

Mariposa: Surface Sketches of a Wandering Festival

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“So I think that if you know Mariposa and understand even the rudiments of banking, you are perfectly acquainted with Mr. Pupkin. What? You remember him as being in love with Miss Lawson, the high school teacher? In love with HER? What a ridiculous idea.”¹

...so goes an excerpt from *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*, a 1912 literary work by Stephen Leacock. This collection of stories about small-town Canadian life was modelled after the author’s adopted home of Orillia, Ontario, to which Leacock assigned the fictitious name “Mariposa.” Despite this initiative to disguise the source of his inspiration, the name (Spanish for “butterfly”) would become synonymous with Orillia. And little did Leacock know, it would also appear in fleeting associations with other Ontario locales throughout the second half of the twentieth century, as the title of a summer music festival.

Founded in Orillia, the Mariposa Folk Festival celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2010. Three years earlier, the Mariposa Folk Foundation had donated its entire archival collection to the Clara Thomas Archives at York University. In celebration of the 2010 anniversary, the university launched an online exhibit to showcase digitized audio and visual materials which celebrated the festival’s “Golden Years” of 1960s and 1970s.

Indeed, these decades are the best represented in historical accounts of the festival. After all, it was the 1960s and ’70s Mariposa that witnessed impromptu appearances by Bob Dylan and Neil Young, nurtured the careers of up-and-coming singer-songwriters Joni Mitchell, Gordon Lightfoot, and Murray McLauchlan, and widened the spectrum of “folk” to include a more diverse range of musics.² In its format of those first two decades, the MFF would also become a model for future Canadian folk festivals, such as those in Winnipeg and Edmonton.

But for a festival with a 50-year lifespan, it is odd that only the first 20 years should be continually celebrated. If we desire a history of MFF that looks past its first two decades, then our account will not be limited to a story of folk revivalists, Yorkville entrepreneurs, 1963 rioting and 1970 gate-crashing. The festival’s remaining 30 years (especially given the event’s penchant for itinerancy) offer many interesting lessons pertaining to corporate sponsorship, board-community partnerships, and locale-specific logistics.

What follows here is a rough sketch of the festival’s history from the 1960s to the present day. This article is a précis of my ongoing research, stemming from my work with archival records, media coverage, and some preliminary interviews with festival board members. As it represents a work in progress, this article in no way purports to tell the whole story of the festival; but, in narrating the festival’s history decade by decade (roughly speaking), I do hope to draw attention to some aspects of Mariposa that have been underrepresented in pre-existing accounts.

1961-1967

The genesis of the Mariposa Folk Festival has been documented in a 1977 commemorative book released by the festival³ as well as in a more recent account written by founder Ruth Jones-McVeigh.⁴ 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,⁵ an avid supporter of Canada’s burgeoning folk music scene, happened to be in attendance that evening and later suggested that the town stage a folk festival. The idea was generally well-received, and she was soon soliciting input from various contacts.

Early supporters for the project came from a wide variety of backgrounds. Board meetings were run by Jones (president), Pete McGarvey (vice-president), and 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); Ted Schaefer, Syd Banks, as well as folksingers Alan Mills, Syd Dolgay, Ian Tyson and Sylvia Fricker. The festival also received much organizational thrust from Jones’ brother, David Major. The idea of an all-Canadian program was championed from the outset by Fowke and Jones; and organizers set out to book a variety of Canadian traditional and commercially-oriented folk artists, including Omar Blondahl, Finvola Redden, Jean Carignan, The Travellers, and Ian Tyson and Sylvia Fricker.

At this time, revival-based folk festivals were only beginning to emerge in North America. The Newport Folk Festival (founded in 1959) is commonly understood to be Mariposa’s closest

precedent within North America, with its focus on revivalist performers on the cusp of mainstream popularity. Within Canada, the Miramichi Festival had been running since 1958, though its programming featured mainly local, unaccompanied folksingers.⁶ According to the festival's 1961 operational notes, 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."⁷

In an interview with the author, Jones-McVeigh recalled receiving a polite reply from Newport that "didn't say much of anything."⁸ MFF organizers soon found out about the existence of Miramichi, though the operational notes do not reveal much assistance from the latter, with the exception of a letter about funding sources.⁹

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 newness of this endeavour, Jones invested a vast amount of time in promotional efforts. According to her 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 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."¹⁰

A March 3rd entry of the operational notes also suggests that organizers were also 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, Greenwich Village. We may be able to get NYorkers to come up on a transportation and accommodation deal – no fee."¹¹

Whether these cross-border promotional efforts paid off is unclear. Exact attendance figures for the 1961 weekend are unavailable,¹² and while the event is said to have enlivened the town considerably, the board found itself in debt after the first festival. 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. With Wall's promotional savvy, Orillia was promoted as a "place to be" for the 1962 and 1963 instalments, drawing in

many out-of-town youth. According to Sharpe, 1963 saw "reports of vandalism, theft and minor assault",¹³ with beer-drinking youth continuing a tradition (begun in 1961) of throwing beer bottles at a statue of Samuel de Champlain. *Globe and Mail* reporter Ralph Hicklin, speaking of the 1963 festival, described a "bumper-to-bumper promenade" downtown on the Saturday afternoon, with young folk fans swarming the streets in sports cars and wearing the latest beach fashions.¹⁴ Most newspaper coverage of the festival's Orillia years carries an emphasis on hooliganism and rioting. Fortunately, a few journalists did report on the music itself. Their perspectives are particularly significant with regards to the reception of folk music at a time when the genre was becoming increasingly mainstream and reliant on amplification. Hicklin, after praising the more polished performances of Jacques Lebreque and the Travellers, went on to complain, "But for the rest, even facing an audience of deaf mutes, they simply couldn't reach 10,000 people with all the electronic help in the world. I know that folk singing should sound like singing by and for the folks; but there are limits."¹⁵ A *Toronto Star* account showed a similar dissatisfaction:

"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."¹⁶

But as mentioned before, it was the unruliness of festival-goers that took centre stage in representations of the festival, and the public outcry was enough for local authorities to ban the festival from Orillia in future years. The 1964 instalment of the festival was therefore scheduled to be held in Medonte Township, 12 miles west of Orillia. But the anxiety expressed by the township's residents (who were familiar with the festival's reputation) forced organizers to move the event (at moment's notice) to the Maple Leaf Ball Club in Toronto. Following this hasty staging, they managed to secure Innis Lake (located 40 miles out of Toronto) for the 1965 festival. This location has been described as "a seedy, run-down campground",¹⁷ yet it has also been depicted as the site where a young Joni Mitchell developed her craft throughout the mid-60s, and where a growing Canadian singer-songwriter tradition became more visible with appearances by others such as Leonard Cohen, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and Murray McLauch-

lan.¹⁸

1968-1979

The festival's first long-term home would be claimed in 1968, when organizers negotiated with the Toronto Parks Commissioner for a lease of the city's Olympic Island. The Toronto Islands¹⁹ were accompanied by their own set of logistical challenges, such as the use of ferries to transport equipment, performers and audience members, but the festival maintained a healthy relationship with the City of Toronto Parks Department.

This era witnessed several new developments in both the administration and programming. According to the 1970 program book, the success of the 1969 festival enabled the board to begin a series of year-round outreach initiatives. The most significant of these was a new educational program whereby artists would facilitate folk music workshops in Toronto schools. The workshops were well-received from the outset, and in an interview from ca. 1972, Estelle Klein (then artistic director) notes this particular program (later known as MITS, or Mariposa in the Schools) received government funding well before the festival proper.²⁰

Klein herself was highly influential in other respects. Having stepped up as artistic director in 1964, she was well-known for her aversion to the "star system," believing that big-name acts would pull audiences away from more traditional performers and lesser-known (or more community-minded) artists. This group often made up the bulk of programming in the daytime workshops, which she had set up to draw emphasis away from the flashiness associated with evening performances.

Perhaps as a result of Klein's efforts, Mariposa became well-known in the 1970s for its mellow vibe. Much media coverage from this decade notes a family-friendly atmosphere. As one journalist recounted, "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."²¹ But if Klein's programming philosophies contributed to the festival's ambience, they nevertheless clashed with the perspectives of many other festival participants. This became especially evident in 1972, when Neil Young, Bob Dylan, Joni Mitchell and Gordon Lightfoot decided to make unscheduled visits to the festival. By most accounts, these artists were themselves looking for a mellow day out. As Dylan put it nonchalantly, "We were vacationing in the area, and decided to drop in."²² Murray McLauchlan offers a vivid recollection of the day in his 1998 autobiography:

"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...Bruce and I were sympathetic to the idea that these two artists just wanted to play some informal music...There were several thousand people out in front at each of these afternoon shows, and they all wanted to hear. The workshop sound systems had to get cranked up to keep the fans happy, and there was some spillover into other areas. Estelle Klein...got pretty out of shape. She felt that people were pulling 'star trips' and ruining the nature of the festival. An ideological conflict was beginning to happen. There was a core group running the event, and I think that they felt... that it was being turned into a rock festival."²³

While McLauchlan rightly points to an "ideological conflict" present at the festival, the musical programming during the Island years did not exclusively reflect a tension between commercial and non-commercial concerns, however. Despite her avoidance of a star system, Klein had endeavoured to diversify the geographic, ethnic and cultural representation within the types of music heard at Mariposa. One of her earlier initiatives in the mid-1960s had been to introduce more African-American blues artists to festival audiences (such as Mississippi John Hurt and Son House); this was followed with more First Nations representation. Alanis Obomsawin, an Abenaki activist (also known for her work with the National Film Board of Canada) became particularly involved with the festival at this time. For a large part of the '70s, she coordinated the First Nations contingent at Mariposa, bringing together a diverse range of artists from various First Nations communities each year. For example, the 1974 program lists eight "drum dancers" from Inuvik, NWT; two Inuit throat singers from Northern Quebec; the (Cree) Saddleback Family Dancers from Alberta (comprised of eight family members); and a number of singers and singer-songwriters from Carrier, Micmac, and Ojibway backgrounds. Obomsawin also invited a number of First Nations artists to join the festival craft contingent, including jewellers, weavers, and a sleighmaker.

Another result of Klein's diversified outlook was a greater visibility of immigrant musical traditions. 1972 saw the creation of the festival's "Ethnic Committee", whose volunteers sought out performers from various immigrant communities in the Toronto area. This committee was active between 1972 and 1974, and programs of this time period indicate representation from Lebanese, Turkish, Macedonian, Portuguese and Chinese communities, to name a few.

The early 1970s were therefore busy years for the Mariposa Folk Festival, complete with new administrative directions, conflicting ideals, and

foreign musical languages. But towards the end of the decade, some critics complained that the festival's organizational approach was relaxing into a formula. As the following journalist put it:

"Mariposa has become so mired in tradition and predictability that it penetrates not a whiff of anticipation or excitement. It has defined, refined, over-intellectualized and, ultimately, vivisected folk or people's music to the point where it has forgotten the first purpose of any music—to entertain. It has also forgotten the chief purpose of a folk festival—to serve as a musical report on the state of the art."²⁴

The issue of satisfying its audience artistically obviously had financial implications; and the festival also faced poor weather conditions on several occasions. 1979 proved to mark the end of the festival's 12-year tenure on the Toronto Islands.

1980-1990

For the next four years, the MFF found itself in a state of uncertainty and without a regular summer event. Mariposa In The Schools remained a successful program, but eventually incorporated as a separate organization in 1983.²⁵ Organizers of the festival proper continued to host off-season events. Former board member David Warren recalls several smaller programs from this period, such as Mariposa Mainland and Mariposa in the Parks. A 1980 program also advertises a "Mariposa Fall Festival" held at Toronto's Harbourfront venues. In 1982, organizers did pull together an all-Canadian summer festival at Bathurst Quay, though according to Warren, this was not a financial success.

The next long-term home for the festival was found in 1984, when MFF organizers were offered Molson Park. Owned by Molson Breweries Ltd., this grassy acreage on the edge of Barrie, Ontario, would later become known for hosting rock events in the 1990s, such as Edgefest and Lollapalooza. While the relative isolation of this location enabled on-site camping (certainly a bonus for folk fans with guitars), some aspects of the venue and its usage certainly appear to have been tailored to rock audiences. For instance, Warren recalls the performance stage built by the brewery, which festival organizers nicknamed "The Bunker":

"...I guess they thought they were going to get big-name rock acts and...they 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...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 going to stand."²⁶

The "rock" connotation of the Molson name was, of course, also evident in the commercially-leaning financial relationship between the brewery and the festival. In 1987, the two entities established a contract in which Molson would underwrite the MFF's expenses over a five-year period. As a first step in this contract, the brewery handed Mariposa \$45,000 toward the erasure of a \$140,000 deficit.²⁷ According to Warren, the MFF hosted its first-ever beer tent during these years (selling, of course, mainly Molson beer). But despite the heavy dependence on sponsorship, Warren asserts that the festival largely maintained control over artistic bookings.²⁸

Throughout this time, the MFF also continued to receive governmental support at the municipal and provincial levels. In 1987, the foundation reportedly received a \$65,000 grant from the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.²⁹ But the organization was nevertheless experiencing growing pains. In the media, this was often portrayed as an identity crisis. A 1986 news article depicts a festival trying to shed its "hippie" image; yet that same year, it reportedly paid 10,000 U.S. dollars for headliner Joan Baez (who, ironically, originates from the same "hippie" era as the festival itself).³⁰ Evidently, more was needed to expand the festival's core audience. By the late 1980s the board had eventually dropped the "Folk" from "Mariposa Folk Festival." The 1989 program, for instance, advertises the event as "Mariposa '89: The Festival of Roots Music." Organizers continued their efforts to increase attendance through more headliners, and according to a 1988 review, this had some good results:

"...this year's big ticket menu, featuring popular artists such as Ricky Skaggs, Tracy Chapman and John Hiatt, drew more than twice as many people to the sprawling Molson Park site than the austerity package served up last year, when the biggest draws were David Wilcox and Holly Near..."³¹

But this boost in attendance would prove to be short-lived. However varied their approaches to programming and billing, organizers could not contend with consistent bouts of bad weather throughout the decade, as well as administrative shifts within the foundation. The festival staged its final Molson Park event in 1990.

1991-1999

The MFF nevertheless retained funding from government grants, and was able to relocate to a different 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), offers its visitors mini-golf, a waterpark, and an Imax theatre, to name a few.³² Because the 1991 instalment took place in September, Ontario Place's entertainment facilities were closed for the season and organizers therefore had more leeway with their use of the space. The 1992 festival, however, was staged in July, when Ontario Place was experiencing its regular flow of summer customers. Doug Baker (a long-time volunteer and former board member) served as security coordinator that year, and recalls more logistical challenges because "each stage was functioning separately *while* Ontario Place functioned".³³

By this time, the MFF, like other outdoor festivals, had grown accustomed to having reduced attendance figures after heavy rain or colder temperatures. But in 1992, they came face to face with a record-low chills of 7 and 6 degrees Celsius on the Saturday and Sunday evenings, and some board members also recall snow. Despite the presence of some well-known headliners on the program (such as Taj Mahal and the Texas Tornados), 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 \$125,000.³⁴

For the remainder of the decade, the festival served as a platform for administrative and logistic experimentation. Much of Canada's folk music community was doubtless aware of the sense of nostalgia attached to the name "Mariposa", especially with regards to the 1970s. Perhaps because of this, MFF board secured Olympic Island for the daytime components of 1993-1995 festivals. Evening concerts were distributed amongst various venues in Toronto's downtown area (such as El Mocambo, the Tranzac and the Rivoli), and billed as the "Club Crawl" portion of the festival. This usage of both newer and more "nostalgic" spaces was somewhat reflected in the artistic representation. The programming of the 1993 festival, for instance, featured many emerging roots performers such as Alison Krauss and the Irish Descendants, as well as "world beat" artists (e.g., the pan-African group Mother Tongue), but organizers also booked Sylvia Tyson, the Travellers and Al Cromwell, all of whom had played at the original 1961 Mariposa in Orillia.

This three-year stint on the Island and at downtown venues is said to have ended with a \$70,000 loss in 1995,³⁵ and organizers were 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 in 1997, describes the thinking behind this strategy:

"...[the goal was to] found a folk festival, and make a deal with these towns (a 3-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..."³⁶

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.

Whether the seed of folk continued to grow there afterwards 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.³⁷ 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 in 2000, the Mariposa Folk Festival moved back to Orillia for the first time in 37 years, and was staged in Tudhope Park on the shore of Lake Couchiching. Eleven years later, it is still running in that location.

I made my first research trip to the festival in 2008, and remember the relentless phone calls I made to hotels, motels and bed & breakfasts to secure my accommodations. One particular phone conversation sticks with me. "Ma'am, I simply cannot give you this room for a single night," the B&B owner said firmly. "This is Mariposa weekend. I can easily find someone else who will pay for two nights, and probably three." Frustrated as I was, this phone call nevertheless gave me my first insight into how the festival has fared since its return home. 37 years after dismissing it, the City of Orillia now seems pretty happy to have it back.

And that, folks, is how the Spanish word for

“butterfly” came to be associated with a resort town, a ball park, a campground, an urban island, a corporate-owned acreage, a lakefront entertainment complex, a collection of urban music venues, another resort town, and another urban park, all in Ontario, Canada. If only Leacock knew.

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Notes:

¹ Stephen Leacock, *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*, NLC Classic Edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), 93.

² See Sharp (1977), Posen (1993), Jennings (1997), Keillor (2006), and Mitchell (2007).

³ Debra Sharp, "Mariposa: How times have changed," in *For what time I am in this world: Stories from Mariposa* ed. Bill Usher and Linda Page-Harpa (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1977), 177-206.

⁴ Ruth Jones-McVeigh, "Mariposa Folk Festival origins: The accurate story," Unpublished manuscript, 2010a.

⁵ 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).

⁶ Susan Butler, "The Miramichi Folksong Festival," *Canadian Folk Music Bulletin* 20, no. 1 (1986): 25-26.

⁷ Ruth Jones, "Mariposa Folk Festival Aug 61," in YSpace, <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/dspace/handle/10315/4138> (York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections); accessed May 29, 2010.

⁸ Ruth Jones-McVeigh, interview with author, telephone, 30 March 2010b.

⁹ Jones, "Mariposa Folk Festival Aug 61."

¹⁰ Jones-McVeigh, "Mariposa Folk Festival origins: The accurate story."

¹¹ Jones, "Mariposa Folk Festival Aug 61."

¹² Sharp notes, however, that the opening Friday evening was attended by two thousand people (1977, 180).

¹³ Sharp, "Mariposa: How times have changed," 181.

¹⁴ Ralph Hicklin, "Mariposa music played to tune of 20,000 screaming, glass-breaking, beer-belting students," *The Globe and Mail*, 13 August 1963, 1.

¹⁵ Hicklin, "Mariposa music," 1.

¹⁶ Bill Marshall and Gil Taylor, "Guitars, goatees and girls—famous folk and folksong fans flock for festival fun and frolic for third time to Mariposa," *Toronto Star*, 10 August 1963, 19.

¹⁷ Sharp, "Mariposa: How times have changed," 187.

¹⁸ Nicholas Jennings, *Before the gold rush: Flashbacks to the dawn of Canadian sound* (Toronto: Viking, 1997).

¹⁹ These are in fact 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.

²⁰ Though Klein also admits in the same interview that the board had not yet bothered to apply for arts council grants due to lack of time. According to program books, the festival proper appears to have received its first contribution from the Ontario Arts Council in 1974, a few years after its first MITS grant.

²¹ Bruce Kirkland, "Everything's as comfortable as an old pair of worn jeans," *Toronto Star*, 24 June 1978, D1.

²² Peter Goddard, "No Mariposa like this one: Dylan, Lightfoot, Young, Mitchell," *Toronto Star*, 17 July 1972, 12.

²³ Murray McLauchlan, *Getting out of here alive: The ballad of Murray McLauchlan* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1998), 208.

²⁴ Margaret Daly, "Mariposa: It's traditional, predictable—and out of touch," *Toronto Star*, 25 June 1977, H01.

²⁵ Mariposa Folk Foundation, *Mariposa Notes Festival Issue* 4, no.1(1984).

²⁶ David Warren, interview with author, telephone, 22 April 2011.

²⁷ "Mariposa dissolution defeated," *Toronto Star*, 30 January 1987, D21.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ "Mariposa foundation gets \$65,000 grant," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1987, G2.

³⁰ Bill Taylor, "Mariposa aiming to shed hippie image," *Toronto Star*, 14 July 1986, D1& D4.

³¹ Vit Wagner, "Mariposa attendance encouraging," *Toronto Star*, 27 June 1988, C4.

³² <http://www.ontarioplace.com/index.html>

³³ Doug Baker, interview with author, telephone, 13 April 2011.

³⁴ Peter Howell, "For the Mariposa Folk Festival, it looks like the last hootenanny," *Toronto Star*, 21 February 1993, sec. H, C1.

³⁵ Elizabeth Renzetti, "Mariposa Festival heading home to survive," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 November 1995, D5.

³⁶ Doug Baker, interview with author, telephone, 13 April 2011.

³⁷ <http://www.mariposafolk.com/archives/1999-festival/>

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