MARIPOSA FOLK FESTIVAL: THE SOUNDS, SIGHTS, AND COSTS OF A FIFTY-YEAR ROAD TRIP

Sija Tsai

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Abstract

In 2010, the Mariposa Folk Festival celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Founded in 1961, it later served as a model for future folk festivals in Canada, such as those in Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Edmonton. In addition to their financial success, many of these "offspring" events are known for promoting the work of domestic musicians as well as bringing a wide variety of international artists and audiences to Canada every summer.

As a fifty-plus-year-old event, the MFF has lived through more shifts in industry trends, government policy, administrative personnel, and locale, than other festivals of its kind. Yet despite Mariposa's longevity, most written accounts (Usher and Page-Harpa 1977, Melbourne 2010, *Mariposa: Celebrating Canadian Folk Music* 2010, Bidini 2011) tend to emphasize its "heyday" years of the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, within their coverage of that time frame, these accounts do not attend to the long-term influence that the period's artistic programming had on the Canadian music scene.

My research findings suggest a more nuanced perspective on the MFF's fifty-year history. This perspective encompasses its artistic and administrative developments from 1980 to the present, as well as a more detailed view of the long-term impact of its "heyday" years.

This dissertation redresses the lacuna left by existing narratives about the Mariposa Folk Festival. After a detailed retelling of the MFF's musical and administrative history, I examine four facets of the event's significance that have been misunderstood, misrepresented, or simply left out by previous accounts. These are: 1) its artistic legacy (especially pertaining to its programming of Canadian content,

workshops/daytime concerts, ethnically-diverse musics, children's music, and a crafts area); 2) its relationship to social shifts of the 1960s and 1970s; 3) its contribution to our understanding of space, place and landscape; and 4) its contribution to our understanding of arts funding and sponsorship in Canada. In doing so I argue that the Mariposa Folk Festival is categorically different than other Canadian folk festivals, occupying a unique historical position in the context of similar events. These four aspects of its significance substantiate this argument.

Dedicated to those who have invested their time and efforts (often unpaid) into running the Mariposa Folk Festival over the past 50+ years

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INTRODUCTION

a. Background

In 2010, the Mariposa Folk Festival celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. Founded in 1961, it later served as a model for future folk festivals in Canada, such as those in Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Edmonton. In addition to their financial success, many of these "offspring" events are known for promoting the work of domestic musicians as well as bringing a wide variety of international artists and audiences to Canada every summer.

My connection to folk festivals began in Manitoba, where I attended the Winnipeg and Brandon folk festivals for many years. The Winnipeg Folk Festival, in particular, is well established on the Canadian festival circuit and known for its isolated location,[1] as well as its returning community of attendees. The event is renowned for its all-night parties on the campground, which include the late-night jam on "Pope's Hill." When this annual event became the subject of my MA thesis, my discussion of the audience experience found parallels with ritual theory—particularly Victor Turner's concepts of anti-structure and liminality (Turner 1969 and 1974). Throughout my MA research, I also came across occasional references to the Mariposa Folk Festival (see, for example, MacDonald 2006) in which it was named the model for its Winnipeg counterpart. Yet whenever the two festivals were compared in the media coverage of the

[1] The Winnipeg Folk Festival is in fact held 24 kilometres outside of Winnipeg.

1990s,[2] Mariposa was presented as an itinerant, rootless event with a lack of identity. My first impression of the MFF was thus formed: a festival without a community, likely without any "rituals" of its own. But this impression began to waver when the subject of folk festivals came up in my conversations with older music enthusiasts of the Toronto area. "Mariposa" was a word that brought a dreamy look to their eyes (including many of my professors at York University). Notably, most of the commentators from this generation referred to a specific time and place of Mariposa's history: the 1970s at the Toronto Islands. I was beginning to see that Mariposa had several identities, some of which were rooted in specific locales and specific time periods.

The historical significance of the MFF was crystallized in a large transfer of archival materials from the Mariposa Folk Foundation to York University's Clara Thomas Archives in 2007. This was a timely donation, moving in tandem with a growing scholarly interest in the study of Canadian folk festivals at large. Various facets of these events have been examined, including economic impact (King 2003), issues of diversity (Greenhill 1999), political ideology (MacDonald 2008), genre discourse (Tsai 2008), and local content (Turnbull 2010).

But to date, there has been no thorough scholarly examination of the MFF itself. Shorter accounts of the festival can be found within literature about the folk revival (Posen 1979[1993], Mitchell 2007) and children's music (Posen 1993, Hoefnagels 2010),

[2] My research on the Winnipeg Folk Festival placed a special emphasis on media coverage of this decade, due to the WFF's increased financial stability and growing popularity in this period.

as well as in commemorative books (Usher and Page-Harpa 1977, Melbourne 2010), popular literature (Bidini 2011), an online exhibit (*Mariposa: Celebrating Canadian Folk Music* 2010) and works about the broader history of Canadian music (Jennings 1997, Keillor 2006). Given the newly accessible trove of archival materials on the York campus, it has now been possible to have a more thorough look at the Mariposa Folk Festival's history and cultural impact—a project which I have undertaken for my dissertation research.

As the oldest festival of its kind in Canada, the MFF has lived through more changes of musical/societal trends, administrative perspectives, and locale, than other Canadian folk festivals. Growing directly out of the mid-20th -century folk revival, the festival developed against the backdrop of 1960s nationalism, 1970s multiculturalism, and early 1980s changes to federal arts funding. Musically, the earlier decades of MFF programming were predominantly a mixture of traditional Anglo- and Franco-Canadian musicians, singer-songwriters, First Nations programming, and local immigrant musics, while later decades saw more commercially successful roots music artists, well-known rock bands, and "world" music artists. Financially, the festival shifted identities from that of an underfunded, resourceful entity with an anti-commercial stance in the 1970s, to one with heavy reliance on corporate sponsorship and government grants in the 1980s. Spatially, the festival has relocated over a dozen times since 1961, calling into question

the notion of a festival "community." As a subject for scholarly analysis, it is therefore thematically rich and diverse, inviting analytical perspectives from multiple disciplines.

Many existing accounts of Mariposa's history imply that its importance rests in the era of the 1960s and 1970s. This owes to various reasons, such as an earlier publication date (Usher and Page-Harpa 1977) or an author's desire to insert Mariposa into a broader discussion of the 1960s and 1970s (Bidini 2011). Other retrospective accounts of Mariposa highlight that era because it is seen as the MFF's "heyday"—a period that witnessed the budding careers of Joni Mitchell and Gordon Lightfoot, and enjoyed the tree-lined, waterfront landscape of the Toronto Islands (*Mariposa: Celebrating Canadian Folk Music* 2010, Melbourne 2010). My research findings suggest, however, that the MFF's significance extends beyond the narrative portrayed in these accounts. In particular, my findings offer new insights into the 1980s to 2000s, as well as a more nuanced picture of the earlier decades.

This dissertation redresses the lacuna left by existing narratives about the Mariposa Folk Festival. After a detailed retelling of the MFF's musical and administrative history, I examine four facets of the event's significance that have been misunderstood, misrepresented, or simply left out by previous accounts. These are: 1) its artistic legacy (especially pertaining to its programming of Canadian content, workshops/daytime concerts, ethnically diverse musics, children's music, and a crafts area); 2) its relationship to social shifts of the 1960s and 1970s; 3) its contribution to our

understanding of space, place and landscape; and 4) its contribution to our understanding of arts funding and sponsorship in Canada. In doing so I argue that the Mariposa Folk Festival is categorically different than other Canadian folk festivals, occupying a unique historical position in the context of similar events. The four aspects of its significance mentioned above substantiate this argument.

b. Methodology

The impetus for my PhD research was the availability of an archival collection, and thus my dissertation is constructed on a foundation of historical information. Nevertheless, my research is ethnomusicologically oriented in its use of ethnography and fieldwork. Since many Mariposa affiliates live in the Toronto area, original interviews were easy to arrange. Altogether I interviewed roughly thirty people, including former administrators, performers, and festival-goers. I have used these interviews to gain insights into the festival experience as well as the more subjective aspects of festival planning (i.e., aspects that are difficult to glean from archival materials). In addition to using formal interviews, my research also refers back to informal conversations between myself and various people who attended the festival at some point in their lives.

The fieldwork component of my research has involved attendance at the festival. In 2008, 2010 and 2011, I travelled to Orillia on a July weekend to tour the festival grounds, get a sense of the present layout, format and audiences, and hear performances. These on-site experiences, combined with off-site transactions (such as interactions with

hotel owners, cab drivers, shopkeepers, etc.) provided me with a sense of how the annual staging of Mariposa affects the local tourist industry and is received by the local population.

The ultimate content of this dissertation was shaped by two main factors. The first of these was the availability of archival materials. The Mariposa fonds represents one of the biggest donations ever received by the Clara Thomas Archives. As such, the collection was still being processed when I began my research. I therefore began my research with program books due to both their availability and my experience working with them. The information gleaned from these programs (regarding funding, programming, key organizers, and physical locations) gave me ideas of the types of materials to request from the collection, such as press coverage, administrative records and audience surveys. While browsing through these files, I often came across letters, meeting minutes, and budgetary reports that were helpful in constructing a well-rounded view of the festival. Other materials, such as the film footage referenced in Chapter 2, were recommended to me by the archivist. The total materials upon which this dissertation is based represents only a fraction of the records that sit in the collection, and the direction of my research has been shaped by what was accessible to me.

Another factor in shaping the content was the nature in which some of the research issues presented themselves. A festival as multifaceted as Mariposa reveals a variety of themes with which a researcher can engage, such as artistic representation,

mythmaking, space, stardom, nostalgia, funding, community, scene, and genre, to name a few. In this jumble of issues, a few items leaped out as fully formed research questions. These include:

- *The MFF is acknowledged as having been a model for other folk festivals. What are the specific ways in which it has been influential?*
- *The MFF programmed a 100% Canadian line-up ten years earlier than the broadcasting milieu. Furthermore, it featured First Nations and ethno-cultural programming at a time when such traditions were under-represented in the broader Canadian arts scene. To what people and factors can we attribute these initiatives? How did they relate to broader trends in Canadian society?*
- *As a fifty-year-old festival, the MFF developed in tandem with some important musical and social shifts in North America during the latter half of the 20th century. These include politics and counterculture of the 1960s, and changes in the music industry and arts funding in the 1980s. To what extent did the MFF intersect with these shifts?*
- *During its heyday, the MFF experienced twelve years of spatial stability; and during its two decades of itinerancy, the festival fell out of favour. Is there a correlation between locale and a festival's success? How did this filter down to the audience experience?*

The content of my dissertation thus formed around the themes of artistic representation, socio-historical shifts, space/locale, and funding. That is not to say other issues, such as mythmaking and nostalgia, are not part of the MFF significance—but the specific research problems relating to these themes would need further refinement, and are therefore best reserved for future research papers.

In terms of its proportional representation of research materials, readers of this dissertation will notice that the emphasis on media sources, interviews, and other primary sources is weighted differently in each chapter. There are several reasons for this. Administrative records from the early 1960s are comparatively scant; yet media coverage from that era was plentiful due to Mariposa's then-status as a societal curiosity. Also, when the MFF went through periods of relocation and/or changes in personnel (e.g., 1964-1965, or the 1980s-1990s), it generated more documents and public dialogue about its administrative challenges. During these periods, its artistic vision tended to be less consistent (therefore generating less dialogue/recollections about the festival's musical representation). Conversely, during the MFF's most stable period (i.e., its long tenure at Toronto Islands), the festival was rife with artistic developments. Performers and administrators alike acknowledge the historical significance of these initiatives and were enthusiastic about recounting their observations to me in interviews. As a result, Chapter 3 (which discusses the Toronto Islands years) contains a larger proportion of ethnographic-style recollections.

The sections of this dissertation that reference media coverage and periodicals entailed certain issues that require further explanation. In its first decade, the MFF was extensively covered by the *Toronto Evening Telegram*,[3] as well as the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. Unfortunately, archival issues of *Telegram* were not as easily accessible as those from the *Globe* and the *Star*; therefore my analysis has largely been confined to the latter two.[4]

The extensive use of older periodicals has produced several citation issues. Chapter 2, Part II makes ample use of newspaper articles written in the early- to mid-1960s. Some of these were accessed through online databases, in which case page numbers and author names were readily available. Other articles, however, were accessed in an archive setting; many of these were in the format of original newspaper clippings whereon the page numbers and author names were cut off. Additionally, some authors were simply not named, while others were listed as "Staff reporter." In the latter case, I have cited them as such (e.g., "Staff reporter 1961a, 12"); and in the case of unnamed or cut-off author names, I have cited these as "Unknown author." My use of "n.p." (no page) refers to articles in which the page number was either cut off or unlisted. Furthermore, my reference list contains several entries referring to "*The Toronto Daily Star*" and, more simply, "*The Toronto Star*." These refer to the same newspaper, which underwent a name

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[3] The *Telegram* went defunct in 1971.
[4] My discussion of Mariposa's early years makes additional reference to local Orillia newspapers, such as *The Daily Packet and Times*.

change in 1971. Since the Mariposa Folk Festival occurred both before and after that date, festival coverage from the *Star* is cited under both publication names. And finally, I also cite several issues of *Hoot*, a Canadian folk publication that ran throughout the 1960s. The earliest issues of this magazine were published under a single issue number (e.g., *Hoot* no.1, *Hoot* no.2, etc.), while later issues were organized into volume and issue numbers (e.g., *Hoot* 2[5]). I have retained each respective format in my reference list where applicable.

c. Organization and outline of chapters

As discussed in Section a, the significance of the MFF resides in its artistic legacy, its relationship to social shifts of the 1960s and 1970s, its contribution to our understanding of space, place, and landscape, and its contribution to our understanding of arts funding and sponsorship in Canada. To support these claims, this dissertation is organized into five chapters, roughly following a "theory-history-significance" scheme. In other words, the first chapter provides theoretical context pertaining to festivals in general. The second, third, and fourth chapters provide a factual historical summary of the administrative and artistic developments at Mariposa. The fifth chapter returns to some of the key theoretical concepts (outlined in Chapter 1) to highlight the festival's historical significance and long-range influence.[5]

[5]In my fieldwork conversations with former (and current) Mariposa participants, it became evident that some of the richest moments of Mariposa's history are still confined to oral history. Many of my consultants were delighted that a music scholar was finally taking an interest in this important event;

Chapter 1, as mentioned above, will provide an overview of the theoretical issues relevant to festivals more broadly speaking. The MFF is but one festival on a centuries-long continuum of feasts, carnivals, ethno-cultural celebrations, women's festivals, and touring rock festivals. Many issues identified at these events (regardless of the century or geographical region in which they took place) are applicable to an understanding of Mariposa. These include ritual, scene/community, cultural representation, genre, public reception, and space/place/landscape.

Chapter 2 is presented in two parts. Part I will briefly situate the MFF historically in 20th-century North America. The founding of Mariposa (by Ruth Jones and others) will be discussed in the context of notable social and musical movements, such as the mid-20th century folk revival. It will also be positioned in relation to certain music festivals that served as precedents, such as the Canadian CPR festivals and the Newport Folk Festival.

Part II will discuss the founding and early years of the Mariposa Folk Festival, highlighting its administration, programming and public reception. From 1961 to 1967, the event was variously staged in Orillia, the Maple Leaf Ball Park and Innis Lake. While undergoing frequent shifts in administrative personnel and changes of locale, the festival

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furthermore, several people expressed a desire to read my dissertation. A great number of these Mariposa affiliates are well informed people working in the Canadian music industry who have a personal stake in the history of Canadian popular music. As such, I have chosen to devote my inner chapters of this dissertation to an accessibly written account of the MFF's development, reserving the scholarly theory and significance to the outer chapters. While this style of presentation is not commonplace in music scholarship, it has grown in usage in recent years due to a methodological desire (on the part of researchers) to engage dialogically with their consultants (see, for example, Daughtry 2006).

worked to shape its artistic vision, generating dialogue about the importance of Canadian programming and seeking a balance between traditional and commercial elements. During this time, organizers also grappled with public perceptions of the festival, which was thought to attract excessive numbers of unruly youth.

Chapter 3 examines the MFF's tenure at the Toronto Islands (1968-1979), with an emphasis on its key artistic developments. The programming of this period was largely directed by Estelle Klein, who refined the daytime programming and oversaw the creation of new artistic contingents relating to children's music, First Nations music, ethno-cultural music and dance, as well as crafts. The festival's public reception, as well as its favourable status among performers, will also be discussed.

Chapter 4 discusses the remainder of the MFF's history from the 1980s to the present, with a particular emphasis on its administrative shifts and a secondary emphasis on its programming. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Mariposa Folk Foundation shifted its structure from that of a (relatively) self-sufficient organization to a funded foundation; additionally, it was operating within a more competitive music industry. Furthermore, the foundation experienced administrative tension and debt on several occasions. These factors all affected the way musical programming was presented and enjoyed. The festival did not completely "settle" until it was relocated back to Orillia in 2000.

Finally, Chapter 5 draws from this historical data (outlined in chapters two, three and four) to discuss four facets of the MFF's significance. Using theoretical concepts outlined in Chapter 1, this chapter highlights the festival's artistic legacy (particularly the lasting influence of its initiatives of the 1960s and 1970s); its intersections with social shifts of the 1960s and 70s (particularly the youth, counterculture and politics of that period); the influence of spatial considerations on the festival's success; and the influence of funding and sponsorship on the festival's success. And finally, the chapter concludes with some additional thoughts on the MFF's legacy in the context of the North American Folk Revival.

As mentioned in Section a, academic interest in folk festivals is growing but academic literature on the Mariposa Folk Festival is relatively scant. As a forerunner to many prestigious festivals on today's folk circuit, the MFF deserves a detailed scholarly examination that can document its fifty-plus-year history and highlight its artistic, social, and historical significance within North America. Collating relevant theoretical concepts with original interviews and archival research, this dissertation rises to the occasion.

CHAPTER 1: KEY THEORETICAL ISSUES

a. Introduction

Given their multifaceted nature, contemporary festivals contain many points of entry for theoretical analysis. For example, those which recur annually (and are thus "seasonal" events) can be seen as rituals (Cooley 2006, Bloustien 2004). The close bonds that form between festival-goers of similar interests (who often return year after year) generate a sense of community (Eder, Staggenborg and Sudderth 1995) or "scene" (Dowd, Liddle, and Nelson 2004). By virtue of their diverse programming, music festivals often submit themselves to discussions of cultural representation (Auerbach 1991) and genre (Tsai 2008). And, by virtue of having occurred at important historical junctures, some festivals have been highly mythologized in public reception (Schowalter 2000, Delhomme-Cutchin 2002). Finally, the physical location or space in which they are staged (whether stable or itinerant) can often influence their character, atmosphere or degree of success (Hetherington 1992, Bloustien 2004).

Many of these themes are central to understanding the Mariposa Folk Festival's historical significance. This chapter examines how the above-mentioned issues have been previously explored by scholars in the social sciences. Section b highlights literature on ritual, while Section c discusses the related concepts of scene and community. Section d explores the oft-discussed theme of cultural representation, which is of great concern to scholars writing about folk-oriented festivals in particular. Sections e, f and g address the

themes of genre, public reception, and place/landscape/space—which, while less represented in festival scholarship, are nevertheless applicable to the Mariposa Folk Festival.

b. Ritual

The Canadian Oxford Dictionary defines ritual as "1. a prescribed order of performing rites," and "2. a procedure regularly followed."[6] When considering contemporary festivals, the presence of a religious or spiritual undertone (as implied by the first definition) may be questioned by some. Yet, the ritual nature of festivals is not a new idea in the social sciences. The existing writing on carnival festivities (which admittedly have a historical connection to the Church) provides a good starting point. In his discussion of medieval folk humour, Bakhtin clearly treats medieval carnival pageants as "ritual spectacles" (1984, 5). And Victor Turner, writing of a more recent (but well-known) manifestation of carnival (namely that of Rio de Janeiro) observes the following:

> Play paradoxically has become a more serious matter with the decline of ritual and the contraction of the religious sphere—in which people used to become morally reflexive, relating their lives to the values handed down in sacred traditions. The play frame, where events are scrutinized in the leisure time of the social process, has to some extent inherited the function of the ritual frame. (1987, 3)

Other scholars continue to identify aspects of ritual in the most contemporary of festivals. In his study of the International Festival of Mountain Folklore, Timothy Cooley notes

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[6] "ritual *noun*" *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. Katherine Barber. Oxford University Press 2004. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. York University. 17 September 2012 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t150.e59088>

that tourist festivals may also function as rituals in that they are "symbolic representations of objects, beliefs, or truths of special significance to a group," in addition to being "transformative or effective" (Cooley 2006, 67). Furthermore, in her ethnographic fieldwork at the WOMAD festival (specifically an installment in Adelaide, Australia—also known as Womadelaide), Gerry Bloustien observes many aspects of ritual as defined by Christopher Small: "...an act which dramatizes and reenacts the shared mythology of culture or social group, the mythology which unifies and, for its members, justifies that culture or group" (Small 1987, 7, as quoted in Bloustien 2004, 133). Bloustien goes on to state,

> To understand music festivals as rituals or unifying, 'shared mythologies' and therefore the links between them, we need to analyse them as events taking place in a particular society, at a particular historical juncture, in a particular place and involving a particular group of people. (133)

Such is the type of analysis Bloustien applies to Womadelaide, believing that everything from Woodstock to contemporary world music festivals can be seen from this perspective (I will return to Bloustien's work in Section g).

Emerging from this ritual aspect of festivals is the idea of inverted social order. Bakhtin employed this concept under the umbrella of the "carnivalesque" (an idea later adopted by many scholars of festivals). As he describes it,

> The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time was of particular significance. Rank was especially evident during official feasts; everyone was expected to appear in the full regalia of his calling, rank, and merits and to take the place corresponding to his position. It was a consecration of inequality. On the contrary, all were considered equal during carnival. Here, in the

> town square, a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession and age. The hierarchical background and the extreme corporative and caste divisions of the medieval social order were exceptionally strong. Therefore such free, familiar contacts were deeply felt and formed an essential element of the carnival spirit. People were, so to speak, reborn for new, purely human relations… The utopian ideal and the realistic merged in this carnival experience, unique of its kind. (1984, 10)

Turner refined these ideas relating to the suspension of hierarchy, particularly through his concept of anti-structure, which he defines as,

> ...the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints incumbent upon occupying a sequence of social statuses, enacting a multiplicity of social roles, and being acutely conscious of membership in some corporate group such as a family, lineage, clan, tribe, or nation, or of affiliation with some pervasive social category such as a class, caste, sex- or age-division. (Turner 1974, 75)

Turner uses the concept of anti-structure to describe two other concepts relevant to the study of festivals, namely "liminality" and "communitas." "Liminality" refers to a threshold point of a ritual; during this state, "Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (Turner 1969, 95). In a later publication, the author differentiated between liminal and liminoid phenomena, the former being characterized by obligation (as in the rituals he observed in his fieldwork with the Ndembu), and the latter being the result of optation (as in contemporary festivals) (1974, 74).

In turn, "communitas" is a model for human interrelatedness emerging in the liminal period, and presents society as an unstructured community, or communion with equal

individuals (1969, 96). Its most organic form ("spontaneous communitas") is "'a direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities'"[7] and a "...moment when compatible people—friends, congeners—obtain a flash of lucid mutual understanding on the existential level, when they feel that all problems (not just their problems), whether emotional or cognitive, could be resolved, if only the group which is felt (in the first person) as 'essentially us' could sustain its inter-subjective illumination" (Turner 1974, 79).

Turner's concepts of liminality and communitas were formed by his ethnographic fieldwork on tribal rituals, and Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque was built around medieval carnivals; but these concepts have been appropriated by various scholars and transplanted to many contemporary Western festivals (Hetherington 1992, Bloustien 2004, Tsai 2007, Hayes 2012), which many of these authors argue contain ritualistic aspects. While not all of them refer to ritual as performing rites in a "prescribed order" (as described in the first Oxford definition at the beginning of this section), most of the authors see ritual as rites or procedures that are "regularly followed" (as stated in the second definition). As we will see in Section g of this chapter and Chapter 5 of this dissertation, these ideas are pertinent to spatial considerations of festivals, and they are in some ways necessary to understanding some aspects of the Mariposa Folk Festival.

[7] Turner provides this definition in quotations (1974, 79) while referring to his 1969 work *The Ritual Process*. He does not provide a page number.

c. Scene and community

If one considers Turner's definition of spontaneous communitas, or "compatible people" gathering together for a "lucid mutual understanding on the existential level," then the concepts of "scene" and "community" are an extension of the collectivity implied in ritual theory. While the literature on scene and community within music festivals is not abundant, these concepts are relevant to contemporary Canadian folk festivals and thus warrant a brief consideration. There are two studies in particular that are useful here.

A 2004 article by Dowd, Liddle and Nelson posits that music festivals mirror aspects of music scenes because they "occur in a delimited space, offering a collective opportunity for performers and fans to experience music and other lifestyle elements" (149). Drawing from a comparative analysis of three different music festivals (the Yaddo Music Festival, the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, and the Vans Warped Tour), Dowd et al. delineate three characteristics by which music festivals relate to scenes—namely intensity, boundary work and impact. The intensity of a festival "compensates for its infrequency," and as with a music scene, festival attendees can therefore "immerse themselves in a particular culture and experiment with different identities" (149). Like local scenes, music festivals also exhibit boundaries that include or exclude certain types of musics or participants (though unlike local scenes, the boundary work at festivals is forced onto organizers who are responding to time constraints). And finally, like music scenes, festivals may have an impact beyond their own borders. According to the authors,

such events may "provide a forum for creating, mobilizing, and rejuvenating both performers and audience," though they may also "facilitate changes that may not be viewed as positive, such as their contribution to the commercialization of popular music" (150).

A key theme in Dowd et al.'s analysis is that festivals serve as a platform for people with shared interests. This notion of collectivity at festivals is key to a 1995 study by Eder, Staggenborg and Sudderth, who place community at the centre of their discussion on the National Women's Music Festival. In particular, the authors are interested in the creation of communities within broader political movements; and to underscore this process at the festival, they turn to the concepts of prefigurative politics and collective identity. Prefigurative politics was described by sociologist Wini Breines in 1982 as " 'to create and sustain within the live practice of the movement, relationships and political forms that 'prefigured' and embodied the desired society'"(Breines 1982, 6 [as cited in Eder, Staggenborg and Sudderth 1995, 487]). While Breines was referring to the New Left, Eder et al. see the festival as an attempt at a prefigurative community given the sense of collectivity, safety, and empowerment that organizers and participants hope to achieve from it. In addition to prefigurative politics, collective identity is another key concept in this discussion. The authors reach back to sociologist Lewis Coser's 1956 writing on social organization to contextualize the in-group/out-group dynamics they observe at the festival. Additionally, they highlight the process of boundary making at the

festival. They note that many of the women involved in the community-building process are white middle-class lesbians. Citing the work of various feminist scholars, the authors discuss how lesbian identity is actively constructed through alternative institutions and activities, but often to the exclusion of women from certain race and class positions, as well as women from other sexual orientations.

In the same vein as the prefigurative politics and collective identity outlined by Eder et al., Mariposa had many organizers who were influenced by similar social ideals rooted in the mid-20th-century folk revival. And as a festival attempting to represent a distinct community of interests, this event has faced the same issues of boundary work described in both studies above. By virtue of occurring in a condensed amount of time on an annual basis, the Mariposa Folk Festival also functions as the temporary "scene" described by Dowd et al.—one which indeed has an impact beyond its borders, as we will see in later chapters of this dissertation.

d. Cultural representation

Since the existing studies of cultural representation at festivals are found across various disciplines (e.g., history, ethnomusicology, and folklore) there is no coherent "festival-specific" terminology from one study to the next. My discussion of the theoretical issues of cultural representation will therefore proceed "scholar by scholar," rather than "issue by issue;" however, I have arranged the order of authors in a way that shows the overlap of issues across disciplines.

An important feature of most "ethnic" festivals is the fact that they feature traditional music being performed out of its original context. The theoretical implications of this have been raised by many. In fact, a 1979 reflection (republished in 1993) by folklorist and Mariposa performer Sheldon Posen refers specifically to the MFF in its discussion of context. Posen's personal dilemma with the festival arose from his experience listening to traditional singers in a Newfoundland kitchen—an occasion that raised new concerns for him about the authenticity of "staged" folk performances such as those at MFF. His chief vehicle for this discussion is therefore a comparison between the Mariposa Folk Festival and the Newfoundland kitchen as different contexts for hearing Newfoundland folksingers. While Posen's discussion is more experiential than theoretical, his comparison uses parameters that have themselves been explored theoretically, such as audience-performer relations, the class/ethnic/urban-rural identities of participants, and presence or absence of amplification. The main implication of Posen's article is that kitchens serve as the more "authentic" context, while folk festivals offer a space for viewing/hearing different ways of presenting the traditional (see Section e for a more detailed discussion on the tension between the "folk" and the "popular").

Robert Cantwell has discussed similar issues under the umbrella of "recontextualization." While examining the representation of folklife at American festivals, he notes that,

> All folk festivals are themselves contexts, of course, in which particular folk cultural performances are redefined and interpreted in relation to the other

> performances on the program, the total body of performances promulgating, though rarely articulating, a tacit theory of a particular folk culture or of a folk culture generally. (2008, 101-102)

The redefinition and reinterpretation of traditional performance (as Cantwell describes above) may take on a variety of forms. In tourism, recontextualization "...may involve a deliberate gratification of the cultural stereotypes that tourists bring with them" (102). When associated with social initiatives (such as the early 20th-century settlement houses described by Cantwell), the process may involve "...the 'construction' or encouragement of ethnicity...to assist in the process of assimilation, and to acquaint the insulated middle class with the real culture of peasants and serfs" (102). Meanwhile, in exhibitory presentations (e.g., such as the National Folk Festival), recontextualization may work towards satisfying existing social ideals or presumptions (such as "a benign sentimental stereotype, or... a belief in cross-cultural understanding"), which are "predicated upon secure social standing and a tacit conviction of cultural legitimacy or even superiority." Cantwell adds that the process of recontextualization may be guided along educational or ideological lines by "textual and oral mediators" (102). Recognizing the inherent tensions of this process, Cantwell sees the folk festival as a "laboratory of cultural negotiation" (71) where issues of diversity, ethnicity and tradition are worked out.

Many of the theoretical concerns outlined by Cantwell are echoed in several other studies of ethno-cultural festivals. The idea of festivals as spaces of cultural negotiation is also articulated by Susan Auerbach, albeit in different terms. In her work with Cityroots

(a multicultural festival in L.A.) she refers to the event as a "mediated cultural zone." At this festival, she observes,

> ...a genuine longing for a common denominator, for cultural sharing rather than confrontation. This longing may itself be a reaction to continuing interethnic tensions at a time when the demographic and power balance of majority and minority cultures is shifting, at least in California. (1991, 236)

The "cultural sharing" to which Auerbach refers is carefully mediated by festival organizers, or "culture brokers" (223). These public sector folklorists "do not merely elicit symbolic expressive behaviour from ethnic groups," but also may "select, define, manipulate, and sometimes alter the cultural symbols and strategies of ethnic groups" (223). The process of festival presentation "underscores the insider/outsider distinction and is understandably resented by some groups. Performers accustomed to presenting themselves through their own announcers believe they know their culture best, and may see outside academic presenters as an imposition of cultural imperialism" (232). Nevertheless, the author observes agency and a degree of resistance among performers, who sometimes opt for their own announcers and try to present the information as they see fit (233-234).

Auerbach is not alone in using the "culture broker" as a lens through which to examine the culturally-mediated spaces of folk festivals. In his 1983 study of the White Top Folk Festival, Whisnant pays particular attention to the role of individual organizers in a process he calls "systematic cultural intervention," which he defines as when,

> someone (or some institution) consciously and programmatically takes action within a culture with the intent of affecting it in some specific way that the intervenor thinks desirable. The action taken can range from relatively passive (say, starting an archive or museum) to relatively active (like instituting a cultural revitalization effort). Its intent can be either positive (as in a sensitive revitalization effort) or negative (as in the prohibition of ethnic customs, dress, or language). Moreover, a negative effect may follow from a positive intent, and vice versa. (13-14)

In this case, the culture acted upon was Appalachian musical tradition. Its appropriation for programming at the White Top Folk Festival was closely tied to the personal ideologies and/or agendas of administrators Annabel Buchanan, John Powell and John Blakemore. The latter three displayed particular concerns for rural simplicity, racial nativism and commercial development, and these concerns affected the festival's standards of selection and the images of Appalachian people it projected. For example, by the fourth festival (1934), organizers were admitting an increasing number of ballad singers, while eliminating many string bands due to their association with radio-styled "hillbilly" music (197). As the author summarizes,

> Ironically, then, a festival which purported to reflect the traditional culture of mountain people *as it was* in fact required a variety of accommodating responses from them, ranging from the learning of new repertoires and categories ('folk tunes'), to abandoning popular tunes they had recently come to like...(233)

The incidences of "mediation" and/or "intervention" described above imply some level of hegemony in the programming of cultural festivals. Stuart Henderson (2005) and Pauline Greenhill (1999) have addressed this issue more directly, especially in relation to Canadian festivals which carry agendas of cultural diversity. In his study of the interwar

CPR festivals, Henderson observes a distinct "othering" of particular ethnic groups in the festival's promotional materials. Written in touristic language and relying on ethnic stereotypes, these materials were an apparent reflection of promoter John Murray Gibbon's anti-modernist ideals (2005, 141, 148).[8] Furthermore, Henderson points to an hierarchical organization of difference in the programming itself, with a privileging of repertoire and imagery from the hegemonic class (i.e., the "founding nations" of English and French—but predominantly the English). Greenhill's 1999 comparative study of two Winnipeg festivals is likewise concerned with power dynamics in multicultural programming. Comparing the agendas of Folklorama (a multi-pavilion ethnic festival) and the Winnipeg Folk Festival (a roots music festival with a contingent of non-Western artists), Greenhill observes contrasting approaches to the representation of difference. In her view, Folkorama represents a more commodified, tourism-driven version of ethnicity (which she dubs "McMulticulturalism"), which appears to "mask difference as entertaining multicultural display"(40). On the other hand, she sees the Winnipeg Folk Festival as a space where differences are openly celebrated, with equal time allotted to various types of music in a single location. Nevertheless, while this approach "creates some space in a colonial/heterosexist political economy for subalterns," she points to the

[8] See also McNaughton (1981) for further discussion about John Murray Gibbon's ideological influences and his role with the Canadian Pacific Railway. With their multi-ethnic content, the C.P.R. festivals were important precursors to future "ethno-cultural" festivals in Canada. While Mariposa was not conceived as an ethno-cultural festival, it featured a strong contingent of immigrant and non-Western artists in the 1970s. See Chapter 3for an overview of this contingent, and Chapter 5 for a discussion of its social implications.

commodified nature of "pluralism" in the publicity materials of this event, which (in her view) "makes no alterations in power dynamics beyond its own frame" (41).[9]

Taken together, the theoretical issues discussed by these authors show that cultural representation is indeed a concern at any festival that presents the music of particular ethnic groups or geographical regions, with common issues being context, intervention, and mediation. But it is also worth mentioning a final author here who has discussed cultural representation primarily in relation to aesthetics. Like the previous authors, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes that authenticity is a key issue for presenters of multicultural programming. But as her chosen festival (the Los Angeles Festival of the Arts) is linked with the avant-garde scene, her discussion of authenticity is less related to antimodernist ideals than to aesthetic reception. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the Los Angeles Festival purports to locate authenticity in the shock of unfamiliarity. Drawing from Barthes' concept of "obtuse meaning," she points to the implications of presenting performances as quotations—or, in other words, stripped of signifiers. One of the chief points raised in her discussion is the ironic parallel existing between the avant-gardist organizers and the ethnographic perspective they claim to dismantle, namely that audiences of the L.A. festival will experience very similar feelings of shock and confusion as those felt by many anthropological fieldworkers in an unfamiliar

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[9] Despite the latter claim by Greenhill, my own analysis of WFF discourse (2008) has shown that multi-ethnic programming at the WFF helped to broaden the musical tastes of many regular festival-goers and expand their definitions of "folk music."

community. The main difference is that for anthropologists, this initial confusion is a stepping stone to a deeper understanding of a particular community. For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the L.A. festival raises the question of whether aesthetic confusion should be seen as an end in itself (as it is for organizers), or as a means to end (as it would be for anthropologists). Thus, while her theoretical tools may differ somewhat from other scholars studying "ethnic" festivals, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is merely addressing a new angle of the common thread of "difference" which runs through the work of these scholars.

Unlike many of the events described by the scholars above, the Mariposa Folk Festival is not generally remembered as an "ethnic festival." But throughout the 1970s, the MFF regularly recruited non-Western artists and local immigrant dance groups to perform on its stages. Diversity, hegemony and authenticity were therefore real issues to the festival during this time, as we will see in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.

e. Genre

In a previous paper (Tsai 2007/2008), I examined the issue of genre boundaries in the programming of the Winnipeg Folk Festival. My analysis of the festival's media coverage demonstrated that the meaning of "folk music" was regularly debated by the public as the programming gradually diversified over the course of thirty years. While

musical boundary-making is certainly not unique to folk festivals,[10] the wealth of literature on the "what is folk music" debate (as opposed to "what is hip-hop" or "what is art music") commands enough space for the purposes of this chapter, and will be discussed as such—since it is intimately related to the historical backdrop against which the Mariposa Folk Festival was founded.

Ethnomusicologists have long addressed folk music's "peculiar resistance to systematic classification" (Bohlman 1988, 33); indeed, Mark Slobin has pointed out that folk music might be best defined by its "restless creativity" (Slobin 2011, 3). A key landmark in this debate came in 1955, when members of the International Folk Music Society saw the need to clarify the boundaries of the term. This resulted in the following published definition:

> Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition 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. (Cherbuliez et al. 1955, 23)

While affirming that the term "folk" could be applied to music from "rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music," the Society also acknowledged that musical material could originate with individual composers and later be absorbed into the oral tradition of a community (23).

[10] See Rosendahl 2012 for an example at the Toronto Pride Festival.

The latter notion of "folk" assumes distinguishable borders between the "oral tradition" communities of folk music and "precomposed" worlds of popular and art music. However, other authors have offered additional ways of seeing the folk-pop relationship. The year 1981 saw the publication of the first issue of *Popular Music*, whose purpose was "to establish how little the simple folk-popular dichotomy measures up to the complexity and specificity of real musical practice" (Middleton 1981, 6). For example, issue editor Richard Middleton pointed out that the folk-pop relationship (at least until that point) was usually approached from the folk end (1981, 3). While acknowledging the genre demarcations in ICTM's 1955 definition, he maintains that the concepts "folk" and "popular" have been historically intertwined for centuries (4).[11] In another contribution to the same issue, John Blacking (1981) also draws from historical context, claiming that all music has been popular since the emergence of homo-sapiens "in so far as it was shared and enjoyed by all members of a society" (9). Blacking argues strongly against the folk-popular dichotomy, preferring a focus on musical process over musical categories. According to Blacking, genre demarcations such as "folk" and "popular" are rooted in music's symbolic nature, and these demarcations can be value-laden. The main example he provides is the growth of elitism surrounding these

[11] Bohlman (1988) has made a comparable claim about the relationship between folk music and *art* music. Building on Ward (1986), he has stated that "One must exercise considerable caution when discussing the composer as the primary creative agent in the processes of exchange and cross-influence. The folk music specialist is often neither less adept nor less willing to exercise creativity by turning to numerous repertoires for new sources. … In short, the relationship between folk music and art music is not an isolated phenomenon based only on the decisions of a few musicians but is one expression of the complex patterns of change that continually shape different genres in all musical cultures" (Bohlman 1988, 47-48).

categories (such as "authentic" versus "commercial" designations), which resulted from the expansion of research on folk music (11).[12]

While Middleton and Blacking suggest that the lines between folk and pop have been blurred throughout history, the folk-pop interface has displayed varying degrees of importance at different points in time. It is well known that the North American Folk Revival saw significant shifts in the public's conception of folk music (especially with regard to its relationship with popular music). As explained in Chapter 2 (Part I) of this dissertation, the 1930s and 1940s saw increasing dissemination of Southern and Western American music through commercial means—a process that enabled the hybridization of traditional music with "popular" influences. Furthermore, the 1950s saw a burgeoning interest in folksongs among the urban middle class artists and audiences. Older traditional songs were suddenly achieving "pop" status, first through professional interpreters such as the Kingston Trio (who released "Tom Dooley" in 1958), and later by Bob Dylan and Joan Baez. Writing in 1966, folklorist Ellen Stekert observed four categories of folk-oriented performers at the time, noting that "The lines between these groups are not always sharp" (96). The first of these groups were traditional singers, who "…have learned their songs and their style of presentation from oral tradition as they grew up" (96). The artists most representative of this category were the rural white mountain

[12] Blacking was certainly not the first ethnomusicologist to interrogate the elitism surrounding the category of "folk." Keil elaborated on the implications of this elitism in a 1978 article, which sees the category of "folk" as a construction of the bourgeoisie.

singers and African-American blues singers. Stekert's next category was that of the "imitators," that is, the (mostly white, middle-class) urbanites who "have taken time to learn the skills of those whom they have admired. These imitators have found meaning in the traditional songs and style of presentation of the authentic folksingers, and have sought to totally absorb themselves in their chosen style" (97). In this category, Stekert included performers of Southern Mountain instrumental music and "Negro" blues as examples. Thirdly, she pointed to the "utilizers," or performers who have "altered it [folk material] in the light of accepted city aesthetics. They usually change three elements in folksong: tune, text, and style of presentation" (98). Included in this category were the Kingston Trio and Bob Dylan. Stekert's last category was less easy to define. As she described,

> The sound of the new aesthetic group is one which developed from a merger of vocal and instrumental folk, classical, jazz, and pop styles. Almost all of the singers sing with accompaniment…Compared to traditional singers their style is overstated, but compared with art and pop singers, they are the traditional embodiment of understatement. Their instrumental techniques combine the traditional and classical devices. (99)

The artists falling under the "new aesthetic" tended to be artists with mainstream success who were nevertheless stylistically distinct from "folk-rockers." The author lists Joan Baez's sound as an example of "the folk sound in the cities," as well as the sound of Peter, Paul, and Mary. And, looking forward, she mused, "In a sense, this new sound is the urban revival's traditional sound—certainly no handbooks tell you how to sound like Baez or Seeger—it is a new vocabulary for emotional expression and one that is being

widely used" (100). Perhaps one of the most important aspects of Stekert's discussion for the purposes of this dissertation is that the mid-20th-century folk revival was a time of blurred boundaries between traditional and popular, and provided a space for the creation of new forms. This mixture of traditional, popular, *and* new styles (the latter represented by the "new aesthetic") would feed the environment in which the Mariposa Folk Festival was founded.

The folk revival was certainly not the last incidence of such boundary work on the part of folklorists, ethnomusicologists and popular music scholars. For example, a 1988 issue of *Canadian Folk Music Journal* addresses the issue of defining folk music in the hopes of sketching a framework for the Canadian Folk Music Society's policies. The contributors (Spalding, Lederman, Persson, and Rahn) touch on similar themes outlined by Cherbuliez et al., Middleton, Blacking and Stekert—such as transmission, context, traditional versus non-traditional societies, authenticity versus imitation, process versus products/categories. While Spalding et al. are not directly concerned with the "folk-popular" dichotomy that was central to Middleton's and Blacking's discussions, their attempts at boundary work for the folk category consider "popular" contexts for folk music (such as festivals and recording studios) and its relationship to mass media such as television.

Another publication from the same time period, however, uses "folk" as a tool to better understand rock music. While previous authors defined folk by aesthetic or

transmission-related criteria, Redhead and Street have examined "folk" as an ideology. As they put it, "...a folk ideology is used to identify certain rock forms as genuine or authentic..." (Redhead and Street 1989, 178). They break this ideology into the three components of legitimacy, authenticity and community, explaining how examples from the folk revival can be transposed to the general rock world. Establishing one's legitimacy in the rock world entails images and gestures on the part of the artist; and the authors point to revivalist Phil Ochs, who "dressed in a gold lamé suit on the cover of his ironically titled *Greatest Hits* album"(179). Meanwhile, authenticity can be conveyed through the idea of "roots." In the modern rock world, this falls under the concept of "sell-out," or co-optation by the mainstream. For the artist at hand, maintaining one's roots can be lifestyle-related (e.g., avoiding the conspicuous consumption that often accompanies success), music-related (e.g., the acoustic-to-electric debate that surfaced with artists such as Bob Dylan), or related to an artist's social origins (e.g., the expectation that artists "resemble" their audience. For example, Redhead and Street, building on Denisoff (1971), point to the US Communist Party's analysis of Woody Guthrie and others)(180). The third component of this "folk ideology" [of rock] is community. Building on Landau (1972), Lipsitz (1987), and Frith (1987), the authors link rock music with the collectivist ideals of 1960s folk music, particularly in terms of its ability to address a community (181). While class is an obvious way of locating an audience—such as with blues and country music—the authors also mention nationalism

and history as routes to community. They cite more contemporary examples such as the Pogues, a 1980s "Celtic rock" band, who "sing about and fix attention upon a common sense of history; to establish a (mythical) past which we share..." (181). The central aim of Redhead and Street is to locate historically the ideologies underpinning the rock world.[13] While the authors draw examples from the 1960s folk revival, their focus on the ideological aspects of 60s folk serve to explain the more contemporary relationship between folk and rock—most notably, the "roots/world" scene. It is these types of artists who currently predominate at contemporary Canadian folk festivals (Mariposa included).

In fact, the Canadian folk festival circuit plays host to a newer version of the "what is folk" debate, with its mixture of singer-songwriters, "world music" artists, and co-existence of acoustic, electric and digital instruments—all under the umbrella of "folk." As I have demonstrated in a study of the Winnipeg Folk Festival (Tsai 2007/2008), the debate reveals the process by which Winnipeg audiences—whose collective familiarity with "folk music" was originally centered on revivalist artists and repertoire—became acclimatized to newer types of music over the course of the last four decades. Press coverage, for example, revealed a mixture of anticipation and discomfort at the inclusion of "mainstream" artists in the programming, as well as artists from non-western musical traditions (e.g., artists from the mid-1980s "world music" boom). The presence of these types of artists in folk festival programming was not a phenomenon

[13] For more writing on authenticity and community as they relate to rock genres, see Dunn 1999 and Hibbett 2005.

unique to Winnipeg, and in fact has a longer history. Winnipeg was, after all, modeled after the Mariposa Folk Festival (see Macdonald 2006 and Tsai 2007); and the negotiation of authenticity, the "traditional," and stardom had their beginnings at Mariposa in 1961, a time when traditional performers and revivalists were coming together in new spaces. As we will see in Chapter 2, the MFF furnished an important space for further blurring of lines and an expansion of the "folk" category.

f. Public reception: The "mythmaking" of a festival

The process of mythologizing music festivals has mainly been discussed in relation to rock festivals, particularly Woodstock (and to a lesser extent, Altamont). But the latter two events shared the same time period as Mariposa's "heyday"; indeed, Woodstock and Mariposa had roots in the same social ideals of the folk revival, and shared many of the same artists. Therefore, the literature on the "mythologizing" process of Woodstock and Altamont is worth a brief summary here.

Andy Bennett's 2004 volume about Woodstock includes three contributions that address the mythmaking process around the famous 1969 festival. In the first of these, Simon Warner challenges the prevailing myths with an analysis of original eyewitness accounts. Using a comparison of media coverage (from mainstream and alternative print sources), he addresses areas of coherence and discrepancy on details relating to deaths, injuries, attendance figures, and musical performances. In another article, John Street draws attention specifically to the political myths associated with the festival. These

include its ethos of communitarianism and its anti-commercial stance, which he claims are widely misconstrued in public memory. And finally, Bennett examines the role of the Woodstock film in public memory of this event. He builds on Frith's notion of "the musicalised construction of community" (2004, 48) as well as Grossberg and Lipsitz's thoughts on 1960s nostalgia, in order to demonstrate how the film advances the myth of the late 1960s as "*the* era of youth protest and 'revolution'" (51).

The role of film in the "mythmaking" of rock festivals has also been addressed by Daniel Schowalter. In a 2000 article, the author refers to the history of critical attacks on the rock genre, and points to festivals as events that have informed these attacks. His article thus traces a historical narrative of the rock festival as demonstrated in the documentary films *Woodstock* and *Gimme Shelter*, the latter which depicts the events at the Altamont festival in December 1969. For Schowalter, a key component of this narrative is the discursive focus on "music" versus "audience" and vice-versa, an element found not only in the documentaries themselves, but also the public reception of these films. According to Schowalter, the subordination of musical elements in these films enables misleading depictions of audience passivity (as in the case of Woodstock) or audience aggression and violence, as in the case of Altamont. Combining his analysis with ideas from narrative theory and film studies, he identifies a narrativized movement from one festival to the other, which, to quote the author, "fosters a rhetorical climate which makes rock music vulnerable to attack and provides a frame for continued attacks

on popular music in today's larger rhetorical community" (Schowalter 2000, 88). He then points to another festival documentary, *Monterey Pop Festival*, which offers an alternative view of rock festivals. While this event and its documentary are generally excluded from the dominant rock narrative, its different filmic techniques (and particularly its stronger focus on musical elements) avoid drawing attention to audience passivity and/or aggression, thereby helping to subvert the existing narrative established by Woodstock and Altamont.

A final work for consideration is a 2002 dissertation by Claudine Delhomme-Cutchin. As with Bennett's 2004 volume on Woodstock, this work focuses on the themes of mythmaking and the role of the popular press. Indeed, the author also positions Altamont in relation to Woodstock, as Schowalter did. The essential myth about Altamont that Delhomme-Cutchin works with pertains to its being the "anti-Woodstock" and that it supposedly marked the end of the 1960s. In order to debunk this myth, the author provides an in-depth historical discussion about the complexity of the era itself, pointing to conflicting political interpretations of it, and historical issues of periodization and attribution of chronological limits to the 1960s. Moving to an analysis of media accounts and the *Gimme Shelter* film, she identifies key steps in the creation of the Altamont myth and key themes of the prevailing narrative. Then again drawing from historical sources, she outlines the pervasiveness of societal tensions throughout the decade in general, noting that the violence at Altamont should not have been unexpected

and perhaps only came as a surprise because the event was held up against Woodstock for comparison.

The process of mythmaking does not form a large part of my argument about Mariposa. But since this fifty-plus-year old event experienced its "heyday" in the 1960s and 1970s (i.e., a period that overlapped the staging of Woodstock and Altamont), an awareness of this concept is helpful to understanding some aspects of later chapters (see chapter 5 in particular).

g. Space, place, and landscape

The issues of space, place and landscape are relatively underrepresented in studies of music festivals; indeed, only a small number of scholars (Hetherington 1992, Bloustien 2004, Tsai 2007) have discussed them at any length. Nevertheless, they are helpful for understanding certain aspects of the Mariposa Folk Festival. This section, while brief, has a fourfold purpose: 1) provide a brief clarification of the terms "space," "place," and "landscape," (which, for convenience, I will call "spatial considerations" when referring to them as a whole); 2) provide a brief summary of the ways in which they have entered scholarly discussions of music; 3) examine the small number of studies which have applied them specifically to festivals.

Informally, the terms "space," "place" and "landscape" are often used interchangeably or assigned overlapping meanings. For a theoretical understanding of festivals (the discourse on which frequently employs all three terms), some clarification is

necessary. A recent summary has been provided by Wrazen (2007). In a study of Polish diasporic musical identity, she makes a clear distinction between "place" and "landscape." Building on Wilson (1991), she associates "place" with the physical/locational, and "landscape" with the conceptual. A social construct, landscape is "the result of a cultural process of mediation and meaning, and refers, therefore, to a way of seeing the world and imagining a relationship to nature, or place" (186; citing Wilson 1991, 14). Wrazen's ethnographic example is the Tatra Mountains, which for the region's inhabitants and overseas communities play a dual role as a physical location (in Poland), and an ingredient for nostalgic imagery in song texts and stage displays, associated with different characteristics of the Podhale region. Space, in turn, is also conceptual and socially-constructed; but unlike landscape, it does not reference "the specifics of a geographically embedded place..." (187).

To Wrazen's summary, I add another perspective on "space" which is useful for understanding the success of commercial festivals. In particular, Bourdieu refers to the analogous relationship between physical space[14] and social space:

> As physical space is defined by the mutual exteriority of its parts, so social space is defined by the mutual exclusion (or distinction) of the positions that constitute it, that is, as a juxtapositional structure of social positions. (Bourdieu 1999, 124)

[14] In Bourdieu's view, "physical space" is not necessarily a geographical location, but may include a business, an apartment building, etc. In this the case of festivals, the physical space is the venue in which the event is staged.

Music festivals can occupy both physical space and social space—the latter becomes apparent when one compares the success of similarly programmed festivals within the same "circuit." I will return to this point in Chapter 5.

The distinctions between place, landscape and space are apparent in the different ways that "spatial" considerations have been represented by scholars. In some cases, physical locations such as cities and nation-states have been used as tools for socially-constructed "regional sound" (Cohen 1994) and national music styles (Baily 1994, Mach 1994). And, in a similar fashion to Wrazen's study, additional scholars have examined performative references to the natural environment—see Duffy (2000) and Gold (1998). Other scholars have drawn connections between place and identity, be it minority identities (Parkes 1994), colonial identities (Magowan 1994), or ethnic labelling (Chapman 1994).

In contrast to physically-anchored "place," the geographical non-specificity of "space" has also been represented in some music studies. A notable example is Ingham's 1999 study of warehouse parties in Blackburn, Lancashire—which evoke "space" in two ways. The interface of warehouse space and audio technology create "virtual sound worlds"; but the itinerant nature of the parties—often organized spontaneously to evade police—make them akin to a Temporary Autonomous Zone. Quoting post-anarchist author Hakim Bey, Ingham defines this as "'an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of

imagination) [which][15] dissolves itself to reform elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it'" (Ingham 1999, 112, quoting Bey 1991, 101).

Taking into account the above applications of "place," "landscape," and "space," I now turn to the ways in which spatial considerations have been considered in relation to festivals. In some studies, the association made by the author is largely physical (or "place-related"); such is what we encounter in David Whisnant's study of the White Top Folk Festival, held in the Appalachian Mountains. As he describes it,

> Indeed, if one had looked for the "center of gravity" of southern mountain music in the late 1920s, one might well have located it on the lofty meadows of White Top. And although the mountain had been in private ownership for all of its recent history, until the end of the 1920s it was nevertheless used freely by local people, who climbed its slopes by foot, horseback, or wagon to picnic, hike, and play music together in the summertime. (187)

In accordance with Whisnant's work, Hetherington's study of the Stonehenge rock festival (1992) similarly presents an event whose very impetus was connected with its physical location; but also adds that a particular physical location can enable ritual and community. The event began in 1974 in a field adjacent to the famed stone circle as a celebration of the summer solstice. Eleven years later it would be shut down by the authorities due to "Problems with outside drug dealers, theft, damage to the site and large amounts of accumulated garbage..." (83-84); but its heyday years, as the author explains, were in the tradition of a medieval fair:

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[15] Ingham's parenthesis.

> Festivals have always been associated with markets and the Stonehenge festival has been no exception. Almost anything could be bought at Stonehenge: drugs, New Age paraphernalia, health remedies, old bits of tat, scrap, vehicle parts, food, services...(85)

Referring to Victor Turner's concept of the liminal zone,[16] Hetherington notes that the festival's location became a site for ritual consumption:

> The travellers and other festival-goers celebrate their marginal lifestyle not simply in terms of what they consume but through the inversions and rituals of festival. Consumption under these conditions becomes an *enactment of lifestyle* rather than simply the means to a lifestyle, with the site, or topos, in this case Stonehenge, providing the dramaturgical stage for these liminal practices. (87)

The connection between a festival's location and its rituals has also been examined by Bloustien in a 2004 study of Australia's Womadelaide festival. Building on the work of Richard Schechner, she sees festivals such as these as a form of play and theatre (which itself is highly ritualized); and building on Turner, she notes that they can be a site for spontaneous communitas. But according to Bloustien, these rituals can only be carried out in a particular location. As she puts it,

> The "where" of staging such events is central to their success and the facilitating of their role as contemporary rituals. Music events usually take place in buildings specifically so designed or in spaces appropriated and transformed for that purpose. The aim, as with most art exhibitions and performances, is to create a space that is special, separated from the everyday outside world. To reinforce this sense of separation, however, there are always further distinctions of place within the arena of performance. (136)

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[16] Or, as he summarizes, "a margin or boundary, the crossing of which involves ritualized forms of transgression" (Hetherington 1992, 86. See also Turner 1969).

She describes the physical features of Womadelaide's location (Botanic Park) and their significance to the festival's ritual aspect:

> ...it was seen mainly as an 'unspoiled area' thereby retaining an aura of authenticity as 'rural' or 'natural' as opposed to a developed or commercialized urban site. Unlike the Belair National Park,[17] however, it was located in fact in the heart of the CBD[18] and therefore was not affected by the annual fire bans. It boasted huge shady fig trees and was easily accessible by public transport as well as by private cars. It was large enough to provide a sense of openness and freedom and yet simultaneously could provide easy access for participants and equipment for the organizers, caterers, and musicians. An additional advantage was that it was framed on all sides by roads, including smaller access paths, and could be confined and made secure, by fencing, thus permitting access to event officials or those who have paid to enter. (137)

Implicit in Bloustien's description are the economic considerations of festival planning; nevertheless, she clearly observed ritualistic behaviour among the paying customers of this festival. As she describes,

> As in later Womadelaide events, I was to observe what appeared to be a communal step back in time, as thousands of participants of all ages flocked to the outside arena. It was, it seemed, a biennial reawakening of the neo tribes, in their deep-seated desire for '*communitas*' (Turner, 1982) or mimetic play (Schechner, 1993), for, indeed, there was no self-mocking critique here as the participants over the weekend came adorned in resurrected neo-hippie gear complete with flowing kaftans, brown roman sandals and flowers in their hair. And as the music played long into the night, men and women of all ages created symbolic 'free spaces' (Bey, 1991), some lying stretched out on the grass while others danced ritualistically, moving in self-contained, self-absorbed concentration to the music. (130)

Bloustien's work is highly resonant with my own study of the Winnipeg Folk Festival (2007). The WFF is currently one of the most successful music festivals in Canada, and a

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[17] This was the original site that organizers had in mind, but it was ultimately rejected due to its fire ban.
[18] Central Business District.

large portion of its audience is made up of returning "regulars." The public reception of this event (as revealed through discourse analysis[19]) showed that one of the chief reasons attendees returned year after year was the sense of community and ritual they encountered. Both of these are in some ways connected to the festival's location. Unlike other major Canadian folk festivals (such as the urban events in Edmonton, Vancouver and Calgary), the WFF is located in a rural area and offers a camping option—a fact that affects how attendees deal with extreme weather conditions. As I stated in 2007, "Rather than the casual 'come and go' option of other major Canadian folk festivals…the WFF's relative remoteness from the city promotes a 'stay-and-deal-with-it' ethos"(Tsai 2007, 56). Several decades of print media coverage reveal a strong preoccupation (albeit a good-humoured one) with how the festival community collectively deals with the heat, rain and mosquitoes—all the while setting attendance records at the festival (57-58). Another physical aspect of the festival—specifically a grassy knoll in the campground ("Pope's Hill")—is a popular community hub at night. Known as a space for musical jamming and recreational drugs, it is considered by many to be the site of a nightly ritual.

The sense of ritual and community in the festivals described by Hetherington, Bloustien and myself are very much intertwined with the physical location of these events; and in some cases, it is the festival goers' ability to return annually to a stable location that enabled these rituals and communities to grow. The implication of a stable

[19] By "discourse analysis," I mean press reviews as well as personal accounts from festival-goers.

locale is useful to understanding some aspects of the Mariposa Folk Festival, which, as we will see in Chapter 4, was itinerant for a large part of its fifty-plus-year history.

This chapter has outlined various entry points into the theoretical understanding of music festivals.[20] The seasonal nature of these events has invited scholarly discussions of their ritual aspects, and as an extension, their capacity to evoke liminality, communitas, and the carnivalesque. The condensed time frame (and thus the intensity) of many festivals often means that these events resemble communities or "scenes" whose members may share similar social agendas, musical interests, or lifestyle choices. Many "ethnic" or "folk"-oriented festivals attempt to represent specific cultural traditions in their programming; and as a result, they often engage in some degree of cultural mediation or intervention. Meanwhile, pop/rock festivals (particularly the 1969 Woodstock and Altamont festivals) are more often associated with "star" acts and specific historical junctures—and as a result, have been greatly mythologized in public reception. Finally, all festivals rely on a physical location for their staging—and the properties of this location can have both symbolic and financial implications which influence a festival's success.

The Mariposa Folk Festival is a seasonal event occurring in a condensed time frame; its history has intersected with important societal developments, and it has

[20] Of course, the number of festivals represented in scholarly literature is not an accurate reflection of the number of festivals that have greatly influenced certain genres, communities or geographical areas. Many of the world's most influential festivals (such as the Glastonbury Festival, for instance) are still understudied in academia despite their obvious influence in the performing arts milieu.

programmed both "ethnic" music as well as "star" performers. Its varying degrees of success over the years have often coincided with its residence in particular physical locations. Therefore, the issues discussed in this chapter, when taken together, will form the theoretical framework for understanding the MFF's historical significance (particularly as explored in chapter 5).

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS

PART I: THE NORTH AMERICAN FOLK REVIVAL

The Mariposa Folk Festival was founded in 1961, and this date of inception places it in the midst of the commercial "folk boom" which followed the North American folk revival. In order to comprehend the significance of this festival, it is necessary to first consider the historical context in which it was conceived.

There are three existing monographs about the North American Folk Revival (Cohen 2002, Mitchell 2007, Cantwell 2008), as well as other publications that reference the movement within a broader context (see Rosenberg 1993 and Filene 2000). The monographs by Cohen, Mitchell, and Cantwell differ slightly in perspective, in terms of geographical or temporal considerations. For example, Mitchell's is the only work that includes the Canadian folk scene in its scope, and as a result, her book is the only of the three that mentions the MFF. Additionally, the periodization of certain eras (e.g., Labour movement, blacklisting of leftist folk musicians, "Great Boom") varies slightly from one account to another. Nevertheless, all three works are generally in agreement on the key events and people that shaped the revival. When dating the revival, the authors agree that it was a mid-20th-century folk music movement. Speaking in a general sense, Mitchell notes that it "emerged, essentially, in the 1940s and reached its apex in mid-1960s" (2007, 1). Cantwell divides it into the more distinct components of a politically-motivated

folksong movement (1935-1948), which later became a revival in 1950s via summer camps (Cantwell 2008). The culmination of these decades of activity, as all three authors point out, was the "Great Boom" of the 1960s wherein folk music increasingly adopted "mainstream" sound ideals and reached a wider audience than ever before.

The following discussion draws from the information contained within these three monographs, with occasional reference to Filene's work. I divide my discussion into four sections: 1) origins, 2) late interwar and wartime period, 3) postwar period and early 1950s, and 4) the commercial boom of 1958-1965.

a. Origins

The origins of the revival can be traced to the activities of late 19th- and early 20th-century song collectors in England and the U.S. As Mitchell notes, song collecting in 19th-century America was tied with nationalism and "the development of 'American' focus for folklore studies in the United States" (2007, 25). Many song collectors in the U.S. followed the lead of Harvard scholar Francis James Child, whose criteria privileged ballads of British extraction. A notable consequence of this perspective (and one which was to influence the music of the folk revival) was the tendency of subsequent scholars (e.g., Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil Sharp) to focus on the Appalachian region, with its high concentration of Anglo-Saxons. In a period with a "socialist romance that developed around the folk" (Cantwell 1996, 28), the scholars believed that their values of "authenticity" and "purity" were well-served by the materials of this region.

In a Canadian context (particularly the early decades of the 20th century), Mitchell has noted a similar tendency to conflate nationalism with imperialism and Britishness. As with their U.S. counterparts, many Canadian folklorists were especially attentive toward the eastern (i.e., Maritime) regions of the country. Driven by anti-modernist tendencies (Mitchell 2007, 27), they saw this region as a treasure-trove of well-preserved British folklore (25). However, there were a few notable exceptions to this trend, as can be seen in the work of Marius Barbeau and Franz Boas, who devoted considerable scholarship to First Nations folklore (and in Barbeau's case, Quebec folklore as well).

b. Late interwar and wartime period

There were at least five aspects of this period that planted the seeds for the folk revival. These were national agendas, leftist politics (including labour movements), fieldworkers and collectors, folk festivals, and developments in technology and industry.

The link between folk music and national agendas (which had been ever-present in the late 19th and early 20th centuries) continued in different forms in the late interwar period. Under the Roosevelt administration (and their associated New Deal program), "the folk" reached new degrees of visibility through the government-funded Federal Writers Project. Employing folklorists and other cultural researchers, the latter released many publications that placed a strong emphasis on cultural life. As with late 19th-century collecting efforts, much emphasis was placed on the Southern and Western U.S., whose residents were seen as "America's suffering but noble 'folk'" (Mitchell 2007, 26). Such

depictions could also be found in the writings of Carl Sandburg, an influential poet fascinated with the West and Midwest who also collected folksongs from across the country throughout the 1920s. But the era was also known for a new emphasis on cultural diversity, with a pioneering focus on "African-Americans, Chicanos, and the many peoples of Europe who had emigrated to America" (Mitchell 2007, 26). The leader of this effort was Benjamin Botkin (a folklorist employed by the FWP) whose accessibly written publications of the late 1930s and early 1940s would influence the "optimistic, celebratory approach to folklore" of the later folk revival (Mitchell 2007, 26). In Canada, cultural diversity was also an important ideal of the social climate. This was best exemplified in the work of John Murray Gibbon and Marius Barbeau, who organized the Canadian Pacific Railway festivals of 1927-1931.[21] These comprised the country's first series of multi-ethnic festivals, which featured primarily ethnic groups from various European and Scandinavian countries, as well as the British Isles and French Canada.[22]

The next significant development for North American folk music occurred in 1935, with the formation in the United States of the Popular Front. This coalition of left-wing groups viewed the music of working-class people (especially those of the South and West) as a tool for egalitarianism and anti-fascism (see Filene 2000, 70 and Mitchell 2007, 55). Folk music thus became associated with the rising labour movement in the

[21] *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* dates the CPR festivals from 1927 to 1931. In a 2005 article, however, Stuart Henderson discusses the same festivals as having occurred between 1928 and 1931. In this dissertation, I use the dates provided by *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada.*

[22] The CPR festivals had a slightly different orientation than multi-ethnic festivals of later decades, however—this can be seen in the former's inclusion of art music compositions.

U.S. Many proponents of the newly-radicalized folk repertoire were well-educated people from the Northern U.S. (such as musicologist Charles Seeger and his son Pete); but the movement also had the participation of some performers with working-class origins, such as union activist Aunt Molly Jackson and singer-songwriter Woody Guthrie (both of whose output would be highly influential on revivalist performers). In 1941, a number of people in this scene (including Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Milliard Lampell, Woody Guthrie, and Bess Lomax) began performing as the Almanac Singers. With a repertoire of traditional and topical songs, they played at labour rallies and meetings for leftist organizations; and despite being "not formally allied with the Communist Party" (Cohen 2002, 29) they nevertheless became associated with it in the minds of many. When their 1941 antiwar album *John Doe* came to the government's attention, the FBI launched an investigation to document the "subversive nature" of the Almanac Singers. The "fruitless attempt" was finally dropped in 1943 (Cohen 2002, 30).

While folk repertoire flourished among leftist artists, the role of collectors and fieldworkers from this period was also influential on the development of the revival. As mentioned earlier, writer Carl Sandburg was also an avid folksong collector, and his 1927 anthology *American Songbag* influenced many folk enthusiasts of the time (Cantwell1996, 96, and Cohen 2002, 11). But perhaps the most notable fieldworker was John Lomax, whose perspective on folk music was "in direct contradiction to the views of [Francis James] Child and his disciples" (Mitchell 2007, 34). Unlike his 19th- and early

20th-century predecessors, Lomax did not limit his collecting to previously existing materials of British origin, but believed that the "here and now" currency of American vernacular music could be a legitimate aspect of folk music. In addition to his affinity for cowboy music (and other types of work songs), Lomax was well known for championing the significance of African-American music, which was well represented in his field recordings (see Mitchell 2007, 34-35, and Filene 2000, 47-75). One of his African-American informants, Huddie Ledbetter ("Leadbelly"), would become an iconic performer of the revival in the 1940s. Lomax's son Alan, who assisted him on collecting trips, would also make influential contributions to the revival through his own collecting and recording activities. In Canada, collectors such as Marius Barbeau and Franz Boaz continued to research the music and folklore of First Nations and French-Canadian communities. However, the 1920s and 1930s would also see an introduction to the work of Helen Creighton, who collected in her native Nova Scotia (primarily focusing on Anglo repertoire, with some minor representation from French, Mi'Kmaq, Gaelic and German groups). As McKay (1994) has argued, Creighton's collecting activities cannot be underestimated in terms of the degree to which they shaped outsider perceptions of the province (which were essentially of a quaint, unindustrialized people with "untainted" folklore).

This anti-modernist perspective on folk music was not limited to the activities of fieldworkers and collectors, but also to performance contexts. Specifically, this time

period saw the emergence of several folk festivals across North America; many of these, according to Cohen, fed the organizers' beliefs about authenticity and purity of the "folk." In the U.S., the most notable were Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival (founded 1928 in North Carolina), Jean Thomas's American Folk Song Festival (1930 in Kentucky), Annabel Morris Buchanan's White Top Folk Festival (1931 in Virginia) and Sarah Gertrude Knott's National Folk Festival (1934 in St. Louis) (see Cohen 2002, 13-14 for a summary). In Canada, such large-scale events began as early as 1927, with the Canadian Pacific Railway festivals (organized by John Murray Gibbon and Marius Barbeau); and were followed by others, such as the Vancouver Folk Song and Dance Festival (founded in 1933 by Nellie McCay).

But in addition to the perpetuation of older repertoire and anti-modernist tendencies (as evidenced in the activities of song collectors and festival organizers), the development of folk music was also driven by developments in technology and the music industry. The 1920s saw the beginnings of old-time music programs on various U.S. radio stations; the most well-known of these were *National Barn Dance* and *The Grand Old Opry*. The new interest in old-time music also extended from radio to the record industry, as can be seen in recordings issued by Victor, Okeh and Columbia (among others). Popularized by performers such as The Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers, the music (often marketed as "Hillbilly" music) could be characterized as "traditional in sound, and featuring, typically, at least one singer accompanied by a fiddle, a banjo and a

string bass"; yet the style was far from static, containing influences from "gospel, minstrel music, cowboy music and bluegrass from the West, and blues" (Mitchell 2007, 45).

A similar process occurred with African-American music. Beginning with Okeh (and later Paramount, Columbia, Vocalion, Victor & others), record company representatives began scouting out and recording female vaudeville/blues singers (such as Bessie Smith and Ma Rainy); later, they extended their reach and began recruiting solo male blues artists such as Blind Lemon Jefferson, Charley Patton, and Robert Johnson (Cohen 2002, 16-17). The influence of recorded sound on American folk music would reach new heights in 1939 with Moses Asch, who began recording artists such as Pete Seeger, Leadbelly, Woody Guthrie and the Almanac Singers (36-37; see also Cantwell 2000, 82-83)—all of whose repertoire would become extremely influential later in the revival (especially when taken up by the likes of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, for instance). Asch also made a name for himself by producing other styles of music, recording several jazz artists and music from various traditions around the world.

c. Postwar period and early 1950s

The developments discussed above enabled folk music to flourish throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. But towards the late 1940s, the social climate for folk music underwent further changes. By all accounts, the most influential of these was the political turn to the right (evidenced in Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist agenda), which affected

the activities of many well-known artists. Nevertheless, this was also accompanied by new physical spaces for folk music and further developments in mass-mediation.

As Mitchell, Cantwell and Cohen would all agree, the shifts in the political climate and its effects on the folk revival are aptly illustrated by the professional activities of Pete Seeger and his closest colleagues. In the period immediately following the war, Seeger (along with fellow Almanac Singers alumni Woody Guthrie, Lee Hays, Leadbelly, and others) founded *People's Songs*. The latter functioned as an organization and newsletter whose purpose was to disseminate folk and labour songs—or, as Cohen puts it, "to promote a singing radical movement" (Cohen 2002, 42). A booking agency for these artists, "People's Artists," was created, and its members sang at union rallies and other left-leaning events, as well as organized hootenannies (43-44).[23] The organization (which set up branches in various U.S. cities) was not officially affiliated with the Communist Party, but had links to the Party through certain members. While these connections "provided *People's Songs* with a dependable audience and formal recognition," they also garnered the group "increasing public suspicion and official hostility" (43). In 1946 they came under increasing scrutiny from the House Un-American Activities Committee, and several anti-communist journalists issued warnings against the leftist implications of their music (46). After a few years in operation, *People's Songs* found itself unable to sustain the interest of participants, and eventually

[23] Informal gatherings in which folksingers take turns performing, often with participation of the audience.

became defunct in 1949 (58). The same year, People's Artists (which was still running) was re-organized as People's Artists Inc.[24] Four of its affiliates (Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert and Fred Hellerman) began performing under the name The Weavers. Until 1952, they made a name for themselves performing and recording polished versions of accessible folk tunes, such as "Tzena Tzena" and "Goodnight Irene," which reached number two and number one on radio station charts, respectively—effectively bringing mainstream attention to folk music (69). Despite their commercial success and use of repertoire without strong political undertones, the Weavers were nevertheless blacklisted by the entertainment industry for supposed affiliations to the Communist Party, and rendered unable to continue their careers as a group.

The urban folksong movement, therefore, suffered diminished mainstream activity in the early- to mid- 1950s. But as Cantwell points out, folk music continued to be disseminated to children and older youth in the classroom and at summer camps across the U.S. (see chapter 8 of Cantwell 1996). In Canada, Camp Naivelt (a secular camp for Jewish families) played an especially important role in disseminating folk music during this time, focusing both on labour/union-related and contemporary folk songs (Mitchell 2007, 63-64).[25] Also, many U.S. college campuses (which had hosted folk performers on and off between the 1920s and 1940s) saw a resurgence of interest in folk music in the

[24] The newsletter *People's Songs* would be revived as *Sing Out!* a year later.
[25] For further discussion on music at summer camps (more generally speaking), see Posen (1974) and Seeger (2006).

mid-1950s. Pete Seeger (and other blacklisted performers) were able to maintain steady appearances on this circuit (Cantwell 1996, 272).

In addition to classrooms, camps and campuses, new spaces were also emerging for folk music performance. In the early 1950s, New York's Greenwich Village saw increasing activity among folk musicians, with performances at the Cherry Lane Theatre and Circle-in-the-Square Theatre, as well as Sunday musical gatherings in Washington Square. With a lack of official "folk" venues, musicians (who included traditional Anglo-Celtic, blues, "protest," and bluegrass musicians) also gathered in the buildings of local businesses and in personal apartments (see Cohen 2002, 105-108). In 1957, Israel Young opened a Folklore Centre in Greenwich Village, which would later be considered "an establishment of central importance to the revival both in New York and in general..." (Mitchell 2007, 62).

A hint of folk music's commercial appeal was also becoming evident in the growing number of record companies producing folk recordings by 1955. These included Folkways, Stinson, Elektra, Tradition Records, and Riverside Records; such companies "issued albums of international songs, ballads, bawdy songs, and songs about topical subjects" (Cohen 2002, 110). Cohen also points to another facet of the changing social climate that affected the reception of folk music: namely, the reception of rock and roll. After the 1954 release of Elvis Presley's first single, "That's All Right" (which was a catalyst for the rock and roll "boom" among white youth), rock and roll was viewed by

many as a threat to family values, and folk music came to serve as an alternative. As Cohen states, "While rock and roll appealed mostly to adolescents, their parents and older siblings became increasingly attracted to folk music" (2002, 96). This increased dissemination of folk music through new performance spaces, recordings, and social attitudes set the stage for the next significant period of the folk revival.

d. 1958-1965

The next significant period in the folk revival is agreed upon by many to fit roughly in the time frame of 1958-1965, or what Mitchell calls the "Great Boom" (see Chapter 2 of Mitchell 2007). In this period, folk music achieved a new degree of mainstream success. According to Cantwell, this process was set in motion by the release of "Tom Dooley" by the Kingston Trio, whose polished performance of the Appalachian murder ballad sparked the interest of young listeners in traditional American folk music (Cantwell 1996, 2). The record sold four million copies, and was followed by other commercial releases of folk music by artists such as The Brothers Four, The Limeliters, Peter, Paul and Mary, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez. During this period,

> folksongs, and original songs conceived and performed as such, enjoyed an unprecedented commercial popularity, inspiring thousands of young middle-class men and women to learn songs, to accompany themselves on folk instruments, particularly guitar and banjo, to search out and lionize authentic folk musicians, and finally to dress, groom, speak, comport themselves, and even attempt to think in ways they believed compatible with the rural, ethnic, proletarian, and other marginal cultures to whom folksong was supposed to belong. (Cantwell 1996, 2)

Needless to say, this period of crossover between the traditional and the commercial played host to widespread debates about authenticity and the meaning of folk music (see chapter 1 of this dissertation; also Cohen 2002, 125-127).

As discussed earlier, Greenwich Village had played host to folk performances since the early 1950s; but at that time, the music was performed in theatres, apartments, and outdoor parks. The period of the "Great Boom," however, saw the opening of many new spaces that were specifically dedicated to folk performance. Many of these new folk venues were coffeehouses in Greenwich Village (though other American cities, such as Chicago and Los Angeles, had important folk clubs and venues of their own). In Canada, the coffeehouse folk circuit was centered in Toronto's Yorkville neighbourhood, though some notable coffeehouses were also run in other Canadian cities.

Another emerging space for folk music at this time was folk festivals. While festivals of folk music had been occurring across North America for decades (see Section b above), the majority were known for their emphasis on the music of specific regions or ethno-cultural groups. The newer festivals, however, featured young revivalists performing alongside traditional musicians. One of the earliest of these was organized at the University of California at Berkeley in 1958 and continued for some years on an annual basis. Performers included Alan Lomax, Jimmy Driftwood, Sam Hinton, Peggy Seeger and the New Lost City Ramblers. A year later, George Wein and Albert Grossman launched the Newport Folk Festival, a more commercially-oriented venture whose

programming included Odetta, Leon Bibb, Jean Ritchie, Jimmy Driftwood, Pat Clancy and Tommy Makem, Pete Seeger, Memphis Slim, and Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee. This boom of commercial folk recordings and new performance spaces across North America constituted the immediate context in which Mariposa was founded.

PART II: EARLY YEARS OF THE MARIPOSA FOLK FESTIVAL

a. 1961-1963

i. Administration and programming

The genesis of the Mariposa Folk Festival has been documented in an article within a 1977 commemorative book released by the festival (Sharp 1977) as well as in a more recent unpublished account written by founder Ruth Jones-McVeigh (Jones-McVeigh 2010a). Both accounts describe a 1961 Chamber of Commerce presentation in Orillia by John Fisher, a pro-Canadian radio journalist who was speaking to local residents about the importance of generating tourism. Jones-McVeigh,[26] an avid supporter of Canada's burgeoning folk music scene, happened to be in attendance that evening and later

[26] During her early involvement with the festival in the 1960s, Jones-McVeigh went by the name of Ruth Jones. Today she assumes the name Ruth Jones-McVeigh; therefore I refer to the latter version of her name when speaking of her in the present, and the former version of her name when citing materials associated with her in the 1960s (e.g., the 1961 operational notes penned by herself).

suggested that the town stage a folk festival.[27] The idea was generally well-received, and she was soon soliciting input from various contacts (Sharp 1977; Jones-McVeigh 2010a).

Early supporters for the project came from a wide variety of backgrounds. Board meetings were run by Jones-McVeigh (president), Pete McGarvey (vice-president), and Frederick Crawford ("Casey") Jones (Ruth's husband and the board's secretary-treasurer). Advisors included Edith Fowke, a prominent folksong collector; Estelle Klein, of the Toronto Guild of Canadian Folk Artists; Ed Cowan (future president of *Saturday Night* magazine and co-founder of City TV); Ted Schaefer; broadcaster Syd Banks; as well as folksingers Alan Mills, Syd Dolgay, Ian Tyson and Sylvia Fricker. The festival also received much organizational thrust from David Major (brother of Jones-McVeigh). The majority of funding for the event (scheduled for August 18th and 19th) came from the Jones' personal bank account, with Casey Jones putting forth $3500 and Ruth Jones contributing $1500.[28] According to media reports, the project also received a $250 grant from town council (Staff reporter 1961, n.p.).

Prior to the genesis of Mariposa, the only other folk festival running in Canada was New Brunswick's Miramichi Festival (founded three years earlier, in 1958). As mentioned in Part I, the Newport Folk Festival was founded in the U.S. in 1959. While

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[27] Despite her residence in Orillia, Jones-McVeigh was a regular participant in Toronto's Yorkville folk circuit. As she told me in an interview, "I spent a lot of time at the Village Corner, and at the Bohemian Embassy, and all the folk clubs, because I just fell in love with the whole folk music scene" (Jones-McVeigh 2010b).

[28] These amounts are stated in meeting minutes from 1964 (Onrot 1964, 1) in which the meeting attendees acknowledge the organization's debt to the Jones' 1961 financial contribution—which, as of spring 1964, had yet to be repaid.

Miramichi featured mainly local, unaccompanied folksingers (see Butler 1986), Newport's programming included revivalist performers on the cusp of mainstream popularity. As a result, the latter American festival is commonly understood to be Mariposa's closest precedent within North America.[29] According to the festival's 1961 operational notes (written by Ruth Jones), MFF organizers were aware of its U.S. predecessor but not of its Canadian one. A February entry reads, "Wrote Newport Folk Festival to find out how they set it up, dates, etc. Asked John Fisher if such a festival would be a 1st in Canada" (Jones 1961). In my conversation with Jones-McVeigh, she recalled receiving a polite reply from Newport that "didn't say much of anything" (Jones-McVeigh 2010b). MFF organizers soon found out about the existence of Miramichi. The operational notes do not reveal much assistance from organizers of that festival, with the exception of a letter about funding sources, however.

Organizers of the MFF were therefore setting a precedent in Canada, proceeding without a clear pre-existing model for such an event. Perhaps because of the novelty of this endeavour, a vast amount of time was invested in promotion. According to Jones-McVeigh's 2010 account,

> ...I arranged that all milk delivered to summer cottagers would have a promotional collar attached... Every piece of mail that went through the Orillia post office for the month preceding the event, got a special cancellation stamp. I travelled all over Ontario doing newspaper, radio and TV interviews and made a trip to my hometown, Halifax for a special media event. During this time, my

[29] See Chapter 3 for more information on the features of the Newport Folk Festival that were transplanted to later editions of Mariposa Folk Festival via Estelle Klein.

> grandfather, who at 80, made his very first air trip from Halifax to Toronto, stayed with the kids. We sent out hundreds of news releases – every one sealed and stamped by my four children, David, Bruce, Nancy and Barb, while they learned and sang folk songs. (Jones-McVeigh 2010a)

Archival newspaper clippings reveal that the festival was publicized across the country (via the Canadian Press), reaching smaller communities in the *Atikokan Progress*, *St. James Leader*, and *Kitimat Northern Sentinel* (among others). Many newspapers of larger cities also published locally written stories about the upcoming event. A March 3rd entry of the operational notes also suggests that organizers were reaching south of the border for additional audience members:

> Mar. 3 Toronto Clef Club – saw Ian Tyson and Ed Cowan. Ian agreed to do art work & to get posters sent to Israel Young in Folksong Centre,[30] Greenwich Village. We may be able to get NYorkers [*sic*] to come up on a transportation and accommodation deal – no fee. (Jones 1961)

These wide-reaching promotional efforts comprised just one of many organizational concerns, however. The actual musical programming of the festival was subject to much discussion, and significantly settled around two recurring themes: first, that of an all-Canadian focus; and second, the intersection between traditional and commercial elements.

The impetus for strong Canadian representation appears to have come from a number of individuals. An early entry of the operational notes indicated, "Edith Fowke wants to see real Canadian atmosphere prevailing" (Jones 1961). Folklorist Edith Fowke

[30] Contrary to what is stated in this entry, the actual name of Israel Young's Greenwich Village establishment was the Folklore Centre (as opposed to Folksong Centre).

was well known for her championing of Canadian folk music, and (as stated earlier) was a member of the festival's advisory board. The priority for Canadian talent, however, was shared by other administrators. In my conversation with Jones-McVeigh, she told me, "It was my dream, originally. To have it as a platform for Canadian talent" (Jones-McVeigh 2010b). David Major (another early organizer) describes the impetus of the all-Canadian line-up in further detail:

> In my recollection, the scope at the 292 Bay St dinner table discussions was to create a cultural event to enliven Orillia. The national identity of the artists was not the initial issue. As others were drawn into the conversations so too the scope grew. This festival could be more than an Orillia event; it might be a national showcase! Those closest to the performing scene had the confidence and their contacts across the country solidified that confidence. For many years Mariposa exemplified a Canadian stage highlighting Canadian artists...but not exclusively, for the message in the people's music usually transcends borders. There was not an aversion to non-nationals but the definite intent when it came time to act was to promote the Canadian artistic voice. Sid Dolgay was huge on that issue! (Major 2013)

In addition to the all-Canadian focus, another major aspect of Mariposa's 1961 programming was the presence of "popular" elements in the artistic choices. The intersection between traditional and commercial musics in the early 1960s has already been discussed in terms of the "Great Boom" (see Part I of this chapter). Essentially, this was a time when traditional, often unaccompanied, performers (such as ballad singers) co-existed with young revivalists (e.g., singers of old folk songs) and instrumentalists (e.g., bluegrass musicians) on concert stages and in small venues. A main concern arising from this situation was the tension between authenticity and commercial viability

(see Chapter 1 for the "what is folk" debates). At the planning level of the MFF, the folk-pop interface could be observed in the simultaneous presence of a traditional music collector (Edith Fowke), a member of a commercially successful revivalist group (Syd Dolgay of the Travellers), and a young programmer active on the Yorkville music scene (Estelle Klein), on the festival advisory board.

Indeed, the twelve featured artists listed on the 1961 program occupy various positions on the folk-pop continuum. Performers include singer-songwriters who perform original and pre-written material (e.g., Ian & Sylvia), traditional unaccompanied singers (e.g., Finvola Redden), popular folk groups (e.g., the Travellers), bluegrass (e.g., York County Boys), and fiddle players (e.g., Jean Carignan and Al Cherney) (MFF program brochure, 1961). Appendix A displays the original lineup as presented in the program brochure (223).[31]

Aside from the feature concerts (held Friday and Saturday evenings, as well as Saturday afternoon), the festival programming also suggested a multifaceted agenda. The program brochure refers to a "a giant street square dance" after the Friday evening concert, billed as a "Midnight Street Jamboree." The morning after (Saturday August 19), the festival was to offer public screenings of folk music films[32] from 10:00am to

[31] While the list of featured artists includes Omar Blondahl, reviews of the 1961 festival indicate that the Newfoundland artist could not make it to Mariposa and was replaced (on short notice) by singer-songwriter Karen James.
[32] One might assume these were documentary-style films, since the program states that "These films have been collected for and by the National Film Board of Canada and the United States Library of Congress" (MFF program brochure, 1961).

12:30pm. These ran concurrently with a children`s concert in roughly the same time slot (11:00am to 12:30pm). Later that afternoon (4:15pm to 5:15pm), the festival would feature a symposium entitled "Canadian Folk music and its place in Canadian Culture" (MFF program brochure, 1961). The program, therefore, hints that the aims of the festival were both didactic and entertainment-related, reflecting both the mixed backgrounds of organizers and the broadening conception of "folk music" in the wider music scene.

ii. Reception

Exact attendance figures for the 1961 event are not available in the Mariposa Folk Foundation's archival records, but a range of approximate figures were mentioned in media coverage. For the Friday evening concert, the *Toronto Daily Star* reported an attendance of "more than 1000" (Brown 1961, n.p.), while the *Globe and Mail* stated "more than 2000" (Marzari 1961a, n.p.). The Saturday evening concert was reported by the Canadian Press to have 4000 people in attendance. As for the entire weekend, Orillia's *Daily Packet and Times* reported the total attendance to be 8000 people (Unknown author 1961c, n.p.).

It also appears that organizers' wide-reaching promotional efforts were effective in bringing in audience members from outside of the province. An article from the *Orillia Newsletter* (written prior to the commencement of the festival) noted that "Campers are coming from Montreal, New York and Algonquin Park for the children's program and

camping sites are now being sought for them" (Unknown author 1961a, n.p.). Festival founder Ruth Jones-McVeigh has offered a vivid anecdote which sheds further light on the festival's far reach:

> I was moving into a townhouse in Victoria, and somebody else was moving into a townhouse nearby, and I starting chatting with this guy, because he had a poster, a folk [unclear] kind of poster. So I got talking to him, and he said "You know, my brother went to this folk festival, he hitchhiked all the way from Vancouver to Orillia, Ontario for this festival," and my ears perked up, and he said "but he arrived there, he [unclear] at the very end, he only heard the last song of the last set of the last night" but then I said "but that's OK, he had a wonderful time at the event anyway, he played and sang and jammed with dozens of folksingers for a week after that," and this guy looks at me and says "how did you know"? and I said "because I founded the Mariposa Folk Festival, and he was one of the people who came to our house with dozens of others and stayed there for about a week and camped in our backyard." (Jones-McVeigh 2010b)

Aside from cross-Canada hitchhikers such as the one in McVeigh's account, the inaugural Mariposa Folk Festival also attracted the ears of the U.S. music industry. In addition to domestic coverage by CBC and private television and radio, Columbia Records was also present to record the event (Unknown author 1961b and 1961a, n.p.). Additionally, *Globe and Mail* reporter Frank Marzari noted that "Booking agencies and recording companies expecting a rash of discoveries have representatives here, as have several U.S. magazines—from Esquire to Playboy to the National Geographic" (Marzari 1961a, n.p.).

Whether or not those booking agencies and recording companies experienced the "rash of discoveries" they were looking for is not known; but the particular mixture of styles and traditions at the festival garnered an equivalent mixture of reactions from the

audience. The "folk-popular" and "traditional-commercial" debates were certainly present among listening attendees; these were observed in an *Ottawa Citizen* article bearing the headline "To A, B's idea of folk music either 'square' or degenerate" (Thistle 1961, n.p.).

In the eyes of reviewer Frank Marzari, the balance of the audience demographic nevertheless tipped in favour of youth:

> This was a young crowd, not a very knowing one. The songs they loved best were the ones they learned from records by Pete Seeger and the Weavers. They dug the kind of labor songs that no laborer ever sang. The festival's organizers had planned the weekend's proceedings around traditional artists, plugging original Canadian songs. The audience, sometimes bewildered, was only faintly appreciative; it somehow felt it was being educated instead of entertained, that it was pushed rather than coaxed. (Marzari 1961b, 9)

Marzari noted that it was the young revivalist performers (such as Karen James) and the more polished or high-energy groups (such as the Travellers and bluegrass band York County Boys) who garnered the most enthusiastic responses from the audience. As for the more traditional performers:

> ...the road to appreciation was considerably tougher. Instead of singing what this particular market required, they waited for the audience to find them, and the real pity of Mariposa was that the audience, though 5,000 strong, all too often lagged behind. Such was the case with the exceptionally talented Finvola Redden. It was obvious when she sang that here was true folk music at its best, yet the spectators were more mystified than understanding. (Marzari 1961, 9)

In addition to this (apparently awkward) juxtaposition of traditional and commercial elements, the "Canadian" element of the programming was also a subject of debate for many at the festival. According to reviewer Jeremy Brown, artists had been asked by

organizers to "have at least 50 per cent Canadian content in their performances" (Brown 1961, 18). Yet to some ears, this was not sufficient. During the Saturday afternoon symposium on Canadian folk music, panelist Kenneth Goldstein (of the U.S. company Prestige Records) was apparently "disturbed to see so much U.S. influence in their singing." He told the media, "'There is no reason why Canadian singers shouldn't develop their own style...You have magnificent music but your singers must find out the essence of Canadian music and arrive at a Canadian style'" (McNamara 1961, n.p.).[33]

Despite such criticism of the musical programming, the 1961 Mariposa Folk Festival enlivened the town of Orillia considerably, and (as demonstrated earlier) drew people from other parts of the continent. Organizers (as well as many community members) wished to make it an annual event, but a dearth of finances threatened to complicate their goal. In one news article, the inaugural event is said to have grossed about $8000 (Brown 1961, 18), and a later news article (published the following year) placed the debt of Mariposa 1961 at $4000 (Thomas 1962, 17). The event was only able to continue after organizers sold the festival rights to Jack Wall, an entrepreneur with ties to the Yorkville circuit in Toronto. The new configuration of the festival administration was described by Ruth Jones in a 1963 article of *Hoot* magazine:

> ...we were approached by Jack Wall (Fifth Peg) [34] who wanted to take over as producer of the festival. An agreement was drawn up between the Mariposa Folk

[33] The long-range significance of Canadian programming at early editions of the Mariposa Folk Festival is discussed further in Chapter 5.

[34] Jones' parenthesis. The Fifth Peg was a Yorkville coffeehouse run by Jack Wall.

> Festival Foundation (consisting of myself as president, Pete McGarvey as vice-president and Casey as treasurer) and Jack Wall, in which, among other things, he agreed to fulfill the aims of those who had originated the festival, to concentrate primarily on Canadian talent, and to remove the financial burden of the foundation (Dr. Jones)[35] had undertaken. In addition to the foundation and the producing company under Jack Wall, an advisory committee was set up, consisting of interested and dedicated people whose function it was, and is, to make suggestions and recommendations to the producer. (Jones 1963, 5)

Wall proceeded to produce the 1962 and 1963 Mariposa Folk Festivals in Orillia. True to the agreement that was drawn up between himself and the festival's originators, the programming for these two events (held August 10th-12th, and August 9th-11th, respectively) remained quite similar to that of the 1961 edition. In fact, program books from 1962 and 1963 list many of the same performers, with additional artists from other provinces, as well as Gordon Lightfoot's duo in 1962. According to a 1963 preview of the festival (written by Ed Cowan for *Hoot* magazine), the Canadian focus remained a central priority for the festival foundation, as did a didactic element:

> Sessions will be given by Edith Fowke and a panel discussion on Saturday afternoon will try to shed some light on the topic of the "folk revival." Irwin Silber of "Sing Out" magazine will be special guest and no doubt the chalk will be drawn between the traditionalists and the commercializers. (Cowan 1963, 9)

Despite the maintenance of some traditional elements and an "academic" slant, the festival (with Wall's promotional savvy) was heavily marketed as a "place to be" for the 1962 and 1963 instalments. According to a review by Ralph Thomas, the 1962 festival brought new levels of vibrancy to Orillia. Attendees "jammed all available hotel

[35] Jones' parenthesis.

accommodation [*sic*] for 10 miles in every direction; took rooms with the townspeople; or simply slept in the park, on the beach or on people's lawns." At Friday's midnight street dance, festival-goers "twisted to the hillbilly band's fox trots and reels; they sang, plucked banjos and guitars; and romped to the light of the moon at the foot of the twisted statue of a sad Champlain in the lakeside park." The same article reports that the festival sold over 12,000 tickets that year, with an estimated income of $30,000 (Thomas 1962, 17).

In light of the 1962 festival's increased attendance and energy, organizers (preparing for the subsequent edition) enlisted the nearby Silver Sleeve Park (a 180-acre campground) to accommodate overflow out-of-town guests. This site would also function as a space to hold additional festival-related activities, thereby relieving the town of some raucousness (Unknown author 1963a, 3). A free bus service was arranged, running every half hour to and from Orillia.

Organizers proved to be correct in their anticipation of larger crowds. Despite the free bus service between the town and the campground, it was observed that "thousands who did take their vehicles were caught in heavy traffic line-ups and most were forced to walk a half mile to the tent park along the dusty narrow road" (Staff reporter 1963a, 2). Like previous editions of the festival, Mariposa 1963 drew audience members from across the continent. The parking area in the campground was said to be "literally packed with vehicles from all parts of Canada and the United States. One license plate bore the

markings of 'Panama'" (Staff reporter 1963a, 2). During a visit to Orillia for the 2010 festival, I spoke with a local resident who witnessed some of the Silver Sleeve events of 1963, and he recalled meeting a lot of people from the Montreal area.

At the festival proper, attendance figures appear to have ranged from 4,500 to 5,500 on Friday evening (Marshall and Taylor 1963, 19 and Staff reporter 1963, 2), with advance ticket sales of 8,000 (Marshall and Taylor 1963, 19). The total attendance for the whole weekend was reported to be 20,000 (Unknown author 1963b, 1).

In terms of the music itself, there were both positive and negative reviews. A staff reporter for the *Daily Packet and Times* (an Orillia newspaper) observed an appreciative audience:

> First night audiences at the third Mariposa Folk Festival were delighted with those who came to entertain them. They were as appreciative of the unpolished freshness of the Towne Criers as they were of the slick professionalism of Ian and Sylvia. They cheered, "more more" as Malka Himel and Joso Spralja left the medieval-style stage ...The audience grew sentimental along with young Al Cromwell... and happy with the ever-popular Alan Mills and his fiddler Jean Carignan. (Staff reporter 1963b, 2)

Others (reporting on the events of the same evening) came away with a more cynical interpretation of the audience-performer dynamics. As Bill Marshall and Gil Taylor (of the *Toronto Daily Star*) put it,

> Last night's audience, besides the physical cold which had many huddled in blankets, was not ecstatic about the show. A desire to keep warm, dutiful politeness and a determination to enjoy at least $3 worth of show probably accounted for more applause than any overwhelming enthusiasm for the performance itself. The reliance on Canadian folk songs, many plainly boring to the youthful audience, made it heavy-going of the evening for some performers

> who rely more on their material than on stage presence or personal magnetism. (Marshall and Taylor 1963, 19)

In a similar vein, Ralph Hicklin and Ted Schafer (in separate publications) commented on the disconnect between traditional performance practice and the expectations of a mass audience in a festival setting. As Schafer noted,

> Mariposa dramatically demonstrated that folk music cannot be appreciated by ten thousand people at one time without consummate skill and finesse in its presentation. This is a personal music that speaks from one soul to another ...What impact the performers might have had in an arena the size of the 'oval' was quickly destroyed by an asthmatic and anemic sound system, by an obtrusive whitewash of kleig lights...(Schafer 1963, 27)

As an example, Schafer highlighted the performances of Al Cromwell and Dave Campbell, who, "along with many of the other performers, fell back on the secure ploy of playing to the rabble in the pit down front and thereby lost their more distant listeners" (28).

Despite criticisms of the official musical programming, it was also acknowledged that the Mariposa Folk Festival generated a lot of spontaneous music making. Marshall and Taylor went on to observe,

> But if not overimpressed with the organized program, the folk enthusiasts were more than willing to perform themselves. Small bands of guerilla guitarists took advantage of every lull in the evening and at intermission actually took over the stage. After the show Orillia had several contingents of folk-niks intent on adding their share to the Mariposa legend. One of the more notable groups, laden with what looked like gunny-sacks of fried chicken and a banjo case filled with refreshments, set up their own hootenanny outside a local funeral home and treated passers-by to several verses of the 'Saints.' (Marshall and Taylor 1963, 19)

Similarly, the campground was also a site of informal musical activity. According to the *Daily Packet and Times*,

> Once in the tent park, festival visitors were treated to some swingin,' twistin' dance music on a platform that proved too small for the crowd. Others seated on bedrolls and standing on picnic tables grouped closely around a huge campfire for an informal hootenanny. In all the atmosphere was as folksy as anyone could wish. (Staff reporter 1963b, 2)

Despite these reviewers' rich and varied observations of concert performances, musical reception, and informal music-making, the music of 1963 Mariposa was ultimately overshadowed by the social aspects of the festival. By the end of the weekend, media outlets were placing much emphasis on crowding and the unruliness of out-of-town youth (many of whom showed up as a result of Jack Wall's far-reaching promotional strategy). As described by a *Toronto Daily Star* reporter, "Drunken, menacing rowdies drove back his [the Orillia police chief's] men and OPP reinforcements as they tried in vain to stem the tide of violence, vandalism and theft" (Unknown author 1963b, 1). Such accounts are said to have been greatly exaggerated (see Sharp 1977, 181). However, I have spoken to a few Orillia residents who had attended the 1963 festival and recall a "rowdy" element (if not to the extent reported in the media). One described the Silver Sleeve campground as "a mess," and another said "it was crazy, well it was the 60s…people were swimming naked in the lake…smoking dope in the park, and that's why they got rid of it, because the police lost control." Mike Hill (who serves as the programming director of the present-day MFF) also grew up in Orillia, and told me "I remember how wild it

was…And I remember gathering beer bottles near the park, and making a fortune, just by gathering up the beer bottles and taking them to the beer store."[36]

The stress that the unruly crowds placed on local townspeople (however real or imagined) generated sufficient ill-will for authorities and organizers to reconsider the festival's position in Orillia. According to a *Globe and Mail* report, a meeting was held between police, town officials and Jack Wall, "at which it was announced that the festival will not be repeated in its present form next year in an attempt to end the all-night rowdyism that began here Friday night" (Unknown author 1963c, 13).

b. 1964-1967

i. Administration and programming

The outcry over the 1963 festival was enough for authorities to bar the festival from taking place in Orillia in future years; and indeed, 1964 was the start of a new phase for the Mariposa Folk Festival. According to meeting minutes from February 1964, the year had opened with financial difficulties and an impending shift in administration: "A discussion took place in regard to the failure of Lorraine Management Limited[37] to pay to the company its share of the profits and also discuss the situation in regard to Mr. Wall's bankruptcy" (Jones [Frederick Crawford], 1964). As the minutes hint, there was friction

[36] I have, in fact, heard additional stories of Orillia children making "a fortune" from beer bottles collected after the 1963 festival.
[37] After the 1962 festival, Wall had requested that the "agreement of 1962" be placed in the name of his company, Lorraine Management Limited, instead of his own name (Jones [Frederick Crawford] 1963).

between certain organizers involving the profits of the 1963 festival. According to Sharp (1977), no financial records of that year's instalment were kept; but it is acknowledged that Jack Wall was not frequently seen again after 1963, and speculated that $20,000 had gone astray (Sharp 1977, 183).

The original organizers were now in a position to either fold the festival, or seek new ideas from interested parties. At a February 4th board meeting, proposals were given by Randy Ferris (host of a folk program at Toronto's CKFH) and Martin Onrot (who had worked with Jack Wall on earlier festivals), who "indicated their interest in conducting the festival in the future" (Jones [Frederick Crawford], 1964). By March of 1964, Ruth and Casey Jones had tendered their resignations, and Ferris and Onrot were elected officers of the company (the former as President and the latter as Secretary-Treasurer (Onrot 1964, 1). After this new arrangement had been finalized, Ferris assembled a committee to organize the 1964 festival. He enlisted Joe Lewis (part-manager of Yorkville's Gate of Cleve and Ferris's associate from CKFH)[38] to assist with various facets of the festival planning (Sharp 1977, 184).

For musical programming, he turned to Estelle Klein, who had served in an advisory capacity for the first three years. Yet Klein initially had reservations about taking up the position. In a 1977 article, she was quoted by Sharp as saying:

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[38] Lewis was a close observer of the arts scene in other respects. His lengthy career would include work in journalism, broadcasting, public relations, and fundraising, for numerous organizations. See further comments from Lewis later in this chapter, as well as in Chapter 5.

> "I was so burned out from '63 I said, 'No way!' I got very snotty. I said, 'I don't trust you. I don't trust anybody anymore. How do I know what you're going to do?' But he wore me down. I began to think, 'I really believe he's honest. I really believe he cares.' And so we started out again." (Sharp 1977, 184)

Klein therefore agreed to program the 1964 festival under the condition that she be given "complete freedom." From the beginning of the planning process, her artistic vision was already well-defined. As quoted by Sharp in 1977, "I remember saying, 'If I do this, I want to show a wide spectrum of music.' I didn't want to limit it to Canadian performers" (Sharp 1977, 186).

Accordingly, the 1964 festival (held August 7th-9th) was the first installment to feature a blues contingent. The program schedule for that year lists American blues artists Mississippi John Hurt, Reverent Gary Davis and Skip James. Klein also scheduled more contemporary artists with "popular" appeal, such as Buffy Ste. Marie and Gordon Lightfoot. Yet she retained a significant number of artists with Canadian or traditional repertoire, including Alan Mills, Owen McBride and Jean Carignan.

Despite a clear vision for its musical programming, the 1964 festival was hit with several obstacles, which were rooted in the reputation for "rowdyism" it had developed in Orillia. Initially, organizers had arranged to lease a 176-acre farm in Medonte Township, twelve miles west of Orillia. But the anxiety expressed by the township's residents (who were familiar with the festival's reputation) resulted in the township passing a bylaw "which demanded that Mariposa post a $200,000 bond of liability in addition to a $500 rental fee and a $650 clean-up fund" (Sharp 1977, 184). The organizers were given four

days to complete this task (a mere six days before the festival). Since no insurance company would underwrite the bond for the MFF (due to its reputation from the previous year), Ferris opposed the bylaw in the Supreme Court of Ontario, only to have his application rejected twenty-four hours before the event's opening (Sharp 1977, 184). At a moment's notice, organizers were forced to relocate the event to a new venue. This ended up being Toronto's Maple Leaf Ball Club, which happened to be vacant that weekend. Last-minute arrangements were made to transport equipment from the site in Medonte township, as well as to advertise the change of location. With the large volume of confused ticket-holders (accompanied by excessive rain), the opening night of Mariposa 1964 saw only about 500 people in attendance. The following evening was somewhat better, with an attendance of 3000 people; but the festival nevertheless came away with a debt of $5000 (which included ticket refunds) (Sharp 1977, 187).

Following these unexpected obstacles, the organizers managed to secure Innis Lake (located in the Township of Albion) for the 1965 festival, to be held August 6-8. Joe Lewis describes the location as follows:

> Anyway, this is a family-owned property. And the lake was really—quite frankly, what you and I would call a big pond. They called it Innis Lake. And it was officially titled – named-- Innis Lake, and it was near the town of Caledon East, off some side roads, and a very pretty little site. The family, over the years, had developed a dance pavilion there. Right beside the lake-- really early on, back in the late 20s and early 30s. So in that 30s, 40s period, it was a site for big bands of the era. And it—I don't know if they had the Benny Goodman band and the Glen Miller band, but it was that *kind* of thing; you know, it was probably more local talent. And they'd have a bandstand, and they'd have dances there…by the time we came along, the reason that Innis agreed to rent it to us was that whole kind of

> music thing had died off. It died off, I guess, in the 50s. He wasn't getting much business… (Lewis 2013)

While the MFF would remain at Innis Lake for only three years, this period has been characterized as the era in which the festival "came of age" (Sharp 1977, 187). The care taken to stand the festival firmly on its feet can be seen in Ferris's concerted efforts to downplay the festival's riotous reputation through security enhancements. According to Sharp, Ferris requested a copy of the FBI publication, *Prevention and Control of Mobs and Riots*, from the U.S. Department of Justice (188). Furthermore, he spent copious amounts of time cultivating a relationship with the Albion Township and the OPP. In May 1965, the Township council became aware that they could be liable for policing the festival, and sent Mariposa organizers a letter stating they would "not be responsible for any policing, financially or otherwise. Please be advised that requests for any future engagements will be based on how well this event is handled" (Patterson 1965). MFF organizers were prepared to accept the responsibility for security; indeed, Ferris had already begun arrangements for a meeting between OPP officials, the Innis family, a representative of the Albion Council, and himself. Nevertheless, a follow-up letter to this meeting indicates tension about the financial implications of security. As Ferris wrote to the OPP commissioner,

> One of the points brought during the discussion was the possibility of Albion Township being charged for the men that the OPP will be sending into the area. Since we have assumed the obligation of paying for and providing necessary security for the festival we must know if such a charge is to be levied, in order to make proper arrangements. To my knowledge, the festival and the area that it was

> to be held in last year were not to be charged for OPP services. And I am not aware that events that are much larger (Mosport)[39] are charged for this policing service. Are we being singled out in this regard? (Ferris 1965a)

Ferris also added that the festival would be happy to provide a donation for the policemen engaged at the festival, as well as camping and refreshments. But before this financial issue was settled, other problems arose. The festival planned to supplement provincial police services with those of a private security company; but further letters indicate a discord between these parties, and hint at the OPP's reluctance to work with a private firm. Because of this, the already-fragile support of Albion Township came close to further erosion. In a July 13 letter to the Albion Council, Ferris noted that he "received information to the effect that the Council is under the impression that no internal security arrangements have been made for the Mariposa Folk Festival." After providing a lengthy explanation of the communication issues between the private company and the OPP, he concluded with "Hoping this has cleared the air, and I shall look forward to making further points in this regard on Monday next" (Ferris 1965b). Apparently Ferris felt the air still needed clearing, because a day later he wrote to M.P.P. Allan Lawrence. The message describes several enclosed letters and documents exchanged throughout this process, which detail the festival's predicament and apparent opposition from the OPP. In an urgent tone, Ferris concluded with,

> I hate to burden you with all of this Mr. Lawrence, but let me state the situation as simply as I can. Albion Council is fully prepared to continue their support of this

[39] Ferris'parenthesis.

> Festival. BUT, if no approval is granted by the OPP for the plans set forth in our letters of July1st and 14th, Industrial & Domestic Protection and Security and Investigation Services will not be providing internal security. And unless I have a letter in unmistakable terms guaranteeing the internal security by Monday morning next at 10.00 a.m., the council will pass a by-law prohibiting the Festival and negating the thousands of dollars and hours of effort that have gone into this. You are the only person I know who can get this approval through from the O.P.P. in writing before Friday. Thanking you so much for your help… (Ferris 1965c)

Ferris also sent copies of his OPP correspondence to various people in other levels of government, such as the Attorney General, the Minister of Education, and the Magistrate of the Ontario Police Commission. His concerns were largely put to rest a few days later, with the arrival of affirmative replies from a few of said government offices. In his letter to Ferris, the Magistrate of the Ontario Police Commission added, "…(I) would compliment you on your endeavour to have this gathering held in keeping with the high standards desired for a Festival of this nature" (Graham 1965).

A final hurdle in the security arrangement was the possibility of a charge back for police services to the Albion Council, which Ferris addressed again in a July 21 letter to the OPP. There is no further correspondence stating the outcome; but the festival's arrangement with the OPP and the Albion Township appears to have continued for all three of the MFF's years at Innis Lake. Archival film footage from 1967 suggests a mellow vibe and good police relations. While the footage is silent, one can see immediately that the festival grounds are not overrun with crowds. It includes shots of a toddler dancing; OPP officers talking to two women who are lying on the grass

(seemingly in an amiable way); people swimming in the lake and walking along the shore; police and audience members watching the performance together on the sidelines; and a circle of people making music informally on the grass (Unauthored film footage 1967).

After Ferris had completed the negotiations to lease the Innis property, organizers still faced the issue of hiring the artists. As Lewis recalls,

> …we didn't have any money to hire the performers, because [*recording unclear*] wanted at least fifty percent down. So here we've got a place, we've got the [*unclear*], we don't have the cash to do the thing. So Randy happens to know a guy that's running a franchise in Brampton or somewhere for A &W. So he goes to him, and says "you know, I have a problem, etc." Anyway, this guy from A&W agreed to come and be the only food provider on the site for the weekend, and guarantee us $5000, a part of which he put up front. And so we sold him the food rights. The food concession. [We] Got some money, and that gave us the down payments to hire the performers. (Lewis 2013)

With the financial aspect of artistic programming taken care of, Estelle Klein now had the reins to select the talent. In this department, she was refining her approach. Two years earlier, she had attended the Newport Folk Festival for the first time, and had been particularly impressed with their daytime workshops. As she stated in a review of that festival (written for *Hoot* magazine):

> Those which I managed to attend were The Ballad, The Blues (part), Old Time Banjo Styles (part), and Whither Folk Music. I felt all of these to be so worthwhile that at one point, attending a concert seemed unnecessary.[40] (Klein 1963, 33)

[40] See Appendix B (224) for a schedule of the 1963 Newport Folk Festival workshops.

She concluded the review by remarking, "Festivals of the calibre of the Newport Folk Festival should happen in Canada"(33).

The Mariposa festival had indeed featured a small number of workshops in its Orillia days, but those had only comprised a minor contingent of the festival. After Klein took full control of the musical programming, the event had begun to grow into a similar format to that of Newport. For example, the program from the 1966 festival (the second year at Innis Lake)[41] displays didactic daytime workshops from 10:00am to 5:30pm, such as "Ballads and Songs" "Guitar accompaniment," "Ontario Songs," etc. These were followed by evening concerts (see Appendix C, 225).

In continuing with the approach she started in 1964, Klein oversaw further diversification of musical styles. The initial introduction of blues performers in 1964 expanded to full blues workshops, variously hosted by Richard Flohil (then known as Dick Flohil), Richard Waterman and John Norris from 1965-1967. Performers included Sonny Terry and Brownie McGee, Sunnyland Slim, Johnny Young, Big Walter Horton, Son House, and Buddy Guy.[42] Other musical traditions reflecting Klein's diversification efforts include those of First Nations groups. The first appearance of native performers appears to have been in 1966, when the festival hosted the Canadian Indian Dancers. This

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[41] Held August 5-7.

[42] See Titon (1993), Narvaez (1993) and Schwarz (2008) for a discussion about the blues revival. This movement (whose major phase is dated from the late 1950s to 1970 by Titon and Schwarz) saw a burgeoning interest in African-American blues by white middle-class audiences, partly as a result of the broader folk revival. As a result, many black blues artists (whose former audiences were almost exclusively African-American) found new performance opportunities for white audiences on the coffeehouse and folk festival circuits. The influx of blues artists at Mariposa in the mid-1960s reflects this trend.

group consisted of seven people who, despite living in Toronto, were from various First Nations (listed as Ottawa Tribe, Ojibway, Squamish, Cree, and Mohawk). Their repertoire included war dances, eagle dance, hoop dance, gift dance, and fire dance (MFF program book 1966, 15).[43]

In addition to the emerging didacticism of the workshops and diversification of the music, the Innis Lake years were also a site of talent development for future luminaries of the Canadian popular music scene. For example, Nicholas Jennings (1997) depicts this era as one in which a young Joni Mitchell developed her craft and where a growing Canadian singer-songwriter tradition became more visible with appearances by others such as Leonard Cohen, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and Murray McLauchlan. Additionally, a rock element was occasionally present at Innis Lake. The aforementioned silent film footage of 1967 (held August 11th -13th) shows a performance by the five-piece rock band Kensington Market, which used electric guitar and bass, as well as very large amplifiers, during their performance.

ii. Reception

After the festival's relocation to Innis Lake, its increase in security measures and its musical diversification were well represented topics in media reviews, along with commentary on broader societal developments at the festival. For example, it was

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[43] See Chapter 3 for a discussion on the expansion of First Nations programming at Mariposa throughout the 1970s.

observed that, “Cars entering the grounds were thoroughly searched by the police and packages and girls’ purses were checked further at the festival gates” (Raudsepp 1966, 13). There were varying interpretations of the heavy OPP presence. Perhaps due to the festival’s lingering association with the 1963 “rioting,” some perceived the atmosphere at Innis Lake to be comparatively sedate. After noting the “95 provincial policeman and 70 security guards on round-the-clock shifts,” one reporter described the atmosphere as “about as boisterous as a Fundamentalist church picnic” (Reguly 1965, 18).

But others came away with a more amiable impression of the police. In a letter to the editor of the *Toronto Daily Star*, two festival-goers offered a contrasting perspective:

> What Yorkville needs is the “swinging” Ontario Provincial Police officers who supervised us at the Mariposa Folk Festival. Sure, they inspected our cars and purses for booze, but they did it with a chuckle. No shoving, no belligerence, no looking at us because we wear long hair and sweatshirts. We couldn’t help but feel that they were one of us, and were enjoying the kids, the guitars, the hair, everything. But don’t think they were lax. We knew who they were and why they were there. It’s nice to be treated, not like cattle but human beings by the police. (Skura and Skura 1966)

In a similar vein, musician and *Hoot* contributor Klaas Van Graft stated, “Compliments to the O.P.P. who made friends with everybody. The few I spoke to seemed to enjoy their duties at Innis Lake” (Van Graft 1967, 19).

Regardless of one’s perspective on the police and security presence, the public was also preoccupied with the debate about the changing face of folk music. While this issue was not new to the festival, it retained its currency by addressing recent trends in the broader music scene. The Innis Lake years, for example, coincided with the adoption

of the electric guitar by many contemporary folk musicians (most notably Bob Dylan at 1965's Newport Folk Festival). Accordingly, some reviewers of mid-1960s Mariposa interpreted the stage performances in the context of these broader developments. Calling the 1966 MFF "a retrospective rather than a festival," one reporter remarked, "With one unlikely exception, there was not an electric guitar in the whole conglomeration of sounds that were performed last night. What we were listening to was music from the mechanical age" (Zeldin 1966, 17). A year later, when the musical performances at the MFF featured more electric guitars, another reviewer depicted the festival as a battleground for the two instruments, with economic implications:

> And the big looming question is whether Mariposa should go commercial—bringing in more electric folk-rock sounds and hopefully attracting bigger crowds. ...But despite the fact that the acoustic (non-electric) guitar was fighting on home ground, the electric guitar is likely to be the ultimate victor. In addition to the commercial bit about attracting bigger audiences, the electric guitar has another thing going for it. It's a boon to performers. If they're tired or uninspired, they can relax and let their amplifiers do the work. (Cruchley 1967, 22)

In addition to the commentary on musical developments, media coverage of Mariposa's Innis Lake years also referred to broader societal developments of the 1960s. The 1967 coverage, for example, is the first to refer to hippies. At that year's festival, *Globe and Mail* reporter Peter Goddard observed that, "Some hapless hippies tried to disturb the quiet atmosphere, but their iconoclastic buttons, beards, bands and behavior [*sic*] failed to turn the folk music fans on or the some 90 police officers off" (Goddard

1967, 13). The fact that hippies were viewed as a curiosity in the folk festival environment is also evidenced in more sympathetic reports, such as the following:

> Everyone was feeling groovy last night after the first concert of the Mariposa Folk Festival weekend except a few dozen hippies who had trouble finding a place to sleep. Conservation areas with open campsites were turning away long hairs who were attending the festival, a folkfest official charged last night. (Staff reporter 1967, 22)[44]

Regardless of the media's perspectives on MFF audiences, music and security, members of the folk music community (such as those writing for *Hoot* magazine) thought mainstream coverage to be scant and misguided. After a generally positive review describing "one of the most pleasant weekends I have spent in years," Klaas van Graft went on to observe the "noticeable lack of adequate press coverage for an event of this size, and the caliber of talent appearing in it" (Van Graft 1966, 19-22). Ruth Jones, who contributed to the same 1966 review, added,

> The logic of one critic completely escapes me, when he called Mariposa '66 retrospective[45] and made it sound derogatory. ...Is it too much to hope that Toronto editors faced with Mariposa in Centennial year will send critics with a knowledge of their subject? (Jones 1966, 24)

Putting the differing interests of folkies and the mainstream media aside, another way to gauge the festival's reception throughout the Innis Lake years is, of course, by looking at attendance. By 1967 (the festival's third and final year in Innis Lake), the MFF was reportedly drawing crowds of 10,000 to 12,000 people (Cruchley 1967, 22). This was

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[44] The MFF's relationship to countercultural elements is discussed further in Chapter 5.
[45] Original underlining from 1966 *Hoot* issue.

admittedly less than its final, riotous year in Orillia (1963), which had reportedly reached 20,000 (Staff reporter, TO Star, 1963, 1). Several accounts, however, indicate that the event maintained (and further developed) a far-reaching reputation. A 1967 review refers to a "steady stream of cars from Quebec, and U.S. states such as New York, California, Michigan and Massachusetts" (Staff reporter 1967, 22). A *Toronto Star* article refers to a thirteen-year-old banjo picker (Johnny Lanford) whose father drove him up to the festival from Oklahoma after reading about the MFF in a folk magazine. At the festival, Johnny "pulled out the banjo and started plucking. Musicians heard him, were impressed and invited him to join in." After the festival was over, the young Lanford was invited to perform at one of the Riverboat's hootenannies in Toronto (Duff 1966, 14).[46] The fact that young musicians across North America could see this Canadian festival as a place to get exposure is an important validation of the festival's growing reputation in the 1960s.

c. Summary: Part I and II

The MFF was founded in 1961, in the midst of the commercial "boom" of the North American Folk Revival. This places it on an historical continuum of folk music activity in North America, which includes folksong scholarship and collecting, labour movements, and developments in technology and industry. The boom of 1958-1965, in particular, was marked by increased commercial popularity of folk music, the creation of new venues

[46] The Riverboat was an important venue for folk music in Toronto's Yorkville neighbourhood in the 1960s. On Monday nights, the Toronto Guild of Canadian Folk Artists hosted hootenannies in this coffeehouse.

and spaces for folk performance (such as coffeehouses and folk festivals), and more issues of commercially oriented folk recordings and newly-composed topical music. During its first three years in Orillia, MFF reflected this intersection between traditional and popular elements. Administrators came from both industry and academic backgrounds, and performances featured a mixture of traditional singers as well as artists whose careers had developed in folk clubs and on concert stages.

These first three years garnered mixed reception. Media reports suggest the audience contained a solid contingent of older "purists" who enjoyed more traditional, unamplified performances; yet this contingent was perhaps outnumbered by younger people who were more receptive to commercially oriented folk music. The influx of youth was most dramatic in 1963, a year that saw reports of vandalism and rioting in the media. Regardless of the actual degree of rowdy behaviour that year, the MFF was barred from future stagings in Orillia. Because of the festival's tainted reputation, organizers had difficulty securing a venue for the 1964 edition (resulting in a last-minute move to Toronto's Maple Leaf Ball Park); but by 1965 it settled at Innis Lake where director Randy Ferris implemented stronger security measures and established a trusting relationship with the Township of Albion and the OPP. During this three-year tenure at Innis Lake, Estelle Klein began to shape her vision of folk festival programming by expanding the line-up to include blues and First Nations music, as well as concurrent daytime workshops. While attendance figures for the Innis Lake years do not indicate a

significant spike in audience sizes, those who did attend used the festival as an opportunity to engage in the current debates about the folk genre. Many attendees also came from a variety of provinces and states across North America, some being young musicians looking for exposure. By 1967 (its last year at Innis Lake), the Mariposa Folk Festival had established itself securely in the North American folk scene and successfully shed its image as a magnet for reckless youth.

Three significant themes emerge from this era of the MFF's history. These are: 1) the festival's early emphasis on Canadian content; 2) its early association with unruly youth (which generated significant public anxiety and necessitated security enhancements); and 3) that its identity as a "folk" festival was challenged when the event intersected with elements of popular culture (such as rock-oriented artists and the presence of hippies). Such issues will be contextualized further in Chapter 5, which provides an interpretive standpoint on the festival's artistic legacy and its relationship to the broader trends among youth of the time period.

Having provided a historical overview of the early years of the festival, the following chapter will continue this narrative into the late 1960s through the 1970s.

CHAPTER 3: TORONTO ISLANDS, 1968-1979

a. Introduction

During its three years at Innis Lake, the MFF had begun easing its way into a state of relative financial security. After generating a small profit of $2000, Randy Ferris sold the rights of the festival to Tom Bishop, who oversaw the 1967 edition. Due in part to colder weather, this final year at Innis Lake resulted in smaller crowds and a financial deficit, and Bishop began seeking out a new location for the event. Along with Estelle Klein, he negotiated with the Toronto Parks Commissioner for a lease of Olympic Island (part of the Toronto Islands).[47] According to Debra Sharp, their reasons for this choice of location were,

> It encompassed all of the rural-type requirements that were necessary for the tone of the festival, and at the same time it provided quick access to and from a major urban centre. Gone were the days when organizers spent their weekend evenings patrolling campsites. (Sharp 1977, 192)

The festival would remain at the Toronto Islands for a total of twelve years. But the first half of this long tenure contained some notable shifts at the administrative level. According to Buzz Chertkoff (former festival administrator and legal counsel), the Toronto Guild of Canadian Folk Artists took over operations from Tom Bishop in the early 1970s; indeed, the 1973 program contains the first mention of MFF being organized

[47] These are comprised of a chain of small islands (located on Lake Ontario), of which Olympic Island is only one. Another of these is the adjacent Centre Island, where the festival was moved in 1974 and remained until 1979.

by the Guild. After the festival settled on Olympic Island it began to enjoy more financial success. As Chertkoff recalls,

> … It was after that when I renamed the Guild corporation to be the Mariposa Folk Foundation which operated as Mariposa Folk Festival. I then applied to the government for a charity licence, and succeeded, so that donations to the foundation could be tax deductible. (Chertkoff 2012)

The MFF's first year as a registered charity appears to have been 1974, according to information within the program book of that year.

Apart from these administrative shifts, some of the most memorable developments that occurred at the festival during the Toronto Island years were artistic ones. Most of these were connected to the efforts of Estelle Klein, who served as artistic director until 1979 (with occasional hiatuses).[48] Beginning with Section b, the chapter provides a summary of Estelle Klein's formative background and her role in developing the daytime programming and workshop formats. Next, Section c highlights four other aspects of programming developed at the festival throughout the late 1960s and 1970s which were influential or significant within the Canadian arts scene. These are: 1) children's music initiatives; 2) First Nations performance; 3) ethno-cultural, regional and dance programming; and 4) the crafts area. Thirdly, Section d addresses the significance

[48] Due to an illness suffered by Klein in 1976, Ken Whiteley finished the task of coordinating the program for that year's festival. Whiteley also served as artistic director for the 1978 edition; and in 1979 (while Klein still carried the official title of artistic director), Jeanine Hollingshead served as program coordinator.

of Mariposa to performers during this era. Finally, Section e reflects on the MFF's public reception both at local and international levels.

b. Estelle Klein: Background, daytime programming, and workshops

Estelle Klein was born in Buffalo, New York in 1930 and moved to Toronto with her parents as a young child. According to her surviving son, Paul, Klein's family did not partake in the arts scene "at all." While her parents ran a few restaurants around Toronto, she spent much of her time looking after a sister who was ten years her junior. For this reason she did not finish high school. But as her son puts it, "she was an incredibly intelligent person," and self-taught in everything she did (Klein [Paul], 2012). According to Paul, her first solid connection with the music world came when she attended Camp Naivelt, a secular Jewish camp in Ontario known for its left-wing ideals. The camp was a hub for folk revivalists where Klein would have come across performers such as Pete Seeger and the Weavers. It was not long after this experience that she became immersed in the Canadian folk scene, especially as an advocate for the rights of folk musicians. As explained by Buzz Chertkoff, Klein had formed the Toronto Guild of Canadian Folk Artists (a non-profit corporation) because she believed that the Toronto Musicians Union did not provide adequate support for folk musicians (Chertkoff 2012). The Guild began publishing the folk music magazine *Hoot*, and its inaugural issue indicates the scope of Klein's involvement in the music scene. On "The president's page," she wrote,

> There is no doubt in my mind that a major change has taken place in the position of the local folksinger both in his standing in the performing world and in attitude towards his fellow folksinger and other interested people. Among the majority of local singers a better communication exists, for which I think the Guild may take a great deal of credit. There is also more communication between the professional performer, those involved in occasional performance or do not perform at all but hope to contribute in some other manner to this field. Certainly more employment has become available now that the public knows of our existence. Regular hootenannies have introduced some new and good people to what was once a very limited circle. It is hoped that these people will be encouraged by the more established performers, for in doing so, the scope and potential of this field is widened. More work and better conditions are certainly needed by the performer, but how much further can his contributions go? Very much further, I believe." (Klein 1963a, 13)

As summarized by Klein's message, the Guild was becoming highly influential in the Canadian folk scene. By the time this inaugural issue of *Hoot* was published, Klein had already been serving on the advisory board of the MFF for two years, that is, since 1961 (see Chapter 2). I have not found any records itemizing how much input she gave to the festival in this capacity. But as mentioned in Chapter 2, she attended the Newport Folk Festival in 1963 and wrote a review of it for *Hoot*. Parts of the review, such as the following excerpt, show how her programming sensibilities were rapidly developing:

> The Saturday evening concert, with a capacity audience, was peculiarly arranged. It was not fair to a large part of the audience, unfamiliar with groups like the Georgia Sea Islanders, the Kiva American Indian Group, or even Jean Ritchie, to have these people so close together on the program. Nor was it fair to the performers, for the arrangement created restlessness and an apathetic reception. (Klein 1963b, 32)

This excerpt shows that she was already developing a sharp attention to flow and audience engagement. But despite her dissatisfaction with the Saturday evening concert,

she showed a fondness for another aspect of Newport's programming. In particular, she was impressed with the American festival's workshops, ending her review with the statement, "Festivals of the calibre of the Newport Folk Festival should happen in Canada" (Klein 1963b, 33). After taking full control of Mariposa's programming in 1964 (see Chapter 2), Klein began to fashion MFF workshops according to the Newport model.

The program for the 1963 Newport Folk Festival (Appendix B, 224) provides an overview of the workshops. The workshop titles indicate simple themes suggesting didactic content, and are based on a single genre, musical tradition or instrument, e.g., "ballads," "fiddles," "old banjo styles," "gospel." The program suggests that the workshops were held in multiple types of spaces: "Porch 1," "Porch 2," "Main Park," and "Theatre." The Mariposa program from 1966 (i.e., three years after Klein's first visit to Newport) in Appendix C (225) reveals similarities in the programming of the two festivals. As already discussed in Chapter 2, the 1966 instalment featured didactic daytime workshops from 10 am to 5:30 pm, such as "Ballads and Songs," "Guitar accompaniment," "Ontario Songs," etc. This format of "daytime workshops, night-time concerts" carried on until the end of the 1960s, by which time the MFF had settled on Olympic Island.

As Klein honed her programming skills in the festival's new location, she was developing strong views about some aspects of festival performance. The most significant of these were the influence of the star system, as well as the level of

interaction between performers on stage. These issues would propel her to refine programming even further. Her views on the star system are aptly illustrated by her reaction to a now-infamous "gate-crashing" incident in 1970. That year, the Sunday evening concert was to feature Joni Mitchell and James Taylor. According to most accounts, freeloaders tried to swim across the channel to Olympic Island that evening in order to dodge the ticket prices. Klein later described her reaction to this incident in a letter to Pete Seeger:

> ...So,[49] my reaction was initially, to the situation and what could be done. Now I feel very strongly that the old format in a way negated the "folk." That big concerts have a certain drama but that a kind of excitement is kindled that sometimes creates these problems—esp. if you have a situation in which a 'star' type appears only once all weekend...Finally, the one thing I feel to be most important is that 'name' artists must appear daily in some kind of program in order to avoid the build-up of excitement I mentioned earlier that happens with only one appearance. Hopefully this will disperse things somewhat and avoid some of the problems. (Klein 1971a)

In the same letter, Klein noted that in the future, Mariposa would be eliminating evening concerts and dispersing the equivalent performers throughout the day, along with holding their usual workshops. As a result, in 1971 more stages were set up around the island so that the festival could run concurrent performances throughout the day. Leigh Cline, the former technical director of the festival, confirmed this in a conversation. As he put it,

> Yeah...she's the one that came up with dumping the evening concerts, and going to the five or six daytime stages—you know, different stages all around the festival—and we were all sort of worried about whether it would work, and it turned out great. And everybody started to copy us. (Cline 2011)

[49] Klein's underlining.

By this last phrase, Cline was referring to the fact that the multi-stage daytime format was later adopted by many festivals across Canada and the U.S. The result of this change (in Mariposa's case) was an environment where people could wander around the island from one stage to another throughout the day, taking in a variety of music after a swim or while having a picnic with their friends.

But the new multi-stage format was not merely a buffet of music for the audience's enjoyment, as Klein was also well-known for her painstaking efforts to enhance the onstage interaction between performers. While she often relied on colleagues in the folk community to bring new artists to her attention (her consultations with Michael Cooney and Mike Seeger are well-known), Klein was particularly adept at bringing several performers together under the umbrella of a single topic or theme. This would later become very common on the Canadian folk festival circuit, but most of my informants note that the concept originated with Klein. Singer/folklorist Sheldon Posen was involved with the MFF in the 1970s, and he explained to me,

> ...the bulk of the performers that she hired had huge repertoires of traditional music that they could call upon...you would come on stage with just the songs that you had on that topic, and you would choose them depending on what had gone before you. And maybe a wholly different song would occur to you ...because (of) what the guy before you had just sung... (you'd say) "I know, ...there's another song like that, (it) has a different twist on this, and it goes like this. (Posen 2011)

To further illustrate Posen's memory of thematically-driven workshops, Appendix D (226) displays a daytime schedule from 1972.[50] Examples of workshop themes and topics from this schedule include "Songs and Tales of the Supernatural," "The Woman's Image in Song," "War—A Common Heritage," and "Scotland to Cape Breton in Song and Story" (MFF program book 1972, n.p.). When this is compared with the 1963 program of the Newport Folk Festival (Appendix B, 224), which was Klein's original inspiration, one can see that daytime workshops had transcended simple didactic themes to become multi-dimensional affairs in her hands.

Another one of Klein's well-known gifts was recognizing the compatibility of artists who didn't necessarily know each other. Again, as Posen explains,

> She would put together the most unlikely people that you would think of, and she would see that there were going to be connections between them...that they would strike sparks off each other... And ...make that workshop more than the sum of their parts, (the) sum of their repertoires. (Posen 2011)

Klein's "musician-pairing" process also took on historical dimensions. As Ken Whiteley recalls,

> Sometimes it would be "pair a younger musician up with an older musician." And have that person really kind of interview them and give them an oral history. So she would have Alice Gerrard with Lily Mae Ledford, or someone like that...and kind of ask them questions and have them singing songs that illustrated their points. But ...the younger artist was able to give a context to the traditional artist's performance. ...And so [Estelle] was always looking at how to not just

[50] According to some of my consultants, the concert schedules (after planned by Estelle Klein) were then hand-written by her husband Jack, a local architect. This 1972 schedule serves as an example of his penmanship. After the Kleins' involvement with the MFF came to a close, subsequent programs of the Mariposa Folk Festival continued to employ this "homemade" aesthetic in their schedules and site maps through the 1990s.

> present a show ...but for people to make connections between the past and the present and the future. And to see traditions as living things which had relevance today. (Whiteley 2011)

The interactive element of these interview-based workshops extended to the audience as well, since the latter were also invited to ask questions of their own.

The gift of being able to pair the right performers with each other only scratched the surface of Klein's innovative programming process. In the late 1970s she began mentoring Ken Whiteley, who was aspiring to potentially follow in her footsteps. He recalls that for all of March and April, they would spend hours on the phone contacting performers to solicit ideas for workshop themes, and names of people they wanted to work with. He also adds that just prior to a festival, Klein would meet with all the area coordinators to discuss expectations, and wherever possible, she would also talk to performers just before a workshop to make sure that everybody was on the same page. Since Whiteley is a seasoned performer on the Canadian festival circuit, I asked him if this level of exchange about programming concerns occurs at other folk festivals, and he responded with an unequivocal "NO!," saying that Estelle Klein had been the only person in his memory who paid so much attention to the finer details.

As discussed earlier, interactivity was one of Klein's key contributions to Mariposa programming in the 1970s. It is worth noting that many on-stage encounters between performers were also professional exchanges that had lasting effects on the careers of some. Chris Rawlings recalls one such encounter as follows:

> I was plunked down in a workshop with a number of people, including David Amram. And David was—he's a pretty accomplished musician. You know, orchestral, and folk, and many things in between. But we got into this workshop that was for songwriting. And the basic tenet that came from the workshop is that "if you're a songwriter, you should be able to—well, what rappers now call 'freestyle' In other words, you should be able to improvise a song. And I totally, totally disagreed with that. And I was on the wrong end. Even my partner, Gilles Losier, was following in step. I just said, you know, "David, beyond this workshop, nothing, nothing will last of what you just improvised." And when I write a song, whether or not it's remembered down the line, I sure want it to be. And so I work the hell out of it. I put as much effort as I can into it, I draw from all of the folk styles, and writers that I've learned, that I've sung the songs of, and I want it to be damn good. And what I was hearing in *that* particular workshop was that it didn't matter. It was basically a jazz workshop. In the context of a songwriting workshop. So, I mean, that was a little bit of a "stand up for your craft/your art" [scenario], and I've never forgotten that. (Rawlings 2011)

In Rawlings' case, the on-stage exchange helped to solidify an aspect of his musical and creative identity. His experience also demonstrates how MFF workshop stages, in hosting musicians from a variety of backgrounds, provided fresh incarnations of the "what is folk music" debate (long prevalent at the MFF, but taking on different forms in various time periods).

In my analysis of MFF audience surveys from this time period, interactivity was also a strong thread. As one first-time attendee wrote, "…I was especially excited by the enthusiasm of nearly all the performers, and with the degree of participation and communication…with the audience" (Audience survey 1974a). Countless other patrons also commented positively on audience participation and the performer-audience dynamic.

The fruits of Klein's efforts in coordinating daytime programming and workshops received no shortage of praise from the performers and festival organizers whom I interviewed. It is worth noting, however, that many developments at 1970s Mariposa owed much to her unflinching administrative style. While many performers and administrators speak of her with utmost respect and affection, the same people often describe Klein as "tough" and "hard-nosed," among other things. Klein herself was adamant that having a single decision-maker was the most effective way to proceed with programming. In her own written evaluation of the 1975 festival,[51] she wrote "As far as festivals go, the least successful ones seem to be programme committee-type approaches." Furthermore, she stated that "If I continue to carry this role, I feel the need for the 'final say' aspect because am ready to accept the responsibility for errors or dumb things that do occur" (Klein 1975, 2). Marna Snitman, a former MFF administrator, told me in an interview that Klein often compared her job to that of a theatre director. She summarizes Klein's philosophy as follows, "…you can seek input all you want, but in the end it's the director's vision, and the final decision was always hers. No matter how much consultation goes on, the final say can only go to a single person" (Snitman 2011).

Some of my interviewees did recall moments of frustration with Klein's approach, which they felt was too authoritative.[52] Nevertheless, her efforts to develop daytime

[51] It was customary at the time for performers and organizers to submit written evaluations of the festival each year. While these were akin to audience surveys, their content was more detailed.
[52] For another example of Klein's authority at the festival, see Section d, which discusses how other organizers were faced with the challenge of honouring her artistic vision during her absence in 1972.

programming and workshops, as well as facilitating audience and performer interaction, remain highly regarded today by folk festival administrators. These two aspects would be influential on later folk festivals elsewhere in Canada, and will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

c. Further developments in programming

Throughout her tenure on the Toronto Islands, Klein also oversaw other artistic developments at the festival that would have significance in the broader Canadian arts scene and/or Canadian society in general. This section discusses four key contingents: 1) children's music; 2) the Native People's Area; 3) dance, regional, and ethno-cultural programming; and 4) the crafts area.

i. Children's music

Mariposa's contributions to the Canadian children's music scene are already known among scholars. Notably, Sheldon Posen and Anna Hoefnagels have published research on children's music in Canada, and both have mentioned the substantial influence that Mariposa had in this arena. In particular, both refer to the Mariposa In the Schools Program—an initiative that booked folksingers for performances in Toronto-area schools—as well as the Children's area at the festival proper (see Posen 1993 and Hoefnagels 2010). Proceeding under the assumption that the long-range impact of the Mariposa children's initiatives are already acknowledged, this section will offer

additional background information on the genesis of the children's programs, relevant administrative details, and the overall shape of children's musical activities in the MFF community.

Children's music had been featured at Mariposa since the festival's earliest staging (albeit with smaller representation), as seen from the MFF program book of 1961. The program lists a children's concert on Saturday August 19th from 11:00am to 12:30pm, at which children under fourteen would be admitted for free and adults would be charged fifty cents (see Appendix A, 223).

In the broader musical community, several Canadian artists who would later be associated with Mariposa were also making individual contributions to children's folk music at the time. This can be seen in a small number of children's records released by Alan Mills, Ed McCurdy, and Sharon Hampson[53] (among others), as well as public performances for children (notably, Lois Lilienstein[54] began her career singing in nursery schools and public libraries). An early issue of *Hoot* also reveals that the development of children's music was an important goal for the Toronto Guild of Canadian Folk Artists (whose membership included many Mariposa affiliates) in the early 1960s. As Klein stated on the President's Page, "We should be making a major attempt at introducing an interest in folk music in the schools and certainly in many instances, school music

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[53] At the time, Hampson was known as Sharon Trostin.
[54] Lois Lilienstein and Sharon Hampson would later become two thirds of the internationally acclaimed children's music trio Sharon, Lois, and Bram.

curriculums could stand some change" (Klein 1963a, 13). This goal was brought to fruition at the turn of the decade, when interests of the folk community coalesced with the resources of the Toronto Musicians' Association. Klaas Van Graft (both a Mariposa performer and active member of the TMA at the time) recalls,

> We were approached by the Toronto Separate School board to do one demonstration concert in a school, and I was at the time also the trustee for the Musician's Performance Trust Fund...[55] So once we met with the head of the separate school board, we started a program that they would pay for two musicians, and the trust fund, the MPTF, would pay for two more. And I was of course involved with Mariposa as well, so I was one of the performers; and Sharon Hampson was one, and Chick Roberts. And the three of us did those programs in the schools. (Van Graft 2013)

Mariposa thus acted as a liaison between the school boards and the Musicians' Performance Trust Fund by organizing the funding from these entities towards employing folk musicians in their roster.

Information within program books suggests that the in-school initiatives began in 1970. As Tom Bishop wrote in his introduction to that year's event, "As a result of last year's successful festival, Mariposa began a series of programs to bring folk music into local schools..." (Bishop 1970, 1). Sharon Hampson and Lois Lilienstein have noted that the original format was a forty-five-minute workshop given multiple times throughout the day (depending on the length of an artist's booking). For the first few years, the program did not carry an official name. According to Ken Whiteley, "[19]72 was really...it was

[55] A fund for live music sponsored by the North American recording industry and administered to various locals of the American Federation of Musicians--in this case, the Toronto Musician's Association.

the first year that they began to kind of formalize a process for it all, and it began to change into what it eventually became" (Whiteley 2011).

Indeed, an article in the 1972 MFF program attests to many aspects of this formalization. After listing the various musical topics and instrumental workshops covered (e.g., blues, topical songs, union songs, banjo/guitar/fiddle workshops, etc.), the article goes on to state,

> We attempt to link our presentations with history, social studies and geography. ...Workshop audiences can go up to about 100 people but we feel that about 50 is a more workable experience. ...This year we did about 12 single presentations for Metro Toronto schools and a series of 39 programs with the Separate School Board. ...We have concentrated in the past on the junior high school groups but we feel that the elementary level too can learn and appreciate what we offer. (Cline 1972a, n.p.)

The twelve presentations and thirty-nine programs described by Cline demonstrate how successful the in-school workshops had become in such a short period. Speaking further to their positive reception, Lilienstein recalls that "when the teachers saw what the workshops were like, I think they thought 'hey, we need to get more kids to taste this.' And that's how the concert developed." In many instances, workshops were thus replaced by in-school concerts; Hampson explains that this format allowed organizers to accommodate more students in one sitting (Hampson and Lilienstein 2012).

In an interview with Radio York (ca. 1972-1974), Estelle Klein affirmed that the MFF received a government grant for the in-schools program before any other aspects of the festival were ever funded. Indeed, the Statement of Operating Fund from the Toronto

Guild of Canadian Folk Artists (printed in the 1972 program book) lists a $3000 grant for 1970 and a $5000 grant for 1971. While the nature of the grant is not specified, one of my informants (a former festival administrator) has speculated that it may have been designated a "Special Initiative" grant at the time.

The 1973 festival program book contains the first reference to the official title "Mariposa in the Schools," and thereafter the in-schools initiative was referred to as such. The demand for MITS performers in Toronto-area schools continued to increase year after year. In the Statement of Operating Fund for year 1975, grants for the MITS program totalled $21,008 (MFF Program Book 1976). Eight years later (in 1983), an administrative report stated that "Bookings are continuing to come in at an astounding rate. Catalogues have been distributed to Halton, Dufferin-Peel, and Durham Board of Education as well as the Separate School Boards in those communities" (Mariposa Folk Foundation 1983). The same report mentioned that MITS had received the third largest amount of funding from the Musician's Performance Trust Fund that fiscal year (after the City of Toronto and Harbourfront); this amount totalled $29,073.75. For reasons relating to financial accounting, it was recommended in 1983 that "M.I.T.S. be incorporated as a separate legal entity with the Board of the Foundation[56] as the interim board of M.I.T.S." (Mariposa Folk Foundation 1983). From that year onward, MITS and the MFF thus functioned as separate organizations.

[56] "The Foundation," in this case, meant the Mariposa Folk Foundation.

The MFF's contributions to children's music in Canada were not limited to its gestation of the MITS program, however. For years, the festival had featured individual sessions of children's music, often an hour in length. Sharon Hampson and Lois Lilienstein were involved with many aspects of this programming, and they eventually proposed a dedicated children's area at the festival. In my interview with them, Hampson and Lilienstein describe the beginnings of this contingent as follows:

> LILIENSTEIN: We said, "Let's have a children's area. Where we can program children's concerts, x number of hours a day, every day." Because you had to know what you were doing. You just couldn't say "okay, who will we put in there?" People who have devoted their musical careers to children's folk music—they were not growing on trees...
> HAMPSON: ...Estelle said "Go for it," and we did, and of course "Go for it" grew, because it was a very successful component of the festival. (Hampson and Lilienstein 2012)

The MFF children's area debuted in 1976. The program book for that year contains a detailed introduction in which Hampson and Lilienstein describe the content and set-up:

> ...Area 3 will be the Children's Area, and it will draw its talent from regular Festival performers and crafts people as well as from specialists in children's music brought in just for this area. Songs, games, dances, stories, puppets, plays—in their many and varied forms—can be enjoyed each day, and the workshops are carefully scheduled to take into account the ups and downs, highs and lows of children's activity and interest levels. Crafts activities for children will take place in the crafts area, close to Area 3; these will be on an unscheduled basis, throughout the day...(Hampson and Lilienstein 1976, 17)

According to the general festival schedule that year (which featured a designated column for the children's area), the children's programming indeed featured a mixture of children's music "specialists" and general folk performers. Along with Hampson and

Lilienstein, other artists included Steve Hansen (a puppeteer), Shelley Posen (specializing in camp songs), Alanis Obomsawin (an Abenaki singer), and Chris Whiteley (a multi-instrumentalist). In festival evaluations from 1976, administrators and performers consistently commented on the success of the new children's area; and audience surveys also heaped praise on this new contingent. In its second year, organizers modified the format to "allow the children to move from structured to free play, from being entertained to entertaining themselves" (Hampson and Liliensetin 1977, n.p.). Thus, in 1977 this contingent included both a Performing Area and a Play Area; the latter included skipping rope, hopscotch, costumes, and books. In 1978, a crafts section was also added.

The Children's Area remained a consistent feature of MFF programming in subsequent years, and the format was later adopted by other festivals. For example, the Winnipeg Folk Festival (which is known to have been modelled after Mariposa by Mitch Podolak) began to feature a children's area in 1979. Winnipeg, in turn, would serve as a model for several festivals that were later founded in Western Canada, many with the help of Podolak (see Chapter 5).

ii. Native Peoples' Area

The MFF had begun to feature First Nations performers during the Innis Lake years, as mentioned in Chapter 2. These included appearances by the Canadian Indian Dancers in 1966, as well as Alanis Obomsawin in 1967. In the first two years after its relocation to the Toronto Islands, the festival continued to feature a small number of native artists,

which included Henry Crowdog (a Peyote Priest) in 1968. Obomsawin continued to perform, appearing in a concert and workshop in 1969; but her contributions reached a new level in 1970 when she (along with Mildred Ryerson) organized a larger contingent of First Nations performers. The latter was listed as the "Festival of Native Peoples" in the program acknowledgements. Elsewhere in the program book, a lengthy article introduced the new contingent as follows:

> Canada's first Festival Arts Festival of the Native Peoples is part of Mariposa—a unique gathering of Indian and Eskimo singers, musicians, dancers, and crafts people. Some 40 Indians are taking part—and many of them have travelled thousands of miles to be here. Eight dancers and singers from Alberta and Saskatchewan form the Canadian Indian Dancers, who'll appear on the Saturday evening program. Eskimos from Inuvik are scheduled to open Friday evening's concert. (Unknown author 1970, n.p.)

The same article also included descriptions of the craftspeople who took part that year, including jewellers, weavers, and clothing-makers. However, the author (whose name was not specified) also stressed that the expanded representation of First Nations people was not merely for entertainments' sake. As he/she put it,

> Canada's native peoples have too important a culture, and too long a history, to be ignored. The fact that many of us have ignored their history and culture in the past is the reason that they have come together at Mariposa…All these craftsmen, singers, dancers—and the many others with them—are bringing their art to Mariposa in a spirit of goodwill. They are not, however, putting on a show for our benefit; they are simply there, willing and anxious that we approach them. If we wish to learn, it's up to us to make the effort. (Unknown author 1970, n.p.)

The new contingent of native performers was well-received and renewed for eight subsequent festivals, with Obomsawin remaining the coordinator for seven of those. The

program continued to expand and feature artists from many First Nations across Canada (and occasionally from other regions of the Americas). Many performers were recruited through Obomsawin's personal contacts. As she explained in an interview,

> Personally I had been singing mainly in communities and arts centres and prisons and places like that, so I knew a lot of people. And this is how I started for that, to organize the stage… I could invite anybody I wanted, no matter where they came from. It was just fantastic. (Obomsawin 2013)

The diversity of First Nations artists at Mariposa can be seen in Appendix E (227), which lists the musicians, dancers and craftspeople from 1973. As of 1971 (its second year), the contingent had featured slightly more formalized workshop scheduling. According to the program book from that year, the workshop titles included "Discussion of Foods and Dwellings," "Comparison of Dance Styles," and "Symbolism in Costumes" (MFF program book 1971, n.p.). The format continued to grow and evolve over the next few years. By 1973, the scheduling for the area garnered a separate page in the program book; and in 1975, the area offered a mixture of concerts, storytelling sessions, and demonstrations (the latter pertaining to dance, sport, and games) (see Appendix F, 228). Additionally, Aboriginal performance was not physically confined to the Native People's Area. First Nations performers were sometimes scheduled into regular workshops and concerts as well.

Descriptions of the Native Peoples' area often emphasized interaction and exchange. For example, a review in the *Toronto Native Times* observed an atmosphere of intimacy:

> While the women continued to work on their crafts, an old Cree man talked through a translator to the public as if they were a group of young children huddled round his knees and the fire, ready to hear the stories of "the old days…" (Chechock 1973, 12)

The positive exchanges occurring at this part of the festival were not just between adults. As mentioned in the previous section, Mariposa of the early 1970s generated a growing momentum of children's entertainment and activities; and the Native People's Area contributed to this. As Obomsawin described in the 1975 program,

> This year, the native peoples' section of the festival will present a particularly strong programme for children. There'll be, for instance, a boys' lacrosse team from Oka, Quebec—and a few of them will be spending some of their time in the crafts area making lacrosse sticks… A group of children from Mount Currie, British Columbia—Salish Indians from the Interior—will be bringing toys and puppets with them; they'll also teach some of Mariposa's younger visitors the games they play back home… (Obomsawin 1975, n.p.)

And of course, the Native People's Area also gave the artists themselves an opportunity to interact with other artists. As Obomsawin recalls,

> …there were a lot of first-time things, in terms of coming to a folk festival; for a lot of them it was their first time. And to be next to so many incredible performers—it was very exciting…Some of them were starting, they were getting known in their area, and then coming to Mariposa really gave them another view of themselves. (Obomsawin 2013)

Audience surveys from the mid-1970s indicate that the Native Peoples' Area was a common highlight for many festival attendees, with several noting that it was their first exposure to First Nations cultural forms. As such, the surveys suggest that the majority of audience members at the Native Peoples' Area were non-native people, and Obomsawin's recollections coincide with this. Nevertheless, the *Toronto Native Times*

did publish reviews of (and advertisements for) Mariposa from 1973 to 1978. For example, a 1973 review included a lengthy summary of the activities and performances within the Native People's Area, concluding with "It was a wonderful festival, but if you missed it this year, think of it next summer and watch for notices about Mariposa Festival" (Chechock 1973, 12). This suggests that there was an awareness of the event within the local Aboriginal community.

After the 1977 festival, Obomsawin left her position as coordinator for personal reasons. The MFF continued to feature a First Nations contingent for one more year, under the direction of Bettle Liota. While the Native People's Area was programmed for the last time in 1978, it is worth mentioning that this initiative left a material legacy that remains in Toronto to this day. When asked about their personal highlights of the Mariposa Folk Festival, many administrators and performers include a reference to "the 35-foot canoe." In 1971, the festival invited Cesar Newashish (a canoe maker) to demonstrate his craft at the festival. Since the project required many weeks of work, a large part of it was completed at the Yorkdale Mall before moving to the Toronto Islands for completion. Owen McBride (an Irish ballad singer and frequent Mariposa performer) observed the process at both locations. He recalls,

> I think the main keel and ribs had been assembled where it came from--I think it came from Northern Quebec. The inside--where they were lining the inside, with cedar strips over the floorboards--they were putting in floorboards, and they would take pieces of cedar like this [*demonstrates with gestures*], and they would split them with shingles, and they would dip them into this big bucket with boiling water and resin... And then they would take the ribs out, and you would

> see them bending them around their bodies like this [*demonstrates with gestures*], and then they would sit it down inside, and then they would bore holes through it. And then they would tie it up with rawhide. It was a long process. I think they did most of the inside [of the canoe] in Yorkdale. And I think they put the birch bark on the outside, at the Island. (McBride 2013)

As McBride affirms, the canoe was completed at the festival proper; and the setting was an interactive one in which the public could ask questions. A description of the canoe "launch" appeared in the program book of the subsequent festival (a year later):

> Cesar and his wife speak only Cree…their children speak French and Cree; their son-in-law is learning English now. While Cesar was working on the canoe, people came to watch his incredible craft. There were times when people wanted to talk—and Alanis Obomsawin would gather a group about her and Cesar and his son-in-law and the discussion would go from English to French to Cree." (McMurrich 1972, n.p.)

A large part of this project had been funded by the Yorkdale Merchants Association. After the 1971 festival, according to Obomsawin, "Mariposa bought the canoe from the artists, and donated it to the museum. So it was a big honour for that family and the community" (Obomsawin 2013). The museum to which Obomsawin refers is Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum, where the canoe is still held today. Thus, while the Native People's Area brought many forms of song, dance and other performance to the festival, the legacy of this program also demonstrates how integral craftspeople were to Mariposa throughout the 1970s.

iii. Dance, Regional, and Ethno-cultural programming

> "I think Mariposa attempts a spectrum… And it's meant to be as broad a spectrum of possible—as possible, I should say—of all the kinds of things that make up folk." (Klein ca. 1972-1974)

This comment, made by Estelle Klein in a radio interview, neatly summarizes the rationale behind several programming developments of the 1970s, which included folk dance, regional Canadian musics, and multi-ethnic representation. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Innis Lake years (1965-1967) had already seen the beginnings of increased diversification within MFF programming. Klein's efforts had begun with more blues artists in 1964, and First Nations artists from the late 1960s onwards. Over the next two years, the festival would also host the University Settlement International Folk Dancers, and Pandit Randeva (an Indian musician). Beginning in 1971, an even greater expansion of international representation was evident in the program, with representation from Japanese, Indian, West Indian, African, and Middle Eastern musical cultures in the workshops. The daytime schedule for that year also shows several one-hour slots variously devoted to "Folk Dance Participation" and "Square Dance participation" (with the Native People's segment also featuring "Metis Performance Dances"). Leigh Cline (an MFF organizer and occasional performer) was involved in the multi-ethnic programming from its early stages. As he describes, the recruitment of musicians began on an informal basis:

> Estelle would say, "Do you know of a Greek dance group or do you know of a Balkan Dance group?" And I'd say yeah, you know, I've got a good friend who is

> from Crete and he's involved in that, and we can get the dance group and that's the way it worked. I mean, we'd have Shevchenko, and lots of different people that way. (Cline 2011)

The widening palette of musical cultures began to crystallize into a recognized contingent in 1972, when organizers announced the beginning of the MFF's "Ethnic committee." In its first year, this committee consisted of Olga Sandolowich, Flo Hayes, George Sawa, and Leigh Cline. Its goals and activities included "researching and organizing music and dance from various national groups in the Toronto area… (Cline 1972b, n.p.). As Cline explains (in a more recent interview), "Before, it was sort of haphazard… Nobody really knew how to reach the groups, because things were not as organized as now" (Cline 2011). The committee consulted with Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig (researchers affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution and New York Center for Traditional Music), who had ample experience doing outreach to ethno-cultural communities and organizations. For the next few years, MFF programming included representation from Macedonian, Portuguese, Chinese, Filipino and Turkish immigrant communities. Unlike the First Nations artists, the ethno-cultural and dance artists were not assigned a specific area of the festival grounds; but Cline notes that the dance troupes (whose membership sometimes reached dozens of people) were often allotted the biggest stage.

It was not long before Mariposa's efforts in multi-ethnic programming became known in (and utilized by) the broader arts community. Speaking about the ethnic committee, Klein commented in a 1970s interview,

> ...there's a lot of use being made out of it, a lot of mileage, I suppose; multiculturalism seems to be the word this year, and I have been approached to work on I don't know how many multicultural projects, either television, radio... (Klein ca. 1972-1974)

One of the projects referred to by Klein was a CBC television special on multi-ethnic music produced by John Thompson and hosted by singer Malka Himel. Because of their recent outreach toward ethno-cultural groups, MFF organizers were consulted for the project, and Leigh Cline in particular became very involved.

Meanwhile, Estelle Klein herself was involved with other arts-related projects at the Ontario Science Centre in the 1970s, and it was through this connection that Mariposa's human resources were further mobilized outside of the festival. In 1974, the World Crafts Council held its sixth general assembly ("In Praise of Hands") in Toronto, using the Science Centre as a chief venue. In addition to a craft exhibition, the program also included a significant multi-ethnic music and dance component. One of my consultants recalls these performances lasting for over two months (seven days per week), with approximately three performances a day per stage. Klein was given the job of artistic director for this endeavour, and Marna Snitman (an MFF organizer) was hired for administrative duties. Leigh Cline also was enlisted to recruit various ethno-cultural

groups from across Canada to participate. Additionally, Cline was hired as a freelance audio designer for two of the three stages.

Back at the festival proper, the diversification of musical traditions was not limited to performances by more recent immigrant groups. While the Ethnic Committee was only active between 1972 and 1974, the festival began to incorporate more Canadian regionalism in the mid- to late-1970s. Several workshops relating to Acadian and Quebecois music were featured throughout these years, including the artists Angèle Arsenault, Gilles Losier, Les Danseurs du St. Laurent, and Louis Boudreault. Additionally, a new committee was formed in 1975 to research and organize a contingent of Newfoundland artists. These musicians and craftspeople were initially slotted into the regular schedule of musical and craft workshops, as well as a discussion workshop (an example of the latter being "Life in Wildcove: The Family of a Fisherman"). In its second year (1976), the contingent widened to twelve participants, including Gerald Campbell, Rufus Guinchard, Margaret Bennett Knight, Mac Masters, Frank and Margaret MacArthur, and Wilf Wareham. Many of the same artists were brought back in 1977, and in this third and final year, the Newfoundland craftspeople were allotted a separate section of the general crafts area.

The MFF's efforts at artistic diversification in the mid-1970s were generally well-received by the public and performers. The small amount of negative reception was often indicative of Canadians' unfamiliarity with certain musical traditions at the time. For

example, in an audience survey, one festival-goer admitted to not enjoying a performance of Gambian kora music because "the difference was too much to immediately adjust to" (Audience survey 1974b). In a similar vein, Leigh Cline has also described a tense situation that arose during a performance by himself and a group of Greek musicians. The latter artists' previous Canadian experience had been limited to a Danforth Ave. nightclub (O Geros Olympos) which, in the 1970s, served primarily Greek patrons. While these musicians were well-known professionals in their home country,[57] Cline recalls their Mariposa performance as follows,

> So, it was sort of like—you know, the first time Bukka White and Son House and those kind of guys were playing for a white audience. You know, it was the same kind of mentality...So we go and we play on stage, we played it exactly the way we did it for Greeks. Which was electric bouzouki, electric clarinet, electric organ and electric guitar. And a drummer. And we were playing folk music. You know, 'cause that's—we were playing folk *dance* music, actually. Because they don't separate the music and the dance. And the audience actually *hated* it. We got comments like, "Well when are you going to play the real thing?" It's like, "This *is* the real thing, guys...This is the way they do it in Greece." But—no. They were used to Caravan, and—and the other line we got is "Where are the costumes?" (Cline 2011)[58]

[57] The performers were Yannis Antos (keyboard), Nikos Kaltsas (clarinet), Tassos Marinos (bouzouki), Takis Koroneos (drums). Leigh Cline, while not from Greece, was a part of this group for several years (as a guitar player) before bringing the group to Mariposa.

[58] Cline rightly points out that this type of audience reaction was the product of an era with less interchange between different ethnic communities of Toronto. As he recalls, a large proportion of Toronto audiences would have learned about "other cultures" from events such as Caravan (another Toronto cultural festival). The latter tended to eschew contemporary performance practice in favour of more traditional, costumed presentations. As Cline puts it, "The general assumption by the audience was that what was presented at Caravan was the totality of what each culture had to offer and not just one of the many facets" (Cline 2011). In fact, issues of cultural representation are common in discussions of folk festival programming (see Chapter one). See also Chapter five for a more detailed discussion on issues of cultural representation, specifically within Mariposa programming.

In other instances, some audience members felt that the new heights of diversity hindered local representation. As one man wrote in his survey,

> Why is it though that Quebec and the Maritimes are the only provinces that encourage local provincial talent. I came to the festival to see some Ontario groups I have seen before, like Nigel & Jessie and Sweet Music! Instead I heard J.A. Cameron, stars from the States and French and Indian singers. Let's hear more from Ontario! (Public opinion 1974)

Nonetheless, the criticisms in audience surveys were far outweighed by positive feedback, with the folk dance programming garnering the most praise. Some festival-goers also saw the diverse musical palette as a way to connect with their heritage. As one writer put it, "I would like to hear more workshops like 'Songs of the Jewish people.' I'm Jewish but know almost nothing about the music" (Audience survey1974c). And notwithstanding the performance described by Cline, most artists who performed non-English repertoire or non-Western musics came away with positive experiences. In a letter to Estelle Klein, Margaret Bennett Knight (a singer with Gaelic repertoire) said,

> My thanks to you for making me so aware of the fact that Canada really is immensely interested in so many cultures, even "other language ones" like mine, which, although people don't understand all the words, show great sensitivity to it nonetheless. (Bennett-Knight 1974)

George Sawa, a qanun[59] player, experienced similar warmth towards his performances of Egyptian classical and folk music. Despite the fact that most Canadians were unfamiliar with the qanun (and Egyptian music in general) in the 1970s, Sawa recalls that "They loved the sound of the qanun--the sound was very rich, and very strange to their ears.

[59] A Middle-Eastern trapezoidal plucked zither.

And so the audience was always supportive; people were so kind, so nice" (Sawa 2011). It is also worth noting that many performers and administrators themselves saw the MFF as a place to expand their own horizons. Several of my informants list the diversity of programming as one of their personal highlights of 1970s Mariposa. One such performer was Chris Rawlings, who recounted,

> Well, I think the programming was superior in that—Estelle Klein was able to draw on a vast knowledge of world music at the time, and I don't think many of the other festivals were involved in that. I remember particularly—I can't remember if it was 74 or 76, but hearing the instrument for the first time called the kora--an African instrument that was totally mesmerizing. And you just wouldn't have seen that at any other festivals, at that time. (Rawlings 2011)

The accounts of the performers and audience members above (regardless of their perspective) affirm that Mariposa was very much at the forefront of introducing Canadian audiences to "world" and "diverse" musics in the 1970s. "World music" would not become a commercial category until 1987 (see Klump 1999 and Frith 2000).

iv. Crafts Area[60]

According to some of my interviewees, the MFF had featured a small crafts component during various stagings in Orillia and Innis Lake. But the presence of a distinctive, organized crafts contingent appears to have developed after the festival's move to the

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[60]At contemporary festivals, similar contingents are now known as "Artisans' areas," and their participants as "artisans." As one of my interviewees pointed out, many of the "craftspeople" who participated at Mariposa were in fact visual artists, and the designation of "craftspeople" is nowadays felt to somewhat undervalue their skill. In this section, however, I continue to employ the word "Crafts Area" and "Craftspeople" because they are so frequently referred to as such in festival programs (and remembered as such by most interviewees).

Toronto Islands. Shelly Fowler (an artist and organizer), recalls that the process began rather informally:

> A few of us got together—Estelle Klein was a friend of mine, and she was interested in the whole scene of crafts, so a few of us got together and kind of organized something. It wasn't—most of what we did through the years—we were there 'till 79 or 80, that we organized it, we made a lot of changes along the way. In the beginning, it was just sort of put together with people that we knew. But it became more set as we found out what worked and what didn't work. (Fowler 2013)

The first reference to crafts at the festival appears in MFF program material from 1968, on a poster advertising "Music, Dance and Craftwork with almost 200 participants" (MFF poster 1968).[61] While the program book from the subsequent year (1969) did not list the specific craftspeople who were participating, it did contain a brief article by organizer Mildred Ryerson. After writing about the importance of craftwork to society, she concluded with "It's this kind of thing we would like you to consider as you watch the craftsmen at Mariposa as they work. Ask them questions, meet with them, and feel free to buy the work their hands have made" (Ryerson1969, n.p.). According to the daytime schedule of events, the crafts area ran from 10:30 am to 5:00 pm.

The crafts area underwent steady expansion throughout the decade. In 1970, it was widened with the presence of First Nations craftspeople (which, in that year, included the celebrated Haida jeweller Bill Reid). A year later, program notes refer to an added participatory element, "at which you can try your hand at batik, leatherwork, wire-

[61] A full program book from 1968 was not available during the process of writing this dissertation.

bending, card printing, silk screening, and macramé" (1971, n.p.). By this time, the craftspeople also included carvers, weavers, doll/toymakers, and potters. In 1972, the demonstrative aspects of the crafts area were further enhanced with the addition of a small stage, to "make some of the complex longer processes more easily seen." That same year, organizers apparently recognized a need for further exchange of information, as seen in the following feature:

> A bulletin board is placed in the crafts area, to show the times of these events, and the board is also being used as a trading post for addresses, names, and recipes from craftsmen and their suppliers. (1972, n.p.)

By 1973, the festival was admitting craftspeople by application. According to the 1974 program, "This has brought us in contact with many new people who have sent us their portfolios and their ideas" (MFF program book 1974, n.p.). Furthermore, the festival also introduced "the construction of more complex demonstration facilities," which included a glass-blowing kiln, a raku kiln, and a hand-powered treadle lathe. According to the program book, "These additions will give people a better chance to have the complete experience of production" (1974, n.p.).

Needless to say, these types of initiatives entailed a great deal of organizational and physical effort. Artisanal equipment and facilities (such as kilns, potter's wheels, and glass-blowing equipment) had to be transported by ferry like everything else, and then stored on the island for the duration of the festival. Shelly Fowler recalls one particular mishap in vivid detail:

> I remember one year we had a woman who—a raku potter, and we dug a pit for her, and she brought her fuel, which was actually cow dung in a bunch of garbage bags. And she had all that to burn, and one night the garbage people took them away. Because they were all in garbage bags. And I had to –being very pregnant and rather small, I had to go and get them back. And they [the garbage pick-up men] were slightly inebriated, these guys, *really* big guys. And I had to go and look in all the bags to find the cow dung and bring it back (laughs). (Fowler 2013)

In addition to sculptors, these years also saw an increased presence of instrument makers, which included guitars, dulcimers, mandolins, harps, psalteries and clavichords. A notable participant of this contingent was Grit Laskin (musician and acclaimed Canadian luthier), who demonstrated his craft (and participated musically) at Mariposa regularly throughout the 1970s.

Aside from enabling the on-site presence of instrument-makers, organizers went to great lengths to integrate musical and artisanal programming in other ways. Aware of the connection between certain musical repertoires and material art forms, they identified notable performers who could demonstrate both aspects (or assist in an integrated performance). Skye Morrison (a folklorist, artisan and MFF crafts coordinator) offers the example of Norman Kennedy (a Scottish weaver and ballad singer):

> ...we had Norman come and do waulking songs--which are the songs for fulling the wool--in the crafts area, so he worked with weavers. And Newfoundland people came; we had them making partridgeberry jam, things like that, in the crafts area; so that we had kind of a relationship between the musicians and the craftspeople. That was a conscious thing we did throughout the time it was on the Island. (Morrison 2013)

During the mid- to late 1970s, the crafts area also began to feature more structured workshops. The 1975 program lists three types of workshop offerings—namely

participation workshops (in which participants could sign up ahead of time to "experiment with the medium or make a finished piece"), discussion workshops ("so that people from different disciplines may share thoughts on their crafts"), and demonstration workshops (which included folk dances that imitate the movements of occupations and crafts)(MFF program book 1975, n.p.).

By 1976, the organization of the MFF crafts area was guided by a solidified vision and set of goals:

> There is an attempt to bring "folk" and "trained" craftspeople of many disciplines together in a setting where they can react to each other, to the music, and to the audience. All craftspeople at Mariposa demonstrate some part of their work. They choose their own methods, whether it be a participation workshop, brief demonstration, or informal discussion—whatever the individual feels is the most effective way to communicate their philosophy and work. (Morrison 1976, 13)

The same article gives a breakdown of the selection process for crafts people (see Appendix G, 229). By the time the MFF wrapped up its last year on the Islands in 1979, the crafts area had become the longest-running and most steadily-evolving artistic contingent of the festival.

Along with the crafts area, the other contingents (i.e., those pertaining to children's music, First Nations arts, and ethno-cultural/regional music and dance) were thus important developments occurring at Mariposa throughout the 1970s. Their significance to the Canadian arts scene and/or broader Canadian society will be highlighted in Chapter 5.

d. MFF: A performer's festival

Throughout my research, I have occasionally heard the 1970s MFF described as a "performer's festival." As discussed in Section b, the switch to the daytime format and increased emphasis on workshops in the early 1970s were indicative of Estelle Klein's discomfort with the star system and her concern for the performer experience. But these ideals also came to the fore in other aspects of the Mariposa experience, three of which will be discussed here: the pay scale for musicians, the after-hours hotel parties, and the "1972 incident."

The pay scale adopted by the festival in the late 1960s was yet another result of Klein's activism towards bettering the lives of folk performers.[62] Essentially, all musicians performing at Mariposa received union-scale rates, whether they were lesser-known or well-known performers (with the exact fee depending on the amount and length of their performances over the weekend). In the process of my archival research for this dissertation, I was unable to obtain information on the exact year in which the union-scale pay policy was implemented. Several performers and administrators, however, have proudly pointed out that Joan Baez (already an internationally-famous artist at that time) performed at Mariposa for union-scale rates during the Toronto Island years. Her name is

[62] As mentioned earlier, she had been active within the Toronto Guild of Canadian Folk Artists since the earlier part of the decade, helping to generate more work for folk musicians in Toronto.

listed only in the program book for 1969, which suggests the pay policy was already being observed by that year.[63]

The promise of "big bucks" was therefore not on the table for Mariposa performers, yet many people point to this as proof of how highly the artists regarded the festival. As Owen McBride (an Irish ballad singer) put it,

> In most other festivals (other than Mariposa), there was big bucks. If you were very famous, you got big bucks, if you were not so famous, you didn't get paid as well, so at the other festivals there were always negotiations between performers and their managers, trying to get more money. With Mariposa, people would drive from California. You'd see the parking lots in Toronto, and you'd see trucks and cars and vans from California where people had *driven up* to be a part of Mariposa Folk Festival. It made the careers of *so many* people. (McBride 2013)

Aside from the career-building capacity of the festival, it was also viewed as a positive peer experience for performers. As Marna Snitman (a former administrator) put it, "Performers wanted to come because not only would they get to see their old buddies, but they'd meet new people that were every bit as good musicians as they were, or better, that no one had ever heard of" (Snitman 2011). On a more personal level, one artist put it (rather humorously) as follows:

> Actually, the folk festivals—it wasn't about the money at all. Because there just wasn't any. Actually, the free food and socializing, hanging out with your friends—I remember there was—folk festivals were a place for romance. I mean, that was a big feature of the folk festival, was the fact that you could hook up with somebody, and that was part of the fun of it. (Anonymous performer 2011)

[63] See Chapter 4 for a reference to Joan Baez's next Mariposa performance in the mid-1980s, which occurred under very different financial circumstances.

As highlighted by these three perspectives, the overall experience of taking part in the festival was often weighted more heavily than performance fees in an artist's decision to participate. Thus, while not assuring great financial gains for well-known artists, Klein's "egalitarian" approach of union-scale fees had strong experiential implications for all performers involved.

In addition to the pay scale used, the after-hours hotel parties provided further evidence of the festival's strong performer-oriented outlook. Throughout the Toronto Island years, all Mariposa performers were housed in the Executive Motor Hotel. Located at 621 King Street, the hotel was close enough to the waterfront to enable timely transport of performers to the water taxis (which would then take them to the island). A former organizer has told me that the MFF would typically book the entire hotel for the weekend, so that all guests were comprised of "just Mariposa people."

Almost unanimously, performers and administrators describe the hotel as a site of musical camaraderie. As Owen McBride recalls,

> that was another big thing about Mariposa, regardless of who was playing. Back at the hotel, afterwards—after the concert was over, everyone would go back and there would be yahooing and good fellowship. There would be jam sessions in every room, and the party would go on all night. It was just wonderful. (McBride 2013)

Others remember the hotel experience as the true pinnacle of musical interaction at Mariposa. As Posen puts it,

> I mean, the workshops were wonderful, and hearing and meeting other performers was fabulous, but the best music was made back at the hotel…that's where the

> song swap sessions were, that's where the incredible harmonizing took place with the Friends of Fiddler's Green, and all the English performers, they would swap songs or sing along on each other's songs. (Posen 2011)

Posen adds that the first powwow music he had ever heard was in fact at the hotel, when a group of First Nations drummers gathered in a room downstairs.

Another important testament to the MFF's status as a "performer's festival" was the events of 1972. The scheduled programming for that year featured the festival's regular mix of musical traditions and genres (e.g., ballad singers, singer-songwriters, blues and ethno-cultural performers), as well as some slightly more well-known performers (e.g., Bonnie Raitt). By that time, Klein's discomfort with the star system was widely known, and the festival was entering its second year of the daytime-only format. Essentially, the infamy of the 1972 festival is rooted in the unexpected arrival of several big-name singer-songwriters: Gordon Lightfoot, Neil Young, Joni Mitchell, and Bob Dylan. The appearance of these artists is one of the most oft-recalled aspects of the MFF's festival's fifty-year history; indeed, a recent book by Dave Bidini (2011) describes the events of 1972 in great detail.

The desire of these artists to participate in the festival (whether as mere observers or unpaid performers) speaks volumes of Mariposa's reputation for generating camaraderie among performers. In the case of Gordon Lightfoot and Joni Mitchell, they already had a strong connection to the festival forged during the Innis Lake years (and in Lightfoot's case, in Orillia); and their presence at Mariposa was very much viewed as a

homecoming. Gordon Lightfoot, in particular, managed to pull off an intimate off-stage performance by a large tree for a small number of people (see Bidini 2011, 253-254 for eyewitness accounts). And as Murray McLauchlan recalled in his memoir, the stage time given to Neil Young and Joni Mitchell was done so in an amiable way:

> I gave over half of a special little mini-concert that I was doing so Joni could play, and Bruce Cockburn did the same thing for Neil. It was a natural thing to want to do. Our managers were all friends; B.C. had booked Neil at the Riverboat and promoted Joni at Massey Hall. Bruce and I were sympathetic to the idea that these two artists just wanted to play some informal music. It seemed like a good idea at the time. (McLauchlan 1998, 208)

As with these three performers, Bob Dylan had also made his way to Mariposa for (apparently) the sake of enjoyment. Having shown up with his wife and son, he told a reporter, "We were vacationing in the area, and decided to drop in" (Goddard 1972b, 12). Singer Owen McBride's encounter with Dylan is particularly illustrative of the camaraderie between performers at Mariposa. As he told me in an interview:

> And Bob—we'd met the night before, at the motel, we were all jamming and everything, and I was singing a rebel song called "Patriot Game." And Bob Dylan said that he wrote a song called "God on our Side," which he wrote to the tune of the "Patriot Game." And he said "how about I sing a verse and you sing a verse." Now, nobody knew he was in town. So at the [workshop] stage [later in the weekend], at the back, at the little tent at the back of the stage, he was in there with a microphone and I would sing a verse of the Patriot Game, and then he would sing a verse of "God on Our Side," and I believe the audience assumed that it was a record. That was a very memorable occasion for me. (McBride 2013)

But unlike Gordon Lightfoot, Joni Mitchell and Neil Young, Bob Dylan was not a homespun artist "coming home for a visit," and his presence was seen as more problematic by festival organizers. As Richard Flohil recalls,

> Well, obviously if the artist wants to come to an event, you say "how nice. Thank you." But I have to say that in the hotel on the Friday night after the first night concert, we were partying and a friend of mine said "I've just seen Bob Dylan in the corridor. He's come to the festival." I went "Oh, fuck." I *knew*. (Flohil 2012)

The biggest issue with unscheduled stars (at least, in the eyes of MFF organizers) was that their impromptu performances (and mere appearances on festival grounds) could pull audiences away from lesser-known artists. This type of situation ran contrary to Estelle Klein's ideals of supporting lesser-known performers. Klein herself happened to be out of the country for the 1972 instalment, and the decision about whether to let the big-name artists play fell to other organizers. As mentioned earlier, Joni Mitchell and Neil Young had been permitted to perform on stage, and Gordon Lightfoot had taken his own off-stage initiative. But out of these four renowned musicians, Bob Dylan had the strongest capacity to draw audiences away from other performers—simply put, he represented the antithesis to Estelle Klein's vision. After much deliberation between board members, it was decided by Buzz Chertkoff (festival president at the time) to not allow him to perform. As remembered by Marna Snitman,

> I think it was fine, either way, with him. He looked as good as he's ever looked: red bandana, white shirt, and blue jeans. He hadn't been seen in public for awhile, so it was a kind of confirmation that he was still around, still happening. He wandered around with his wife and son, Jesse, and, for us, it was a source of pride that he could just hang out without being hounded. (Bidini 2011, 216)

Several organizers nevertheless felt a sense of relief when Dylan left the Island on a water taxi with Leon Redbone. But they would be met with another surprise when the water taxi suddenly turned around and returned to the Island, with Dylan disembarking and

requesting to perform. This time, the star is said to have garnered more attention from fans, causing a minor stampede; nevertheless, an actual musical performance by the folk-rock star was averted that day (Bidini 2011, 216-221).

The events of 1972 encapsulate all the reasons why many people remember the MFF as a "performer's festival." The scheduled artists that year were generally accomplished (but not necessarily famous) performers who received equal rates for their time. Several internationally-known musicians, despite having not signed any contracts with the festival, decided to show up for pure enjoyment and a willingness to perform for free. At the after-hours hotel parties, big-name artists mingled with regular performers on equal terms. Yet come time for the daytime concerts, organizers made the decision to protect the integrity of the MFF's vision by disallowing a performance from the biggest star of all, in the interest of preserving the audience sizes (and therefore the festival experience) for its hired performers.

e. Audience, community, and public reception

The MFF's final staging at Innis Lake (1967) had drawn crowds of 10,000 to 12,000 people (Cruchley 1967, 22). After moving to the Toronto Islands, organizers reported an attendance of 15,000 people in 1968 (Yorke 1968, Harris 1968). This figure readily increased over the next few years as the festival settled into its new location. By 1973, organizers had capped attendance at 8,000 people per day, and according to a *Globe and Mail* reporter, "all three days were sellouts" (Batten 1973, 11). This indicates

an overall attendance of roughly 24,000, though the *Toronto Star* reported a figure of 21,000 (Goddard 1973, 26). For the remainder of the decade, the festival grounds were usually filled to capacity, though in 1979 (its final year on the Island), attendance figures reportedly dropped to 20,000 (Crew 1979, C03).

As mentioned in the previous sections, audience surveys indicated an overwhelmingly positive response to many of the MFF's developments on the Toronto Islands; some of the most popular aspects were the interactive character of workshops, the children's area, the First Nations programming, and the dance workshops. But the festival also offered another element of enjoyment that was not part of the official programming. In particular, many recollections of former festival-goers emphasize the sense of community they felt at the festival. For many attendees, the event was an annual tradition they shared with family and/or friends. An illustrative example was recounted to me by two of my interviewees, Norma Rose and Esther Lewis, who were members of the Secular Jewish Association in Toronto. The SJA was a social group that organized numerous activities throughout the year. Since many of its members were folk music enthusiasts, the Mariposa weekend was a logical extension of their regular events. Several members of the SJA would bring their children with them; and the association had a designated meeting place on the festival grounds. As Esther explains,

> My son in grade 7, or 8, in shop [class] made a sign. We—primarily the people we were with—belonged to this group. And he made a sign that said "Friends of the SJA tree"—on a piece of wood. And we hung it on a tree, or tied it to a tree, and that was our tree. So you could always find a friend, or a parent, even if it

> wasn't your own—it didn't matter—or food, or have a picnic there. Or leave your food, or leave your jacket or whatever. And you could wander around. So there was always sort of a "place" where we could meet, or say to somebody "I'll meet you at a certain time at the tree." (Lewis 2013)

The group attended regularly for most of the 1970s, and the same sign was re-affixed to the tree each year, creating a "homebase" for the friends and their children. According to Norma, "it was like a central meeting place where you could leave our backpacks and picnic—the place was safe there. People were trusting…" (Rose 2013). The feelings of community and trust were widespread at 1970s Mariposa, and were likely as important as the artistic programming in helping the MFF to build a dedicated returning audience.

Naturally, media perspectives on the festival tended to carry a different emphasis than accounts found in audience surveys or interview recollections. During this era the MFF was represented regularly in local and national print media, with annual coverage in the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail.*[64] In contrast to audience surveys, media reports offer a more generalized perspective on the festival offerings. While the writers for these publications agreed on certain aspects of the festival (such as the benefits of the Island setting, the variety of music, and the mellow vibe), they diverged in other respects. A recurring theme among certain writers (particularly those working for the Toronto Star) was the lack of big-name artists at Mariposa. During its first year on the Toronto Islands, *Toronto Star* reporter Peter Harris wrote,

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[64] For a period of time, the MFF was also covered by the *Toronto Telegram*, but the latter went defunct in 1971. This chapter draws primarily from the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* due to accessibility issues.

> Artistically, the festival was an unqualified success if only because it was totally true to the meaning of the word folk. By contrast, the Newport Folk Festival—to give the gate a shot in the arm—usually manages to shoehorn in a few acts which could never, by the wildest stretch of imagination, be regarded as folky. At Mariposa, while it would have taken the most catholic taste imaginable to be wild about everybody who appeared, there never was a real dead spot or feeling of letdown in the concerts which were kept moving by holding encores to a bare minimum. (Harris 1968, 20)

Later, in 1973 (two years after the elimination of evenings concerts), reporter Peter Goddard (another *Toronto Star* reporter) would continue to discuss the implications of the festival's anti-star ethos, observing "boredom" among some festival-goers (Goddard 1973, 3). In 1977, Margaret Daly (when discussing Mariposa along with the broader music industry) commented, "Both lack innovation, both refuse to experiment, both are too smug and yet too scared at the same time and both are completely irrelevant to the fields they purport to cover" (Daly 1977, H1).

Other reporters, however, clearly saw the benefits of the festival's anti-star, pro-folk strategy. In 1971 (i.e., the first year with consistent daytime programming and an absence of evening concerts), a *Globe and Mail* reporter made the following comment,

> Mariposa is the peaceable festival. There is everywhere a conspicuous absence of power, of backers, agents, and middlemen. Performers step down from the six small stages scattered around Olympic Island, into the throng that cheered their singing. The mystery is in their music, not in the back rooms: the folk enthusiasts want to approach the artists, not the secrets behind the stage.(Bohnen 1971, 23)

And six years later, Paul McGrath (responding to Daly's scathing review of the same weekend) emphasized the experiential perks of spending time at Mariposa:

> As usual some of the most candid and relaxed and also some of the most outrageous moments could not be found in the program; they had to be stumbled across or chanced upon behind trees, by the fences, near the washrooms... (McGrath 1977, 16)

Between audience surveys and local media coverage (and with the exception of people who desired more big-name artists on the bill), one can therefore conclude that the majority of the MFF's local reception during the Island years was positive.

In addition to local praise, the MFF's import on the broader North American folk circuit was also widely recognized. By 1970, Mariposa was listed in the "What's Happening" column for U.S.-based (and internationally-distributed) *Sing Out* Magazine. A year later, a 1971 issue of *Sing Out* published a review of that year's Mariposa (alongside reviews of, among others, the Philadelphia Folk Festival and the National Folk Festival—two "heavyweight" events on the folk circuit). Notably, reviewer Adele Gradz declared 1971 Mariposa to be "one of the most satisfying and exciting musical folk festivals in many years" (Gradz 1971, 8).

Gradz was not the only person to rank Mariposa higher than other North American festivals. A comment on a 1974 audience survey reads, "Magnificent. The only festival I've ever attended which comes close to but never is better is the Philly Folk Festival" (Audience survey 1974d). And further proof of the MFF's distinction at the

organizational level can be found in a letter from a prominent singer-songwriter to Estelle Klein,[65] who commented,

> We've had the same trouble (no releases, no contracts, no explanations) with C. at the San Diego Festival. But you folks have really set up a model of how it should be done right, and I wish that C. and K. from Biograph would go up there and take lessons. Congratulations. But that's Mariposa, a case studing [*sic*] in doing it right. (Anonymous author 1976)

f. Conclusion

The Toronto Islands era (1968-1979) marked the festival's most successful period since its 1961 founding in Orillia. Under the direction of Estelle Klein, the programming adhered to a new philosophy that eschewed famous performers in favour of lesser-known (but highly skilled) artists who helped to generate an interactive atmosphere. In particular, Klein's vision and expertise extended to workshop stages, on which her gift for assembling performers under a single topic resulted in a vibrant learning experience for both performers and audiences. During this era, the programming was also expanded to highlight additional musical and non-musical art forms such as children's music, First Nations performance, crafts, and ethno-cultural music/dance. Previously under-represented, some of these art forms developed more visibility in the broader Canadian arts scene after being featured at Mariposa. Additionally, the MFF is often remembered as a "performer's festival." Despite the equal pay scale assigned to musicians, many of them (including some of international renown) saw the MFF as a positive environment

[65] Names have been shortened to single initials to protect the privacy of persons mentioned in the letter.

for performing, networking, or simply spending a summer day. Overall, the MFF's public reception during this era was generally positive. Despite garnering occasional negative opinions by some local reviewers (mostly regarding its presumed "conservativeness"), the MFF attracted performers and audience members from across North America during the Island years. During this time, it was ranked as one of the top events of its kind by reviewers from the folk community, with comparisons to the Philadelphia and Newport folk festivals.

As the findings of this chapter suggest, the artistic developments occurring at Mariposa in the 1970s (i.e., daytime programming, children's music, crafts, and First Nations and ethno-cultural programming) were influential factors in the festival's success. The significance of these developments would extend beyond the festival's immediate context, whether through their influence on the wider music scene or their historical position vis-à-vis other developments in Canadian society. These far-reaching implications of Mariposa's 1970s programming will be discussed further in Chapter 5, which re-examines the festival's artistic legacy from a historical distance.

Having provided a historical overview of the artistic developments of 1968-1979, the following chapter will continue this narrative into subsequent decades, covering the period from 1980 to the present time.

CHAPTER 4: 1980-PRESENT

a. Introduction

Towards the end of the 1970s, many sensed that the MFF was reaching a crossroads. A commentator on the 1979 festival pointed to the MFF's position in a changing musical climate:

> This year, listeners could hear countless evocations of the various Celtic traditions which form the mainstays of North American traditional and folk music. As the folk concert and festival circuit grows, and as this music becomes more available in clubs and record stores, Mariposa becomes just one more in a host of similar events. (McGrath 1979)

Aside from increased competition in the Canadian music scene, Klein was also keen for the foundation to explore new avenues outside of the island event. She ultimately proposed a new format for foundation activities—one that involved a discontinuation of the summer festival and an increase in year-round initiatives. Initially, this was not well-received by other board members. But as one account describes it,

> ...as Estelle pointed out the shortcomings of the "old" format and the challenges and benefits of the "new", the idea grew upon us. The dictates of economics, a more fragmented market, an energy-conserving public, and stiff competition for the "disposable" (nice word, eh?) dollar helped underscore the Klein proposal. They demanded that we define ourselves more clearly, diversify, innovate, and expand all in one move. What some thought heresy two years ago had become an obvious reality. (Auwai 1980, 3)

The festival therefore took new directions after the final island festival in 1979. For the next two decades, it would pass through many different locales, frequently changing its artistic vision and body of administrators. It would not find another long-term home until

its 2000 move back to Orillia, where it remains today. This chapter will outline the MFF's artistic and administrative journey from 1980 to the present. My discussion will be divided into the following time periods (which are roughly based on its changes of location): 1980-1983 (a period of year-round initiatives and fall events), 1984-1990 (summer festival at Molson Park), 1991-1995 (summer festivals at Ontario Place and Olympic Island), 1996-1998 (community events in Bracebridge and Cobourg), and 2000-present (summer festival in Orillia).

b. 1980-1983

After leaving the Islands in 1979, organizers began carrying out Klein's vision for more year-round initiatives. The goals for the turn of the decade were summarized in a foundation letter addressed to "Friends of Mariposa," and entitled "To bring you into the 80s":

> We are going into our 20th year, and in celebration we're planning to make it a very special one. June will not be the festival month: 1980 will be the Festival year. We mean this very literally. Mariposa is going to explode out of a three day festival on the island, to land in a myriad of locations and events across the community and over a number of months. (Unknown author 1980)

One of the first initiatives to reflect this "explosion" was the introduction of a new concert series in the fall of 1979, "Mariposa Mainland." This series featured weekly performances of folk-oriented artists at Harbourfront's Brigantine Room. Later, Mariposa Mainland would be considered "one of the most successful facets of the 'year-round festival,'" as identified by executive director Rob Sinclair (Sinclair 1980, 1). Another

new initiative included outdoor concerts in various parks across Toronto; these were co-sponsored by the Toronto Musicians' Association. Meanwhile, Mariposa In The Schools continued to operate its year-round children's programs as before.

The culminating event of the MFF's twentieth-anniversary celebrations was supposed to have been "20th Century Symphonic Music Folk Roots," a large concert at Massey Hall (conducted by David Amram) which featured collaborations between folk and symphonic musicians. This event, however, proved to be a financial failure (and ultimately, it would not be the last event of the year). According to Daryl Auwai, "We seemed to be a little ahead of our time, the audience, to put it simply, wasn't there" (Auwai 1980, 3). One of my interviewees elaborated on some possible reasons for its poor attendance. According to him, before some of the programming was finalized, word had spread to the wider community that the Mariposa Folk Festival (in its Island format) would not be taking place in 1980. As a result of this information, a small group of people from the music community launched an effort to organize a new summer festival which they called "The Toronto Folk Festival." Their announcement to the public that the Toronto Folk Festival would be happening "instead" of Mariposa created a misconception about Estelle Klein's new vision of year-round events.[66] The symphonic concert therefore lost a lot of publicity, which may explain its lack of attendance.

[66] According to one of my interviewees, the Toronto Folk Festival was nevertheless a financial fiasco, with organizers owing $300,000 after it was over.

Following these unfortunate events, the foundation began organizing a fall festival to take place later that year. As Ken Whiteley recalls,

> Estelle was so discouraged by all the ways this had all gone down. So I said I'll program a festival, at Harbourfront, so we did evening concerts in this—with seating, you know, and it's in the large space, and then also ran programming in the Brigantine Room, and then did workshops through the day, and also ran films, and other things in other spaces. (Whiteley 2011)

The said event, held September 26-28, 1980 (Friday to Sunday), was billed as the "Mariposa Fall Festival" and carried an "urban folk" theme. Friday night was billed as "urban blues" night, and performers included the Downchild Blues Band, Robert Lockwood Jr. and Johnny Shines. The Saturday night performers were described as "four very different and exceptional sets of artists that has one common thread in that they draw from their folk roots to give new expressions of their urban experiences" (Whiteley 1980, 9). The artists included Sweet Honey in the Rock, David Bromberg, Robert Paquette, and Pepe Castillo and Estampa Criolla. Over the weekend, daytime programming included workshops/singarounds (in various rooms), a children's area, and music-themed films. Throughout the weekend, long-time Mariposa performers could be heard alongside lesser-known artists.

Like the symphonic concert that preceded it, the 1980 Mariposa Fall Festival was nevertheless a financial failure. Speculating as to possible reasons for this, Rob Sinclair later wrote "Was it the time of year? The publicity? Audience distrust of a totally

different Mariposa Festival? Lack of credibility after the fiscal wreckage of the *Toronto Folk Festival*? Nobody knew" (Sinclair 1981, 2).

The foundation continued to shift its administrative structure. The next key shifts would be documented in *Mariposa Notes*, a newsletter launched by the foundation in 1981. The first of these was Estelle Klein's resignation. As mentioned in the inaugural issue,

> Estelle had begun to feel the need to change the intensity of her involvement following the trauma of serious illness and injury that involved both her and her husband, Jack. She wanted more time to pursue a wide variety of interests. It is her intention to continue as a freelance consultant for events that combine those interests and relate to her view of folk. (Mariposa Board of Directors 1981, 1)

Other major shifts pertained to financial matters. Early in that year, the foundation had started developing a membership structure (i.e., one that solicited fees from members). As summarized in the third issue, the MFF was also in the midst of transforming from "a self-supporting organization to a funded foundation" (Mundinger and Sinclair 1981, 7). Indeed, a newsletter from that year (volume 1, number 3) indicates support from the Ontario Arts Council, the Government of Canada through the Department of Communications, and the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. But a broader shift was also taking place in the federal government's relationship with the arts. In 1980, the Trudeau government appointed the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Chaired by Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert, the committee's purpose has been described as follows:

> …to propose improved means of administering arts funding following the 1979 Lambert Report, which proposed rationalizing fiscal and administrative procedures of state, and the 1980 assignment of culture to the Dept. of Communications. (Berland 2012)

The committee carried out widespread public consultations, inviting arts organizations from across Canada to present briefs at eighteen public hearings. Lanie Melamed (a long-time volunteer for Mariposa) developed a brief on behalf of Mariposa to submit to the commission. Its contents were summarized as follows:

> In this brief, Mariposa recommends that community-based folk organizations which sponsor year-round programs should be provided with perennial operating funds by the Federal government. Examples of such groups would be Mariposa, the Georgian Bay Folk Society, the Winnipeg Folk Festival, and the Vancouver Folk Festival. Mechanisms should be devised to allow these groups to exchange information. Such media could be magazines, television programming or a national festival. (Sinclair [Alex] 1981, 2)

Aside from these initiatives to increase financial resources, the MFF also continued its year-round musical programming. This included a "Mid-summer Get-together" at Harbourfront, an expanded *Mariposa in the Parks* programme, and the creation of a Family Programming Committee that launched a children's programme, *Mariposa Sundays*. The latter concert series was said to be well-received.

The foundation did not hold a festival in 1981, but a full-length summer event was organized for 1982. Held June 25-27 at Bathurst Quay, it was billed as an all-Canadian festival (the first since the MFF left Orillia). A message in the program book indicates that the MFF followed through with their goals to become a funded foundation. Outlining recent administrative shifts, Rob Sinclair (executive director) went on to note,

> …We have also recognized the need to find different sources of financial support to allow us to do our job properly. Assistance for Mariposa Festival '82 from Wintario and other government and corporate bodies is a major step forward. (Sinclair 1982, 4)

Other government and corporate supporters of the 1982 festival included the Ontario Arts Council, the City of Toronto, the Touring Office of the Canada Council, the Laidlaw Foundation, and Molson's Brewery, among others. The program also summarized the MFF's involvement in the broader national arts policy discussion (i.e., Applebaum-Hébert commission), but the exact amount of funding they received as a direct result of this commission is unclear. A former MFF board member has told me, "…we had been expecting a large grant from Heritage Canada, something on the order of a hundred thousand dollars, and at the last minute they just said no" (Anonymous board member 2011). Organizers had drawn up their budget in anticipation of that amount, and when it was not received, they decided to proceed with the festival anyway.

The programming for this all-Canadian event included representation from almost every province and territory, with "pavilions" focusing on specific regions. There was also particularly strong representation from local (i.e., Ontario) artists. But according to several interviewees, the 1982 festival was also a financial failure.

By the end of the year, organizers acknowledged some pointed challenges with the foundation's structure. According to an administrative document from December 1982, some of these challenges were rooted in the foundation's adjustment from a single summer event to an array of year-round initiatives. As described in the document,

> The dispersion of energies and activities, the apparent vagueness of the "chain of command," the absence of a strong single artistic direction and focus, have resulted in an unfortunate confusion in the minds of many as to who actually does what, and how what gets done gets done at all. (Sinclair 1982,1)

The foundation continued to refine its vision and brainstorm for new ideas. By 1983 it had introduced a new initiative, Mariposa In the Woods. The impetus and purpose of this program would later be described as follows:

> In the early 1980s, when most folk festivals were striving to become better by getting bigger, a small group within the Mariposa Folk Foundation struck out in a different direction. They wanted to become better by getting smaller, more intimate, and more participatory. The first "Mariposa in the Woods" was a residential music and dance camp held just outside of Toronto where campers and performer/teachers came together for 4 days of classes, workshops, concerts, dances, special events and general fun built around sharing musical experiences. ("The Woods")

This initiative was highly successful, and like the MITS program, it is still running in the present day (though its name was later changed to the Woods Music and Dance Camp).

The foundation did not hold a full festival in 1983. According to David Warren (a long-time board member),

> we say we had a festival, but it was something very small, I think here in Toronto; it might have been at Christie Pits…or Eglinton Park. It was a combination—a little performance and rummage sale, and a few things like that. (Warren 2011)

The most significant shift in 1983 pertained to Mariposa In the Schools, which became a separate organization for financial reasons. For years, it had received more government support than the foundation proper, and had sometimes shared its funds with the latter;

but because of its success and the growing demand for its programs, it was decided that the MITS program would benefit from administrative autonomy (see Chapter 3).

1983 was also spent searching for a new physical location in which a summer festival could be staged. As Warren recalls, "We had looked at other venues. But then Molson offered Molson Park." The park was located in Barrie, Ontario. Warren explains the relationship between the brewery, its land, and the events that it sponsored:

> …they bought that land too close—basically too close from Molson Springs, I don't know if they really needed its capacity. It ended up being sold eventually. So they had this land which was very visible in the local community, and if they did nothing with it, I think it would have been embarrassing, so one of the things for them was to say 'look, we're doing summer events.' We weren't their only summer event, certainly we were their most high profile one, but I think one or two of them even may have had more bodies, like big—at least one year they had a fairly big country event, I think. (Warren 2011)

Molson Park would prove to be the MFF's first long-term home since the Island years.

c. 1984-1990

After four years of staging events in urban parks, the MFF found itself once more in a relatively isolated setting. According to Warren, the Molson Park acreage had originally been a farm:

> Molson Springs bought out the farmer and the farmer said "Sure you can buy me out, but I'm not selling you two acres; you're gonna buy my farm…" So for Molson Springs, I don't know, the acreage had this large farm on which they built a plant, and I think they built a couple of things. I think there was the cross-country ski lodge for the executives…a little house, a nice little house, which we used when we were there for Mariposa; and a couple of other things… And then Molson bought them out. (Warren 2011)

Because of this vast amount of available space, the MFF was now able to offer onsite camping for festival goers (an option that had not been available on the Toronto Islands).

According to Warren, the MFF hosted its first-ever beer tent during these years (selling, of course, mainly Molson beer). As he recalls,

> ...they hoped that it [MFF]would attract a large number of drinkers...We had to actually have other beers on sale, because of liquor control board regulations, but in fact there would be the one case of Labatts that wasn't chilled or something in the back room, that was available if somebody insisted, and basically we sold Molsons. But it was also a PR thing, you know, for them-- they gave us a good portion of our budget, not 100% percent, but—I don't know the percentage, but certainly more than half—of our budget came from them. (Warren 2011)

In addition to hefty corporate sponsorship, the MFF also continued to receive governmental support at this time. The program book lists support from Ontario's Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, though the exact type of grant is not known.

The first edition of Mariposa at Molson Park was programmed by Michael Cooney and held July 13-15, 1984. Cooney had been a good friend of Estelle Klein's and advised her on potential artists for many years in the 1970s. Evidently, in the 1984 edition, he (and other organizers) made an effort to recreate the atmosphere of intimacy and interaction that she had developed at the Islands. As he stated in his program message:

> Estelle Klein set a standard of high quality that has never been equalled. There have been bigger festivals, but none better, for innovation, imagination and care. It is our aim to carry on the tradition. As we go into our twenty-fifth year, we have reaffirmed our goals to do more than just impress people. Rather, we want to inspire and encourage, and provide access to those who might want to play music

for fun, and for those who just want to be there when "kitchen music" is being made. (Cooney 1984a, n.p.)

In keeping with this vision, the 1984 festival had three "Sessions stages" (for singarounds,[67] workshops and discussions), two "Acoustic areas" for more intimate workshops (i.e., with one performer at a time), a dance pavilion (which offered demonstrations and workshops), a children's area ("Folkplay"), and a crafts area (emphasizing demonstration as before). Other programming could be found in the Order of Good Cheer Pavilion ("for those who like to sing British Pub Songs"), the Cabaret Tent, and Ballad Barn (with hosting the appropriate genres). Evening concerts took place in the Cabaret Tent (as opposed to a large Mainstage). The campground was also arranged to enable informal music making, with its division into affinity group areas (e.g., "Bluegrass Valley," "Blues Alley") and a campfire singaround each night (Cooney 1984b, n.p.) (see Appendix H, 230, for layout). Under Cooney's direction, programming included many artists who had been "regulars" on the Island, such as Ken Whiteley, Friends of Fiddler's Green, John Roberts and Tony Barrand, Rufus Guinchard, and George Sawa.

The following year saw an addition of a mainstage, which, according to David Warren, was nicknamed "The Bunker." As he describes it,

> Because it was very protected, they were—I guess they thought they were gonna get big-name rock acts and they wanted to be—even at the very beginning, they

[67] As used by the MFF community, the term "singaround" usually indicated a workshop of three or four performers singing songs on a shared topic.

> were worried to a degree about security. We didn't need a stage that was something like 8 feet off the ground–you had to be pretty far back to actually—if you were sitting, on the ground, to see what was going on on the stage, you couldn't be within the first 20 to 30 feet. So they built themselves, of course, a mosh pit, probably indirectly, because if you're going to be that close to the stage, you were gonna stand. (Warren 2011)[68]

Aside from the mainstage, the format of workshops and multiple stages remained constant over the next few years, with occasional minor changes (e.g., by 1987 the festival hosted a blues tent).

Despite the heavy sponsorship of the brewery, Warren affirmed that the programmers (who included Ian Bell and Drago Maleiner in the mid-1980s) had a healthy degree of autonomy over programming decisions. He recalls, "although they didn't have control over the acts we booked, they did suggest a few, most of which we turned down, you know—because they didn't understand quite the nature of a folk festival…" (Warren 2011). Over the years, the brewery's suggestions included the Moody Blues and Aretha Franklin (both of which the committee turned down). Nevertheless, the MFF no longer touted the same "anti-star" ethos that it had under Estelle Klein's guidance. Programming and public reception reveal that it was struggling to adapt to a changing musical market. Back in the 1960s and 1970s, the MFF had had fewer cultural events to compete with. By the mid-1980s, not only was there more competition in the Toronto area, but the

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[68] The design of the stage is less surprising when one considers the other types of events that would later be held in Molson Park. E.g., in the 1990s the park would play host to the mainstream rock festivals Edgefest and Lollapalooza.

meaning of "folk music" (at least, within the music industry) had expanded yet again to include more commercial and world musics, and organizers were cognizant of this. For example, the union-scale wage system was now seen to be unrealistic. As Ken Whiteley put it,

> ...so that whole egalitarian thing was gone. It was basically a two tiered festival. There were people who played the mainstage who had trailers--you know, a whole different level of hospitality, and so on. (Whiteley 2011)

The shifts in the folk music world were perhaps best exemplified by the circumstances surrounding Joan Baez' MFF appearance in 1986. As mentioned in chapter 3, Baez had performed at Mariposa in 1969 for union-scale wages—i.e., the same amount as her lesser-known colleagues on the folk circuit. Seventeen years later, she was reportedly paid $10,000 U.S. dollars for her Molson Park appearance (Taylor 1986, D1). Needless to say, other Mariposa performers did not pocket the same amount of money. Owen McBride recalls the sense of stratification:

> I was playing up there, and I was staying in a small hotel, small motel, and I think Joan Baez was put up in the Harbour Castle and driven up in a limousine and back every day, so the expense of that must have been astronomical. (McBride 2013)

While the Molson sponsorship and government grants allowed the MFF to bring in high-profile artists such as Baez, the festival lost money in 1986 due to poor weather. Lynne Hurry (MFF president) would later describe this period as "Mariposa's darkest year." As she recounted,

> a group of members and former supporters felt the organization could not survive and made a move to end it; not surprising, since the foundation owed close to

> $200,000. And had no real means of decreasing the debt. In fact, the board split on this action with some members joining in the move to end the foundation. (Hurry 1990, 8)

An emergency meeting was held in late January 1987 to vote on this motion. The motion was defeated in a vote of 257 to 73. That same week, Molson Breweries Ltd. agreed to underwrite the festival's expenses for a five-year period, giving the foundation "$45,000 toward the retirement of a $140,000 deficit" (Unknown author 1987a, D21). Additionally, the foundation received a $65,000 grant from the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture that spring (Unknown author 1987b, G2). Program books from the next few years contain encouraging messages from board members. As Lynne Hurry summarized in 1989,

> there is a new spirit around Mariposa these days, a new energy and desire to contribute to the musical scene in and around the Toronto area. We have been running an expanded series of concerts that have combined the likes of Taj Mahal and Amos Garrett and the Eh! Team in one blockbuster evening...The Foundation event calendar numbered 100 in the 1988-1989 season... (Hurry 1989, 9)

In addition to increased year-round events, attendance for the summer festival appeared to be growing. A year later, Hurry noted that, "With the assistance of Molson, we have been able to attract a growing audience which grew from 7,500 in '87 to 15,000 in '88 and 25,000 in '89" (Hurry 1990, 9).

The growth in audience size was not surprising given that the festival did feature some more commercially-successful artists in the late 1980s. In 1988, for example, the headliners included John Hammond, John Prine, Bonnie Raitt, Taj Mahal, Lyle Lovett,

and Ricky Skaggs (while still serving up some long-time Mariposa favourites, including John Allen Cameron, Gilles Losier, and Ken Whiteley). Some media reports stated that the new agreement with Molson allowed the brewery more control over the programming decisions; but David Warren and Richard Flohil (who was appointed artistic director in 1989) both affirm that MFF officials had most of the control over the artistic hirings.[69] By 1989 the board had dropped the word "Folk" from "Mariposa Folk Festival." In program books from this period, the event is billed as "Mariposa: The Festival of Roots Music."

The apparent stabilization of the festival within its Barrie location proved to be short-lived. A former administrator hinted to me that the relationship between MFF organizers and Molson representatives soured toward the end of the decade. And despite their varied approaches to programming, billing, and year-round initiatives, organizers were still faced with consistent bouts of bad weather. As Richard Flohil put it,

> But what happened is that the first year we did it, it pissed with rain, second year it pissed with rain, third year it pissed with rain, and...well, it's always hard to get an audience to go to a new venue *in any case*...it takes time, and when it pours with rain, and then it—you know. (Flohil 2012)

The five-year contract between the MFF and Molson's Breweries Ltd. was never fulfilled, and the festival staged its final Molson Park event in 1990.

[69] Molson's relative lack of control over the MFF's musical programming provides an interesting contrast to its involvement in other musical events. According to Duffett (2000), the beer company held a much more authoritative position in the selection of performers for the 125th Canada Day celebrations.

d. 1991-1999

After departing from Barrie, the MFF retained its funding from government grants and was able to relocate to a new venue. Its next location offered audiences a drastic change in landscape from the grassy hills of Molson Park and the tree-lined scenery of the Toronto Islands. For 1991 and 1992, it was staged at Ontario Place, a lakefront entertainment complex which (in addition to concert stages), offered its visitors mini-golf, a waterpark, and an Imax theatre, to name a few.

As with previous editions of Mariposa, the 1991 version (held September 6-8) continued using the multi-stage format. The Forum (a permanent stage on the grounds of Ontario Place)[70] functioned as the festival's mainstage. Other stages and tents were set up around the grounds of Ontario Place specifically for the festival weekend. In keeping with festival tradition, these included venues for dance performances, British-style pub singing, and a children's area (see Appendix I, 231). Programming included a mixture of older folk luminaries (e.g. Ramblin' Jack Elliot and Guy Clark), popular roots artists (e.g., Los Lobos), as well as up-and-coming musicians who would later achieve widespread fame (e.g., Lucinda Williams, Ani DiFranco, and the Barenaked Ladies). Despite the solid lineup, however, the festival ran into some unexpected problems. As Richard Flohil explains,

[70] In the mid-1990s, the original Forum was demolished to make way for the construction of a larger venue, the Molson Canadian Amphitheatre.

> Well, it was early September, and we had very good weather, but the mistake that we made was that we were up against the Toronto Film Festival...And the film festival eats the media. You cannot get any attention—it's hard to get attention in Toronto for almost anything. (Flohil 2012)

The festival was moved to June for the 1992 edition. This presented organizers with a different set of challenges. In the previous year's September edition, the outdoor entertainment features of Ontario Place had been closed for the fall and winter, giving Mariposa organizers ample space to stage the festival. In the summer, however, the entertainment complex was experiencing its regular flow of summer customers. Doug Baker (a long-time volunteer) was involved with festival security that year, and explains:

> Ontario place was up and functioning, and because of that, we had the stages set up, and each stage kind of had a security perimeter; so there was huge security—or as they call it now...more "access control"—but yeah, so each stage was functioning separately *while* Ontario Place functioned, which was logistically challenging of course... (Baker 2011)

Security logistics were not the ultimate barrier to the 1992 festival's success, however. Despite the presence of some well-known headliners (including John Prine and the Texas Tornadoes), the MFF again found itself contending with poor weather conditions. By this time, organizers had grown accustomed to having reduced attendance figures after heavy rain or colder temperatures. But in 1992, they came face-to-face with record-low chills on the Saturday and Sunday evenings. Weather reports from those days indicate lows of 7 and 6 degrees, but several people also recall snow. As Bob Stevens recalls, "I mean, it wasn't snowing like big flakes, but I was on the south shore of the Ontario Place... and I can guarantee you that there was snow coming down" (Stevens 2013). Music fans stayed

away in record numbers that year. A news article from the following year reports the festival's debt (from the two years at Ontario Place) at nearly $125,000 (Howell 1993, H-C1).

For the remainder of the decade, the festival served as an interesting platform for administrative and logistic experimentation. For the 1993 instalment, the festival was unable to return to Ontario Place due to "high rent, scheduling problems and major on-site renovations" (Howell 1993, H-C1). A favoured alternative was Olympic Island, but the latter imposed strict curfews that eliminated the ability to hold evening concerts. Organizers settled on a format that used Olympic Island for daytime concerts, and distributed evening concerts among various downtown venues such as El Mocambo, the Horseshoe Tavern and the Rivoli; the latter was billed as the "Club Crawl" portion of the festival. This arrangement (i.e., Olympic Island-Club Crawl) lasted for three years.

The daytime concerts on Olympic Island were held on six stages, including designated stages for workshops, children's music, and acoustic music. In the 1993 program book, a message from David Warren (chair of that year's artistic committee) refers to a focus on Latin America, First Nations & Quebec; but the festival also featured the standard up-and-coming roots performers such as Allison Krauss and the Irish Descendants, as well as "world beat" artists (e.g. the pan-African group Mother Tongue). Organizers also booked "old-timers" Sylvia Tyson, the Travellers and Al Cromwell—all of whom had played at the original 1961 Mariposa in Orillia. Despite the mix of veteran

folk artists with younger roots musicians (a combination that often yields success), the festival still had trouble attracting audiences. Bob Stevens (who was in charge of marketing and communications at the time), recalls his observations of the Club Crawl:

> I went around to the different clubs, and it was "working"—it was the first year we did it, so it wasn't totally successful in our number of audiences, but...for instance, Great Big Sea. Well, what kind of band are they. They fill stadiums today, do they not? Well, in '95, on our Club Crawl, they were in the El Mocambo. And the place was only about a third full. A third to half full, maybe. It was just not well attended. (Stevens 2013)

According to a *Toronto Star* reporter, the 1995 edition only drew 2000 people, and lost $70,000, "forcing the closing of its Toronto office and the layoff of its three full-time employees" (Renzetti 1995, D5).

Organizers were once again searching for new options. Later that year, Lynne Hurry (then president of the Mariposa Folk Foundation) met with officials in Orillia about the possibility of returning the festival to its hometown. But ultimately, the board chose a completely different route. From 1996 to 1998, the event was staged in the resort town of Bracebridge (with an additional 1996 event in Cobourg). Doug Baker (who acted as the foundation's president for 1997) describes the thinking behind this strategy:

> [the goal was to] found a folk festival, and make a deal with these towns (a three-year deal), that we'll stay there and lend the name Mariposa to them; and then hopefully when we move on from there, we'll leave the folk festival [with] a core of dedicated people and volunteers...(Baker 2011)

David Warren has likened this idea to a spider plant, or a way to "seed" the idea of folk music into different communities. A collaborative relationship between the festival board

and the local community is certainly clear from the 1996 Bracebridge program, which lists the support of the Bracebridge Chamber of Commerce, the Culture & Recreation Department, and a local public school, among others. Artistically, this time period (as compared with previous years) reveals an unusually large number of artists from smaller Ontario communities. For instance, at the 1997 festival, 50% of the programming consisted of Muskoka-area artists.

As for the audiences, Warren recalls that the Bracebridge and Cobourg events would have attracted people from outside the immediate area. As he points out, "…I mean Bracebridge is a summer location. So there were—as well as locals, a lot of whom helped on the festival … we'd get cottagers in Bracebridge." The Cobourg site, in turn, was near Lake Ontario, at a "downtown beach-oriented park," therefore "there were people who came again for the day to be at the park, and to be at the nice festival." With Cobourg being close to the Canada-U.S. border, organizers were also cognizant of potential American ticket buyers, and therefore had a ticket seller in Rochester, New York, because "they had the ferry at that point between Cobourg and Rochester" (Warren 2011).

The three-year partnership with these locations appears to have yielded some positive results. A year after the first Bracebridge festival, Randi Fratkin (one of the artistic programmers) told a reporter,

> They're always artistic successes…but last year was the first time in many years we've been able to say it was a financial success. I think the location had a lot to

do with it. It's close enough to Toronto and the surrounding cities and towns, and it has a real family atmosphere that's hard to come by at most musical events. (Stoute 1997, B10)

Whether the "seed" of folk (as Warren put it above) continued to grow in Bracebridge/Cobourg afterwards, however, is unclear. The festival left after 1998; and the foundation's main event for 1999 appears to have been a free daytime concert in Toronto's Parkdale neighbourhood.[71] This bout of itinerancy did not last long, however. As mentioned earlier, Lynne Hurry had already begun a discussion with Orillians in 1995 about returning the festival to its place of inception. Another seed had apparently been planted, because toward the year 2000 members of the foundation entered into more serious discussions with Orillia officials about this matter. A non-profit corporation, Festival Orillia, was established to facilitate the administrative integration of the MFF within the city's arts scene. Chris Lusty (who served as president of the MFF for several years in the 2000s) describes the shift:

> The original agreement between Festival Orillia (or FestO as it came to be known) and the Mariposa Folk Foundation, was for eventual amalgamation between the two boards, and it was supposed to happen over the course of three years. And that's more or less what happened...The original agreement was for a roughly 50-50 mix of Orillians and old-school Mariposians. You know, justifiably, they were a little nervous about our ability to put on a festival, but on the other hand, they were going bankrupt. (Lusty 2013)

[71] http://www.mariposafolk.com/wp/wp-content/assets/files/public/Mariposa%20Program%201999%20insert%20BIA%20Villager.pdf. Accessed March 15, 2013.

As hinted in Lusty's last comment, there was an element of tension between Orillians and Toronto representatives. Indeed, the new arrangement posed potential challenges to institutional memory. Bob Stevens (a long-time Mariposa board member from Toronto) recalls burdensome out-of-town trips for Orillia board meetings. As someone who had long maintained the foundation's archival collection, he felt that his efforts to disseminate historical information were met with disinterest. As he recalls, "I went through the archives and made copies of all kinds of stuff that would be useful; I put them out on the table at the board meeting, and…no one took anything" (Stevens 2013). Despite ongoing tension regarding the proportion of Toronto-Orillia representation, the festival settled back into Orillia for the first time since 1963. Thirteen years later, it is still running in the same city.

e. 2000-present

The first edition of Orillia's modern-day Mariposa Folk Festival was held from July 7-9 in Tudhope Park (on the shore of Lake Couchiching). That year, the administration was headed by the dual presidency of Lynne Hurry (who had seen the festival through its Barrie and Toronto incarnations) and Gerry Hawes (of Festival Orillia Inc.). The artists were selected by a committee consisting of Randi Fratkin, David Warren, Dave MacMillan, and Jennifer Ives. Programming was distributed across five stages (including a mainstage for evening concerts), along with an Artisan's Village and a children's "Folkplay" area (see Appendix J, 232). Daytime programming retained a similar time

frame as previous years, with concerts and workshops running from 11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. on Saturdays and 11:00 am to 5:30 pm on Sundays.

A glance at program books from this era reveals a well-funded festival with strong support from different levels of government and various corporations (both local and global). For example, in 2001 (its second year back in Orillia) sponsors included Casino Rama, *The Orillia Packet and Times*, *NOW Magazine*, Molson and Pepsi. Government support came from the Trillium Foundation, Ontario Arts Council, Heritage Canada and Human Resources Development Canada.

Over the past decade, the Mariposa Folk Foundation has made efforts to build partnerships in the broader community. For instance, in the mid-2000s it joined forces with La Clé de la Baie en Huronie, an organization that serves the francophone community of Simcoe County. This organization (which helps to run the French-language radio station CFRH-FM) sponsors Mariposa's French-language programming each year, and also helps to select the performers. More recent examples of the MFF's community outreach have been the Mariposa Songwriter's Club and Arts U. According to Chris Lusty, these were conceived as semi-autonomous programs; in other words, "the foundation supplied them with money and some oversight, but they're to a large degree autonomous, and we try not to meddle in their affairs too much" (Lusty 2013).

The youth-oriented Mariposa Songwriter's Club (MSC) has proven to be a success. According to a 2012 article from the *Orillia Packet and Times*, the MSC has a

notable presence in the community and some of its members performed at the city's Culture Days events of that year (Smith 2012). Arts U, in turn, was formed in partnership with Lakehead University. As Lusty explains,

> Basically the idea was to work toward a residential arts education program in the week leading up to the festival. That was the concept. And it lasted for a couple of years, and they couldn't grow their audience, and eventually they suffered from a volunteer burnout. (Lusty 2013)

Nevertheless, Lusty is optimistic that a new version of the partnership may resurface, as a new residential arts program is currently being developed at Lakehead University.

At the festival proper, current musical programming stays in step with the broader Canadian folk circuit. The 2012 festival featured a standard mix of bluegrass (e.g., The Slocan Ramblers, The Spinney Brothers), roots/singer-songwriters (e.g., Scarlett Jane, Rob Lutes), indie rock/pop (e.g., Plants and Animals, Hey Ocean), spoken word (Robert Priest, Shane Koyzcan) and instrumentalists (Scott MacMillan, Brian Doyle). These categories include additional representation from Francophone and Aboriginal artists (e.g., Belzébuth, Florent Vollant). Like many other folk festivals, 2012 Mariposa also featured mainstage headliners of international acclaim (e.g., Jann Arden, Johnny Clegg and Billy Bragg). And in keeping with its "roots," the festival continues to feature a small contingent of dance-oriented groups each year. The 2012 edition included The Kennetts and The Kempencelts (callers and a Ceilidh band), as well as Akwaba Spirit (an Akan dance group from West Africa).

Mike Hill (who has chaired the three-person artistic committee since 2007) says much of the programming process unfolds in line with the foundation's mandate:[72]

> You know the mandate about presenting song, story, dance, craft. So I'm always keeping that in mind. I always want to try to show all the different genres that you find in folk music too. I want to present blues, I want to present Aboriginal programming, some French, some bluegrass – lots of singer-songwriter stuff, because that seems to be what people really want. Uh, folk-rock, country-rock, or country/folk-rock sort of stuff. So I'm trying to cover all the genres. And then, I try to bring in – we really try to build up the folkplay area. (Hill 2011)

Current MFF programming also offers an interactive stage, where attendees can participate in hands-on arts-related workshops (either free of charge, or for a $5 fee, depending on the workshop). The subjects include songwriting, storytelling, instruments (e.g., playing hand drums, autoharp or fiddle), and arts and crafts (e.g., jewellery-making, pottery, watercolour painting). In a sense, this harkens back to 1970s Mariposa, with its "demonstrative" aspects of music and crafts.

As of 2012, the layout of the festival included a total of ten performance stages and/or interactive areas. Some stages pay homage to the festival's historical roots through their names. These include Ruth's Stage (named for founder Ruth Jones-McVeigh), the Bohemian Embassy Stage (named for the famous folk venue of 1960s Yorkville), and the Estelle Klein stage. Music can also be heard in the Mariposa Pub, a licensed tent for

[72] The current MFF website (http://www.mariposafolk.com/foundation) states its mandate as, "The promotion and preservation of folk art in Canada through song, story, dance and craft."

those who wish to enjoy a concert over drinks. And, as Mike Hill mentioned, the festival continues the long-established tradition of the Folkplay (i.e., children's) area.

The festival has been successful in drawing people to Orillia for a weekend each summer. As a researcher trying to book my first "fieldwork" trip there in 2008, I can testify that all the hotels, motels and bed and breakfasts fill up quickly in advance. Indeed, one motel owner told me that Mariposa is one of his most profitable weekends of the year. But like any summer event, the MFF is constantly negotiating an agreeable relationship with its host municipality. The most recent challenge was described to me by Chris Lusty:

> …the city has always looked at us as a renter, not as a partner. So for instance, a year or so ago they decided to quadruple the price of our rental for the park. With no warning. Not quite quadruple, but 350% or whatever. And the letter from staff to council basically said, "we're increasing the prices to make [*recording unclear*] and it looks like the festival can afford it." Well thanks for talking to us!…So we've been fighting that one for about a year or so. (Lusty 2013)

Despite the current acrimony between the MFF and the City of Orillia, Lusty feels that the tension will eventually blow over: "The festival is the largest thing to happen in this city, and it's hugely well attended. So the city's going to have to come to terms with the fact that we need the support from them sometimes" (Lusty 2013). Indeed, the Mariposa Folk Festival is approaching its fourteenth consecutive staging in Tudhope Park (at the time of writing this dissertation). Thus, Orillia now has the designation of being its longest-running home—longer than the Toronto Islands, which only hosted it for only twelve consecutive years.

f. Conclusion

The Mariposa Folk Foundation staged its last summer festival at the Toronto Islands in 1979. In keeping with Estelle Klein's vision for a larger year-round presence, the foundation embarked on a series of initiatives in the early 1980s that brought folk music to mainland Toronto venues and parks. The largest of these (such as the symphonic collaboration and the fall festival of 1980) were financially unsuccessful. Long a self-supporting organization, the MFF was now actively seeking external sources of financial aid. While adopting a membership structure for its organization, the foundation also participated in the broader discussion on Canadian arts policy (notably the Federal Cultural Policy Review hearings) in hopes to secure more government support.

Further developments in the early 1980s included the creation of the Mariposa In The Woods program, as well as the administrative separation of Mariposa In The Schools. The festival proper was revived in 1984 when the foundation secured Molson Park as a summer site. Over the next six years, it received generous corporate support from the Canadian brewery, along with increased funding from the provincial government. Despite its stable location and newer funding sources, the foundation contended with a new set of issues in the mid-to-late 1980s. These included increased competition in the local music industry and expectations for more "mainstream" and "world music" programming. The union-scale wage system was now a phenomenon of the past, with well-known artists commanding larger sums of money (and more elaborate

hospitality) than their lesser-known colleagues. The foundation also faced administrative disharmony and bouts of bad weather toward the end of the decade. After staging its final event at Molson Park in 1990, the MFF relocated to Ontario Place for the next two years. During this time it retained its government funding and presented an impressive lineup of artists; however, it lost money during these years to intense competition and winter-like weather. Over the next three years, the Mariposa festivities were divided between Olympic Island and select clubs in downtown Toronto. These three instalments were poorly attended, with the foundation losing $70,000 in 1995. Undeterred, the organizers proceeded to experiment with another concept: engaging small towns to help produce the festival. From 1996 to 1998, the MFF was staged in Bracebridge and Cobourg, enlisting local volunteers and hiring a large proportion of local artists. The event was generally well-received in these communities. Nevertheless, organizers had their sights set on yet another destination. At the end of the decade, the Mariposa Folk Foundation (with the help of Festival Orillia) began the process of relocating the festival back to its hometown. The first Orillia festival (since 1963) was held in 2000 in Tudhope Park, on the shores of Lake Couchiching. Organizers have experienced no shortage of administrative difficulties; these include navigating tensions between long-time Toronto organizers and their newer Orillia counterparts, and maintaining a harmonious relationship with the City of Orillia. Nevertheless, the festival has managed to build partnerships with neighbouring organizations and sponsor initiatives for budding artists. It features competitive artistic

programming from year to year, attracting enough visitors to fill most of the city's hotels and motels for a weekend each July. Despite its administrative difficulties, the Mariposa Folk Festival has found itself a long-term home.

Two notable themes emerge from my discussion of the 1980s to the present. These are: 1) the MFF's itinerancy over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, which involved its frequent relocation to (often) disparate physical locations; and 2) its position amid a changing Canadian arts scene, which included increased competition from other live events, yet increased access to arts funding and corporate sponsorship. These themes will be contextualized further in chapter 5, which interprets the festival's spatial considerations from a theoretical perspective, as well as examines the relationship between funding considerations and the MFF's overall success.

With the Mariposa Folk Festival's fifty-year history now fully summarized in the preceding chapters, the following (and final) chapter will discuss the festival's broader significance by re-examining key threads of Chapters 2, 3, and 4 from an interpretive and/or theoretical perspective.

CHAPTER 5: SIGNIFICANCE

a. Artistic legacy

i. Introduction

Throughout its first two decades, the MFF frequently broke new ground in artistic representation. In its inaugural year, the festival featured an all-Canadian line-up. After moving to the Toronto Islands, it introduced multiple daytime stages, a refined workshop format, First Nations music, ethno-cultural programming, children's music, and crafts. Some of these initiatives had a lasting influence on the folk festival circuit; others pointed to the festival's progressive nature within the broader environment of government policy or Canadian society in general. This section examines the significance of these developments within a wider artistic and societal context.

ii. Canadian content

As discussed in Chapter 2, the programming of the first three Mariposa festivals (1961-1963) consisted almost entirely of Canadian artists. The all-Canadian roster is historically significant when viewed in the context of the broader Canadian music scene at the time, especially when compared to developments in the broadcasting milieu. Robert Wright (1991) has outlined the state of the Canadian music industry in the 1960s and 1970s, describing it as a nascent one whose development depended on the willingness of broadcasters to play more Canadian music. The time period was marked by a growing

discourse in the music community regarding the necessity of "Canadian Content" quotas—in other words, legislation that would require broadcasters to program a minimum percentage of Canadian material. Various implications of these quotas have been explored by Line Grenier (1990) and Scott Henderson (2008), but one well-known fact among observers of the Canadian music scene is that the quotas sparked a particularly contentious debate between broadcasters and record companies. Record producers saw the new policy as a way to stimulate the growth of industry infrastructure, while many broadcasters were pessimistic about the amount of quality domestic talent available to fill the quota. The final lobby of the latter group at the 1970 CRTC hearings was observed as follows by the journalist Ritchie Yorke:

> The broadcasters' trade association tried to protest the proposed legislation as being unconstitutional, a foolish stand which resulted in some stations breaking away from its membership. Hundreds of excuses were presented to prove that the programming of Canadian records would cause enormous hardship, financial and otherwise for the stations and their listeners. (Yorke 1971:10)

In short, the proposition was very controversial, and in the eyes of its detractors, the programming of Canadian musical talent carried significant financial baggage.

In light of this context, Mariposa's all-Canadian roster of 1961-1963 was prescient, occurring nearly ten years before Canadian broadcasters and record producers would be sparring over the possibility of legislated Canadian programming. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the enthusiasm for Canadian talent in the festival's inaugural year came from several people, including Ruth Jones-McVeigh, Edith Fowke, and Sid

Dolgay. Regardless of the strong support for Canadian artists displayed by some board members, however, the organizing committee apparently explored other ideas before reaching their final decision. The March 3rd entry of the operational notes reads: "Mar. 3: ...Aim at balance –American talent to attract Canadians –Canadian talent to attract Americans and headliners to attract general public" (Jones 1961). This entry shows us that the organizers toyed with economic concerns before arriving at their final all-Canadian line-up. When I spoke with an early festival organizer, he confirmed to me that committee members discussed the potential of booking big-name or American performers in the future to ensure financial stability.[73]

Nevertheless, the final line-up for 1961 would consist entirely of domestic artists, and the subsequent two years would feature largely the same. This strong focus on domestic talent prompts the question of whether the MFF was receiving government assistance at the time. But as mentioned in Chapter 2, the inaugural festival was largely financed with $5000 from Casey and Ruth Jones, with only a $250 grant from the town council. The 1962 and 1963 festivals were said to have been financed by Jack Wall, with possible use of previous profits (though financial records are not available to confirm this).

[73] At that time, it would have been taken for granted that the more well-known (or revenue-generating) artists on a large-scale concert program would be artists of American origin, hence the phrases in the operational notes, "American talent to attract Canadians" and "headliners to attract the general public." The phrase "Canadian talent to attract Americans" is somewhat curious, though it may have been referring to the novelty aspect of certain traditional musics associated with Canada (particularly music of the Maritimes, which was well-represented at the 1961 festival, and of which Ruth Jones-McVeigh—herself from the Maritimes—was a proud proponent, as became evident in my conversation with her).

Since one of the essential outcomes of the 1970 CRTC hearings would be government intervention in the Canadian music scene (resulting in legislated quotas for Canadian programming), it is noteworthy that the MFF successfully programmed an all-Canadian music festival a full decade earlier, without any direction from the government. Some may question the comparison between the broadcasting milieu and a folk festival, given that the former dealt with recorded music (mostly of the "popular" variety) and the latter was a live folk event. But both entities were stakeholders in a small industry, and were by no means mutually exclusive. For one thing, a number of Mariposa performers (e.g., The Travellers and Ian and Sylvia) already had recording contracts with prominent record companies by the time they played at the festival in the early 1960s. Furthermore, the festival shared many administrators and performers with the Yorkville music scene, which is strongly associated with the development of "Cancon" discourse, as it became known (see Jennings 1998). By outwardly championing domestic talent without government guidance, Mariposa was clearly a progressive entity in 1961, serving as a primer for future debates on Cancon that would take place nearly a decade later. And its decision to launch the inaugural event with all-Canadian line-up was not simply a whimsical experiment; rather, as discussed earlier, it occurred after some amount of debate and consideration of financial implications.[74]

[74] Over the past five decades, the Canadian representation at Mariposa has fluctuated, especially since the advent of Klein's diversification initiatives in the late 1960s and 1970s. According to Mitchell (2007), the two goals of "Canadian content" and "diversity" were seen by some administrators as being in opposition to each other. In my own research, a sampling of programs from the festival's five-decade lifespan reveals

iii. Workshops and daytime concerts

From the 1980s through the 2000s, any festival-goer leafing through program books of various Canadian folk festivals (e.g., Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary) would find maps depicting multiple stages spread across a grassy area, and a programming grid featuring daytime concerts (some of which may include topical sessions involving multiple musicians). Attending these festivals in person, festival-goers have the ability to wander from one stage to another during concurrent sessions, possibly engaging in non-musical activities (e.g., picnicking, Frisbee) along the way.

This format is now taken for granted on the current Canadian folk festival circuit. But as established in Chapter 3, the concept of multiple daytime stages originated with Estelle Klein in 1970, when she was exploring ways to avoid the rowdiness associated with evening concerts. Furthermore, the concept of topical workshops was one that she imported from the Newport Folk Festival and refined into sessions of intense interaction through her gift of pairing performers under a single theme.

How did this format spread to other folk festivals? One of the chief people responsible for disseminating her ideas (at least, within Canada) was Mitch Podolak, who

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that the percentage of Canadian artists has sat at 55% (1969), 56% (1978), 49% (1989), 94% (1997), and 79% (2008) (MFF programs 1969, 1978, 1989, 1997, and 2008). These figures include performers who may have been born elsewhere but are now based in Canada. While these numbers are lower than Mariposa's earlier Canadian programming, one thing remains obvious: they easily exceeded the quotas that have since been laid out for broadcasters of recorded music, which currently sit between 10 and 35 percent depending on an artist's CRTC categorization.

founded the Winnipeg Folk Festival in 1974. In an interview, Podolak recalled attending Mariposa in the mid-1970s and being captivated by the energy of a particular workshop, which he attributed to the programming savvy of Estelle Klein. As he recollects,

> She'd take a person like Steve Goodman… she'd put him together with a composer like David Amram. You put them up and—why would you put those people together in a "make it up as you go along workshop"? Like, why would you do that? You'd do that because you think the energy's gonna match. You have to have a relatively instinctive understanding of human energy, of how people are gonna do that, because –I saw the workshop. That those two guys did. I saw the energy, and the match, knowing that—that they'd fit together, you see? It was 74 maybe, no it was 75 I suppose. I *watched* that workshop. I've never seen a workshop better…ever. (laughs) Those two guys making up a song [*recording unclear*] the others. "What should we sing about?" And some of the audience yells, "Moby Dick!" And they wrote a 25-minute song which was a whole Herman Melville story. The audience went *nuts*. (Podolak 2011)

Roughly in the same time frame as the workshop discussed above, Podolak would create the first large-scale folk festival in Western Canada. He describes his approach as follows:

> …And so I decided I was going to start a folk festival in Winnipeg. What I did was I got about twelve years of Mariposa programs. Including a whole bunch of Estelle's stuff. And then I would sit down, workshop by workshop, and listen to the music and try to figure out why she put those people together. …Estelle was somebody to study. I don't think anybody's close, actually. … She was my teacher. (but) She didn't know it… (Podolak 2011)

Podolak would later assist with the creation of folk festivals in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Owen Sound and Canso. Ideas developed at Mariposa, therefore, were carried across Canada. In addition to borrowing the concept of daytime stages and topical sessions, many Canadian folk festivals would also feature a children's area (i.e., another

idea hatched at Mariposa). Over the years, some folk festivals have gradually deviated from the original concepts. Winnipeg, for example, retained topical sessions through the 1990s; but as with many currently running festivals, its daytime programming now consists mostly of single concerts. Regardless of their current formats, however, many Canadian folk festivals are internationally known for the quality of their programming, and the latter owes much to their roots in Mariposa-derived ideas.

iv. Diversity: Representation and social significance

As discussed in Chapter 3, the festival began to expand its offerings in the late 1960s and early 1970s to include ethno-cultural and First Nations performance. This section examines the issues of cultural representation arising in these two areas of programming. After a review of relevant theoretical concepts, it explores how different cultural traditions were represented at Mariposa, and the implications of these representations for performers and audience. Then the discussion will proceed to an analysis of the broader significance of ethno-cultural/First Nations programming—particularly with regards to shifts in Canadian society and government policy.

In music scholarship, issues of representation within ethno-cultural performance have been well-addressed, with many discussions settling around power relations. To recap Chapter 1, some key issues discussed by scholars include authenticity (Posen 1979[1993]), recontextualization (Cantwell 2008), role of culture brokers (Auerbach 1991), "systematic cultural intervention" (Whisnant 1983), hegemony (Greenhill 1999),

and anti-modernism (Henderson 2005). These concepts imply a degree of tension between the goals of festival presenters and performers, with the latter being vulnerable to a loss of control over the construction of their image (see Chapter 1 for a full analysis of these concepts). While there is less scholarly writing about the representation of First Nations and Native American culture at festivals, some authors have discussed it in the context of non-festival environments. Daniel Francis (1992), for example, provides a historical summary of First Nations/Native American imagery in various mediums (such as visual arts, literature, the education system, and government policy). His discussion describes varying (but mostly problematic) interpretations of First Nations people over the past century (largely constructed by non-native people), such as the "noble savage" at one with nature, or a way of life at the mercy of industrialism. Even as participants in early forms of mass entertainment (such as the late 19th-century Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show), North American indigenous people (as argued by Francis) wielded little to no influence in the construction of their image.

Thus, for both ethno-cultural and indigenous groups, the interface of performance and identity is fraught with power relations between culture brokers and performers. Several authors, however, have also recognized the presence of creative agency in public performance. In her research on CityRoots (a multi-ethnic festival in Los Angeles), Susan Auerbach noted that some performance groups may dodge the influence of festival facilitators by opting for their own announcers and trying to impart cultural information

to the audience as they see fit (1991, 233-234). In a more contemporary study of a First Nations tourism company, Kaley Mason (2004) has observed performers taking ownership of their cultural identity (albeit within a larger hegemonic structure). While performing in a district for which "the Canadian government owns the spatial means of production" (Mason 2004, 850), Aboriginal interpreters nevertheless help to dismantle long-held stereotypes through visual elements (e.g., juxtaposing contemporary and traditional clothing) and verbal elements (e.g., personal narrative describing their contemporary lifestyle). In a similar vein, Monique Giroux's 2013 study of Metis fiddling discusses Manitoba's Metisfest as a space developed by Metis people themselves for the expression of living traditions. According to Giroux, "the version of Metis-ness presented at Metisfest is a far cry from mainstream or 'multicultural' versions of Metis-ness, which most often present Metis culture as bounded and historical (often a euphemism for dead)" (Giroux 2013, 104).

As demonstrated in the literature discussed above, power and agency are therefore of great concern to scholars studying cultural representation in live performance. In light of the abundant academic discussions surrounding these issues, the diversification of Mariposa programming in the 1970s could garner the same scrutiny from folklorists and ethnomusicologists. In particular, it invites the following questions: Who made decisions about performance practice for material that was presented at the festival? What degree of agency was available to performers? What did the audience learn? Below, I attempt to

address these questions by referring to archival items and comments from former Mariposa participants.

Writing as a former festival participant, Sheldon Posen (1979[1993]) observed that the outdoor festival stages were a drastic change of performance context for many artists. Inherent in this situation was the potential for modification of performance practice. For example, a letter from Estelle Klein to the leader of a South Asian arts group[75] indicates that organizers indeed made certain requests for modification. As stated in the letter,

> The program seems fine. The one thing that I question is the length of time given to classical dance. Also, please remember that live music must be used. If not available for the classical dance, then the folk dance should be extended and we must omit the classical aspect. We really must insist on this. (Klein 1971b)

This request for "live music only" could not have been made due to a lack of audio-visual equipment at the festival, since much equipment was frequently utilized for sound reinforcement and recording purposes. Therefore, it indicates that organizers may have been concerned about the performance maintaining an aura of "authenticity"—an issue common to many ethno-cultural festivals profiled in the aforementioned literature.

Yet other accounts suggest that Mariposa was indeed open to fluidity of tradition. As recounted by Leigh Cline, the controversial performance of Greek dance music (referred to in Chapter 3) was carried out entirely on electric instruments and without "ethnic" costume (i.e., the way the same musicians would have performed it in Greece).

[75] The group remains anonymous here to protect the privacy of its members.

This, as Cline pointed out, occurred at a time when Toronto audience members were more accustomed to performances that presented certain cultures as frozen, unchanging entities (such as heard and seen at Toronto's Caravan festival). While many audience members may have found the amplified Greek music jarring, the festival was nevertheless exposing them to a facet of contemporary Greek performance practice that they may not have encountered otherwise.

The same might be said of the First Nations programming. As discussed in Chapter 3, the First Nations performers came from a wide range of communities and linguistic groups. Some Aboriginal artists drew from traditional repertoire, while others were contemporary singer-songwriters or poets (see Appendix E, 227). In my interview with Alanis Obomsawin, I asked her if First Nations performers ever felt the need to modify their performance style for non-native audiences at Mariposa, and she replied with a definitive-sounding "No." Audience members therefore could appreciate First Nations as a diverse group of communities with fluid cultural traditions. For example, a former attendee told me that she had been "blown away" by music in the Native People's Area because in the prevailing representations in broader society "it's so disrespected, you see at a baseball game on TV where they're mocking [it]...so that was a huge breakthrough for me, it was a new culture" (Rose 2013). In this context, the image of First Nations identity was a far cry from the long-held stereotypes discussed by Francis, and perhaps more akin to the process described by Mason—an image that was largely

constructed by Aboriginal people themselves, and accommodated a balance between traditional and contemporary forms.

The above examples drawn from Indian, Greek and First Nations music at Mariposa demonstrate that festival organizers largely acknowledged the fluidity of traditions, yet may have also imposed some expectations of "authenticity" on certain cultural forms. In other words, elements of power and agency were both present in this area of programming. But regardless of the rigidity or fluidity of a presentation, it appears that the mere inclusion of more ethno-cultural groups in the 1970s was seen by many people (including both performers and audience) to have great educational potential.

The concept of "educating" the audience leads to another issue: Who was the audience and why did they need to be "educated"? A common critique of ethno-cultural or indigenous programming at public events is that it functions as a visual or sonic "buffet" for urban and/or white middle class audiences (see, for example, Greenhill 1999 and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Indeed, the majority of the Mariposa audience was white and middle class, as indicated by photographs of Mariposa crowds, accounts of my interviewees, and remarks found in audience surveys. But such an observation is an oversimplification of the context for these performances. While many of my interviewees are aware of the present-day issues with the designation of programming as "ethnic," they also are quick to point out that the introduction of "other" musics at Mariposa was a response to a completely different social climate in the 1960s and 1970s. A few former

Mariposa affiliates have commented on the "uptight" attitudes exhibited towards foreigners during that era. Richard Flohil provided the following example in an interview:

> When I first came here in the fifties, [I noticed that] the Italian community, for example, would do what they had always done at home. They'd go to church on Sunday and they'd stand on the sidewalk afterwards and smoke cigarettes and chew the fat—and the cops would move them along! "You're blocking the sidewalk." You know, there was no understanding of ethnic differences or whatever. (Flohil 2013)

Relating these attitudes to the significance of Mariposa, writer/musician David Newland has reflected on the importance of the MFF in a period that was characterized by sharper demarcations between ethnic groups:

> This was one of Mariposa's greatest contributions to Canadian culture, at a time when "we" still tended to look to our British and French colonial backgrounds for our sense of ourselves. It's important to remember that in 1961, in many places in Canada, "white" Catholics and Protestants, English and French didn't break bread together. Irish, Italians, Ukrainians and Jews, let alone Chinese, Indian, Black and Native people (to give only a few examples) often had to fight for any recognition whatsoever. (Newland 2010)

In light of these reminders about the prevailing attitudes of 1960s/1970s Toronto, it should come as no surprise that Mariposa's audience members (however "white" or "middle class") showed a genuine appreciation for the opportunity to engage with cultural traditions other than their own.[76]

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[76]The discussion of Mariposa's predominantly white/middle class makeup in the 1960s/1970s prompts the question of whether the demographics of festival-goers have changed over the years. In the course of my research, I did not come across consistent written documentation of this aspect of the MFF. Based on my interviews, ethnographic observations, and personal experiences with Canadian folk festivals, however, it appears that a very large percentage of ticket buyers are still "white" and "middle class." Many of my consultants, for example, take this demographic for granted as the primary audience of folk festivals in general. When I attended the Mariposa Folk Festival from 2008 to 2011 I noticed, however, that a large

Thus far, I have discussed the issues surrounding ethno-cultural and First Nations programming, and its implications for performers and audiences at Mariposa. Yet the significance of these developments extended beyond the sphere of the festival, since the increasing visibility of "other cultures" was present in other levels of Canadian society. The growing participation of Aboriginal artists at Mariposa in the 1970s coincided with an era of increased political organization among First Nations people. To summarize Mason (who builds on Dickason 2000), this included the establishment of the National Indian Brotherhood organization and the formation of a pan-Indian identity which "emerged from shared experiences fighting against [certain] federal initiatives" (Mason 2004, 840). Indeed, the concept of a growing pan-"Indian" identity was visible at the artistic level, with Mariposa serving as a meeting place for diverse groups of First Nations performers and artisans each summer. As Obomsawin (and other MFF organizers) have pointed out to me, some of these artists (especially those from far-flung geographical regions) would not otherwise have had the opportunity to meet each other.

In terms of other ethnic groups within Canadian society, the federal government had officially adopted a policy of multiculturalism in 1971. At first glance, it seems tempting to attribute Mariposa's increased ethno-cultural programming to direct guidance

contingent of the Mariposa audience was ageing baby boomers. Many of these were likely people who had come back to the festival for nostalgic reasons, since the festival has featured Mariposa alumni performers in recent years (such as Ian Tyson and Gordon Lightfoot). Many other Canadian folk festivals (especially those in Western Canada), however, attract larger numbers of youth. A study by Gillian Turnbull, for example, reports that 58% of attendees at the 2008 Calgary Folk Festival were under the age of fifty-five (Turnbull 2009-2010, 7).

from the government, whose goals coincided with the MFF's period of diversification. But as discussed in Chapter 3, the increased representation from immigrant groups and other non-western traditions grew, rather, out of the interests of key individuals (such as Estelle Klein and Leigh Cline). To reiterate Klein's vision (as stated earlier), "I think Mariposa attempts a spectrum, a broad spectrum of folk..." (Klein ca.1972-1974). In an interview from the early 1970s, Klein did speak directly about the festival's relationship to the government and arms-length agencies. In response to a question about arts council funding, she replied:

> We never applied—we never had the time, you know. I heard...that the university of Buffalo has a course on...grant applications, and I thought, gee, if we could only afford to send someone there...it would be worth our while...to have them do nothing but fill out grant forms. [But] There's a part of us that's very proud...that we've really made it on our own. (Klein ca. 1972-1974)

As evident from Klein's comment, the festival therefore was acting proactively in its inclusion of ethno-cultural programming. According to financial statements printed in 1970s program books, the only grants received by the festival throughout much of the decade were for the MITS program. No support was received for "multicultural" musics, and the MFF's only grant for First Nations programming was received in 1977, the penultimate year of that contingent (MFF program book 1978).

Overall, therefore, Mariposa's diversification of artistic programming in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrates that the festival was a socially progressive force of that era, operating in tandem with broader societal developments (yet often by its own initiative).

While its programming choices may have occasionally produced on-stage tension between audiences and performers, Mariposa gave its participants a forum to engage with issues of diversity and inclusion in a society that was undergoing significant demographic shifts.

v. Children's music

Mariposa became known for two significant children's initiatives in the 1970s, as outlined in Chapter 3. These were the Mariposa In The Schools Program (initiated in 1970) and the onsite children's area (launched in 1976). As Posen (1993) and Hoefnagels (2010) have discussed, Mariposa's children's programs were highly influential on the development of the broader children's music industry in Canada, generating performers and repertoire. The availability of these programs coincided, in a timely way, with a growing appetite for folksongs geared towards children. As Posen explains,

> I think it was children's folk music because of who was listening to general folk music during the boom in the 1960s and early 70s, and who those people became during the mid-1970s: how they led their lives, what they demanded for themselves, and what they tried to give their children. In the late 70s, these parents were middle-aged, yuppie, middle-class—with young children. They were still strong on causes, heavy on nostalgia, and were looking for experiences for themselves and their families that in some way seemed genuine, authentic, direct, ethical, socially positive. Any commodity, including children's music, that met those criteria was attractive. (Posen 1993)

Mariposa of the 1970s, therefore, attracted plenty of aging folk revivalists and the festival was seen as a family-friendly environment to which they could bring their kids.

Many of the early performers in MITS would continue to be involved in the production of children's music through recordings and/or large-scale touring. As Sharon Hampson (former MITS performer and children's area coordinator) recalls,

> ...actually Lois was talking with Bill Usher... who was going to be the producer of the Mariposa in the Schools record, and said "well why don't *we* make a record?" and he said, "with you and Sharon, and who else would you want?" and she said "well, how about Bram." And then, so the start of Sharon Lois and Bram was kind of an unexpected collaboration that grew out of our association with each other in Mariposa in the Schools, and grew into an unexpected, very successful career. (Hampson 2012)

The trio of Sharon, Lois, and Bram would eventually release over forty albums and perform on a long-running CBC television show (which itself would later be rebroadcast in the U.S.). While it is certainly the most famous example of Mariposa/MITS performers contributing to the children's music industry, these performers were not alone. Bill Usher (who produced their debut album) was connected to them through his own involvement with Mariposa; and Ken Whiteley (a veteran Mariposa/MITS performer) produced the debut children's album of Raffi (who, while not a Mariposa performer, would later become a well-known children's performer). According to Posen, the success of these two records (both released in 1977), owed partly to the backgrounds of their producers. As Posen explains,

> Both Whiteley and Usher had extremely eclectic musical tastes and backgrounds and saw no reason to limit their productions to the relatively barebones arrangements of previous children's folksong recordings. In these novel recordings, songs were no longer filtered through the personalities and trademark sounds of the performers, as had been true of recordings by such singers as Pete Seeger, Alan Mills, and Burl Ives. Rather, studio musicians were brought in and

> each song was given a "treatment" according to its stylistic possibilities. The resulting records were stylistic collages that invoked all manner of musical traditions and sources: reggae, country, calypso, Broadway musical. They sounded avant-garde for folk records when they came out in 1977, and pointed to what was to come in the "postmodern" 1980s world of folk-music recording. Their novelty was backed by solid musicianship and production. They were perceived as completely new. The press was enchanted and a year's constant touring and marketing by Raffi, and Sharon, Lois and Bram established the field, and these performers as leaders within it. (Posen 1993, n.p.)

In a separate interview I did with Ken Whiteley, he had in fact cited "diversity" and "eclecticism" as some of the defining (yet underrated) traits of Mariposa. Therefore, it makes sense that seasoned Mariposa/MITS alumni such as Bill Usher and himself would lend these traits to forward-thinking recordings of children's music.

vi. <u>Crafts</u>

The focus of this dissertation has largely been on the musical aspects of the Mariposa Folk Festival. As such, a thorough discussion of the festival's impact on Canada's artisanal/visual arts scene (and all ensuing academic literature) is well beyond the scope of this project. Nevertheless, I will summarize a few main points that surfaced in my discussions with former crafts area coordinators.

Firstly, the MFF strove to integrate musical elements into the crafts contingent. This was accomplished not only by hosting musicians in the crafts area, but also by enlisting artists who held dual roles as musicians-craftspeople (such as Norman Kennedy, a weaver who sang corresponding waulking songs). As affirmed by Skye Morrison, these efforts were partly to demonstrate the inseparability of music and craftwork in some

cultural traditions (Morrison 2013. See also Chapter 3). Secondly, the festival made significant contributions to the broader network of craftspeople within Canada. Shelly Fowler recalls the strong sense of community that the Mariposa crafts area helped to instil in local artists. As she describes,

> I know that for me, it was a time when crafts were budding in Toronto. And there were some amazing craftspeople who came. Really, really good quality...And so it was a very inspiring time, to be with these people and see them grow, from year to year, and they were—it was wonderful. It was before a lot of people were doing this for their livelihood. (Fowler 2013)

I asked Fowler if any artisanal associations existed in Canada during the 1970s, and she replied,

> Well, Quebec always had a lot of co-ops. What do you call it…real co-ops for selling crafts, home industry crafts. They were much more progressive about that. They had a lot of co-operatives. But we didn't have that here. And I think that the coming together of these people really, really strengthened the crafts scene in Toronto…A lot of the people—like some of the core of the textile people from Mariposa-- also ended up showing [their art] in certain places, so that it became more of a community, although a lot of them lived outside of Toronto. (Fowler 2013)

In addition to strengthening artisanal networks on local and national levels, there is evidence that Mariposa made indirect contributions to the international dialogue on craftwork. Several Mariposa personnel (notably Estelle Klein, Marna Snitman, and Leigh Cline) were invited to share their musical and administrative expertise with "In Praise of Hands" (a.k.a. the World Crafts Council's sixth general assembly) when it was held at the Ontario Science Center in 1974 (see Chapter 3 for more details).

These examples only scratch the surface of Mariposa's connection to the artisanal community. This relationship is a potentially rich area of study that invites additional interviews with former participants, as well as further historical contextualization with regards to the development of Canada's artisanal scene.

Despite transpiring in the first two decades of Mariposa's history, the artistic developments discussed in this section have left an important legacy in Canada. The MFF's support of Canadian content and "diverse" musics was progressive for its time, operating in tandem with other societal developments and often occurring in advance of government initiatives that carried similar goals. The refinement of daytime programming, the development of children's music initiatives, and the creation of the crafts area had far-reaching reverberations in the wider Canadian arts scene by inspiring similar developments at other folk festivals, supporting a budding music industry, and strengthening networks of artists across Canada.

b. Mariposa, youth, counterculture and politics in the 1960s and early 1970s

Many former MFF administrators point out that Mariposa was the only Canadian event of its kind throughout the 1960s. Indeed, aside from being the only *folk* festival, it was one of the only cultural events of its scale, and had very little competition for the youth market. As Joe Lewis describes it,

> [in the early 1960s] it's still the only game in town. You gotta remember, there was no Ontario Place, there was no Canada's Wonderland ...the only other event was the CNE, later in August. Toronto was so dead at that time. There was

> nothing going on, and *nothing* for that age level of kids. You know, you have the Toronto Symphony, the Canadian Opera, the National Ballet, those were about the only three shows in town. And the whole Mirvish thing hadn't started yet. So you didn't even have *that* kind of entertainment draw. (Lewis 2013)

In addition to its lack of competition, the MFF would also develop against the backdrop of some of the most oft-discussed social shifts of mid-20th-century North America—notably the burst of adolescent baby-boomers, widespread civil rights movements, and the Vietnam War. Overlapping these shifts were various elements of 1960s counterculture[77] (such as religious and drug experimentation, and other habits associated with the "hippie" lifestyle). In terms of social significance, what did it mean for the MFF to begin its life in this particular era? How much did MFF represent, participate in, or associate with, these broader societal developments? In this section I draw attention to some key moments in Mariposa's history that intersected with the demographic issues

[77] Many writers have criticized the ever-broadening usage of this word. Braunstein and Doyle, for example, observe that "This casual inflation of the term 'counterculture' into a nebula of signifiers comprehending bongs, protest demonstrations, ashrams, and social nudity rears its head at seemingly any Sixties retrospective"(2002, 6). Timothy Leary, in turn, makes a clear distinction between countercultural and politically motivated activity: "...Counterculture may be found in (sometimes uneasy) alliances with radical, even revolutionary political groups and insurrectionary forces, and the memberships of countercultures and such groups often overlap. But the focus of counterculture is the power of ideas, images, and artistic expression, not the acquisition of personal and political power. Thus, minority, alternative, and radical political parties are not themselves countercultures" (Leary 2004, x). While acknowledging the distinctions made by Leary, my use of the word "counterculture" draws on his affirmation that there was indeed overlapping membership between the symbolic/ideas-based (and therefore "countercultural" groups), and organized groups with more formal political goals. For example, in certain incidents that occurred between groups of youth and the Mariposa Folk Festival (especially the gate-crashing incident of 1970), the specific affiliations of these youth were often blurred.

and countercultural elements of the 1960s and early 1970s. Additionally, I discuss the status of political engagement at the festival.

Media coverage indicates that Mariposa had indeed touched a societal nerve in its earlier years, as discussed in Chapter 2. In 1963 (its third instalment in Orillia), the festival reportedly drew crowds of 20,000 people (Unknown author 1963b, 1)—roughly 8000 more than the previous year. Many of these were out-of-town youth (and some were reportedly bikers). The print media carried great emphasis on clashes with police, with headlines such as "Boozing rowdies turn Orillia festival into brawl" (Unknown author 1963b), and "Hooligans give Orillia 'its worst 48 hours'" (Unknown author 1963c). The actual offenses involved liquor infractions, minor theft, noise disturbance, and general rowdy behaviour; but I have received mixed interpretations of their magnitude. While logistic constraints prevented me from polling a large number of Orillia residents, the few I spoke to personally somewhat agreed that the event was "a mess" and/or "wild." Many festival administrators, however, found the media accounts to be greatly exaggerated. One thing is for certain: a close look at news articles reveals that the "rowdies" themselves were not invited to comment on the situation. Instead, the quoted commentary was usually provided by police or town officials (therefore narrowing the perspective). Overall, however, it was acknowledged on all sides that much of the trouble was caused by the out-of-town youth; and the damage (regardless of extent) alarmed the residents and

town officials enough to bar any future instalments of Mariposa from taking place in Orillia.

Such a large public outcry over so-called "wandering, unruly elements" (Unknown author 1963c) would not have been unexpected in most Canadian communities. In his historical study of Yorkville, Henderson neatly summarizes the conservative nature of Toronto in the early 1960s:

> The story of how Yorkville came to be a youth centre is bound up with the story of an emerging cosmopolitan city. Toronto, even as late as 1965, had rarely been accused of being an exciting place. In fact, 'Toronto the Good' was much more often criticized for its sober, sleepy character than for any dangerous, subversive underbelly. ([Stuart] Henderson 2011, 31)

The "sober, sleepy character" of Ontario's capital city would have been easily extrapolated to Orillia, which was then a small town in Ontario's Simcoe Country. And against this conservative backdrop, more generally speaking, was an unprecedented number of teenagers in Canadian society. In his discussion of the near-"riots" in 1960s Yorkville (as they were dubbed in the media),[78] Henderson points out,

> The pervasive fear felt by many parents of baby boomers, as they looked uneasily at the teens they had carried into the new world of the 1960s, must have been intensified by the oft-repeated fact that there were more of these young people than there ever had been before, in the history of the world. And so any incident that exaggerated their power-in-numbers seems to have been sobering. Their potential to swarm, to mass together in violent, irrational surges of adolescent abandon – while rarely ever realized in Yorkville, even in the more volatile later 1960s – underscores the hyperbolic coverage of both of the "riots" discussed above. (Henderson 2011, 80)

[78] According to Henderson's interpretation of press coverage (viewed in the social context of the time), these events appear to have consisted mainly of crowding and noise disturbance by youth who were attending a weekend street festival held in Yorkville. The media's characterization of their behaviour as riotous is thought by Henderson to have been an exaggeration (Henderson 2011, 77-79).

The rowdiness of Orillia's 1963 Mariposa festival, and its sensationalistic media coverage, therefore found kin in the events of neighbouring Toronto (whose so-called "riots" of 1964 it preceded by a year, in fact.) Given the pervasiveness of this social anxiety among the older generation and powers-that-be, it should come as no surprise that the MFF had difficulty finding a new home after its eviction from Orillia. And even though organizers eventually secured Innis Lake for three years (1965-1967), an extensive police presence was necessary to regain the public's trust and downplay the event's "riotous" image (see Chapter 2 for a review).

As the event cultivated a calmer image at Innis Lake and later moved to the Toronto Islands, it was not unaffected by broader countercultural (and other societal) developments, however. By the end of the 1960s, two contrasting trends were evident in North American society: namely, the communitarian "peace and love" ethos (of which hippies were the greatest exponent), and a trend toward greater violence. The violence was particularly evident in the U.S., whose race riots, anti-war demonstrations and student protests led to frequent clashes with police;[79] but as Henderson (2011) has demonstrated, Canada was not without confrontations between youth and the establishment.

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[79] See Delhomme-Cutchin 2002 for a summary of these developments as they relate to the music scene.

In popular interpretations,[80] these trends were exemplified in two different festivals of 1969: the Woodstock Music and Art Fair (held August 15-17) and the Altamont Speedway Free Festival (held December 6). Woodstock was perceived as being the "hippie haven"; many accounts evoke a peaceful setting marked by "fellowship between total strangers, the atmosphere of sharing, the lack of violence or aggravation..." (Evans 2009, 8). Notably, the festival (originally a for-profit venture) was declared a free event by promoters on the opening day, due to initial fears of chaos amidst the excessive crowds (see Evans 2009). Altamont, in turn, was conceived as a free festival from the outset (with the intended result being a West-coast version of Woodstock). In contrast to Woodstock, however, Altamont was frequently cited for its violence. This interpretation owes much to the heavy presence of the Hells Angels, and the murder of an eighteen-year-old attendee during the Rolling Stones' headlining performance (Delhomme-Cutchin 2002, 56-57).[81]

Given these contrasting elements of the broader society and their supposed embodiment at music festivals, to what extent were they absorbed into Mariposa? Hippies

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[80] These include media coverage, documentary films (notably Wadleigh 1970 and Maysles et al. 1970), and retrospective writings (e.g., Evans 2009).

[81] The popular contrast between "peace-loving" Woodstock and "violent" Altamont has been debunked in studies of the past decade, however. As mentioned in Chapter 1, several authors (e.g., Bennett 2004, Street 2004, Warner 2004) have identified processes of mythmaking in the public reception of Woodstock. Street, in particular, refutes the popular claims surrounding the festival's association with communitarianism and anti-commercialism. In her study of the Altamont Festival (2002), Delhomme-Cutchin posits that its violence should not have been unexpected because the late 1960s saw growing violence in general.

were indeed remarked upon at Innis Lake in 1967 (see Chapter 2),[82] though they were received more as a social curiosity than as an infusion of "love and peace." A reporter perceived them as trying to "disturb the quiet atmosphere" with "their iconoclastic buttons, beards, bands and behaviour" (Goddard 1967, 13). Another, more sympathetic report noted that "Conservation areas with open campsites were turning away long hairs who were attending the festival" (Staff reporter 1967, 22). In 1968 (the festival's first year on the Toronto Islands), an account by Ritchie Yorke (reporting for the *Globe and Mail*) did not observe a clear demarcation between hippies and non-hippies (or an "us" versus "them" vibe, as presented by the Innis Lake accounts). As he reported,

> Warmth and friendliness pervaded the Festival as artists discussed their beliefs and musical ideas with anyone who cared to listen. Groups of guitar-strumming, long-haired aspiring folk singers gave impromptu concerts from picnic tables, soloists climbed trees and sang their takeoffs on Joan Baez and Gordon Lightfoot, and hundreds of guitarless folk fans sat in the shade and helped the stars sing their folk songs.
> ...Generally the workshop audiences looked more off-beat than the entertainers. Sleeping bags and guitar cases, decorated with travel stickers, dotted the grass. Some of the more unconventional head attire included a safety helmet painted with flowers, ten-gallon cowboy hats, safari helmets, plumed hats, and even an elegant black top hat on a youth in jeans. Standard dress seemed to be blue or white jeans in various stages of disrepair, denim jackets, and brightly-colored shirts. Many came without shoes. (Yorke 1968, 14)

[82] This is not to suggest that hippies were a new phenomenon in 1967. For some years, a segment of North American youth (as well as some aults) had already begun adopting the lifestyle now associated with the "hippie" label (see, for example, Cavan 1972, 47-50). But as Henderson points out, the public dialogue about this countercultural lifestyle reached new heights in the mid- to late 1960s. In Toronto, for example, 1967 was "certainly the noisiest, and arguably the watershed, year in Yorkville's 1960s. Defined by an ever-expanding population of runaways, drop-outs, activists, drug users, emerging rock'n'roll superstars, bikers, and peace-and-lovers, Yorkville's 'Summer of Love' was fractious, exciting, and often dramatic. This was the year Yorkville became unavoidably politicized, a self-conscious cultural battleground over which various factions clamoured for control, arguing over the elusive mantle of authentic Village identity" (Henderson 2011, 29)

With its laid-back atmosphere, spontaneous music-making and creative clothing, the environment described by Yorke in 1968 resonates with popular descriptions of mid- to late-1960s (counter)cultural activity. The festival would not be perennially associated with these elements, however. The 1969 edition of Mariposa (which preceded Woodstock by less than a month) garnered frustrated comments from Yorke himself, who complained about the ferry logistics and found the event "a little too folksy" that year (Yorke 1969, 26).[83] A *Toronto Star* reporter, in turn, focused largely on the musical performances[84] and very little on the identity/behaviour of audience members (which suggests that there was nothing new or controversial going on with the latter) (Fraser 1969, 51).

It may seem ineffective to draw further comparisons between Mariposa and Woodstock/Altamont at this point, given that Mariposa's "folksiness" (to echo Yorke's adjective) appears to have drawn a more subdued crowd in comparison to its American rock festival counterparts. But to stop at 1969 is to overlook a notable consequence of these American festivals that would resurface in Canada the following summer. As noted, Woodstock unexpectedly became a free festival due to the droves of people descending on Max Yasgur's farm, and Altamont was conceived as a free festival in an attempt to match the spirit of Woodstock. The idea of free concerts would remain in the

[83] Yorke provided the example of Bruce Cockburn, who "arrived on stage breathless and announced that dew was falling all over his guitar" (Yorke 1969, 26).
[84] The headliners that year were Joan Baez, Joni Mitchell, Gilles Vigneault, Taj Mahal, and Ian and Sylvia.

consciousness of North American youth that year. In the early summer of 1970, a for-profit touring rock festival (dubbed "Festival Express") made its way across Canada, stopping in Toronto, Winnipeg and Calgary. The first concert, held June 27-28 in Toronto, was met with 2500 protesters who were said to be inspired by the May 4th Movement.[85] Their chief message was reportedly an anti-capitalist one, with youth "protesting against admission prices of $14 and $16" (Hartley 1970, 15). Clashes between protesters and police ensued after several hundred people crashed the gates. Eventually, Jerry Garcia (of the Grateful Dead) and Inspector Walter Magahay (of the Metro Police) managed to arrange a smaller free concert in nearby Coronation Park. According to a reporter, "Since a free festival was M4M's objective from the start, the concession amounted to a victory for the revolutionaries—a political victory" (Batten 1970a, 12).

Approximately a month later, on Friday, July 24, Mariposa opened on Olympic Island with "the customary Mariposa warm feelings and generous atmosphere" (Batten 1970b, 11). The tone changed on Saturday evening, however, when organizers were confronted with "kids who avoided paying their way in by storming the bridge to Olympia [*sic*] Island or by rowing or by swimming across the narrow (and polluted) lagoon from Centre Island..." (Batten 1970b, 11). This "gate-crashing" is said to have

[85] A left-wing group that had formed in response to the Kent State shootings of May 4th 1970.

intensified on Sunday evening, to an extent that MFF organizers eventually relented and opened the gates, for fear of injury and/or swimmers drowning in the lagoon.

Among festival organizers and journalists, it went without saying that Mariposa's freeloaders were responding to the general zeitgeist of the late 1960s. As Richard Flohil put it concisely, "It was also a time when the half-assed hippie ethos about 'music belongs to the people, blah blah blah, so it's my right to be there for free'" (Flohil 2012). Indeed, the above-mentioned *Globe and Mail* report made a direct comparison to the events of Woodstock and Festival Express, and quoted a young attendee as saying, "Let my brothers in to hear the people's music" (Batten 1970b, 11).

Many MFF organizers have said the incident was greatly exaggerated in the media—in fact, one interviewee only recalls about two dozen people trying to swarm the gate. But as mentioned above, the biggest concern for administrators was drowning and injury, and following the 1970 festival, some changes had to be made. At other festivals, an obvious solution might have been to increase security, but many Mariposa officials felt this ran contrary to the festival's vision. As Leigh Cline put it, "I mean, it had nothing to do with affording it in a way, because you sort of end up being an armed camp. And we didn't want to do—I mean that was not Mariposa" (Cline 2011). What was a Mariposa-made solution, then? While many attribute the gate-crashing to "hippie idealism," Estelle Klein believed this ethos was also facilitated by the programming format, which shared some elements with rock festivals. Indeed, the Sunday gate-

crashing (which was reportedly more dramatic than that of Saturday) coincided with the evening concert headlined by Joni Mitchell and James Taylor, who, by most accounts, were the biggest draws of the weekend. [86] To reiterate an excerpt of Klein's 1971 letter to Pete Seeger, [87]

> ...big concerts have a certain drama but that a kind of excitement is kindled that sometimes creates these problems—esp. if you have a situation in which a 'star' type appears only once all weekend...(Klein 1970)

Klein therefore believed the best way to address the problem was to alter the programming format. The result was the elimination of evening concerts, the introduction of more daytime stages, and the reduction of "big name" artists on the program (see Chapter 3 for a full summary of these changes).

Thus, Mariposa did not go unaffected by certain countercultural tendencies of the late 1960s. The ethos of "music of the people should be free" (and its resulting "gate-crashing" incident) impacted the way music was presented and enjoyed at the MFF. The new formula proved to be effective in quashing future security concerns; there were no further reports of gate-crashing throughout the 1970s, either in the media or in recollections of former administrators. The biggest disturbance to happen after 1970 would be the appearance of Bob Dylan in 1972 (see Chapter 3), but the latter caused only minor stampedes and posed little threat to public safety. Most media reporting from 1971

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[86] In problematizing the presence of big-name artists and/or rock-oriented elements, Klein was essentially evoking the well-worn "what is folk music" debate—see Chapter 1 for a theoretical overview and Chapter 2 for a manifestation of this debate at 1960s Mariposa.
[87] See Chapter 3 for the full excerpt of this letter.

to 1979 tends to emphasize the mellow atmosphere and the ample presence of families with children.

By the early- to mid-1970s, then, Mariposa had successfully dissociated itself from the unruly aspects of the prevailing counterculture and dodged public ostracization for the kind of violence associated with rock festivals. Yet in other ways, the MFF continued to demonstrate the extent to which Canadian society was "opening up" to elements previously considered "underground." This is especially evident in wide acceptance of marijuana (and possibly other drugs) on the festival grounds. Many commentators on 1970s Mariposa (including my interviewees) amiably recall the perpetual "haze" that floated around the island. And by all accounts, police and security were generally non-confrontational about the matter. This is exemplified in a recollection by ballad singer Enoch Kent, who (in addition to being a frequent Mariposa performer) occasionally worked security for the festival:

> I was on the gate in case there was any trouble. So a guy comes staggering back to the gate—he's paid to get in, he's in there, but he comes back—he said oh, I've lost my wallet. I said, "where did you lose it." "I don't know, it dropped out of my pocket." And I said, "Well, if somebody comes—give me your name, and tell me where you're going, and if I find it, I can come and give it to you, son." So somebody came in and handed in this very bulky wallet. ...and I went across and gave it to him, said "Here you are, here's your wallet." He said "oh thank god--I've got a whole ton of drugs in there." And then [later] I'm back at the backstage with two undercover cops who were going to escort the [festival's] money from the Island to a boat that's going to take it to a bank or some secure place in Toronto. These [cops] are young guys, you know, and then they look—they look just like folkies, they got torn-off jeans, and shorts and –*tough*-looking guys, too. ...So I'm standing backstage talking to these two guys (laughs), [and] in comes this guy [whose] wallet I had given back, he comes up to us and says "do you

> guys want any?..." And I'm standing with two cops, I said "No thanks," and the two cops said "No thanks," and off he went—they just let him go! (laughs) (Kent 2013)

Kent's recollection also highlights the extent to which the MFF's relationship with the police had changed. As discussed in Chapter 2, the 1963 Orillia instalment had produced much greater tension between the local police force and festival-goers. During the Innis Lake years, the MFF had employed copious OPP officers and security guards to alleviate the anxieties of local residents; in 1965, these were reported to number ninety-five and seventy, respectively (Reguly 1965, 18). By the early 1970s, however, the number of police had dropped to a handful. As Richard Flohil (then known as Dick Flohil) told a reporter in 1972,

> Last year, we had three plainclothes police. There were no uniformed cops on the site and there were no busts. In fact, it was so quiet that Saturday the plainclothes men asked if they could bring their wives on Sunday. (Martin 1972, 23)[88]

As this account suggests, Mariposa (as a music festival) was no longer considered a societal curiosity whose clientele threatened to corrupt conservative values.

Finally, I turn to the "political" dimension of the 1960s/1970s, and its relationship with Mariposa. Some of the key markers of this time period were the peaking of civil rights movements in North America, and widespread unrest about the Vietnam War. Folk music had long been associated with political movements (see Chapter 2, Part I), a fact that would seemingly implicate Mariposa in political activism. But program books of the

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[88] A year later, the festival reportedly had "six security police" on the Island (Goddard 1972a, 3), though this was still no match for the previous numbers at Innis Lake.

1960s do not place any particular social issues on the musical agenda, and media coverage of that decade does not refer to any on-site political organizing. Throughout the 1970s, occasional concerts and workshops did carry themes of social activism; these include "Songs of Struggle and Change" (1975), and "Strong Women: Purpose and Protest" (1975), along with other feminist-themed or women-centered workshops throughout the decade. Other workshops paid retrospective homage to historical movements, such as "Tribute to Joe Hill" (1972)[89] (see MFF program books, 1970-1975). As for on-site promotion of political causes, the administration in fact carried a policy *against* the latter. As Skye Morrison (former crafts coordinator) explains,

> …Pete Seeger came, and he had the whole *[recording unclear*], and the whole thing with keeping the river, and all that stuff. Now he was allowed to talk about that and do things with it on stage, as part of his performance. But he couldn't have a booth in the crafts area, and have Hudson River paraphernalia. Couldn't. Because that would've been promoting a political or social thing. That was very strictly kept separate. Because if you let *him* do it, then you had to let Greenpeace come and let this person come and let that person come, and it was not considered a political sort of venue, except in the context of some performers, right? (Morrison 2013)

One of the chief reasons for this policy was that some political perspectives were seen to conflict with certain cultural forms. Morrison provides the following example,

> …we brought a sealskin bootmaker from the Inuit community in Labrador, at which point we—the crafts committee—got accused of killing baby seals. By Greenpeace. Because Greenpeace wasn't allowed on the site, so their way of doing it [*getting publicity*] was by saying we were killing baby seals. (Morrison 2013)

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[89] Joe Hill was a well-known labour activist and songwriter who was active in the U.S. in the early 1900s.

The festival's deliberate distance from political causes therefore had much to do with its definition of folk culture. As Morrison puts it, "What we were trying to do is make people understand that folk culture is an integrated thing of all sorts of stuff." Or, to recap Klein's words (already presented in Chapter 3), organizers wished to present folk music as a "spectrum."

As demonstrated in this section, Mariposa indeed co-existed (and sometimes intersected) with important social shifts of the 1960s and 1970s. Initially, the MFF was perceived as an outlet for the unruly teenage population of the early 1960s. Later in the decade, it played host to the hippies and drug culture associated with rock events. When proponents of popular ideologies or political causes sought outlets for their energy, Mariposa was targeted as a potential space for activism. These elements were poised to have adverse effects on the artistic vision of Mariposa; but through careful programming strategies, organizers managed to preserve a community-oriented environment that presented an inclusive vision of "folk culture."[90]

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[90] As quoted on page 115, Estelle Klein wanted the MFF to present folk culture as a "spectrum" that include dance, ethno-cultural traditions, and children's music, among other things. This spectrum was indeed visible at the festival grounds throughout the 1970s when Klein was the artistic director. Klein's definition of folk music, however, does not necessarily coincide with the way ethnomusicologists and folklorists would define folk music. As discussed in Chapter 1, the meaning of the term "folk" has been debated in academia for decades, especially with regard to the intersection between traditional and popular musics. These debates show that this concept has always been in a state of flux. Indeed, the question of what is "authentic" folk at the MFF has changed throughout the festival's own history of programming. My use of scare quotes around "folk culture" signifies a concept that remains fluid in its representation at the MFF.

c. Thoughts on space, place and landscape

The Mariposa Folk Festival has relocated twelve times since its inception. Its various locales have included city parks, grassy rural properties, an urban island, and a lakefront entertainment complex (see Appendix K, 233 for a complete summary of the MFF's relocations).

A festival's location can be intertwined with the sense of ritual and community experienced by attendees, as suggested in studies by Hetherington (1992), Bloustien (2004), and Tsai (2007). In these cases, it was the festival goers' abilities to return annually to a stable locale that enabled their rituals and communities to develop. For example, a physical feature of a festival site (such as a hill or historical monument) could serve as an annual meeting place for friends who meet each other for picnicking, informal jamming or doing recreational drugs. Such groups of people might only see each other once a year at the festival, yet maintain a strong bond based on this annual experience. And if one supports Dowd, Liddle and Nelson's (2004) contention that music festivals resemble scenes,[91] it follows that a festival's locale (i.e., its "venue") would represent the fixed (as opposed to fluid) component of its scene identity (see Henderson 2011).

Given the potential significance of fixity to a festival, how did Mariposa's itinerancy in the 1980s and 1990s influence the audience experience, and contribute to (or detract from) the event's overall success? In this section, I examine public reception

[91] See Chapter 1 for a summary of Dowd, Liddle and Nelson's 2004 work.

(drawn from media coverage, audience surveys, and interview recollections) that responds specifically to the festival's locale, landscape, and other spatial considerations,[92] from the 1970s through the 1990s.[93]

i. Public reception

Most of Mariposa's spatial relocations occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. During those decades, the MFF was greatly overshadowed by the success of the Western-Canadian folk festivals, such as those in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver. The latter had largely maintained stable locations, and were becoming financially successful and developing international reputations. Critics of Mariposa (especially in the 1990s) often held it up to its Western-Canadian counterparts for comparison. In 1995, a critic commented, "In Toronto, it [Mariposa] is seen as a whisper of its former self, a limping, limpid affair with a soul too torn, tattered and transplanted to matter, even to the people who first created it" (Potter 1995, E1). He was not the only journalist to connect the festival's "transplantation" with its lack of success in that decade. In June 2000 (as the MFF was relocating back to Orillia), another reporter mused, "Generally, the strength of a folk festival lies in its links in the community. Mariposa's enduring problem has been its inability to put down geographic roots." In the same article, a notable administrator on

[92] See Chapter 1 for a clarification of the distinction between space, place, and landscape.
[93] Ideally, a "historically complete" version of this discussion would also refer to public reception from 2000-present (i.e., after the festival's return to Orillia and subsequent thirteen years of spatial stability). Unfortunately, however, recent issues of the *Orillia Packet and Times* (as well as audience surveys from more recent years) were not readily accessible throughout the preparation of this dissertation.

the Canadian folk circuit was quoted as saying, “Folk music is about identity. And I don't know what Mariposa's identity is” (Procuta 2000).

Nevertheless, if one can put Mariposa’s identity (or lack thereof) aside, a focus on its reception in specific locations is somewhat revealing. The 1970s coverage of the festival on the Toronto Islands serves as a case in point. While musical performances are certainly reviewed and commented upon, accounts from this era often contain additional references to the festival’s surrounding environment and overall “experience.” The following review serves as a case in point:

> …Music wasn’t the only attraction on the Island yesterday. Record crowds—some of them lining up almost an hour for the ferry from the Toronto docks—jockeyed for space for their picnic blankets and frisbee competitions. Picnic tables were at a premium as families staggered around with loaded food hampers. (Bullock 1977, D4)

Additional coverage containing commentary on swimming, ferry rides, grass and trees, and a “gentle vibe” can be seen in Appendix L (234). One thus gets a sense that landscape, atmosphere and non-musical activities were part of the Mariposa experience when it was held on the Islands. As mentioned in Chapter 3, some of the former attendees I had interviewed recounted their experience meeting at a designated tree (i.e., “Friends of the SJA Tree”) each year, and described how it functioned as a “hub” to meet for picnicking and conversation. The physical features of the location therefore enabled them to develop a “ritual” of sorts, and enhanced their sense of community at the festival. Additionally, I have met other attendees who told me that they had been “regulars”

throughout the 1970s, but stopped going after it left the Islands because it "wasn't the same." This suggests that the festival experience had come to carry a strong association with that locale.

After the MFF settled in Molson Park, its media coverage did not reveal the same preoccupation with landscape as it had during the Island years. In 1980s coverage, articles written weeks or days prior to the festival tend to limit their discussions to the line-up of performers and the administrative state of the organization, while articles written during or after the festival are mainly concert reviews. However, I did come across a more experiential account in a retrospective article of the MFF, written by a local actress who attended the festival throughout the 80s:

> ... What's relevant to me and my generation about Mariposa? Good music is always relevant. For good music, I will stand in the pouring rain for three days straight, pitch my tent on the man-made rolling hills of Molson Park and even drink Molson beer. If I dance hard enough, I couldn't care less about getting soaked and if campers and musicians come together for a midnight jam around the bonfire, who cares where I pitch my tent? (Stoffman 1993)

This account reminds us that, while the festival's Molson Park years were hugely dependent on corporate sponsorship, the Molson acreage and its camping option offered a type of rural experience that the Toronto Islands did not.

As we know, the festival relocated from a rural setting back to urban Toronto, first at Ontario Place in the early 1990s, followed by the "Island-Queen St." format in the mid-1990s. Media coverage of this period is similar to that of the 1980s, with an emphasis on the performer line-up and very little commentary on the festival experience.

Fortunately, I had the opportunity to examine some audience surveys that the festival had conducted in 1991, which was the year the MFF relocated to Ontario Place. Question "4b)" of the survey stands out for the particular purposes of this section. It asks, "Which location do you prefer for the Mariposa Festival?" and provides the four options: "1. Ontario Place, 2. Molson Park, 3. Toronto Island, 4. No preference," along with a couple of blank lines for explanation. Understandably, not everyone who attended the 1991 festival would have been familiar with Mariposa's past incarnations, and perhaps these comprise the contingent who selected "No preference" or "Ontario Place." But I came across a larger number of replies that indicated "Toronto Islands" as well as "Molson Park," which assumes that these people had attended the festival in different locations.

Appendix M (235) displays their explanations, which I have reproduced exactly as written, in terms of spelling and grammar. As shown on the list, the pro-Toronto Island responses included reasons relating to ambiance, park setting, lack of concrete, isolation, natural beauty, and nostalgia for the past. A particularly thoughtful festival-goer wrote,

> Ontario Place has an aura of gov't [*sic*] civility that destroys the ambiance of intimacy so associated with Mariposa, but the Forum is covered. Molson Park is UV death—so the island with shade/rain covering tents would be best. (Mariposa Folk Foundation 1991)

Some of those who preferred Molson Park cited its camping as a key reason. Like the Toronto Islands proponents, they also gave reasons relating to atmosphere and natural setting, particularly in comparison to Ontario Place with its tighter security. To be fair, the respondents who selected Ontario Place did offer some understandable reasons, most

of which had to do with convenience and accessibility. But perhaps one of the more revealing answers came from a respondent who selected both the Islands *and* Molson Park, citing the reason "a greater sense of a festival."

ii. Significance

The last survey respondent had experienced "a greater sense of a festival" in the MFF's two most long-term locales (prior to 2000): the Toronto Islands and Molson Park. These locales (especially the Islands) have generated the most frequent references to a "community" element in their public reception. Additionally, they were the most isolated "park-like" settings in which the MFF had been staged. We know that when the MFF was located in these more "rural" spaces, there was more commentary on landscape and atmosphere in the media and audience recollections. This resonates with Gerry Bloustien's study of the Womadelaide festival (2004), and my own findings on the Winnipeg Folk Festival (2007), in terms of the relationship of a festival's location to the overall experience of its attendees. This relationship may be related to what Philip Bohlman (1988) describes as the long-standing role that ruralness has played in the definition of folk music. While the programming at the MFF has never reflected a single geographical region, it is clear from the 1991 surveys that long-time attendees of Mariposa tend to associate the folk festival experience with a more isolated rural landscape. Perhaps this may form part of the reason why the years at the Toronto Islands,

and to some extent Molson Park, command a greater sense of nostalgia among festival-goers.

Aside from the effects of the festival's locale on its audience reception, the findings of this section also offer an understanding of festival's status within the broader Canadian roots music scene—especially in the 1980s and 1990s, when it was overshadowed by the Western-Canadian folk festivals. As shown above, the MFF was criticized for its frequent relocations when held up against other folk festivals that have maintained stable locations. The perspective of Mariposa's critics (from that era) is consistent with a position argued by Pierre Bourdieu as part of his larger analogy between physical space and social space. In his 1999 article "Site effects" he states,

> An agent's position in social space is expressed in the site of physical space where that agent is situated (which means, for example, that anyone said to be …'homeless' is virtually without a social existence), and by the relative position that their temporary localizations…and especially the permanent ones… occupy in relation to the localizations of other agents. (1999, 124)

If we choose to treat MFF as an agent within a broader "social space" of Canadian folk festivals, then Bourdieu's thoughts are helpful in explaining the festival's lack of prestige during its itinerant years of the 1990s (compared to other concurrently-running folk festivals with more stable locations). And this perspective could also explain why Mariposa regained its financial stability and redeveloped a committed audience after relocating back to Orillia (where it has remained anchored in a single location from 2000 to the present). But perhaps it is a stretch to interpret this facet of the MFF fully through

the lens of Bourdieu, because the festival's dwindling audiences and debt in the 1990s owed to other factors as well, such as poor weather (see Chapter 4). Indeed, it would be inaccurate to say that this festival was, in Bourdieu's words, "without a social existence." I was told by Doug Baker (former board member and past president) that there was a small contingent of volunteers who remained with the festival throughout its relocations to Ontario Place, Queen St., Bracebridge, and its return to Orillia. Further ethnographic research needs to be done on why they remained with the festival, but they clearly derive meaningful experiences out of their volunteer work. Baker has offered a partial explanation, in which he likens the Mariposa Folk Festival to "a fight," that is something along the lines of a boxing match:

> And so the festival was—you know, we talked about the *fight*...it didn't matter where the fight was. It could be anywhere. We'd still be putting on the festival. You know, "have you seen the fight in Bracebridge. Have you seen the fight on the Island..." (Baker 2011)

The MFF has therefore maintained a small community of long-term supporters who appear to have enjoyed the thrill of the festival's administrative challenges throughout its itinerant years (thus validating the event's "social existence," to quote Bourdieu again). As mentioned earlier, many original attendees from the 1970s had stopped going after the festival left the Toronto Islands, which, as suggested throughout this section, has been remembered as the "quintessential" locale for Mariposa, with its relative isolation and rural features. The festival's long-term tenure at the Islands helped to foster a strong sense of community among festival-goers. The small contingent of Mariposa "lifers,"

however, demonstrates that an itinerant festival can still offer a themed "space" to the most dedicated attendees, even when not anchored to a fixed "place."

d. Mariposa, arts funding, and corporate sponsorship

Since the mid-20th century, the climate for live music, arts funding and event sponsorship has shifted dramatically in Canada. In the early 1960s, the MFF had few arts events to compete with. As summarized by Joe Lewis earlier, the only other arts events (of a major scale) in the Toronto area pertained to "high-brow" genres such as ballet, opera, and symphonic music. The Canada Council for the Arts (founded in 1957) was not funding folk music initiatives as it is now, and in any case, the general dearth of arts events (let alone "popular" ones) precluded a developed system for government funding and corporate sponsorship.

Since the 1960s, however, the availability of external support for live events has increased dramatically. The five-decade presence of Mariposa Folk Festival on the Canadian cultural scene offers a case-study of how a music festival functions with (or without) the financial support of the government and/or corporate sponsors. In this section I provide a brief summary of the MFF's funding and sponsorship history, followed by some thoughts on how external support may (or may not) influence a festival's success.[94]

[94] By "external support" I mean monetary contributions (as opposed to the lending of land or services, for example).

The inaugural festival was largely financed by Ruth and Casey Jones, who contributed $5000 to its production, as discussed in Chapter 2. The only form of (financial) governmental support appears to have been a $250 grant from the town council (Staff reporter 1961, n.p.). In 1962 and 1963, the management of the festival was handed over to Jack Wall (a Yorkville coffeehouse entrepreneur), who financed the festival with his own means and ran it as a for-profit venture. During the Innis Lake years (1964-1967), Randy Ferris is said to have invested his own money in the festival. And as discussed in Chapter 2, the artistic talent for the Innis Lake instalments was paid for by selling the food rights to A&W.

In the early 1970s (just after the MFF had relocated to the Islands), the festival was still not receiving any operating grants. As Estelle Klein hinted in an interview (see Section a-iv), festival staff were relatively inexperienced in grant-writing and had not yet applied. Yet, in the same interview she noted that the festival had indeed received some funding for the MITS program (Klein 1972-1974). A former administrator has told me that these were likely classified as "special initiatives" grants. The Statement of Operating Fund for the years 1970 and 1971 refer to grants of $3000 and $5000, respectively (1972 program book). A statement in a later program book attributes them to the Ontario Arts Council (MFF program book 1974).

MITS notwithstanding, Mariposa remained largely self-sufficient throughout the 1970s, surviving on ticket sales, donations, and advertisements in program books. As

mentioned in Section a-iv, a single grant for First Nations programming was received in 1977. Additionally, the MFF received funding to create a commemorative book in 1976 and 1977, and would later earn revenue from this book in 1978. Revenue was also received from sales of a live Mariposa recording in 1975.

The WFF entered the 1980s facing increased competition from other live events and venues in the Toronto area that offered roots music programming. However, this period also coincided with the federal government's efforts to engage with a wider variety of arts groups within Canada. In its efforts to become a more fully-funded foundation, the MFF submitted a brief to the hearings of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee in 1981. A year later, a program from its 1982 festival revealed it had indeed garnered additional government support from these efforts, though exact amounts are not known (see Chapter 4).

Thus, from the early 1960s to the dawn of the 1980s, the MFF's body of external support (albeit scant) was variously comprised of project-based grants, donations, and ad sales; and it would attain fresh recognition from the federal government by 1982. But it was arguably the festival's seven-year tenure at Molson Park (1984-1990) that saw the event "come of age" in terms of external support. In addition to receiving consistent funding from the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (which, in 1987, was reported to total $65,000), the festival received a large portion of their artistic budget from Molson's brewery. This co-existence of large-scale government funding and

corporate sponsorship is now taken for granted at current-day arts festivals; but for Mariposa in the 1980s, it represented a drastic shift from the decade of relative self-sufficiency on the Toronto Islands. Nevertheless, government and corporate partners would remain a mainstay of the festival's financial well-being through the 1990s, 2000s, and present day.

The MFF's history conveniently allows us to compare the success (or lack thereof) of a funded festival with one that had been largely underfunded. By all accounts, the "heyday" of Mariposa is seen to be the mid-1960s (Innis Lake) through the 1970s (Toronto Islands). Recollections of this era tend to heap praise on the musical programming, the community atmosphere, and the overall festival experience. In other words, the time frame of this festival's greatest success happened to coincide with the time frame in which it was most underfunded. Indeed, the 1970s operations proved that a festival could be largely self-sustaining, surviving off of ticket sales, donations, volunteer power, and the revenue from special projects. But it is important to remember a few things. First, before Mariposa In The Schools became a separate organization, the foundation did occasionally allocate money from MITS funding toward festival-related initiatives. Second, the administration's ability to stretch its artistic budget owed much to the union-scale wage system—which, as discussed in Chapter 4, would have been unrealistic in the more competitive decades of the 1980s onwards. Third, many of the festival's socially-conscious initiatives—such as the programming of ethno-cultural and

First Nations music—might have been taken to greater heights if it had had a larger budget from government grants. For example, some administrators have told me that a very large portion of festival profits were used to fund the travel of performers from remote communities (especially First Nations from the far north). While organizers did not necessarily view this expense as a concern, the MFF might have been able to enhance the program in other ways if it could fall back on additional funding for travel expenses.

It is also important to note that the MFF's reputation for self-sufficiency could have negative consequences in its relationship with the government. A former administrator (who prefers to remain anonymous) noted that the festival did experience a more serious financial struggle at one point in the 1970s, and indeed reached out for additional forms of government support—but its efforts were denied. According to this administrator, the government's view of Mariposa was such that "...they used to hold Mariposa up as a shining example. Oh, it brought in tourists, self-sufficient, and blah blah blah, and the one time we needed them for—to continue to exist, almost—they weren't there for us."

The MFF's situation in the 1970s demonstrates that a festival can accomplish the majority of its goals and attain widespread success while on a self-sustaining budget; but also demonstrates that this success does not come without a significant strain on resources. Its situation in the 1980s and 1990s, however, proves that a well-funded and well-sponsored organization does not necessarily guarantee financial profit and the

growth and maintenance of a dedicated audience. The festival was receiving consistent support from the provincial government and Molson's Brewery in the 1980s, but frequently lost money due to rainy weather and/or competition from other events. During this time, the foundation also had to contend with frequent bouts of disharmony between certain members and factions, which may have had negative effects on the overall administration of the event. Additionally, the festival's numerous relocations throughout the 1990s generated criticism among observers of the festival circuit, with many complaining about Mariposa's "lack of identity." All of these factors happened in tandem with the festival's tendency to face debt and dwindling audiences throughout the 1980s and 1990s.[95]

A comparison of Mariposa's underfunded decades with its well-funded decades is therefore instructive, leading to the following conclusion. While funding and sponsorship do add an important measure of security to music festivals (especially in the context of a competitive live music industry), they could be equally weighted with factors such as strong administrative direction, weather, and stability of location. The ultra-successful Mariposa of the mid-1960s and 1970s was able to build its reputation on the latter three, if not the first two.

[95] While some observers may be tempted to attribute the MFF's dwindling audiences to fragmentation of the "folk" community (as a result of subgenres such as "roots" and "world" music), it should be noted that other similarly programmed folk festivals—such as those in Winnipeg and Edmonton—were increasing in popularity and developing dedicated audiences at this time.

e. Conclusion and final argument

The founding of the Mariposa Folk Festival in 1961 coincided with the commercial "boom" of the North American Folk Revival. This followed a decades-long history of folk music activity across North America, which included folksong scholarship and collecting, labour movements, and developments in technology and industry. The "boom" of the early- to mid-1960s was marked by increased commercial popularity of folk music. During its first three years in Orillia, MFF reflected this intersection between traditional and popular elements. These first three years attracted a mixture of older purists and younger listeners, the latter being more receptive to commercially-oriented folk music.

The influx of youth was most dramatic in 1963, a year that saw reports of vandalism and rioting in the media. While these reports were said to be exaggerated, organizers were forced to relocate the festival, landing at Toronto's Maple Leaf Ball Park in 1964 and finally Innis Lake in 1965. At Innis Lake, organizers successfully shed the festival's riotous image through copious security enhancements and diplomatic relations with the host township. During this time, Estelle Klein began to shape her vision of folk festival programming by expanding the lineup to include blues and First Nations music, as well as concurrent daytime workshops. By the end of its three-year tenure at Innis Lake, the MFF had established itself on the North American folk circuit and was drawing attendees from across the continent.

After its 1968 move to the Toronto Islands, the festival settled into a successful format that it would maintain for a large part of the decade. Eschewing "big-name" performers, Estelle Klein eliminated the evening concerts in 1970 and arranged for multiple daytime stages that would facilitate greater interaction between performers and audiences. Additionally, the festival developed many successful new initiatives and artistic contingents throughout the decade, such as the Mariposa In The Schools program, a First Nations area, a demonstrative crafts area, a children's area, and ethno-cultural, regional and dance programming. While developing a dedicated audience, the festival was also a perennial favourite of many performers. The latter (who received equal wages regardless of their industry status) saw the festival as a positive environment for interaction with other performers.

At the turn of the 1980s, the MFF found itself operating within a more competitive music scene. Additionally, organizers felt the summer format on the Islands had run its course. In the early 1980s the foundation embarked on a series of year-round initiatives that included various concert series (most of which proved successful), as well as smaller fall festivals (which were largely unsuccessful, in financial terms). Throughout this time, the foundation also underwent some key administrative shifts. These included the resignation of Estelle Klein, the incorporation of MITS into a separate organization, and the foundation's transition from being a self-sustaining organization to one with a

steady stream of funding. This transition included the MFF's participation in Federal Cultural Policy Review hearings of the early 1980s.

The next significant shift came in 1984, when the MFF relocated to Molson Park and revived the summer festival format. During this time, the foundation received steady government and corporate support, and programmers responded to broader trends in the folk music scene, such as the incorporation of more commercially-oriented "world" and "roots" music artists. Nevertheless, the festival continued to experience administrative and financial difficulties, and left the park after 1990. The remainder of the 1990s were spent in a state of frequent itinerancy, with the festival relocating to various locales around downtown Toronto, as well as Bracebridge and Cobourg. For much of the decade, the festival was in a state of debt, and only after 2000 (its return to Orillia) did the foundation's financial and administrative situation begin to stabilize.

When examined retrospectively in its social and historical context, the story of the MFF offers many insights to popular music scholars, ethnomusicologists, and scholars of Canadian cultural policy. Those who research Canadian representation within the arts can now be aware that the dialogue and debates surrounding "Canadian Content" did not originate in the broadcasting milieu of the early 1970s, but rather a decade earlier in the planning process of 1961 Mariposa. Other ideas developed at Mariposa (particularly in the 1970s) would be influential in the broader roots music scene, with several Canadian folk festivals adopting the daytime format that had been refined by Estelle Klein.

Furthermore, the 1970s festival was socially-progressive in its representation of First Nations and ethno-cultural groups, operating without government direction and (largely) allowing such groups to construct their own performative identities. In other areas, Mariposa helped to develop an audience for children's music and set the stage for collaborations between future luminaries of the children's music industry. In addition to the music scene, the MFF also was influential in the artisanal community, providing a site of exchange for Canadian artisans during a time when their networks were still underdeveloped.

The significance of Mariposa also derives from the social backdrop against which it developed. With little competition for the growing youth market, Mariposa of the early 1960s was initially seen as a magnet for unruly youth. Later that decade, when broader countercultural and politically-derived elements (e.g., "hippie" and/or anti-capitalist idealism) interfaced with the festival, organizers were forced to reconsider the event's artistic vision in the context of the growing popularity of rock festivals. This resulted in significant changes in the programming format. Nevertheless, the festival's casual absorption of other "countercultural" elements (such as widespread marijuana use) demonstrates the degree to which Canadian society had deviated from its conservative character of the previous decade.

Mariposa also provides a lesson about the importance of spatial considerations to a festival's well-being. The time period garnering the most nostalgia in popular accounts

is that of the Toronto Islands, where the festival spent twelve years. The ability to return annually to the same location (one with picturesque rural qualities) enabled festival-goers to attach a sense of community to the festival. Conversely, the festival's most itinerant decade (i.e., the 1990s) earned it the most criticism from observers of the folk circuit, who sometimes cited its lack of community and identity as its biggest fault.

Finally, an analysis of the MFF's funding history is akin to a comparative study between two types of festivals: one that is financially self-sustaining, and one that is dependent on government funding and corporate sponsorship. The history of Mariposa tells us that copious funding and sponsorship are not necessarily needed to create an event with cross-continental appeal that lingers in the mind of a generation over three decades later. Nevertheless, the shoe-string accomplishments of Estelle Klein and her committees may have been idiomatic to a particular set of circumstances—one with less industry competition, better weather, and the availability of a stable location (not to mention strong leadership and a robust crew of returning volunteers). The 1980s and 1990s did not always provide these elements to Mariposa organizers, and therefore consistent funding and sponsorship helped to keep the foundation afloat.

Thus summarized, the findings of this dissertation culminate into a final argument about the Mariposa Folk Festival: that from an historical perspective, it is categorically different than other Canadian folk festivals. The four aspects of its significance (artistic legacy, relation to 1960s/1970s social shifts, spatial considerations, and

funding/sponsorship) uphold this argument by distinguishing the MFF from other events of its kind. Musically-speaking, it influenced the content of many folk festivals that followed it. Historically-speaking, it developed in tandem with more dramatic social shifts than other folk festivals. And in terms of administration and locale, it faced unique challenges that other festivals did not.

This dissertation has argued for the MFF's unique historical position on the Canadian folk festival circuit. Furthermore, the festival's importance can be extrapolated to the broader North American folk revival based on two final observations. Firstly, prior to the revival, North America played host to numerous festivals that celebrated distinct regional musics or ethno-cultural groups; these were sometimes termed "folk festivals." In contemporary Canada, however, there is generally a clear distinction between "ethno-cultural festivals" and "folk festivals." The former tend to highlight distinct regional or ethnic groups that present their traditions through various cultural mediums, such as food, costume, dance, and music. The latter generally program roots artists who trace their musical lineage to artists of the folk revival (e.g., singer-songwriters, bluegrass musicians, country-rock, etc.) and also incorporate independent artists who cross over with the pop/rock scene. Originating towards the peak of the folk revival in the early 1960s, the MFF functioned as a pivot point between the "ethno-cultural" folk festival and the "revival-inspired" folk festival. This intersection was evident in the co-existence of revivalists and singer-songwriters with local immigrant, dance, and First Nations groups

throughout the 1970s; such a co-existence is rarely observed at modern-day festivals (at least to the degree that it was evident at Mariposa).

Secondly, recent scholarship has begun inserting Canada more assertively into discussions of the North American folk revival. As described in a 2007 monograph by Gillian Mitchell, Canada and the U.S. did not experience the revival in identical ways. And as I have demonstrated in this dissertation, Mariposa of the 1960s and 1970s (and Estelle Klein's career, in particular) were important vehicles for the exchange of folk revival ideas between the U.S. and Canada. Klein attended the Newport Folk Festival in 1963, was impressed by the workshops there, and brought some elements back with her to Mariposa where they were further disseminated to Canadian ears. This was not just a process of one-way mimicry, however, because Klein took programming several steps further than Newport with her refinement of daytime workshops. The fact that her format was later adopted by folk festivals across Canada (and possibly parts of the U.S., as maintained by some administrators) tells us that the Canadian folk festival tradition is not simply a derivative of an "American" folk revival, but a phenomenon unto itself.

APPENDIX A

Schedule of 1961 Mariposa Folk Festival

MARIPOSA FOLK FESTIVAL

1961 PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, AUG. 18th—8.30 p.m.—11.30 p.m.
Opening events
1st CONCERT with four or five folk artists.

FRIDAY, AUG. 18th—"Midnight"
Midnight "STREET JAMBOREE"—a giant street square dance and "Hey Rube" starring the renowned YORK COUNTY BOYS, famous Canadian bluegrass pickers.

SATURDAY, AUG. 19th—10.00 a.m.—12.30 p.m.
For the first time at any festival of folk music in the North American continent, a public screening of many of the Folk Music Films will be presented. These films have been collected for and by the National Film Board of Canada and the United States Library of Congress.

SATURDAY, AUG. 19th—11.00 a.m.—12.30 p.m.
While the films are in progress, a free Children's CONCERT will be presented. In an attempt to encourage folksinging as a performing art participants will include some semi-professional musicians. Children will be admitted free (under 14 years). Adults will be charged a nominal fee of 50¢ each.

SATURDAY, AUG. 19th—1.30 p.m.—4.00 p.m.
Presentation of the 2nd CONCERT featuring four professional artists and a number of traditional folk performers located by Canadian folklorist, Edith Fowke.

SATURDAY, AUG. 19th—4.15 p.m.—5.15 p.m.
A symposium on "Canadian Folk music and its place in the Canadian Culture." This discussion will be facilitated through the co-operation of the Centre for Adult Education, Folksinging Department of the Y.M.C.A.—Toronto.

SATURDAY, AUG. 19th—8.00 p.m.
Final CONCERT featuring six performers and concluding with a Hootenany (Community Folk Sing).

FEATURED ARTISTS

JACQUES LABRECQUE (with Clement Laplante & Emma Caslor)—Montreal, Quebec—Folksong personality of the 1958 Stratford Shakespearean Festival.

YORK COUNTY BOYS—Toronto, Ontario—Bluegrass Band—Arc Recording Stars.

IAN TYSON & SYLVIA FRICKER—Toronto, Ontario—Folksingers and Radio & TV personalities.

ALAN MCRAE & PETER WYBORN—Vancouver, British Columbia—Owners and featured performers at "The Question Mark," Vancouver Folksong Club.

THE TRAVELLERS—Toronto, Ontario—Canada's leading folkmusic performers.

ALAN MILLS & JEAN CARIGNAN—Montreal, Quebec—Stars of the Newport and Chicago Folk Festivals.

BONNY DOBSON—Toronto, Ontario—Popular Canadian folksinger currently touring the folksong circuit in the United States.

OMAR BLONDAHL—Cornerbrook, Newfoundland—Famous Canadian Maritime Balladier.

FINVOLA REDDEN—Halifax, Nova Scotia—Traditional East-coast singer.

AL CHERNEY—Toronto, Ontario—North America's Top Old-Time Fiddler.

MARY JANE & WINSTON YOUNG—Oakville, Ontario—Folksong duo, currently touring England and Europe.

MERRICK JARRETT—Toronto, Ontario—Folksinger, specialist in Western Canadian folkmusic.

APPENDIX B

Schedule of 1963 Newport Folk Festival[96]

JULY 26-28, 1963

	DAYTIME 10:00-11:00 A.M.	11:00-12:00 A.M.	Noon-1:00 P.M.	1:00-2:00 P.M.	2:00-3:00 P.M.	3:00-4:00 P.M.	4:00-5:00 P.M.	EVENING 8:30 P.M.
FRIDAY								
Main Park								Concert
Newport Casino:								
Porch 1					Whither Folk Music?	Folk Music Movies		
Porch 2								
Theatre								
SATURDAY								
Main Park		Bluegrass Bands			Children's Concert			Concert
Newport Casino:								
Porch 1		Fiddles			Blues			
Porch 2		Non-English Language			Old Banjo Styles			
Theatre		Ballads			Folk Music and Copyright Law			
SUNDAY								
Main Park		Gospel and Religious			Concert			Concert
Newport Casino:								
Porch 1		American Indian			Autoharp	Whither Folk Music		
Porch 2		All Styles Banjos	All Styles Guitars		Children's Concert	Topical Songs and New Song Writers		
Theatre		Collecting Folk Music			Movies			

[96] This figure is a reductive facsimile of a page from the original program book, as reproduced by Cheryl Brauner (1983) for a Master's thesis. Permission to use this facsimile has been obtained from the author.

APPENDIX C

Schedule of 1966 Mariposa Folk Festival

DAYTIME ACTIVITIES – MARIPOSA 66

10 am	10.30	11 am	11.30	12 pm	12.15	12.30	12.45	1 pm	1.15	1.30	2 pm	2.15	2.30	3 pm	3.15	3.30	4 pm	4.30	5 pm	5.30

SATURDAY
- CHILDREN'S CONCERT
- BANJO, MANDOLIN, FIDDLE AUTOHARP, HARMONICA
- GUITAR STYLES
- INTERNATIONAL SONGS
- FILMS
- CANADIAN INDIAN SONGS, DANCE, CRAFTS
- BLUES AND GOSPEL

SUNDAY
- ONTARIO SONGS
- BALLADS AND SONGS OLD AND NEW
- AFTERNOON CONCERT
- GUITAR ACCOMPANIMENT

PARTICIPANTS (subject to additions & changes)

GUITAR STYLES
HOST – DAVID REA
DOC WATSON
ROEBUCK STAPLE
RAY PERDUE

GUITAR ACCOMPANIMENT
DAVID REA

FILMS
HOST – MARTIN BOCKNER

CHILDREN'S CONCERT
HOST – MICHAEL SHERMAN
THE BEERS FAMILY
CAROLYN HESTER

AUTOHARP, HARMONICA, BANJO, FIDDLE, MANDOLIN
HOST – MIKE SEEGER
JOHN COHEN
TRACY SCHWARTZ
BOB BEERS
MARTHA BEERS
DAVID REA
JOHNNY YOUNG
BIG WALTER HORTON

CANADIAN INDIAN
HOST – LAURIE CLAUS

BLUES AND GOSPEL
HOST – DICK FLOHILL
JOHN NORRIS
SONNY AND BROWNIE
SUNNYLAND SLIM
JOHNNY YOUNG
BIG WALTER HORTON
STAPLE SINGERS

ONTARIO SONGS
HOST – EDITH FOWKE
TOM BRANDON
LARENA CLARK
TOM KINES
MRS. WM. TOWNS
BRAM MORRISON

BALLADS AND SONGS – 'OLD AND NEW'
HOST – TOM KINES
OWEN McBRIDE
ROGER RENWICK
CAROLYN HESTER
DOC WATSON
TOM PAXTON
MIKE SEEGER
GORDON LIGHTFOOT
JONI MITCHELL
ENOCH KENT

INTERNATIONAL SONGS
HOST – KLAAS VAN GRAFT
WITH GUESTS FROM VARIOUS NATIONAL GROUPS.

APPENDIX D

Schedule of 1972 Mariposa Folk Festival workshops

MARIPOSA SAT. JULY 15, 1972

AM	one	two	three	four	five	six	native peoples	have fun!
10:30	Where do you Find Songs? Michael Cooney	Banjo Styles Host: John Cohen	Zither Type Instruments Host: George Sawa	Holiday & Ritual Songs Jean Ritchie	Guitar Styles host: Mike Seeger	Flutes & Whistles Host: Lou Killen	Schedule Available at Information Booth and in Area...	General Info...
11:00	Childrens' Sessions Host: John Dildino							
11:30								
12:00		Tribute to Joe Hill Utah Phillips	Kilby Snow	Balkan Music & Dance Olga Sandolowich	Bukka White	Influences of and on Bob Dylan Michael Cooney Murray McLauchlan David Bromberg	CRAFTS AREA 11am to 7pm	Note: See following pages for additional Workshop Participants
12:30	Lou Killen The Pennywhistlers		Wareham Brothers John Prine					
1:00		Scottish & Irish Traditional Songs Host: Norman Kennedy		Traditional French Music of Canada & Louisiana Jean Marcoux	Roots and Bluegrass			
1:30						Folk Song Clubs & Societies (forming & operating) Tam Kearney		
2:00	Music of India	On the Road (Songs & Experience) Utah Phillips Fred McKenna	Bill Vandaver Martin, Bogan & Armstrong		Los Quinchamali (music of the Andes)	Murray McLauchlan		
2:30				Ola Skanks Afro-American Dance Group				
3:00	The Woman's Image in Song hostess: Ethel Raim	Tribute to Some Old-Time Banjo Players – Mike Seeger	Variations on a Song Michael Cooney		Folk Ballads & Broadsides Host: Tracy Schwartz			
3:30				Blues: Roots & Influences		Folk Dance Participation Olga Sandolowich Ernie Krehm	See Bulletin Board in Area for Daily Events	
4:00		Songwriters (influenced) hostess Jean Ritchie	Tribute to Hank Williams Host: John Prine					
4:30	Alanis Obomsawin The Balfa Frères							
5:00					David Bromberg	Scotland to Cape Breton in Song & Story John Allan Cameron		
5:30	Ragtime (continues to concert stage) Host: Michael Cooney	Bluegrass The Country Rebels	Bukka White Bonnie Raitt	Concert: host: Edith Butler				
6:00					War – A Common Heritage Bill Vandaver	Friends of Fiddlers Green Hour (and a half)		
6:30		Alice and Hazel						All Programs end at 8:30 p.m. Festival Site must be cleared at this time
7:00	Mississippi Fife and Drum Group The Pennywhistlers	Open Sing host: John Allen Cameron Sign up in Advance	Songs & Tales of the Supernatural Norman Kennedy	Square Dance host: Cyril Durance				
7:30					Do It! (yourself) Chick Roberts	Edith Butler Balfa Frères Jean Marcoux		
8:00								

APPENDIX E

First Nations Artists at 1973 Mariposa

Canada's native peoples involved with Mariposa

Alanis Obomsawin: Alanis is an Odonak Indian from Montreal. She is largely responsible for contacting the Native Peoples who are participating in the festival this year, and organizing their programmes. Her own traditional Indian songs and stories are a joy to listen to.

Mrs. Alicie Audla and Mrs. Mary Sivuarapi: Throat singers from Povungnituk, Northern Quebec. Stories or dreams told by sounds made from the throat, imitating animals or the wind or other sounds of nature.

Mrs. Akalisie Novalinga: Mouth harp player from Povungnituk, Northern Quebec. Plays beautiful strange sounds of the north.

Prairie Dancers: led by Gordon Tootoosis – Cree, Poundmaker Reserve, Saskatchewan. Gordon is an actor and traditional singer. Other dancers in the group are: Irene Tootoosis, Arsen Tootoosis, Leonard Tootoosis, Eric Tootoosis, Wayne Goodwill, Edmond Bull, Edna Lavallee, Marleen Jimmy, Yvonne Turner and Diane Turner.

Six Nation Reserve Dancers: led by Jim Sky. These traditional dancers and singers are Iroquois from the Six Nation Reserve in Brantford, Ontario. The group of dancers are: Lori Sky, Bonnie Sky, Ted Gordon, Sady Buck, Roy Buck, Sam Silversmith, Reed Harris, Charlene Bomberry and Ron Bomberry.

Metis Dancers: led by Pat Calliou, the fiddler. They are Metis Indians from Edmonton. Mrs. Dorothy Wilson plays guitar, Abe Kohn plays bass for the Red River jig dancers Kathy Karakonti, Carolyn Karakonti, Randy Karakonti and Sidney Karakonti.

Duke Redbird: Chippewa Indian from Ontario – poet and film maker.

Willie Dunn: Micmac Indian from Restigouche, Nova Scotia – composer and folk singer.

Tom Jackson: Cree Indian from Winnipeg – composer and folk singer.

Paul Ritchie: Ojibway Indian from Toronto – composer and folk singer.

Ruby Denis: from British Columbia – composer and folksinger.

Dogrib Indians: from Fort Rae, Northwest Territories. This group plays traditional band games and dances and sings to the accompaniment of drums. Taking part are Jimmy Dryneck, Johnny Dryneck, Jean Rabesca, Eddie Lafferty, Harry Koyina, Celine Eyakfo, Lisa Koyina, Margaret Ksatchia, Violet Campsell, and Louis Whane.

Saul Williams: Ojibway from Weagamow Lake, Ontario. Saul is an artist and is working in the native peoples area.

Raymond Gabriel: Mohawk from Oka, Quebec – jeweller.

Mrs. Sophia Judge: quiltwork, **Mrs. Joseph Beaucage:** loom beadwork, **Mrs. Edna Panamick:** beadwork on leather, **Mrs. Arnelda Jacobs:** black ash basket weaving.

There will be 4 craftspeople from James Bay.

19 Mariposa Programme 1973

APPENDIX F

First Nations artists at 1975 Mariposa

Native People's Participation – Area 7

	FRI. JUNE 20	SAT. JUNE 21	SUN. JUNE 22
11.00	Alanis Obamsawin DOG RIB Singers, Dancers & Bone Game	AHBENOOJEYUG Ojibway for Children	LACROSSE GAME & DEMONSTRATION 6-12 Year Old Boys Team from OKA. Quebec (Mohawk)
12.00	Joe Yuzicapi	DOG RIB INDIANS Bone Game from N.W. Territories	
1.00	Akalsie Novalinga Innuit Mouth Harp Player Innuit Throat Singers Lucie Amarualik Alacie Tullaugak	PRAIRIE DANCERS	STORYTELLING Alanis Obomsawin, Willie Trecheur, Duke Redbird BONEGAME - Demonstration & Participation John Williams TOY MAKING - Guy & Louise Williams from Mount Currie BC
2.00	James Bay People: Songs Stories Discussions	LACROSSE GAME & DEMONSTRATION 6-12 Year Old Boys Team from OKA, Quebec (Mohawk)	DOG RIB Singers, Dancers & Bone Game
3.00	Willie Dunn Duke Redbird David Campbell	Arthur Cheechoo Willie Dunn Shingoose	Jim Sky's SIX NATIONS DANCERS from Brantford, Ont.
	Alanis Obamsawin		
4.00	Guests: John Allan Cameron, John Donald Cameron, Winston Fitzgerald	Innuit Throat Singers Innuit Mouth Harp Player Children's Games	Willie Dunn Guests: Yvan Brault, Phillippe Bruneau, Gilles Losier
5.00	Willie Trecheur Arthur Cheechoo Shingoose Paul Ritchie	Joe Yuzicapi Children's Stories & Songs Guests: Boys of the Lough	James Bay People Alanis Obomsawin
6.00	PRAIRIE DANCERS	Alanis Obomsawin Willie Trecheur Paul Ritchie David Campbell Duke Redbird	Paul Ritchie David Campbell Willie Trecheur Duke Redbird Arthur Cheechoo
7.00			PRAIRIE DANCERS

Each year, Mariposa presents a comprehensive native peoples' section—the only folk festival in Canada to do this on a consistent basis. And, each year, the festival brings a different combination of native people from across the country together—and it is a particularly happy event, not only for Mariposa visitors, but for the participants who have the opportunity to meet each other.

This year, the native peoples' section of the festival will present a particularly strong programme for children. There'll be, for instance, a boys' lacrosse team from Oka, Quebec—and a few of them will be spending some of their time in the crafts area making lacrosse sticks. It's amazing, perhaps, but many people still don't know that lacrosse—one of the fastest-moving sports there is—was originally an Indian game.

A group of children from Mount Currie, British Columbia—Salish Indians from the Interior—will be bringing toys and puppets with them; they'll also teach some of Mariposa's younger visitors the games they play back home. Some of the older people from Mount Currie will be with them—they, too, have a rich store of games and stories from their childhood to relate.

The festival has also invited back the same group of Indians from James Bay who have visited Mariposa before—and it will be interesting to talk with them again and discover what has evolved in that part of Canada.

The Dog Rib Indians from the North West Territories are back this year—a marvellous group of singers and dancers who never fail to make people happy. To offer support, exchange dances and music, and keep everyone's spirits high, Jim Sky's dancers from the Six Nations Reserve at Brantford will be at Mariposa as well, with many of their young people.

Two new contemporary singers-songwriters—David Campbell from Guyana and Arthur Cheechoo, a Cree Indian—will sing their own songs, along with other young singers and poets.

And from the far north, a return of some of the Inuit people who have visited the Festival before: The amazing throat singers who electrified the festival last year, and Akalisie Novalinga, who makes marvellous music with the Inuit equivalent of a Jew's harp—a feather!

The native peoples' section at Mariposa is one of the happiest parts of a happy festival. We look forward to having you join us.

—Alanis Obomsawin.

APPENDIX G

Selection process for Crafts Area

work. You are actually meeting about 60 independent craft performers when you walk through the crafts area.

The crafts committee works throughout the year to gather these people together. Participants are selected on the basis of

1. Their desire to communicate to others about their work.
2. In the case of selling craftspeople, on the quality of work submitted
3. On the basis that the total number of craftspeople will give a balanced representation of different diciplines and/or a presentation of lifestyles or special traditions of a community.

Many craftspeople are asked to return to the festival to provide continuity in the program. However, each year some craftspeople are asked to step out to allow new people to participate. As the quality of applications improves, we are using this balancing system more and more to allow you, the audience, to recognize familiar faces and, at the same time, make some new friends.

There are two special projects which you should see. One, the Newfoundland Area, has been described in an article compiled by Susan Shiner, which appears elsewhere in this book. This area was so successful last year, that it has doubled in size this year to provide a larger view of life in outport and farming communities in Newfoundland. The other project, the Mennonite Area, involves demonstrations of cooking and quilting from a group which has, for the past three years at Mariposa, provided a unique insight into an Ontario community which maintains many folk traditions. These two areas, as well as the locations of individual craftspeople's areas are clearly marked on the map of the site at the Craft Bulletin Board.

A program book tries to give the information about what is happening now as well as the reasons behind the event. I believe that the crafts area is well represented in these respects. However, I would like to step out of this format with a personal statement of thanks: to all of the craftspeople who come each year trundling their carts all over, to the craft committee who volunteer time and love to long meetings, and to Mariposa for being here, to let people imagine, research, and realize ideas about traditions, folk, crafts, music and people.

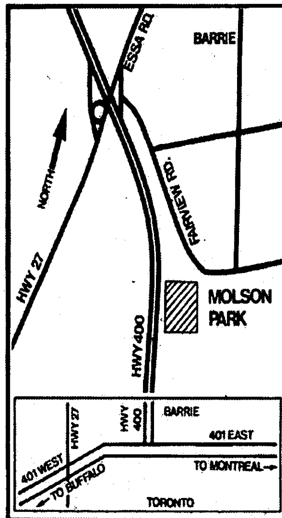
Skye Morrison

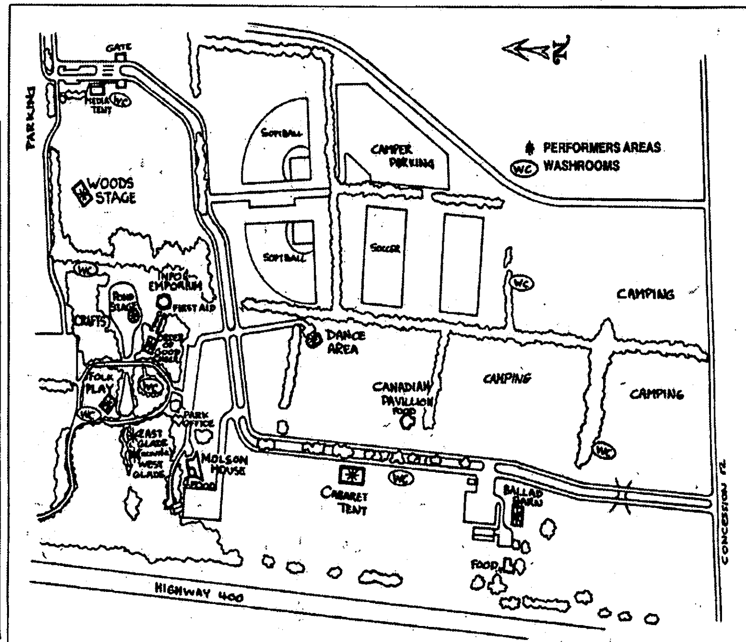
APPENDIX H

Layout of 1984 Mariposa Folk Festival (Molson Park)

FESTIVAL SITE MAP

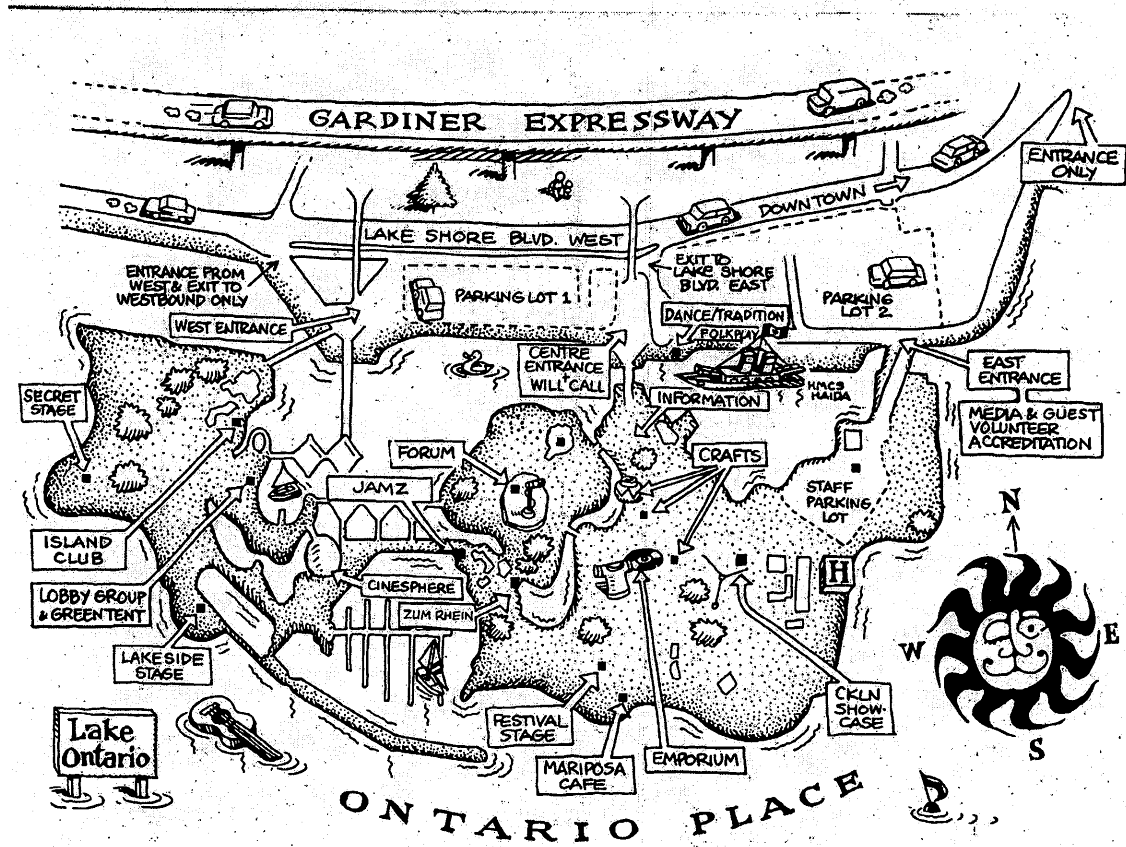
HOW TO GET TO THE FESTIVAL





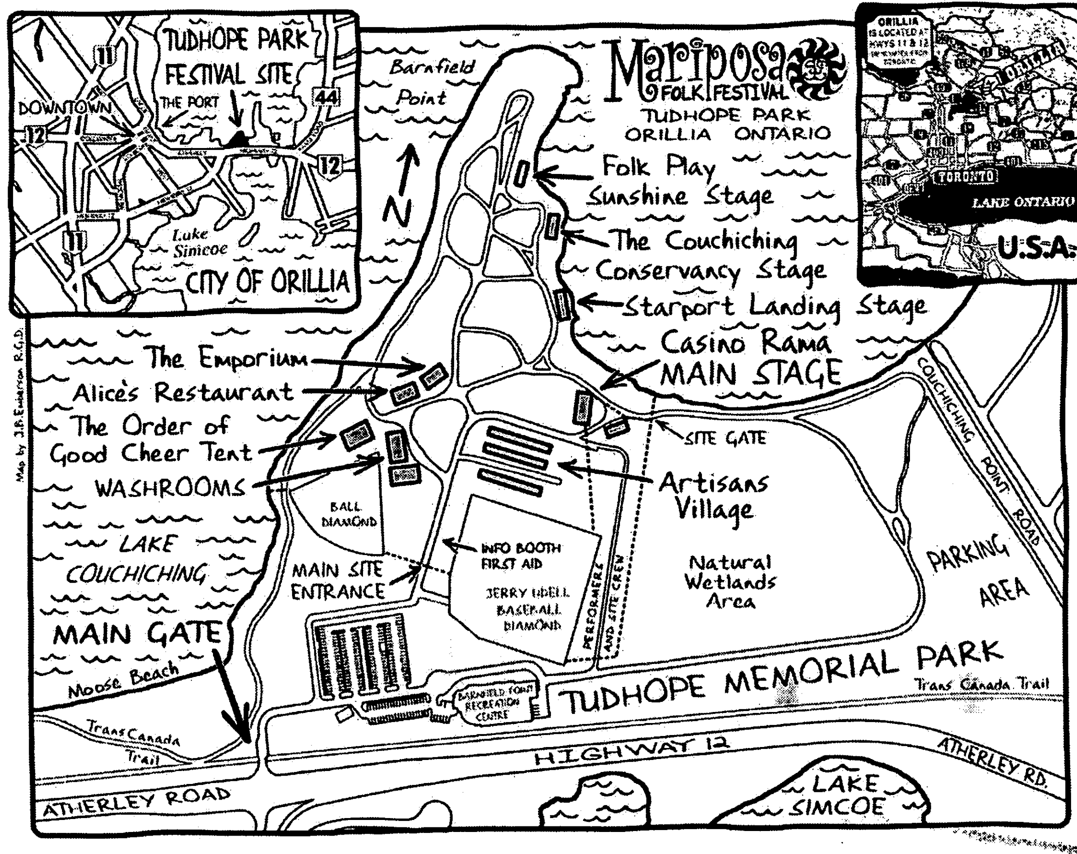
APPENDIX I

Layout of 1991 Mariposa Folk Festival (Ontario Place)



APPENDIX J

Layout of 2000 Mariposa Folk Festival (Orillia)



APPENDIX K

Summary of the Mariposa Folk Festival's (Re) Locations

1961-1963: Orillia (Orillia Oval and other venues)
1964: Maple Leaf Ball Park (last-minute move from Medonte Township)
1965-1967: Innis Lake
1968-1979: Toronto Islands
1980: No summer festival; year-round concerts and small fall festival at Toronto's Harbourfront venues
1981: No summer festival; year-round concerts and programs
1982: Summer festival at Bathurst Quay, Harbourfront
1983: No festival; year-round concerts and programs
1984-1990: Summer festival at Molson Park
1991-1992: Ontario Place
1993-1995: Olympic Island/Downtown venues
1996-1998: Bracebridge and Cobourg
1999: No festival
2000: Return of summer festival in Tudhope Park, Orillia

APPENDIX L

Sample of media coverage on the Toronto Islands: References to landscape and experiential elements

"Some even swam over to see big name stars like Joni Mitchell and James Taylor in the evening concerts." Ball, Phyllis. 1972. No barriers are needed at Mariposa. *Toronto Star*, July 13: 32.

"It started in a cloying, humid mist as the festival-goers poured off the island ferries by the hundreds, and by 4p.m. after an hour's thundered warning, rain began pelting the 14-acre site." Goddard, Peter. 1974. Mariposa Folk Festival has a relaxed, happy start. *Toronto Star*, June 22: G1.

"…while the festival's critics maintain it sometimes gets low-key to the point of being somnorific, yesterday's audiences seemed very content to lie back on the grass and have a low-key good time." Daly, Margaret. 1976. Sunny, relaxed and peaceful and so are its low-key celebrants. *Toronto Star*, June 26: H1.

…Music wasn't the only attraction on the Island yesterday. Record crowds—some of them lining up almost an hour for the ferry from the Toronto docks—jockeyed for space for their picnic blankets and frisbee competitions. Picnic tables were at a premium as families staggered around with loaded food hampers." Bullock, Helen. 1977. Island is "heaven on earth." *Toronto Star*, June 27: D4.

"Four-year-old Sarah Heller bops around in the grass devising her own inspired folk dance…Daddy Charles Heller leans into a tree watching his daughter, smiling. That's Mariposa." Kirkland, Bruce. 1978. Everything's as comfortable as an old pair of worn jeans. *Toronto Star*, June 24: D1.

"There's a whole bunch of people lying around on the grass in cut-offs and tank tops, eyes sort of closed, listening to the music booming and rasping and wailing out of the speakers. And there's this sweet, cloying smell hanging over everything…Yeah. It's sun tan oil." Sears, Val. 1979. It's all bosoms and beards and a whiff of sun tan oil at this year's family-style festival on Centre Island. *Toronto Star*, June 17: B1.

APPENDIX M

Sample of survey responses about location preferences (1991)

MFF 1991 Survey: "Question 4b: Which location do you prefer for the Mariposa Festival? 1. Ontario Place, 2. Molson Park, 3. Toronto Island, 4. No preference."

Pro-Toronto Island responses:

- "Ambiance, park setting, ferry ride at sundown, compactness of festival."
- "Less concrete. Less distance to cover."
- "Good past times. (More merry feeling?)"
- "World apart."
- "Beautiful self-contained."
- "Ontario Place is OK—but no intimacy & stages are far away. Toronto Island was better."
- "Ontario Place has an aura of gov't civility that destroys the ambiance of intimacy so associated with Mariposa, but the Forum is covered. Molson Park is UV death—so the island with shade/rain covering tents would be best."

Pro-Molson Park responses:

- "closeness, less concrete."
- "Atmosphere much more relaxed + natural setting. Ontario place has a more controlling atmosphere with all the security people letting me in or keeping me out of areas. I resent that."
- "space-- overnight camping."
- "Camping, better atmosphere, more folk-like"
- "this location [Ontario Place] is too URBAN –considering the theme + too costly regarding parking and food."
- "The atmosphere of Ontario Place is a bit formal and restrictive for the folk festival format."

Pro-Ontario Place responses:

- "Central, fairly easy to get to, people know it"
- "Toronto Island is impractical in the 90s"
- "Ontario Place is a beautiful and accessible [sic] location."
- "related kids activities."
- "stuff for kids to do"
- "convenience of location"

Pro-Toronto Islands AND Molson Park response:

- "a greater sense of a festival."

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