1996:7). The book is largely made up of unpublished songs or different versions to those already published. This approach demonstrates that by the 1990s the canon had become a palpable body of material built up and worked on by many individuals over time, and more than any other anthology, *The Singing*

Kiwi expresses an awareness of the canon in such terms. Garland takes care throughout the book to acknowledge the combined overall effort, describing the interconnections between songs, writers, composers, informants, collectors, adaptors and performers, many of whom were not adequately referenced originally. As a consequence his use of song notes and background information is extensive, having to not only contextualise the subject matter but also the song version. The text also has a distinctively personalised feel, with Garland describing his attraction to songs; his collecting experiences and background research; the role other adaptors or collectors have played; and his own creative choices in developing material.[44] Such an 'imagining' of the canon can clearly only be made after several decades of development in folksong collecting and presentation (see also Annabell 1989; Harding 1992).

In presenting a corpus of overlapping versions and new compositions, *The Singing Kiwi* also embodies certain underlying ideals of the revival movement itself. Especially relevant is the way that components of the revival process - collecting, publication, recording, club performances, festival song exchange – combine to resemble the 'folk process' of source traditions themselves. Garland's song notes seem to blur the boundary lines between informant and performer; writer and adaptor; and definitions of source and revival material. With the passing of time, as it grows and develops, the canon in itself becomes a larger symbol of how the revival movement tries to practice ideals of 'folk process': using it as a "model of truly human creativity" (Smith 2005:13) While Neil Colquhoun first affirmed that source traditions and the folk movement might be seen as continuous within an overall 'New Zealand tradition', Phil Garland presents such an idea, twenty-five years later, in a fully realised form.[45]

1. Landfall New Zealand
2. The Golden Years
3. Charles Thatcher
4. Swags to Riches
5. Shearing
6. Station Life
7. Timber
8. Ross McMillan
9. Joe Charles
10. Homegrown
11. All for the Grog
12. Clear the Board

Figure XXIII: **Chapters in *The Singing Kiwi***

The Singing Kiwi also presents its own nationalistic 'imagining' of the canon. The chapters of the book are ordered in an historical-thematic way that loosely combines the approaches of *Shanties by the Way* (Bailey and Roth 1967) and *New Zealand Folksongs* (Colquhoun 1972). Garland's anthology likewise relays the familiar narrative of New Zealand colonial history through sailors, whalers, settlers and gold diggers, also adding songs about the eighteenth century explorer James Cook. The distinctive spine of Garland's 'imagining' is a strong emphasis on rural New Zealand. Six chapters at the heart of the book (chapters four to nine) are almost exclusively concerned with songs about bushmen, shearers, swaggers, musterers, stockmen and other rural archetypes. The book also suggests that the 'spirit' of the earlier colonial era abides in rural New Zealand to a greater extent than anywhere else. Garland's emphasis is unusual among the local anthologies. Bailey, Roth, Colquhoun and Cleveland all include a more diverse range of material and *The Singing Kiwi* contains almost no songs from urban political, trade union, student or tramping traditions.

The emphasis on rural material is partly explained by the fact that Garland has mostly collected folk culture from rural informants. He presents rural New Zealand as a place where he found folk traditions (yarning, balladry, oral history) all surviving from the nineteenth century, along with many basic work occupations. Much of the collected material he uses is verse influenced by the Australasian ballad tradition and as with Henry Lawson, the poems of McMillan, Symons and Charles often feature narrators looking back upon an idealised lost past where values of 'mateship', toughness and egalitarianism were taken for granted. While such verse might indeed reflect how rural New Zealand sees itself, Garland presents the material as 'New Zealand folksong': as part of a symbology of greater national identity. Rural folk culture therefore comes to symbolise pioneering qualities, traditional values, heroic characters and majestic landscapes – the timeless heart of nationhood in the modern world. Even the seemingly unheroic swagger becomes a symbol of stubborn individualism holding fast to a certain craft, a way of life and a personal code.

Of course, there are politically conservative implications to this rural vision[46] and Garland is aware of the dangers of over-romanticisation, (even if his guitar-work typically evokes a romantic atmosphere):

> I think when I first became interested I had all sorts of romantic notions. Listening to the songs, this takes us back to those romantic times and perhaps being a little bit idealistic. But as you get more involved and as you learn the material and hear it, you start to realise… it's not so romantic as perhaps it was first painted.

Garland's attraction to rural New Zealand also gains a personal dimension from his own childhood experiences,[47] but more broadly he views the rural world as imbued with a sense of its own history and traditions, richly expressive of a distinctively New Zealand mythos. As he has said elsewhere, "I sing about rural New Zealand… I mean there was a poet who said,[48] years ago, 'the land beyond the cities is where the real New Zealand… lies' and it is" (quoted in Priestley 2003, ep.2).

Contexts and roles

The final facet to be considered in Garland's work is how he has integrated the different roles of collector, performer, recording artist and songwriter. This aspect is important because Garland has a long association with New Zealand folk music and has had to develop robust ways of reconciling an appreciation of the authenticity of source traditions, with the presentation of collected songs, music and verse to a wider public.

The complexity of Garland's position is symbolised in the fact that 'folk music' has a number of distinct meanings in the various contexts in which he operates. While the approach of *The Singing Kiwi* might imply ways in which such separations might be resolved within an idealised vision of 'folk process', Garland remains reluctant to simply declare all such material 'folk music':

> The official definition that is generally adopted by the folklore groups is that [folk music is] the indigenous music of an ethnic group. Therefore most of what I'm performing and what most people are performing in folk clubs and what-have-you, would not fit that definition any more. Mainly because it's been taken right away from those situations…. I mean writing songs… it can't possibly be described as a folk song. Time has to be able to work here, it has to… I would say that any song that I have written maybe is written in a folk style, or folk idiom, but it has to be taken on by some people and maybe they'll rework it…. [And] there may well be someone singing that song somewhere in an isolated community or maybe in the bush or a camp of some sort of description, who knows. Then perhaps it's achieved its aim.

Garland also has mixed feelings about the label 'folk singer'. He personally found this label a hindrance in the 1980s when the commercial genre declined in popularity, and again in the 1990s, when the revival movement began to de-emphasise the term 'folk' in favour of 'acoustic', 'roots' or 'world'. Garland has since turned to 'Kiwi Balladeer' and 'Singing Historian' to better describe what he feels his role is. He now finds the second term most appropriate.

> The songs I'm writing today tend to be historical, and I'm writing about personalities, events, you know… oral history in song really and I think that's a better description of what I'm doing, although the songs are written in a folk style.

Embracing the 'singing historian' role also represents a deeper shift in Garland's activities. In writing commissioned songs and performing for special heritage events, he utilises an entire career of collecting, research and experience. No longer simply a 'folk singer' in a minstrel-type role, Garland has increasingly become a kind of 'public folklorist' who surrounds his song performances with background research; collected oral history, yarns and tall tales; and descriptions of his own collecting experiences and creative processes. In all these ways he mediates the broader context of the material he collects, develops, performs and is inspired by. Although for a long time Garland presented workshops on the folk festival circuit,[49] as a 'singing historian' he is able to develop this idea more organically and extend it into composition. Garland's current practice is really a mature realisation of his commitment to New Zealand folk music, arrived at after decades of work.

It also reflects the sense of responsibility to a wider public first suggested by the NZFLS in its 1960s leaflets. Garland finds that support for performance of New Zealand folk heritage within the revival movement has waned in recent years:

> Some folk clubs won't book anybody unless they've got some Celtic pedigree or some blues pedigree, and it's been very hard, even in some clubs in New Zealand, to book someone who's singing New Zealand folk songs.

He now finds great satisfaction touring rural New Zealand ("going to smaller towns… people love to hear New Zealand songs"[50]) or playing at heritage events. These public performances also involve the possibility of meeting potential informants, bringing his 'public folklorist' role full circle. This satisfying situation means that his work may become a form of mediated 'feedback' into the very traditions he draws from, or at least stimulate contributions from informants. Furthermore, issues about the folkloric authenticity of the music he performs become less relevant. Garland may still be a mediator – a revivalist-collector pursuing wider cultural projects – but his work process, which now reaches back forty years, has gained its own 'authentic' density of meaning.

Conclusion

Phil Garland has made probably the greatest personal commitment to the New Zealand collecting and revival enterprise of any of the collectors in this thesis and his contribution is highly significant. Garland's roots were in the folk revival movement in the 1960s and partly through overseas experience, he became focussed on the possibilities of New Zealand folk music as a national heritage and distinctive career repertoire. To pursue collecting, he formed a branch of the NZFLS in Christchurch and conducted a long fieldtrip into Central Otago.

This fieldtrip was the most concentrated stretch of collecting conducted in New Zealand since Rona Bailey's Otago-Southland trip in 1958. While Garland was largely unsuccessful in locating traditional music or songs, he did collect a large amount of original verse, yarns and oral history. Even though much of this material did not fit the concepts of authenticity promoted by the NZFLS, Garland was attracted to what he had found. By developing an intuitive understanding of community and tradition, he legitimised it as folklore to his own personal satisfaction, enabling him to overcome the theoretical obstacles which contributed to the demise of the NZFLS in Wellington. The fact that Garland was also committed to a career based around New Zealand material gave an added imperative to achieving such a breakthrough. Over the years Garland has continued to collect and archive material of many different kinds and although he has only utilised a small portion of this collected material, he has taken care to preserve everything that has been shared with him.

The main outcome of Garland's collecting has been his revivalist activities as a performer, recording artist and song anthologist. He has forged a profession as a New Zealand singer,

successfully interweaving career with revival ideals, even if he has found it sometimes difficult to make a living in New Zealand. Increasingly he has turned to writing his own compositions and after forty years of accumulated experience has transformed his 'folk singing' practice into that of a 'singing historian': a kind of 'public folklorist' who presents and promotes a broader understanding of folk material.

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[1] Biographical information about Phil Garland has been gained from several interviews conducted in March 2005 and extensive email correspondence between 2003 and 2006. Published sources which have also been used include Anon (1967), Owen (1995), Priestley (2003, ep.2) and Brown (2003).
[2] Diane Jacobs later became better known as the pop singer Dinah Lee.
[3] Viking VS-127.
[4] Unless otherwise indicated, all non-attributed quotations from Phil Garland in this chapter are from interviews conducted by the writer in March 2005.
[5] A rough dating for the formation of the University Folk Club is mid-1964. See *Heritage*, no.5, p.18.
[6] See *Penny Post*, no.5. Evidently, Garland appeared on the Canterbury edition of *Town and Around*, but unfortunately no such programmes have survived in either the Television Archive or the New Zealand Film Archive.
[7] Action ALC-8001.
[8] The first version of The Folk Centre probably opened in October 1967. See notice of closure in *Heritage*, no.6, p.8; in *Heritage*, no.7, p.22, it is mentioned that the venue closed almost exactly a year after opening.
[9] The three pieces collected from Garland's parents are variants of Anglo-Australian rhymes and songs which they had learned from oral tradition. Two rhymes were obtained from his father – 'Three Blackbirds' and 'Cherry Stones' – which Garland subsequently set to music (Garland 1996:147, 149). He also collected a fragmentary version of 'The Dying Stablehand' from his mother, see Garland collection.
[10] See letter from Christchurch to Auckland branches, dated 30/5/1968, in ATL 2000-199-1/02. A listing from roughly the same period in the Christchurch branch minute book (Garland collection) gives a listing of twenty-two individuals, although these were not all paid up members.
[11] The last meeting recorded in the Christchurch branch minutes took place on 20/11/1974.
[12] Branch member John Flynn is reported to have researched the Canterbury swagger 'John the Baptist' (*Penny Post*, vol.6 no.6), but no published outcome for this research has been traced.
[13] Frank Fyfe was similarly wary of using the term 'folk song' when soliciting material from informants. See his draft collecting reports in the Wairarapa Archive 97-193, uncatalogued papers.
[14] See Christchurch branch minute book, meetings on 22/8/1968, 30/11/1968 and 23/2/1969. It is not known whether any actual collecting resulted from these contacts.
[15] The National Folk Foundation administered the National Folk Festival in Wellington.
[16] *Penny Post*, vol.3 no.1. No material has been firmly traced to this early leg of the collecting trip, but certain unidentified couplets in the songs 'All Bound to Go' and 'Blow Boys Blow' (collected from Harry Ramsey in Nelson), may date from this period (Garland 1996:23-24). However, other material may not have survived, for example, see reports of music hall songs and poetry collected on the West Coast in *Penny Post*, vol.3 no.2. No items which fit the description were traced in the Garland collection.
[17] *ibid.*, vol.3 no.3.
[18] *ibid*., vol.3 no.1.
[19] *ibid*., vol.4 no.1.
[20] The Dunstan Trio EP has five songs: 'The Rolling Stone', 'In the Coach', 'Winter in Central Otago', 'Barnaby Mears' and 'Otago Dredgemen'. Garland also obtained recordings of three other songs, see Appendix 7.1 for details. Another song recorded by the group was traced by Mike Harding: 'Brer Rabbit of Central Otago'. The song appears on a 1960s radio programme, a recording of which was forwarded to the writer. An actual reference for the Sound Archives has not yet been found.
[21] *Roads to Nowhere* featured oral history recorded from elderly Otago residents by Graeme Anderson and Prudence Gregory. See Sound Archives 01/37/153a-b.
[22] Television Archive ZLINZ-70/16. The segment was aired 2/6/1970.
[23] The segment has Tod Symons reciting 'St. Bathans', Ross McMillan reciting part of 'Down a Country Road', Graeme Anderson singing part of 'The Old Dunstan Track' and Davy Dennison singing 'The Life of a High Country Shepherd'. Garland sings part of 'The Shearing's Coming Round' and 'Down a Country Road'; and Garland's 'bush band', The Woolly Daggs Bush Band, perform part of 'Wool Commandeer'. The programme also features an astonishing sequence where McMillan begins reciting a poem and Garland slowly begins finger-picking his guitar in the background; McMillan slows his phrasing to fit the metre; Garland begins humming the melody underneath McMillan; finally Garland sings the remaining verses solo. Although the

scene was pre-planned, it stands as a striking symbol for how revivalism transforms traditions into a different form, while also making a claim to perpetuate the authenticity of the original source.

[24] *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.1, 4/11/1971, reports on this fieldtrip. Although Garland (1980c) dates the recording of Charles to August 1970, it probably occurred in August 1972 (see notes to NZFLS Tape 4 in Garland collection).

[25] Only a portion of this has been published, see Charles (1981).

[26] In the early twentieth century Winter's verse were printed in the *Bulletin* under the penname 'Riverina'; he later published a book of verse (Winter 1929). One of his poems, 'The Pine Mill', was collected as a song by Neil Colquhoun, see Appendix 4.2. The musical settings of Winter's poems were composed by Gilbert Crawford and J.J. Stroud - see Chapter 8, note 34.

[27] One notable example of a song deriving from Garland's research is 'Farewell to Geraldine', originally a poem written by the swagger Joe Fleming. The poem was published by Lee in two slightly different versions (Lee 1964:26-27; Lee 1977:37). Les Cleveland also collected a fragment of this poem (see Chapter 5). Garland set the poem to music and recorded it for his 1984 *Springtime in the Mountains* LP and he normally features the song in the closing set of every concert (see also Garland 1996:74-75, 83). Garland has also preserved material from the collecting work of Elsie Locke, Christine Hunt, John Stafford and Roger Dick. Hunt worked mainly in the field of oral history in the 1970s and 1980s, publishing several books of collected reminiscences; John Stafford was a NZFLS Christchurch branch member who made some recordings of children's rhymes in the early 1980s.

[28] Paul Metsers and Graham Wilson have been prominent singers in the local revival scene. Retired broadcaster Alwyn Owen composed various songs for radio dramas, documentary programmes and released several singles in the early 1960s. Dan Bergin was a kind of 'folk composer' who, like Bob Edwards, found the revival movement a satisfying outlet for his songs. Bergins's work draws upon his experiences as a deer-culler and whaler which he described about in several *Spectrum* radio documentaries (see Sound Archives SP618/619, SP708). Another 'folk composer' of rather different material is the shearer Derek Kirkland, see Sound Archives SP840.

[29] *Notes on New Zealand Folklore*, 1967 (NZFLS leaflet).

[30] There is also some material that could be missing from the Otago fieldtrip. Garland has related that during the fieldtrip, recordings were usually sent directly to the NZFLS Wellington branch. He later obtained copies of many of these, but is not sure if they represent the entirety of what he collected. References to songs and poems have been traced, which do not appear to be represented in the extant collection, see note 16 above.

[31] These two songs were 'The Old Scrub Bull' and 'The Shepherd's Dream'.

[32] Garland has set around six of McMillan's poems to music. Other performers have also used his verse for songs. For example, the 1986 LP *Songs of the Shearers* contains eight McMillan adaptations by local country singers Dusty Spittle, Jack Denley and Ernie Andrew; Garner Wayne has also adapted at least one McMillan poem, 'The Shearing Gang' (Wayne 1972). A *Spectrum* documentary was made about McMillan in 1976 (see Sound Archives SP206).

[33] In the case of the poems displayed on the wall of the local public bar, McMillan's verse might be seen as a 'boundary display': a representation of local community for the benefit of outsiders (Noyes 1995).

[34] Symons wrote at least one song about a topical local event, 'Alexandra Blossom Festival' (Garland 1980b). The writer has also been told by a former Alexandra resident, Brenda Neill, how Symons was well-known as a local balladist through *The Central Otago News* in the 1940s and 1950s - personal communication, 25/3/2006.

[35] Garland retains the printed programme of *A Flash in the Pan*, put on by the Alexandra Musical Society. The script and score of another play – *Hell Bent for Dunstan* – is held, along with assorted other material by Stevens, by David Dell in the Sheet Music Archive of New Zealand (Upper Hutt).

[36] McMillan's verse could be viewed on two further levels: as part of a folk revivalist project (in the work of Garland) and through being adapted to an American country music idiom popular in rural New Zealand - see note 32 above.

[37] Meredith is cited in Smith (2005:56). Smith gives an excellent summary of the history and meaning behind the 'bush band' movement (*ibid*.:41-62). It is interesting to consider that in many ways the traditions invoked by the New Zealand 'bush band' revival actually have a continuity all their own. In colonial New Zealand various dances were popular in cities, towns, stations and woolsheds (see Thomson 1991:52-55). A few nineteenth century dances continued to be performed in twentieth century dance halls specialising in 'old time dancing'. For example, in post-World War Two Hawera, these included the Chain Waltz (*Valse de Cadena)* and the Three Step Polonaise, along with later dances such as the Quickstep, Military Two Step, Foxtrot and Gay Gordons (Thomas 2004:123-125). Furthermore, the formal colonial ball has continued popularity in the form of the 'high school ball', experienced by the majority of people growing up in New Zealand (Ell 1994:23). These areas are deserving of more thorough research.

Garland's bands have had perhaps a more tangible link to existing local traditions than most Australian examples. The Canterbury Crutchings Bush and Ceilidh Band included Charles Jemmett and John Allan (who

both composed several dance tunes). These musicians had been previously involved with providing music for Scottish dancing, which has nineteenth century roots (see Chapter 2).

[38] The Sound Archives references for these four programmes are T7658-T7664; TX3087-TX3092 and TX3093-3099 (see also Chapter 4, note 28); TX3056-57; and T2946.

[39] Sound Archives TX3176. The documentary was also released on Garland's Down Under label along with performances of other relevant songs (Garland 1980a).

[40] Television Archive ZHTTG-000.

[41] Garland appears in episode four, together with several other Christchurch folk musicians. See Television Archive A/T1867-04.

[42] The two volumes of *While the Billy Boils* are no longer available and copies are not held by any New Zealand library. Perhaps the only other local releases of field recorded folk music in New Zealand, are certain radio programmes made available through Replay Radio, for example Young (1984). Some Mobile Unit recordings have also been released, see Thomas (2004).

[43] These additional texts are 'A Flash in the Pan' by Syd Stevens (Garland 1996:36); 'A Prospecting Man' by Tod Symons (*ibid*.:37); "Before the gates a bushman stood…" collected from Parish John, 1969 (116); 'Country Pub' by Ross McMillan (123); 'Sing Out New Zealand' by Phil Garland (144); and 'Their Master's Voice' by Dennis Hogan (165).

[44] The song notes in *The Singing Kiwi* generally paraphrase or expand the liner notes of Garland's LPs.

[45] This kind of 'imagining' of the canon has been further developed by John Archer on his 'New Zealand Folk Song' website, which contains information about different versions of songs originating or developed within the revival (Archer 1998-2006).

[46] The identification of folk culture with rural populations has a long history through Herder, Sharp and others. Rural society is assumed to preserve an 'authentic' and timeless culture, unaffected by the cosmopolitan 'high' culture of cities. Although such a perspective may even have threads running back to the pastoral literature of Ancient Greece, the Lawson-ian ballad of the 1890s strongly reflects modernity. As John Martin states, "Lawson created a mythical past free of social evils to condemn the present" (1988:97). Perhaps the Lawson-ian mythos has remained popular in rural society not simply as a traditional form for expressing local history, but because it expresses a reactionary nostalgic longing in the context of modernisation and urbanisation. While much of the verse Garland has collected expresses the romantic bush mythos of Lawson, it is largely devoid of the socialist subtexts which were one of the meanings of Lawson's work. In some of his own songs, Garland gives a different perspective, encompassing contemporary rural issues (eg. 'Walking Off the Land', see Garland 1996:159) and the environmental problems caused by fertiliser top-dressing (eg. 'Mother Nature's Children', see *ibid*.:152).

[47] Garland has fond memories of visiting his cousins' country homestead. These experiences are explored in the song 'No Place Like Home' on Garland (2005).

[48] The poet was Cecil Winter (see Owen 1995:43).

[49] Garland developed at least fourteen such workshops, with titles such as 'Wool Away Jack – The Lore of Shearing in Australia and New Zealand' and 'Brown and Empty Bottle – Drinking Culture'.

[50] Priestley 2003, ep.2.

Chapter 8

Angela Annabell

This chapter will be examine the collecting and scholarly work of Angela Annabell and the collecting work of the New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS) Auckland branch. Annabell was a musicologist who studied at the University of Auckland in the 1960s and 1970s, and who became especially interested in New Zealand folk music. In 1969 she joined the NZFLS Auckland branch and began collecting folk songs as part of a PhD. Her dissertation - 'New Zealand's Cultural and Economic Development Reflected in Song: Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos' - was completed in 1975. After this time, she remained interested in the subject and wrote several articles, but conducted only a small amount of further fieldwork. This chapter will begin with a description of Annabell's background, followed by a history of the NZFLS Auckland branch, including short descriptions of the collecting work of three other members. It will then examine Annabell's 1975 PhD dissertation, firstly discussing her aims, overall approach, collecting methods and surviving fieldwork; secondly, analysing her methodology and overall arguments. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of her later work.

Personal background

Angela Annabell (*née* Greenwood) (1929-2000) was born in Pukekohe and probably lived most of her life in Auckland.[1] She was quite a private person and little information has been found about her family background or means of employment. She probably gained the financial independence necessary to pursue her various musicological activities through her marriage to architect Milton Annabell.

Annabell's musicological work dates from the mid-1960s when she began researching nineteenth century colonial music in Auckland. In 1968 she completed an MA thesis at the University of Auckland on this subject (Annabell 1968). Her thesis was one of a number of pioneering scholarly studies on New Zealand music history written in the mid-1960s.[2] She continued to research classical music and later extended her inquiries to colonial pianofortes and opera (see Annabell 1994; Palmer 2004). She also built up a collection of published New Zealand sheet music.

Her interest in New Zealand folk music dates from the late 1960s when she became involved with the NZFLS. According to Neil Colquhoun, Annabell was present at initial meetings at the Poles Apart Folk Club in 1967, which were held to establish a Society branch in Auckland.[3] Annabell herself was not active within the revival movement and was probably attracted to the possibilities for scholarly work which were envisaged by the NZFLS. Her earliest collecting dates to 1970 when she began working on a dissertation about New Zealand folksong at the University of Auckland.

New Zealand Folklore Society Auckland branch

Soon after Frank Fyfe founded the NZFLS in 1966, Neil Colquhoun contacted the organisation to express support on behalf of the WEA study group he had formed in Auckland, the New Zealand Folksong Research Group (NZFSRG).[4] Although the NZFSRG did not conduct fieldwork, it had a similar interest in promoting New Zealand material. After discussions between Fyfe, Colquhoun and others, it was decided that the NZFSRG would join the larger enterprise of the NZFLS. The Auckland branch was convened in September 1967 and initial administration was carried out by Neil Colquhoun and Sam Sampson.[5] An inaugural meeting was held in early December at the Poles Apart Folk Club and the minutes record that ten individuals attended.[6] The assets and membership of the NZFSRG were subsequently transferred to the new organisation.

Within a year the Auckland branch had about twenty members,[7] mostly drawn from the scene around the Poles Apart Folk Club (where meetings were generally held). Because the branch went into a period of recess between late 1969 and early 1971, the history of the organisation can be divided into pre-1970 and post-1970 periods.[8] Before 1970, the branch directed much of its energies into producing the various 'Song of a Young Country' productions devised by Neil Colquhoun. After 1970, branch members concentrated on collecting and often took weekend group excursions to historic localities in the Auckland area.

The NZFLS Auckland branch shared the same ideals and aims as the other branches but had their own independent style. Members demonstrated an early commitment to archiving collected or pre-existing material by having special catalogue sheets printed, in March 1968, for the purpose of standardising their material[9] - see Plate 1 on page 51 of this thesis. They also maintained a small reference library of books and tape-recordings, and from 1971 printed their own modest newsletter, *The Billycan Bulletin*.[10] As with the other branches, the Society in Auckland attracted interest beyond the folk movement, and was in contact with local historians Jack Diamond and Marian Simpkins, and members of the Pioneers and Descendants Club.

Angela Annabell probably became first involved with the Society as an associate member of the Wellington branch. Although present at preliminary meetings in Auckland, she only formally applied to join her local branch in late 1969.[11] Annabell had a cordial relationship with the Auckland branch and when it went into recess in 1970, she was entrusted with the branch archives.[12] She shared the Society's aims of collecting and studying material, but her own collecting was not fully integrated with the Society. She gave presentations about collecting projects to meetings and utilised other members' fieldwork in her dissertation, but she did not keep other members informed of her own collecting[13]; nor did she deposit copies of her fieldwork in the branch archives for other members to access.

Branch Collecting

Most Auckland branch collecting was carried out by individuals or small groups.[14] As with the other NZFLS branches, informants were contacted through personal acquaintances, advertising, concert publicity, and the recommendations of other informants. Members travelled as far afield as Whangarei and Waihi to collect material, using tape-recorders to preserve songs, music and interviews; background information about informants was also noted.[15] Apart from the work of Neil Colquhoun and Angela Annabell, most Auckland branch collecting was done by Rudy Sunde, Pat Sunde and Bill Worsfold.

Pat and Rudy Sunde were connected with the early New Zealand folk revival. Both had been members of the left-wing Unity Singers group which performed in Auckland in the 1950s.[16] The Unity Singers later changed their name to the Fernfire Singers and embraced an increasingly New Zealand repertoire, before disbanding in the mid-1960s. Before the NZFLS was established, Rudy Sunde had collected a few songs and ballads from elderly informants (see Figure XXIV), but within the NZFLS the Sundes were most active in the post-1970 period. They collected several songs, including variants of pieces obtained from Haldy Ryan by Rona Bailey in 1958. Since the 1970s, Rudy Sunde has recorded more albums of New Zealand material and now leads the Auckland sea shanty group The Maritime Crew.

Bill Worsfold was the other main collector within the NZFLS Auckland branch.[17] A performer in the Auckland folk movement, Worsfold collected about twelve pieces through the NZFLS in the post-1970 period. These include a 1930s road workers' ditty 'I'm no M.U.G.' and several localised popular songs. One of Worsfold's informants was an elderly retired blacksmith, Harold Curtis-Smith, who lent him a manuscript copy of his memoir and collection of yarns, and also performed seven songs learned in early twentieth century Northland – see Figure XXV for an example.[18] Since the 1970s, Worsfold has worked as a professional musician, often in collaboration with his wife Kath

Worsfold. The Worsfolds have been involved with several music groups, including The Gumdiggers Bush Band and Colonial Two-Step. The second of these was part of a school workshop which the Worsfolds have presented throughout New Zealand. They have also released a small booklet of songs (Worsfold 1992), although this publication contains none of the items collected by Worsfold.[19]

The first place we struck was the Wade,
And when our money was done they took our spear and our spade,
The next place was Waiwera,
Where they sell the best of waipiro.
Full seventy miles had travelled we,
O'er muddy roads and barren lea,
Till from the hilltops did espy,
Those blooming lights of Mangawai.
We reached the town of Mangawai,
And to the storekeeper did apply,
For food and shelter and a start,
And offered in exchange our harp.
The harp, our only pride and joy,
Was carried by an organ boy.
The storekeeper listened to our dismal tale,
Of how we'd wandered over hill and dale,
But scorned to take the harp as bail.
He gave us food and spade and spear,
Also sacks to build a whare near.
When three months tucker we did owe,
The storekeeper thought that he would go,
Just to see us how we were getting on.
"Hell and fury" – thus he cursed,
"They've gone, they've gone, I plainly see
And sold their gum to Mr. B."
Now take a lesson from my tale,
And you'll never more bewail,
The loss of a digger, so to speak,
If you settle with him once a week.

Figure XXIV: **'The Storekeeper's Lament'**
Collected from an unknown informant by Rudy Sunde, c.1960.
All that is known about Sunde's informant is that he was an "old bloke".[20] Waiwera and Mangawhai are small towns in Northland; the location of 'the Wade' has not yet been identified. 'Waipiro' is a Maori word for alcoholic liquor; and 'whare' is a Maori word for a small house or hut. The informant indicated that 'the harp', mentioned in line twelve, was a concertina.
Source: Rudy Sunde

The NZFLS Auckland branch remained active through to 1974, but activities declined from then on and the final meeting took place in August 1975. Even so, the Auckland branch was the longest surviving NZFLS branch, lasting almost eight years.[21] After the branch disbanded, their archives were held in safe-keeping by various individuals and eventually passed into the care of Angela Annabell.[22] After Annabell's death in 2000, the archives were donated - along with her other papers - to the Alexander Turnbull Library. Consequently, the Auckland branch minute books, correspondence and other papers have largely been preserved.

The collecting work of the Auckland branch has been preserved in various locations. Annabell's papers in the Turnbull Library contain many items and the University of Auckland Library holds further material. Rudy Sunde and Bill Worsfold retain their own original field material. But it is clear that not all collecting work has survived.[23] The fieldwork held by the Turnbull Library consists of several kinds of material. There are many catalogued song sheets, which after taking account of

duplications, represent about seventy individual items.[24] The greater proportion of the sheets preserve material which was collected before the Auckland branch was formed, including Threepenny Singers or Song Spinners music arrangements; 'Cazna Gyp' songs; pages reproduced from *New Zealand Folk Songs* (Colquhoun 1965); songs collected by Rona Bailey; and various early revival songs. Apart from the pieces probably collected by Neil Colquhoun (see Chapter 4), there are about thirty songs which can be attributed to the work of the NZFLS Auckland branch. These consist of a variety of collected songs, newspaper clippings of ballads, original compositions forwarded by correspondents and folk revival compositions. Other material collected by the Auckland branch in the Turnbull Library includes manuscripts of original balladry by Dennis Hogan[25]; however, other manuscripts now seem to be missing.[26] See Appendix 8.1 for details of field collected material and surviving manuscripts; Appendix 8.2 gives a listing of Auckland branch fieldwork reported in meeting minutes.

Although I am an Irishman, sure I can't deny the same,
I came from Tipperary and Paddy that's my name.
Where the boys and girls are frisky, sure they'll take you by the hand,
Saying, 'Cometh quick, come along with me, you're welcome to Paddy's land.'

Then roam, boys, roam,
No more I wish to roam,
For the sun will shine in the harvest time
To welcome poor Paddy home.

In former days old Ireland was a place of wealth and fame,
Was there they got the high-bred men, was there they got that same.
There's Goldsmith, Moore and Wellington, who saved old Ireland's isle,
That'll cover the great who died for our sake and made old Ireland smile.

So roam, boys, roam,
No more I wish to roam,
For the sun will shine in the harvest time
To welcome poor Paddy home.

Figure XXV: **'Welcome Poor Paddy Home'**
Collected from the singing of Harold Curtis-Smith, Whangarei by Bill Worsfold, 4/6/1973.
Only one other variant of this song could be traced in international collections. The other version was recorded from the singing of Willie McElroy, Brookeborough (Co. Fermanagh, Eire) by B. Hanvey and B. McBurney, 1977. McElroy's performance can be heard on the cassette *The Fair of Enniskillen* (Outlet COAS 3001). The song is probably of Irish origin and is unusual in dealing with the return home of an Irish emigrant.
Source: Bill Worsfold.

'Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos'

While Angela Annabell was a member of the NZFLS most of her work in the field of New Zealand folk music took place apart from the Society. The exact origins of her personal interest in folk music are difficult to ascertain, but were probably related to her musicological studies of New Zealand colonial music. She viewed folk music research as an essential component of the overall study of a nation's music: "a comprehensive, historical view of the music of any one country must surely include this 'music of the people'" (Annabell 1970; see also Annabell 1986). Her research into the music of nineteenth century Auckland illuminated one neglected area of musical history; and her folk music project opened up many other such areas. Annabell can be considered the first musicologist to begin investigating (non-Maori) folk music in New Zealand.[27]

Annabell may have viewed folk music as a particular musicological priority because of what she called the "dearth of relevant research at an academic level" in New Zealand (Annabell 1975:viii-ix). Research in New Zealand could also complement study elsewhere in the world, "providing a contribution from New Zealand resources to musicological research in general" (*ibid*: 400). Her project therefore had three main aims: to contribute to a more comprehensive view of New Zealand music history, validate folk music as a scholarly subject in New Zealand and unite with the larger discipline of international folkloristics.

Annabell sympathised with the NZFLS desire to preserve "valuable material… in danger of being lost", but on a deeper level she most identified with the Society's scholarly ambitions (Annabell 1970). She did not express any particular interest in revivalism. At one point in her dissertation she gave a brief overview of previous folk music collecting, publication and study, and praised all the collectors for their "firm faith, in the face of general ignorance and apathy, in the existence of a folk song tradition in this country" (Annabell 1975:319). Of all the individuals mentioned, she clearly saw Frank Fyfe's work as closest to her own ideal, stating that his studies "indicate[d] a growing awareness of the possibilities of New Zealand folk song as a serious study" which aimed for the most "accurate presentation" of the subject (*ibid*.:319 n48).

Just as Phil Garland would go on to most completely realise the revivalist aims of the NZFLS, after it had disbanded, it would be Angela Annabell who would pursue the Society's scholarly ambitions to their furthest extent. Her greatest contribution to the subject is her 1975 PhD dissertation 'New Zealand's Cultural and Economic Development Reflected in Song: Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos'.

Aims and Criteria

Annabell began researching and collecting material for her dissertation in 1970. To gain informants and promote her work, she published an article about New Zealand folk music in newspapers in the North Island and South Island (Annabell 1970). This article gives a good indication of just what kind of material she was looking for and why she valued it.

Excluding the field of Maori music from her discussion, Annabell considered the possibilities for folksong research in New Zealand. The wide range of material she described could be compared with that contained in *Shanties by the Way* (1967), but Annabell made a stronger assertion than Bailey and Roth that it was all 'folksong':

> In a general sense, the term "folk song" today may denote all types of song and verse, irrespective of professional standards, reflecting some aspect of a country's economic and cultural development; that is all songs, poems, ballads, ditties or verse of a national or local character… [which] may include, for instance, a national anthem, patriotic songs, songs of a provincial or civic character, school songs, songs and recitations from the repertoire of a local entertainer, or even advertising jingles.[28]

Annabell also acknowledged the viewpoint of the "folk song purist" who regarded folksong in terms of oral tradition: "folk song is the spontaneous, non-professional, musical expression of a communal body in vocal form, subject to change and variance, and which has survived largely by oral transmission". Annabell stated that in New Zealand such material was associated with nineteenth century sealers, whalers, traders, settlers, gold diggers, gum diggers and kauri bushmen; she also suggested that oral material might still circulate among "such specialised groups as isolated rural communities, timber workers, or shearing gangs". Annabell appealed for assistance from the general public:

> Surviving in the memories of many today, there could be songs and ditties, perhaps having origins in a distant country, or locally composed… handed down by word of mouth, or in written form, from one generation to another. Also old books, music, personal memoirs,

> journals, diaries and letters… could provide tangible evidence and important clues as to the song-making proclivities of our forbears.

She finally asked the question: "of what musical value to the nation is an accumulated body of collected folksong material?" and gives several reasons why "field collectors, scholars and musicians are all needed to seek out, document and analyse". Folksong was a "unique art form comprising an important component of our cultural scene"; it had historical value because it reflected aspects of a "country's economic and cultural development"; and it could provide a "wealth of inspiration for more sophisticated forms of music-making" which in the past had "brought into full flowering the genius of… [the composers] Gustav Holst, Frederick Delius, Arthur Bliss and Benjamin Britten".

Collecting and Research

Angela Annabell wrote no descriptions of how she went about her field collecting, although her dissertation and archival papers provide ample evidence of her methods. She probably made contact with informants in four main ways. Firstly, she solicited the public through newspaper articles, such as the 1970 article quoted above. Secondly, she gained contacts through the NZFLS, by taking fieldwork 'assignments',[29] and promoting her searches in *Penny Post*.[30] Thirdly, she probably gained introductions through her own personal network of family, friends and acquaintances – indeed, most of her informants lived close to Auckland - and with informants living some distance from Auckland, Annabell's collecting seems to have mostly involved an exchange of correspondence. Fourthly, she asked for contacts through her library inquiries, as indicated in one description of her research:

> [Annabell] commenced with a circular letter to 150 libraries throughout New Zealand asking for "references to any books, articles, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, early writings, posters or handbills which might contain New Zealand songs, ballads, ditties or jingles", *and also asking for any possible local contacts in the district*. The replies were numerous and varied… (Freed 1975:4, italics added)

Annabell collected many different kinds of songs, rhymes and poems; but she does not seem to have recorded much instrumental music.[31] Her work was sometimes structured around investigations into specific songs (eg. 'Now is the Hour' and 'The Tui Bird') or singing traditions (eg. the Gaelic songs of Waipu). She tape recorded informants and gathered a range of background information about them and the material they offered.

Only a proportion of Annabell's overall collecting work survives. While many of her papers are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, I could not trace her original field tapes, notes or correspondence with informants. While the extent of her original collection is not known, some material is certainly missing.[32] The reasons for this archiving failure have not been ascertained.[33] Apart from ephemera and a small amount of material collected after 1975,[34] the bulk of her extant fieldwork can be located in her dissertation, either as transcriptions or as field recordings on the cassette which comes with the dissertation.[35] The dissertation contains eighteen songs and rhymes collected in 'the field'; three pieces obtained by correspondence; seven Gaelic pieces collected from recent Scottish immigrants to New Zealand; one Gaelic 'survival' collected from two New Zealand informants; and twenty song fragments collected from John A. Lee. See Appendix 8.3 for details. Annabell also obtained further field collected material from other NZFLS members[36] and from Elsie Locke.[37]

For her background research, Annabell accessed the archives of the Alexander Turnbull Library and Auckland Public Library. She also made contact with several overseas institutions, including the National Library of Australia, the G.W. Blunt Library of the Marine Historical Association (USA) and the Irish Folklore Collection (Dublin). Material obtained from these archival sources is utilised throughout the dissertation.

Approach

Angela Annabell's PhD dissertation - 'New Zealand's Cultural and Economic Development Reflected in Song: Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos' – is a large study (over 450 pages) of various New Zealand folk songs and singing traditions, covering the same range of categories outlined in her 1970 newspaper article. See Figure XXVI for a list of the main chapter headings.

Chapter 1: **Folk Song Material From Britain and Australia Sung in New Zealand**
- i) Songs Via Whaling Ships
  a) The Java, b) The Averick Heineken and the Tuscalloosa, c) The Sharon, d) The London Packet
- ii) Folk Song Material Brought by British Settlers
  a) Evidence in Memoirs, b) The Nursery Rhyme Genre, c) An Example of Broadside Influence
- iii) Importations From Australia
  a) The Convict and Bushranger Genre; Commercialization, b) The 'Dying Stockman' Tradition

Chapter 2: **Charles Robert Thatcher**

Chapter 3: **Indigenous Songs of Literary Origins**
- i) 'The Tui Bird'
- ii) 'My Own New Zealand Home'
- iii) 'God Defend New Zealand'
- iv) 'On the Ball'
- v) 'Now is the Hour'

Chapter 4: **A 'New Zealand Folk Song Import'**

Chapter 5: **New Zealand Folk Song**
- i) 'Captain Matheson'
- ii) Existing Collectanea. A Study of Three Songs
  a) 'Whalers' Rhymes', b) 'Bright Fine Gold', c) 'The New Chum'

Chapter 6: **The Gaelic Folk Songs of the Waipu Settlers**

Figure XXVI: **Chapters in 'New Zealand's Cultural and Economic Development Reflected in Song: Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos'**

The first chapter deals with material of overseas origin collected in New Zealand or found in archival holdings. Such material includes Anglo-Irish folk songs found in the logs of American whaling ships which visited New Zealand waters in the mid-nineteenth century; nursery rhymes brought to New Zealand by settlers, which had either been located in memoirs or collected as 'survivals'; and Australian bush songs collected in New Zealand. The second chapter deals with the songs of Charles Thatcher, considering them both as topical items, and, through Thatcher's use of certain tunes, as evidence of the introduction of certain folk melodies into New Zealand. The third chapter discusses five songs, all of which had early publication, but which also involved oral tradition in some way or else expressed nationalistic sentiments. The fourth chapter deals with a song collected in Ireland which had a New Zealand connection. The fifth chapter examines in detail four New Zealand folk songs (as defined in terms of oral tradition). The sixth chapter is a report of field investigations into whether Gaelic folk songs were still sung by descendants of nineteenth century Scottish immigrants who settled in Waipu. Annabell includes four appendices of extra material, including a collation of interviews with John A. Lee and an extensive bibliography. As mentioned above, the dissertation is accompanied by a cassette of field recordings and other music.

Perhaps the most immediately striking aspect of Annabell's dissertation is that she does not formally define or discuss 'folksong'.[38] The lack of a formal discussion of terms is an unusual omission at a PhD level of study. Even so, it is apparent that Annabell understood the orthodox

definitions of folk music and she makes it clear that "pure folk song… [was] the product of primarily oral processes of transmission and survival" (Annabell 1975:399).

Another striking aspect of the dissertation is that Annabell does not explain the reasons for her overall approach and only lightly sketches her general aims. The absence of such an explanation is difficult to explain. The dissertation does not really deal with "New Zealand Cultural and Economic Development", except insomuch as the material naturally touches upon familiar historical or social trends such as whaling, immigration, and the gold rushes. And while Annabell introduces the bold concept of "the New Zealand folk song ethos" in her very title –echoing Frank Fyfe's "New Zealand tradition" (Fyfe 1967:5; see also Annabell 1970) – she tempers this with a clear indication that she is only dealing with "aspects" of the broader field which this concept suggests.

Annabell's overall approach is essentially to present a series of case studies of single songs or traditions. Like Fyfe, she probably wanted to remain open to the possibilities of what might constitute folk music in New Zealand at the early stage of research into the subject (Fyfe 1973a:5). Her dissertation can therefore be viewed as an exploratory treatment of what the term 'New Zealand folk song' might encompass. Although perhaps intending to construct an integrated argument, eventually Annabell may have decided that the 'aspects' she had studied were simply too multifarious to combine together under a single formulation of 'the New Zealand folk song ethos'.

Analysis

Each song or tradition covered in Annabell's dissertation receives thorough and high quality handling. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe and analyse all of the work and the following section will concentrate on her most distinctive contributions, taken in the context of the collecting already covered in this thesis. The section will begin by outlining the folkloristic methods and concepts developed in chapters one, three, five and six. This will be followed by a discussion of the overall implications of the dissertation and lastly, address a few of the weaknesses of her approach.

Annabell begins with a long chapter about folk songs from Britain and Australia found in New Zealand. Some songs were located in manuscripts and presumably had not survived in oral tradition in New Zealand. A number of other pieces had been collected from informants, including Anglo-Irish nursery rhymes like 'Johnny Come Sell Your Fiddle' and 'Wing Wing Waddle O'; children's chants such as 'Do you remember the fifth of November?'; and Australian bush songs like 'The Wild Colonial Boy'. Discussing this oral material, Annabell takes a number of orthodox folkloristic approaches. She discusses the background of informants and their sources, compares variant versions, and describes historical context and the meaning of the lyrics.

Annabell's interest in non-New Zealand material is distinctive. For Annabell, the very fact that some such songs had survived in oral tradition gave them prestige, regardless of their country of origin. By taking this interest, she applies the standard of 'oral tradition' more evenly than Frank Fyfe, for example, who remained strongly focussed on oral material of local origin or which had been thoroughly localised. Later in the dissertation she even acknowledges that beyond the recognised boundaries of folksong, a broad array of popular and music hall songs, such as 'Daisy Bell',[39] could also be found in oral tradition in New Zealand. But she does not extend this discussion any further and remarks that only songs with "relevance to the New Zealand scene during their period of currency… [have the] special authenticity and popularity which justifies their consideration in a discussion of New Zealand folk song" (Annabell 1975:415)

In the fifth chapter, Annabell considers four folk songs collected from oral tradition which are more obviously of New Zealand origin. Here Annabell follows the same methodologies as earlier, but pursues her song analyses further, describing possible circumstances of composition, performance and transmission; also speculating about the textual, melodic and stylistic differences between variants. Her study of 'Captain Matheson' is a particularly complete study of how a local piece had

been composed out of an existing traditional song, incorporating many other traditional elements. With the study of 'Whalers' Rhymes', Annabell builds on the earlier work of Frank Fyfe (1971d), and is able to investigate the song's Australian connection (as discovered by Ron Edwards - see Chapter 6), producing a more extensive coverage.

The third chapter is the most theoretically innovative in the dissertation. Annabell here discusses five published songs, two of which had intersected with oral tradition in different ways. With the song 'The Tui Bird', Annabell describes its origins as a nineteenth century school song which was gradually spread by teachers and pupils. Over time, knowledge of the original writer was lost to those who sang it - the song became 'anonymous' - and it was perpetuated in ephemeral school song books and oral tradition.[40] She speculates that the song's persistence in oral tradition might be due to the strong images of the tui bird in the lyrics, suggesting that these evoke the iconography of ancient bird-worship cults. With the song 'Now is the Hour', Annabell finds that questions of origins and transmission are complex and mysterious. The melody for this song was partly adapted from an Australian piano solo published in 1913; words in Maori and English were added shortly afterwards. Annabell collected several different sets of words, which had been learnt within oral tradition in the 1910s and 1920s. She reveals that what initially seemed to be only one song is in fact a web of variants encompassing several distinct songs - in both English and Maori (including a Ratana hymn) - with roughly the same tune. The complexity of the situation is reflected in the legal copyright controversies which later emerged. With the study of 'Now is the Hour' Annabell raises a host of issues about how European and Maori musical cultures have borrowed from and influenced each other. She stands as one of the first scholarly researchers to thoroughly embrace the field of hybridised Maori-Pakeha material, and one of the only individuals in the present study to class such material as 'New Zealand folk song'.[41]

The other three songs in the third chapter have less connection to oral tradition, but the chapter is unified by the songs' nationalistic aspects. 'God Defend New Zealand' is the national anthem; and the other songs all evoke potent national themes or symbols: homeland, indigenous wildlife, popular sport, and the pain of exile. Annabell's underlying argument is that 'national songs' like these may in fact be an important part of the expressive life of 'the folk' because of the "fervour with which they have been accepted, sung, and distributed throughout New Zealand at various periods" (Annabell 1975:154). Overt nationalistic sentiment is therefore as valid a theme for a folk song as any other and may account for the continued survival of a song.

The sixth chapter of the dissertation is an analysis of Gaelic folksong in the small Northland town of Waipu. A group of Scottish emigrants had arrived in New Zealand in 1853 under the leadership of the Reverend Norman McLeod, settled in Waipu, and put down roots. Annabell considers Waipu as an 'ethnic' enclave - an innovative approach among the collectors covered in this thesis - of Gaelic culture. She describes her investigation into whether songs had survived among descendants of the original settlers in continuous oral tradition. Disappointingly, she could only locate one such song, the lullaby 'Shiorum Sios, Shiorum Suas'. Probably because she could not locate much 'surviving' material, most of Annabell's chapter discusses the song culture of the original nineteenth century settlers, although she does mention some 'folk' traditions which did survive a few more generations of Waipu residents, for example, local bards who would compose topical songs. Annabell also taped the singing of several recent Scottish emigrants to New Zealand. These emigrants knew certain songs familiar to the original Waipu group and which were still being sung in the Outer Islands back in Scotland. Annabell also discovered that certain descendants of the settlers were trying to recover and revive their original heritage, despite of the loss of continuous tradition.

Considered as a single work, the dissertation presents two broader implications for the study of folk music in New Zealand. Firstly, Annabell portrayed the 'New Zealand folk song ethos' as a complex pattern of interrelating musical categories and influences which belied simple notions of folksong 'purity'. Where researchers like Frank Fyfe had valued oral material highly (if not exclusively), she saw oral tradition as an assumed ideal lying at one end of a continuum of relevant song types: folksong authenticity was a matter of 'shades of grey'. At a later time she wrote that "folk elements, processes, and styles [were present] in varying proportions and degrees in the entire body

of New Zealand song" (Annabell 1992:226). A similar feeling comes through in her embrace of material of both overseas and indigenous origin, while the boundaries between Maori and Pakeha culture were also viewed as permeable and complex. Secondly, Annabell considered that "a comprehensive view of the background from which proper indigenous folk song might spring" was essential to understanding folksong in New Zealand (Annabell 1975:ix). Folkloristic research had to proceed in parallel with other musicological inquiries in order to reveal the full context and provenance of folk material, especially considering the interactions between different cultural layers she perceived. In essence, Annabell proposes an approach to the study of New Zealand folk music which proceeds from orthodox folkloristic definitions and concepts, but is sophisticated and flexible.

While Annabell's dissertation advances folk music scholarship in New Zealand in a number of areas, it has one main weak point: an undue emphasis on historical material. In her Conclusion she states:

> [A]s the technological age advances, the researching and collecting of traditional folk song material may become still more meaningful, with that of the earlier periods of human history perhaps acquiring ever-increasing prestige. It has been in a spirit of respect, certainly, for the mementos of the past… [that this dissertation] has been realised. (Annabell 1975:399-400)

Here Annabell expresses something of an antiquarian attraction to "mementos of the past" and it is clearly evident that she concentrated on collecting and studying the oldest pieces she could find. While her focus on such historic material reflects her chosen topic ('Cultural and Economic Development') the dissertation is overbalanced in favour of material from the nineteenth century. As a scholarly pioneer, Annabell was in the exciting situation of having many possible lines of investigation open to her. That she chose to commence with material from New Zealand's early European history may reflect the logic of 'starting at the beginning', but her emphasis on historical, fragmentary and defunct traditions often gives the dissertation a rather spindly feel and it is a pity that Annabell did not choose to research more vigorous song traditions.

Even so, Annabell probably saw her dissertation as providing basic groundwork for future research and in fact, her bibliography suggests many possible directions for future study not covered in the main work. The bibliography includes extensive listings of ephemeral tramping, student and school song books, local histories, and collections of popular New Zealand balladry and minstrelsy. The only area conspicuous by its absence, from both the main text and bibliography, is the folk revival movement. While she mentions a few songs which have currency in folk clubs, Annabell does not integrate revivalism into her overall understanding of folk music. Her omission probably reflects the fact that, in 1975, the folk movement was still a fairly recent phenomena and that revivalism remained problematic within the established definitions of folkloristics.[42]

Annabell's dissertation is an important study. In many areas of interest, she pursued the scholarly aims of the NZFLS to a high level and opened up new ways of conceptualising folk music in New Zealand, especially by advancing a more subtle understanding of oral tradition than used elsewhere. She laid a solid base for future researchers and while she concentrated on historical material, her bibliography indicates that she envisaged much wider scope for future research. Annabell's 1975 dissertation remains the only PhD on New Zealand folksong and is the single greatest scholarly contribution to the field. Unfortunately it has not been published.

Later Work

After being awarded her doctorate, Annabell's research work was reported in the *New Zealand Herald*. The writer stated that her work had "broken ground for New Zealand in the important area of folk song… [although] a scarcity of basic material made her task a particularly challenging one" (Anon 1976). She was asked what her plans for the future consisted of and she replied "more research… there is a great deal more work to be done" (quoted in *ibid*.).

Annabell remained associated with the University of Auckland in an informal capacity, but did not hold a teaching or research position. In 1978 she began planning the establishment of a folklore archive where collected material could be preserved and made available for other researchers. It was proposed that the archive would be based at the University. Her plan was developed in conjunction with a one-day seminar on New Zealand folklore which was held at the Centre for Continuing Education in July 1978.[43] It is evident that she also planned a more substantial course on folklore, drafting at least six lectures,[44] and she may have viewed the proposed archive as a repository for material which such a course might produce. From examining her papers at the Turnbull Library, it appears that she began research into how a folklore archive would be organised. Her papers contain several articles on American archives and sample 'collection sheets' where details of collecting work would be formally registered along with the deposition of fieldwork material. She developed her own local version of such a sheet for distribution at the July 1978 seminar.[45]

It is not known exactly which department of the University she initially approached with the archive proposal, but in any case, her plans did not progress for several years and the folklore course was never set up. In September 1979 she gave an open lecture on New Zealand folksong at the University School of Music,[46] and in March of the following year, a newspaper article announced that the archive was about to be instituted and would be based at the main library of the University (Anon 1980). Annabell asked for public contributions of folklore material and she received at least five letters in response, one of which contained a shearing rhyme – see Figure XXVII.[47]

Haere go crutchee the sheep,
Throw all the dags in a heap.
The sheep he go clean,
The man he go green,
Haere go crutchee the sheep.

Figure XXVII: **"Haere go crutchee the sheep…"**
Collected from Marie Paget by Angela Annabell, 17/3/1980
In her letter to Annabell, Paget describes how she heard this sheep-shearing rhyme on a farm in the Gisborne area in the 1940s.
Source: ATL 2000-199-1/20

It is evident that the archive at the University library never got 'off the ground'. The University of Auckland have no record of it being ever formally established,[48] and they only hold a small amount of unrelated material.[49] Annabell's papers at the Turnbull reveal that some time later she drafted a formal approach to the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music to develop a "subsidiary resource… devoted specifically to the folklore of Europeanized New Zealand".[50] The Archive of Maori and Pacific Music had been established at the Anthropology Department of the University in 1970, and Annabell probably saw this as an opportunity to develop a complementary, possibly overlapping cultural repository within the same framework. Her draft to the Archive gives a broad outline of her own collection, which she was prepared to donate as an initial contribution. But, as with the archive planned by the NZFLS Wellington branch, Annabell's vision of a scholarly folklore repository was never realised.

Even if the archive never eventuated, her work on the proposal is interesting for two main reasons. Firstly, it expressed Annabell's feeling that formal archiving was going to be necessary for the serious future study of folklore in New Zealand. Secondly, in the 1980 newspaper article, she described how the archive would be "dedicated to the exploration and appreciation of the indigenous culture of Pakeha New Zealand" (quoted in Anon 1980). The article itself was entitled 'Pakeha Folklore Study', which could be the first use of the term 'Pakeha folklore'. Although Annabell herself did not continue to develop the concept of 'Pakeha folklore', the appearance of this term is an intriguing new development in the New Zealand collecting enterprise.

Her use of the word 'Pakeha' can be connected to social, cultural and political trends that were occurring in New Zealand during the 1970s. Maori culture was undergoing a resurgence at the time, and when new immigrant groups began to arrive in large numbers in the 1980s (King 2004:465-484), 'Pakeha' became a useful, if controversial, term for New Zealanders of mainly European descent. The word 'Pakeha' has many shades of meaning, but in the context of New Zealand folklore, its use expresses new cultural demarcations (Pakeha-Maori-Immigrant) and also claims the existence of other forms of indigeneity in New Zealand beside Maori. Several other writers have pursued these ideas within a wider cultural setting (King 1988; Belich 2001).

Broadly speaking, 'Pakeha folk music' is what most of the collectors from Rona Bailey onwards were seeking in their work. By the late 1970s, with the 'Maori Renaissance' under way and scholarly researchers delineating specific fields of traditional Maori folk culture, Annabell probably felt it was necessary to define more clearly what she meant by 'New Zealand folklore'. The new emphasis on biculturalism also made it distinctly clear for Annabell that "past research [had] concentrated on our Maori folklore at the expense of European folklore" (quoted in Anon 1980). While she certainly felt that there had been differing treatments of Maori and Pakeha folklore within the scholarly field, it is interesting to note that her own vision of a 'Pakeha folklore archive' was one complementary to, if not integrated within, the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music. Her idealist proposal is to some extent a symbol of the insights which she had made about Maori-European hybrid material in her 1975 dissertation.[51]

Annabell was sent a small amount of folk material as a result of the 1980 newspaper article, but it is apparent that she did not pursue any more active collecting work after her dissertation was completed in 1975. The only post-1975 fieldtrip she seems to have conducted was a 1983 trip to Waiheke Island to visit an elderly resident, Bert Read. Annabell had been told by contacts at the University that Read knew several early New Zealand songs. When she interviewed him she discovered that these songs had all been learnt in the 1960s as part of Neil Colquhoun's Workers' Education Association group.[52] Although evidently disappointed, Annabell recorded the songs, and also thirteen music hall and popular pieces which Read remembered from growing up in England. Annabell produced a report on the fieldtrip (Annabell 1983), which she presented at the annual conference of the New Zealand Musicological Society in 1987 (Nicol 1987). The original recordings are stored at the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music.

From 1975 onwards, Annabell produced a number of conference papers, articles and essays on New Zealand folk music, but most of these recycle elements of her dissertation (Annabell 1977, 1986, 1989, 1992, 2001).[53] Probably the most innovative article concerned the Australian influence upon folk music in New Zealand (Annabell 1989).[54] The article summarised parts of her dissertation, but included a measured appraisal of the folk revival movement, drawing a suggestive parallel between the exchange of folk material across Australasia in the 1860-1910 era, and that which was taking place between revival performers in the two countries (Annabell 1989:37). She also described the New Zealand collecting enterprise begun in the 1950s and the nature of the folksong canon, and her concepts prefigure a number of ideas developed in the present thesis:

> The work of a few early collectors and enthusiasts… was accelerated around the nineteen-fifties, and brought to light enough evidence to show that… the spontaneous proletariat reaction in song has been present in New Zealand as in other countries.
>
> This pioneering work, together with the folk-song revival movement, is the basis on which is built the repertoire as sung today in folk clubs, on radio, and in television programmes. The editors, songwriters, and folk-singers of the revivalist movement may of necessity be represented in higher proportions in this repertoire than is the case with some older countries. Their work, nonetheless, has made possible the consolidation of a corpus of material into what may be defined as a folk-song tradition, capable of utilisation for research both in this country and on an international basis.

> Only a proportion of this material approaches the ideal of the classic folk-song…. Some songs are simply built around elements of folk material, while others may be existing poems or verse set to music. Some are entirely new compositions, words and music. To scholars, researchers, and archivists must fall the tasks of distinguishing between authenticity and amendment, of deciding what is and what is not pure 'folk', and of categorising, classifying, and documenting the folk-song canon. (*ibid.*:35)

In the final statement, Annabell expressed a new belief that folkloristic scholarship must engage fully with the full complexity of what 'folk music' meant in the post-revival era and not simply concentrate on source traditions ("classic folk-song"). Her overall vision of the folk music canon as a manifest body of material built up by many individuals, was later developed in the work of Mike Harding (1992) and Phil Garland (1996).

Annabell's final published work on folk music was an entry for the 2001 edition of the *New Grove Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians* on the European traditional music of New Zealand (Annabell 2001). While not developing her ideas any further, the essay provides a useful summary and expands considerably on John Mansfield Thomson's very brief entry in the 1980 edition (Thomson 1980).

Angela Annabell died in 2000 after a period of illness (Palmer 2004). While she had continued to develop her ideas on New Zealand folk music after her 1975 dissertation, the amount of collecting and writing which she conducted over the next twenty-five years was relatively small, especially considering her 1976 statement that there was "a great deal more work to be done" (quoted in Anon 1976). What were the factors which curtailed Annabell's research into the field of New Zealand folk music? She had continued to research colonial music; the subject of 'New Zealand folk music' had not 'disappeared' for her as it had for Frank Fyfe; and she had continued to affirm, right into the 1990s, that there was still "wide scope for in-depth study and research in this region" (Annabell 1992:226).

One possible explanation is that Annabell's collecting work between 1970 and 1975 had been driven by the basic necessity of completing her PhD. Once this goal had been achieved, Annabell may have lacked a similarly strong structure to impel and support her folkloristic endeavour. As it turned out, her dissertation was not published; she did not gain a lectureship in musicology; there were no folklore departments in New Zealand universities for her to work in; nor was there a folklore archive she could help develop and expand. Although she tried to establish an archive and extramural course at the University of Auckland, both of which could have been a foundation for future work, she was unsuccessful. As a lone scholar of folk music Annabell may have found she could better direct her energies into other areas of musical research. Although the NZFLS enterprise had earlier failed to convince funding bodies as to the value of collecting work, the revival movement did at least provide a level of support for collectors like Phil Garland to continue. Annabell's folkloristic endeavours were perhaps more dependent on the support of institutions - she needed a scholarly environment in which to work. Her enterprise may have finally proved vulnerable to a lack of interest 'from above'.

Conclusion

Angela Annabell was the first collector to operate exclusively within an academic framework and made an important contribution to developing the scholarly study of New Zealand folk music. After completing her research into colonial Auckland music in the late 1960s, she became interested in folksong, realising that scholarly research in this area would be a pioneering contribution to New Zealand musicology. Partly inspired by the NZFLS enterprise, she began extensive field collecting and archival research towards a dissertation on the subject. Annabell collected a modest body of material overall. Much of her original fieldwork is missing, but she did preserve a large portion of the NZFLS Auckland branch archive.

Annabell's 1975 dissertation is a substantial scholarly study of New Zealand folk music. She presents an array of ground-breaking studies which both develop previous work (by Frank Fyfe and others) and create innovative new avenues of inquiry. While the dissertation questions sharp nationalistic or Maori-European dichotomies, Annabell's chief innovation is in developing, from existing scholarly definitions, a sophisticated understanding of folksong authenticity in New Zealand. She would later expand her concepts to include revivalist material and provided an early vision of the New Zealand folk music canon as the product of a process involving the work of collectors, editors, songwriters and performers.

After completing her dissertation in 1975, Annabell remained committed to promoting the study of folksong. She gave conference papers, wrote articles, and tried to establish a folklore archive at the University of Auckland. However, she was not able to continue the same level of scholarly devotion to the subject; her collecting activities also declined sharply. One possible reason for Annabell's folkloristic endeavour stalling was that her work was exclusively scholarly and she could not succeed in cultivating the kind of institutional support which she required. Even so, her body of work suggests many possible directions for future research into source traditions, the revival movement, and the nature of the folk music canon.

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[1] Biographical information about Angela Annabell has been derived from the short note in Palmer (2004) and Annabell's archived papers. Inquiries have been made with family members, but I have received no response from them. Because of the lack of background information about Annabell, this chapter will concentrate on her PhD dissertation.

[2] Other contemporaneous work on colonial New Zealand music includes Julia Moriarty, 1967, 'Wellington Music in the First Half-Century of Settlement', MA thesis, Victoria University; and B. Walsh, 1967, 'A Survey of Orchestral Activity in New Zealand', MA thesis, Victoria University. For an overall listing of such works see Thomson (1991:308-309).

[3] Interview, March 2005.

[4] *Penny Post*, no.2.

[5] *ibid*., no.8.

[6] It seems that most of the NZFLS Auckland branch administrative material survives in the ATL Annabell papers, including correspondence, accounts, and two minute books (these have the references MSX-5611 and MSY-5004).

[7] See letter from Auckland branch to Christchurch branch, dated 1/7/1968, ATL 2000-199-1/02.

[8] There is a large time gap in the meetings reported in the minute books. The last meeting of the early period was held on 22/8/1968; the next reported meeting was held on 16/2/1971 (see ATL MSX-5611). However, it seems that the branch was active until at least October 1969, when the *Songs of a Young Country* radio series was aired (see Chapter 4). That there was a definite period of recess is confirmed by a note in *Penny Post*, vol.5 no.4, which states that the "Auckland Branch of the Society has been reformed and is enjoying a period of progress and expansion".

[9] See minutes, 13/3/1968, ATL MSX-5611.

[10] There is no consolidated archival holding of this newsletter, but copies can be found scattered through the ATL Annabell papers, mostly in these folders: 2000-199-2/11; 2000-199-2/13; and 2000-199-2/16.

[11] See letter from Annabell to the Auckland branch, dated 12/8/1969, where she inquired about joining the branch, ATL 2000-199-1/02.

[12] See minutes, 4/3/1971, ATL MSX-5611.

[13] Pat Sunde, personal communication, March 2005.

[14] The main exception to the pattern of collecting by individuals, was a large group trip to Puhoi to record the traditional music of the descendants of nineteenth century Bohemian settlers. This fieldtrip probably occurred around March 1968. See minutes, 13/3/1968, ATL MSX-5611.

[15] The Auckland branch seems to have been mostly interested in collecting songs and music, but a small amount of other folkloric material was gathered. One interesting piece of fieldwork was the photographing and transcription of graffiti from the walls of the Waihi jail. Some of the graffiti dated back to the tumultuous 1912 strike (Sunde 1974 - see ATL MS-Papers-1027).

[16] For biographical details see Sunde (2003) and Harvey (2004:95-97).

[17] For biographical details, see Worsfold (n.d.).

[18] The memoir was entitled 'Reminiscences of a Country Blacksmith'; the yarn collection was entitled '2nd Chronicles of a Country Blacksmith'. Worsfold's typescript of the Curtis-Smith manuscripts are located in the University of Auckland Library Special Collection, A-230.

[19] The only collected piece which Bill Worsfold seems to have adapted and used for performance is 'Hakaru Races' which features on Worsfold and Worsfold (1999b). Another song on the same CD, 'The Three From Hogan's Camp', was based on a long anonymous ballad found by Bill Worsfold in the *A.A. Official Bulletin*, 7/6/1946. The ballad was initially collected from F. McGonnell (Kaihu) from an unknown informant. See also the NZFLS song sheet in ATL 2000-1999-2/05.
[20] See letter from Rudy Sunde to Herbert Roth, dated 29/6/1966, ATL 94-106-06/2.
[21] The last recorded meeting in the Auckland branch minutes took place on 14/8/1975, ATL MSY-5004.
[22] Email from Bill Worsfold, 16/8/2005.
[23] As well as the NZFLS material held by the Turnbull Library, Pat and Rudy Sunde have retained a body of manuscripts, correspondence and field tapes. Part of this corpus is now in the possession of the writer. Additionally, copies of other field recordings and material have been forwarded by Bill Worsfold. Yet not all Auckland branch fieldwork can be accounted for. In particular, it appears that a certain quantity was lost prior to the 1970 recess period. A manuscript listing in the branch librarian Margaret Wood's handwriting, probably dating to 1971, mentions various missing items (ATL 2000-199-2/14). Other missing material includes the 1968 Puhoi tape-recordings and a "traditional hunting ballad" collected from an Auckland shoemaker in 1968 (see *New Zealand Listener*, 26/9/1969, p.13; also branch minutes, 8/7/1968, ATL MSX-5611).
[24] The song sheets in the ATL Annabell papers are distributed between five different folders: 2000-199-1/01; 2000-199-2/03; 2000-199-2/04; 2000-199-2/05; and 2000-199-2/14. There are duplicate copies of many songs. Numerical indexing and reference codes were added to a few of the sheets, but there is no consolidated listing or explanation of the codes. Bill Worsfold possibly possesses copies of two unique song sheets, clipped down from their full size to fit in his music book, as well as other material which was not transcribed for the Auckland branch archive.
There is evidence to suggest that some of the missing song sheets consisted of clippings from the military song book: *Kiwi Songs* (c.1945, ed. Anon). For example, the song sheet for 'My Dug-Out in Matruh' (incorrectly stated as having been collected by Neil Colquhoun), consists of a clipped page pasted onto the sheet. This page is virtually identical with that found in *Kiwi Songs*. Branch librarian Margaret Wood's note about the missing sheets (see note 23 above) mentions another song, 'My Granny Smokes a Hubbly', which is also found in *Kiwi Songs*.
[25] The work of Dennis Hogan can be compared to Tod Symons and Joe Charles. See Hogan (1964) for a selection of his verses, as well as a biographical note. Further biographical information can be found in *Heritage*, no.7, pp.14-15.
[26] A listing of manuscripts in the Auckland branch archives, dating to c.1971, can be found in ATL 2000-199-2/16. One of these manuscripts is not present in the Turnbull Library holdings: "Experience – Farming Life in NZ. 3 manuscripts by John Wesley".
[27] Robert Hoskins probably began researching the songs of Charles Thatcher in 1971, a year after Annabell began research for her dissertation.
[28] All unattributed quotations in the next two paragraphs - either in body text or integrated into the main text - are from Annabell (1970).
[29] One such collecting 'assignment' was Annabell's interviews with John A. Lee, see branch minutes, 7/10/1971.
[30] For example, Annabell publicised her search for versions of the song 'The Tui Bird' in *Penny Post*, vol.6 no.1.
[31] The only reference to the recording of instrumental music is in a brief listing of material in her cassette collection. Here there is mention of "Gaelic songs and Northumbrian small pipes". See ATL 2000-199-2/07.
[32] For example, in Annabell's case study of 'The Tui Bird', she includes three tape-recorded variants and a snippet of a melodic variation from a correspondent. She also mentions another eight informants, whose contributed versions could not be traced by the writer. Other missing material includes the songs recorded from Molly Russell apart from 'Captain Matheson' and the version of 'The Dying Bushman' reportedly collected in South Hawkes Bay in 1970 (see *Penny Post*, vol.7 no.5). See also ATL 2000-199-2/07 for a brief listing of her now-missing cassette collection, which included NZFLS seminars, copies of commercial recordings and radio programmes.
[33] While a great deal of Annabell's papers have survived in the Turnbull Library and elsewhere, it seems curious that her original fieldwork is missing. Although Annabell conducted a great deal of scholarly work, the archiving may have been less scrupulous.
[34] Surviving ephemera collected by Annabell includes material sent by Cobden poet and songwriter Kate Skates. This material includes songs written under the penname 'Rose Trellis' and printed in connection with *The Songmaker* and *Verse*, two 'broadside'-type publications printed and distributed by J.J. Stroud in 1940s Christchurch which aimed to help amateur songwriters sell their work. Stroud later founded the small music publishing company Newson and Stroud, and also invented an early photocopying device. More research is required about Stroud, but some preliminary work has been done by David Dell (Sheet Music Archive of New

Zealand), from whom much of the preceding information was gained. The Annabell-Skates material is held in the library of the School of Music at Auckland University, but had not yet been catalogued when writer examined it.

[35] Of Annabell's later work, only the recordings of Bert Read on Waiheke Island in 1983 and a report on the fieldtrip, have survived (see Archive of Maori and Pacific Music, Auckland University). Among Annabell's papers in the Turnbull Library are manuscript copies of tramping songs, which were probably collected by Roger Dick and forwarded to Annabell in the 1970s or 1980s. There is also a larger quantity of material of unknown provenance, much of it relating the NZFLS Auckland branch.

[36] The NZFLS collecting utilised by Annabell includes some material collected by Frank Fyfe (see Appendix 6.4) and Bill Worsfold (see Appendix 8.1). Annabell also discusses the NZBS Dick Morris recording of 'A New Chum Just From England' (see Appendix 7.2). Interestingly, she does not mention the Morris song 'A Bunch of Watercresses' which uses an identical melody and opening line to 'A New Chum Just From England'. Considering the care which Annabell took to consider all available information in her dissertation, it is certain she would have mentioned the similarity between the two songs if she had known had been aware of it. Hence it appears she was given only partial access to the NZFLS Wellington branch archives.

[37] For the correspondence between Annabell and Locke see ATL MS-Papers-7202-118. As far as can be ascertained Annabell did not utilise any of the material obtained from Locke in her PhD.

[38] Annabell's bibliography contains only a few theoretical works and does not include standard definitions, such as found in IFMC (1955), Sharp (1965) and Utley (1965).

[39] 'Daisy Bell' begins with the well-known line "Daisy, Daisy, give me your answer true…". Annabell remarks that this song would be at least partly known by "most adult New Zealanders today… [who] may never have seen the words or music in print" (1975:414-416).

[40] Elsie Locke collected another version of 'The Tui Bird' in the early 1960s, see ATL MS-Papers-7202-106.

[41] None of the other collectors covered in this thesis have dealt with Maori-European hybrid material, except, to some extent, Neil Colquhoun and Les Cleveland. Some comments made during the 1960s folk revival movement, revealed certain perceptions of this material. For example, in a review of *Shanties by the Way,* one writer celebrated that "when people [now] ask for a New Zealand folk song it should no longer be necessary to break into such things as 'Now is the Hour', etc." (Harris 1967:19).

[42] There is a definite sense of reservation in the way Annabell treats revivalist work in her 1975 dissertation. For example, in relation to Neil Colquhoun's reconstruction of 'Bright Fine Gold', Annabell carefully discusses all the original rhymes and chants of this song which had been printed or collected, then concludes, only briefly noting Colquhoun's dissemination of a reconstructed version in the 1950s and 1960s through education work. This abrupt end to the discussion almost implies that for Annabell, the study of the song as a 'folk song' would have to necessarily end at this point. Yet in many ways, Colquhoun's activities can be viewed as just a more complicated version of the processes Annabell discusses with regard to 'The Tui Bird' and 'My Own New Zealand Home'.

[43] For printed brochures of the course and typescripts of her two-part seminar see ATL 2000-199-1/19.

[44] The six lectures she drafted, in addition to the two initial seminar lectures, were entitled 'Nursery Rhymes and Children's Games', 'British Traditions in New Zealand', 'Folklore of Immigrant Groups', 'Folk Heroes', New Zealand Folk Poets' and 'Folk Museums. Typescripts can be located in ATL 2000-199-1/10.

[45] For Annabell's overseas research see ATL 2000-199-2/07; for her sample collection sheet see ATL 2000-199-2/09.

[46] A typescript of the 1979 lecture, 'New Zealand Folk Song – An Open Lecture' can be located in ATL 2000-199-1/19.

[47] See ATL 2000-199-1/20 for these letters.

[48] Emails from Special Collections Librarian Stephen Innes, 31/8/2005 and 6/9/2005.

[49] See note 34 above.

[50] For Annabell's three-page archive proposal, see ATL 2000-199-2/07. The pages are out of order within the folder. All are typed, and have the following headings: 'Samples of Material in Cassette Tape Collection of A.R. Annabell'; 'Proposal for New Zealand Folklore Repository'; and 'New Zealand Folklore Collection of A.R. Annabell'.

[51] A few of the earlier collectors had already used the term 'indigenous folksong' to define their area of interest, prior to Annabell introducing the concept of an 'indigenous Pakeha culture'. These early collectors were expressing a latent sense that folksong in the English language could be viewed as just as 'indigenous' as Maori folksong. The concept of 'indigeneity' (of something originating in and being of a certain place) is either directly stated or implied in the following statements: in 1941, Alan Mulgan quoted Arnold Haskell as praising 'Waltzing Matilda' as "truly indigenous" (Mulgan 1941:20); Les Cleveland talked of whether songs were "native" to New Zealand (quoted in Anon 1959a:3); Neil Colquhoun mentioned that "indigenous material needs careful handling" (Colquhoun 1959); Rona Bailey stated that not all of New Zealand's "indigenous music comes from the Maori people" (quoted in Clauson 1965); and Frank Fyfe confirmed his main interest was in

"indigenous folksong" (Fyfe 1972a:4). During the 1980s the use of such modifiers became far more common in discussions of local folksong, see Lee (1987), Dann (1988) and Harding (1992).
In world terms, the New Zealand emphasis on indigineity, in regard to folk music collecting, is unusual; even in Australia the term 'indigenous folksong' is not often used. The local emphasis seems certainly connected to the strongly independent presence of an indigenous population (Maori), whose arrival predates European settlement by many centuries. In the context of folk culture, questions about how a nationally-defined culture intersects with other structures of cultural demarcation, remains largely unexplored, and will certainly be an important element of future research.

[52] According to Neil Colquhoun, Bert Read also collected versions of songs through the Auckland folk revival and apparently his copy of *New Zealand Folk Songs* (Colquhoun 1965b) - held by the Auckland Public Library - contains Read's pencil annotations of different lyrics. This copy has not yet been examined by the writer.

[53] Annabell's papers at the Turnbull Library also contain typescripts of lectures delivered at a 1978 Annabell family gathering ('New Zealand Folklore', 2000-199-1/10) and a 1980 Womens' Studies Association (Auckland) Herstory Conference ('Folksong and Folklore', 2000-199-1/18). A few of Annabell's unrealised folksong projects include a recording of New Zealand songs organised through the Kiwi label; preliminary research into tramping songs; and an essay for the yet-to-be-released UNESCO 'Universe of Music' project. Papers which develop these projects are all located in her various ATL folders.

[54] This particular article (Annabell 1989) was originally presented as a conference paper at the 1988 Symposium of the International Musicological Society in Melbourne. See Annabell (1992:226 fn4).

Conclusion

Between the years 1955 and 1975 a number of individuals took the initiative to begin collecting folk songs and folk music in New Zealand. They were supported by others, but the collectors covered in this thesis – Angela Annabell, Rona Bailey, Les Cleveland, Neil Colquhoun, Frank Fyfe, Phil Garland and Herbert Roth – can be considered the main pioneers in the enterprise. Among this group, some promoted songs to a wider audience; others established frameworks for organised collecting; and a few also initiated scholarly study into source traditions. All sought to establish the idea of a New Zealand folk heritage in the general consciousness of New Zealand.

Together, the collectors gathered a valuable body of folk songs, verse and music. Yet compared with collecting that has occurred elsewhere in the world, the New Zealand movement operated on a small scale. The actual amount of time spent actively engaged in fieldwork was relatively small and the amount of material collected generally did not meet the expectations of collectors. When compared to the work of Australian collectors in the 1950s, the general scale of activity can be put in perspective. For example, John Meredith has related how for four or five years in the mid-1950s he "spent every available weekend" collecting in the Sydney hinterland, finally compiling over thirty hours of tape and a collection of over one thousand items (Meredith and Anderson 1979:18). Even taking into consideration differences in society and population size, this comparison makes clear the limitations of work in New Zealand. Various explanations can be given for the restrictions on the New Zealand collecting work. Most individuals operated on a sporadic part-time basis; there was little financial support for their work; and the lack of success in finding songs was discouraging.

Each New Zealand collector individually defined the object of their search slightly differently. Unlike the Australian collectors of the 1950s, they did not have the benefit of the pioneering work of A.B. Paterson to inspire and stimulate them. Even so, they knew about the work and theories of overseas collectors such as Cecil Sharp, and were able to pick up hints from earlier New Zealand writers, particularly James Cowan. Frank Fyfe was one exception - he brought to New Zealand prior collecting experience and ideas about Australian folk music. Many collectors began with a search for 'old New Zealand songs' or something similar. This phrase reveals something of the collectors' underlying quests for 'the old', for 'the authentic', and for 'national heritage'. For each collector, such objectives were combined and formulated in different ways, and were sometimes modified as work proceeded.

Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth suggested the outlines of a national song heritage which overran the boundaries of folksong definitions. Neil Colquhoun also had nationalistic objectives, but located authenticity in the microcosm of the informant and encouraged musical participation as providing a path to continuing meaning. Les Cleveland constructed a concept of authenticity around intuitive empathy and performance style, but ultimately cleaved to orthodox definitions of oral tradition and sourced indigenous expression in the wider field of popular song. Frank Fyfe inspired an organised search for 'the New Zealand tradition' in folk music, but could not find enough material to fit his cultural formulation, eventually finding satisfaction collecting folklore of a different genre. Phil Garland initially looked for 'traditional New Zealand songs' but discovered rich veins of original balladry in rural New Zealand, modified his terms of reference accordingly, and went on to preserve a wide range of material. Angela Annabell explored the possibilities for collecting songs on the intricate interfaces of oral and published traditions, and located a potent metaphor for the 'New Zealand folksong ethos' in hybrid Maori-Pakeha material. Each of the threads developed by the collectors retains latent potential for future collecting and discourse.

At the same time, it is evident that the collectors' frames of reference may have sometimes had an inhibiting effect on the quantity and kinds of material they collected. Measures of authenticity often unduly and simplistically emphasised oral tradition, despite the fact that within a largely literate twentieth century population, notions of 'pure' oral tradition were increasingly untenable. Searches for songs of clear New Zealand identity also meant that certain material was often ignored; and the

desire to form a folksong canon, expressing romanticised longings for New Zealand 'folk origins', focussed attention toward older material and away from contemporary source traditions.

Beyond the work of finding and preserving material, the collecting movement resulted in a wide variety of 'mediations': folksong anthologies, recordings, performances, radio broadcasts, books and dissertations. A prominent aspect of the New Zealand mediating work was the commitment by the collectors themselves to public performance and recording (only Herbert Roth and Angela Annabel were not performers). Such promotion of material has mostly been framed in revivalist terms, as an attempt to spread a song repertoire, raise public awareness and stimulate a serious concern for local expressive material - in effect, to introduce what they have collected into the main current of New Zealand culture and establish it as a permanent feature.

Throughout the revival process the collectors felt the need to develop satisfactory interpretations of source traditions which were meaningful to a wider audience. One gains a feeling of 'hands on' application to the adapting process. Collectors reworked songs, adding tunes and extra lyrics; sometimes the work of earlier collectors was in turn transformed by the next generation. Melodic and instrumental styles were borrowed, adjusted, or newly created in a search for a 'New Zealand quality', 'something different', or an 'authentic sound'. Because collectors were advocates for New Zealand folk music, performance was often a vital step in presenting a coherent expression of the material they had collected and shaped. It was also a demonstration of personal commitment on the part of each individual. For Phil Garland in particular, performance has become an integral element in the search for new material, so that he has now established himself as a kind of 'public folklorist' whose work blurs lines between audience and informant, and collecting and creating.

One major outcome of the mediating process was the formation of a New Zealand folk music canon. By 2006, the canon has become a considerable repertoire encompassing many hundreds of songs, including collected items, adaptations derived from source material, and many pieces written by revival songwriters in a 'folk style', either about historical events or contemporary issues. Those individuals who helped form the canon have acted on the revivalist premise that folk material provides an 'authentic', 'original' and 'true' representation of the national 'cultural core'. The New Zealand folk music canon therefore represents the combined 'imaginings' of the cultural core by successive waves of collectors, performers and writers. Many of the collectors covered in this thesis have offered different 'imaginings' of the canon by way of anthologies, recording oeuvres and other outcomes.

Bailey and Roth arranged folk material within an inclusive, but subtly socialist vision of New Zealand society and history. Neil Colquhoun developed the outlines of a looser, more romantic sense of the national narrative. Les Cleveland presented an innovative arrangement of what he found were the distinctly indigenous aspects of local song-making. Frank Fyfe proposed a 're-imagining' of the canon along Australian lines, although he found this a difficult task. Phil Garland developed a broadly inclusive vision of the canon, emphasising the nation's roots in rural New Zealand and the colonial era. Although Angela Annabell did not directly 'imagine' the New Zealand cultural core, she provided an early and perceptive description of the folk music canon as a mixed body of material. Annabell included in the canon published songs from the late nineteenth century, thereby acknowledging 'mixed' oral and written traditions, and also compositions from folk revival songwriters. Her description was to some extent realised in a later song anthology by Phil Garland, *The Singing Kiwi*, and has influenced the present thesis.

With the collectors' emphasis on promoting material in anthologies, recordings and performances, they were pursuing a revivalist agenda connected with, but separate from, the folk revival movement as more broadly understood in the context of coffee houses, commercial folk music, folk clubs and folk festivals. Several individuals, particularly Phil Garland and Frank Fyfe, used a solid base of support within the movement as a springboard for the collecting and promotion of New Zealand songs. These two collectors, Neil Colquhoun, and a number of other enthusiasts,[1] have been chiefly responsible for interposing a thread of 'New Zealand folk music' into the wider revival movement in this country. Such a sub-genre seems to have had a healthy minority following here through to the

mid-1980s, but is less apparent in 2006, with a range of mostly British, American, Celtic and 'world' styles being performed at local festivals and clubs.

In fact, there has been a curious disjunction between the New Zealand revivalist project as represented by the collectors and by the wider folk movement (seemingly the most natural outlet for their work). The folk movement in England was initially fostered by collector Cecil Sharp, and the later English movement relied heavily on pre-existing song collections; in America and Australia, collectors were at the centre of the revival from its inception (Rosenberg 1993:12-15; Smith 2005:3-6). Although more research is required into the New Zealand situation, it may be that the effort to revive and promote local material could only be partly grafted onto an existing popular movement based around an unfavourable set of revival objectives, sound ideals and concepts of authenticity. Conversely, perhaps the decline of collecting in the mid-1970s interrupted the flow of fresh New Zealand material into the repertory of the revival movement.

The mediating work of collectors in New Zealand also had its less successful aspects. It is evident that some work bears the faults of 'amateur research' and a few collectors neglected to document certain basic facts about the source traditions they accessed and material they gathered. Although we can be extremely grateful for the collectors' preserving work, in certain cases we know little about the circumstances of where, when or how pieces were actually collected. The names of certain informants were not recorded; similarly, even in cases where informants' names are known, there is often little further background information about their lives or how they learned the pieces which were collected from them. In comparison, the similarly unpaid (ie. 'amateur') folklorists of 1950s Australia, such as John Meredith, Ron Edwards and John Manifold, consistently recorded this kind of information.

More critical however has been the failure by several individuals to properly archive material – a kind of long-term mediation. A graphic and disheartening example of the possible consequences of archiving failure was the loss of the NZFLS Wellington branch records, along with the original collecting work of Frank Fyfe and Rona Bailey. The fragmented state of the NZFLS Auckland branch records and absence of Angela Annabell's original fieldwork also points to serious problems in ensuring long-term storage for material which, ironically, was meant to have been 'saved' by the collecting process. The fact that Fyfe and Annabell both tried and failed to establish official repositories for fieldwork through funded institutions is a sobering demonstration of how difficult it can be to establish new heritage priorities within such frameworks. Even so, thankfully, some collected material has been preserved in national and university archives.

These issues lead to an important question raised by this study: why did the collecting movement decline in the early 1970s and largely cease by 1975? This is a complicated issue. To a certain extent, folk music collecting in New Zealand *has* continued since 1975, but on a dramatically reduced scale and with much less overall confidence. Maybe the local collecting movement only had a certain natural lifespan. And yet elsewhere in the world (Britain, Ireland, Australia and the United States) it is clearly evident that folk music collecting, once commenced, has continued to thrive and develop. There may not be a single reason for why the New Zealand movement waned. The preceding thesis has been based on the work of individuals and each individual who ceased collecting may have had their own personal reasons to relinquish the task.[2] Some gained other enthusiasms; a few found that life commitments became more pressing; some were discouraged by the lack of official recognition and funding; and a few became disappointed by the response of the folk movement to their work. A combination of all these factors may be at work.

But running through many of the personal narratives unfolded in this thesis is a recurring theme. For several collectors, the actual subject ('New Zealand folk music') slowly receded, became unattainably rare, or even 'disappeared' completely. One is reminded of Frank Fyfe's disenchantment with finding so few traditional New Zealand songs and the subsequent damaging collapse of the NZFLS. Or Rona Bailey's regrets that she had been "too late" to collect the songs of older New Zealand traditions (the 'real' folk songs). Angela Annabell likewise accorded the remnants of the oldest material her highest respect and failed to capitalise on her own theoretical breakthroughs by

conducting post-1975 collecting work into more contemporary song traditions. Les Cleveland, after initially advancing original ideas about how authenticity might be interpreted in the New Zealand context, eventually abandoned the field of 'New Zealand folk music', recasting his interest as 'New Zealand popular song' and 'military folksong'.

Behind these various anxieties, fascinations and withdrawals, it is possible to discern powerful quests for the 'authentic', for the 'truly indigenous', and for romantic symbols of 'folk origins' appropriate for the purposes of revival. As outlined in Chapter 1, these quests have been close to the centre of folkloristic enterprise from the eighteenth century onwards and it is not hard to envisage that a failure to satisfy such innermost motives could well derail the entire collecting project. These motives can hardly be evaded within either a folkloristic or revivalist enterprise, they can only confronted and transformed if found problematic. A progressive transformation of concepts and aims, into forms suitable for the New Zealand situation, most clearly occurred with Phil Garland and Angela Annabell. For Neil Colquhoun, a flexible understanding of the field seems to have been an advantage from the very beginning. With these three individuals especially it is possible to see the concept of 'folk music' moulded into a local form with its own integrity. In particular, Annabell's work demonstrates that serious folkloristic study could take place in New Zealand without violating the underlying precepts and intellectual development of the discipline.

There may also other factors at work in New Zealand. Exerting a shadow influence may be the example of the 'other Other' – Maori music – which presents its own convincing claims of authenticity and indigeneity within the New Zealand geographic-historical space. The search for a cultural Other out of which European-New Zealand or Pakeha folk music could be constructed may have been partly spurred by Maori examples, that yet served as nagging reminders of a comparatively 'purer' traditionality. The case of Maori folk culture may well account for the distinctive use of the term 'indigenous folksong' by several New Zealand collectors. Equally problematic is the fact that New Zealand nationality has so often been expressed in terms of 'Maori' and 'Pakeha'. Are 'Maori music' and 'New Zealand folk music' competing, complementary or inter-woven cultural strands? Such questions await further attention.[3]

In spite of the seeming intractability of many issues, all the observations made above can be usefully reformulated with an eye to the future. Beneath the complexities, the collecting effort essentially declined *because it centred interest around definitions of product rather than process.* The aim of the collecting effort was essentially to gather useful authentic 'things' - songs, verse or tunes – which could then be held up as symbols of the meaning of the overall quest. Within the scholarly domain we now have the options to consider folk music using approaches which emphasise process, performance, tradition and context (see Chapter 1). 'Folk music' can be seen as "artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1972); as tradition being transformed by communities and individuals; as the creative appropriation of popular culture for specific group needs; or the creative appropriation of source traditions by revivalists . This thesis has been a study of folk music as 'mediation', a transformative process governed by certain agendas, and it could well be complemented by other analyses. Similarly, although the folk movement is intrinsically interested in 'things' (portable units of folk culture), revivalism in itself is a complicated process with many social, aesthetic, political, and historical subtexts.

It would be possible at this point of the thesis to give a listing of specific areas for future potential study, but it is hoped such possibilities have been sketched out sufficiently throughout the main text, figures, footnotes and appendices. The source traditions illuminated by the collectors all remain open-ended prospects for future research, together with the folk revival movement. It seems more fitting to conclude this thesis by once again invoking James Cowan, who in 1913 drew attention to the 'home-made' songs, bush songs, sea songs and ballads he had heard in his New Zealand travels. Almost one hundred years later, we can again wonder what lies within the span of living memory, but also consider what is being created around us, now, in the present. The study of folk music in New Zealand presents many opportunities, although, to quote the American folklorist Archie Green, "no magic wand exists to dissipate polarities" within the field (quoted in Bendix 1997:227). One thing is

certain though, ‘folk music’ in whatever form is an active process, whether one engages as collector, folklorist, performer or scholar.

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[1] Influential proponents of New Zealand folksong within the folk movement have included Jim Delahunty, Arthur Toms, Rudy Sunde, Sharyn Staley and Howard Harris (editors of *Heritage* magazine), Mitch Park (Jolly Roger Tapes), Trevor Ruffell (City Folk Records), Mike Moroney and Mike Harding. Revival songwriters who have consistently presented New Zealand subject matter in their songs include Dave Jordan, Paul Metsers, Graham Wilson, Marcus Turner, Bill Worsfold, Kath Tait and Martin Curtis.

[2] While not all collectors ceased collecting by 1975, the few who continued (Phil Garland, Angela Annabell, Neil Colquhoun and perhaps Les Cleveland) were all far less active.

[3] An ‘anxious’ contrast between the two is certainly inherent in the comments of some writers, including Lee (1987:13-14) and Harding (Harding 1992:3); Dann (1988:13) implies ‘co-existence’; Harding, perhaps taking a lead from Annabell, also proposes a form of ‘hybridity’ in the very title of his book *When the Pakeha Sings of Home* (1992), while John Archer has given numerous examples of Maori-Pakeha crossover on his website (Archer 1998-2006).

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- Published Works, Dissertations and Articles
- Interviews
- Archives and Personal Collections

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Interviews

The following interviews were all conducted by the writer in accordance with ethical guidelines approved by the Human Ethics Committee, Victoria University Wellington.

Neil Colquhoun	Point Wells	1/3/2005, 2/3/2005
Phil Garland	Culverden	12/3/2005, 13/3/2005
Mike Harding	New Plymouth	20/3/2005

In addition to these formal interviews, a number of other conversations, short interviews, personal communications and letters have been used.

Archives and Personal Collections

The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington – New Zealand Music Archive; Manuscripts; Oral History Centre; including:

Annabell Papers MS-Group-0929
Cleveland Papers MS-Group-6269
Locke Papers MS-Group-0032
Roth Papers MS-Group-0314
Tracy Papers MS-Papers-0157

The New Zealand Film Archive Ngā Kaitiaki O Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua, Wellington.

Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Radio New Zealand, Sound Archives Ngā Taonga Kōrero, Christchurch.

TVNZ, New Zealand Television Archive, Lower Hutt.

University of Auckland – Library Special Collections; School of Music Library.

Victoria University Wellington
Horace Fildes Collection.

Wairarapa Archive, Masterton
Fyfe papers 97-193.

Bailey, Rona
Personal papers, collected songs and newspaper clippings.

Dell, David (Sheet Music Archive of New Zealand, Upper Hutt)
Sheet music, music manuscripts, books, magazines.

Fyfe, Mary
Personal papers.

Garland, Phil
Field recordings, songs, verse, music manuscripts, letters, photographs, typescripts and other documentation. NZFLS Christchurch branch papers, letters, minute books, documents, ephemera.

Staley, Sharyn
Manuscript material.

Sunde, Rudy and Pat
Field recordings, song sheets, verse, manuscripts, letters and other documentation.

Worsfold, Bill
Manuscript music book, field recordings and music cassettes.

Appendices

Note: The complete collections of many of the collectors, and the source and context of the items in their collections have not in many cases survived. However, in a study of individual collectors, such as in this thesis, it is necessary to delineate the contribution of each individual and map the overall progress of folksong canon over time. Several of the appendices show the material which has been drawn in to supplement the bare details in the published and archival collections. Other appendices bring together references to other versions of particular items, providing more information about source variants and folk revival adaptations. It is hoped that these sources illuminate the text of the thesis and also provide material for future scholars.

Appendix 1

‘The Bush Poet – Some Old New Zealand Songs’ by James Cowan

This article was first published in *The Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 24/9/1913. The following transcription retains the original spelling and punctuation, although a few small interpolations have been made in square brackets. The original formatting has been imitated, but regularised.

THE BUSH POET.

Some Old New Zealand Songs.

(By JAMES COWAN.)

An industrious Australian poet some years ago made a collection of Old Bush Songs, in which he brought together for the first time in book form many of the quaint ditties of the backblocks, past and present, the songs chorused in drovers and bushmen’s and diggers’ camps and familiarly known to the men of the open air from the Blue Mountains to Coolgardie, and from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the Great Australian Bight. Some of these chants of the great out-of-doors seem to have been sailor’s chanties originally, adapted and localised; others as obviously could only have been written by men whose lives were spent on big sheep and cattle runs and in the “ragged penury of shade” of the Australian bush. The old bush songs, handed down from one generation to another by word of mouth, are in their small degree an index to the life and ways of the men who sing them, or who used to sing them. They serve in the new land to fill the place of the venerable folksongs of Old World countries.

So far no New Zealander has attempted to record the unprinted old “home-made” songs afloat in bush and backblocks communities in New Zealand, songs which though rough-hewn as to rhyme and metre sound well enough when chanted by strong lungs at a “sing-song” around a camp-fire. Perhaps few readers of the “Lyttelton Times”[1] are aware that such songs are in existence. There are not nearly so many as in Australia, certainly, but still the doggerel rhymester is not unknown in the New Zealand bush and in the little sailing coasters that ply from bay to market port and back again. The city man naturally never hears these songs, but the gumdiggers’ camp, the bushfellers’ shanty, the sawmill-hands’ and flaxmill hands’ camps know them well enough, at any rate in the North Island. Of the current “chanties” of the southern plains and hills I cannot speak from personal knowledge. I know this of the north, that some of the choruses bellowed around the camp fire, or in the snug “whare” after “kai,” or out in boat or canoe, date back at least fifty years. If they have no other value they have this, that they memorise more or less historic events of the troubled old days which might otherwise be forgotten. Others are to a considerable extent cryptic to the outsider, because they require for full appreciation a local knowledge of men and places; others again are a pidgin-English jumble of the Maori and pakeha tongues, such as the “Maori Joe” ditty which used to be a favourite one around Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty. Here, by the way of example, are some lines from “Maori Joe,” first set down, probably in charcoal on a “whare” slab, by some forgotten wild poet of the tall manuka; the singer was supposed to [be] a young Maori M.H.R.[2]:-

> “Kuni atu kuni mai, plenty piri ring,
> Turituri all you folk while I make to sing;
> Plenty ting I talk about plenty ting I know,
> Tenei te Korero tangata pai, Ingoa Maori Joe.
>
> “Time I go to Parliament, long time I make to stay,
> I talk all my talk away, Kapai Hori Grey;
> No me likee Mr ------, by-by down he go;
> Tenei te Korero tangata pai, Ingoa Maori Joe.”

This final line, be it known means:- “This is the talk of a very good man, his name is Maori Joe.” The stuff loses its effect in print, but the six or seven verses, all descriptive of some diverting exploit on the part of the new-fledged member of Parliament, went very well in a social gathering “away back” where most of the people had a smattering of Maori, and the reference to Mr ------, a well-known and unpopular Native land agent, never failed to “bring down the house.”

Here is an old unwritten song, and one of a different type, dating back to the old military settler days in Taranaki. I first heard it from my old friend, Mr J.P. Ward, himself an old colonial hand and one of Von Tempsky's Forest Rangers. "Paddy Doyle's Lament" it is titled, and this is how it goes:-

"It was down in Otago they collared me,
A Government soldjer to be,
To go up and fight the wild Mowrees
In the forests of Taranakee:
For two-and-sixpence the day and the atein',
And fifty broad acres of shwamp,
Not to mintion the two tots a day, sorr-
Which that same it was seldom Oi got.

Chorus.
"So lisht to pat's tale for a minyit,
And by it ye'll pla-ainly see,
That Oi'm himmed in around wid misforchunes,
For they've all got a down upon me!

"From the back of a burly big sailor
Oi set fut on New Plymouth's blake strand,
And marched to Fort Carrington blockhouse
To mount guard o'er this illigant land,
But barrack life, sure it don't shuit me,
Oi'm ordered round camp like a dog;
Do me best Oi niver can plaze them,
For they're eternally sthoppin' me grog!

"Thar omadhawn av an orderly-sarjint
Does be doggin' me round the whole day,
He's yellin' 'Doyle, come here whin Oi call ye!
Why the divil don't ye heed what Oi say?
Sure, you're the dirtiest man in me room, sorr,
And the clumsiest wan in the squad,
Fax it's up to the Captain I'll bring yez,
And this toime 'twill be "Sivin Days' Grog!"'
. . . . . .
"But, whist! A substitute Oi'll git, sorr,
And go back to me damper and tay,
Big good-bye to the orderly-sargint,
And me eshtate beyant there in Patay.
Be me sowl, 'tis a sorrowful shtory,
Oi'm treated far worse than a dog,
Do me d—dest, Oi niver can plaze them–
They do always be shtoppin' me grog!"

The author of this dolorous ballad of the colonial soldier's camp is unknown to fame and likely to remain so, but his "Lament" remains to help us picture the tribulations of a raw "Mick" from the Otago diggings under the stern authority of some martinet of an Imperial drill-sergeant.

To the celebrated Dick Thatcher, the versatile entertainer of fifty years ago, who wrote his topical hits in verse and then sang them in public, to the vast delight of the big "digger" camps and the principal towns, we owe some of the catchy songs which have survived to this day, in the form of camp-songs, here and there, effusions which the nimble Thatcher often set to the music of some familiar Christy Minstrel song.

"'Way down on de Papakura flat,
Don't you hear dat mournful wail?
All de Maoris am a weeping,
For Isaac he is safe in gaol."

is a ditty which commemorates the troubles of a certain noted chief Isaac, or Ihaka, arrested in 1863 because of his suspected leanings towards the rebel Kingites, though he was ostensibly friendly. It went to the tune of

"Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground." Not so long back I heard the skipper of a New Zealand steamer humming this old "waiata" as he walked his deck one night, and he told me he heard it first at a bushmen's camp in the far North of Auckland.

Another of Thatcher's songs that is still remembered is a smart bit of doggerel, sung to the old-fashioned tune of "Nellie Gray." It is an historic jeu-d'-esprit, for it was composed and sung in an Auckland theatre just after the escape of the Waikato Maori prisoners of war from Kawau Island, close on fifty years ago. Sir George Grey had the prisoners, who were at first confined in a hulk in Auckland Harbour, removed to his island-home, the Kawau, for safe keeping. They promptly "cut their sticks" from the Governor's isle and boated across to their friends. There were some unkind people who hinted that "Hori Kerei" had even connived at their escape. Whereupon Thatcher arose and sang:-

"Oh, Ka Kino! Hori Grey, for you let us get away,
And you'll never see your Maoris any more.
Much obliged to you we are,
And you'll find us in a pa
Rifle-pitted on the Taranaki shore!"

I believe that Thatcher published a number of his topical songs in a little [?] paper-covered book, but although some of my acquaintances have seen the publication none have preserved it, and I doubt whether there is one in existence now – unless possibly in the Hocken Library in Dundein. But old gold-diggers as well as old soldiers and settlers remember the ready-witted Dick's compositions, such as the song about the Wakamarina gold rush in the sixties-

"I'm off to that golden location,
The Wakamarina for me!"

and their sons and grandsons have learned them, and so in course of time these homely rhymes turned off to catch the popular taste in theatre or digging-camp music-hall, have become bush-camp classics.

The real sailorman is always a singing-man no matter how roughened his throat may be by years of salt winds, and the sailormen whom you could have found by the score a few years ago on every large kauri gumfield in the North were often splendid "chantey-singers." There are plenty of them there still; many others, too, in the big kauri-milling camps North of Auckland and on the East Coast of Auckland province. They brought with them their fine old working songs, the real sea-songs, and there in their "whares" or at the out-of-doors sing-song you could hear, "A-Roving, a-Roving, I'll Go No More a-Roving with you, Fair Maid," roared out in true fo'c's'l-shanty style, and "Rio" and "Shenandoah" and many other good deep-sea choruses, some of them of much wild, yet mournful beauty. But they are not bush-songs. However, the gum-digger and the timber-feller turned some of their chanties into New Zealand ditties by "local touches," and a sample of one of these songs of the seven seas which you may hear warbled full sweetly by some bush vocalist to-day I give – one verse will do – by way of conclusion to this article:

"I've traded with the Maoris, Brazilians and Chinese,
I've courted half-caste beauties Beneath the kauri trees;
I've travelled along with a laugh and a song
In the land where they grow "mate";
Around the Horn and home again,
For that is the sailor's way."

Chorus.
I've crossed the Line, the Gulf Stream,
I've been in Table Bay;
Around the Horn and Home again,
For that is the sailor's way!"

Now that song, which goes to a fine lilting tune, is really adapted from an old sea-song written by William Allingham; I came across it in a collection of olden ocean-poems the other day. In just the same way the well-known "Ten Thousand Miles Away," sung in the Australian bush, with its abundant "local colour," is founded upon the old sailor-song of the same title.

[1] This reference suggests the article may have originally been printed in the *Lyttelton Times*.
[2] M.H.R. = Member of the House of Representatives.

Appendix 2

The Field Collection of Mona Tracy – Surviving Items

This appendix is a listing of songs and verse collected by Mona Tracy. Her original field notes have not been located and there are few details available about informants, locations, methods or dates of collection. The listing below gives information about where collected pieces have been published by Tracy or else survive in archival holdings. Pieces found in several such locations generally have identical texts and were probably only collected once by Tracy. The majority of items are fragmentary: incomplete songs, quatrains, or single couplets. Except for "There in Waihi…" all exist only as texts. Verse used in her various publications, but which is unlikely to have been field collected, is not included here. One song of ambiguous provenance - the Charles Thatcher fragment "The cry again is Rush-ho…" (Tracy 1960:150) - was probably taken from Pfaff (1914:26).

KEY

[*Title*]

[Category]	= Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
Collected from [informant, location, date]	= Collection details (if known)
Locations:	= Where copies of the item can be found
Notes:	= Explanatory notes

Listing

The Digger's Farewell
Song.
Locations: *Star-Sun* 17/4/1937 (2 verses), *Star-Sun* 29/5/1937 (4 verses), Letter B (2 verses), WCY (136, 154), SBW (66) (4 verses)
Notes: Tracy collected a total of six verses of this song, which she published in specific groupings of four and two verses. See also Appendix 3.2.

The Young Teetotaller
Song.
Locations: SBW (97)
Notes: See also Appendix 3.2.

The Shanty by the Way
Song.
Collected from Mrs Mackay (*née* Bilston), Christchurch, mid-1930s.
Locations: *Star-Sun* 23/1/1937, Letter D
Notes: The text was obtained from Mona Tracy's mother. See also Appendix 3.2.

The Road to Waihi
Song.
Collected from an unknown woman, Waihi, c.1900.
Locations: Radio 4, Letter A

"But oh there was such a blathering noise…"
Song.
Collected from Mrs Mackay (*née* Bilston).
Locations: Letter A
Notes: The text was obtained from Mona Tracy's mother, who had heard it growing up in Australia in the 1880s.

"There in Waihi…"
Song.
Collected from an unknown woman, Waihi, c.1900.

Locations: Radio 7, *Star-Sun* 24/4/1937, Letter A, SBW (119)
Notes: Letter A gives a melody for the song using a form of musical notation devised by Tracy. The melody resembles the tune of 'If I Was a Blackbird'. The text was also printed in an article entitled 'Old Ohinemuri Days', published in the *New Zealand Herald* supplement during the 1920s (see Letter B). This particular article has not been traced. See also Appendix 3.2.

"Again I see the waggons…"
Verse.
Locations: Letter C

"O, the wild West…"
Rhyme.
Locations: *Star-Sun* 19/6/1937, Letter E, Letter F

"Where it be…"
Rhyme.
Locations: *Star-Sun* 6/3/1937, WCY (177)

"Everybody in Westbrook…"
Rhyme.
Locations: *Star-Sun* 20/3/1937, WCY (181)

"The mountains look on Rosstown…"
Rhyme.
Locations: Radio 1, *Star-Sun* 5/12/1936

Abbreviations

[In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the codes refer to page numbers in the relevant publications.]

Star-Sun	Articles by Mona Tracy in the *Christchurch Star-Sun* newspaper
WCY	*West Coast Yesterdays* (1960, Mona Tracy)
SBW	*Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth)

[The following references are to radio scripts by Mona Tracy contained in various folders in the Alexander Turnbull Library. All date from the mid-1930s.]

Radio 1	'Ross'	(MS-Papers-157-1)
Radio 4	'NZ's Waggon Days'	(MS-Papers-157-4)
Radio 7	'Folk I Remember'	(MS-Papers-157-7)

[The following letters are held in ATL MS-Papers-0157-34]

Letter A	Tracy to Bailey, 4/7/1955
Letter B	Tracy to Bailey, 24/7/1955
Letter C	Tracy to Bailey, 19/9/1957
Letter D	Tracy to Bailey, 15/3/1958
Letter E	Tracy to Bailey, 17/4/1958
Letter F	Tracy to Bailey, 15/3/1959

Appendix 3.1

The Rona Bailey Field Collection – Surviving Items

This is a listing of songs and verse collected by Rona Bailey. Bailey's original field notebooks are lost and the items listed below have been traced through secondary copies. Some were published in *Shanties by the Way*; some typescripts survive in archival holdings; and some pieces were given to other people. All the pieces listed below were probably collected only once by Bailey, but because of editing which occurred post-collection (either by Bailey or others), items which survive in several locations sometimes have varying texts. The location of each surviving post-collection 'version' has been given for the purposes of comparison. The listing is divided into four sections, which correspond with Bailey's three fieldtrips and her other collecting.

KEY

[*Title*]

[Category]	= Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
Collected from [name of informant, location]	= Collection details (if known)
Locations:	= Where copies of the item can be found
Notes:	= Explanatory notes

West Coast Fieldtrip (1956)

Vote for Tommy Seddon, Boys
Verse.
Collected from Mrs Heveldt, Hokitika.
Locations: Roth-B, SBW (107-8)
Notes: Roth-B consists of a single long stanza with slight variations from SBW, where the text has been divided into nine verses.

The West Coasters' Sport
Song.
Collected from an unknown informant, Greymouth.
Locations: Roth-B, SBW (143)
Notes: Roth-B consists of an eight-line verse. The SBW version is cut to half-length. The tune used was probably 'The Mountains of Mourne'. In conversation with me in 2003, Bailey indicated that she may have copied the song from a newspaper clipping she was shown.

The Awful Moa
Verse.
Collected from Mrs Ouwejan, Westport.
Locations: Locke-A

The Hero of the Coast
Song.
Collected from Jim S. Case, Kumara.
Locations: Roth-B, SBW (156-7)
Notes: Roth-B contains two versions. One is identical with SBW; the other has several variations.

Stanley Graham
Verse.
Collected from Jim S. Case, Kumara?
Locations: Roth-B
Notes: This is found on the same sheet of paper as 'The Hero of the Coast'. A photocopy of a fragmentary, but slightly longer version entitled 'They'll Get Him' is held by the Murchison Museum. The Murchison copy may be a damaged original of a small 'broadside'-style sheet, which Angela Annabell suggests was how the verse was originally distributed (see the typescript entitled 'Folk Heroes' in ATL 2000-199-1/10).

The Dying Bushman
Song.
Collected from Jim S. Case, Kumara.
Locations: Roth-A, Annabell-A, SK (118)
Notes: There are slight variations between all three versions. Roth-A gives the informant as "S. Case"; Garland indicates the song was collected from Jim Case of Kumara.

The Passing of the Helvetia
Song.
Collected from Louis Magee?
Locations: Roth-B, Annabell-C, SBW (147)

"Gold is the great friend of the masses…"
Rhyme.
Collected from Geoffrey Butterworth, Westport.
Locations: Roth-B, SBW (55), SYC (32)
Notes: SYC uses the rhyme as the chorus for the song 'New Chums at the Diggings'. Fyfe (1967:7) seems to suggest the piece was originally written by Charles Thatcher. No printed version has been located to confirm this.

The Wakamarina
Song.
Collected from Janice Fleming, Westport? (or Geoffrey Butterworth?)
Locations: SYC (32)
Notes: This piece originally derives from a song of the same title by Charles Thatcher. It was used by Neil Colquhoun in SYC for the verses of the song 'New Chums at the Diggings'. A letter from Colquhoun to *Penny Post* (vol.6 no.4), indicates that the song was collected by Bailey, giving the name of the informant as Janice Fleming. Fyfe (1967:7) appears to confirm that Bailey collected the text, giving Westport as the location. The first verse is almost identical with Thatcher's original printed version in the *Songs of the War* (1964) songster, but verses two and three differ markedly. It is uncertain whether the SYC tune was field-collected, although Colquhoun states this was the case in the *Penny Post* letter cited above. But Bailey herself related that she had only ever heard a Thatcher song *recited* from memory (Bailey and Roth 1967:7).

The West Coast
Verse or Song.
Collected from Walter Charlton?
Locations: Annabell-B, Roth-A
Notes: The version in Annabell-B is a handwritten New Zealand Folklore Society (NZFLS) Auckland branch song sheet with two verses and a tune. The version in Roth-A has six verses, entitled 'The West Coast', with authorship attributed to Walter Charlton. The typescript is virtually identical with a text of the same title printed in *The Grey River Argus* (Greymouth), 3/1/1927, credited to Charlton. In 1956, Bailey was probably shown a newspaper clipping of 'The West Coast' which she copied out. The question of whether 'The West Coast' was sung is less certain. There are several handwritten notations on the Roth-A typescript and one states "Melody found", perhaps indicating that Bailey was told the name of a tune which the verses could be sung to. The melody given in Annabell-B has a traditional flavour but has not been identified as yet. Neil Colquhoun also composed a tune for the text. This melody can be found in Locke-B. Colquhoun did not compose the melody found on the Annabell-B song sheet (letter from Colquhoun 23/5/2005).

The Lonely Digger
Verse.
Collected from an unknown informant.
Locations: Worsfold, Roth-A.
Notes: The two copies have identical texts. Bill Worsfold photocopied his copy from a NZFLS Auckland branch song sheet, which stated that the text had been collected by Bailey. The original song sheet is now missing; Roth-A contains no confirmation that the verse was collected by Bailey.

Northland Field Trip (1956-57)

The Black Swans
Verse.
Collected from Ernest L. Eyre?
Locations: NZFS (17)
Notes: NZFS uses this poem for the song 'The Black Swans'. The text corresponds fairly closely with the poem 'Scrapin' Gum' by Ernest L. Eyre, which was published in *Future Times and Other Rhymes* (1906). There are significant variations between the final verses of these two versions.

Otago and Southland Field Trip (1958)

Dug-out in the True
Song.
Collected from Les Roughan, Te Tipua.
Locations: Roth-A, NZFS (26)
Notes: The Roth-A and NZFS versions have slight variations. The tune 'Little Old Log Cabin' is indicated on the Roth-version; a variant of this melody is used in NZFS.

The Gay Muttonbirder
Song.
Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff.
Locations: Roth-B, SBW (136)
Notes: The Roth-B and SBW versions are identical. The tune is probably 'The Gay Cabellero'.

"I fished at the Traps…"
Song.
Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff.
Locations: Roth-A

"How I'd like to be back in Half Moon Bay…"
Song.
Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff.
Locations: Roth-A

A Trawlerman's Song
Song.
Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff.
Locations: Brown, Roth-A, NZFS (24)
Notes: The Brown version is contained in a letter from Frank Fyfe to Rudy Sunde, 6/7/1972. This version is stated to have been taken directly from Bailey's field notebook and is the most complete text. The letter also mentions two other songs collected from Ryan which are now missing: 'When I Was a Lad' and 'Campbelltown'. The song is also known as 'The Foggy Foggy Banks'.

Other collecting

The New Chum
Song.
Collected from Emily Wallis, Cambridge [by letter].
Locations: Roth-B, NZFS (10), SBW (28-30), SYC (15)
Notes: This song was forwarded to Bailey by mail in 1957, following the Auckland Festival concert. Roth-B has Wallis' five verse text in original form. The texts in SBW, NZFS and SYC all vary from this original text. SBW includes three additional verses taken from Charles Martin's 'The Young Man Fresh From England' in his songster *Locals* (1862). SBW gives what was probably Wallis' original tune.

Abbreviations

[In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the codes refer to page numbers in the relevant publications.]

SBW	*Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Bailey and Roth)
NZFS	*New Zealand Folksongs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun)
SYC	*New Zealand Folk Songs - Song of a Young Country* (1972, ed. Neil Colquhoun)
SK	*The Singing Kiwi* (1996, ed. Phil Garland)

Brown	Possession of writer
Worsfold	Bill Worsfold collection

[The following manuscripts are located in the Alexander Turnbull Library]

Annabell-A	2000-199-2/14	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-B	2000-199-2/04	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-C	2000-199-2/05	(Angela Annabell papers)
Roth-A	90-106-06/2	(Herbert Roth papers)
Roth-B	90-106-06/5	(Herbert Roth papers)
Locke-A	MS-Papers-7202-106	(Elsie Locke papers)
Locke-B	MS-Papers-7202-107	(Elsie Locke papers)

Appendix 3.2

Annotated listing of *Shanties by the Way*

This is a listing of all the songs and verse in *Shanties by the Way* (SBW). Fragments of only one or two lines are not included. The annotations include writer, composer, original source and references to other printings or recordings. These other versions may consist of the same text, variant texts or folk revival versions. These details are derived from either *Shanties by the Way* or the draft MS. Supplementary references are also given, generally which precede the book's publication in 1967. Many such references have been taken from Harding (1992), but the majority were located by the writer.

KEY

[*Title* (page)]
Writer / Composer / Tune:
Source (SBW): = Source given in *Shanties by the Way*
Source (draft): = Source given in SBW draft
Source (other): = Source which I have traced (where this was not given by Bailey and Roth)
Versions (SBW): = Referenced in *Shanties by the Way*
Versions (draft): = Referenced in the SBW draft
Versions (other): = Other pre-1967 versions
Notes: = Explanatory notes

Publications are referenced in the form: *Title* (year of publication, author)
Newspapers in the form: *Newspaper*, date
Recordings are referenced in the form: Artist, *Title* format, catalogue number (year of release)

Listing

Frontispiece

"For it's chaps of the town and country…" (5)
Writer: David McKee Wright
Source (other): *Wisps of Tussock* (1900, David McKee Wright)
Notes: SBW gives an eight-line excerpt from the poem 'We're going a-rhyming again'.

Chapter 1: Sealers, Whalers and Traders

"Hurly-burly mixey-max…" (11)
Writer: A. Hood
Source (SBW): *Dickey Barrett* (1890, A. Hood)

David Lowston (12-13)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Captain Kidd-Samuel Hall' variant
Source (SBW): Collected by John Leebrick, USA
Versions (SBW): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
Versions (other): *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid); *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun); Val Murphy, *My Way of Singing* LP, HMV MCLP 6203 (c.1965)

Come All You Tonguers (14)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (SBW): Collected by John Leebrick, USA
Versions (SBW): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
Versions (other): *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun)

New Zealand Whales (15-16)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Coast of Peru' variant
Source (SBW): Collected by John Leebrick, USA
Versions (SBW): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
Versions (other): *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun); *Folk Concert Down Under* LP, HMV MCLP 6205 (c.1965)

Whalers' Rhymes (17)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The King of the Cannibal Islands'
Source (SBW): *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 25/10/1884
Source (other): *The First White Boy Born in Otago* (1939, Thomas Kennard) [gives title of song]; *A Pakeha's Recollections* (1944, M.G. Thomson) [gives indication of tune]
Versions (other): 'Introduction' (by Johannes C. Andersen) in *The Whalers* (1937, Felix Maynard and Alexandre Dumas) [1937 English translation]; VUW Fildes 'Fugitive Verse' MS

The Voyage of the Buffalo (18-19)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): ATL MS qMS-0437

Chapter 2: The Settlers

"Ah, Jimmy Brown…" (21)
Writer: Unknown
Source (draft): *Wairarapa Standard* (Greytown), 1883, n.d.
Source (other): *Wairarapa Standard* (Greytown), 2/5/1883; *Tavern in the Town* (1957, James McNeish)

Taranaki Song (22-23)
Writer / Composer: John Hursthouse / John Newland [music not traced]
Source (SBW): *Wellington Independent*, 14/10/1846
Versions (other): ATL MS-Papers-5641-52 [manuscript version]; VUW Fildes 'Fugitive Verse' MS

Lay of the Disappointed (24)
Writer: Walter Mantell
Source (SBW): Hocken MS [not traced]
Versions (SBW): *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago)* (1898, T.M. Hocken)
Versions (other): *Medical Practice in Otago and Southland in the Early Days* (1922, R.V. Fulton); VUW Fildes 'Fugitive Verse' MS

Dunedin Town Board (24)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'My Ain Dear Nell'
Source (other): Bernard Hall MS, State Library of Victoria (Melbourne, Australia)
Notes: SBW gives a four-line excerpt.

Cheer, Boys, Cheer! [Version 1] (25)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [James Marriot?] / 'Cheer, Boys, Cheer'
Source (SBW): *Wellington Independent*, 30/6/1858
Versions (draft): *The Constitutional Budget* (1858, James Marriot?)

Cheer, Boys, Cheer! [Version 2] (25)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Cheer, Boys, Cheer'
Source (other): Unknown.
Notes: Only the chorus is given in SBW.

The Steel Mill (26-27)
Writer: John Blair
Source (SBW): *Lays of the Old Identities* (1889, John Blair)
Versions (draft): *Southland Daily News* (Invercargill) Jubilee Issue, 16/2/1911 [two verses]
Versions (other): *The Old Identities* (1879, James Barr)
Notes: The *Southland Daily News* excerpt is credited to J.B. Kaikorai.

The New Chum (28-30)
Writer / Tune: Charles Martin / 'The Young Man From the Country' variant
Source (SBW): Collected from Mrs Wallis, Cambridge, by Rona Bailey, 1957; three additional verses taken from *Locals* (1862, Charles Martin) [as 'The Young Man Fresh from England'].
Versions (other): *The Early Days of Canterbury* (1932, A.S.Bruce); Sound Archives D719 [Dick Morris version]; *Tavern in the Town* (1957, James McNeish) [three verses]; *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun) [as 'I'm a Young Man']
Notes: There are several variations between the original Wallis version (see Appendix 3.1) and the relevant printed verses in SBW. In particular the protagonist's name "Joe Muggins" has been changed back to the original "Bill Larkins".

A Tract for the Hard Times (31)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Neil Colquhoun [new setting]
Source (SBW): *Evening Post* (Wellington), 2/10/1869
Versions (other): Sound Archives T812 (1957) ['Prospecting and Mining' radio programme]
Notes: SBW gives an edited excerpt of the original verse.

The Abolition of the Provinces (32)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Chronicles of the Garden of New Zealand, Known as Taranaki* (1896, W.H.J. Seffern)
Versions (draft): *Taranaki Jubilee Chronicle* (1891)
Versions (other): VUW Fildes 'Fugitive Verse' MS

Chapter 3: The New Zealand Wars

Camp Life at Drury (33)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'The King of the Cannibal Islands'
Source (other): *Songs of the War* (1864, Charles Thatcher)
Notes: SBW gives a four-line excerpt.

He Ngeri (A Jeering Song) (34)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *The Past and Present of New Zealand* (1868, Rev. R. Taylor)
Notes: Taylor's English translation of the Maori text is also given.

The Fall of Rangiriri (35-36)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Partant pour la Syrie'
Source (SBW): *New Zealander* (Auckland), 18/2/1864
Versions (other): ATL MS 88-325 [letter c.1864]

The Escaped Prisoners (37-38)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Nellie Gray'
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Advertiser* (Wellington), 29/10/1864
Versions (other): *Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 24/9/1913 ['The Bush Poet' by James Cowan]

The Surrender of the Natives (39-41)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Courtin' in the Kitchen'
Source (SBW): *Songs of the War* (1864, Charles Thatcher)

Chapter 4: The Inimitable Thatcher

The Old Identity (45-46)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Duck-leg Dick'
Source (SBW): *Dunedin Songster No. 1* (1862, Charles Thatcher)
Versions (draft): *Hawke's Bay Herald* (Napier), 5/7/1862 [not traced]; *Evening Post* (Wellington) Christmas Number, 1904
Versions (other): *Dunedin Songster No. 3* (1862, Charles Thatcher); *Otago Witness* (Dunedin), 27/8/1896 ['Reminiscences of the Inimitable Thatcher' by Alexander Bathgate]; *Contributions to the Early History*

of New Zealand (Settlement of Otago) (1898, T.M. Hocken); *Medical Practice in Otago and Southland in the Early Days* (1922, R.V. Fulton)
Notes: SBW gives seven of the original eight verses.

The Shipping Agents (47-49)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Oh Susannah'
Source (SBW): Bernard Hall MS, State Library of Victoria (Melbourne, Australia)
Versions (SBW): *Goldrush Songster* (1958, Hugh Anderson)

The Bazaar (50-52)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Lowback Car'
Source (SBW): *Songs of the War* (1864, Charles Thatcher)

Presented at Court (53-54)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Irish Historian'
Source (SBW): *Songs of the War* (1864, Charles Thatcher)

Chapter 5: Gold

"Bright fine gold…" (55)
Writer / Composer: Unknown [Crosbie Ward?]
Source (draft): *Medical Practice in Otago and Southland in the Early Days* (1922, R.V. Fulton)
Versions (other): *Canterbury Rhymes* (1883, ed. W. Pember Reeves); *One-a-Pecker, Two-a-Pecker* (1957, Ruth Park); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958) [as 'Tuapeka Gold']; *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun) [as 'Tuapeka Gold']

"Gold is the great friend of the masses…" (55)
Writer: Unknown [Charles Thatcher?]
Source (SBW): Collected from Mr Geoffrey Butterworth, Westport, by Rona Bailey, 1956
Versions (other): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958) [as the chorus for 'New Chums at the Diggings']

The Rush to Coromandel (56-57)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Unhappy Jeremiah'
Source (SBW): *Auckland Vocalist* (1862, Charles Thatcher)

The Southland Gold Escort (58)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Duck-leg Dick'
Source (SBW): *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin), 17/3/1863
Versions (other): *Lake Wakatipu Songster* (1863, Charles Thatcher)
Notes: SBW gives four of the original eight verses.

The Wakamarina (60-62)
Writer / Tune / Composer: Charles Thatcher / 'Twig of the Shannon' / Neil Colquhoun [new setting]
Source (SBW): *Songs of the War* (1864, Charles Thatcher)
Versions (SBW): The Sundowners, *Shanties by the Way* EP, Little Mermaid (1958); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958) [verses of 'New Chums at the Diggings']
Versions (other): *Goldrush Songster* (1958, Hugh Anderson); *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid)
Notes: The musical setting in SBW is composed by Neil Colquhoun. The three verses incorporated into 'New Chums at the Diggings' (which has a quite different musical setting) may derive from a variant text collected by Rona Bailey (see Appendix 3.1).

The Shanty by the Way (63-64)
Writer / Tune: E.J. Overbury, unknown / ['Finnegan's Wake']
Source (SBW): Collected in Auckland by Dr Percy Jones, 1940
Versions (SBW): *Old Bush Songs and Rhymes of Colonial Times* (1957, eds. Douglas Stewart and Nancy Keesing); The Sundowners, *Shanties by the Way* EP, Little Mermaid (1958)
Versions (other): *Bush Poems* (1865, E.J. Overbury); *Christchurch Star-Sun*, 23/1/1937 ['Diamond Mines?' by Mona Tracy]; Sound Archives T812 (1957) ['Prospecting and Mining' radio programme]; *Grog's Own Country* (1959, Conrad Bollinger); ATL MS Papers-7202-106 [Elsie Locke collected version

c.1960]; *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid); *Folk Concert Down Under* LP, HMV MCLP 6205 (c.1965)

The Unlucky Digger (65)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Lantern* (Hokitika), 6/7/1870

The Digger's Farewell (66)
Writer / Tune / Composer: Unknown / 'Goodbye, fare ye well' / Neil Colquhoun [new setting]
Source (SBW): *Christchurch Star-Sun*, 29/5/1937
Versions (SBW): *Greymouth Star*, 25/2/1928; The Sundowners, *Shanties by the Way* EP, Little Mermaid (1958)
Versions (other): *Christchurch Star-Sun*, 17/4/1937 ['Kumara's Gaieties' by Mona Tracy]; Sound Archives T812 (1957) ['Prospecting and Mining' radio programme]; *West Coast Yesterdays* (1960, Mona Tracy)
Notes: The original tune of this song was 'Goodbye, fare ye well', a fact which Rona Bailey learnt from a Mrs. Powell of Charleston (see *Penny Post*, vol.7 no.3). SBW gives a four-verse version of the song; Tracy (1937, 1960) give two additional verses; and the *Greymouth Star* prints fourteen equivalent verses.

Waitekauri Everytime! (67-68)
Writer / Tune / Composer: Edwin Edwards [or W.W. Rowe?] / 'Clementine' / Neil Colquhoun [new arrangement]
Source (SBW): *Hauraki Plains Gazette* (Paeroa), 6/5/1955
Versions (SBW): The Sundowners, *Shanties by the Way* EP, Little Mermaid (1958)
Versions (other): Sound Archives T812 (1957) ['Prospecting and Mining' radio programme]; *The Ohinemuri Regional History Journal*, vol.2 no.2, September 1964; *The Ohinemuri Regional History Journal*, vol.5 no.2, October 1968
Notes: Musical setting in SBW is by Neil Colquhoun, adapted from 'Clementine', a tune specified in the 1955 *Hauraki Plains Gazette* article. The SBW draft contains a handwritten copy of the poem forwarded by a Mrs Connie Broadmore of Wellington. The first *Ohinemuri Regional History Journal* printing is close to these texts. The second printing is a completely different song entitled 'Waitekauri', to the tune of 'Tommy Atkins'.

Golden Kuaotunu (69)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Tullochgorum'
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Observer* (Auckland), 27/9/1890
Notes: SBW prints a two-verse excerpt with chorus.

Chapter 6: The Volunteers

The Hutt Volunteers (71)
Writer: Charles Thatcher
Source (draft): *New Zealand Advertiser* (Wellington), 29/10/1864
Notes: SBW gives a four-line excerpt.

Kumara Volunteers' Song (72)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Bow-wow-wow'
Source (SBW): *The Press* (Christchurch), 26/2/1926

The Russian Scare (73-74)
Writer: 'Puzzlehead'
Source (SBW): *Lyttelton Times*, 4/5/1885
Versions (SBW): *Colonial Couplets* (1889, George Phipps Williams and William Pember Reeves)

Chapter 7: The Long Depression

"For we only want our rights…" (75)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Evening Press* (Wellington), 30/10/1890

Source (other): *Evening Post* (Wellington), 30/10/1890 [correct source]
Notes: The source was incorrectly cited in SBW and the text edited. The original verse in its entirety reads: "We only want our rights / For to feed our little boys / And that's what we want for New Zealand."

The Sweater (76)
Writer: N.A.A.
Source (SBW): *Lyttelton Times*, 23/3/1889

The Scab (78-79)
Writer / Composer: John Brooks Hulbert
Source (SBW): *My Garden and Other Verses* (1922, John Brooks Hulbert)
Versions (draft): *New Zealand Worker*, 24/5/1933 [not traced]

The Exiles of New Zealand (80)
Writer: A.D. [Arthur Desmond?]
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Observer* (Auckland), 10/10/1891

God's Own Country [Version 1] (82-83)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Auckland Star*, 15/6/1892
Versions (SBW): *Ohinemuri Gazette* (Paeroa), n.d.

God's Own Country [Version 2] (83)
Writer: Thomas Bracken
Source (other): *Lays and Lyrics* (1893, Thomas Bracken)
Notes: Although the parody version (see above) predates *Lays and Lyrics*, an earlier printing of 'God's Own Country' has not been traced, though one must surely exist for the parody to have been written. SBW gives one verse of Bracken's poem.

Chapter 8: Arthur Desmond

I Struck for Better Wages (84)
Writer: 'Kudyard Ripling'
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), 8/11/1893
Versions (SBW): *Forward!*, 31/10/1896

The Song of Te Kooti (87-88)
Writer: Arthur Desmond
Source (SBW): *Bulletin* (Sydney), 23/3/1889
Versions (other): *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun)

Death Song for the Huntly Miners (89)
Writer: Arthur Desmond
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Observer* (Auckland), 10/1/1891

Barr of the Western Chain (90-91)
Writer: Arthur Desmond
Source (SBW): *Weekly Press* (Christchurch), 13/10/1892

Arthur Desmond (92)
Writer: 'An Australian Exile' [Henry Lawson?]
Source (SBW): *Fair Play* (Wellington), 30/10/1893

Chapter 9: Prohibition

"The DEMON DRINK is wide awake…" (93)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Prohibition Campaign Songs* (1922)

Notes: SBW gives a six-line excerpt from a song entitled 'Wake up, New Zealand!'. *Prohibition Campaign Songs* includes music for the song.

A Prohibition Jingle of 1893 (94)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Observer* (Auckland), 9/12/1893

Strike Out the Top Line (95)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Samuel Lawry?] / 'Throw Out the Life Line'
Source (SBW): *Crusade Songs* (1911)
Versions (other): *Forward!*, 31/10/1896; *Prohibition Campaign Songs* (1922) [as 'Haste to New Zealand']; *Grog's Own Country* (1959, Conrad Bollinger)
Notes: The 1896 text is credited to Rev. S. Lawry, probably the New Zealand Methodist temperance campaigner Samuel Lawry (1854-1933).

Don't Strike Out the Top Line (96)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Timaru Herald*, 28/11/1896

The Young Teetotaller (97)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): Collected by Mona Tracy, Christchurch
Versions (other): *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid)
Notes: The SBW draft dates this song to c.1890. It may be a parody of the nineteenth century temperance song 'The Young Abstainer', see *Hoyle's Hymns and Songs – 275 Gems of Song* (c.1900).

A Lay of the Trade (98-100)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *The Prohibitionist* (Wellington), 13/6/1903
Versions (SBW): *Petrel* (Wellington), 23/3/1903
Versions (other): *Grog's Own Country* (1959, Conrad Bollinger)

Chapter 10: Members of Parliament

"Vote, vote, vote for Joey Ward!" (101)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Tramp, Tramp, Tramp along the Highway'
Source (SBW): Collected by Leo Fowler, Auckland, 1914
Notes: The SBW draft gives the tune.

The Liberal March (102)
Writer / Tune: James Adams / 'So Early in the Morning'
Source (other): 'The Liberal March' 1891 broadside [ATL]
Versions (draft): *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance* (Auckland), 4/4/1891
Notes: SBW gives five of the original nine verses. The *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance* gives four variant verses.

Maori Joe (103)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 24/9/1913 ['The Bush Poet' by James Cowan]

"Ohau shall I cross the swift river Ohau…" (103)
Writer: Unknown
Source (draft): The draft notes the text as from a "letter in the Fildes College at Victoria University Library" [not traced]
Versions (draft): *New Zealand Graphic* (Auckland), 12/10/1901
Versions (other): *Our Open Country* (1971, ed. Jim Henderson) ['By Coach to the Wellington Exhibition, 1885' by Rev. Albert Charles Lawry)
Notes: SBW draft also includes another handwritten variant of unknown provenance.

Sir Joseph Ward (104)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Sir Joseph Porter's Song'
Source (SBW): *Election Fortune-Teller and Sketcher* (1905)

The Rival Candidate (105-106)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Evening Post* (Wellington), 2/12/1905

Vote for Tommy Seddon, Boys (107-108)
Writer: Ned McCormack
Source (SBW): Collected from Mrs Heveldt, Hokitika, by Rona Bailey, 1956

An M.P.'s Life for Me (109)
Writer / Tune: Ronald L. Meek / 'Hi Diddle Dee Dee' [a.k.a. 'An Actor's Life for Me']
Source (SBW): *Jonnalio* (1940, Ronald L. Meek)
Versions (other): *Cappicade* (1944); *Kiwi Youth Sings* (1951, eds. Conrad Bollinger and Neil Grange)
Notes: Although written for the 1940 Victoria University College capping extravaganza *Jonnalio*, this song may have only been publicly performed for the first time in the 1944 extravaganza *Zealous Zombies*, using several different verses, see *Cappicade* (1944). The tune is stated in SBW as being from the musical *The Wizard of Oz*, but it is actually from *Pinnochio.*

Chapter 11: War and Conscription

Battle Song of the Passive Resisters (111)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Marching Through Georgia'
Source (draft): *Repeal – Official Organ of the Passive Resisters' Union* (Christchurch), 1914, n.d.
Source (other): *Repeal – Official Organ of the Passive Resisters' Union* (Christchurch), no.3, 10/6/1913
Notes: SBW gives the chorus only.

We'll Set the Children Free (112-113)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'John Brown's Body'
Source (SBW): 'We'll Set the Children Free' broadside [ATL]

Kidd from Timaru (114-115)
Writer / Composer: Barrie Marschel
Source (SBW): Collected from Rudall Hayward
Versions (other): *The Timaru Herald*, 17/6/1915; souvenir leaflets associated with the film 'The Kid from Timaru' (c.1917) [New Zealand Film Archive]
Notes: The text in SBW is virtually identical with both the *Timaru Herald* and leaflet texts. These also incorporate the pre-amble quote from "a soldier's letter".

The Bloke that Puts the Acid On (116-117)
Writer / Composer: Henry Kirk ('The Mixer')
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Watersider*, vol.3 no.26, 1/10/1918
Versions (SBW): *The Transport Workers' Song Book* (1926, 'The Mixer' [Henry Kirk])
Versions (other): *151 Days* (1952, Dick Scott)

Chapter 12: Work and Wages

"There in Waihi…" (119)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / ['If I was a Blackbird'?]
Source (SBW): Collected by Mona Tracy, Waihi, 1901
Versions (other): ATL MS Papers-157-7 [Mona Tracy radio script c.1934]; *Christchurch Star-Sun*, 24/4/1937 ['Ordinary People?' by Mona Tracy]; ATL MS-Papers-0157-34 [letter from Mona Tracy to Rona Bailey, 4/7/1955].
Notes: See Appendix 2 for more details.

Cook and Shearer (120-122)
Writer: Unknown
Source (SBW): *Bulletin* (Sydney), 8/9/1889

A Long Time Ago (123)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / 'A Long Time Ago'
Source (SBW): *Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 12/7/1912 ['The Chantey – Sailor Memories' by James Cowan] [lyrics]
Source (other): *Shantymen and Shantyboys – Songs of the Sailor and Lumbermen* (1951, William Doerflinger) [tune and extra lyrics]
Versions (other): *Shanties from the Seven Seas* (1961, Stan Hugill)
Notes: Text has been expanded from the original source, incorporating repetitions and certain extra lines from Doerflinger.

I've Traded with the Maoris (124)
Writer / Tune: William Allingham, unknown / 'Ten Thousand Miles Away'
Source (SBW): *Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 24/9/1913 ['The Bush Poet' by James Cowan] [lyrics]
Versions (SBW): *Shantymen and Shantyboys – Songs of the Sailor and Lumbermen* (1951, William Doerflinger); The Songspinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958) [as 'Across the Line']
Versions (other): *Songs Ballads and Stories* (1877, William Allingham); *Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 12/7/1912 ['The Chantey – Sailor Memories' by James Cowan]; *Shanties from the Seven Seas* (1961, Stan Hugill) [as 'The Sailor's Way']
Notes: This song is a variation of the sea song 'The Sailor's Way', but the tune printed in SBW is 'Ten Thousand Miles Away'. This mismatch may have resulted from a misreading of Cowan's original article, which mentions both songs in close proximity. The SBW text has been modified from the original Cowan source, the line "in the land where they grow 'mate' " being changed to "in the land where they call you mate".

The Windy Hills o' Wellington (125)
Writer: 'The Exile' [Henry Lawson?]
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Times* (Wellington), 27/1/1894
Versions (SBW): *New Zealand Mail* (Wellington), n.d. [not traced]

A Meeting (126)
Writer: 'Taiwai'
Source (SBW): *Weekly Standard* (Auckland), 16/7/1894
Versions (SBW): *Bulletin* (Sydney), n.d. [not traced]

Song of the Gumfield (127-128)
Writer: William Satchell
Source (SBW): *Bulletin* (Sydney), 2/5/1896
Versions (SBW): *Land of the Lost* (1902, William Satchell); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, Kiwi EA-58 (1960) [as 'Trade of the Kauri Gum']
Versions (other): Sound Archives T812 (1957) ['Prospecting and Mining' radio programme, using Reg Thorne melody]; *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid); *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, ed. Neil Colquhoun) [as 'Trade of the Kauri Gum']

"This is the lay of the digger…" (128)
Writer: William Satchell?
Source (SBW): *Land of the Lost* (1902, William Satchell)
Versions (other): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, Kiwi EA-58 (1960) [chorus of 'The Way of the Trade']; *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid)

"He's getting his dead from their lonely graves…" (128)
Writer: William Satchell?
Source (SBW): *Land of the Lost* (1902, William Satchell)

Amelia Jane (129-130)
Writer: David McKee Wright
Source (SBW): *Wisps of Tussock* (1900, David McKee Wright)

Shearing's Coming (131)
Writer: David McKee Wright
Source (SBW): *Otago Witness* (Dunedin), 15/10/1896
Versions (SBW): William Clauson, *Packing My Things* LP, HMV MCLP 6200 (1965)
Versions (other): *Station Ballads* (1897, David McKee Wright); Sound Archives D715 (c.1951) [radio programme featuring a recitation by an unknown individual]

In the Morning (132)
Writer: Marshall Nalder
Source (SBW): *Bulletin* (Sydney), 28/4/1900

The Maori's Wool (133-134)
Writer: A.B. ('Banjo') Paterson
Source (SBW): *The Collected Verse of A.B. Paterson* (1921, A.B. Paterson)
Versions (other): Sound Archives T899/3 (c.1964) [radio programme featuring a recitation by Tex Morton]; *New Zealand Folk Songs* (1965, Neil Colquhoun) [as 'Rerenga's Wool']

The Embryo Cockatoo (135)
Writer: 'The Wanderer' [Mick Laracy]
Source (SBW): 'The Embryo Cockatoo' broadsides [ATL]
Versions (SBW): William Clauson, *Packing My Things* LP, HMV MCLP 6200 (1965) [as 'The New Chum']
Notes: There are two different broadside printings of this poem, both located in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

The Gay Muttonbirder (136)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / ['The Gay Caballero']
Source (SBW): Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff, by Rona Bailey, 1958

Goodbye to the Old Pick and Shovel (137)
Writer / Tune: Dennis Hogan / 'Red River Valley'
Source (SBW): *Fernfire*, no. 9, August 1962

Old Billy Kirk (138-139)
Writer / Composer: 'Cazna Gyp' [Bob Edwards]
Source (other): Probably from Lew Williams, through Neil Colquhoun.
Versions (SBW): The Song Spinners, *Cazna Gyp* EP, Kiwi EA-33 (1959); William Clauson, *Packing My Things* LP, HMV MCLP 6200 (1965)
Versions (other): MS song sheet at SMANZ (1953); Bob Moles and Mani Collier, *Down Otago Way* EP, HMV 7EGM 6069 (c.1963); The Yeomen, *New Zealand Folksongs* EP, Viking VE162 (c.1965)
Notes: The MS version of this song held in the Sheet Music Archive of New Zealand has a US copyright notice for Ivy Ellen Edwards (on behalf of Bob Edwards and Lew Williams) dated 29/7/1953.

The Magpies (140)
Writer / Composer: Denis Glover / Neil Colquhoun
Source (SBW): *The Wind and the Sand* (1945, Denis Glover)

Cargo Workers (141)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (SBW): Collected by Neil Colquhoun.
Source (other): Collected from Ted Moxom, Levin by Neil Colquhoun.

Chapter 13: Out with the Jokers

The West Coasters' Sport (143)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / ['The Mountains of Mourne'?]
Source (SBW): Collected in Greymouth
Source (other): Probably collected by Rona Bailey, 1956
Notes: SBW gives a four-line excerpt.

Double-bunking (144)
Writer / Tune: Harold Gretton / 'The More We are Together'
Source (other): Unknown. Possibly collected by Herbert Roth.
Versions (other): *Song Book – New Zealand University Students' Association* (1951, ed. Michael Conway); *Kiwi Youth Sings* (1951, eds. Conrad Bollinger and Neil Grange); *Song Book – New Zealand University Students' Association* (1955, ed. John Dugdale); *Songs* (c.1963, ed. Anon) [ephemeral tramping song book]; *New Zealand Universities Songbook* (1964, ed. Anon)

A Fast Pair of Skis (145)
Writer / Tune: Harold Gretton / 'Villikins and his Dinah'
Source (other): Unknown. Probably from *Kiwi Youth Sings* (1951, ed. Conrad Bollinger and Neil Grange)
Versions (other): *Song Book – New Zealand University Students' Association* (1951, ed. Michael Conway); *Song Book – New Zealand University Students' Association* (1955, ed. John Dugdale); *Songs* (c.1963, ed. Anon) [ephemeral tramping song book]; *New Zealand Universities Songbook* (1964, ed. Anon); Mary Larkin and Eddie McCarthy, *Ski Singalong* EP, HMV 7EGM 6097 (c.1966)
Notes: SBW and *Kiwi Youth Sings* have identical texts.

The Old Gumdiggers' Bar (146)
Writer / Tune: Dennis Hogan / 'Clementine'
Source (SBW): *Billycan Ballads* (1962, Dennis Hogan)

The Passing of the Helvetia (147)
Writer / Tune: Louis Magee / 'Loch Lomond'
Source (other): Collected by Rona Bailey, 1956

Down the Hall on Saturday Night (w)
Writer / Composer: Peter Cape / [Don Toms?]
Source (other): Unknown. Probably from Peter Cape.
Versions (SBW): Peter Cape, *Taumata…* EP, Kiwi EA-26 (c.1959)
Versions (other): *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid)

Black Billy Tea (149-150)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Les Cleveland
Source (other): Unknown. Probably from Les Cleveland.
Versions (SBW): Les Cleveland, *Authentic New Zealand Ballads* EP, Tanza ZEP 004 (1959)
Versions (other): ATL MS-Papers-6269-7 [typescript version]; Sound Archives T47 ['New Zealand Ballads Part 2' radio programme]; William Clauson, *Packing My Things* LP, HMV MCLP 6200 (1965)

Lament for Barney Flanagan (151-152)
Writer / Composer: James K. Baxter / Neil Colquhoun
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* (1957-8)
Versions (SBW): 'Lament for Barney Flanagan' 1954 broadside
Versions (other): *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid)

By the Dry Cardrona (153-154)
Writer / Composer: James K. Baxter / James McNeish
Source (other): Probably from James McNeish or references noted below.
Versions (other): *Landfall*, vol.10 no.3, September 1956; Sound Archives TX46 ['Jack Winter's Dream' radio drama]; *Two Plays* (1959, James K. Baxter)

Chapter 14: The Hunted

Youth at the Dance (155)
Writer: R.A.K. Mason
Source (other): Probably from references noted below.
Versions (other): *Kiwi*, no.27 (1932); *This Dark Will Lighten* (1941,R.A.K. Mason)
Notes: SBW gives a five-line excerpt.

The Hero of the Coast (156-157)
Writer / Tune: Jim S. Case / 'Yellow Rose of Texas' and 'Mandrake'
Source (other): Collected from Jim S. Case, Kumara, by Rona Bailey, 1956.
Versions (other): *Killer on the Coast* (1959, Rex Hollis)

Down on my Luck (158-159)
Writer / Composer: A.R.D. Fairburn / Neil Colquhoun
Source (SBW): *New Zealand Poetry Yearbook* (1953)

On the Swag (160)
Writer / Composer: R.A.K. Mason / Neil Colquhoun
Source (SBW): *No New Thing* (1934, R.A.K. Mason)
Versions (other): *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid)

Appendix 3.3

Source types in *Shanties by the Way*

This listing classifies songs and verse in *Shanties by the Way* according to source type. The classification is based on information contained in the published book, the draft version and the original sources themselves. The number of items in each category is given in square brackets after the heading.

Field collected [16]

David Lowston
Come All You Tonguers
New Zealand Whales
The New Chum
"Gold is the great friend of the masses…"
The Shanty by the Way
The Young Teetotaller
"Vote, vote, vote for Joey Ward!"
Vote for Tommy Seddon, Boys
"There in Waihi…"
The Gay Muttonbirder
Cargo Workers
The West Coasters Sport
Double-bunking
The Passing of the Helvetia
The Hero of the Coast

Oral circulation (printed or manuscript source) [13]

Whalers' Rhymes
"Ah, Jimmy Brown…"
The Abolition of the Provinces
He Ngeri
"Bright fine gold…"
The Digger's Farewell
Waitekauri Everytime!
Kumara Volunteers' Song
"For we only want our rights…"
Maori Joe
"Ohau shall I cross the swift river Ohau?"
A Long Time Ago
I've Traded with the Maoris

Ephemera (songsters, broadsides, song sheets) [16]

Camp Life at Drury
The Surrender of the Natives
The Old Identity
The Bazaar
Presented at Court
The Rush to Coromandel
The Wakamarina
"The DEMON DRINK is wide awake…" [Wake up, New Zealand!]
Strike Out the Top Line
The Liberal March
Sir Joseph Ward

Battle Song of the Passive Resisters
We'll Set the Children Free
Kidd from Timaru
The Embryo Cockatoo
A Fast Pair of Skis

Newspapers (originally ephemera) [1]

A Prohibition Jingle of 1893

Manuscript and typescript [5]

The Voyage of the Buffalo
Lay of the Disappointed
Dunedin Town Board
The Shipping Agents
An M.P.'s Life for Me

Newspapers [27]

Taranaki Song
Cheer, Boys, Cheer! [Version 1]
A Tract for the Hard Times
The Fall of Rangiriri
The Escaped Prisoners
The Southland Gold Escort
The Unlucky Digger
Golden Kuaotunu
The Hutt Volunteers
The Russian Scare
The Sweater
The Exiles of New Zealand
God's Own Country [Version 1]
I Struck for Better Wages
The Song of Te Kooti
Death Song for the Huntly Miners
Barr of the Western Chain
Arthur Desmond
Don't Strike Out the Top Line
A Lay of the Trade
The Rival Candidate
Cook and Shearer
The Windy Hills o' Wellington
A Meeting
Song of the Gumfield
Shearing's Coming
In the Morning

Books, journals and magazines [17]

"For it's chaps of the town and country…" [We're going a-rhyming again]
"Hurly-burly mixey-max…"
The Steel Mill
The Scab
God's Own Country [Version 2]
The Bloke that Puts the Acid On
"This is the lay of the digger…"

"He's getting his dead from their lonely graves…"
Amelia Jane
The Maori's Wool
Goodbye to the Old Pick and Shovel
The Magpies
The Old Gumdiggers' Bar
Lament for Barney Flanagan
Youth at the Dance
Down on my Luck
On the Swag

Supplied by author or intermediary [4]

Old Billy Kirk
Down the Hall on Saturday Night
Black Billy Tea
By the Dry Cardrona

Unknown [1]

Cheer, Boys, Cheer! [Version 2]

Appendix 3.4

Three Versions of 'The Liberal March'

Three different versions of the song 'The Liberal March' are presented here for comparison. This song was probably written in 1891 by James Adams, a member of an Auckland political faction supporting John Ballance's Liberal Government (which took office in January 1891). The first version is reproduced from the *New Zealand Observer and Advertiser*, 4/4/1891. The second version is taken from a broadside located in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Box 821 ADA 1891) which dates to around July 1891. The original formatting of these versions has been imitated to some extent, but regularised. The third version is Bailey and Roth's edited version from *Shanties By the Way*. It is interesting to note that Bailey and Roth edited out verse seven, which contained references to countries other than New Zealand. While such editing emphasised the local content, it also removed the sense that many Liberals felt themselves part of an international movement.

1. First Version (1891 newspaper version)

"Mr Jas. Adams, Secretary of Auckland Liberal Association, has been getting great praise for his singing of a 'Liberal March,' written by himself. We give a few verses:-

Our Parliament piled up a load of debt,
Then gathered the taxes in a Government net;
They favoured the Land, The Bank and the Few,
But loaded the poor man more than his due.

They taxed the young, they taxed the old,
They taxed the weak, they taxed the bold;
Our children fled, in exile roam,
We hail them back to home, sweet home.

They parted out the best of our land,
And shared it amongst their own little band;
But a Land Tax Law is drawing nigh.
There's a good time coming, boys, by and by.

The Railway Reform is rolling along,
The voice of the people is loud and strong;
The mileage system we'll shunt off the rail,
With the pluck and plan of Samuel Vaile."

2. Second Version (1891 broadside version)

"THE LIBERAL MARCH. / FOURTH EDITION. / Written by James Adams; sung at the united meeting of the Auckland Liberal Association, Knights of Labour, Anti-Poverty Society, and Trades and Labour Council, held on the 10th of June, 1891, to WELCOME HOME SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B., &c. &c., on returning from his triumphal tour in Australia, after attending the Federal Convention. / TUNE: "So early in the Morning." *(Con Spirito.)*

1.—We love our dear new land, so bright,
We sing of Justice and of Right,
To spread our cause from far and near,
Our brothers' hearts we'll try to cheer.

CHORUS:- We're marching on to victory,
We're marching on to victory,
With the Grand Old Man leading the van,
We're going to win the day.

2.—Our rulers ran us into debt,
Then spread their cruel taxing net:
They favour'd Land, the Bank, the Few,
But loaded Toilers above their due.

3.—They tax'd the young – they tax'd the old,
They tax'd the weak – they tax'd the bold;
Our children now in exile roam,
And wander far from "Home, Sweet Home."

4.—They parcel'd out the best of land,
Amongst a little favour'd band:
The *Land Tax* now is drawing nigh,
There's "Good Times Coming," Boys, By and Bye.

5.—Our Civil Servants have their "*right*,"
But they must not rule us in their might;
But labour fairly day by day,
For ev'ry man shall have fair play.

6.—Railway reform is marching on,
The people's voice is loud and strong;
The mileage rate runs off the rail,
Before the broom of Samuel Vaile.

7.—With Scotland's sons, our hearts entwine,
We join in singing "Auld Lang Syne,"
And Erin's sorrows passed away,
We'll shout and sing "St. Patrick's day."

8.—For our Leader's life – ay! Now we plead;
Oh! spare him Lord" our country's need,
Oh! lengthen out his earthly span,
God save our Chief, our Grand Old Man!

9.—Then hail Zealandia! May she be
The true man's home – the brave – the free:
Her praise resound from shore to shore,
God bless our land for evermore!

This Song may be obtained from Mr. W. Jennings, Hon. Secretary of the Auckland Liberal Association. Price 3/3 per 100 POST FREE. Also from Mears, Stationer, Mackay, Stationer, Queen-St. and Newton, and Adams Bros. Music and Stationery Warehouse, Ponsonby. / PRICE ONE PENNY. / Central Printing Office, 177 Queen St., Auckland."

3. Third Version (1967 *Shanties by the Way* version)

We love our dear new land, so bright,
We sing of Justice and of Right,
To spread our cause from far and near,
Our brothers' hearts we'll try to cheer.

Chorus: *We're marching on to victory,*
We're marching on to victory,
With the Grand Old Man leading the van,
We're going to win the day.

Our rulers ran us into debt,
  Then spread their cruel taxing net:
They favour'd Land, the Bank, the Few,
  But loaded Toilers above their due.

They parcelled out the best of land,
  Amongst a little favoured band:
The Land Tax now is drawing nigh,
  There's 'good times coming,' boys, bye and bye!

Railway reform is marching on,
  The people's voice is loud and strong;
The mileage rate runs off the rail,
  Before the broom of Samuel Vaile.

Then hail Zealandia! may she be
  The true man's home – the brave – the free:
Her praise resound from shore to shore,
  God bless our land for evermore.

Appendix 4.1

Checklist of songs collected or arranged by Neil Colquhoun

This appendix gives an overall breakdown of the various songs either collected, arranged or set to newly composed tunes by Neil Colquhoun. All these pieces can be publicly accessed through Colquhoun's books and recordings, or else through archival holdings. The number of songs in each category is given in square brackets after the heading. For sources and annotations for these songs see Appendices 4.2 and 4.3.

Songs collected by Neil Colquhoun [22]

Altered Days
As the Black Billy Boils
Black Velvet Band
Buachaill Paidin
Cargo Workers
Darling Johnny O
Drimin Dhown Deelish
E Te Hokowhitu
E Waka E
Friendly Road
The Gay Deserter
Leatherman
Little Tommy Pinkerton
The Mill
My Man's Gone Now
Old Dash
151 Days
Railway Bill
Rerenga's Wool
Rise Out Your Bed
Shearing
Soon May the Wellerman Come

Verse collected by Neil Colquhoun [4]

Down in the Brunner Mine
John Smith A.B.
McKenzie and his Dog
Talking Swag

Instrumental tunes collected by Neil Colquhoun [8]

Cassiby Order
Jim Jon
Line Four
The Miller's Daughter
Ned Quin's Loop
Night Watch
Otira Waltz (The First)
Otira Waltz (The Second)

Reconstructions from collected verses, fragments or other sources [5]

Bright Fine Gold
End of the Earth
Packing My Things
Song of the Digger
Te Kooti E Ha

'Cazna Gyp' Songs [6]

Brandin' Muster
The Day the Pub Burned Down
The Drover's Dream
Heart of the Hills
Old Billy Kirk
Song of the Kauri

The John Leebrick Songs [6]

Blood Red Roses
Come All You Tonguers
David Lowston
New Zealand Whales
Shore Cry
Whaling Off Greenland

Musical settings to texts derived from other collecting [6]

The Black Swans
Dug-Out in the True
The Foggy Foggy Banks
I'm a Young Man
New Chums at the Diggings
The West Coast

Musical settings to published material [11]

Across the Line [I've Traded with the Maoris]
Digger's Farewell
Gold
How to Dodge the Hard Times
The Mail Coach Line
The Old Identity
Run For Your Life
Song of the Pick
Trade of Kauri Gum
Wakamarina
Waitekauri Ev'rytime!

Musical settings of Contemporary Poetry[1] [4]

The Magpies
Lament for Barney Flanagan

Down on My Luck
On the Swag

Written and composed by Colquhoun [1]

Murderers Rock

[1] These are all published in *Shanties by the Way*. See Appendix 3.2 for details.

Appendix 4.2

Annotated listing of *New Zealand Folksongs*

This is a listing of songs in *New Zealand Folksongs – Song of a Young Country* (NZF). The annotations include writer, composer and source. Some corrected source information has been supplied by Neil Colquhoun. References given in the book to other printed or recorded versions are also listed. Supplementary references to other pre-1972 versions are also provided, details which have been partially derived from Harding (1992) or else traced by the writer. References for songs previously published in *Shanties by the Way* (SBW) - in substantially the same form - are found in Appendix 3.2, with only versions dating between 1967 and 1972 noted here. The listing below does not include references to the either 1969 or 1972 radio programmes associated with the book (as I have not yet heard these); nor has the 1965 edition of the book been referenced (see Figure IX for songs in the earlier volume).

KEY

[*Title* (page)]
Writer / Composer / Tune:
Source (NZF): = Source given in *New Zealand Folksongs*
Source (other): = Corrected source (if relevant)
Versions (NZF): = References given in *New Zealand Folksongs*
Versions (other): = Other pre-1972 versions
Notes: = Explanatory notes

Publications, newspapers and recordings are referenced in the same form as Appendix 3.2.

Listing

Chapter 1: A Southern Gale

John Smith A.B. (6)
Writer / Composer: D.H. Rogers / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Collected from Frank R. Woods, Wairoa by Neil Colquhoun [lyrics]
Versions (NZF): *The Bulletin* (Sydney), 1904, n.d. [not traced]; Phil Garland, *One Hundred Years Ago* LP, Action ACL 8001 (1967); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1972)
Versions (other): *New Zealand Verse* (1906, eds. W.F. Alexander and A.E. Currie) [as the poem 'At Sea']; *Heritage*, no.19, May 1970

Davy Lowston (7)
Writer / Tune / Source / Versions: See 'David Lowston' in Appendix 3.2
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
Versions (other): *Folk Songs for School, Home, Camp, Anywhere* (1968, ed. Alistair C. Cumming)

New Zealand Whales (8)
Writer / Tune / Source / Versions: See Appendix 3.2
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958); Phil Garland, *One Hundred Years Ago* LP, Action ACL 8001 (1967)
Versions (other): *Heritage*, no.21, October 1970

Come All You Tonguers (9)
Writer / Tune / Source: See Appendix 3.2
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
Versions (other): Frank Fyfe, *Frank Fyfe In Concert* Cassette, Down Under 003 (1980)[1]

Soon May the Wellerman Come (10)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Frank R. Woods, Wairoa by Neil Colquhoun

Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1972)

Across the Line (11)
Writer / Composer: William Allingham, Unknown, Neil Colquhoun, Jim Delahunty and others
Source (NZF): *Canterbury Times* (Christchurch), 24/9/1913 ['The Bush Poet' by James Cowan] and Jim Delahunty
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
Versions (other): See 'I've Traded with the Maoris' in Appendix 3.2; Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road* LP, Kiwi SLC 87 (1971)
Notes: Melody and additional verses by Neil Colquhoun, Jim Delahunty and others. The version on *Down a Country Road* features slightly different verses obtained by Phil Garland from Elsie Locke (Garland 1996:18-19).

Blood Red Roses (12)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Blood Red Roses' variant
Source (NZF): Collected by John Leebrick, USA
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1972)
Versions (other): ATL MS 94-106-06/2 [Variant lyrics which may be related to letter from Colquhoun to Roth, dated 29/1/1958, see ATL MS 94-106-06/5]; ATL MS 2000-199-2/04 [NZFLS Auckland branch song sheet with variant melody]

Chapter 2: Landfall

Altered Days (14)
Writer / Tune: John Barr / 'Hieland Laddie' variant
Source (NZF): Anton Vogt; John Barr
Source (other): Collected from William Swan, Foxton [lyrics] and Alister Colquhoun, Palmerston North [tune], by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Poems and* Songs (1861, John Barr) [as 'New Zealand Comforts']; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1972)

I'm a Young Man (15)
Writer / Composer : Charles Martin / Neil Colquhoun
Source / Versions: Rona Bailey [see 'The New Chum' in Appendices 3.1 and 3.2]
Notes: The melody by Colquhoun seems loosely based upon the Wallis melody in SBW.

Little Tommy Pinkerton (16)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Dorothy Hueston by Neil Colquhoun, c.1954
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1972); American version 'There's Another Harp Hanging in the Sky'
Versions (other): *More Work for the Undertaker* (1949, Margery Allingham); 'N.Z. Folk Music – A Viewpoint' (Neil Colquhoun) in *Fernfire*, December 1965
Notes: Other versions of this song are entitled 'More Work for the Undertaker', 'Sambo Joined the Railway' or simply 'Sambo'. It could not been traced to any other major song anthology.

Black Velvet Band (17)
Writer / Tune : Unknown / 'Black Velvet Band'
Source (NZF): Collected from Mary L. Rogers by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): Dave and Panda, *Folk Songs 4* EP, Kiwi SEA-164 (c.1969); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Rise Out Your Bed (18)
Writer / Tune: John Barr / Unknown
Source (NZF): Alistair Swan
Source (other): Collected from William Swan, Foxton [lyrics] and Lurline Colquhoun, Palmerston North [tune], by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Poems and Songs* (1861, John Barr) [as 'Rise Oot Your Bed']; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Darling Johnny O (19)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Elizabeth Mair, St. Heliers, by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (other): *Sing Out!*, vol.13 no.1 (1963) [as 'My Own Sailor Boy']; *O'er His Grave the Green Grass Grew* CD, Topic TSCD 653 (1998) [as 'Willie O' sung by Nora Cleary]
Notes: This is distantly related to the song 'The Grey Cock' listed as no.248 by Francis Child.

How to Dodge the Hard Times (20)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey [see 'A Tract for the Hard Times' in Appendix 3.2]

Chapter 3: For Gum

Trade of Kauri Gum (22)
Writer / Composer: William Satchell / Neil Colquhoun
Source / Versions: See 'Song of the Gumfields' in Appendix 3.2
Versions (other): *Folk Songs for School, Home, Camp, Anywhere* (1968, ed. Alistair C. Cumming); *Heritage*, no.12, August 1969

The Black Swans (23)
Writer / Composer: E.L. Eyre / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey [see Appendix 3.1]
Versions (other): *Future Times and Other Rhymes* (1906, E.L. Eyre); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, Kiwi EA-58 (1959); *Heritage*, no.8, c.1969; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Song of the Digger (24)
Writer / Composer: William Satchell, Unknown / Neil Colquhoun (reconstruction)
Source (NZF): Collected from Arthur Ross, Auckland by Neil Colquhoun [verses]
Source (other): *Land of the Lost* (1902, William Satchell) [chorus]
Versions (NZF): *Land of the Lost* (1902, William Satchell); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, Kiwi EA-58 (1959) [as 'The Way of the Trade']; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *A Book of New Zealand* (1964, ed. J.C. Reid) [first verse of 'The Lay of the Digger']; ATL MS 2000-199-2/04 [NZFLS Auckland branch song sheet with variant lyrics]
Notes: See also "This is the lay of the digger…" in Appendix 3.2.

End of the Earth (25)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Neil Colquhoun
Source (other): Lyrics edited and arranged from a MS letter in Colquhoun's possession.
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, Kiwi EA-58 (1959); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

As the Black Billy Boils (26)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Peter Sinkovich, Auckland by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Notes: The liner notes of the *Song of a Young Country* LP (Colquhoun 1971) state that the "tune is Yugoslav and the words probably a translation or paraphrase of Yugoslav or Dalmatian verses".

Chapter 3: For Gold

Tuapeka Gold (28)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland
Source (NZF): Phil Garland
Versions (NZF): Phil Garland, *One Hundred Years* Ago LP, Action ACL 8001 (1967); Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road* LP, Kiwi SLC-87 (1971); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *Heritage*, no.9, May 1969

Bright Fine Gold (29)
Writer / Composer: Crosbie Ward?, Ruth Park, D'Arcy Niland, Unknown / Neil Colquhoun (reconstruction)
Source (NZF): Alistair Swan
Source (other): Collected from William Swan, Foxton by Neil Colquhoun [lyrics]; Rona Bailey? [chorus]
Versions (NZF): *One-a-Pecker, Two-a-Pecker* (1957, Ruth Park); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958) [as 'Tuapeka Gold']; Gary and Everill Muir, *Folk Songs* 2 EP, Kiwi SEA-162 (c.1969); Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road* LP, Kiwi SLC-87 (1971) [as 'Fine Bright Gold']
Versions (other): See "Bright fine gold…" in Appendix 3.2; *Folk Songs for School, Home, Camp, Anywhere* (1968, ed. Alistair C. Cumming); Kevin Scully, *Alone in the Hills/Bright Fine Gold* 7" single, Robbins RRSP 56 (c.1970)
Notes: Archer (2000) considers that Colquhoun's verse melody is based on the American folk song 'Single Girl' (Lomax 1960:166), which is to some extent confirmed by the presence of a matching verse (beginning "Two little children…") in Cumming (1968).

Packing My Things (30)
Writer / Composer: Unknown, Neil Colquhoun / Neil Colquhoun (reconstruction)
Source (NZF): Alistair Swan
Source (other): Collected from William Swan, Foxton by Neil Colquhoun [lyrics]; additional lyrics by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958); William Clauson, *Packing My Things* LP, HMV MCLP 6200 (1965)
Versions (other): Sound Archives T514 (1961) ['The Diggers of Long Ago' radio programme]; *Heritage*, no.6, c.1968; Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road* LP, Kiwi SLC-87 (1971)

Wakamarina (31)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey [see Appendix 3.2]
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): Fernfire Singers, *Sweat in the Sun Mate* LP (1967); Heritage, no.7, c.1969
Notes: This has a different melody to that in SBW, also composed by Colquhoun.

New Chums at the Diggings (32)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher, Unknown / Unknown (reconstruction?)
Source (NZF): Geoffrey Butterfield
Source (other): Collected from Geoffrey Butterworth, Westport [chorus] and Janice Fleming [verses and melody?] - both by Rona Bailey, 1956
Versions (NZF): *Songs of the War* (1864, Charles Thatcher); The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958)
Versions (other): Sound Archives T514 (1961) ['The Diggers of Long Ago' radio programme]
Notes: See 'The Wakamarina' in Appendix 3.1.

The Old Identity(33)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Will You Go, Will You Tarry'
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey
Versions (NZF): Phil Garland, *One Hundred Years Ago* LP, Action ACL 8001 (1967) [different song of the same title]
Versions (other): See Appendix 3.2
Notes: The tune is also known as 'Let Him Go, Let Him Tarry'.

Gold's a Wonderful Thing (34)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Irish Washerwoman'
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey / David Young [tune variant]
Source (other): *Wit and Humour* (1869, Charles Thatcher) [as 'Gold]
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958); Sound Archives T514 (1961) ['The Diggers of Long Ago' radio programme]

Waitekauri Ev'rytime (35)
Writer / Composer: Edwin Edwards [or W.W. Rowe?] (adapt. Neil Colquhoun) / 'Clementine' (reconstruction)
Source (NZF): Edwin Edwards

Source (other): Rona Bailey [see in Appendix 3.2]
Versions (other): ATL MS 2000-199-2/03 [NZFLS Auckland branch song sheet with descant vocal part]; *Folk Songs for School, Home, Camp, Anywhere* (1968, ed. Alistair C. Cumming); Neil Colquhoun et al, *Folk Songs 3* EP, Kiwi SEA-163 (c.1969)

Digger's Farewell (36)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Collected by Mona Tracy [see Appendix 2]
Versions (NZF): Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road* LP, Kiwi SLC 87 (1971)
Versions (other): See Appendix 3.2; Fernfire Singers, *Sweat in the Sun Mate* LP (1967)

Chapter 5: Of Rogue, Rebel and Rolling Stone

The Gay Deserter (38)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Arthur Ross by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gumdiggers* EP, Kiwi EA-58 (1959); *English Ballads* (A.L. Lloyd) [probably *The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs* (1959, eds. R. Vaughan Williams and A.L. Lloyd)]
Notes: This is related to the song 'The Deserter From Kent' in the Vaughan Williams-Lloyd collection.

Te Kooti E Ha (39)
Writer / Tune: Arthur Desmond / Unknown
Source (NZF): Hone Frankton [melody and Maori lyrics?]
Versions (NZF): See 'The Song of Te Kooti' in Appendix 3.2; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Rerenga's Wool (40)
Writer / Tune: A.B. ('Banjo') Paterson / Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Ben Whittle by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *The Collected Verse of A.B. Paterson* (1921, A.B. Paterson) [as 'The Maori's Wool']; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): See 'The Maori's Wool' in Appendix 3.2

Murderers Rock (41)
Writer / Composer: Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): NZBS 'Murderers Rock' radio drama (1962) [not traced]

McKenzie and His Dog (42)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Brian Armstrong by Neil Colquhoun [lyrics]
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *Heritage*, no.24, June 1971

My Man's Gone Now (43)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from May Simpson, Foxton by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Drinking Rum and Raspberry (44)
Writer / Tune: Ruth Park / 'Way Down Yonder in the Paw-Paw Patch'
Source (NZF): Frank Fyfe
Versions (NZF): *One-a-Pecker, Two-a-Pecker* (1957, Ruth Park)
Versions (other): *Heritage*, no.6, c.1968

Talking Swag (45)
Writer / Composer: Shirlee Alison / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Collected from Shirlee Alison, Porirua by Neil Colqhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Versions (other): ATL MS 2000-199-2/04, 2000-199-2/05) [NZFLS Auckland branch song sheets with small textual variations]

Friendly Road (46)
Writer / Composer: 'Taiwai', Unknown / Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Ronald Gleave, Auckland by Neil Colqhoun
Versions (other): See 'A Meeting' in Appendix 3.2

Chapter 6: Working Out Country

The Foggy Foggy Banks (48)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Neil Colquhoun (reconstruction)
Source (NZF): Collected from Haldy Ryan, Bluff by Rona Bailey, 1958 [see 'A Trawlerman's Song' in Appendix 3.1]
Versions (other): See 'The Foggy Foggy Banks' in Appendix 8.1

Shearing (49)
Writer / Tune: David McKee Wright / Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Brian Armstrong by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Station Ballads* (1897, David McKee Wright)
Versions (other): Sound Archives T1297 (c.1963) ['The Fleece is Gold' radio programme]

Dug-Out in the True (50)
Writer / Tune: Les Roughan? / 'The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane'
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey / Jim Holliman [tune arrangement]
Source (other): Collected from Les Roughan, Te Tipua by Rona Bailey, 1958 [see Appendix 3.1]
Versions (NZF): Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road* LP, Kiwi SLC 87 (1971); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland) [see 'The Dugout in Matruh']; *Heritage*, no.4, 31/5/1968; Frank Fyfe, *Frank Fyfe In Concert* Cassette, Down Under 003 (1980)

Leatherman (51)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (NZF): Alistair Swan
Source (other): Collected from William Swan, Foxton by Neil Colquhoun

Banks of the Waikato (52)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland
Source (NZF): Phil Garland
Versions (NZF): Phil Garland, *One Hundred Years Ago* LP, Action ACL 8001 (1967); *Heritage*, no.4, 31/5/1968; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

The Day the Pub Burned Down (53)
Writer / Composer: Bob Edwards
Source (NZF): Bob Edwards / Lew Williams
Versions (NZF): *Heritage*, no.3, c.1968 [includes three variant melodies]; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): SMANZ MS (c.1955) [variant melody credited to Neil Roberts]; SMANZ MS (c.1960) [slight variant lyrics]; Fernfire Singers, *Sweat in the Sun Mate* LP (1967); ATL MS 2000-199-2/04 [NZFLS Auckland branch song sheet with variant melody]

The Mill (54)
Writer / Tune: Cecil Winter, Unknown / Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Ben Whittle by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *The Story of 'Bidgee Queen and Other Verses* (1929, C.H. Winter) [as 'The Pine Mill']; ATL MS 2000-199-1/01 [NZFLS Auckland branch song sheet]
Notes: 'The Pine Mill' has ten verses, five of which appear in this song. The chorus is not in the original poem.

Chapter 7: Union Men

Run For Your Life (56)
Writer / Composer: Bret Harte [adapt. Neil Colquhoun] / Neil Colquhoun
Source (NZF): Rona Bailey
Versions (NZF): *Mt. Ida Chronicle*, 29/9/1871 [as the poem 'In the Tunnel']; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *That Heathen Chinee and Other Humourous Poems* (1871, Bret Harte); *Complete Poetical Works* (c.1902, Bret Harte)
Notes: In the original newspaper source the poem is stated as being "By the Author of the 'Heathen Chinee'". The poem is by American writer Bret Harte (1836-1902), who wrote mainly about the California gold rushes. The first publication of the 'In the Tunnel' may have been in the 1871 poetry collection given above.

Railway Bill (57)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Ted Moxom, Levin by Neil Colquhoun [verses]
Source (other): Chorus learnt from railway workers, Palmerston North by Neil Colquhoun, 1941
Versions (NZF): *Fernfire*, December 1965 ['N.Z. Folk Music – A Viewpoint' by Neil Colquhoun]; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): Stanley and Patterson Stanley, *Railroad Bill/All Night Long* 78rpm, Okeh 40295 (1924); *Negro Workaday* Songs (1926, eds. Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson); Will Bennett, *Railroad Bill/Real Estate Blues* 78rpm, Vocalion 1464 (1929); *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (1934, eds. John Lomax and Alan Lomax); *Folklore From the Working Folk of America* (1973, eds. Tristram Coffin and Hennig Cohen)
Notes: The references above are all related to the American song 'Railroad Bill', which exists in many recorded and printed versions.

Down in the Brunner Mine (58)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / Unknown, Neil Colquhoun, Nigel Bennett
Source (NZF): Collected from Jim Musson, Christchurch by Neil Colquhoun [lyrics and tune 'outline']
Versions (NZF): Phil Garland, *One Hundred Years Ago* LP, Action ACL 8001 (1967); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)
Versions (other): *Heritage*, no.5, c.1968

The Sweater (59)
Writer / Composer: 'N.A.A.' / Unknown [Panda Calder?]
Source (NZF): Robert Norton [John Norton?]
Versions (NZF): See Appendix 3.2; *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

151 Days (60)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (NZF): Not given
Source (other): Collected from anonymous waterside worker, Auckland by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Gutboard Blues (61)
Writer / Composer: Dave Jordan
Source (NZF): Dave Jordan
Versions (NZF): *Heritage*, no.4, 31/5/1968; Dave Jordan, *Seasons* LP, Kiwi SLC-67 (1969); *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

Cargo Workers (62)
Writer / Tune: Unknown
Source (NZF): Collected from Ted Moxom, Levin by Neil Colquhoun
Versions (NZF): *Song of a Young Country* LP, Kiwi SLC 101/102 (1971)

[1] Although this cassette was released in 1980, it was recorded in 1967-68.

Appendix 4.3

Other Songs from the Collecting and Arranging Work of Neil Colquhoun

This is a listing of publicly-accessible songs and tunes, either collected or arranged by Neil Colquhoun, and not contained in *New Zealand Folksongs – Song of a Young Country*. The listing is divided into six sections, which correspond to groupings given in Appendix 4.1. As with the field collection of Rona Bailey, some collected pieces exist in different post-collection 'versions' in archival holdings or recordings, and these various locations are given. The listing also gives other miscellaneous items associated with Colquhoun's work which he did not actually collect, but either preserved or created a musical arrangement for.

KEY

[*Title*]
- [Category] = Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
- Collected from [informant, location, date] = Collection details (if known)
- Locations: = Where copies of the item can be found
- Notes: = Explanatory notes

Songs collected by Neil Colquhoun

Buachaill Paídín
- Song.
- Collected from unknown informant, Auckland.
- Locations: Annabell-B
- Notes: This song is of Gaelic origin.

Drimin Dhown Deelish
- Song.
- Collected from Joe Brennan.
- Locations: Worsfold
- Notes: This song is probably of Welsh origin. It has not yet been examined by the writer.

E Te Hokowhitu
- Song.
- Collected from school children, Otaki, c.1951.
- Locations: Annabell-C
- Notes: This is a variant version of the song of the same title by Tuini Ngawai.

E Waka E
- Song.
- Collected from unknown informant (Taranaki?).
- Locations: Annabell-C

Old Dash
- Song.
- Collected from William Swan, Foxton.
- Locations: Annabell-D, Brown
- Notes: This is related to a poem by John Barr entitled 'To My Old Dog Dash' (Barr 1861:144-146).

Instrumental tunes collected by Neil Colquhoun

Cassiby Order
- Whistling tune.
- Collected from Ben Whittle.
- Locations: Annabell-C

Notes: Bill Worsfold has identified this tune as a variant of an Irish slip-jig 'Yellow Legs'.

Jim Jon (a.k.a. *Jim John*)
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C

Line Four (a.k.a. *Pick and Shovel*)
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C

The Miller's Daughter (a.k.a. *Roundabout Ways*)
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C

Ned Quin's Loop (a.k.a. *The Otira Loop*; *The Otira Jig*)
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C
Notes: This is transcribed in *skodura* notation to replicate Thomas' unusual tuning.

Night Watch
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C

Otira Waltz (The First)
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C

Otira Waltz (The Second)
Fiddle tune.
Collected from Walter Thomas, Wellington, c.1946.
Locations: Annabell-C

'Cazna Gyp' Songs

Brandin' Muster
Song.
Locations: EA-33

The Drover's Dream
Song.
Locations: Annabell-B, Annabell-C, Annabell-E

Heart of the Hills
Song.
Locations: EA-33

Old Billy Kirk
Song.
Locations: EA-33, Annabell-B
Notes: The version given in Annabell-B corresponds to that in Bailey and Roth (1967:138-39).

Song of the Kauri
Song.
Locations: EA-33

The John Leebrick Songs

Shore Cry
Song.
Locations: *The Maorilander*, no.3, Winter 1971

Whaling Off Greenland
Song.
Locations: Roth-A, M31-1
Notes: Roth-A gives six verses (text only), while the *Songs of the Whalers* (Kiwi M31-1) gives three.

Musical settings to texts derived from other collecting

The West Coast
Song.
Collected by Rona Bailey (see Appendix 3.1).
Locations: Locke-B

Musical settings to published material

The Mail Coach Line
Song.
Locations: Annabell-B; Annabell-C
Notes: This song is also known as 'Coaching Song' and there are several slightly different versions in the archival folders referenced above. The text was originally printed in *High Noon For Coaches* (Halket 1953:141-142). The same text was also set to music by Ken Martin (of Elsie Locke's group The Rouseabouts) in the late 1950s (see Locke-B).

Song of the Pick
Song.
Locations: M31-2, T514, Colonial (14-15)
Notes: The original text of this song was located by Rona Bailey in *The Mt. Ida Chronicle*, 10/11/1871, and passed on to Colquhoun in the mid-1950s. The text was clearly modelled on Thomas Hood's famous poem of the 1840s, 'Song of the Shirt'. *Colonial Heritage Songs* gives Colquhoun's tune.

Abbreviations

[In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the 'Colonial' code refers to page numbers in this publication.]

Colonial	*Colonial Heritage Songs* (1992, eds. Bill and Kath Worsfold)
EA-33	The Song Spinners, *Cazna Gyp – Songs of the Backblocks* EP, Kiwi EA-33 (1959)
M31-1	The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* EP, Kiwi M31-1 (1958)
M31-2	The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Gold Diggers* EP, Kiwi M31-2 (1958)
T514	*The Diggers of Long Ago* radio programme, Sound Archives T514
Brown	Possession of writer
Worsfold	Bill Worsfold collection

[The following manuscripts are located in the Alexander Turnbull Library]

Annabell-B	2000-199-2/04	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-C	2000-199-2/05	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-D	2000-199-2/14	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-E	2000-199-2/03	(Angela Annabell papers)
Roth-A	90-106-06/2	(Herbert Roth papers)
Locke-B	MS-Papers-7202-107	(Elsie Locke papers)

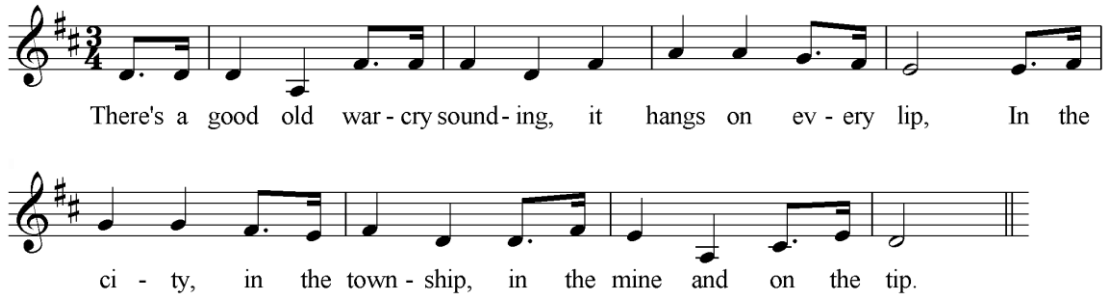
Appendix 4.4

Three Versions of 'Waitekauri Everytime'

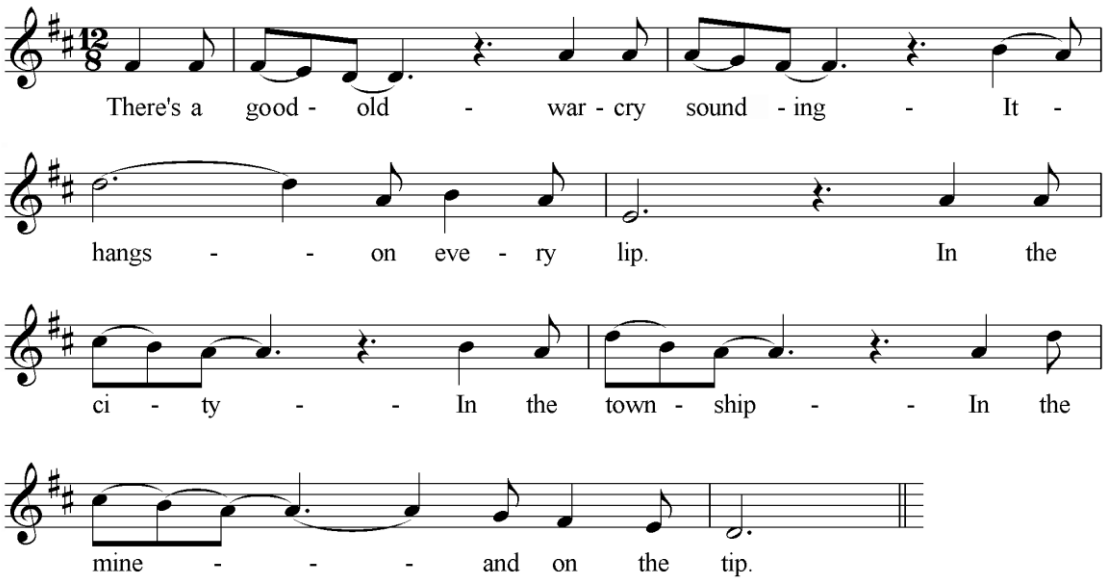
Three different versions of the song 'Waitekauri Everytime' are here presented for comparison. This song was written by either Edwin Edwards or W.W. Rowe in the early twentieth century. The text was later located by Rona Bailey in the *Hauraki Plains Gazette* (Paeroa), 6/5/1955. Here the surrounding article stated that "there were, of course, many versions of the doggerel, or rather many additional verses to suit occasions and events were woven into the ballad. Some could not be recited in polite company and on very formal occasions an adaption from 'Clementine' was sung."

The first version given here provides a straightforward melodic setting of the opening lines to the tune of 'Clementine'. The second version provides Neil Colquhoun's initial melodic adaptation as printed in Bailey and Roth (1967:67-68), which can also be heard on The Sundowners *Shanties by the Way* EP (1957); the complete 1955 text is also given. The third version provides Neil Colquhoun's revised adaptation of this melody and the text, dating to several years later. This was first printed in Cumming (1968:20) and recorded on Colquhoun's *Folk Songs – 3* EP (c.1969). The version given here is taken from Colquhoun (1972:35).

1. First Version ('Clementine' setting)



2. Second Version (Initial Colquhoun melody and original text)



There's a good old war-cry sounding, it hangs on every lip,
In the city, in the township, in the mine and on the tip.
A phrase that gives the story of the old prospector's pluck,
Their doings with the pick, their curséd bally luck.
When the battered pan flows empty, bar a tale of new-chum gold,
Or it gave a ring of 'colour' that betokened wealth untold,
I can weave it in my ballad, I can swing it in my rhyme,
It's Waitekauri, Waitekauri, Waitekauri Everytime!

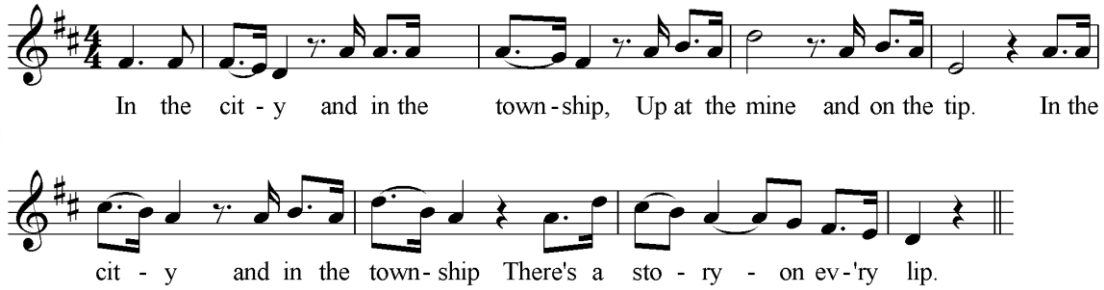
Oh, the days of Hughey's tribute and the doings that they did!
You had to drink your grog those times from out a billy lid.
When all the picks were furnished by poor old Pick-handle Dan,
And Harry Skene retorted in a broken frying pan.
When the dirt weighted fifteen ounces, and every now and then
They used to weigh the bullion not by troy weight, but by men.
I can weave it in my ballad, I can swing it in my rhyme,
It's Waitekauri, Waitekauri, Waitekauri Everytime!

They never growled at road or truck, or at the county groan,
With compass and a slasher they would travel on their own.
I used to pack the tucker to the 'Perseverance Push',
And the only road I knew of then was blasphemy and bush.
There was no Rae or Ryan, but the boys could get their fill
At the shanty in the ti-tree, up at Paddy Sheey's hill.
Ah, the tears come in my ballad, and the sadness in my rhyme,
Those times 'twas Waitekauri, Waitekauri Everytime!

But now they've got a board house, a lock-up and a cop,
And a milkman and a parson, and Good Gawd, a barber's shop.
John Bull he owns the country, and he snaffles every find,
And the poor old-timer – well, he gets the dust that blows behind.
Perhaps it's for the better, but somehow it seems to me,
That up there at the Beehive they ain't what they used to be.
There isn't just the accent as they howled it in their prime,
When the ranges used to echo – Waitekauri Everytime!

I think of those vast aisles of bush and fern where I have heard
The whistle of the tui and the screeching of that bird –
The gloomy, lonesome kaka, whose gloomy lonesome ring
Which breaks the solemn silence where no other songsters sing.
He's dead, the bush is fallen, and there's dust and cyanide,
And syndicates, and companies, and God knows what beside.
Well, it's in the way of all things – you must climb and climb and climb.
Anyhow, let's yell the chorus – Waitekauri Everytime!

3. Third Version (Revised Colquhoun melody and text)



1. In the city
   And in the township,
   Up at the mine
   And on the tip;
   In the city
   And in the township
   There's a story
   On ev'ry lip.

   (Chorus)
   I can weave it in my ballad,
   I can swing it in my rhyme,
   Waitekauri O Waitekauri,
   Waitekauri ev'ry time.

2. There is a cry
   That tells a story
   About the old
   Prospectors' pluck:
   About their doings
   With the pan and pick
   And their blooming cursed bally luck.

3. When the battered pan
   It showed up empty
   All bar a tail
   Of new-chum gold;
   Or it gave a ring
   Of real colour
   That betokened wealth
   And riches told.

4. But now they've got
   A swanky boarding-house;
   They've got a lock-up,
   They've got a cop;
   And there's a milkman,
   And there's a parson,
   And, good Gawd, there is
   A barber's shop.

5. John Bull's the bloke
   Who owns the country,
   And how he snavels
   Up ev'ry find;
   And now the poor (old)
   Old gold-miner
   Just gets whatever's left behind.

Appendix 5.1

The Joe Charles-Les Cleveland Songs

This is a listing of songs resulting from the collaboration between Joe Charles and Les Cleveland. It gives location references for the various versions of these songs found in publications, recordings and archival holdings. Where traditional melodies were used these are noted, otherwise the tunes were composed by Cleveland.

KEY

[*Title*]

Tune:	= Tune setting
Locations:	= Where copies of the song can be found
Notes:	= Explanatory notes

Listing

McKenzie and His Dog
Tune: 'No Balls at All'.
Locations: Cleveland-A, T47a, ZEP-004, BBT (15-16), GNZSB (52-53)

The Malvern Hills
Locations: Cleveland-A, T47a

Around the Coleridge Run (a.k.a. *The Coleridge Run*)
Locations: Cleveland-A, T47a, ZEP-004, BBT (19-22)

Black Billy Tea
Locations: Cleveland-A, T47b, ZEP-004, SBW (149-150), BBT (6-7), GNZSB (24-25)

The Phosphate Flyers
Locations: T47b, ZEP-004, BBT (17-18)

Beating the Breeze
Locations: T47b, Garland

Coasters (a.k.a. *Coasties*; *The Coast*)
Locations: Cleveland-A, T46, Garland, BBT (23), GNZSB (78)

Black Billy Blues (a.k.a. *The Swaggies*)
Tune: 'The Ball of Kirriemuir'.
Locations: T46, Garland, BBT (37-38)

Black Billy Joe (a.k.a. *Saddlebag Song*)
Locations: Cleveland-A, T46, Garland, BBT (8-9)
Notes: The version on the Garland tape is sung by William Clauson.

Top Beat
Locations: Garland, BBT (35-36), GNZSB (26)

Davy Gunn
Locations: Cleveland-A, GNZSB (60-61)
Notes: Charles (1981) contains another ballad entitled 'Davey Gunn'.

The Ballad of Crooked-Neck Stanley
Locations: Cleveland-A, Garland, BBT (39-41)

Swingle-Tree Swing
Locations: Garland, BBT (12-14)

Old Man McHough (a.k.a. *The Windwhistle Blacksmith*)
Tune: 'The Ball of Kirriemuir'.
Locations: Cleveland-A, Garland, BBT (52-53)
Notes: Only the verses of the song use the 'Ball of Kirriemuir' tune.

Abbreviations

[In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the codes refer to page numbers in the relevant publication.]

SBW	*Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Bailey and Roth)
BBT	*Black Billy Tea - New Zealand Ballads* (1981, Charles)
GNZSB	*The Great New Zealand Songbook* (1991, ed. Cleveland)
T47a	*New Zealand Ballads Part 1* radio programme, Sound Archives T47
T47b	*New Zealand Ballads Part 2* radio programme, Sound Archives T47
T46	*New Zealand Ballads Part 3* radio programme, Sound Archives T46
ZEP-004	Les Cleveland, *Authentic New Zealand Ballads* EP, Tanza ZEP-004 (1959)
Cleveland-A	ATL MS-Papers-6269-7 (Les Cleveland papers)
Garland	Copy of Joe Charles' home recording of performances of songs by Les Cleveland, William Clauson and others. Located in Garland collection.

Appendix 5.2

Annotated listing of *The Great New Zealand Songbook*

This is a listing of all the songs in *The Great New Zealand Songbook* (GNZSB), except partial quotes found in the introductory and chapter text. The annotations include writer, composer, sources and Cleveland's collecting-composition datings. Supplementary references for (mostly) pre-1975 versions are also given, details of which are partly derived from Harding (1992) or else were located by the writer.

KEY

[*Title* (page)]
Writer / Composer / Tune:
Source (GNZS): = Source given in *The Great New Zealand Songbook*, followed by datings given in brackets
Versions: = References to other versions
Notes: = Explanatory notes

Publications, newspapers and recordings are referenced in the same form as Appendix 3.2.
Where sources are not stated by Cleveland, this is denoted with "n/s".

Listing

Chapter 1: Songs of Celebration

Take Me Up Tenderly (14-16)
Writer / Tune: Harold Gretton / 'Uia Mai Koia'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1938)
Versions: *Song Book – New Zealand University Students' Association* (1955, ed. John Dugdale); *Songs* (c.1963, ed. Anon) [ephemeral tramping song book]; *Songs of the Hills* (c.1970, ed. Anon); *Tararua Song Book* (1972, ed. Anon); *A Selection of Poems, Songs and Short Stories* (c.1983, Harold Gretton)
Notes: Cleveland states that he has edited the song (see p.123).

Sings Harry (17-19)
Writer / Composer: Denis Glover / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Enter Without Knocking* (1964, Denis Glover)
Versions: *Sings Harry* (1951, Denis Glover); Denis Glover and Les Cleveland, *Arawata Bill and Other Verses* LP, Kiwi SLD-28 (c.1973)

Stand in the Rain (20-21)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (GNZS): Collected by Les Cleveland, c.1947
Versions: *Stand in the Rain* (1965, Jean Watson)

Tea-tree (22-23)
Writer / Composer: A.R.D. Fairburn / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Collected Poems* (1966, A.R.D. Fairburn)
Versions: *He Shall Not Rise* (1930, A.R.D. Fairburn)

Black Billy Tea (24-25)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written c.1960)
Versions: See Appendices 3.2 and 5.1; Phil Garland, *Springtime in the Mountains* LP, Kiwi SLC-178 (1984) [new arrangement]
Notes: As this song featured in Cleveland's 1959 radio broadcasts, the song was clearly written prior to the 1960 dating. This misdating applies to several other of the Charles-Cleveland songs in GNZSB.

Top Beat (26)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Anonymous [Les Cleveland?]
Source (GNZS): *Black Billy Tea* (1981, Joe Charles) (written c.1960)
Versions: See Appendix 5.1.

The Casual Man (27-28)
Writer / Composer: Denis Glover / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Enter Without Knocking* (1964, Denis Glover)
Versions: *Sings Harry* (1951, Denis Glover)

The Shanty by the Way (29-30)
Writer / Tune : E.J. Overbury, Unknown / 'Finnegan's Wake'
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written c.1865)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2

The Legend of Mokoia (31-33)
Writer / Composer: Willow Macky
Source (GNZS): n/s (written 1990)

Chapter 2: Songs of Experience

Arawata Bill (36-38)
Writer / Composer: Denis Glover / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Enter Without Knocking* (1964, Denis Glover)
Versions: *Arawata Bill* (1953, Denis Glover)

A Question (39-40)
Writer / Composer: Denis Glover / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Enter Without Knocking* (1964, Denis Glover)
Versions: *Arawata Bill* (1953, Denis Glover)

David Lowston (41-42)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Samuel Hall' variant
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written c.1809)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2
Notes: Cleveland uses a major-key variant of 'Samuel Hall'. His 1809 dating is probably several years too early (see Fyfe 1970d:32).

Whaler's Rhymes (43)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The King of the Cannibal Islands'
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written 1840)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2

The Shiner (44-45)
Writer / Composer: George Meek / Anonymous [Les Cleveland?]
Source (GNZS): *Station Days in Maoriland and Other Verses* (1952, George Meek) [as 'Edmond Slattery']

Snowed In (46)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Mick Laracy] / 'Oh Susanna'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1900)
Versions: *Solidarity*, December 1941; Phil Garland, *Down a Country Road*, Kiwi SLC-87 (1971)
Notes: This was probably passed on to Cleveland by Joe Charles, who collected it from R.D. Blackley, who in turn probably obtained it from Hughie Nimmo in the early 1950s.

The Life of a High-Country Shepherd (47)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Colin McNicol?] / 'Wrap Me Up in My Tarpaulin Jacket'
Source (GNZS): *The Maorilander*, no.5, Autumn 1972 [collected from Davy Denison, Arrowtown, by Phil Garland, 1969]
Versions: Phil Garland, *How Are You, Mate?* Cassette, Kiwi TC SLC-212 (1990)

The Fossicking Fool (48-49)
Writer / Composer: J.R. Sinclair / Anonymous [Les Cleveland?]
Source (GNZS): Collected from unknown informant by Les Cleveland, 1959 [from J.R. Sinclair?]
Notes: The tune may be partly adapted from the verse melody of 'The Bastard King of England'.

The Wakamarina (50-51)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2

Mackenzie and His Dog (52-53)
Writer / Tune: Joe Charles / Traditional ['No Balls at All']
Source (GNZS): *Black Billy Tea* (1981, Joe Charles) (written c.1960)
Versions: See Appendix 5.1; *Songs for N.Z. Scouts* (c.1963, ed. Anon) [as 'McKenzie, Sheepstealer']

Timber (54)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (GNZS): *The Maorilander*, no.3, Winter 1971 [collected from Jean Watson, Wellington, by Frank Fyfe, 1971]

Down by El Alamein (55)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Somewhere in France with You'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1943)
Versions: *'Kiss Me Goodnight, Sergeant Major'* (1973, ed. Martin Page)

Chapter 3: Songs of Nostalgia and Lament

The Soldier's Farewell (58-59)
Writer / Composer: Anonymous
Source (GNZS): Collected from an unknown informant by Les Cleveland, 1956

Davy Gunn (60-61)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Black Billy Tea* (1981, Joe Charles) (written c.1960)
Versions: See Appendix 5.1; ATL MS-Papers-6269-7 [typescript version]; Phil Garland, *No Place Like Home* CD, Kiwi CD SLC-270 (2005)
Notes: The text of this song is not actually found in Cleveland's cited source, which instead contains a different ballad called 'Davey Gunn'. Three different versions of Charles' original text can be found in the ATL folder.

Mrs Mitchell (62)
Writer / Tune: Kate Skates / 'Our Goodman'
Source (GNZS): *The Fadeless Fern* (1965, Kate Skates)

Castel Frentano (63)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (GNZS): n/s (written 1944)
Versions: *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland); Les Cleveland, *More Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi LA-6 (1961); Les Cleveland, *The Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi SLC-121 (1975)

Rolling Wheels (64-65)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (GNZS): n/s (written 1944)
Versions: *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland); Les Cleveland, *The Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi LA-3 (1960); Les Cleveland, *The Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi SLC-121 (1975)

Blue Smoke (66)
Writer / Composer: Ruru Karaitiana
Source (GNZS): *Blue Smoke* (1947, Ruru Karaitiana) [sheet music]
Versions: Sound Archives MU97B [Jean Ngeru's 1946 Mobile Unit recording]; Pixie Williams, *Blue Smoke/Senorita* 78rpm Tanza 1Tanza (1949)

Black Billy Blues (67)
Writer / Tune: Joe Charles / 'The Ball of Kirriemuir'
Source (GNZS): *Black Billy Tea* (1981, Joe Charles) (written c.1960)
Versions: See Appendix 5.1

The Digger's Song (68-69)
Writer / Composer: David McKee Wright / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1897)
Versions: *Station Ballads* (1897, David McKee Wright) [as 'The Diggers']; Sound Archives T514 ['The Diggers of Long Ago' radio programme]

Dear Old New Zealand (70-71)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'South of the Border'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written 1942)

Chapter 4: Songs with Laughter

Fossicker Michael O'Flynn (74)
Writer / Tune: Cornelius O'Regan / 'Abdullah Abulbul Emir'
Source (GNZS): *Poems by Cornelius O'Regan* (1896, ed. John Christie)

The Drover's Dream (75-76)
Writer / Tune: "Adapted from the Australian original" / Traditional ['The Drover's Dream']
Source (GNZS): Collected from an unknown informant by Les Cleveland, 1965 [words adapted by Les Cleveland?]
Notes: This is a New Zealand adaptation of the well-known Australian bush song 'The Drover's Dream'.

Wool, Wether and Wine (77)
Writer / Composer: George Meek / Anonymous [Les Cleveland?]
Source (GNZS): *Station Days in Maoriland and Other Verses* (1952, George Meek)
Notes: The tune seems to be partly adapted from the verse melody of 'Click Go the Shears'.

Coasters (78)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Black Billy Tea* (1981, Joe Charles) (written c.1960)
Versions: See Appendix 5.1

The Tale of a Pig (79)
Writer / Tune: Kate Skates / 'Sing a Song of Sixpence'
Source (GNZS): *The Fadeless Fern* (1965, Kate Skates)

No Boots (80-81)
Writer / Tune: Anonymous [Tony Nolan?] / Traditional ['No Balls at All']
Source (GNZS): Collected from an unknown informant by Les Cleveland, c.1950
Versions: *Songs* (c.1963, ed. Anon) [ephemeral tramping song book]; Les Cleveland and Tony Nolan, *Bush Singalong* LP, Kiwi LC-11 (1964); *Songs of the Hills* (c.1970, ed. Anon); *Tararua Song Book* (1972, ed. Anon)
Notes: The 1972 *Tararua Song Book* attributes authorship of this song to Tony Nolan and includes an extra verse.

The Dying Tramper (82)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Leigh Hart?] / 'Wrap Me Up in My Tarpaulin Jacket'
Source (GNZS): Collected from an unknown informant by Les Cleveland, c.1950
Versions: *Tramping and Mountaineering*, vol.1 no.4, December 1948; *Songs of the Hills* (c.1970, ed. Anon)

Notes: The 1948 version has a variant text and attributes authorship to Leigh Hart.

A Fast Pair of Skis (83)
Writer / Tune: Harold Gretton / 'Villikins and His Dinah'
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written c.1936)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2; *Songs of the Hills* (c.1970, ed. Anon); *Tararua Song Book* (1972, ed. Anon)

Double-bunking (84)
Writer / Tune: Harold Gretton / 'The More We Are Together'
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written c.1936)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2; *Songs of the Hills* (c.1970, ed. Anon); *Tararua Song Book* (1972, ed. Anon)

An MP's Life for Me (85-86)
Writer / Tune: Ronald L. Meek / 'Hi Diddle Dee Dee' [a.k.a. 'An Actor's Life For Me']
Source (GNZS): *Kiwi Youth Sings* (1951, eds. Conrad Bollinger and Neil Grange) (written 1940)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2

Bump Me into Parliament (87-88)
Writer / Tune: Anonymous [Bill Casey?] / 'Yankee Doodle'
Source (GNZS): *Kiwi Youth Sings* (1951, eds. Conrad Bollinger and Neil Grange)
Versions: *Cappicade* (1949); ATL 94-106-06/2 [typescript version with notes on Bill Casey]
Notes: This song was sung in the 1949 *Jubileevit?* Victoria University College capping extravaganza, with several different verses, see *Cappicade* (1949). Bollinger and Grange (1951) state the song was "the work of 'Casey, of the One Big Union League, Melbourne'". The ATL typescript states the writer was Bill Casey, an organiser for the Sydney Seaman's Union during World War One, who was also active in the Australian Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

General Freyburg's Stew (89-90)
Writer / Composer: A.R. Wallis, E.N. Taylor
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1943)

My Anzac Home (91)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [George L. Smith?] / 'The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane'
Source (GNZBS): *The ANZAC Book* (1916, ed. Anon) (written c.1916)
Versions: *Korero*, vol.2 no.19, 1944 ['Songs of the Services' by T.J. Kirk-Burnand]; *Kiwi Songs* (c.1945, ed. Anon); *Gunner Inglorious* (1945, Jim Henderson); *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland); Les Cleveland, *More Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi LA-6 (1961); Les Cleveland, *The Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi SLC-121 (1975)
Notes: The references given here are to a similar song, 'The Dugout in Matruh', which may not be directly related. The tune given by Cleveland is similar to the 'Wearing of the Green' adaptation used for 'The Dugout in Matruh' on *More Songs We Sang*. The original source of 'My Anzac Home' (*The Anzac Book*) credits the song to George L. Smith, but it is not entirely certain whether he wrote the song himself or had learned the words.

Fred Karno's Army (92)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Church's One Foundation'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1916)
Versions: *Korero*, vol.2 no.19, 1944 ['Songs of the Services' by T.J. Kirk-Burnand]; The *Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland)
Notes: Cleveland prints two versions of the words.

Cassino Town (93)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Road to Gundagai'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1944)
Versions: *Kiwi Songs* (c.1945, ed. Anon) [as 'The Road to Cassino']; *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland) [as 'The Road to Cassino']

Paekakariki (94-95)
Writer / Composer: Ken Avery
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1963)
Versions: *Paekakariki* (c.1949, Ken Avery) [sheet music]; Ken Avery, *Paekakariki/Havin' Fun* 78rpm Tanza 2Tanza (1949); *The Ken Avery Songbook* (c.1975, Ken Avery)
Notes: Cleveland's dating is incorrect.

Tea at Te Kuiti (96-97)
Writer / Composer: Ken Avery
Source (GNZS): n/s (written c.1963)
Versions: *Tea at Te Kuiti* (c.1962, Ken Avery) [sheet music]; Ash Burton, *Tea at Te Kuiti/I Must Go Back Today* 7" single, Kiwi SA-24 (c.1962); The Ken Avery Songbook *(c.1975, Ken Avery)*

Chapter 5: Songs of Protest

Bright Fine Gold (101)
Writer / Composer: Unknown [Crosbie Ward?, Ruth Park, D'Arcy Niland, unknown / Neil Colquhoun (reconstruction)]
Source (GNZS): *New Zealand Folksongs* (1972, ed. Neil Colquhoun)
Versions: See Appendices 3.2 and 4.2

My Man's Gone (102)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (GNZS): *New Zealand Folksongs* (1972, ed. Neil Colquhoun)
Versions: See Appendix 4.2

Walking on My Feet (103-105)
Writer / Composer: A.R.D. Fairburn / Les Cleveland
Source (GNZS): *Collected Poems* (1966, A.R.D. Fairburn)
Versions: *The Rakehelly Man* (1945, A.R.D. Fairburn)

Plutocracy (106-107)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Henry Kirk] / 'Yankee Doodle'
Source (GNZS): *The Transport Workers' Songbook* (c.1926, 'The Mixer' [Henry Kirk])

Strike Out the Top Line (108)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Samuel Lawry?] / 'Throw out the Lifeline'
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2
Notes: Cleveland's tune varies slightly from 'standard' printed versions of 'Throw out the Lifeline' (as found, for example, in Ira D. Sankey's nineteenth century hymn anthologies).

Boozers All (109)
Writer / Composer: Unknown
Source (GNZS): Collected from an unknown informant by Les Cleveland, c.1942
Versions: *Otago University Song Book No.1* (1948, ed. R. Hunt); *Tramper's Song Book* (c.1950, ed. Anon)
Notes: Cleveland does not include a tune for the second half of the song text.

We'll Set the Children Free (110-111)
Writer / Tune: Anonymous / 'John Brown's Body'
Source (GNZS): *Shanties by the Way* (1967, eds. Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth) (written 1912)
Versions: See Appendix 3.2

The Lousy Lance Corporal (112-113)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Villikins and His Dinah'
Source (GNZS): *Australian Favourite Ballads* (1965, ed. John Lahey)
Versions: *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland); Les Cleveland, *More Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi LA-6 (1961); Les Cleveland, *The Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi SLC-121 (1975)

Oh Mr Fraser (114)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Lili Marlene'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written 1944)
Versions: *Kiwi Songs* (c.1945, ed. Anon) [as 'Won't You Take Us Home']; *The Songs We Sang* (1959, ed. Les Cleveland) [as 'Won't You Take Us Home']; Les Cleveland, *More Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi LA-6 (1961) [as 'Lili Marlene']; *Heritage*, no.1, October 1967; Les Cleveland, *The Songs We Sang* LP, Kiwi SLC-121 (1975) [as 'Lili Marlene']

Non Capisce (115)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Lili Marlene'
Source (GNZS): n/s (written 1944)

Better Than War (116-117)
Writer / Composer: Willow Macky
Source (GNZS): n/s (1985)

Trentham (118)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Oh Susanna'
Source: n/s (written c.1917)

The Ballad of the Export Sheep (119)
Writer / Composer: Willow Macky
Source: n/s (written 1990)

Keep It Small (120-121)
Writer / Tune: Anonymous [Les Cleveland?] / 'I Don't Want to Be a Soldier'
Source: n/s (written 1988)

Alternative Anthem (122)
Writer / Tune: Harold Gretton / 'God Defend New Zealand'
Source: n/s (written 1970)
Versions: *New Zealand Listener*, 26/10/1970; *A Selection of Poems, Songs and Short Stories* (c.1983, Harold Gretton)

Appendix 6.1

‘Why Collect?’ by Frank Fyfe

This article is transcribed from the Wellington Folk Club bulletin *Sing*, 17/4/1966, pp.35-36. The relevant issue is not held by the National Library of New Zealand, but the Sheet Music Archive of New Zealand (Upper Hutt) has kindly provided a copy.

Why Collect?
– Frank Fyfe

Whenever one starts to talk about ‘New Zealand Folksongs’ the plaintive cry goes up: ‘But there aren’t any!’ But let us have a closer look at the position. In Australia, before the emergence in the early ‘fifties of the various Folklore Societies and Bush Music Clubs in the Eastern States, the same general attitude prevailed. Then, thanks to many groups and individuals financing the work of such people as Russell Ward, Joy Durst, John Manifold and Nancy and Stewart Keesing, traditional Australian songs began to make their appearance. These, and many other people, went out on field trips – equipped with paper and pencil in the early days, and lately with tape recorders. They covered large areas and turned up with literally hundreds of songs and fragments of songs. In the early fifties, Jack Diamond wrote, and New Theatre staged an Australian Folk Opera called ‘Reedy River’, and through this production, which toured all over the country, many people became aware not only of the existence of a large traditional heritage of song but also of the need to collect and preserve it.

The Queensland Folklore Society undertook several field trips in the late ‘fifties – using borrowed equipment, and came up with a couple of dozen traditional songs, and local variants of some which had been collected in the South. In 1964, after the visit to Australia of Pete Seeger which can be said to have been the start of the folk ‘boom’ there, the Queensland Folklore Society staged a couple of concerts and used the proceeds from these to buy one studio model tape recorder and to have a spring-driven transistorised field recorder built for them. With this equipment they are able to journey into the most remote parts of the state, and bring back recordings of local singers – many of them old-timers who in a few years from now will be permanently beyond reach of all but spiritualists. When the old bullock drivers, drovers, shearers, miners and shanty-keepers die, their songs generally die with them.

In New Zealand there has been only sporadic field work undertaken, and this by individuals at their own expense. In spite of this there can be said to be quite a substantial body of material in existence. Neil Colquhoun has recently put out a slim volume ‘New Zealand Folksongs’ published by the WEA, and, sometime this year, Whitcombe and Tombs will publish the results of some of Rona Bailey’s collecting trips on the West Coast and in Otago.

Most people, certainly those in the Folk Club, or in any way connected with folkmusic would know of songs like ‘New Zealand Whales’, ‘Bright Fine Gold’, ‘Packing My Things’ or ‘Davey Lowston’. These songs are fine examples of New Zealand folksongs and are good enough to stand beside the traditional songs of any other country. How many more such songs exist? How many more lie dormant in the far reaches of an old-timer’s mind. How many old miners, or people who spent their early days on the fields, are there who can remember the songs that were sung in the past? The answer must be that there are still a few – though their number decreases year by year. Of those whose prime interest is American folksongs (whether this is largely because these are what we hear on record most or not) I ask, how many of ‘their’ songs would be available if it hadn’t been for the work of Child, Sharp, Botkin or the Lomaxes? A more recent case in point is that of Australia, where, but for the work of a few individuals and the various Folklore and Bush Music Societies over the last ten years, most of the traditional songs would have died. It is high time some organised collecting work was done, and the sooner the better.

Like Australia, New Zealand has had a colourful history and like both the United States and Australia, New Zealand was colonised by people of a common heritage. It would be very strange indeed if earnest spade work did not uncover a great number of folksongs dealing with the hardships of early colonial life, or with the goldfields or the Maori Wars.

Appendix 6.2

Date index of *Penny Post*

This is a listing of the issue numbers and dates for the NZFLS Wellington branch newsletter *Penny Post*. Dates given are those printed under the banner on the newsletter. Where these were not printed an estimated date in square brackets is provided. A dotted rule indicates periods of suspended publication which lasted for more than six months. Note that no.7 was misnumbered as no.8.

Number	Date
No. 1	September 1966
No. 2	November 1966
No. 3	[December 1966]
No. 4	January 1967
No. 5	March 1967
No. 6	April 1967
No. 7 [‘No. 8’]	[July 1967]
No. 8	[September 1967]
No. 9	November 1967
No. 10	January 1968
No. 11	February 1968
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Vol. 3, No. 1	September 1969
Vol. 3, No. 2	9 September 1969
Vol. 3, No. 3	3 October 1969
Vol. 4, No. 1	December 1969
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Vol. 4, No. 2	15 June 1970
Vol. 4, No. 3	21 July 1970
Vol. 5, No. 1	14 August 1970
Vol. 5, No. 2	7 September 1970
Vol. 5, No. 3	18 October 1970
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Vol. 5, No. 4	September 1971
Vol. 6, No. 1	4 November 1971
Vol. 6, No. 2	8 December 1971
Vol. 6, No. 3	14 January 1972
Vol. 6, No. 4	28 January 1972
Vol. 6, No. 5	7 February 1972
Vol. 6, No. 6	4 May 1972
Vol. 6, No. 7	17 July 1972
Vol. 7, No. 1	4 September 1972
Vol. 7, No. 2	27 September 1972
Vol. 7, No. 3	4 January 1973
Vol. 7, No. 4	16 February 1973
Vol. 7, No. 5	13 March 1973
Vol. 7, No. 6	28 May 1973
Vol. 7, No. 7	11 June 1973
Vol. 7, No. 8	26 June 1973
Vol. 8, No. 1	August 1973

Appendix 6.3

NZFLS collecting reports in *Penny Post*

This is a table of NZFLS collecting reported in the Society newsletter *Penny Post*. These reports mainly pertain to the Wellington branch and usually consist of a one or two sentence description of fieldwork which had recently taken place. There was no actual transcriptions of material in these reports. The titles of songs or poems were occasionally given and these have been incorporated in the table.

KEY

Issue: *Date*	= Volume and number of *Penny Post*.
Informant (Location)	= Name or description of informant and their location
Activity	= Folklore genre. 'R' denotes tape-recording occurred.
Collector	= Name of collector (see abbreviations below)

Issue	Informant (Location)	Activity	Collector
No.1: *September 1966*	[No reports]		
No. 2: *November 1966*	Tom Barrett & Gordon Ellington (Coromandel)	[Contact]	DK
	Hector MacDonald (Foxton)	Reminiscences, yarns (R)	NZFLS Wgtn
	Joe Gibbs (Wellington)	[Planned visit]	NZFLS Wgtn
No. 3	[No reports]		
No. 4: *January 1967*	'Russian Jack', swagger (Greytown)	[Planned visit]	NZFLS Wgtn
	Fred Skipper (Picton)	Stories	FF
	Joe Gibbs (Wellington)	Songs	NZFLS Wgtn
	Joe Gibbs (Wellington)	2 songs, 2 poems (R)	FF
	Ernie Novaks, banjo player (New Plymouth)	[Planned visit]	
	Woody Woodhouse, singer, songwriter (New Plymouth)	[Planned visit]	
	Gollans Valley residents	[Planned visit]	
No. 5	Joe Gibbs (Wellington)	Songs, stories, poems (R)	FF
	Fred Skipper, Wakamarina, Canvastown residents	[Visit]	JD, CW, JA, DK
No. 6: *April 1967*	Hector MacDonald (Foxton)	5-6 poems (R)	DB, JA, DR [Described as the branch's 10th fieldtrip]
No. 7	'Schoolteacher' (Dannevirke)	Songs	NZFLS Wgtn
No. 8	[Contains a list of field-tapes. Apart from revival singers the informants include Bob Edwards, Hector Macdonald, Joe Gibbs, Mr Preston]		

No. 9: *November 1967*

[Describes the formation of three field teams in Wellington: 'A Team' - 1951 Waterfront dispute, 'B Team' - Sea songs, 'C Team' - NZ Traditional and contemporary. 'Cape Horners' (seamen from the sailing ship era) also mentioned as possible informants.]

No. 10: *January 1968*

[No reports]

No. 11: *February 1968*

Puhoi residents	Music?	NZFLS Akld
Kokatahi Band (Kokatahi)	Music (R)	NZFLS Chch
'West Coast identity', violin/banjo-mandolin player	Music (R)	NZFLS Chch
Hawke's Bay residents	Lester Masters manuscript	C Team
Wellington residents	[Contact]	A Team
'Retired sailing ship seaman' (Nelson)	'Ship lore' and shanties	B Team
'Square dance band' (Blenheim)	[Contact]	

Vol. 3.1: *September 1969*

[Phil Garland completes preparatory collecting trip (Marlborough, Nelson, West Coast). Commences fieldtrip to Central Otago]

Vol. 3.2: *September 1969*

Resident (Waiuta)	Music hall songs, poetry	PG

Vol. 3.3: *3 October 1969*

Central Otago residents	[Contact]	PG

Vol. 4.1: *December 1969*

50 Otago residents	12 songs, 15 poems, stories (R)	PG
Graeme Anderson (Otago)	6 songs (R)	PG
30 people, 5 recorded (Greytown)	['Saturation' collecting trip] (R)	FF
Samuel Barrett, kerosene tin fiddle (Greytown)	[Contact]	FF
'Old Identities' (Hawke's Bay)	Reminiscences (R)	NZFLS HB
Manawatu residents	Shearing songs and stories	JW
'Coach-driver' (Wellington) [Mr J Roberts? See *The Evening Post*, 11/10/1969.]	Stories, reminiscences (R)	FF, DR

[Further mention of fieldtrips in Central Otago/Southland, Christchurch, Wellington, Wairarapa, Manawatu, Taranaki and Hawke's Bay.]

Vol. 4.2: *15 June 1970*

Traditional Scottish singer (Wellington)	[Contact]	NZFLS Wgtn
Bush poets, one-string fiddle player, instrumentalist farmer	[Contact]	NZFLS Wgtn

Vol. 4.3: *21 July 1970*

Tom Robertson, Multi-instrumentalist, songwriter (Hamilton)	Music (R?)	CN
Mandolin-guitar, lute, guitar player (Otaki.)	Music, reminiscences (R)	JW
Wellington residents	[Contact]	NZFLS Wgtn

Vol. 5.1: *14 August 1970*

Otaki residents	Music	JW
Auckland residents	6 songs (incl.uding music hall song & 'Home Boys Home') (R)	HM

‘Old identities’ (Hamilton)	Interviews (R)	CN

Vol. 5.2: *7 September 1970*
[No reports]

Vol. 5.3: *18 October 1970*

Wellington residents	[Contact]	JW

Vol. 5.4: *September 1971*

String band, incl. banjo, mandolin, guitar, ukulele (Wellington)	[Contact]	NZFLS Wgtn

Vol. 6.1: *4 November 1971*

Nada Osborne (Wellington)	“Old song books”	DR, RW
Wellington residents	Songs (R)	FF
Joe Charles (Hanmer Springs)	“Bush verse”	NZFLS Chch

Vol. 6.2: *8 December 1971*

John A. Lee (Auckland)	“Folklore items” (R)	AA

Vol. 6.3: *14 January 1972*
[No reports]

Vol. 6.4: *28 January*

Bill Rendall (Wanganui)	Stories, yarns (R)	FF
Mrs. F Spurdle (Wanganui)	Story about ‘Punui’ cannon	FF
Tony Simpson (Wellington)	Song (‘Timber’) (R)	FF

Vol. 6.5: *7 February 1972*
[No reports]

Vol. 6.6: *4 May 1972*

Joe Charles (Christchurch)	Manuscript	
Unnamed informants (Wellington?)	Flagonophone information	AW, DR
‘Letters from a Grandmother’	Manuscript?	
Canterbury residents (re. ‘John the Baptist’, swagger)	Interviews	JF

Vol. 6.7: *17 July 1972*

Auckland resident (Hinga Clarke)	Songs (R)	RS
“Over fifty” New Zealand residents, re. ‘Bright Fine Gold’	Interviews, songs (R)	FF

Vol. 7.1: *4 September 1972*
[No reports]

Vol. 7.2: *27 September 1972*
[No reports]

Vol. 7.3: *4 January 1973*
[No reports]

Vol. 7.4: *16 February 1973*

Waipu residents	Songs (R)	AA

Vol. 7.5: *13 March 1973*

Wairarapa residents	Songs, yarns, jokes	FF
Rusty Cooper (Carterton) & Bert Barrow (Waingawa Gorge)	Interviews (R)	FF, FS
Waihi Lock-up (no informants)	Graffiti	NZFLS Akld
Hawke's Bay resident [Collected 1970]	Song ('The Dying Bushman')	AA

Vol. 7.6: *28 May 1973*

Unnamed informants (Wellington?)	Bush bass information	FF

Vol. 7.7: *11 June 1973*

[No reports]

Vol. 7.8: *26 June 1973*

[No reports]

Vol. 8.1: *August 1973*

Mrs. Emma Mapstone and Mrs. Ivy Hoddinott	Reminiscences, song ('Strike Out the Top Line') (R)	RW
Unnamed informants (Wellington)	Legends (R)	DR
Harold Curtis-Smith (Whangarei)	Songs, manuscript of yarns (R)	BW

Abbreviations

NZFLS Wgtn	NZFLS Wellington (individuals not named)
A Team	NZFLS Wellington (individuals not named)
B Team	NZFLS Wellington (individuals not named)
C Team	NZFLS Wellington (individuals not named)
JA	Jae Angwin
DB	Doug Broad
JD	Jim Delahunty
FF	Frank Fyfe
DK	Dave Knox
HM	Heather McInnes
DR	Duilia Rendall
FS	Frank Sillay
JW	Julian Ward
CW	Chris Wheeler
RW	Robyn Williams
AW	Arnold Wall
NZFLS Chch	NZFLS Christchurch (individuals not named)
PG	Phil Garland
JF	John Flynn
NZFLS Akld	NZFLS Auckland (individuals not named)
AA	Angela Annabell
RS	Rudy Sunde
BW	Bill Worsfold
NZFLS HB	NZFLS Hawke's Bay
CN	Chris Norris (Hamilton). Not an NZFLS member.

Appendix 6.4

The Frank Fyfe Field Collection – Surviving Items

This is a listing of songs and verse collected by Frank Fyfe. Fyfe's original fieldwork of Fyfe is now missing, and therefore these collected items only survive as secondary copies. Those pieces surviving in several different locations are generally identical. The final two songs in the listing are pieces which I believe Fyfe collected from Joe Gibbs in 1967, although his recordings are now lost.

KEY

[*Title*]

[Category]	= Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
Collected from [informant, location, date]	= Collection details (if known)
Locations:	= Where copies of the item can be found
Notes:	= Explanatory notes

Listing

The Shanty by the Way
Song.
Collected from Peter Sutton, Greenhills, December 1964.
Locations: ASOT (27-28)

The He-Housekeeper
Verse.
Collected from Hector McDonald, Foxton, 1967.
Locations: *The Maorilander*, no.4 (7-9)
Notes: This poem was collected by a team of five NZFLS members: Frank Fyfe, Duilia Rendall, Jae Angwin, Sam Sampson and Dave Knox.

The Grey Goose
Song.
Collected from Mrs French, Greytown, 1969-1970?
Locations: AA (47-49, tr.1)
Notes: Annabell (1975) relates that she obtained a recording of the song during a 1973 NZFLS gathering. Her information was that the song was an 'old family song' collected from an English woman in Greytown. A letter from Frank Fyfe to Phil Garland (19/12/1969, Garland collection), states that during Fyfe's 1969-70 Greytown work he had "recorded three people in Greytown. Sam Barrett and his kerosene tin, Mrs Kooy doing music hall material from about 1917 and Mrs French doing 6 Somerset songs which she learnt from her family – she has been out here about 15 years". This appears to confirm that the 'The Grey Goose' came from Mrs French.

The Warriors of Poverty Bay
Verse.
Collected from Mrs McPhail, Gisborne.
Locations: *Heritage*, no.18 (23)
Notes: This poem was apparently copied by Fyfe from an undated newspaper cutting (published in 1889 in a local Gisborne paper).

Timber
Song.
Collected from Jean Watson, Wellington.
Locations: *The Maorilander*, no.3 (23)

Timber
Song.
Collected from Jack Lazenby, Wellington.
Locations: *The Maorilander*, no.3 (24)

Timber
Song.
Collected from Barry Crump, Wellington.
Locations: *The Maorilander*, no.3 (25)

Timber
Song.
Collected from Paul Metsers, Wellington.
Locations: *The Maorilander*, no.3 (26)
Notes: This variant consists of only the chorus and melody.

Bright Fine Gold
Song.
Collected from Ray Ritchie, Dunedin.
Locations: AA (336, tr.18), FF-1, PG
Notes: A two-line chorus variant of the children's rhyme. There are slight variations between the Annabell version and Fyfe-Garland version. Annabell includes a tape-recording of Ritchie obtained from Fyfe in 1973 and her transcription reads "Bright fine gold, bright fine gold / What a speck o' Tuapeka's bright fine gold".

Bright Fine Gold
Song.
Collected from Mrs L McConchie.
Locations: AA (336-338, tr.19), FF-2, FF-3, PG
Notes: The longest variant of 'Bright Fine Gold' collected by Fyfe, this has with four verses and a chorus. Annabell includes a tape-recording of McConchie - the sound of an improvised skipping rope can be heard in the background providing a rhythm.

Bright Fine Gold
Song.
Collected from an unknown informant.
Locations: FF-4, PG
Notes: Two-line chorus variant of the children's rhyme: "Gold, gold, gold, bright fine gold / Wangapeka, Tuapeka, Gold, gold, gold".

Bright Fine Gold
Song.
Collected from an unknown informant.
Locations: FF-4, PG
Notes: A variant similar to the previous version, but substituting 'Maungapeka' for 'Wangapeka'.

Home Boys Home
Song.
Collected from unknown informant, Auckland?
Locations: AA (64-65)
Notes: It is possible this song was actually collected by NZFLS member Heather McInnes (see *Penny Post*, vol.5 no.1). A local adaptation of the popular song with the same title, the collected piece survives in the form of the opening line and a four-line chorus. Annabell notes that it was provided by the NZFLS Wellington branch from a personal notebook and that the full version had four verses and two different choruses. The song relates to the Boer War period (the opening line is "Out in Transvaal by kopje, veldt and plain…"), although the informant apparently remembered singing it in 1917.

"I used to belong, one big German band…"
Song.
Probably collected from Joe Gibbs, 1967.
Locations: OC-277, OOC

Notes: This song was probably collected by Frank Fyfe from Joe Gibbs (see *Penny Post*, no.4). It was later recorded from Gibbs as part of an *Open Country* programme about his life.

"My wife's gone to the country…"
Song.
Probably collected from Joe Gibbs, 1967.
Locations: OC-277, OOC
Notes: See previous item.

Abbreviations

(In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the codes refer to page numbers in the relevant publication or dissertation.)

AA	'New Zealand's Cultural and Economic Development Reflected in Song: Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos' (1975, Angela Annabell)
ASOT	*A "Shanties" or Two* (1970, Frank Fyfe)
OC-277	*Open Country* radio programme, no.277. ATL OHInt-0002/250
OOC	*Our Open Country* (1971, ed. Jim Henderson)
PG	'Bright Fine Gold – Research Notes 1971-72' (2000, Phil Garland)

[The following letters are held in the Garland collection]

FF-1	Fyfe to Garland, 23/6/1972
FF-2	Fyfe to Garland, 28/6/1972
FF-3	Fyfe to Garland, 7/7/1972
FF-4	Fyfe to Garland, 17/8/1972

Appendix 7.1

Selected Listing from the Phil Garland Field Collection

This is a listing of songs, verse and tunes collected by Phil Garland. It is only a preliminary listing as many field recordings await restoration and I have only had limited time to examine Garland's archives. Because Garland's field tapes could not be heard, it has not been possible to list all collected pieces and only pieces which are either confirmed in Garland's tape notes or from other sources are included. Most songs and poems also exist as written transcriptions in the Garland collection. Box references to these have generally not been given, as re-organisation of the collection is likely to occur. The listing is divided into three parts: NZFLS Christchurch branch collecting, 1969-1970 fieldtrip and other collecting.

KEY

[*Title*]

[Category]	= Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
Collected from [informant, location, date]	= Collection details (if known)
Locations:	= Where copies of the item can be found
Notes:	= Explanatory notes

NZFLS Christchurch branch Collecting

[All the tunes listed below collected from Percy Crough, Hokitika by Phil Garland and Larry Lacey, 1968.]

The Drover's Dream
Banjo tune.
Locations: Tape 5, WTBB1, SK (176)

Saxolin medley
Three Stroviol tunes.
Locations: Tape 5, WTBB1

Father O'Flynn
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5, WTBB1

The Irish Washerwoman
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5, WTBB1

[Untitled tune]
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5, WTBB1

Bonaparte's Retreat
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5

Under The Double Eagle
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5

Click Go the Shears
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5

The Wild Colonial Boy / Waltzing Matilda
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5

Turkey In The Straw
Stroviol tune.
Locations: Tape 5

[Note: Tunes were also collected from the Kokatahi Band by Larry Lacey and Dave Hart in 1968. The original recordings are on a tape in the Garland collection (a red BASF brand TYP LGS) and some were used on WTTB1. However this compilation also features recordings from a 1977 RNZ Spectrum documentary (Sound Archives SP236), and until the original 1968 recording is restored it is not possible to know exactly which tunes were collected.]

1969-1970 Fieldtrip

The Life of the High Country Shepherd
Song.
Collected from Davy Dennison, Arrowtown, 7/11/1969.
Locations: Tape 2 [or 3?], WTBB1 [sung by Garland], SK (107), LINZ

Sunny Central
Song.
Collected from Cliff Dennison, Arrowtown, 1969.
Locations: Tape 3

[The following items were collected from Tod Symons, Alexandra, October 1969. Many were previously published in *The Central Otago News* (Alexandra) and in Symons (1966).]

Alexandra Blossom Festival
Song.
Locations: Tape 1, WTBB1

Rose of Red Conroy
Song and Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, WTBB1, SK (47)
Notes: This was originally a poem, but was passed onto Garland in the form of a tape-recording of Judy Batchelor singing her own melodic setting.

Song of the Mermaid
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, WTBB2

In the Shade of the Obelisk Range
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, WTBB2

Ophir Town
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, WTBB2

Shooting Fools
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, WTBB2

A Prospecting Man
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, SK (37)

Wheels of the Arrow
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, SK (46)

St. Bathans
Verse.
Locations: Tape 1, LINZ

[The following items were collected from Graeme Anderson, Alexandra, October 1969. They came in the form of recordings of the group The Dunstan Trio. Songs from the group's 1963 EP are not listed here.]

The Old Dunstan Track
Song.
Locations: WTTB1, SK (42-43)
Notes: This is a setting of a poem by David McKee Wright.

While the Billy Boils
Song.
Locations: WTTB1
Notes: This is a setting of a poem by David McKee Wright.

The Old Mud Hut
Song.
Locations: WTTB1, SK (89)
Notes: This was originally collected by members of The Dunstan Trio from Bill Caldwell, Southland, c.1962. See Fyfe (1970d) for more details.

[The following recordings are of reminiscences and yarns.]

Mick Carr, Ranfurly, 14/10/1969.
Locations: Tape 1

Harold Reid, Ranfurly, October and November 1969.
Locations: Tape 1

Mr and Mrs Daniel Inder, Naseby, 5/11/1969.
Locations: Tape 2, WTBB2

Mrs Gladys McArthur, Alexandra, 8/11/1969.
Locations: Tape 2

Mr George Naylor, Alexandra, 9/11/1969.
Locations: Tape 2, WTBB2

Mr. J.A. Moore, Roxburgh, 10/11/1969.
Locations: Tape 2

Mr. Basil Story, Dunedin, 11/11/1969.
Locations: Tape 2

Mrs. Bateman.
Locations: Tape 4.
Notes: A note in Box A describes this recording as an "interview and two songs".

[Items of verse were also collected from Ross McMillan, Naseby, 6/11/1969. McMillan recited some verse with a guitar self-accompaniment. Until the original tape is restored (Tape 1), it is not possible to confirm which pieces were recorded.]

Other Collecting

"Before the gates a bushman stood…"
Verse.
Collected from Parish John, Hamner Springs, 1969.
Locations: SK (116)

"In Hamner Hills so very near…"
Rhyme.
Collected from Parish John, Hamner Springs, 1969.
Locations: Box B

"They say there is gold on the Maggie…"
Song.
Collected from Ray Clarke, Nelson Lakes, c.1969 [passed on by Sam Sampson].
Locations: Box B

The Ringer's Place
Verse.
Collected from Garnett West, North Loburn, November 1970.
Locations: Tape 3, WTBB2

What a Stag
Yarn.
Collected from Russell Bain, Loburn, November 1970.
Locations: Tape 3, WTBB2

Accordion medley
Piano accordion tunes.
Collected from Oliver Hunter, Diamond Harbour, 1971.
Locations: Tape 4, WTBB1

Waltz medley
Piano accordion tunes.
Collected from Oliver Hunter, Diamond Harbour, 1971.
Locations: Tape 4, WTBB1

The Ship That Never Returned
Piano accordion tune.
Collected from Oliver Hunter, Diamond Harbour, 1971.
Locations: Tape 4, WTBB1

Shearing at Four Views (a.k.a. *Wool Away Jack*)
Verse.
Collected from Joe Charles, Christchurch, August 1972.
Locations: WTBB2

Coastie (a.k.a. *The Coast*; *Coasters*)
Verse.
Collected from Joe Charles, Christchurch, August 1972.
Locations: WTBB2

"Land of rocks and rivers deep…"
Rhyme.
Collected from Joe Charles, Christchurch, 4/5/1973.
Locations: Box A

Ode to a Shooter
Verse.
Collected from Richard Hart, Christchurch, 10/3/1976.
Locations: Box A

The Dying Bushman
Song.
Collected from Richard Hart, Christchurch, 10/3/1976.
Locations: Box A

The Dying Bushman
Song.
Collected from Ken Hart, Palmerston North, May 1976.
Locations: Tape 4, WTBB1

The KB Cannonball
Song.
Collected from Hugh Isdale, Christchurch, 1970.
Locations: SK (150)

The Shepherd's Song (a.k.a. *The Life of the High Country Shepherd*)
Song.
Collected from Colin and Jean Macnicol, Southland.
Locations: SK (108)

Abbreviations

[In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the SK code refers to page numbers.]

LINZ	*Living in New Zealand* episode. Television Archive ZLINZ-70/16
SK	*The Singing Kiwi* (1996, ed. Phil Garland)
WTBB1	*While the Billy Boils – Volume 1* (1980, prod. Phil Garland)
WTBB2	*While the Billy Boils – Volume 2* (1980, prod. Phil Garland)

[The following items are held in the Garland collection, Culverden]

Box A	'NZFLS Collected Songs and Poems and Correspondence with Contacts'
Box B	'NZFLS Field Collecting Leads and Contacts'
Tapes 1-4	'NZFLS Chch' Tape 1-4

Appendix 7.2

Songs from the Dick Morris Recordings

This is a listing of eight songs recorded by Dick Morris for the New Zealand Broadcasting Service (NZBS) in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The songs featured in various programmes. A detailed comparison of the performances in these programmes has yet to be carried out, so it is not known if the songs were recorded separately each time.

KEY

[*Title*]
Locations: = Where copies of the item can be found
Notes: = Explanatory notes

Listing

A New Chum Just From England
Locations: D4220a, D719, SK (27)
Notes: See Appendix 3.2 [as 'The New Chum']

A Bunch of Watercresses
Locations: D4220a
Notes: A number of versions of this song have been collected around the world. These include two versions collected in Scotland by Gavin Greig in the 1900s and the Morris version is fairly close to the text collected from James Brebner, see Lyle (1983, vol.2:387-388). Another variant was recorded from Joe Estey (New Brunswick, Canada) in 1963 - see *Ballads and Songs of Tradition*, Folk Legacy CD 125.

I Happened to Be There
Locations: D4220a
Notes: A published version of this song has not been traced, but it is probably a nineteenth century music hall song.

Jim the Carter Lad
Locations: D4220a
Notes: This song has been collected widely in Britain and Ireland, see Kennedy (1975:532). In New Zealand, a version was printed in the *Hastings Boys' High School Song Book* (c.1950), entitled 'Joe the Carrier Lad'.

Pat Came Over the Hill
Locations: D299.3b, D4221a
Notes: This is a version of a widely known Irish comic song, sometimes known as 'The Whistling Thief'. A version can be found in *Paddy and His Shillelagh – Number Two* (c.1867), an ephemeral song book probably printed in New Zealand. A copy is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library. On the recording Morris whistles a melodic motif after each verse, which is part of the Irish tune 'Garryowen'.

There'll Come a Time
Locations: D299.3b, D4221a
Notes: This is a version of a parlour ballad by Chas. K. Harris, published in the United States in 1895.

Waste Not, Want Not (a.k.a. *You'll Never Miss the Water 'Til the Well Runs Dry*)
Locations: D299.3b, D4222a
Notes: This is a slightly modified version of the widely-published parlour ballad by Rowland Howard. Morris altered to opening line "When a child I lived at Lincoln…" to his own home town: "When a child I lived at Oxford…". The words of the song were published in New Zealand at least as early as the 1870s, see *The Colonial Songster No. 2* (c.1875, ed. Joseph Braithwaite); also Hoskins (1987:78-79).

I've Only Been Down to the Club
Locations: D299.4b, D4222a
Notes: A published version of this song has not been traced, but it is probably a nineteenth century music hall song.

Abbreviations

[In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the SK code refers to page numbers.]

SK	*The Singing Kiwi* (1996, ed. Phil Garland)

[All the codes given below are references to items in the Sound Archives]

D299.3b / D299.4b	These recordings were part of a longer programme, possibly called *Wildlife Encounters*, in which Morris talked about wildlife in the Hope Valley. The 1982 *Sounds Historical* catalogue gives conflicting dates as to when this was recorded. The 'Ballads and Songs' entry gives 1950; the 'Dick Morris' entry gives 1949.
D4220a / D4221a / D4222a	These recordings were part of the programme *Songs the Pioneers Sang*. The 1982 *Sounds Historical* catalogue states that these were recorded in 1953.
D719	This recording was part of the *Canterbury Pilgrimage* series (no.23). Harding (1992:26) gives the recording date as 24/1/1951.

Appendix 7.3

Two versions of 'At the Mataura'

The text of this song was originally found by Phil Garland in the 1964 anthology *A Book of New Zealand* (Reid 1964:284-285). It was then set to Garland's own tune for the 1971 LP *Down a Country Road*. The first version repeats the transcription given by Garland (1996:41). The second version is Garland's later revision, with added verses and chorus, transcribed from the 2005 CD *No Place Like Home*.

1. First version (1971 LP version)

The folks are going mad outright,
The yellow fever's at its height,
And nothing's heard both day and night,
But gold at the Mataura.

There'll be some pretty rows we know,
When ladies drive the bullocks O
And many a loud "Come hither Wo"
When we're at the Mataura.

They'll the laws themselves to please,
And set to making road trustees,
And nominating MPCs
When we're at the Mataura.

Our Tibbies, Bettys, Nellies, Molls,
Will rectify electoral rolls,
Check for bribery at the polls,
When we're at the Mataura.

The land that's waste they'll parcel out,
In quantities they think will suit,
And sell it to all that's got the 'hoot'
When we're at the Mataura.

2. Second version (2005 CD version)

The folks are going mad outright,
The yellow fever's at its height,
And nothing's heard both day and night,
But gold at the Mataura.

(Chorus) We'll leave the womenfolk behind,
Out of sight and out of mind,
We're off to Tuturau to find,
Gold at the Mataura.

To a man we've heard Sam's call,
A fortune's waiting for us all,
High hopes must surely have a fall,
When we're at the Mataura.

(Chorus)

There'll be some pretty rows we know,
When ladies drive the bullocks O

And many a loud “Come hither Wo”
When we’re at the Mataura.

(Chorus)

They’ll the laws themselves to please,
And set to making road trustees,
And nominating MPCs
When we’re at the Mataura.

(Chorus)

Once the women gain control,
They’ll rectify electoral rolls,
Check for bribery at the polls,
When we’re at the Mataura.

(Chorus)

The land that’s waste they’ll parcel out,
In quantities they think will suit,
And sell it to all that’s got the ‘hoot’
When we’re at the Mataura.

(Chorus)

Appendix 7.4

Song listing of *The Singing Kiwi*

This is a listing of the songs in *The Singing Kiwi*, including extra texts given in the chapter introductions. Of all the anthologies covered in the appendices, *The Singing Kiwi* presents the greatest challenge to fully annotate the interconnections with prior recordings, publications and versions in archival holdings. A more basic listing is given here, with only writer-composer credits noted. Some of the traditional tunes used by Garland have not been identified yet.

KEY

[*Title* (page)]
Writer / Composer / Tune:

Listing

Chapter 1: Landfall New Zealand

Land Ahoy (14)
Writer / Composer: Janet Smith

Ballad of Captain Cook (15)
Writer / Composer: Chris and John Norton

Song for Captain James Cook (16-17)
Writer / Composer: Paul Metsers

Shore Cry (17)
Writer / Tune: Unknown (adapt. Phil Garland)

Across the Line (18-19)
Writer / Composer: See Appendix 4.2

Voyage of the Buffalo (20)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [see Appendix 3.2]

The Bold and Saucy China (22-23)
Writer / Tune: John Ashley / 'The Bonny Ship the Diamond'

Blow Boys Blow (23)
Writer / Tune: 'Blow Boys Blow' variant

All Bound to Go (24)
Writer / Tune: 'All Bound to Go' variant

A Long Time Ago (25)
Writer / Tune: 'A Long Time Ago' variant [see Appendix 3.2]

I'm a Young Man (26)
Writer / Tune: Charles Martin / 'The Young Man From the Country' [see Appendices 3.2 (as 'The New Chum') and 4.2]

A New Chum from England (27)
Writer / Tune: Charles Martin / 'A Bunch of Watercresses' [see Appendix 7.2]

Southward Bound (28)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

In the Morning (29)
Writer / Composer: Marshall Nalder / Phil Garland [see Appendix 3.2]

The Ships Sail In (30)
Writer / Composer: Hamilton Thompson / Phil Garland

Ballad of the Kaitawa (31)
Writer / Composer: John Parkin

A Sailor's Lament (32)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Shantyman (33)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Chapter 2: The Golden Years

A Flash in the Pan (36)
Writer: Syd Stevens

A Prospecting Man (37)
Writer: Tod Symons

At the Mataura (41)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Phil Garland

The Old Dunstan Track (42-43)
Writer / Composer: David McKee Wright / The Dunstan Trio

No Regrets (44)
Writer / Composer: Henry Scott / Phil Garland

The Old Forty-Niner (45)
Writer / Composer: Joseph Barry / Phil Garland

Wheels of the Arrow (46-47)
Writer / Tune: Tod Symons / Unknown

Rose of Red Conroy (47)
Writer / Composer: Tod Symons / Phil Garland

Tuapeka Gold (48)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland [see Appendix 4.2]

Off to the Diggings (49)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Kawarau Gold (50)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Farewell to the Gold (51)
Writer / Composer: Paul Metsers

Hillsides of Bendigo (52)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Farewell to the Grey (53)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Goodbye, fare ye well' [see 'The Digger's Farewell' in Appendices 2, 3.2 and 4.2]

The Charleston Drum (54)
Writer / Composer: Alwyn Owen

Rocking the Cradle (55)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

The Ballad of Davy Gray (56)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

The Stable Lad (57)
Writer / Composer: Peter Cape / Phil Garland

The Last Drop of Whiskey (58)
Writer / Composer: Harold Lowe, Phil Garland / Sue Allan

Gabriel's Gold (59)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Chapter 3: Charles Thatcher

The Green New Chum (64)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher

The Old Identity (65)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher / Phil Garland [see Appendix 3.2 as 'The Southland Gold Escort']

Cheer Boys Cheer (66)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher / Phil Garland

Land of the West (67)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher / Phil Garland

Poll the Grogseller (68-69)
Writer / Composer: Charles Thatcher / Graham Wilson

I've Packed My Traps (70)
Writer / Tune: Charles Thatcher / 'Oh Susanna'

Chapter 4: Swags to Riches

Gone to Maoriland (77)
Writer / Composer: Henry Lawson / Phil Garland

The Latter End of Spring (78)
Writer / Composer: Henry Lawson / Phil Garland

While the Billy Boils (79)
Writer / Composer: David McKee Wright / Phil Garland

Hunger in the Air (80)
Writer / Composer: David McKee Wright / Phil Garland

Concertina Joe (81)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Overlander'

Long and Friendly Road (82)
Writer / Composer: 'Taiwai' / Phil Garland [see Appendices 3.2 (as 'A Meeting') and 4.2 (as 'Friendly Road')]

Farewell to Geraldine (83)
Writer / Tune: Joe Fleming / Unknown

Man Upon the Track (84)
Writer / Composer: Arch McNicol / Phil Garland

Driftwood (85)
Writer / Composer: Dennis Hogan / Phil Garland

The Old Station Gate (86)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

The Final Track (87)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Homeless Drifter (88)
Writer / Composer: Cecil Winter, Phil Garland / Phil Garland

The Old Mud Hut (89)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Old Bark Hut'

Old Jimmy Possum (90)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

The Good Old Way (91)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Chapter 5: Shearing

The Shearing's Coming Round (96)
Writer / Composer: David McKee Wright / Michael Jessett [see Appendix 3.2 as 'Shearing's Coming']

Snowed In (97)
Writer / Composer: Mick Laracy / Phil Garland [see Appendix 5.2]

The Springtime Brings on the Shearing (98)
Writer / Tune: 'The Springtime Brings on the Shearing' variant (originally from a poem by E.J. Overbury]

The Ringer's Stand (99)
Writer / Tune: David York / 'Oh Susanna'

Wool Commandeer (100)
Writer / Composer: George Meek / Frank Fyfe

The Star Hotel (101)
Writer / Composer: Cecil Winter / Phil Garland

Chapter 6: Station Life

The Life of a High Country Shepherd (107)
Writer / Tune: Unknown [Colin McNicol?] / 'Wrap Me Up in My Tarpaulin Jacket' [see Appendix 5.2]

The Shepherd's Song (108)
Writer / Tune: Colin McNicol / 'Wrap Me Up in My Tarpaulin Jacket'

A Musterer's Lament (109)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'Wrap Me Up in My Tarpaulin Jacket'

Song of the Drover (110)
Writer / Tune: Hugo Finn / 'Rosin the Bow' (adapt. Phil Garland)

Leatherman (111)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Drover's Dream' (adapt. Phil Garland) [see Appendix 4.2]

Molesworth (112)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

When I Was a Young Man (113)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Chapter 7: Timber

"Before the gates a bushman stood…" (116)
Writer: Unknown

The Dying Bushman [1] (118)
Writer / Tune: Unknown (adapt. Frank Fyfe)

The Dying Bushman [2] (119)
Writer / Tune: Unknown

The Dying Bushman [3] (120)
Writer / Tune: Unknown

When the Tui Calls (121)
Writer / Tune: John Bell / 'Down by the Sally Gardens'

Banks of the Waikato (122)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland [see Appendix 4.2]

Chapter 8: Ross McMillan

Country Pub (123)
Writer: Ross McMillan

The Old Scrub Bull (126)
Writer / Tune: Ross McMillan / Unknown

The Shepherd's Dream (127)
Writer / Tune: Ross McMillan / 'The Shearer's Dream'

Down a Country Road (128)
Writer / Composer: Ross McMillan / Phil Garland

Springtime in the Mountains (129)
Writer / Composer: Ross McMillan / Phil Garland

Greenstone Billy (130)
Writer / Composer: Ross McMillan / Phil Garland

Yorky's Run (131)
Writer / Composer: Ross McMillan / Phil Garland

Chapter 9: Joe Charles

Black Billy Tea (137)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Les Cleveland, Phil Garland [see Appendices 3.2 and 5.2]

Black Billy Blues (138)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / 'Waltzing Matilda' variant [see Appendix 5.2]

Wool Away Jack (139)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / 'Home Boys Home (adapt. Phil Garland)

Smoko (140)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Phil Garland

Ballad of the Kiwi (141)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / Phil Garland

The Boys of the Track (142)
Writer / Composer: Joe Charles / 'The Wallaby Track' (adapt. Phil Garland)

Chapter 10: Homegrown

Sing Out New Zealand (144)
Writer: Phil Garland

Three Blackbirds (147)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / Phil Garland

Hands Across the Sea (148-149)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Cherry Stones (149)
Writer / Tune: Unknown / 'The Old Maids Song'

The KB Cannonball (150)
Writer / Tune: John Cooke / 'The Wabash Cannonball'

Ballad of Stan Graham (151)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Mother Nature's Children (152)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Death Song of the Huntly Miners (153)
Writer / Composer: Arthur Desmond / David Loomes [see Appendix 3.2]

Tangiwai Disaster (154-155)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

How Are You Mate? (156-157)
Writer / Composer: Dennis Hogan, Phil Garland / Phil Garland

Pelorus Jack (157)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Faded Pictures (158)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Walking Off the Land (159)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Wind in the Tussock (160)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Farewell to New Zealand (161)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

So Long Mate (162)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Chapter 11: All For the Grog

Their Master's Voice (165)
Writer: Dennis Hogan

The Day the Pub Burned Down (167)
Writer / Composer: Bob Edwards (adapt. Frank Fyfe, Phil Garland) [see Appendix 4.2]

The Old Gumdigger's Bar (168)
Writer / Composer: Dennis Hogan / Dave Hart [see Appendix 3.2]

The Hokonui Hills (169)
Writer / Composer: Phil Garland

Full and Plenty (170)
Writer / Composer: Unknown / Phil Garland

Chapter 12: Clear the Board

Canterbury Jig (174)
Composer: Charles Jemmett

Glenmore Jig (174)
Composer: John Allan

Corned Beef and Cabbage (175)
Composer: Charles Jemmett

The Drover's Dream (176)
Tune: 'The Drover's Dream' variant

Appendix 8.1

The NZFLS Auckland Branch Field Collection

This is a listing of material collected 'in the field' by members of the NZFLS Auckland branch. The listing does not include material collected by Neil Colquhoun (see Appendices 4.2 and 4.3) or Angela Annabell (see Appendix 8.3). It excludes folk revival songs and material gathered from newspapers and books. As with other field collected material described in this thesis, copies of the pieces listed below can sometimes be found in several different locations. Although most items were probably collected only once, there are sometimes variations between the various copies due to post-collection editing. The listing is divided into two parts: 'Song, Verse and Oral History' and 'Manuscripts'.

KEY

[*Title*]
- [Category] = Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
- Collected from [informant, location, collector, date] = Collection details (if known)
- Locations: = Where copies of the item can be found
- Notes: = Explanatory notes

Song, Verse and Oral History

The Foggy Foggy Banks (a.k.a. *A Trawlerman's Song*)
Song.
Collected from Hinga Clarke, Te Atatu by Pat and Rudy Sunde, 1972.
Locations: Tape AK1, Annabell-A, Annabell-C
Notes: See also Appendices 3.1 and 4.2.

The Gay Muttonbirder
Song.
Collected from Hinga Clarke, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK1, Annabell-A, Annabell-C
Notes: See also Appendix 3.1.

Old Bob Ridley
Song.
Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, Whangarei by Bill Worsfold, 4/6/1973.
Locations: Tape AK2, Bill Worsfold

Wing Wing Waddle Ho
Song.
Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK2, Annabell-C

Roly Poly on his Back
Song.
Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK2, Annabell-C

The Same Old Game
Song.
Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK2, Annabell-C

"The rose of blushing red…"
Song.

Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK2, Bill Worsfold

Welcome Poor Paddy Home
Song.
Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK2, Bill Worsfold

Babies on the Block
Song.
Collected from Harold Curtis-Smith, details as above.
Locations: Tape AK2, Bill Worsfold

Captain Matheson
Song.
Collected from Molly Russell, Whangarei, by Pat and Rudy Sunde, 1974.
Locations: Annabell-A.
Notes: The Sundes' original field tape is missing. The tape apparently contained "almost an hour of songs… [Molly Russell] had learnt from her father, over 60 years ago" (*The Billycan Bulletin*, c.5/9/1974 - see ATL 2000-199-2/13). Annabell has described Russell's repertoire as including "parlour, comic, and sea songs" (1975:291).

Wedding Bells are Ringing in the Chapel
Song.
Collected from Claudia (Fred) Harris, Auckland by Bill Worsfold, 27/8/1973.
Locations: Annabell-C, Tape AK2.

I'm no M.U.G.
Song.
Collected from Mrs. E. Baker, Onehunga by Bill Worsfold, 8/6/1974.
Locations: Bill Worsfold, Tape AK2.

I'll Never Forget the Day that I Was Born (a.k.a. *The Little Shirt That Mother Made for Me*)
Song.
Collected from Mrs. E. Baker, details as above.
Locations: Annabell-C, Tape AK2.

Hakaru Races
Song.
Collected from H. Beaumont Hogan, Brown's Bay by Bill Worsfold, 3/3/1974.
Locations: Bill Worsfold, Annabell-I
Notes: Bill Worsfold also collected fragments of this song from Mrs. Harry Haynes, Auckland, (see NZFLS meeting minutes, 1/8/1974, ATL MSY-5006). See also a printed version in the booklet *Centennial of Kaiwaka = Rautau o Kaiwaka 1859-1959* (c.1959, ed. Anon). A reconstruction is performed on Worsfold (1999b).

The Stumps
Poem.
Collected from H. Beaumont Hogan, Brown's Bay by Bill Worsfold.
Locations: Bill Worsfold.
Notes: See also a version printed in the booklet *Dargaville Borough Jubilee Souvenir 1908-1958* (c.1958, ed. Samuel S. Green).

[The following recording is an oral history.]

Tony Miosich, interviewed by Bill Worsfold, c.1973
Location: Tape AK2

Manuscripts

Harold Curtis-Smith, 'Reminiscences of a Country Blacksmith'
Memoir.
Location: A-230

Harold Curtis-Smith, '2nd Chronicles of a Country Blacksmith'
Yarns.
Location: A-230

Dennis Hogan, 'Diamond Harbour Ditties'
Verse.
Locations: Annabell-D

Dennis Hogan, 'Rovin' Days'
Verse.
Locations: Annabell-D

Dennis Hogan, 'The Start of the Tunnel Road'
Verse.
Locations: Annabell-D

Dennis Hogan, 'Miscellaneous Pieces'
Verse.
Locations: Annabell-D

P Henderson, Manuscript
Wood pigeon and gelignite yarns.
Locations: Brown

Manuscripts collected by Rudy Sunde, c.1960.
Three songs.
Locations: Brown, Roth-A

David Turner, Manuscript
Verse and songs.
Locations: Brown

Molly Russell, Manuscript letter, 1974
Songs.
Locations: Brown

Mrs. T Bunbury, Manuscript letter, 1974
Songs.
Locations: Brown

Abbreviations

Tape AK1	NZFLS ¼" reel-to-reel tape in possession of writer
Tape AK2	C60 cassette tape currently held by Bill Worsfold. The writer also has a copy.
A-230	University of Auckland Library Special Collections, A-230
Brown	Possession of writer

[The following manuscripts are located in the Alexander Turnbull Library]

Annabell-A	2000-199-2/14	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-B	2000-199-2/04	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-C	2000-199-2/05	(Angela Annabell papers)

Annabell-D	MSX-5612	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-I	2000-199-5/09	(Angela Annabell papers)
Roth-A	90-106-06/2	(Herbert Roth papers)
Roth-B	90-106-06/5	(Herbert Roth papers)

Appendix 8.2

NZFLS Auckland collecting reports in branch documents

This is a table of collecting and planned collecting reported in the minutes of meetings held by the New Zealand Folklore Society Auckland branch. It is not known whether planned collecting was actually carried out. Auckland branch fieldwork reported in the *Penny Post* newsletter can be found in Appendix 6.3.

The information is taken from two minute books in the Alexander Turnbull Library. The dates of meetings overlap between these books. MSY-5611 covers eight meetings held between 6/12/1967 and 22/8/1968, twenty-four meetings held between 3/6/1971 and 8/3/1973, and a meeting held 4/7/1974. MSY-5004 covers eleven meetings held between 4/10/1973 and 14/8/1975, and a summary of branch activities for 1974-1975. The minute book MSY-5611 also contains a report on branch activities for 1972 which described some collecting activities by members. The information from this report is added to the bottom of the listing.

KEY

Meeting Date	= Date of meeting in NZFLS Auckland minute book.
Informant (Location)	= Name or description of informant and their location
Activity	= Folklore genre.
Collector	= Name of collector (see abbreviations below)

Meeting Date	Informant (Location)	Activity	Collector
13/3/1968	Puhoi residents	[Planned visit March 1968]	NC
8/7/1968	Unnamed shoemaker, Pt. Chevalier	Manuscript [+ songs?]	NC, CDM
4/3/1971	Mr. H. Duder	[Planned visit]	MF
	Mrs. M. Morgan	[Planned visit]	BH, FW
1/4/1971	Mrs. Nieukerke	Children's games	TW, MW
	Unknown informant	Song about decimal currency	MF
	Mr. Alcock	Reminiscences	PS, RS
	Mrs. Hogan	Dennis Hogan manuscript	
3/6/1971	Frank Whale	[Planned visit]	PS, RS
7/10/1971	Mr Monroe, Mt. Albert	[Planned visit]	RS, TW
	Mr Chapman	[Planned visit]	BH
14/11/1971	John A. Lee, Auckland	Interview, songs	AA
2/12/1972	Frank Whale, Auckland	Reminiscences	PS, RS
	Jack Diamond, Auckland	[Planned visit]	PS, RS
4/10/1973	Puhoi residents (Joe Tullock)	[Planned visit]	NC, FW
	Jack Diamond	[Planned visit]	
1/8/1974	Mrs Harry Haynes, Auckland	Song ('Hakaru Races')	BW

5/9/1974	Molly Russell, Whangarei	Songs (incl. ‘Captain Matheson’) PS, RS

[1972 NZFLS Auckland Report (ATL MSY-5611)]

	Mrs Clarke, Te Atatu	Songs	RS
	Mr. Charles King	[Unknown]	DB
	Mr. George Thompson	[Unknown]	DB
	Mr. Bishop	[Unknown]	DB

Abbreviations

NC	Neil Colquhoun
CDM	Curly Del’Monte
MF	Malcolm Findlay
BH	Bruce Hall
AA	Angela Annabell
FW	Frank Winter
TW	Tommy Wood
MW	Margaret Wood
PS	Pat Sunde
RS	Rudy Sunde
BW	Bill Worsfold
DB	David Buxton

Appendix 8.3

The Angela Annabell Field Collection – Surviving Items

This is a listing of songs, verse and rhymes collected by Angela Annabell. Because Annabell's original field material has not been found, this listing includes songs found in her writings and in archival holdings. The list is divided into three parts: 1975 dissertation, Bert Read songs and other collecting. The first section lists songs and fragments which are either transcribed within her 1975 PhD dissertation or contained on the accompanying tape-recording (or both). Certain songs, such as those learnt by informants from books (as with several of the Gaelic songs) are not included. The second section lists popular and music hall songs collected from Bert Read in 1983 and preserved on a tape-recording in the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music. Read's New Zealand songs are not included (see Chapter 8). The third section lists other items which have been located within Annabell's archival papers.

KEY

[*Title*]
[Category] = Category of item, eg. song, verse, tune.
Collected from [informant, location, date] = Collection details (if known)
Locations: = Where copies of the item can be found
Notes: = Explanatory notes

1975 Dissertation

Johnny Come Sell Your Fiddle
Rhyme.
Collected from Mr H. McP. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, c.1970.
Locations: AA (42)

The Fox
Rhyme.
Collected from Mr H. McP. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, c.1970.
Locations: AA (45-46)
Notes: This rhyme is composite which include verses recalled by the informant's older brother.

Do you remember the fifth of November?
Rhyme.
Collected from Mrs H. Jackson, Onehunga, Auckland.
Locations: AA (55)

Santa Claus Santa Claus
Rhyme.
Supplied by unknown informant (Clinton, Otago) in a letter.
Locations: AA (56)

"There was a man, a man indeed…"
Rhyme.
Collected from Mrs M.E.K. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, c.1970.
Locations: AA (57)
Notes: This rhyme is not directly transcribed, but Annabell indicates it is almost identical with the version of 'Santa Claus Santa Claus' above, but without the first two and last four lines.

We Three Maids Just Come From Spain
Rhyme.
Collected from Mr H. McP. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, c.1970.
Locations: AA (57-58)

Home Boys Home
Song.
Collected from Mr H. McP. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, December 1970.
Locations: AA (62, tr.3)

The Wild Colonial Boy
Song.
Collected from John A. Lee, Auckland, 1971-1972.
Locations: AA (69-70)
Notes: Four-line fragment only.

The Wild Colonial Boy
Song.
Collected from Mr J. McCormick, Netherton, February 1971.
Locations: AA (tr.5)

The Dying Stockman
Song.
Collected from Amelia Howe, Onehunga, Auckland, November 1971.
Locations: AA (79-80, tr.6)

Wrap Me Up in My Old Tarpaulin Jacket
Song.
Collected from Mr A.H. Heerdegen, Manurewa, Auckland, December 1971.
Locations: AA (84)
Notes: Annabell states this item is included on the tape-recording, but it could not be found on the copy I examined.

The Dying Stockrider
Song.
Collected from John A. Lee, Auckland, 1971-1972.
Locations: AA (87)

"Land of rocks and rivers too…"
Rhyme.
Supplied by unknown Canterbury informant in a letter.
Locations: AA (145)

The Tui Bird
Song.
Supplied by Elizabeth Beard (Taumaranui) in a letter, 1971.
Locations: AA (155-156)
Notes: The text is not transcribed, but Annabell states they are "near perfect" (1975:155) compared with the original printed version. One slight musical variation is transcribed.

The Tui Bird
Song.
Collected from unknown informants, Johnsonville, 1972.
Locations: AA (tr.8)

The Tui Bird
Song.
Collected from unknown informants, Komata Reefs Valley, February 1971.
Locations: AA (tr.9)

The Tui Bird
Song.
Collected from Mr W.G. Bambry, Mt. Manganui, January 1972.
Locations: AA (tr.10)

Full-back, Half-back
Song.
Collected from Mr H. McP. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, c.1970.
Locations: AA (223)

On the Ball
Song.
Collected from Mr H. McP. Marshall, Henderson, Auckland, c.1970.
Locations: AA (222-223, tr.11)

Po Atarau
Song.
Collected from Mr Richard Stirling, Henderson, Auckland.
Locations: AA (tr.12)

Now is the Hour
Song.
Collected from Mr Richard Stirling, Henderson, Auckland.
Locations: AA (243, tr.13)

"Te Iwi, te iwi e.."
Song.
Collected from Mrs Hinerangi Deller, Glendowie, Auckland, June 1974.
Locations: AA (247, 249, tr.14, 15)

Captain Matheson
Song.
Collected from Molly Russell, Whangarei, 1971.
Locations: AA (294-296, tr.17)

Eilean An Raoich
Song.
Collected from Donald Morrison, Whangarei, 1971.
Locations: AA (tr.23a)

A t-Eilean Muileach
Song.
Collected from Samuel Morrison, Whangarei, 1971.
Locations: AA (tr.23b)

A Mhàiri Bhòidheach
Song.
Collected from Alex MacLeod, Herne Bay, Auckland.
Locations: AA (377, tr.25)
Notes: Only part of the song is transcribed.

Fear á Bhàta
Song.
Collected from Donald Morrison, Samuel Morrison and Donald MacLean, Whangarei.
Locations: AA (379, tr.26)

Ho-ro Mo Nighean Donn Bhòidheach
Song.
Collected from Alex MacLeod, Herne Bay, Auckland.
Locations: AA (tr.28a)

Shiorum Sios, Shiorum Suas
Song.
Collected from Miss G. McMillan, Whangarei.
Locations: AA (388)

Notes: This is the only song which Annabell collected which had a direct oral continuity to the original Waipu settlers.

Shiorum Sios, Shiorum Suas
Song.
Collected from Mr Donald Morrison, Mr Samuel Morrison and Mr Donald MacLean.
Locations: AA (388, tr.30)
Notes: This version has the three men singing the McMillan text (see above), which was supplied by Annabell, using a tune they knew.

Shiorum Sios, Shiorum Suas
Song.
Collected from Alex MacLeod.
Locations: AA (390, tr.31)
Notes: This version has MacLeod singing the McMillan text (see above), which was supplied by Annabell, using a tune he knew.

Shiorum Sios, Shiorum Suas
Song.
Collected from Mrs Jean Brown, Kamo.
Locations: AA (tr.32)
Notes: Annabell is unclear as to the source of Brown's text and tune (1975:385-388).

[The following pieces - mostly of a fragmentary nature – were all collected from John A. Lee in 1971-1972. All are part of the single track – AA (tr.34) – and are listed here in the order given. See also 'The Wild Colonial Boy' and 'The Dying Stockrider' above.]

Please Give Me a Penny Sir
Recitation.
Locations: AA (415)

I've Made Up My Mind to Sail Away
Song.
Locations: AA (416)

Goodbye Melbourne Town
Song.
Locations: AA (417)

Miner's Dream of Home
Song.
Locations: AA (418)

In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree [parody]
Song.
Locations: AA (419)

Blue Bell
Recitation.
Locations: AA (419)

Blue Bell [parody]
Recitation.
Locations: AA (419)

There's a Girl in Havana [parody]
Song.
Locations: AA (420)

"Cattle dog, cattle dog…"
Rhyme.
Locations: AA (420-421)
Notes: Lee gives two versions of the same rhyme

Shall We Gather at the River
Song.
Locations: AA (422)

Bringing in the Sheaves [parody]
Song.
Locations: AA (422)

Strike Out the Top Line
Song.
Locations: AA (423)

The Wearing of the Green
Song.
Locations: AA (423)

Battle of Boyne Water
Song.
Locations: AA (424)

"Down the Street there is a Black Maria…"
Song.
Locations: AA (424)

The Cat Came Back
Song.
Locations: AA (425)

The Red Flag
Song.

The Red Flag [parody]
Song.
Locations: AA (426)

Bert Read Songs

Landlord's Song
I've Made Up My Mind to Sail Away
The Boers Have Got My Daddy
Nirvana
Little Grey Home in the West
Why Can't We Have the Sea in London?
'Enery the Eighth
Bill Bailey
Hold Your Hand Out
Silk Hat Tony / They Took Piccadilly from Me
On the Mississippi
Old Man River
Where My Caravan Has Rested

Other Collecting

"Haere go crutchee the sheep…"
Rhyme.
Supplied by Marie Paget in a letter, 1980.
Locations: Annabell-F

"Penny on the water…"
Rhyme.
Collected from Mrs Greenwood (Annabell's mother), May 1981.
Locations: Annabell-G

"I had a little sister…"
Rhyme.
Collected from unknown informant.
Locations: Annabell-H

Abbreviations

(In the above listing, numbers given in brackets after the AA code refer to page numbers and track numbers.)

AA	'New Zealand's Cultural and Economic Development Reflected in Song: Aspects of the New Zealand Folk Song Ethos' (1975, Angela Annabell)

[The following manuscripts are located in the Alexander Turnbull Library]

Annabell-F	2000-199-1/20	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-G	2000-199-4/09	(Angela Annabell papers)
Annabell-H	2000-199-1/10	(Angela Annabell papers)